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# **Voz Fronteriza**

Long Live The Internationalist Struggle For Liberation!

VOL. XXI NO. 1

SAN DIEGO, CALIFAZTLAN

FEBRUARY, 1996

## **All Power To The People!**



**Special African History Month Section:**  
Huey P. Newton, The New York Panther 21,  
Malcolm X, and Chairman Omali Yeshitela



## VOZ FRONTERIZA

GUERRILLEROS  
DE LA PLUMA

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Voz Fronteriza is a member of the Chicano Press Association and is a member organization of the Raza Rights Coalition, the San Diego region of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee.

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## Letter from the Editor :

In recognizing the many developments that are making themselves visible by each day that passes, it becomes imperative to point out that each of them is just one component of a larger mechanism at work. The dynamics which are currently affecting Raza are many, but one fundamental reality about them is the fact of their political character, from the política in México to the política of the Republican phenomenon. Historical analysis suggests how, in time of social threats, (i.e., the uprising of the masses) the political institutions have been utilized to justify and enact policies which have a direct impact on specific groups, namely Raza and people of African descent. Such political maneuverings many times have lead to the criminalization of a people to effectively pacify or neutralize them. These notions need only to be applied to the legislative acts or policies now under review at governmental and administrative levels.

Critical analysis will unveil the reality of our current living situation. Now more than ever, national and international developments speak for a tenuous future. One cannot consider one thing without acknowledging the other. More importantly, though and one step beyond self-analysis the question of activism - the materialization of rhetoric and thought. As previously said, the future lies within the grasps of those who want to shape it. Thus, an invitation is once again extended to critically assess our environs so that we may see beyond the petty and into the larger framework of reality.

In honor of Black history month *Voz Fronteriza* has dedicated this issue to the international struggle for the emancipation of all humanity amongst all colonized peoples of the world. The exemplary struggles waged by revolutionaries such as Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, Malcolm X, Omali Yeshitela, and the overall Black Power Movement stand as a pillar for the liberation of the oppressed and exploited peoples by this capitalist power structure. We salute these comrades and the just struggles they waged for the liberation of all people.

Humberto Rosales, Editor, *Voz Fronteriza*

## ONE OPPRESSOR, ONE STRUGGLE

By Humberto Rosales

In looking at the historical relationships of the African descended people and that of the descendants of the original inhabitants of the continents that are now called the Americas, one can recognize an underlying and warranted history that dispels a fundamental reality amongst such groups. It can be said that African descended peoples were castrated from their original communes at one level while simultaneously their cultural identities were rendered obsolete. What is important to recognize here is that although the literal enslavement of this population is no longer with us, the remnants of such conditions can be seen. That is to say, that even though African descended peoples have been "liberated" the majority of the masses live under conditions which call into question the notion of freedom and whether it was actually acquired. The environs which define their living spaces attest to this claim. It is their communities which give definition to the ills of this society (i.e., inadequate housing, inadequate healthcare, ineffective education etc.). Although some facilitation into the body politic has been allowed, there still exists a fundamental contradiction between the dictates of "liberation" in the amendments adopted and the reality which the majority face.

Although social pressures of the 1960's and the 1970's forced the U.S. government to concede to some of the demands of the uprisen masses, (i.e., civil liberties and policies of equality) the true character of such concessions have become more clear in contemporary times wherein policies such as Affirmative Action have been called into question. What must be acknowledged here is that, from its birth, Affirmative Action policies were more a reflection of a fear of a social revolution rather than a noble attempt to undue a legacy of exploitation and oppression. With so many factions erupting against the U.S. government no other alternative could be formalized. Given such, contemporary developments to preserve a diminishing white privilege (i.e., economic and political access) fall into perspective.

On that point, the experience of the indigenous peoples of this continent can be traced in a similar fashion. Even though the hand of the oppressor underwent a change, it essentially maintained itself within the confines of imperialist European nation states: first Spain then later the U.S. The masses of Mexican people are

by definition an indigenous people even though the construct of race and ethnicity have tried to circumvent the inherent implications of this reality. That is to say, that even though there exist categories which position some people as racially white or black when it comes to classifying the descendants of the original inhabitants of these continents one is faced with a nationality (i.e., the Mexican). By creating such label one erases a past that is inherent in the explanation of the current conditions which the masses of Mexicanos face, as a people and as a nation.

