

COMMEMORATING 20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE
AGAINST PUTOS LIKE PITO WILSON!

Voz Fronteriza
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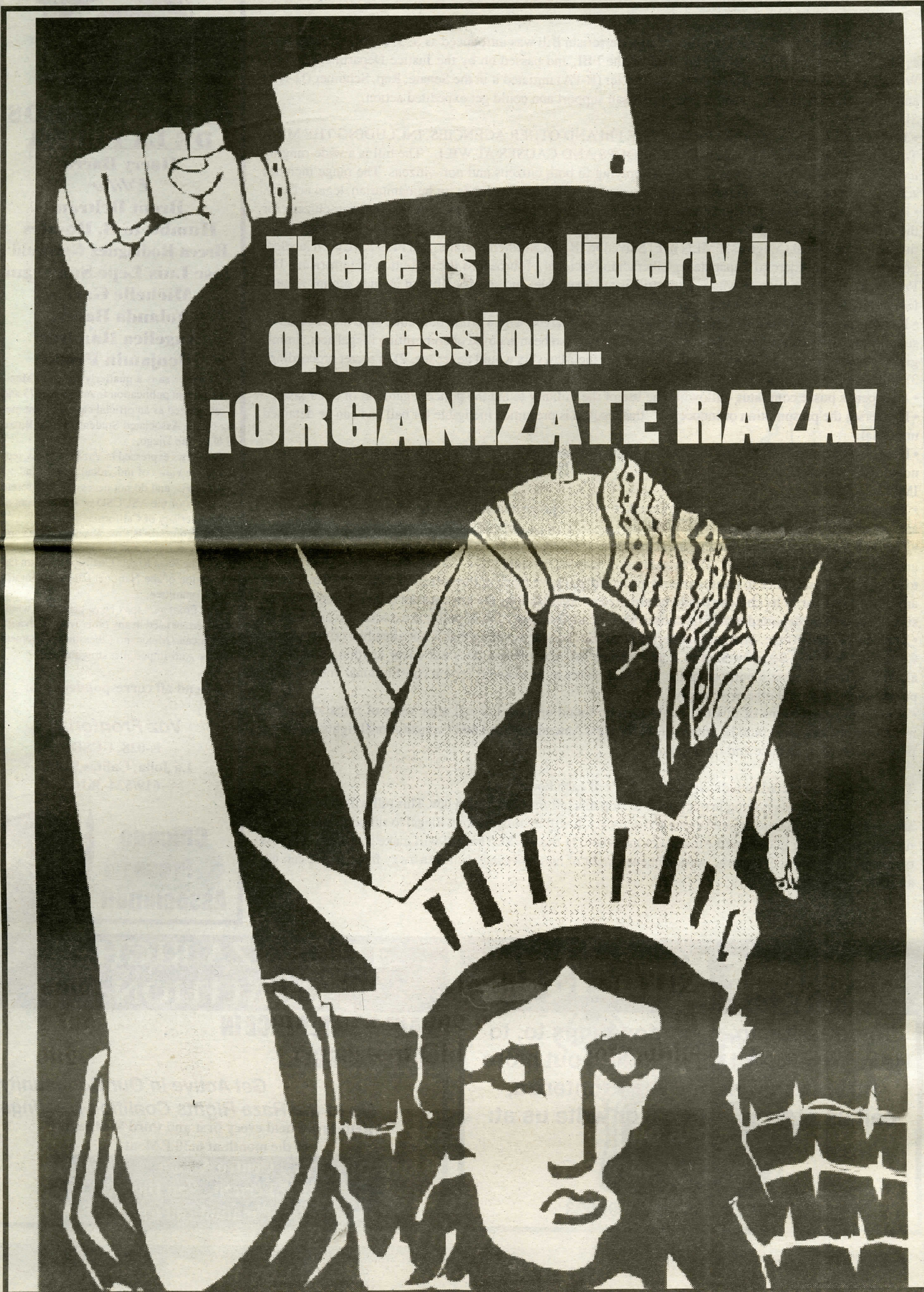
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**ATTENTION ALL CHICANO MOVEMENT ACTIVISTS AND OTHER
PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE:**

Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill New FBI Charter to Investigate Political Groups!

February 10, 1995 the Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill was introduced as S. 390 into the Senate and as H.R. 896 in the House. It was initiated by the FBI, and passed on by the Justice Department and the White House. Senators Biden (D-DE) and Specter (R-PA) initiated it in the Senate, Rep. Schumer (D-NY) and Dicks (D-WA) in the House. It has bipartisan support and could get expedited action.

SUMMARY

- THIS IS A GENERAL CHARTER FOR THE FBI AND OTHER AGENCIES, INCLUDING THE MILITARY, TO INVESTIGATE POLITICAL GROUPS AND CAUSES AT WILL. The bill is a wide-ranging federalization of different kinds of actions applying to both citizens and non-citizens. The range includes acts of violence (attempts, threats and conspiracies) as well as giving funds for humanitarian, legal activity.
- It would allow up to 10 year sentences for citizens and deportation for permanent resident non-citizens for the "crime" of supporting the lawful activities of an organization the President declares to be "terrorist," as the African National Congress, FMLN in El Salvador, IRA in Northern Ireland, and PLO have been labeled, possibly even the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. It broadens the definition of terrorism. The President's determination of who is a terrorist is unappealable, and specifically can include groups regardless of any legitimate activity they might pursue.
- It authorizes secret trials for immigrants who are not charged with a crime but rather who are accused of supporting lawful activity by organizations which have also been accused of committing illegal acts. Immigrants could be deported: 1) using evidence they or their lawyers would never see, 2) in secret proceedings 3) with one sided appeals 4) using illegally obtained evidence.
- It suspends posse comitatus - allowing the use of the military to aid the police regardless of other laws.
- It reverses the presumption of innocence - the accused is presumed ineligible for bail and can be detained until trial.
- It loosens the rules for wiretaps. It would prohibit probation as a punishment under the act - even for minor nonviolent offenses.

IMPLICATIONS

- Those who remember the McCarran Walter Act will recognize this bill, only in some ways this is broader and potentially more dangerous
- This bill is highly political: the President can determine who is a terrorist and change his/her mind at will and even for economic reasons. The breadth of its coverage would make it impossible for the government to prosecute all assistance to groups around the world that have made or threatened to commit violent acts of any sort. Necessarily its choices would be targeted at organizations the government found currently offensive. People to be deported would be chosen specifically because of their political associations and beliefs.
- The new federal crime: international terrorism doesn't cover anything that is not already a crime. As the Center for National Security Studies notes: "Since the new offense does not cover anything that is not already a crime, the main purpose of the proposal seems to be to avoid certain constitutional and statutory protections that would otherwise apply."
- While many provisions of this bill could well be found unconstitutional after years of litigation, in the mean time the damage could be enormous to the First Amendment and other constitutional rights including presumption of innocence and right to bail.

The bill has been referred to judiciary committee's of each house.

We must do everything in our power to stop this bill from becoming law. This bill will have a drastic affect on any Movimiento organizations and activists. It will literally make it illegal to support self-determination struggles here in occupied America or anywhere in the world. This bill will make it legal to suppress ones right to freedom of speech. A fundamental right of humanity may be taken away from us, we can not allow this to happen!

VOZ FRONTERIZA



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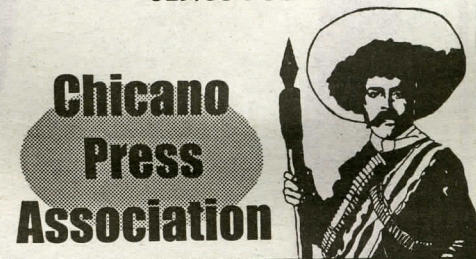
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20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Zapatistas remember the assassination of General Emiliano Zapata

(Reprinted from La Jornada April 10 pg. 8)
Mexico, April 10, 1995

To the insurgency and militia compañeros of the EZLN:

To the bases of support for the EZLN:

To the people of Mexico:

To the peoples and governments of the world:

Brothers and sisters:

Today we again remember the struggle which gave us our name and face. We remember the day in which the betrayal killed General Emiliano Zapata when he was struggling for justice. Emiliano died, but not his struggle nor his thinking. Many Emiliano Zapatas were born afterwards, and now his name is not that of one person. His name is the name of a struggle for justice, a cause for democracy, a thinking for liberty. In us, in our weapons, in our covered faces, in our true words, Zapata became one with the wisdom and the struggle of our oldest ancestors. United with Votan, Guardian and Heart of the People, Zapata rose up again to struggle for democracy, liberty and justice for all Mexicans. Even though he has indigenous blood, Votan-Zapata does not struggle just for the indigenous. He struggles also for those who are not indigenous but who live in the same misery, without rights, without justice in their jobs, without democracy for their decisions, and without freedom for their thoughts and words.

Votan-Zapata is all who march under our flag. Votan-Zapata is the one who walks in the heart of each and every one of the true men and women. All of us are one in Votan-Zapata and he is one with all of us.

The powerful and their great monies do not understand why Votan-Zapata does not die, they do not understand why he returns and rises from death to life in the words of the true men and women. They do not understand, brothers and sisters, our struggle. The power of money and arrogance can not understand Votan-Zapata. And they can not understand because there is a word that is not part of the understanding of the great thinkers who sell their intelligence to the rich and powerful. This word is DIGNITY, and dignity is something that does not reside in one's head. Dignity walks in the heart.

Today, wisdom says that the indigenous can not be Votan-Zapata, that there is a foreign step in his walk. With the weapon of betrayal with sweet and false words, with the threat of his humiliating war, with lies, the powerful wants to fell and kill for always Votan-Zapata.

That's what was done in 1521, when with swords and lies they spread death and sadness among the natives of these lands. That's what was done in 1919 when lead and trickery killed the life of Votan-Zapata who had lifted up his armed hand for land and liberty. The powerful failed in 1521; dignity is sheltered deep in the hearts of the indigenous, and it was taken care and cultivated, waiting for the time to plant and grow. The betrayal failed in 1919; dignity did not die with the death. With death life was again kept alive in the hearts of true men and women. Today, lies, betrayals and power return to fail. Votan-Zapata did not die. He is many, and it is his collective step in our words. Today Votan-Zapata struggles, in the steps of the EZLN, for Democracy, Liberty and Justice.

To our voice for a just and dignified peace, the arrogance responded with treason and falsehoods. It wants its words of trickery to make a nest in our hearts. It can't.

The powerful say today that the indigenous is good if he obeys and bad if he rebels, that the indigenous is good if he conforms and bad if he struggles, that the indigenous is good if he gives up and bad if he resists, that the indigenous is good only if he is concerned about himself, and bad if he thinks for his brothers and sisters. For this reason they want to put an end to the Zapatistas, because we are indigenous, because we are dignified, because we are rebels, because we struggle, because we resist, because we struggle for all our Mexican brothers and sisters.

The powerful say that the people of light skin bring bad ideas to the indigenous because they talk to them of struggle against injustice. That these people of light skin should die for bringing these bad ideas to the indigenous. That the indigenous were fine and content with dying as they died of poverty, that talking of dying to live, the people of light skin brought discontent and disgrace to the indigenous. This gentlemen of money do not know that, when only one color painted the skins of the inhabitants of these lands, they were struggling and fighting for truth. That the struggle for democracy, liberty and justice does not come from one color of skin or from one language; it comes from the land, from our dead who seek a dignified life for their death. To be indigenous today is to be dignified and true. Color or language does not define one as indigenous; it is the desire to struggle and to be better.

Votan-Zapata has all the colors and all the languages; his step is along all of the roads and his word grows in all hearts. Today his greatest word is in the words of the true men and women, in the indigenous who, in Southeastern Mexico, raise up their voices and their hands to speak with great and true words.

Brothers and sisters, we are all Votan-Zapata; we are all the Guardian and the Heart of the People. They can kill us, drive us to the mountains to shut up our voices, to make big lies like jails to hide our truth. But we are all the dead of always, those who died to live. Our voice will continue coming down, through many people and many roads, from the mountain to the hearts of all Mexican brothers and sisters. Our truth can not be hid because it is the truth of all who, just today, found a window in the words of the true men and women.

Greetings, brother and sister Tzotziles, Tzeltales, Tojolabales, Choles, Zoques, Mames, Mestizos. Greetings men and women bats. Greetings men and women Zapatistas. Greetings, Votan-Zapata, Guardian and Heart of the People. Although hurting, our heart is happy because being quieted we speak, hiding ourselves we show ourselves, without name we are named, being there we go, walking we are still, coming we go, dying we live.

¡Que Viva Emiliano Zapata!
¡Que Viva Votan-Zapata!
Que Vivan Los Muertos, Siempre!
¡Que Vivan Los Indigenas Mexicana!
¡Que Vivan El EZLN!
¡Democracia!
¡Libertad!
¡Justicia!

From the mountains of Southeastern Mexico, dignified heart of the Motherland.

Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee-General Command of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, Mexico, April 1995

(translated by Cindy Arnold, volunteer, NCDM)



20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

A FEW TRUTHS ABOUT THE ZAPATISTAS

by Cecilia Rodriguez, National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA

There are now one hundred and fifty two villages in Zapatista territory which have been completely taken over by the Federal Army. Food, water and medicine is scarce—but the intention of the Zedillo government is abundantly evident. They are bent on destroying the social base of the Zapatistas. The white guards continue to act with impunity.

These dark forces which have governed Mexico for the past 65 years now want to punish the people of Mexico, especially those who are dark and indigenous, for daring to lift their heads. They want to etch a cruel and bloody lesson in history that will teach future generations to conform.

Within the next few months, I believe you will see the PRI change its colors, much as a chameleon does. Under the double talk of reform, and in order to please U.S. financial institutions, the PRI will do what it has never done before. It will meet with opposition parties, it will amend and re-amend the Constitution, all in the hopes of placating popular demand for a genuine democracy. Like a magician, it will perform many tricks. The Mexican people will have to judge whether or not a change occurs in Mexico which really corrects the great injustices which caused the Zapatistas to declare war. Will there ever be a Mexican government which really belongs to its people, and not to an elite group of corrupt politicians who lie and manipulate their way into power? Will there ever be a Mexico which can respond to the needs of its people for land, jobs, health, education, food, housing, liberty, justice, democracy and peace? Will there ever be a Mexico which treats its original inhabitants, the indigenous people, with dignity and respect?