Although some would argue that the Mexican people were able to attain a degree of political power after the 1910 Revolution, true analysis suggests otherwise. South of the political border, ideologies created during the period of colonialism and later reinforced during the reign of Porfirio Díaz, have prescribed the social enslavement of the indigenous and mestizo masses and relegated them to a people without a voice. Foreign capital and corporatism direct the economy and politics of Mexico and, not the people of Mexico. North of the political border Mexicanos live void of a political process altogether. Their role in American society has been defined by their status as working - class "ethnics." The fact of the matter is that a history of contradictory policies and treatment have forged a relationship between the two. The reigns of the American Constitution were never intended to be driven by a people whose principles lay within a legacy of resistance and survival rather than one of conquest and exploitation.

What one ultimately has, then, is a lateral relationship between Chicano Mexicanos and people of African descent. To both groups, the hand of oppression makes itself visible through the workings of large corporations and the body politic. Neither government nor corporate America will ever concede to the full emancipation of colored people, for their labor is the basis of the power structures which situate and dictate the norms of not only a national society but also a global community.

It is with such historical recognition that *Voz Fronteriza* salutes *The Peoples Voice* in their wills to disclose the legacy of problematics that plague this country, alongside, giving forth validity to the struggles of those who have challenged and continue to challenge the institutions which constrain many to a powerless and voiceless position.

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## Patricia Marin 1952-1995:

# Una Mujer Verdaderamente Revolucionaria

From ¡LA VERDAD!

*Editors Note: In the early morning of December 19, 1995, Patricia Marin passed away in her sleep. Patricia was a leading member of Unión del Barrio, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, the Chicano Mexican Prison Project, Unión del Barrio Women's Commission, the Raza Rights Coalition, and participated in many other ways in the struggle for Mexicano Liberation. The following is a brief synopsis of her life and what she meant to Unión del Barrio and our gente's struggle for freedom. We proudly dedicate this issue of ¡LA VERDAD! in her honor.*

We first came into contact with Compañera Patricia Marin in 1986, while she was attending Rancho Santiago College in Orange County, California, during which

honesty, her character, her naturalness, her selflessness, her understanding, and her general comradely attitude. Some of us had the pleasure and honor of knowing her in a personal way - but these traits in her personality were the first and most apparent of her qualities, even to those who knew her only in passing. What must be recognized is that Patricia was so much more than just a beautiful individual - these wonderful characteristics she possessed were only a foundation upon which was built one of the greatest revolutionaries the Chicano Mexicano liberation struggle has ever produced. It is only by recognizing this can we express fully what Compañera Patricia Marin truly represented to us, Unión del Barrio, and to the revolutionary liberation struggle she died fighting for.

Patricia was a mature woman of forty three years of age. We raise this in order for all to understand that she entered the struggle not led by the idealism of youth nor as a half-hearted, self-serving pseudo-revolutionary. Over time she had come to identify clearly the true nature of the vendido, hispanic, poverty pimp agency mentality and said "chale." She then integrated herself totally into the liberation struggle of La Raza.

Patricia participated in liberation struggle as a woman with an abundance of individual experience and maturity and it was this experience that moved her to action. Before the Movimiento, her life was one of sacrifice and struggle surviving as a single mother with all the contradictions of a colonial society on her back. The well-being of her family was always on her mind, and her activism was forever dedicated towards her children. In other words, Patricia had many years of life experience and also a family to care for - for many other people these things are enough to convince them to give up

struggle. For Patricia it had the opposite effect: she not only dedicated the rest of her life to struggle, she did so in the name of her children and because of her life experience.

Even during those first days with M.E.Ch.A. her experience and clear vision placed her in a position of respect, during which time the friendship and warm feelings we have for her were ever increasing. It was this life experience that gave her a true vision of colonialism, and in the last years of her life armed her as an anti-imperialist fighter. This profound spirit of struggle and contempt for imperialism gave her what many of those around her lacked - the hindsight, the courage, and the vision to not only join in the

building of liberation struggle but to become a leader in every sense of the word.

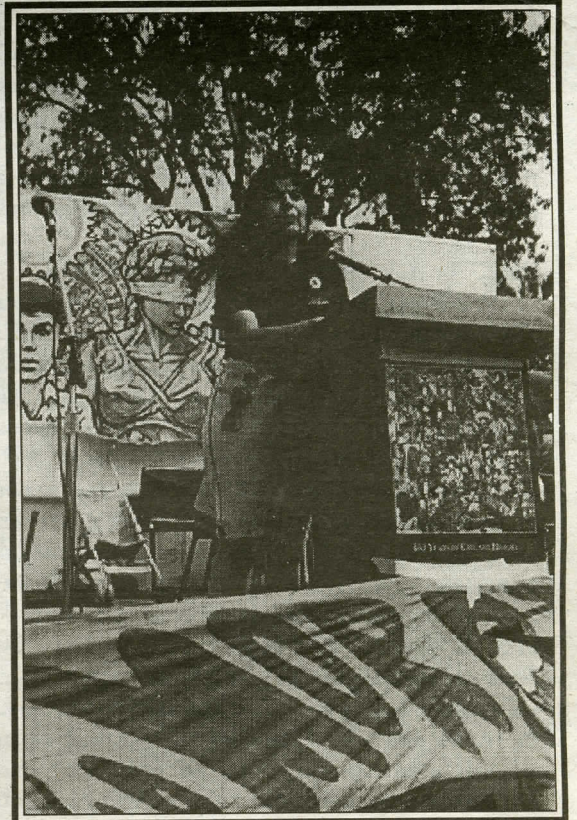
A person like Patricia did not require elaborate arguments. It was sufficient for her to know that her people existed in a state of perpetual oppression and that there was an organization that was inspired by genuine revolutionary and patriotic ideals. That was more than enough for Patricia to make her people's struggle her own.

There are countless examples that we could recite that represent the extremely high level of commitment and dedication this Compañera maintained. All of us that knew her also knew how she was always willing to sacrifice to whatever level was necessary for the benefit of the group. If Patricia had a dollar in her pocket she would donate seventy-five cents - and keep the quarter for the sole purpose of avoiding criticism for being over-generous. She was well known for her habit of volunteering for the most tedious and difficult of tasks while at the same time never demanding recognition. Patricia was never one to seek recognition and she had no interest in titles. Her activism was truly led by a deep internal drive to better the condition of La Raza.

Patricia had spent the week before her death in San José, assisting and providing direction for the compañeros building Unión del Barrio in that region. With her arrival back in San Diego she was full of positive information - energized and excited by the bright future of our organizing efforts in northern California. If she had lived two weeks longer she would have seen the results of her nomination for the position of Coordinator of the San Diego chapter of Unión del Barrio. Patricia Marin passed away at the pinnacle of her activism and development. There is no doubt in any of our minds that if she had lived she would have easily reached the highest levels of leadership possible in Unión del Barrio - her determination and dedication to La Causa could not have produced any other results.

During her activism in Orange County she was chosen to represent the Orange County Chicano Moratorium at the 1990 Twentieth Commemoration of August 29th. Her presentation at this historic event focused on the building of unity and organization towards the betterment of La Raza. "We must build for Unity..." was what she explained during the East Los Angeles event. From that point onward Patricia put her words into action - every year until her passing she served on the national Mesa Directiva of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee. Later, after her move to San Diego, she assumed a leadership role within the Raza Rights Coalition, and at the time of her death she was the Outreach Coordinator for the mobilization against the 1996 Republican Convention.

Patricia joined Unión del Barrio in 1993, and immediately played a central role in several Unión del Barrio projects, most notably the Chicano Mexicano Prison Project (CMPP). In many ways, Patricia was the CMPP - she organized meetings, maintained files on all its membership, corresponded with the prisoners, originally served as Secretary on the Mesa Directiva, represented the CMPP by giving presentations, and wrote articles printed in the CMPP newsletter *Las Calles Y La Torcida*. Patricia Marin was central to formulating a vision and purpose for the project in general, and at the time of her death she had recently been



Patricia Marin speaking on behalf of M.E.Ch.A. at the 1990 20th Commemoration of the Chicano Moratorium in East Los Angeles.

elected into the position of Coordinator of the Chicano Mexicano Prison Project. Patricia also played a leading role in the founding and building of Unión del Barrio's Women's Commission. Her life experience tremendously enriched this process, and the growth of the Commission is partially due to her commitment and dedication.

Patricia Marin was the best example of what a true cadre is and should be. She molded her personal life around her commitment to liberation struggle. Originally, her move to San Diego was for the purpose of expanding her activism and developing herself as a revolutionary fighter by submerging herself in struggle. While in San Diego and maintaining an incredible level of activism, she still found time to study; at the time of her death she had recently been awarded a Master's Degree in Multi-cultural Counseling. She was always quite open about the motives behind her studies - "I'm doing this so I can offer more monetary help to the group." The true revolutionary character Patricia possessed becomes readily apparent - especially since her educational/career goals had become side-noted in her life because, in all honesty, the Movimiento was her life.

Patricia also understood that people have a relative value in history - the idea that movements are not defeated when people fall, that the forward march of history cannot and will not be halted when leaders fall. Her life expressed her faith in people, her faith in ideas, and her faith in examples. Because truly, Patricia Marin was the highest example of a Revolutionary Mexicana. We understand that in real revolutionary struggle one wins or dies. Our sister Patricia left us as a revolutionary - up to her last days we see she spent as a builder of Mexicano liberation, laying the foundation for the birth of a better world. For those of us that knew her, it rests on us that we take up the banner of her example and make it our own - this, and only this, will give Patricia Marin the honor she deserves. We know she would have it no other way.