Instead of listening without question to the lies broadcast by Televisa, the people of Mexico must think carefully in order to judge the nature of the changes in Mexico. The powerful war of words would have all of us believe that all is well and that Mexico's problems are the fault of the Zapatistas. It is important that all of us think deeply about the purpose of these lies, because they are intended to lull us into passivity and inaction. It is for this reason that I list below a few of the major lies which are being disseminated and I ask you to remember history, and to judge the Zapatistas by their actions and not the words of Televisa.

THE ZAPATISTAS ARE INFLEXIBLE. ROBLEDO RESIGNED AS GOVERNOR OF CHIAPAS AND STILL THEY WILL NOT COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

The Zapatistas, based on Article 39 of the Constitution declared war on the Mexican government on January 1, 1994. The right to rebellion, when "a government is no longer the legitimate government of the people," is a right guaranteed to all citizens. It is a right which allows for ordinary people to determine their form of government (by the way, this right is also guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution).

It is clear that in 1988, the Mexican government stole the Presidential election from Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. It is also abundantly clear that electoral fraud is the principle means by which the PRI maintains its iron-fisted control. It is for this reason that the Zapatistas demanded that Robledo Rincon resign as governor of Chiapas. Robledo was a well-known crony of the despotic governor Gonzalez Garrido, and the continuation of his influence in the Chiapaneco government was a clear insult to the indigenous peoples of the state.

In demanding that electoral disputes in Tabasco and Veracruz be resolved as well, the Zapatistas were responding to aspirations for democratic elections as well. As Mexicans we clearly understand that the PRI is one with the government, one has never been separated from the other, and therefore every election only serves to legitimize their continued power.

A basic demand of the EZLN has always been "a transition to democracy"; this has been clearly stated in every correspondence to the government, and almost in every commune. There was not even a willingness to allow the people of Chiapas to have a genuine election on the part of the Mexican government. The PRI has in fact, mocked, ignored, and degraded the Zapatistas never giving them another status except that of "criminals, transgressors of the law, and professionals of violence." It was not until the PRI lost its grip on the economy, and failed to deligitimize the Zapatistas, that it allowed a state election to fall into the hands of another party—the PAN in Jalisco.

This however, does not constitute a transition to democracy. It is a superficial and cosmetic change, the separation of the PRI from the government will require more than

that. A transition to democracy is a basic demand of the Zapatistas. They must perceive some genuine possibility of its occurrence in order to believe that negotiations will be productive.

THE ZAPATISTAS HAVE DE-STABILIZED THE COUNTRY AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

During the rule of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Mexico saw 40 million of its people sink into poverty, while 24 new Mexican billionaires became part of the world's wealthiest. Mexico lost a great many of its small businesses and its middle class was severely impacted by high taxes, and unaffordable living costs. Its Gross Domestic Product fell, unemployment grew, and its agricultural production could no longer compete with the price of imported foodstuffs.

This economic disaster did not unfold since January of 94. It was occurring long before the Zapatistas erupted into public consciousness. Economists in the United States from prestigious universities knew almost two years ago that the peso was overvalued and that it was necessary to devalue it as soon as possible. Many Washington insiders knew this as well, and apparently so did the very wealthy in Mexico, since they began to take their money out of the country shortly before the devaluation occurred.

Salinas de Gortari, however, was more interested in his reputation in the international community, than he was about the future of the country which he governed. The PRI waited until NAFTA had been passed, until the August elections were completed, and until another international trade agreement was approved, the GATT, before announcing the devaluation.

Now, experts in the United States are saying that the severe recession which Mexico will now suffer is the result of Mexico "living beyond its means." For the majority of the people in Mexico, the "means" have never been more than minimum survival, and now even that seems impossible.

There have been three assassinations in Mexico, 300 murders of members of the opposition party, PRD, and attempts on the lives of prominent opposition leaders—the Zapatistas had nothing to do with the inability of the PRI to resolve its conflicts by any other means than assassination. These are the events which have eroded Mexico's stability.

WHAT ABOUT THE ARMS CACHES WHICH ZEDILLO CLAIMS HE FOUND IN MEXICO CITY AND VERACRUZ? WAS THIS A THREAT TO MEXICO?

Once the Zapatistas declared war in January of 1994, that declaration remained in force. The Mexican government follows no logic in persecuting rebels for being rebels, and an armed force for being armed. The "arms caches" found in Mexico City and Veracruz included some weapons, posters, music cassettes, and writings about the Zapatista rebellion. Most of those arrested have been severely tortured, the two-year-old son of Maria Gloria Benavidez was threatened with death. All ar-

rests were conducted without any due process, and the Mexican government has issued at least 2,000 warrants for suspected Zapatista collaborators; including journalists, human rights workers, academics, and religious lay leaders.

Without due process, it is difficult to discern what "threat" there was to Mexico, how much evidence has been concocted and manipulated. (Where was the "expertise" and concern for "national security" when Cardinal Jesus Posadas Ocampo and Luis Donaldo Colosio was assassinated, and Francisco Ruiz Massieu?). The Zapatistas have always stated they constitute a national force. They have never said they are limited to the state of Chiapas. In addition, they clearly asked to be recognized as a "belligerent force" within the definition of the Geneva Convention, which prevents the opposing force from going after the leadership. In branding them terrorists, the PRI government denies them any legitimate status within international criteria.

WHY CAN'T THE ZAPATISTAS BE SATISFIED WITH WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN OFFERED—WHY DO THEY WANT A NATIONAL CHANGE?

The landholders in Chiapas are a crude remnant of a colonial system which virtually enslaves the indigenous people. In its conception and manipulation of power the PRI has found this system useful for its purposes. It maintains the patronage system in the state of Chiapas and vice versa.

In order for any genuine change to occur in Chiapas, the power of these landholders must be altered. Comparable to the system of apartheid in South Africa, and Jim Crow in the American South, this will require a national demand for this change. Chiapas is a state wealthy in natural resources; yet suffers the highest rates of poverty and marginalization. As long as the power of the landholders remains unaltered, it will be impossible for the indigenous people to improve their quality of life.

It is also true that Mexico is Chiapas. In every state in Mexico, the indigenous people suffer the same brutal policies of exclusion and enslavement—the poor grow in numbers and the natural wealth benefits the pockets of a few. Chiapas is controversial for the PRI government because its fate is shared by the rest of Mexico.

ALL THE ZAPATISTAS WANT IS TO TAKE POWER

The Zapatistas took over several major towns in January of 1994. As a result of their presence, no citizens were assaulted, no banks or stores were broken into and sacked. The Zapatistas took food and medicine and freed prisoners from the jails. Over the 14 months of the truce which was in place, the Zapatistas did not disappear into the mountain to prepare war. They wrote constantly to the Mexican people. They received hundreds of people from all over Mexico and the world, and spoke with each to explain their cause and ask for their support.

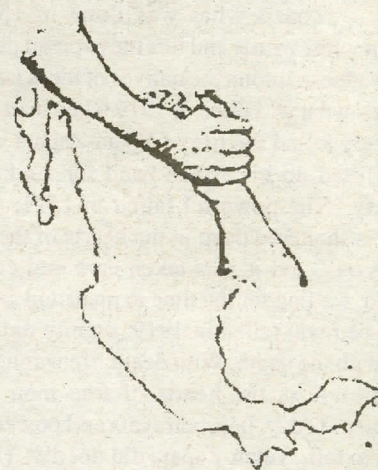
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National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA to Hold Convention in Houston, Texas May 27-29, 1995

The meeting will focus on developing national strategies to increase the effectiveness of action of local grassroots organizations in the work for democracy, social justice, and liberty in Mexico and USA.

It is recommended that each organization select representatives to attend the meeting. These delegates need to present a written designation signed by the membership of the corresponding organization in order to participate with voice and vote in the decisions.

There will be a deadline of April 30, for receiving documentations of selected delegates and suggestions of topics of agenda. Please fax these to Houston at (713) 926-2877.



For more information, please call NCDM-USA in El Paso at (915) 532-8382, E-mail moonlight@igc.apc.org or contact in Houston, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Mexico, tel. (713) 926-2786, fax (713) 926-2877 E-Mail afscilemp@igc.apc.org

For a free, just and democratic Mexico!

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

NOW IS NOT THE TIME

(Reprinted from *Libertad* #3, the newsletter of the NCDM)

By Cecilia Rodriguez

National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA

April 12, 1995

Simon Bolivar said this about his friends: "They know how to praise me, but they do not know how to defend me"

The peace talks appear to be a reality. Once again, the EZLN demonstrates that their actions are consistent with their words and their ideals. In the eyes of some however, "the Zapatista movement is surrendering its ability to influence national events because they have not shown themselves to be capable of coercing the Mexican Government into addressing the social issues which have caused the present crisis." (Brian Lionberger, April 6, 1995 in cdp.list Chiapas)

In the eyes of others, the peace talks are confusing and disorienting. At the core of this debate are several complex issues. Is armed force primarily a coercive vehicle, and what is its construct at the present time in Mexico? What kind of negotiated peace can be achieved in Mexico, and what is our posture towards it?

The primary source for the popularity of the EZLN in Mexico is in the hope of that populace suffering economic and political repression, that their existence can guarantee the possibility of democracy. For all the self-absorbed arguments of partisan politicians, no one can dispute the fact that it was the EZLN that pushed the dialogue about democracy to the front of popular consciousness. No one can argue that it was the EZLN that coaxed, encouraged, challenged and demanded that social society in Mexico have a very important role in the national political

arena. The EZLN, within the context of their armed character would play a specific role, but not the only one. It should not be the sole force which "coerces" the Mexican government, it is the people of Mexico who must decide how and what kind of government they need.

The EZLN clearly pointed out in the Third Declaration of the Lacandon Forest the necessary path for Mexico is "a National Liberation Movement [which] will struggle from a common accord, at all levels, for the installation of a transitional government, a new constitutional body, a new constitution, and the destruction of the system of the Party-State." It is the diagnosis of the EZLN that a profound transformation can be derived from that specific prescription, and not from war. The EZLN does not call upon the people of Mexico to take up arms, it calls upon them to form a national movement.

The conception of armed struggle as a political force is in dispute. Those of us in the U.S. have watched our own government impose and coerce nations into its pattern of development through brute force (does anyone know that history acknowledges the invasion of Mexico by U.S. troops at least 30 times?). Our country uses the "defense of liberty" to secure raw materials, land, and mineral resources. And so coercion, according to Lionberger can be the only manifestation of real power, therefore the civilian movement has no power.

The process of social change however occurs in a very different way. Political struggle is a very long process, a myriad of events, economic, political and social phenomenon which goes through different stages, and are transformed, sometimes slowly or rapidly, from one period to the next. Within political struggle, there are very different forms; the electoral struggle, the sectorial struggle, the nonviolent struggle, the armed struggle, the legal struggle. In the profound transformation

which the EZLN fights for, all these struggles must be present and they must depart from a common agreement. Although the EZLN has catalyzed many social sectors into motion in Mexico, a national liberation movement, within this definition, is still quite young.

In terms of the international community, our movement for peace has a well-ingrained pattern of denouncing war. But the international community has never before been faced with the challenge of contributing to a peace with dignity. Mexico's possibility for a peace with dignity is something we have not been confronted with before and we cannot respond to it with old worn-out methods. So we find ourselves confounded by the struggle of the EZLN to seek out meaningful peace talks.

The beginning of peace talks DOES NOT MEAN WE CAN LOWER THE FLAG OF PEACE. Nothing has changed for the people of the Zapatista villages, or for the political prisoners, or for the hundreds of campesinos suffering low-intensity warfare. If indeed the EZLN has given its word and fulfilled it—we, the international community have not.

It is the weakness of our actions, and our lack of imagination which allows the Mexican government to force the EZLN to the negotiating table under humiliating conditions. The dark forces of oppression in Mexico are counting on the fact that we will be unable to understand this double-talk from them, this talk of peace in the midst of acts of war, this subtle murder and persecution of their opposition.

There are some very specific tasks which remain to be done, and we have some very firm ground to stand on. In terms of human rights:

1. Gross violations have been well-documented by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Greenpeace, and there are many delegations which continue to go to the

conflict zone. We have reams of testimony, and pictures with which to tell this story.

2. As far back as the rape of three Tzeltal women in September of 94, the Mexican government has not significantly prosecuted those responsible in the Mexican Army. It has not pulled out one tank, or battalion out of the state of Chiapas, and is not likely to compensate the families whose homes have been devastated by their presence.

3. Forced starvation, torture, illegal detention and arrest, denial of medical treatment ARE ILLEGAL UNDER ALL INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS. There are 20,000 refugees in the mountains, as of yet, whose homes and means of subsistence have been destroyed. They are without food, water, and any medical treatment; infants have died and many are gravely ill. The Mexican government has grossly violated international standards and nothing has been done to sanction it.

4. Indigenous people are in a state of siege and have petitioned the Mexican government to eliminate the WHITE GUARDS, an illegal, armed racist, vigilante force paid by the large landholders in the state of Chiapas. The government has refused and WHITE GUARDS continue to act with impunity.

We must demand that the international community take a moral stand on these human rights issues, one which goes beyond partisan politics. The Clinton Administration's approach of benign neglect will not endure; there are even more conservative forces at work in the country, and it is likely that by the fall of 1996 an even harder line will predominate in this country towards Mexico.

Armed with this information, we must do what we have failed to do, and what keeps us marginalized, and what should be a

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Editorial from NCDM newsletter *Libertad* #3

"I come to speak the will of the EZLN and what is the bad will of the government. In the first place, I say to you that during the first dialogue in San Cristobal the EZLN had the genuine will to come out with a peaceful solution—but we wanted that solution to be real with possibilities. However, the government never wanted to comply with those solutions as we asked for them. They always said yes, but they pretended because they never fulfilled even ten per cent of the petitions. We saw, those of us who belong to this struggle that they took us as a joke; the government mocked and deceived us. Anyway, we know, those are the traditional bad habits of the government."

EZLN spokesperson
April 1995

These first three months of the year have run through our fingers like water. They appear not to exist and at the same time were eternal; lengthened by the specter of war, elongated by the stories of torture, imprisonment and brutality in Mexico. In moments' breadth the state of Chiapas was militarized, villages became captive to the hardware and troops of the federal Army, and the streets of southern Mexico became the hunting ground for police forces who sought "known" sympathizers and collaborators of the EZLN.

The Commission attempted to fight on many fronts; we sent a peace brigade to Chiapas, we carried out a national hunger strike and tried our hand at lobbying in Washington, D.C., we organized local take-overs of consulates, protests at banks, and letter-writing campaigns, at the same time that we prepared a national meeting and sponsored a trip of Amado Avendaño to Chicago and Los Angeles. We burned our candle at both ends, heating up faxes and telephone lines and filling the office with reams of paper. It was all carried out with the best of intentions in hopes of breaking the silence about the way in which the Mexican government had unmasked its true

intentions; the arrest and murder of Subcomandante Marcos, the take-over and militarization of Zapatista territory, the clear and deliberate attempt of the Mexican government to humiliate and intimidate the social base of the Zapatistas.

There were those who accused us of promoting war, those who argued that the money would be better spent on sending rice and beans to Mexico, and those who had ideological problems with one or the other strategy we encouraged. The last in our bout of insanity was a protest against President Zedillo in Dallas which we organized in the space of two hours. Informed by that day's announcement in La Jornada, we decided we would not allow Zedillo to waltz into Dallas, especially to speak with the American Society of Newspaper Editors without hearing a word about the war he was preparing in Chiapas. There were not enough of us to be disruptive, but two of our members were assaulted by Zedillo's security force. That was enough to garner some attention from the Dallas Morning News, La Jornada, and the Associated Press. The major networks of ABC, and CBS thumbed their noses at us to say they "already had their story."

The lessons of these two months have been rich and well-worth the sacrifice. They are as follows:
WE NEED TO BUILD AN EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS CAPACITY

The mainstream media will cover this story; if and when there is clearly a war, with bullets flying and cadavers in the street. We are interested in preventing war, therefore we have to build our own media and truly become a network which is well-organized and well-informed. We need to monitor the mainstream media by reading all there is about Mexico, and making sure we distribute the information. If we are to combat the ideas of the dominant media, we have to know how they handle them. We also need direct and clear lines of communication to Mexico; which gives us more than a few hours

notice about an event. Although we may always be unable to anticipate Zedillo's moves, because they may keep it secret until the last minute, we should do all we can to have information at our fingertips. In a political struggle the war of ideas, the battle for the minds and hearts of the majority is a primary battlefield. Let's not romanticize by accepting our communications problems as symptomatic of the "grassroots." It only demonstrates a lack of seriousness on our part.

WE NEED TO CARRY OUT DOOR-TO-DOOR OUT-REACH

Almost at every event we have been graced with the comment "we've always wanted to do something, but didn't know who to call or what to do." If we do not have sufficient media reach and our numbers are not sufficient to alarm our opponents, obviously we must take to the streets and find ways of amassing more broad-based popular support. This myth that this is a difficult issue, has proven to be false; there are many, many people who would support us if they knew we existed. It is lazy and elitist to assume there is no receptivity to the message of peace and democracy for Mexico.

We need to offer people a variety of activities in order to give them choices. As clearly as there is a color spectrum, there will always be differences in what people are willing to do. Some will never attend a march, others will do nothing but that. So we must vary our tactics and methods in order to reach and activate as many different people as possible. After all, we are not interested in their exclusive participation. Even if their participation blossoms more fully with those involved with other specific methods or issues, we have done our job, recruited one more person to the broad-based struggle for democracy in Mexico. Within the context of this struggle, we cannot afford to confine our

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

JOIN THE NATIONAL LIBERTY BRIGADE OF THE NCDM

After 9 months in existence, the NCDM has managed to develop contacts in almost every state of the union and in different parts of the world. As the EZLN enters a dialogue for peace, the national democracy movement in Mexico finds itself at a critical juncture. This expresses the tremendous need for more manpower to facilitate the different pieces of work which have been developed. They include but are not limited to:

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS CAPACITY
2. THE MAINTENANCE OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL WORK OF THE NCDM
3. OUTREACH AND RECRUITMENT IN GRASSROOTS COMMUNITIES
4. THE PRESENCE AND COLLABORATION WITH THE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT IN MEXICO
5. THE COLLABORATION AND COORDINATION OF ADVOCACY WORK WITH OTHER NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH HUMAN, IMMIGRANT AND CIVIL RIGHTS AS WELL AS HUMANITARIAN AID

In acknowledgement of the enormous public support for the democracy movement in Mexico, we wish to invite individuals who may be interested in giving up 6 to 12

months of their lives to belong to the LIBERTY BRIGADES, a volunteer labor force dedicated to work on a national level in an attempt to match the speed of the chronological clock in Mexico. The Commission will provide room and board, basic training and lots of learning experiences for you in exchange for your skills, enthusiasm, and place in history as you work like hell to help the Zapatistas' fight against the malgobierno.

Please read below carefully and send us a letter (or cassette recording) of inquiry, stating the motivation behind your interest, qualifications and skills you bring, and your take on global economics (NAFTA, GATT, World Bank, International Monetary Fund) as it affects Mexico and the United States. Don't worry about being politically correct, we are interested in your honest evaluation of the social reality around you. Limit your application to three typewritten pages or a 10 minute recording (by the way sincerity goes further than verbosity).

NECESSARY BACKGROUND AND SKILLS

- Good physical and mental health
- Humility
- Background in communications work, or technology (e.g., computers, multi-media, design and graphic arts, radio and television, public relations)
- Bi-lingual, English/Spanish (The Commission will accept a

limited number of non-Spanish speakers, however this will be dependent upon the willingness of the candidate to learn and speak the language, and the capacity and status of the Commission)

- Background in office skills, public health, or cultural work
- Humility
- Nonchalant ability to go a day without food, a week without bathing and nights without sleep
- Love of people and adventure
- Proven ability for teamwork
- Background in teaching, including preparation of educational materials, curriculum development, etc.
- Ability to accept as well as give direction
- Ability to travel
- Humility

Single applicants are preferred unless accompanied by their equally-committed partner, and or an extraordinary family accustomed to long absences and ever-changing schedules. You should be willing to raise the funds necessary to pay for your transportation costs to and from El Paso.

Upon receipt and approval of your letter of inquiry we will send you information on the second step of the application process. Please apply as soon as possible but final deadline for applications is May 15. For more information call or fax (915)532-8382, or email- moonlight@igc.apc.org

Report by the NCDM Brigade to Chiapas

Observations of the Village Conditions in Ibarra and Santa Elena, Chiapas, Mexico, March 12-15, 1995

by Christina Cogdell, Berta Garcia, Jay Johnson, Jason Kappel and Eduardo Vera.

On Sunday, March 12, 1995, five observers from the United States were sent by CONAI (Comision Nacional de Intermediación) to the village of Ibarra, in the Lacandona Jungle, just outside the skirts of Montes Azules, Chiapas to document the conditions of the town and its citizens. It had been almost exactly one month since the Mexican National Army had invaded towns and cities across Chiapas on February 11 after Zedillo's war declaration on February 9. By the time of our arrival, thousands of citizens across the state had left their homes and livelihood in terror to flee the abuses of the army. Now, at the time of press, the vast majority of families from Ibarra and neighboring Santa Elena remain in the mountains without sufficient food, shelter, clothing, or medical supplies. On the verge of starvation, they face not only plummeting health conditions in the mountainous jungles, but also an ultimatum from the notorious Mexican National Army to return to their homes by April. If this condition is not met, the weapons and aggression (and we can be sure the death toll) will extend into the jungle. These people need the immediate peaceful intervention of a steady brigade of international observers to insure proper food, clothing, shelter, and medical attention, as well as to insure their rights as human beings and citizens of the country of Mexico.

This report is divided into four segments: Report on Occurrences in Ibarra Over the Last Five Weeks; Report on the State of the Women and Children Residing in the Mountains; Report on the Federal Military Presence in the Nearby Town of Santa Elena, Chiapas; and an Analysis of typical Mexican and American Media Coverage in light of the firsthand knowledge of the international observers. These five observers were part of an International Peace Brigade made up of 18 people organized by the National

Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA.

A call has been made by the Commission to send volunteers to Chiapas to participate in the Peace Camps to provide a more consistent and permanent presence of observers. It is planned that volunteers will take three week rotations at the camps. For information on future participation of international observers in Chiapas write to moonlight@igc.apc.org, afscilemp@igc.apc.org, and evera@igc.apc.org.

Report on Occurrences in Ibarra, February 11th to March 15th, 1995

According to testimony of the residents of Ibarra, on Saturday, February 11, 1995, at 2:00 in the afternoon, 15-18 large black Army helicopters invaded the village, hovering low enough to damage the thatched roofs of the houses. Several shots were fired to further terrorize the people before the helicopters landed at the airstrip about a mile and a half from town.

The soldiers of the Mexican Federal Army then entered the town on foot. They grabbed two men and a 13-year-old boy, stripped them of their shirts, blindfolded them and tied their hands behind their backs. They shoved a gun into the mouth of the men and demanded of all three, "Where's Marcos?" One of the men, Pedro, and the boy responded that they didn't know where Marcos was. The other detainee is mute and did not reply. The soldiers grabbed the mute person by the testicles and squeezed them severely to force him to talk. All three were beaten.

Accompanied by his pleading daughter, Pedro was then marched four hours through the jungle to the bridge outside of La Sultana, where the officers threatened to hang him if he didn't tell them Marcos' location. Pedro replied, "If you're going to kill me, then kill me, but I can't tell you where Marcos is. If I make something up and you go and look and find he's not there, you'll come back and kill me. So kill me if you are going to, but I won't lie." He was eventually led back to Ibarra and released.

The military occupied the town for two to three days and ransacked the homes,

the school, and the clinic. At the medical clinic in the center of town, medications were thrown off the shelves onto the floor, where the soldiers stomped on them and destroyed them. The soldiers entered the church, scattered the Bibles and religious supplies on the floor and stomped on them. All homes were invaded, with furniture and cooking mounds destroyed, every door and gate without exception torn from its hinges, and crucial food supplies overturned and scattered to the winds, with the excuse, "We're searching for weapons."

That first night the villagers fled the town into the mountains, following the lead of their livestock which had run when the helicopters thundered overhead. Under great fear of the military, few had time to gather even an extra change of clothes or to assemble provisions from the food scattered all over their floors and yards. A half-packed suitcase on a bed, with beans, a lace slip, a toy and some jewelry attested to the speed in which they fled, though one family took time to write on the doors of their house, "Adios mi casa. Dios te bendiga. Mis lagrimas salgo" (Goodbye my home, God bless you, my tears flow) and "Adios mi casa, el que quiere misero, que manter a es tullo???"

For two full weeks the village remained abandoned, except for the animals who had returned after a few days. The burros, horses, dogs, cows and chickens entered the houses, eating the clothes and scattered corn, further destroying their owners' belongings. The dogs ate the packages of infant nutrients which the soldiers had thrown to the floor of the medical clinic.

After two weeks, five families who had been separated from the others in the mad flight were on the verge of starvation. With very ill children they chose to return to Ibarra. "Not knowing which death to choose," they opted to face the military in the village in order to gain food, shelter, and medical supplies. This they have done, but at the price of increasing military pressure on their lives. This pressure alternates between coy and transparent kindness (the gifts, for instance, of toys, a ham, a cassette player, salt, and sugar) and in-

sinuation and outright threats.

The five families have since cleaned up their homes and yards, regained their health to a subsistence level, and returned to work in their fields. In the abandoned homes of their many neighbors, however, the animals continue to eat the corn and clothes, and begin to occupy the structures, depriving their already impoverished inhabitants of what little they have should they feel safe enough to return. It is our analysis that if they do return, their safety, and the safety of the no longer useful five resident families, is dubitable.

Since their invasion in early February, every two or three days a platoon of 50 soldiers occupies the school and church in the center of town and posts lookouts at the main intersections. They inspect the homes to see if anything has changed, and interrogate the present townspeople about their activities. The residents have been informed that, come April, if the rest of the villagers have not returned to Ibarra, the army will move into the jungle to search them out. "If fired upon, we will return fire." Everyone involved is fully aware that 300 fully armed soldiers could hardly inspire an initial aggression by unarmed townspeople. Such threats are instilling great fear into the villagers, as they are in such a remote location that the brutalities of the Mexican army would likely go undocumented. The only shots we observers heard came from the automatic guns of the Mexican Army somewhere in the jungle near the neighboring town of Santa Elena.

Our presence deterred the usual military occupation of the village. Upon encountering us at the edge of town, the federal soldiers turned around and left. That afternoon, a few of the men who had been living in the mountains returned because they knew of our presence. It was the first time they'd seen their homes in a month. They were very exuberant for the gift of a terror-free day and the chance to gather some supplies. They told us their stories about their encounters with the military and about their

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20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS, THE MEXICAN MILITARY KEEPS ROADS CLOSED AND PATROLS VILLAGES AND THE JUNGLE THROUGHOUT CHIAPAS

(Reprinted from *Proceso* #962, April 10, 1995, article translated by: Cecilia Rodriguez)

by Julio Cesar Lopez, Pedro Matias and Guillermo Correo

MONTES AZULES, CHIAPAS.— Converted into an "obstacle for the dialogue" between the federal government, according to the Zapatistas, the Mexican Army has disobeyed the presidential order to suspend the patrols in the jungle, and additionally, according to the Coordinator of Non-Governmental Organizations for Peace (Conpaz), "violates international treaties of war"

Far from retreating to the positions it held until February 8th—as the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) demanded in order that direct dialogue be possible in Chiapas—the military continues to advance in commando operations into the deepest parts of the Lacandon Jungle as well as carrying out patrols within the Biospheric Reserve of Montes Azules, where presumably Subcomandante Marcos can be found.

While the EZLN and the government announced on Friday, April 7, 1995, their disposition for a first direct encounter, this Monday, April 9th, the military maintained detachments in various towns and impeded the free transit of civilians. It is precisely in the gully of Ocosingo, in one of its ejidos called San Miguel, which is the site for the encounter but is also a site where the military exerts severe control.

That, says Roger Maldonado, spokesperson for Conpaz, "constitutes a clear signal that the Army is loose; it is not bound by civilian power and is an obstacle for dialogue and a political solution to the armed conflict."

With documents in hand, based upon the Geneva, and La Haya Conventions as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Maldonado affirms: "With its permanence in ecological reserves, in towns and schools, the Army is violating international conventions signed by Mexico, in addition to our own country's constitution."