We fully appreciate the value of her example. We are absolutely convinced that many people will strive to live up to her example; that people like her will continue to emerge. It is not easy to find a person with all the virtues that were combined in

Continued on next page



Patricia was one of the finest individuals that our gente and our Movimiento has ever produced.

time she was working with the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán. Patricia served as M.E.Ch.A. advisor during the years 1988 and 1989 - and it was during this period that she began to work more closely with Unión del Barrio. In 1990 the Orange County Chicano Moratorium Committee was formed in which Patricia served as the National Chicano Moratorium Committee Representative. It was from that point in time - a period of reconstruction of a national Chicano Mexican Movement - that Patricia Marin integrated herself into our peoples liberation movement with a level of dedication and sacrifice that few will be able to match.

Six years have passed since that period of general unity building for our Movimiento. During those last six years our organization and the Movimiento in general has seen many people come and go. But at the same time, throughout those years of building and growth, extraordinary persons have arisen, forged from the gains and setbacks of daily struggle. Patricia

Marin shines as the greatest example of those extraordinary comrades.

Patricia was one of those people who was liked immediately, for her simplicity, her



Patricia was central to much of UdB's work - here she gives a presentation at our First UdB Plenary in 1995.

profound spirit of struggle and contempt for imperialism gave her what many of those around her lacked - the hindsight, the courage, and the vision to not only join in the



# Acuña vs. The University of California: An Eyewitness Report

By: Dr. Yolanda Broyles-Gonzalez

I want to share some observations from the trial of Acuña v. The University of California. For three weeks the federal courtroom was packed with observers from all walks of life: students, parents, professors, workers, elected officials, media, representatives from community and labor, and legal observers. Three main issues emerged at the trial:

## First, The Academic Personal Review Process

The editorial page of the Santa Barbara News press asks "How is it that a judge gets to select professors at a university?" In fact, university professors (which include administrators) do have and should have the right to make appointment decisions. But they also have the responsibility to "thoroughly and judiciously evaluate" the job applicant's qualifications submitted by an academic department. One of the most shocking revelations of the trial is that university reviewers defaulted on their responsibility to judiciously evaluate professor Acuña based on the merits of the case.

Appointment evaluations are governed by a strict process. However, in the review of Acuña the University violated its own process; for example, by inappropriate back-room communications such as improper phone calls. When the Academic Vice Chancellor was asked under oath whether he let improper phone calls enter into his negative decision he responded "I tried not to." With regards to half-a-dozen references to Acuña's age in one committee report (ad hoc) the Vice Chancellor similarly stated "It is inappropriate to mention age, but it played no role in my decision." The Chancellor also admitted to seeing age comments, adding "But I paid no attention to them." At issue is the fact that administrators must protect the integrity of the process and should have aborted any committee report with "inappropriate" statements. These statements were inappropriate and illegal.

Did administrators read Professor Acuña's scholarly work? No. Each administrator testified: "That was not my function in the review process." Not one of the four administrators who recommended against appointment read even one of Acuña's ten books. Furthermore, the membership of the two faculty review committees that had recommended against appointment simply deferred to the chairpersons who only skimmed the file. They produced reports (now public record) filled with factual error, personal attacks and political pronouncements having nothing to do with the four criteria for appointment.

The same Chancellor who did not read Acuña's publications nonetheless testified that other appointed professors had published "400% more" than Acuña.

How did the Chancellor arrive at this precise quantification? For purposes of this trial, the university arithmetically quantified the evaluation of academic excellence: one of Acuña's ten books "counted" as one item, "equal" to another professor's 10-page article, for example. By this arithmetic two and two no longer equaled four.

Two witnesses from other UC campuses (a dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, the other a full professor above scale) did read and evaluate Acuña's ten books, articles and other evidence. They concluded that professor Acuña is eminently qualified for a high level professorship in the UC. Analytical letters from nine Chicano Studies experts further contradicted the Chancellor's claim that Acuña "has no experience training PhD students." A double standard applied: Most UCSB administrators who testified have trained only two PhD students in the last 20 years.

Ironically, University defense witnesses were instrumental in winning the case for Acuña. Under oath they revealed how the University violated its own academic personnel

process at virtually every level of review. However, in an effort to minimize serious procedural violations Corbett & Kane (the outside law firm hired by UCSB) put a witness on the stand to testify that improper phone calls and meetings outside review channels are accepted personnel practices at UCSB.