He explains "Article 129 of the Constitution restricts the participation of the military during peace time. It establishes that there can only be military commands which are stationary in castles, forts and storehouses belonging to the government of the union, in camps, barracks and depots, outside of populations, and established for military troops."

"This is not being adhered to in Chiapas. The Army has camps everywhere; in communities in Los Altos and the Jungle, as well as in several municipal capitals, which contradicts the Constitution because the explicit acknowledgment of a state of war does not exist.

In addition, soldiers are now stationed all over the Lacandon Jungle "not solely for the purpose of finding Marcos and the Zapatista leadership, but in order to guard the largest oil reserves of the country which are found there, and which are a guarantee for payment for the credits given by the president of the United States to the government of Mexico.

In this way, he points out, the Army "more than being a guarantor of national sovereignty, is becoming a mercenary army at the service of the interests of the United States." According to Roger Maldonado, who is also a member of the Commission of Human Rights of Xalapa, Veracruz, the Mexican Army will not leave the jungle to facilitate the dialogue between the federal gov-

ernment and the EZLN. They are here to stay, to protect the oil reserves which were discovered by the French from the Mexican Geophysics Company. They will not leave, because it would be equal to abandoning the guarantee of payment demanded by the United States. The problem is not so much the war; the problem is that if they do not secure those oil reserves found in the jungle, between Ocosingo and Altamirano, there will be no new money for the government of Mexico."

Since 1993, Fabio Barbosa, head of the Energy Group of the Mexican Action Network against the North American Free Trade Agreement, has said that according to documents in his possession "officials of Pemex revealed to their U.S. counterparts the discovery of a large field near Ocosingo in the state of Chiapas."

Before the EZLN rebelled, Pemex had a large amount of activity in the zone; it explored, perforated wells, confirmed their content and then covered them. According to Barbosa, this indicated that Pemex had plans to explore them in the future, through subcontractors.

THE ETHICS OF WAR

A study made by Karen Parker of the Humanitarian Law Project highlights the basic rules in military operations, which prohibit certain activities according to the agreements of Geneva, La Haya, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other treaties.

Titled **MILITARY OPERATIONS: ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW WHAT IS LEGAL AND ILLEGAL?** The document points out that hospitals, clinics, schools, religious temples, towns, villas, houses, historic monuments, building used for charitable purposes and potable water installations, dams and food storehouses should not be "objects of military operations."

Even in war there are laws which protect the environments: "Agricultural areas, lakes which contain fish and essential forest areas should not be objects of military operations.

Based upon these studies, CONPAZ affirms that the Mexican Army is "violating international conventions signed by Mexico, when they make incursions into the Ecological Reserve of Montes Azules, in their presence in the towns and occupations of some schools."

THE PATROLS CONTINUE

Armed with G-3 machine guns, 12 gauge shotguns, machetes and daggers, thousands of soldiers carry out patrols in the Lacandon Jungle. They close the circle around a place where they suppose they will find the Zapatistas; the Montes Azules (Blue Mountains).

Two kilometers from the Guatemalan-Mexico Border, at the shores of the Lacantun River, 70 soldiers dug into trenches can be found under the orders of First Captain Eric Romero Gutierrez who directs the operation in the largest ecological reserve of the country. A similar group is found in Ixcán, up the river from Loma Bonita.

Small black nylon tents, with improvised beds made of thin branches, two campfires, dishes, backpacks, and food (flour, beans and canned goods) make up the camp and provisions of these soldiers who patrol the zone almost a month after the apprehension order against Subcomandante Marcos and other EZLN leaders was suspended.

You get to Loma Bonita only by airplane, after a 35 minute flight from Comitán. *Proceso* visited the zone, traveling by river

as well in order to confirm the military presence here as well as in Ixcán.

Eight soldiers, some with badges from the 73rd Infantry Battalion, are responsible for caring for the camp while two groups of 30 "comb the jungle" in search of the rebel group.

Reluctant to talk, the soldiers say they don't know what they're looking for or how long they will remain in the area. They acknowledge that their patrols were not as frequent before the conflict with the EZLN.

The group they say, is made up of people from different battalions all over the country, so even among themselves they barely know one another. They prefer not to say where they're from, but state that Commander Eric Romero Gutierrez belongs to the 80th Battalions based in Villahermosa, Tabasco.

When the reporters visit on the 5th of April the first captain could not be found. According to his subordinates, he was coordinating maneuvers near the Guatemalan border.

Strangely, the soldiers allowed pictures to be taken of the camp and exchanged conversation for a few minutes. They talked about the scarcity of food and the destructive power of their weapons.

Without identifying themselves, they said that 20 days before, they had supplied them with food by air, but now it was finished. They acknowledge that it is unusual to carry a shotgun but "it serves to kill several people with one shot at a short distance."

According to them, their presence did not cause fear or discomfort in the communities where they camped. The civilians interviewed differed.

Santos Jamangape, a Zoque who came to live here in 1983 is discontented. He says the military arrived in the towns and asked no one's permission. In Loma Bonita, they camped in a pasture on his property and "destroyed the fencing, causing the animals to run and damage the crops of the other compañeros. It is not good that they jeopardize us like that, because now, even though it's not my fault the other ejido owners are charging me for the damages the soldiers caused."

Like others in the jungle, he wants to complain to the authorities in Ocosingo to see if "the Army will pay for damages." He assures us that he went to the soldiers to complain, but they ignored him and told him they did not know when they would leave, "it could be days or months." Other residents, amidst laughter, claim they've exacted vengeance by beating the soldiers in a soccer game by 3 to 1.

It is the same in Boca de Chajul, where the army has been camped for more than fifteen days. The ejidatarios complain about the destruction of some crops. But the bulk of the troops are found at the extreme end of the Ecological Reserve of Montes Azules, control-

ling the major entries to the Lacandon Jungle, in the gullies of Ocosingo and Altamirano.

The largest camps, who have more than 1,000 members each are in La Soledad, La Garrucha and San Caralampio, where they can arrive by dirt road from Ocosingo. Others, according to Conpaz, are found in San Agustín, La Fortuna, El Zapotal, Patihuitz, Santa Elena, la Estrella, Bellavista and Amatitlán, in the same municipality of Ocosingo.

In the Tojolabal gully the principal group is found in Aguascalientes, outside Guadalupe Tepeyac. From there they control through permanent patrols, the ejidos of Gabino Vazquez, Nuevo Momon, Vicente Guerrero, Cruz del Rosario, Guadalupe Tepeyac—where they live in some houses—San José del Río, La Realidad, Santa Rosa Copan and San Quintín, where another group is found.

In all these communities, it is common to see columns of soldiers in the mountains. When reporters are present, the soldiers hide.

Access to Aguascalientes, where last August 8th of 1994 the first session of the Democratic National Convention was held. It is off limits to civilians, even those that have constitutional authority like federal deputies.

But the military operation is not limited to the jungle. In Los Altos, positions are maintained in the towns of Chanal and San Andrés Larrainzar.

In the first town they are camped in the neighborhoods of Pamal Aquil, La Montana and Barrio Bajo, using the bilingual school Benito Juárez for their sports activities. Defying presidential orders, here the military impedes the free transit of civilians, they ask for identification and prohibit photographs. It is common to see armed soldiers carrying out patrols which seem ordinary in the town. The same happens in San Andrés Larrainzar, where the photographer for *Proceso*, Martín Salas, caught a soldier showing a group of tzotzil children how to march. In all these places, the military has fortified itself with trenches and are supported by tanks and armored vehicles.

ARMY AGGRESSION

According to reports made by national and international observers, the Mexican Army continues to violate the human rights of civilians.

Presented by Conpaz, the 11 page document details the existence of military checkpoints even after the presidential decision to remove them; it denounces the ransacking of homes, and arbitrary detentions of farmers accused of being Zapatistas.

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20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Definitions and Descriptions

WHITE SUPREMACY: White supremacy is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent; for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power and privilege.

WHITE: (as in "white people") The term white, referring to people, was created by Virginia slave owners and colonial rulers in the 17th century. It replaced terms like "Christian" and "Englishman" to distinguish European colonists from Africans and indigenous peoples. European colonial powers established "white" as a legal concept after Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 during which indentured servants of European and African descent had united against the colonial elite. The legal distinction of white separated the servant class on the basis of skin color and continental origin.

"The creation of 'white' meant giving privileges to some, while denying them to others with the justification of biological and social inferiority."

(Margo Adair & Sharon Powell. *The Subjective Side of Politics*. SF: 1988. p.17.)

WHITE PRIVILEGE: A privilege is a right, favor, advantage, immunity, specially granted to one individual or group, and *withheld from another*. (Websters. *Italics mine*.)

White privilege is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of:

(1) Preferential prejudice for and treatment of white people based solely on their skin color and/or ancestral origin from Europe; and (2) Exemption from racial and/or national oppression based on skin color and/or ancestral origin from Africa, Asia, the Americas and the Arab world.

U.S. institutions and culture (economic, legal, military, political, educational, entertainment, familial and religious) privilege peoples from Europe over peoples from the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Arab world. In a white supremacy system, white privilege and racial oppression are two sides of the same coin. "White peoples were exempt from slavery, land grab and genocide, the first forms of white privilege" (in the future US).- (Virginia Harris and Trinity Ordonez, *developing Unity among Women of Color: Crossing the barriers of Internalized Racism and Cross Racial hostility*, SF: in *making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras*, edited by Gloria Anzaldua. Aunt Lute Press, 1990. p. 310)

RACE: Race is an arbitrary socio-biological category created by Europeans (white men) in the 15th century and used to assign human worth and social status with themselves as the model of humanity, with the purpose of establishing white skin access to sources of power. (Maulauna Karenga)

PREJUDICE: A prejudice is a *prejudgment* in favor of or against a person, a group, an event, an idea, or a thing. An action based on prejudgment is *discrimination*. A negative prejudgment is often called a *stereotype*. An action based on a stereotype is called bigotry. (What distinguishes this group of terms from all the others on these two pages is that there is *no power relationship* necessarily implied or expressed by "prejudice", "discrimination", "stereotype" or "bigotry.")

POWER:

(Power is a relational term. It can only be understood as a relationship between human beings in a specific historical, economic and social setting. It must be exercised to be visible.)

1. Power is control of, or access to, those institutions sanctioned by the state.

(Definition by Barbara Major of People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, New Orleans)

2. Power is the ability to define reality and to convince other people that it is their definition. (Definition by Dr. Wade Nobles)

3. Power is ownership and control of the major resources of a state; and the capacity to make and enforce decisions based on this ownership and control; and (Alternative definition to #1)

4. Power (relatively speaking) is access to those individuals, social groups, class and institutions which own and control the resources of the state. (Alternative definition to #1)

5. Power is the capacity of a group of people to decide what they want and act in an organized way to get it.

6. (In terms of an individual), power is the *capacity to act*.



May 1995

US GOVERNMENT CONTINUES ITS ATTACKS ON LA RAZA: WE MUST ORGANIZE IN OUR OWN DEFENSE

The 1990's have seen the Chicano Mexican community throughout Aztlán/Occupied Mexico come under the worst repression and attacks in our history. This has culminated in Proposition 187 in California (which denies our gente education and vital services in our own land), the Clinton Crime Bill (which promises more prisons to lock our gente up and more police to beat, harass, arrest, and kill us), a militarized border which cuts our patria in half, and countless initiatives in Congress to take away every human right we have (ie. cutting bilingual education, denying citizenship to children born of undocumented parents, and other repressive measures). These racist measures are supported by both Democrats and Republicans and are intended to maintain us as second-class citizens on our own land and to prevent us from organizing to change our conditions.

This repression comes at a time when the Chicano Mexican community finds itself in the worst economic conditions in our history also. The reality is that conditions are much worse than they were at the height of the Chicano Power Movement 25 years ago. Our unemployment is 3 times that of the Anglo and skyrocketing. Our youth are pushed out of school at a rate of 50% and straight into the unemployment lines and the prison system. We lack adequate housing, healthcare, and vital social services and those we still have are being slashed by Clinton, Gingrich, Wilson, and company. These are the conditions we find ourselves in in the 1990's.

In the face of these terrible conditions and this repression, we notice that Mexican bashing has become the favorite pastime of politicians in both the Democratic and Republican parties. This is something they have done to explain away the faults of their corrupt, inhuman system since they stole over half of Mexican National territory following the illegal Mexican-American War of

1846-1848. Our history has been marred with attacks by white vigilantes eager to protect the stolen land they benefit from, campaigns to make our gente look like "immigrants" that were taking something away from the Anglo colonizer, and "deportations" from our own land.

In 1995, these attacks have reached a fever pitch. We can't turn on any news station or read any paper without running into the same

theme: Mexicans are to blame for every problem on the face of the earth. We are led to believe that by being on our own land, we are taking something that belongs to someone else. They tell us that there is a difference between those of us born north of la Frontera Falsa and those born south of it. They say that measures like Proposition 187 and Operations Gatekeeper and Blockade are there to defend the law and that we need more police in our barrios to stop the spread of drugs and gangs.

THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM IS NO SOLUTION TO OUR OPPRESSION

In the midst of all these attacks, we are told to work within the system. The "hispanic" assimilationist, sold out sector of our community tells us that the Democratic Party is the answer. They tell us that if we just become citizens and register to vote and put Democrats in office, this repression will stop. These sellouts would have us believe that our well being as a people depends on which of the two-party system wins and not on building our own power.

The National Chicano Moratorium Committee knows this is a lie. The Democratic Party has historically been just as racist and oppressive as the Republicans. We can see this with Clinton's support of the death penalty and his Crime Bill to repress Africans and Chicano Mexicanos and the militarization of the border he has ordered. Clinton, Feinstein, Boxer, Brown, and other leading Democrats have consistently bashed our people and attempted to blame us for every problem the US has, just as the Republicans have.

Why then do our so-called leaders try to convince us to vote for the Democrats? The fact is that they are tied in to the Democrats and their jobs depend on how many votes they turn out. By getting us to vote their way, their agency gets more funding and they may get some special favor. We are led down a dead end just so some poverty pimp can line his/her pockets.

We must see through this farce. The best proof is that in 3 years of Clinton, conditions have gotten noticeably worse and more repressive for our people. Now more than ever our community is under seige. We must also remember that repressive, exploitive measures like the Bracero Program and Operation Wetback as well as the massive militarization of the Border in

the late 1970s came at the hands of Democratic presidents. We must also remember that California politicians like Diane Feinstein, Barbara Boxer,

and Kathleen Brown (all Democrats) had the militarization of the border as the cornerstone of their platforms. These racist opportunists who were honored by every vendido organization in Aztlán/Occupied Mexico at one time or another said such things as: "America can no longer be Mexico's Welfare Department" and nothing was heard from our so-called leaders. It was not until Wilson's attacks on la Raza that these cowards came out from hiding and declared that the struggle was to defeat Wilson.

We must be clear. There is an effort to attack our community led by both parties. They are deathly afraid of us gaining our own power in our own land. They may go about it differently, but both parties defend colonialism, the system that stole our land and has attempted to make us bow down or outright kill us for 500 years. The only way to change things is to build our own power and confront the system head on.

We are often told that this is unrealistic. They tell us that we must be patient. We say that sitting back and waiting for the system to give out justice is the most unrealistic thing of all. The only way our gente (or any other people on the planet) have ever gained anything is through uncompromising struggle. Our hope for our self-determination lies within ourselves and not in joining one of the corrupt parties that defends US colonialism. We don't need to keep tio taco leaders living well at our expense. Voting may be a tool to use strategically in certain cases, but it is not the only form of struggle and we must use any and every means available and necessary to achieve our liberation.

With this in mind, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee makes the call to all those committed Raza who want to really make a difference to join us and work to form a region and mobilize Raza around the struggle in defense of the Chicano Mexican community and for our self-determination. We understand that we are not immigrants but are the original people of this continent. If you feel this way and want to really make a difference and contribute to Chicano Mexican self-determination, join us and

DEPORT THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM!

¡QUE VIVA LA RAZA!

¡TIERRA Y LIBERTAD!

¡MEXICA TIAHUI!

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The NCMC is united under the principles of independence from government funding or control and for Chicano Mexican self-determination and the following program/demands:

- Full employment with union jobs and wages for all
- Quality education for all our children
- Affordable health care for our families
- Decent, affordable housing for all
- Community control of the police and sheriffs
- Abolishment of the racist Border Patrol
- De-militarization of the Mexico/U.S. border
- End drug-trafficking in our Barrios
- End Barrio Violence
- U.S. out of Latin America!

The National Chicano Moratorium Committee has regions in El Paso, Fresno, Los Angeles, Orange County, Riverside, San Diego and San José.

If you have an independent Raza publication,
or if you are interested in creating one,
join the Chicano Press Association

National Chicano Moratorium Committee Regions:

El Paso, TX: (915) 587-6801
Fresno, CA: (209) 734-9350
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Orange County, CA: (714) 285-9453
Riverside, CA: (909) 882-4422
San Diego, CA: (619) 280-8361
San José, CA: (408) 223-0938

NCMC CONTINUES BUILDUP FOR THE 25TH COMMEMORATION

The National Chicano Moratorium Committee continues our efforts toward building the 25th Commemoration of the National Chicano Moratorium of 1970. Efforts to organize contingents, raise funds, and mobilize for this historic and crucial Marcha/Demonstration are right now taking place throughout Aztlán/Occupied Mexico.

The 25th Commemoration represents a gathering of Raza on both sides of la Frontera Falsa around a liberation agenda. In contrast to many of the liberal, mainstream, social service efforts recently to defend the "rights of immigrants," and make our gente citizens and register them to vote for the Democratic Party-this marcha is committed to rallying our gente around a campaign to fight back. We recognize that this is our land and that we were here long before the gringos who want to "deport" us. We understand that the "two-party" system is a farce to disguise the colonialism we have been victims of for 502 years and that no amount of becoming "citizens" will save us (if being a citizen brings immediate empowerment, how does anyone explain the terrible conditions other indigenous people-on and off reservations, Puerto

Ricans, Africans are forced to live under on this stolen land?).

The only way we will roll back these attacks is to build our own power. This means making accountable to our community the social, political, cultural, educational, and economic institutions in our barrios. This means building our own institutions to serve our gente and rally them to our struggle. This means bringing together all independent forces struggling in defense of our gente all over Aztlán/Occupied Mexico around a program of struggle. This means supporting and working shoulder to shoulder with organizations struggling for our gente's liberation south of la Frontera Falsa like the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional and other independent student, worker, campesino, human rights organizations. It means agitation all of our gente-with or without the "immigration documents" of this colonizer government to resist by any means necessary the war on la Raza. This is the goal of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee.

It is in this context that the 25th Commemoration takes on a much greater meaning than nostalgia. We must take the heroic example of those who marched, struggled, fought, and died on

August 29, 1970 and take up their banner of liberation and self-determination. The Chicano Mexican Liberation Movement of today must continue the struggle and take on the task of organizing la Raza to defend itself. For this task, we need to build a strong, independent, broad, militant, national Chicano Mexican Movimiento. This national action in East Los Angeles is part of this greater task that the NCMC has taken on and worked towards throughout our nearly 6 years of existence.

It is for this reason that we are calling for massive mobilizations to East LA on August 26. If you are committed to building Chicano Power over our own lives and resources in our own land, march with us on August 26. If you are tired of the US government campaign to take away every human right we have, to imprison, kill, exploit, and deport us from land we have lived on for thousands of years, come to East Los Angeles on August 26. If you want to make a difference, join us in this historic marcha and in the building of a Movimiento that can really defend our gente and fight back. Todos al Este de Los Angeles..

Join the:

CHICANO PRESS ASSOCIATION

**Next Meeting
June 3, 1995
UC San Diego
Cross Cultural Center
2pm**

**If you are an independent progressive Raza publication,
or if you are interested in creating one for your
community or organization, come to this meeting.**

Help Consolidate the Raza Liberation Press

Join the C.P.A.

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Chicano Press Association

JOIN THE FIGHTBACK!

¡YA BASTA!

MARCH IN THE 25TH COMMEMORATION OF THE AUGUST 29TH 1970 CHICANO MORATORIUM



WE DEMAND:

- Union Jobs With Decent Salaries for All;
- Quality, Relevant Education for Our Children, Including Chicano Studies at All Levels;
- Decent Affordable Housing for All;
- Community Control Over the Police and Sheriffs;
- The Abolition of the Racist Border Patrol/Migra;
- The Immediate Demilitarization of the Mexico/ U.S. Border;
- An End to the Importation of Drugs Into Our Communities and Barrios;
- An End to Barrio Violence;
- An End to U. S. Intervention in Mexico and Latin America;
- The Immediate Cancellation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA);
- An End to the Exploitation of Raza Workers;
- An End to the Destruction of Our Environment;
- Social Justice and True Democracy in Mexico!

**AUGUST 26TH 1995
EAST LOS ANGELES, CALIFAS
BELVEDERE PARK TO SALAZAR PARK**

THOUSANDS OF RAZA WILL MARCH FOR POWER AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The 25th commemoration is being organized under the theme "¡YA BASTA!": to our victimization, the division of our people by a false border and the questioning of our right to residency in our homeland, and to a gringo settler system which must- at all costs- keep us ignorant, divided, powerless and exploitable. If you also believe that enough is enough, then join us in mobilizing for the 25th commemoration and in the building of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee.

For more information, call: Los Angeles-213/261-2286, 818/579-1723 or San Diego-619/280-8361, or write to the L.A. Moratorium Committee, P.O. Box 63215, Los Angeles, CA 90063 or the Raza Rights Coalition, P.O. Box 1842, San Diego, CA 92112

Organized by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee

Descriptions of Oppression

RACISM: Racism is race prejudice plus power. (*Definition. by People's Institute. I use 'white supremacy' as a synonym for 'racism.'*)

INTERNALIZED RACISM:

- (1) The poison of racism seeping into the psyches of people of color, until people of color believe about themselves what whites believe about them—that they are inferior to whites;
- (2) The behavior of one person of color toward another that stems from this psychic poisoning. Often called “inter-racial hostility;” and (3) The acceptance by persons of color of Eurocentric values. (*See Harris and Ordonez, op. cit. pp. 304-316.*)

REVERSE RACISM: A term created and used by white people to deny their white privilege. Those in denial use the term “reverse racism” to refer to hostile behavior by people of color toward whites, and to affirmative action policies which allegedly give ‘preferential treatment’ to people of color over whites. In the U.S., there is no such thing as “reverse racism.”

A RACIST: A racist is one who is *both privileged and socialized* on the basis of race by a white supremacist (racist) system. The term applies to all white people (i.e., people of European descent) living in the United States, regardless of class, gender, religion, culture or sexuality.

By this definition, people of color cannot be racists, because as peoples within the U.S. system, they do not have the power to back up their prejudices, hostilities or acts of discrimination. (This does not deny the existence of such prejudices, hostilities, acts of rage or discrimination.)

A NON-RACIST: a non-term. The term was created by whites to deny responsibility for systemic racism, to maintain an aura of innocence in the face of racial oppression, and to shift responsibility for that oppression from whites to people of color (called “blaming the victim”).

Responsibility for perpetuating and legitimizing a racist system rests both on those who actively maintain it, and on those who refuse to challenge it. *Silence is consent.*

AN ANTI-RACIST: (As applied to white people), an anti-racist is a person who makes a conscious choice to *act to* challenge some aspect of the white supremacy system: including her/his own white privilege, as well as some form of oppression against people of color.

(As applied to people of color), some use the term anti-racist. Others use synonyms such as freedom fighter, activist, warrior, liberation fighter, political prisoner, prisoner of war, sister, brother, etc. In practice, it is difficult for an activist of color not to be an anti-racist activist, since the struggle against racial oppression intersects with every issue affecting people of color.

OPPRESSOR, OPPRESSED, OPPRESSION: An oppressor is one who uses her/his power to dominate another, or who refuses to use her/his power to challenge that domination. An oppressed is one who is dominated by an oppressor, and by those who consent with their silence. Oppression is the power and the effects of domination. In the U.S., there are many forms of (often) interlocking oppressions: racism, sexism, heterosexism, anti-semitism, ablism, ageism, etc.

In a white supremacist, capitalist, male supremacist, and heterosexist system, all non-ruling class whites are in some way *oppressed* by that system, but we are *also privileged* by it. When we organize against *our own oppression*, but not against our privilege—that is, against the oppression of people of color, we become oppressors of people of color. Inaction is complicity. Silence is consent. To cease being oppressors, we must act against *oppression*. (See “The Strategy of the Slave Owners.”)

Definitions by Sharon Martinas

Third Revision September 1994

For more information contact:
S.P.E.A.K.: Students Promoting Equality through Action and Knowledge
Meetings are Mondays, 6:30PM. at the Cross Cultural Center

The So-called Republican Party's "Contract With America" is Nothing But A Contract "On" Mexicans and Africans

Join Us in Organizing a Massive Demonstration Against the National Republican Convention!

(Reprinted from ¡La Verdad! Jan-Mar 1995)

In August of 1996, a large gathering of the most racist/fascist European settlers will take place in San Diego, Ca. The objective of this gathering is to consolidate and develop a program which will further erode the democratic rights of the majority of the people in occupied America (United States) and hold steady the present U.S. socio-political policy leading to the genocide and deportation of the Mexican, African, and other oppressed people. This gathering, known as the Republican National Convention, will also provide us, the oppressed and colonized people as targets of the white settlers, with an opportunity to confront our oppressors and expose to the world the genocidal and fascist plans of this white-illegal settler population presently occupying Mexican Indigenous lands.

At a meeting of the Raza Rights Coalition (RRC), a formation of individuals and organizations active in the San Diego area, held on Jan. 4, 1995, a decision was made to initiate plans for a large counter demonstration and National Raza Self-Determination Convention to be held at the same time the right-wing racists are convening in San Diego. After much discussion, a tentative plan of action to begin work against the Republican Settler Convention was set into motion.

The nature and objectives of the counter demonstration and Raza National Convention were summed-up as the following:

1. To oppose the holding of the convention in San Diego as the Republican Party, as well as the Democratic Party, have historically been proven to be enemies and oppressors of our people.

2. To organize a series of significant (in size and in political content) demonstrations during the week of the Republican Convention, to culminate with one mass march. This as a means of enlightening the world as to the critical issues facing Raza within the current borders of the United States.

3. To utilize the work going into mobilizing for the anti-Republican convention to further build the Chicano Mexican Movement for Self-determination and strengthen the unity between progressive and liberation-oriented Raza organizations by staging a "National Raza

Self-Determination Convention" to be held during the same time the Republican Party pigs are meeting in San Diego.

During the Jan. 4th junta, the importance of organizing this demonstration was outlined as follows:

"As thousands of Republicans would be present at the convention and given that most of them are racist right-wingers who openly oppose anything that would be of benefit to the well being of our community, and considering that they are the main forces behind legislation, policies, and actions that are detrimental to our civil and human rights, and indeed, our right to life itself (as the right-wing plans of GOP pigs such as Wilson, Gingrich, Helms, Buchanan, etc. are genocidal, pure and simple) and that the event would be covered in detail by national and world-wide media, a massive and powerful demonstration by Raza will:

1) provide us with the opportunity to expose to the world our situation as an oppressed community and demand our right to self-determination - as well as the hypocrisy of the U.S. which portrays itself to the world as a democratic and peaceful nation;

2) allow us to educate our community and other people as to the burning issues facing our people (Prop. 187, the California Civil Rights Initiative, the Crime Bill, Three Strikes, general racism, etc.);

3) enable us to directly confront and give a segment of the U.S. ruling class (who are directly responsible for our oppression) a "righteous revolutionary welcome" they will never forget;

4) provide our movement with the opportunity to gather and unite under a progressive platform, creating a sort of "rallying point for unity".

NEWT GINGRICH IS A PINK FACED WIMP FROM GEORGIA

Those attending the RRC junta understand that the so-called "Contract With America" being pushed by House Speaker Newt Gingrich - a southern pink faced wimp congressman from Georgia - and supported by most gringos in the United States, is nothing but a "Contract On Mexicans and Africans" with provisions to take away all our democratic and human rights, and destroy any political progress our people have made within the last 30 or so years. These forces are calling for an end to affirmative action, the destruction of bilingual education, cut backs on all educational and

social services, the placing of more pigs on the streets and more prisons to bust and lock-up our gente, massive deportations of Raza (Mexicanos and Centro Americanos) - all which in essence represent the genocide of Mexicans and Africans and the ethnic cleansing of the so-called United States.