## Second, The Issue Of Employment Discrimination

A 1991 official UC Berkeley study concluded that employment discrimination is systematic within the University of California. The study shows that minority professors and women get lower pay and fewer promotions, even after controlling for experience, field, credentials, and employment status. An official UC newsletter (UC Focus) reports: "Data drawn from the study also suggested that white men may have been promoted more readily than women and minorities" and investigators feel "that similar disparities exist at all UC campuses." Differential (discriminatory) treatment of professors based on race and gender of course occurs through the academic personnel review process.

Upon hearing the jury's verdict for Professor Acuña, Corbett & Kane arrogantly dismissed the jurors as "emotional." The UCSB Chancellor announced he is "confident of our academic evaluation process and its integrity" while the Executive Vice Chancellor stated "Our hiring and promotion process guards against discrimination." The UCSB Faculty Legislature, with dissent, passed a resolution thanking colleagues "for publicly defending the University and its personnel process." (Trial witnesses, incidentally, are not called to "defend" anything but tell the truth.)

UC Berkeley Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien was more cautious about exonerating the academic-personnel review process which produces discriminatory outcomes. With regard to the 1991 study he stated: "There is sometimes a subconscious difference in treatment that we've got to overcome." The Acuña trial revealed a blueprint of how discrimination actually works. Age discrimination was at issue, yet jurors also perceived racial and political discrimination in the case. The court stipulated to the jurors that the plaintiff (Acuña) "need not show that age was the only factor defendants acted on."

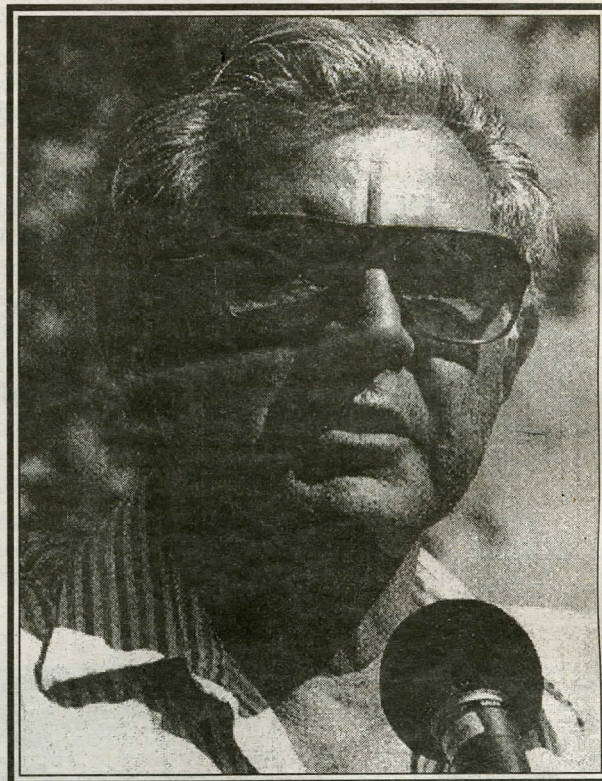
## Third, The Status Of The Chicano Studies Department

The University of California's procedural policies stipulate that "the local department . . . provides the most informed evaluation of outstanding or superior performance for that discipline or area." The importance of assessments by "colleagues in comparable departments" is also spelled out. However, in the evaluation of Professor Acuña the university reviewers dismissed both the evaluation of the Department of Chicano Studies and the analytical letters of nine Chicano Studies experts from comparable departments (four of them from the UC.)

The lengthy ad hoc committee report used almost four of its five pages to argue that Chicano Studies is "an inchoate field lacking in firm intellectual identity." The committee also claimed a "trustee relationship" to the Chicano Studies Department whom it patronizingly regarded as a dependent child.

In many memos to the administration over the years, the Department of Chicano Studies has documented the systematic violation of its rights under the Academic Personnel Manual. To no avail. For 25 years the institution has repeatedly denied this department both its governance rights and a critical mass of faculty resources (currently at 4 professional positions) needed to establish the Ph.D. program.

The differential treatment of the department was strikingly evident at trial in the "comparable files" of job appli-



**Professor Rudy Acuña, archnemesis  
of the University of California**

cants appointed to other UCSB departments. This crucial evidence showed (despite Corbett & Kane's claims to the contrary) that Acuña's credentials compare favorably with those of other UCSB professors. Comparable files also showed that many other departments have put forward successful appointments with "split votes" and even with a majority of "no" votes. Contrary to the claims of Corbett & Kane, two of the eight eligible voters in the department had assumed permanent positions elsewhere and did not participate in the review. Only in the case of Chicano Studies was it used as an issue.

Comparable files further show that at various times other departments have recommended professors for the distinguished Step VI and that the administration has simply appointed at a lower step. I note that the three abstainers from the Department of Chicano Studies under oath never claimed Acuña did not qualify for appointment in the UC.

The private law firm Corbett & Kane now lamentably speaks as "the University" in "Informational Bulletins" distributed on the campus. Corbett & Kane, having made millions off this case, now draws lines and names the university's heroes. Corbett & Kane attorneys lucratively continue to spout the duplicitous rhetoric which did not fool eight jurors. Can they fool the UCSB faculty? It is a sad day for the University of California when high-priced attorneys bank on the good faith of UCSB faculty who did not hear the trial evidence and testimony.

## Patricia Marin: Continued

Patricia. It is not easy for a person, spontaneously, to develop a character like hers. We say that she is one of those people who are difficult to match and virtually impossible to surpass. We also understand that it is the example of people like her that contributes to the development of people of the same caliber.

While the organizational posts and organizational work of Patricia Marin have ended with her passing, her importance to Unión del Barrio has not ended. Her physical ties to the group may be gone but it is her status as a revolutionary that will forever keep her within our ranks. There are plans that are now being discussed to rename the Women's Commission in her honor. It has also been suggested that we name the date of her passing - December 19, 1995 - Día de la Mujer Revolucionaria, in her honor, and that as long as Unión del Barrio exists this day will be commemorated

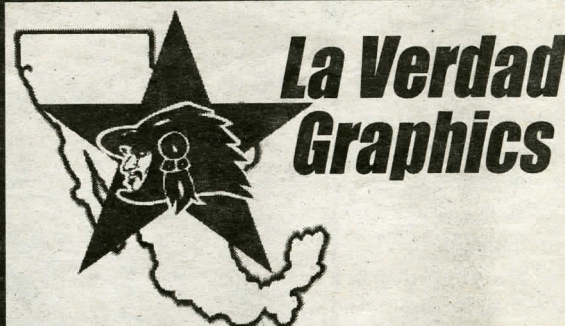
with a political event of some kind; a forum, a conference, etc.

In closing, we wish to remember Patricia Marin as the highest expression of a mother, sister, friend, comrade, and revolutionary. We must uphold her for her magnitude as a woman, her discipline, and her spirit of devotion towards the liberation of our pueblo. She served our revolutionary struggle honorably, and in these moments of remembrance we must lift our spirits high with optimism for the future, for we know that freedom will be ours - and Patricia Marin is part of our final road towards victory! Therefore we say with pride:

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¡Que Viva Patricia Marin!

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## INS broadcasts invade homes in México, El Salvador, and Guatemala

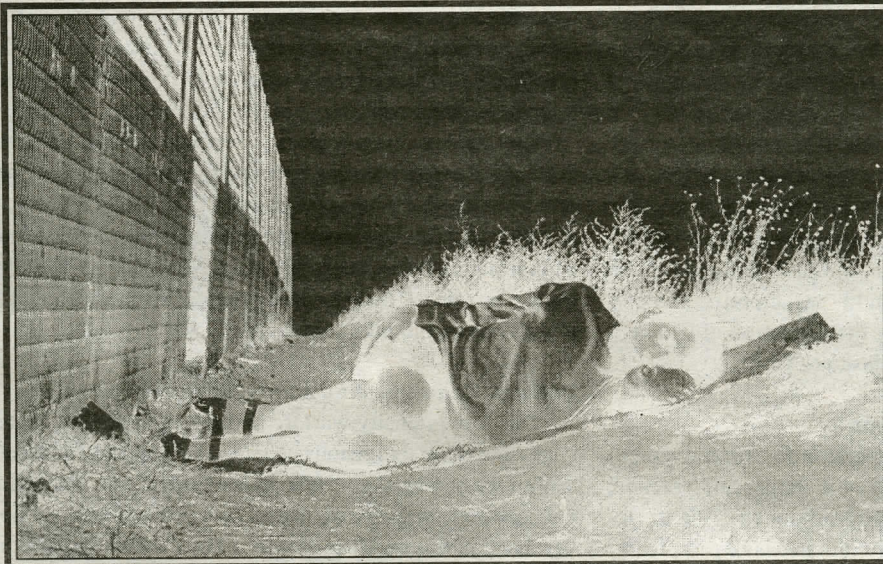
by Breca Rodriguez Griswold

As part of a government administration campaign against undocumented immigration, and in sync with the trend of mounting anti-immigrant hysteria and militarization of the border, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) recently transmitted an imposing message by satellite to televisions across México and in parts of El Salvador and Guatemala. Aimed at workers who return home during the off-season in December, the broadcast appeared on t.v. screens one week before Christmas and subjected unsuspecting viewers to the U.S. government's political antics for a full 30 minutes. The half-hour program shown in December, though the first of its kind, won't be the last; two more broadcasts are planned for January.