THERE IS AN URGENCY OF OUR LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION AND PROVIDE LEADERSHIP AROUND THIS PARTICULAR EVENT

As further discussed by the RRC membership, it was noted that many groups, some positive and some negative (liberals, Democratic Party pimps, pro-choice, gay/lesbian, environmentalists-radical ecologists, animal rights advocates, phony leftists, hispanic vendidos, etc.), will all be vying for the attention of the media or for leadership of the "progressive" forces who will come down to San Diego because they are honestly opposed the racist-right wing Republicans. It is therefore important that Raza get our act together (unify under a solid pro-self-determination line) and insure that our voice is heard during the week the pigs will be in San Diego. It was also recognized that some of these groups are openly and actively anti-Mexicano self-determination (such as the Revolutionary Communist Party/RCP, Freedom Road-SON, the Democratic Party, etc.) and will therefore attempt to suppress or liquidate any "pro-liberation" stance taken by Raza. Moreover, if our positions and concerns are to be heard in a clearly defined and articulated fashion, and not be muddled or diluted with the issues of animal rights or save the whales, or pushed along side gay/lesbian rights, it is of extreme importance that we begin, immediately, to hammer out our position on the issues that we want to raise during the Republican Convention. The vicious attack by white America against La Raza demands that we no longer take a passive approach to struggle and that we intensify the militancy of our people. The anti-GOP manifestation will enable our movement to raise the national and revolutionary consciousness of our gente, a factor needed in order to organize and win our liberation.

As to possible actions that can be organized during the week of the Republican Convention, three key suggestions were agreed upon as proposals to be forwarded to other Movimiento forces. One, a massive march from Chicano Park to the San Diego City Convention Center (where the GOP convention will be held). Two, that as part of a tactical plan of action to keep the "heat" on the racist GOP, pickets and rallies should be held each day of week that the Republicans will be in town and that these demonstrations should be held at "key sites" (hotels, tourist attractions, federal buildings, convention headquarters) - or wherever the 10,000 Republicans expected to be in town for the convention are to found. And three, that a national conference of representatives from the various Raza organizations involved in self-determination politics be held with the objective improving the communication and unity of action between the different movement forces.

OUR MOVEMENT MUST CONCENTRATE THE RIGHTEOUS ANGER OF OUR GENTE INTO A FORCE THAT FURTHERS LA CAUSA DEL PUEBLO MEXICANO

The holding of a National

Raza Self-Determination Convention would be a brilliant strategic move as it would concentrate the righteous anger created by the racist right-wingers, specifically to organize and further advance our struggle. Since there will be thousands of Raza from throughout Aztlán and other parts of occupied America, a convention of movement activists is a logical conclusion to a week of struggle. It is necessary to have a process that will ensure a quality and representative convention of Raza activists. The organizing committee would look into ways of effectively organizing the convention; for example, organizations who support the demands and principles of unity of the convention would be invited to attend, each organization would pre-register for the conference and would have delegates for participation. Only delegates would have a voice and vote. The program for the convention itself would be developed by the organizing committee, taking into account the various political ten-

dencies presently found within the Movimiento: indigenous traditionalism or cultural nationalists, progressive nationalists, and revolutionary nationalist or socialist oriented Mexican organizations. (For a description of these tendencies, read ¡La Verdad! July-Sept. 1994). Obviously no vendidos, Democratic Party puppets, or hispanic-vendidos will be allowed. **WE MUST TAKE A PRINCIPLED STAND ON THE SIDE OF OF OUR GENTE - AL RATO CON LOS VENDIDOS**

It was decided that an inclusive and "broad list of demands" be the political basis for the unity of all Raza attending both the Marcha and National Raza Self-Determination Conference. As part of this inclusive, but principled stance, the following demands will be proposed by the RRC:

- Rescind Prop. 187!
- Rescind All English Only Laws!

Cont on pg 14

NATIONAL RAZA MARCH AGAINST The Republican National Convention

AUGUST 1996

SAN DIEGO, CALIFAS

Join Us In The Struggle Against Racism and In Defense of La Raza

Demands:

- Rescind Proposition 187!
- Rescind All "English Only" Laws!
- Annul the Clinton Crime Bill!
- No Social or Education Cut Backs!
- Abolish the INS/Border Patrol!
- Demolish the Border!
- Annul NAFTA! U.S. Out of México!
- Impeach Pete Wilson!

A National Raza Unity Convention will be held after the march

Endorsed by:

- Brown Berets de Aztlán • Voz Fronteriza • La Raza Unida Party • Unión del Barrio (San Diego, El Paso, Los Angeles, Riverside and San José) • Mexicanos Unidos En Defensa Del Pueblo • M.E.Ch.A. S.D. Mesa College • Raza Rights Coalition • Convención Nacional Democratica (CND-San Diego) • National Chicano Moratorium Committee

For more information call: (619) 280-8361

¡El Pueblo Unido, Jamas Será Vencido!

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

EUROPEAN MEDICS AND RELIGIOUS VISITORS ALARMED BY THE "LOW-INTENSITY WAR" THEY SAW IN CHIAPAS, THEY HURRY TO INCREASE THEIR AID

by Anne Marie Mergier
(Reprinted from *Proceso* 963, April 17, 1995,
translated by Cecilia Rodriguez, NCDM)

Alarmed by the consequences of the strong military presence over the population in Chiapas, humanitarian and non-governmental organizations from Europe decided to send observation missions to that region of the Mexican Southeast. Prominent leaders of the major European churches visited as well.

Some of these missions have barely returned from Mexico. Their analysis concurs; if things remain the same, thousands of indigenous people are condemned to death by starvation or illness. Their conclusions concur as well: immediate action, in strong coordination with Mexican civil society in order to avoid this tragedy.

If indeed, all pursue the same goal, their methods of action are different. Some humanitarian aid organizations such as Doctors of the World, will send medical or paramedic personnel to organize civilian camps for peace. Human rights or religious organizations such as the CIMADE and the Federation of Evangelical Churches in Sweden, plan to reinforce their solidarity campaign with Bishop Samuel Ruiz, whom they consider to be a key element for peace in Chiapas. They also plan to carry out an international campaign to denounce the "low-intensity warfare strategy" applied by the Mexican army.

They consider it urgent that European society understand that while the Mexican government speaks of negotiations "the military seeds confusion, division, and terror, with perverse methods within the indigenous population."

Impacted by the mobilization of Mexican civil society they decided to support their effort to create civilian peace camps. Their objective; to channel "peace brigades" from Europe willing to stay 10 days in those camps.

PEACE BRIGADES

Maite Albagly of CIMADE and the Dominican priest Maurice Barth, participated in a European ecumenical mission which was in Mexico City and Chiapas between March 25th and April 5th. Other participants were Philip Anderson of the Lutheran Evangelical Church of the United States and representative of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Elisabeth Baumlin, head of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in Switzerland, Father Patrick Davies, General Subsecretary of the Episcopal Conference of England and Wales, and Bishop Dr. Heinz Joachim Held, of the Evangelical Church of Germany, Father Dr. Roland Bernhard Trauffer, Secretary General of the Episcopal Conference of Switzerland.

In a week's time they visited Ocosingo, la Garrucha, Patihuitz, El Prado. They were impacted by the strong military presence in the area. They visited Altamirano where they confirmed that the nuns there continued to work in very difficult conditions and under enormous pressure. They found Morelia practically deserted, and San Cristobal, San Juan Chamula, Zinacantan and Tenejapa where they found things relatively tranquil. Maite Albagly visited Chamula, Quejemapa, San Andres and Chenahlo.

"The European Churches took the initiative in sending this mission to Chiapas because they are very concerned about the pressures which Monsignor Samuel Ruiz continues to suffer. We know that his physical integrity is in danger. We wanted to express our total and unwavering support, said

Maite Albagly. For us, Don Samuel is a key element for peace. We are convinced that without his presence, his mediation, his evangelical work, there would be much more blood in Chiapas. Our conversations with him and our visit to Chiapas reinforced our convictions. Three of us expressed this to Monsignor Priggione during the interview we had with him in Mexico. and it is what we repeated to John Paul the II in our report to the Vatican." WHAT WERE YOUR IMPRESSIONS DURING YOUR VISIT?

"We understand that the conflict in Chiapas is not just a war between the EZLN and the Mexican Army, but a confrontation of civil society with anti-democracy forces in the country. We confirmed a resurgence of the organization of civil society in each town we visited and through our contacts with CONAI, the Fray Bartolome de las Casas Center and Conpaz. It was, we say, a reassuring and positive element. What was most troublesome was the military presence in the zones we visited. That presence far surpassed our worst fears."

Maite Albagly cited the case of San Andres, in the Chamula municipality.

"That town is being held hostage by the Mexican Army," she commented indignantly. "The government made believe they would move their troops to facilitate the dialogue. That was completely false. They totally surround the towns. In San Andres one can see attempts to create conflicts between Catholics and Protestants by the authorities. In other towns, the different participants of our mission noted a clear strategy for division between indigenous communities fomented by civil and military authorities. Add to this the acts of vandalism perpetrated against the homes, huts, belongings, instruments of farm labor, destruction of water mains, seeds, of their sparse reserves of food, of their animals, and precarious health centers. I saw water wells being used as toilets by the soldiers all of that is incredibly perverse and within a clear strategy of a dirty or low intensity war. All of this reminds us of the methods used in Central America and it appears most dangerous to us. Our goal now is to denounce this double talk of the Mexican authorities. On the one hand, they dia-

logue with the Zapatistas, on the other, in a treacherous, underground manner they surround thousands of indigenous people so they will die of hunger and illness, fight among themselves, or become totally dependent upon them in order to survive."

Albagly emphasizes, "We do not want to limit ourselves to denouncing what is occurring in Chiapas. We want to be even more concrete. In France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and Great Britain (countries of origin for members of our mission) we want to present the situation to our own governments and channel them towards the civil camps for peace those members of NGO's who do not wish to remain with their arms crossed before this dirty war."

Interviewed by telephone in Berne, Switzerland, Elisabeth Baumlin, another member of the mission shared Albagly's concerns. Baumlin narrates her vision to Nuncio Priggione.

"We did not have many illusions, knowing the attitude of Monsignor Priggione towards Samuel Ruiz. But we did not expect to be treated so discourteously by the Nuncio. We had with us representatives of the World Council of Churches and a German Bishop. We waited 50 minutes for him in his sumptuous home. When he arrived at last, he said nothing about his tardiness, he was very arrogant. We explained the purpose of our mission, and our observations, as well as our plans. We emphasized our conviction about the key role of Don Samuel in order for there to be peace in Chiapas. He seemed like a marble statue. He did not blink. We insisted upon our solidarity with Don Samuel. He did not move. Then he talked about the ancestral misery of Chiapas, that all the world was aware of the problem, that it was difficult to resolve them, that steps had been taken, etcetera, about Don Samuel, nothing. Later he excused himself."

The organization Medics of the World follows the situation in Chiapas closely. Since last year they have a permanent mission in San Carlos Hospital in Altamirano, which works with the nuns who have been threatened and pressured by the civilian and military authorities there. After the military offensive of February 9th, Doctors of the

World sent another mission, on an emergency basis. All the doctors confirmed the terrible degradation of the already precarious life and health conditions of the towns affected by the conflict.

The pediatrician Jean Carles explained "During my stay in Chiapas I personally saw numerous homes destroyed, seeds scattered, water mains cut, dead animals, and farm labor implements destroyed. Some towns are deserted like Morelia. In others people had returned to terrible conditions. They seem discouraged and fearful. All the people I saw are afraid. The Mexican Army has surrounded the towns. There are camouflaged tanks. All this terrifies the indigenous people."

Luz Argomeda, a psychiatrist said "Those who return to their villages clearly suffer enormous stress. I did not spend enough time in Chiapas to immerse myself in certain clinical cases. I saw two cases of psychosomatic illnesses, I know there are many more, many people suffer at the mercy of such terrible tensions."

Jean Carles says "We are talking about people we were able to see. Those who returned to their towns. I don't want to imagine what is happening in the mountains, where thousands of refugees are attempting to live, and who unfortunately we were unable to reach. In some towns the men fear going to work because they do not want to leave their wives and children at the mercy of the Army. In other towns they are unable to go to work because the soldiers have destroyed their tools. What does this mean? Starvation."

WHAT OTHER HEALTH PROBLEMS DID YOU DETECT AS DOCTORS?

Jean Carles answers "A general degradation of conditions which are already minimal. A great deal of malnutrition. In April and May of 1994 it was confirmed that 80% of the population suffered from some degree of malnutrition. Now based upon preliminary observations, we are afraid this same population will suffer even more malnutrition. Weight loss, anemia, diarrheas, respiratory illnesses, tuberculosis, malaria, dermatitis, measles...all these illnesses already existed, but it has gotten

Cont on pg 14

New book on the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional From La Verdad Publications, a Project of Unión del Barrio

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20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Luis A. Santiago

DEATH OF A MIGRA PIG

by El Chingaso

On Tuesday March 28, Migra pig Luis A. Santiago fell to his death chasing his own Raza, along la frontera falsa. Hundreds of Migra pigs, including leading INS pig Doris Meissner and the biggest pig in the nation Janet Reno, attended his funeral. The local news media even made a big deal about the death of this traitor in numerous stories, especially the Anti-Mexicano paper the San Diego Union-Tribune, which ran a front page story.

We're glad this pig died, he deserved to die. All Migra pigs deserve death. This Migra chases our people, in our barrios, on our land, land that was stolen from the Mexicano people, and he is treated like a hero in the white communities. He is no hero to the Mexicano community, because the community knows the atrocities that are committed against us, in our neighborhoods and across la linea, across la frontera falsa.

We feel absolutely no remorse for this pig, for he is the worse kind of pig there is. This Luis A. Santiago, Migra pig, ex-military man, Puerto Rican born, chasing his own Raza. Chasing his own people instead of fighting for independence of Puerto Rico. We know where this pig comes from, we have a name for him, its called neo-colonialism or in a different term, Vendido, sellout.

We have no remorse for the sellouts who prey on their own people and then die chasing them. Death is everywhere in the Mexicano community, why should we care about one less neo-colonialist oppressor? As far as we care all of the Migra pigs should be killed, every single one. There are no good Migra agents, the only good one is a dead one.

But there are many Raza who wear the colors of the Migra. In reality these "Raza" are not really Raza, they are the enemy. They have chosen this way of life, and they revel in beating their own kind. Do not accept la Migra in your communities, defend yourselves Raza!

The Border Patrol is the most racist violent organization in all of the occupied territories. On an everyday basis Raza are harassed, beaten, humiliated and even killed by



racist Migra agents. The time for this to stop is now. The Mexicano community will no longer tolerate the Luis A. Santiago's of the world. The time to fight back is now. It is time to organize an anti-Migra patrol. A patrol that will follow la Migra. And if la Migra harasses or beats one of us, we will defend ourselves accordingly. For we only seek justice for our people.

We do not mourn the death of Santiago, instead we welcome it. We are glad he is dead, unfortunately there will always be another pig to step in his place. Yet it is to bad that more Migra pigs didn't die with him.
¡Migra Fuera de Aztlán!

The Brown Berets de Aztlán fight to liberate our land

By Michael Geck, Minister of Information, Brown Berets de Aztlán

For 28 years the Brown Berets have been fighting throughout Aztlán to liberate our lands and our people from the oppression that landed on our shores five centuries ago. We stand in armed self-defense for our Raza against those attacks committed by the Anglo-European political machine, and see ourselves taking part in the establishment of a revolutionary people's government that will empower those who presently have little or no power (the hardworking poor, our youth and students, our wise elders, la Chicana, the homeboys and homegirls, our disenfranchised indigenous brothers and sisters, and all peoples oppressed by colonialism/imperialism throughout the world). The Brown Berets de Aztlán have always been dedicated to serving the Chicano Mexicano community in any way possible. There are organizations who claim that they serve the community, some of them even look like Brown Berets, but when their work serves the pigs be sure that they are only wolves in sheeps clothing. These elements can only harm Raza in the end, and therefore should be considered enemies of the people.

We hold the so-called "peace" and military forces, and those who support them, responsible for: rampant police brutality in our streets; perpetuating gang violence and drug abuse; the cowardly and cold-hearted murders and beatings by migra mercenaries; the torturing and other attempts to exterminate Raza revolutionaries and their organizations throughout the Americas. The only way we can live in peace is to fight for the revolution that will uproot this evil in our land and amongst our people. As part of the revolution we are committed to continue with acts of liberation and self-determination such as: the community assisted liberation of Chicano Park; the opening of free health clinics throughout Aztlán; student walk-outs; the establishment of the Chicano Moratorium Committee; the protesting of racist laws, politicians, and their financial supporters; being a security force for Raza events, and their participants; keeping close contact with our comrades in the struggle, including the Zapatistas; participating in "gang" truces, being a civil rights representative for those... As the Zapatistas have shown us,

liberation is not only possible it is inevitable. It is with this spirit that the Brown Berets de Aztlán seek to unify our forces in Aztlán, in the hope of forming a united liberation front with the EZLN to abolish the "so-called" border between Aztlán and Mexico, and drive away our oppressors.

The odds that the colonizer will give us our land and control of resources peacefully are slim to none. Unless we prepare for armed struggle we will be kept at the level of servitude we find ourselves forced in today. It is obvious that the system will continue to outlaw rights for Chicano Mexicanos, that are readily available to its Anglo and sell-out participants, in an attempt to give some kind of legal justification for the denial of equal access to the social benefits of: education; health care; jobs; housing; an unpolluted environment... These new laws create a necessity for their enforcement, leaving us at the mercy of: three-strikes laws; Clinton's Crime bill; the billions of dollars to be spent on increasing the F.B.I.'s physical/electronic counterinsurgency methods; hundreds of new incarceration facilities; increased budgets for local pig forces; an increased I.N.S. budget... These and hundreds of other forces throughout our land are dedicated to making Raza the servants of the Anglo-European system of slavery known as capitalism. In the not so distant future the trend of our oppressor seems to want to make it illegal to be a Chicano Mexicano unless you are the



THOSE THAT COMMIT GENOCIDE DESERVE NOTHING LESS THAN THE FURY OF THE PEOPLE

by El Chingaso

With the serious human rights violations that continue in all of Chiapas and in the majority of México, by the Federal Army under the control of the Murderous Vendido PRI dictatorship, led by Ivy league U.S. trained puppet Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, it is time to call it for what it really is: GENOCIDE!

I accuse Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, the entire PRI hierarchy, the wealthy bourgeois land and business owners and the biggest imperialist government on the face of the planet, the so-called United States of Amerikkka, with Genocide. Since the European invasion of this land Genocide has been committed against the vast majority of the indigenous people that have lived here for millennia's. Genocide has been committed in the name of profits, it is time for the tide to be turned.

I charge the PRI and the U.S. government with the death of millions of indigenous people in this hemisphere. I charge these governments with every single crime that was ever committed in the name of profits: genocide, murder, theft, theft of indigenous lands, theft of natural resources, theft of labor, theft of the lives of millions of generations, rape, pillage, plunder, slaughter, torture, hunger, and every other conceivable genocidal act that has occurred while these governments have been in power and even before.

Our people know what pain is. Our people know who the culprits are and who is responsible. Justice will not escape the wrath of the people. For generations our people have waited for justice, for the chance to strike back at those that have killed and tortured us for so long. On January 1st, 1994 the time for justice swept across Mexico and the world. With the taking up of arms, by the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, against the Evil PRI Dictatorship, justice now has the opportunity to present itself.

When the Zapatistas achieve victory, and they WILL achieve victory, it will be high time to put those on trial for crimes against humanity. It will be time to put those on trial, who from 1492-1995 have committed genocide against the indigenous peoples of this continent. Those who will face the fury of the masses had better fear for their lives, because we have feared for so long. We have been tortured for so long, killed and slaughtered on the land of our ancestors, there will be no time for forgiveness.

Justice will be swift for those who it will be meted out to. The streets will run red with the blood of the tyrants who have murdered us for so long. There will be no stay of execution. There will be no delay. The time to struggle against the tyrants is upon us. We are not the bloodthirsty ones, in fact we are just the opposite, yet we never forget. We will never forget the atrocities that have been committed against us, for we only seek justice and the chance to determine our own lives.

When the day comes for justice we will see the gory crimes that have been committed in the name of greed and profits. We will put to death the images of the Colon's, Cortes', Pizarros, Maximilians, the Porfiriato, the Somozas, the Pinochet's, the George Washington's, Abe Lincoln's, the Kennedy's, the Nixon's, the Reagan's, the Salinas' and the Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon's. We will put the images out to the masses and they will destroy them, and we will finally be able to put the last 500 years behind us and move forward in a world that will be free of tyranny and genocide.

When that day comes, all oppressed people will rejoice. People in Africa and Asia and all of Latin America will dance like they have never danced before, they will dance to the death of colonialism and imperialism. They will dance because there will be no need to cry. They will dance because they know that they are free. For that is all that we want, Freedom.
Death To The Tyrants!
Freedom For The People!
¡Libertad O Muerte!

laborer of a gabacho, or one of the sell-out "Hispanics" who bend to yankee rule. There is only one way this can happen and that is if we do nothing to fight this trend. Those who complain about how bad it is and do nothing to change their conditions are only accusing themselves of siding with the enemy. The revolution has begun, which side are you on?

For more information on the Brown Berets de Aztlán please call (619) 280-7410, or write to: P.O. box 152441 San Diego, Califas 92195.

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

UCSD M.E.Ch.A. Raza Retreat

By: Angelica Ramirez

It was a pleasant Friday afternoon, when UCSD MEChistas, met in the new student cross cultural center for the Raza retreat. At first few members showed up. We began by formally introducing each other and giving information about our background to get to know the other individuals. After the formal introduction we received an excellent informative presentation from Harry Barra, editor of Voz Fronteriza. We received historical information about the Chicano Movement, to educate ourselves and information on how to organize protests. As the day progressed we proceeded to participate in other ice breakers, by this time more people had shown up.

The next morning, we all gathered together to participate in the March in Memory of Cesar E. Chavez beginning at the Barrio Station and ending at Chicano Park. The marcha in commemoration of

Cesar Chavez was a motivational experience. When the marcha ended at Chicano Park there was a vast amount of Raza enjoying and listening to speakers. We left early to return to UCSD to load our baggage and food. In the early afternoon we drove off to the "La Jolla Indian Reservation." The trip on the road took about one hour and a half. The car ride up there was pleasant. The scenery was of big mountains covered by green vegetation and trees. Upon arrival some proceeded to unload and set up the tents while others started the grill for dinner. The campsite was nice, it was along the side of a river stream surrounded by huge boulders and rocks.

When it got dark we all sat or stood near the fire, since it was cold. Once gathered all together around the fire we each had an opportunity to introduce ourselves one at a time, and give information about our background and our experiences at the University. It was great to listen to others speak and to

get to know them as individuals. We discovered that we had many of the same concerns and priorities, which centered around our families and their well being.

As the night progressed the sky was covered with stars and we sat around the fire telling jokes and scary/horror stories as well as playing games and listening to poetry written by Maria Figure. Soon, it became late and the majority went to sleep in their tents. I personally, had a good and comfortable sleep with the gentle noise of the water fall in the river.

We arose early in the morning, or better yet were risen by Juan Astorga coming into the tent with a video camera. We had breakfast and afterwards all proceeded to go for a walk, where we got to experience and see the beauty of nature. We arrived at a parcel of grass surrounded by trees, where some played football or simply sat and enjoyed the scenery.

Upon our return to the campsite we



had lunch and afterwards we gathered around the fire to share last thoughts. Overall the retreat was a wonderful, unforgettable experience in which we had the opportunity to bond, get to know, and learn from other individuals and acquire knowledge.

Republican article cont.

- Annul the Clinton Crime Bill!
- No social and educational cut backs!
- Abolish the INS/Border Patrol!
- Demolish the "border!"
- Annul NAFTA!
- Impeach Pete Wilson for crimes against humanity!
- Self-determination for La Raza and all oppressed peoples!

Other demands (such as support of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) would certainly be added as the organizing committee continues to meet and get feedback from sister organizations within our movement. A principal concern of the RRC is that the organizing committee, and its work, be independent of the Democratic Party, as we see both the Republicans and Democrats how Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez (leader of the Crusade For Justice) so correctly summed-up in 1972, as "two heads of the same monster." Our movement must be on the side of the masses of el pueblo Mexicano and we must say al rato con los vendidos.

MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS MUST DECIDE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IF THEY WANT TO JOIN OUR EFFORTS

As for the structure of the organizing committee, the RRC

discussed different ways that we should approach the organizing of this tremendously important task. One, that we push for it to be part of the work of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC), of which the RRC is a member, or that we form an independent "ad-hoc committee" of different formations, including the NCMC, which will take on this task. The preliminary decision was that an independent committee be formed as an attempt to bring forces outside the NCMC, but with the understanding that should not enough movement groups demonstrate interest and attend the organizing committee juntas, then we would move to incorporate the anti-Republican Party activities as part of the work of the NCMC. The crisis facing nuestra Raza demands that movement organizations decide as soon as possible if they want to join our efforts on this particular question. Several juntas have been held since the Jan. 4th junta - whether it remains independent of the NCMC still stands as a question as very few non-members of the NCMC have attended, even though over 30 organizations were invited to participate in the planning meetings. **WE ARE TAKING THE QUESTION OF SECURITY SERIOUSLY**

Since we understand the significance and impact that a massive demonstration would have internationally, and know

how the pigs (the various police agencies and leadership of the GOP) will do anything to destroy any effort to demonstrate our democratic rights, win people to the liberation struggle, and embarrass the hell out of U.S. colonialism, it was agreed that from the get-go we take the question of security seriously. People felt that everyone be aware and if at all possible avoid "negative" struggles that might develop or be "instigated" by the gringo colonial police, between us and other forces organizing something around the GOP Convention. That we also be on guard for adventurous or infantile elements who might disrupt events and give the pigs an excuse to attack the demonstration. We also agree that we be on the look-out for infiltrators and provocateurs within the organizing committee, whose job would be to set-up the key organizers of the events to come down on August of 1996.

Once again we call on all progressive and honest Raza and supporters, to join us in building a massive demonstration against the racist right-wing Republican Party. For more information call (619) 280-8361.

¡Defiende Los Derechos De Nuestro Pueblo!

¡La Raza Unida, Jamas Sera Vencida!

NCDM editorial cont.

work to the 10-15% who are already convinced and involved, we need to reach out beyond that. We also should not propose for ourselves ambitious goals which require a broader base than what we have, such as a national boycott, or an activity clearly beyond our means.

WE NEED TO CLEARLY AND CONSISTENTLY PURSUE THE POLITICAL GOAL OF A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY.

The Zapatistas give one clear, consistent message which is political in nature and which has catalyzed a broader national movement **THEY DEMAND A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND THEY HAVE GIVEN UP THEIR LIVES IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE IT.** Honest people of conscience understand immediately that, had the Zapatistas not demonstrated such moral courage, the base for a democracy movement would not have been established. Most Mexican people defend the Zapatistas because they perceive them to be the guarantors of a democracy, a decent, human element, in a morass of corruption and opportunism, an element which presents the only clear, reliable alternative to the national project of Zedillo and his cohorts. Such a political goal demands some rather specific tasks of civil society. Those in the United States, should make it a priority to understand Mexican history, Mexi-

can politics and social reality or run the risk of imposing a view which does not resonate with Mexican society. We should, in addition understand that **THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT ALLOW A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY UNLESS THEY ARE ABLE TO DICTATE ITS CHARACTER AND THAT THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT HAS COLLABORATED WITH THIS FOREIGN MANAGEMENT OF ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS THROUGHOUT THE SALINAS ADMINISTRATION AND EVEN MORE STRONGLY NOW THAT ZEDILLO IS IN POWER.** That is why there are certain moments when the Mexican government is extraordinarily sensitive to pressure from inside the United States. That is why, at the same time, the primary focus of our work, must be with our own people, the primary target, our own government, the primary means, organizing. Only an organized political force, which takes the dialogue about democracy out of the mouths of the powerful can successfully pursue the Zapatista goal of a peaceful transition to democracy.