The television broadcast, targeted at immigrants who will return to work in January, warned anyone without documents not to return to the United States. In the program, an official threatens harsh sanctions for those who attempt to return undocumented. The patronizing voice, while explaining that the Border Patrol has gotten tougher, advises that by attempting to cross the border one can go to jail or even get hurt. Of the border patrol the announcer says, "...Están más preparados que nunca en la historia, para hacer frente a quien trate de ingresar ilegalmente." The images that accompany these messages are just as offensive. The Border Patrol is shown pursuing undocumented immigrants through an area full of cactus. Later, the immigrants appear wearing handcuffs.

The program is supposed to work as a scare tactic and in doing so makes many false, yet deliberate, assumptions. On the most basic level, it assumes that the choice to come to the U.S. for immigrants is voluntary, that it isn't a survival mechanism. Next, it is offensive and patronizing because the warnings imply that immigrants are unaware of the risks they are forced to take in the process of physically crossing the border. The images also deliberately try to portray an association between immigration and crime, an

assumption that the government wants to maintain, in the U.S. for support of anti-immigration campaigning, and in Mexico (and elsewhere) for the simple reason of deceiving potential immigrants to fear the INS who, in reality, has no jurisdiction to make arrests (per se) of undocumented people. The timing of the broadcast, itself, also reveals INS awareness of labor trends and power struggle with North American employers. At the same time that the U.S. government and the INS impress upon the U.S. and México a hardline, militarized approach to the border, employers respond with another message - that workers can return to



their jobs as usual. In what has been described as a low-intensity war being launched against immigrants (and by extension, against México and other areas), the INS broadcasts and increasing militarization of the border are attempting to function as another strategy for immediate political exploitation of the Latino population, at both the national and multi-national level.

## The Police, the Undocumented, and the Maintenance of Colonialism in San Diego

por Benjamin Prado

The recent proliferation of armed troops and increased border patrol agents has illustrated the neo-fascist ideals held by Bill Clinton, Janet Reno, Doris Meissner and now San Diego Police Chief Jerry Sanders. The San Diego Police Department and San Diego county Sheriff officers will now have the legal right to detain suspected illegal immigrants. This not only solidifies the colonizing conditions that our Raza face day-to-day but illustrates the path that the racist system is moving towards. Fascism is nothing new to the racist U.S. power structure. The police and migra terror that our communities suffer is the product of an illegal imperialist power structure that was imposed on the natural inhabitants of this continent over 500 years ago.

The opportunist pig Bill Clinton is trying to make a name for himself amongst the ignorance of American society by "trying to protect our borders." This false illusion of regional ownership, by an illegal settler nation, only leads to the very social ill of Xenophobia suffered by Pete Wilson and every ignoramus who voted and supported proposition 187.

The only thing which the two party system has provided the colonized people of this region is genocide. Armed military personnel proves without a bit of doubt that both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are only illusions of Democracy. The reality is that the U.S. social structure stands on the pedestal of Racism and genocide, and the only thing it can produce is more racism and increased genocide on the poor peoples of the world.

San Diego police have become Janet Reno's cronies. They have been given the right to repress the Mexican community with their policing tactics in an attempt to decrease the "illegal" population. This tells the public that Mexicans are not welcomed in "their" precious society. This blatantly labels our people as illegitimate human beings. This white power structure is calling all Raza, in the most frank sense of the word, inferior. San Diego police have become the Gestapo of Amerikkka.

Police Chief Jerry Sanders says he will work with Border Patrol agencies to their fullest possible capacity to capture the undocumented. This means it's open season on Raza, in essence, to be brutalized, killed and incarcerated.

This low intensity war being waged on our communities is a vicious attack against humanity.

The laws which are being created keep our people colonized while asking us to respect them. They ask us to ignore the heavy repression felt by us at the hands of neo-fascist puppets (The Police Dept. and Migra Pigs) who beat, rape, kill, dehumanize and label our people as inferiors. They want us to respect these laws as though we voted this system in, when in fact it imposed itself on our people. We did not ask the system to come into our region and build the concrete wall that separates our Mexico into two distinct regions. There was never an election which asked our communities whether we wanted a border that would cut our culture into two halves.

Now the system employs young kids straight out of high school, recruits them into the Army, National Guard, gives them machine guns and asks them to look for Mexicans crossing "their" border. Their arsenal against our people is increasing and they expect us to sit back and watch all this go down without us saying a word. We are expected to submit to these lies that have shackled our minds into believing we actually crossed into a land that belongs to white people, when history will show us that white people came from a place called Europe - thousands of miles from the California coast line. Yet we who are the descendants of a civilization that existed before Christ was even born, are the illegals here.

They tell us we don't belong here, but if we want to come into this region we must first ask these strangers - on our land - to grant us permission to enter. It's like asking a car jacker to give you permission to let you ride in your own car.