SOME IMPORTANT POINTS TO COVER DURING OUR DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGNS

I. WHAT DOES THE ROAD TO PEACE IN MEXICO REQUIRE?

A. A peaceful transition to democracy which is a political goal with the purpose of changing relationships of power. The PRI will then

be separated from the government. In Chiapas this will allow for; 1. The resolution of land issues;

2. The end to vigilante groups like the white guards; 3. The end to discrimination against indigenous people.

B. The withdrawal of federal troops from Chiapas. The "strategic hamlet" strategy being used as a counterinsurgency strategy has been a failure in every place where it has been used.

C. The presence of international observers in the conflict zone.

D. The demand that international standards of humanitarian law be upheld.

E. The acknowledgement, by prominent leaders that a political solution must be sought in order to avoid a military conflict.

F. The acknowledgement, by leaders of both countries, that the economic plans imposed on Mexico are a failure and their trickle down benefits are insufficient.

EXAMPLE; Mexico has already used 1/5 of the \$20 billion loan from the U.S. to pay off financial speculators and wealthy Mexicans who bought securities through non-taxable offshore corporations. This kind of financial speculation does little or nothing to help develop Mexico, it only makes the wealthy in Mexico, wealthier.

II. WHY IS PEACE AND JUSTICE IN MEXICO AN IMPORTANT ISSUE TO THE UNITED STATES?

-Poverty and oppression are the principal causes of migration to the United States. Only peace and justice in Mexico guarantee an end to border problems

-NAFTA is one of the principal job creation strategies of the United States and depends upon people in Mexico working for pennies a day. It is morally wrong and politically unstable to create jobs based on slavery.

-There is growing discrimination against Mexicans in the United States. Because there are 13-16 million Mexicans living in the United States, we share a 2,000 mile border with Mexico and our economies are interdependent this represents a serious problem.

-The relationship of domination of Mexico must be changed. Only mutual respect can guarantee stability, peace and justice for both countries and an end to discrimination against Mexicans.

**¡QUE VIVA EL
EJERCITO
ZAPATISTA DE
LIBERACION
NACIONAL!**

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

NCDM Brigades report continued

families in the mountains.

The men were covered with infected insect bites, infections which are exacerbated by their inability to bathe now for over a month and by their lack of medication. They have been eating pozol, a corn/water broth (the "corn" most times is the grinded corn cob without the corn ears), and what few fruits they find in the jungle. Lice and ticks cover the women and children, and many of them have diarrhea. The small children have a white coating over their scalps due to fungus and insect larvae being laid under the skin. "Granos," and "sarna" scabies are also prevalent. The people exiled from their homes, seeking refuge from a brutal army in the mountains, have no clean water to drink, and are suffering dehydration and malnutrition.

While speaking with us, the number of people from the mountain slowly increased. They began to approach their homes, gathering beans, eggs, chickens, and fruit to take with them into the mountains. The livestock, too, were rounded up and brought along. At first they were afraid to take the remaining medicine from the clinic, out of fear that the military would then know of their return. Yet at our insistence, they bagged up the remaining supplies and took them as well. In a symbolic gesture, the men silently lowered the white bean sacks that flew over every occupied house and filled them with supplies. These white flags are flown over any homes of the returned families as enforced by the military. The federal army may use the white flags to keep track of the people they are trying to submit and to symbolize their overpowering a proud people. The people from the mountains very much in defiance of the military would take these white flags down and use them for what

they were meant for: to carry their food, and to mean that they do not submit, they do not surrender. These Mayan Indians would valiantly take their horses and ride through their town and come and talk to us being followed by dogs which they proudly would tell us "this was my dog" and the dog would do what dogs do when they have not seen their owners in a month, behave like any puppy to their mother.

Because the women and children remain too terrified of rape and beatings, they refused to return to the village. As a safe compromise, we agreed to be led into the mountains to meet with the women and hear their stories. This comprises the second report.

We were also encouraged to visit the nearby town of Santa Elena. Three of us went the next morning, Tuesday, March 14. Our observations of the military presence in this village and their actions which we observed during two visits are related in the third report. **REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN RESIDING IN THE MOUNTAINS**

We hiked into the mountains to meet half-way with the women and children. After walking for a long way in the inhospitable overgrown mountain terrain, at points some of us were helped to travel on horseback through the difficult climb. We met for more than an hour with approximately 12 young to middle-aged women, one elderly woman, 25-30 children, and 6-8 babies. The women were wearing brightly colored dresses and earrings, the same as they had worn for the last month.

They carried their babies, nursing, in slings over their shoulders. At times when we were talking, the babies would cry. They are covered with bites and have lice in their hair, and wear insufficient clothing. The young girls would then take care of the babies while their mothers spoke. The women reiterated the difficulties of the mountains: their inability to bathe for a month, their lack of clean water, the daily presence of disease and hunger. Some were able to bring along a second dress, but

others left too quickly even for that.

Many of the women and children had no shoes, and all were covered with bites, especially the children. The women spoke of the illnesses of the children. They spoke of diarrhea because of the change in the diet, and of dysentery, and the difficulties they experience with their periods. Due to their meager diet of pozol, many of the nursing women cannot produce enough milk for their babies. They urged other international observers to bring medicine, soap, undergarments, sanitary napkins, salt, clothes for the children and babies. This is in addition to the much-needed food, shelter, clean water, and warm clothes.

In the homes in the village below there remained clothes, beans, corn and mats (provided the burros, chickens and cows had not eaten or defecated on them yet). However, the women will not return to the village for fear of the soldiers. They recounted tales of military rapes and tortures against women in other villages.

The eldest woman from the mountains had told all of them about a time in her childhood when soldiers entered her village and raped and tortured her mother and the rest of the women. The Ibarra women expressed their terror when the soldiers invaded Ibarra on the 11th of February.

One mother told how they blindfolded her father and tied his hands behind his back, walked him four hours through the jungle to a bridge and threatened to hang him. "Where's Marcos!?" they demanded repeatedly. This woman walked alongside the entire way, defying their death threats, and saying she would not abandon her father. Another woman, the sister of the same man, screamed at the soldiers not to take away her brother. One of the soldiers put a gun to her chest while at the same time "reassured" her that they would not hurt him.

Of the women we interviewed in the village, only two spoke Spanish comfortably.

The others knew only Tzeltal. The women in the mountains similarly spoke Spanish in varying degrees. Four or five offered the testimonies we taped, while the others listened. They contributed their thoughts and experiences in Tzeltal to the others, communally deciding how to answer our questions. Unlike the women in the village who spoke timidly and very generally, these women spoke confidently, describing what had happened to them, why they are afraid, what their needs are, and their specific difficulties as women and mothers living in the mountains.

As we talked, drops of rain began to fall. A question: "What do you do when it rains?" "Well, nothing... We have nothing to cover ourselves with." The rain poses a larger threat in the coming weeks with the onset of the rainy season. Without protection from the wet and cold, disease and malnutrition will weaken them even more.

The women allowed us to photograph them while they covered their faces. They were willing to express themselves, their stories, and their needs to the world. They want to discredit the lies of the military and press which deny the continual existence of civilians in the mountains, an existence forced upon them by the persistent military presence in their towns and homes below.

The federal soldiers told us that at Santa Elena (next story), the people had returned from the mountains because of the military presence. They "feel safe under our protection and maintenance of calm." Yet the fear we saw in the villagers' eyes of Santa Elena and their inability to converse with us due to the constant surveillance spoke otherwise. As the Ibarra-born women in the mountains declared, the military is their source of fear. They fear for their persons and for their children. The soldiers in Ibarra and Santa Elena are depriving these people of their very lives and forcing upon them incredible suffering.

A few truths continued from pg. 4

They called for and built a place for a Democratic National Convention, and invested enormous amounts of time and energy on encouraging the people of Mexico to demand a peaceful transition to democracy. They have not once stated they want power for themselves, they have not once stated the kind of government they would want or insisted that they be a part of it.

They have instead asked the people of Mexico to "defeat the need for armed force, to struggle tirelessly for a peaceful transition to democracy." They have been offered bribes, secret negotiations, personal favors and they have never been a party to collusion with those forces in power in Mexico. They have stated clearly that their major strength is the broad base of popular support they enjoy from the indigenous communities of the Lacandon jungle. They have also said this is their major weakness—because within the construct of armed conflict these communities will be the first victims.

They do not have the numbers or military firepower to constitute themselves as primarily a military force, their conduct has been guided and determined by their political program. This program is in the hands of the people of Mexico they say, it will be a product of their struggle, of their vision, of their tenacity against the PRI government.

At this writing the troops of Zedillo are not only starving, torturing, and persecuting the Zapatistas, they are attempting to destroy any hope the Mexican people may have had to free themselves of the parasite which is the PRI. Zedillo has not only betrayed the Zapatistas, he has betrayed the history of Mexico, and the people of Mexico. His name will be burned into history along with other despotic figures.

Please take action to help the Zapatistas. Inform yourself, work with others, learn how to pressure the Mexican government, and to denounce any support the government of the United States may give to perpetuate the rule of the PRI. Do not allow Zedillo to destroy the hope that was burning in the hearts of the people of Mexico.

Now is not the time continued

new and prominent feature of this political struggle for a peace with dignity. We must fight for our point of view, and make it part of the public dialogue. We must venture out into the neighborhoods to talk to people we've never spoken to before; to share with them the stories of the people of Guadalupe Tepeyac and La Garrucha. Minimally, we must ask people to write letters to their Congressmen, or sign a pre-written letter to Zedillo, or one to Esteban Moctezuma which defends the rights of the political prisoners, or to the UN, asking them to be concerned about the peace process in Mexico.

Personally, you may believe that it is useless to write letters. However that opinion is the result of a certain level of experience with political struggle, something which most communities are denied. It is the passivity and ignorance of hundreds of people upon which this massive attack against civil and human rights is dependent. The antidemocratic forces on the continent are present, not just in Mexico, but here as well, and our most necessary activity is the mobilizations of hundreds. Until we initiate a dialogue with a broader community, they will only hear Rush Limbaugh and Pat Robertson. The five-second sound bite which we are allowed on local television will never be strong enough to counteract this powerful media.

We must, as well, continue to exert an active presence in the peace process. Travel to Chiapas for the peace talks on April 20th. If you can't make it by then, know that there are peace camps now being established in the conflict zone. Spring break and the summer is com-

ing. Pack your bags and spend your vacation acting on your principles. Go to one of the villages which has been militarized. Take whatever you can in humanitarian aid, but most of all take your presence, demonstrate your commitment to peace, and do not leave the people of the villages alone. Adopt a Zapatista village as a sister city; send teachers, nurses, photographers, carpenters and young people. Do this with an open heart, and the clear intent to be a faceless one, someone who came, gave of themselves, and expected nothing in return.

We must also continue to pursue public declarations regarding the human rights situation in Chiapas. We should knock on the doors of prominent people and gather signatures which can be printed on the page of a major newspaper. Let the powers-that-be know that this criminal act in Mexico will not be tolerated, that we are aware, that we can present and fight for our ideas as well as they. Demand the right to information and the right to free speech; which under the rule of the free marketeers, will soon become a sparse commodity.

The free marketeers dedicate themselves to the needs of the North American market, which they define as the United States, Mexico and Canada—for them, national borders are no longer an issue. The free marketeers have decided that their needs are such that portions of the continent's populations should be eliminated, they have decided that democracy is an unnecessary expense, and that justice can be nothing more than the trickle which flows from the pockets of billionaires. It is time to say to them, as a continent, that they are morally and humanely wrong, time to say "¡Ya Basta!" through many means of struggle.

Is there a National Chicano Moratorium Committee your area?

If not, create one!

For more information call
(619) 280-8361, leave a message.



POESÍA

Hojas Secas

El viento carrea las hojas secas del pasado;
Una sombra fria cae sobre la laguna de
memorias;

El Dia Olvidado se refleja; la Silla Blanca se
deshace bajo el calor del Sol.

Tres olas de dolor aparecen mientras el Sol
ardiente me da de comer.

Sus rayos me iluminan cuando La Oscuridad de
tus lagrimas me hacen realizar que el cambio
nunca llega facil;

Veo mas alla de las sombras frias y de Las
Lunas Rojas, y siento las miles de voces que
atravesian la mar de Resistencia para llegar a
mi,

Sus voces me dicen que no olvide las raices fue
fueron arrancacadas; que no me olvide de Los
Perdidos,

Un viento polvoso me hace caer a tus palmas
arenosas,

No puedo ver tus dolores pero puedo sentir tus
sufrimientos -las hormigas tratan de hacer de ti
un barro sin valor,

mientras que dicen querer ayudarte a vivir,

Que mas diran para encarcarar tus ojos-

Nunca dejaras de ser un arbol construido de
hojas secas, pero aun asi - tus voces
pertenecen al bosque de dolores.

-H. Rosales 1995

Stupid American

Stupid American when you see a Chicano
Holding a knife on his sturdy hand,
it doesn't mean he wants to stab you,
he just wants to sit down and carve
crazy figures on a bench.

Stupid American when you see a Chicano
cussing out in a street corner,
he doesn't want to offend you
he is just a poet
without a pencil and a paper.

Stupid American when you see a Chicano
spray painting on a wall,

he doesn't want to destroy your wall
He is just an artist who wishes to express himself
and be heard.

Stupid American remember that Chicano
flunking english and math
now he is the Shakespeare of the Western States
by S. Miley de Surdiego
with thought of Chuco de East Side

What the hell are you looking at, old white man?

What the hell are you looking at, old white man?

Am I a curiosity?

Are you curious about me?

Do you see my dark skin

or my brown eyes,

and tear off my clothes,

force open my thighs?

What are you looking at

old, man, white

your wife or your whore,

or your daughter tonight?

Michelle Garcia 1995

TWENTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR VOZ FRONTERIZA!



Saturday, June 3rd
Cross Cultural Center - UCSD
5pm to 8pm

We are have a commemoration celebrating the twentieth year of VOZ
FRONTERIZA fighting for the rights of our Raza. Come out and join us in
recognizing one of the longest running, most consistent Chicano student publi-
cations in Aztlán...

*There will be a panel of former Vozcistas, a keynote speaker, culture, and a
reception. The Voz will be honored by the Chicano Press Association.*
*For more information call the Voz office at 619/534-3616 or come to our meet-
ings at the Old Student Center, room 211.3 on Fridays at 3pm.*
If you're down, come around... If you're clown, get out of town!