They teach our youth to stand and pledge allegiance to a flag that has offered our people nothing but poverty and dehumanization. They ask to respect their inhumane treatment. We are supposed to respect the cops, who are the protectors and enforcers of the white power structure. The white power structure creates laws that say we are less human and should live in poverty.

The system tells us this while they use the natural resources they stole from us. They exploit our cheap labor in their labor market (NAFTA, migrant workers, etc.) They

## MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS ARE THE OPPRESSORS OF POOR WORLD NATIONS

By: Angelica Ramirez

Countless attention has been given to the articles written recently about the \$13 million effort to enforce the border, which to Raza represents one more attack. A particular article published under "Letters to the Editor," captured my attention, it read: "Tourist would flock to wall" (see San Diego Union Tribune 1/16/96). It is a letter in which an individual suggests that "we erect a wall of stone, somewhat similar to the Great Wall of China. We could employ the best of Mexican designers to give it an Aztec flair, and employ Mexican laborers, giving them green cards and paying our U.S. Minimum wage. The Great Wall of Tijuana would be a tourist attraction, adding to the delights found by visitors in San Diego." Such comment is exemplary of what prevails in the sick minds of fascist, colonialist imperialists.

It is these imperialists that use the excuse that "the border fence is designed to keep out illegal immigrants who are costing our taxpayers billions of dollars as they take advantage of our medical and welfare support systems," to legitimize the militarization of the border and for the further repression/ oppression of Raza and treatment of our people, as if we are inhuman. The billions of so called "tax dollars" are in actuality spent on fascist legislation such as the "Federal/Clinton Crime Bill," (a 30.2 billion dollar Federal Crime Bill signed into law in September of 1994. A bill which "will put into the streets and along the false U.S./Mexico border over 100,000 police and migra pigs" (see *LA VERDAD*!) and not by "illegal immigrants" who allegedly commit theft, fraud and cost taxpayers billions of dollars by taking advantage of medical and welfare system. Along with being accused of taking advantage of medical/welfare services which "they are not eligible for in the first place," our gente are blamed (targeted) as the cause for the social and economic problems that face society. It is the information which technologies give result to that affects TNC (TransNational Corporations) under capitalism and U.S imperialism which are the source of the problems that face society and not "illegal immigrants."

The technologies that have been developed in the U.S. are being used against our gente and not for the benefit of humanity. One must ask, in whose interests were these technologies developed? These technologies were developed with the ideology of TNC to maximize profit. TNC have lumped countries of Asia and Latin America into "Third World" countries, in this manner they are able to exploit the land, (natural resources, raw materials) and labor of individuals living in these foreign countries. Resulting in the increase of poverty, worsening the conditions that exist in these foreign countries. The inclination of TNC to go abroad to foreign countries and treat the whole world as if it was one country has caused the liberalization and deregulation of the market to occur. In which countries like Mexico who were once able to produce at the rate twice the number of the population growth are now being faced with economic problems (a history of political instability can be attributed to this) were the country can no longer produce enough to feed its population, causing the need to import agricultural products. This results in the displacement of many workers and causes them to migrate to industrialized cities and have no other option than to constitute the cheap labor force that is necessary for TNC to maximize profit.

The solution to ending "illegal immigration" is clearly not, militarizing the border or creating protective barriers and making them attractive and esthetically pleasing but for the "U.S illegal settler nation" to return the land that they forcibly stole from the Mexican people and without a doubt ending gringo/European colonialism.

increase their wealth at the expense of our peoples lives, dignity, and social well being.

Racism is nothing new to this power structure. It has been used historically against us and it will continue to be used so as long as the capitalist power structure exists. We, as Raza, refuse to justify our presence here on our land. ¡Que Viva La Reunificación de México!



## COLONIALISM AND PROFITS FORM

# The Political Economy of

From the Oct-Dec issue of *¡LA VERDAD!*

In 1993 we took time to seriously analyze and critique the work of Unión del Barrio, the national liberation struggle, and what needs to be done to bring victory to our struggle. After a series of discussions we recognized the critical necessity of establishing a "vanguard-type" formation; one that would have the capacity to develop a clear ideology, strategy, and actual organization to lead our liberation movement to victory.

In the July-Sept 1993 issue of *¡LA VERDAD!* we wrote: "We understand that during this period of struggle there is no strong leadership found within our movement. While at the same time we are witnessing a growing activism in occupied Mexico (Aztlán). Basically [what we have] is a movement without direction - [like] a ship without a rudder, sailing endlessly.... We firmly believe that only a vanguard-type organization can concretely move our struggle forward. By vanguard we mean an organization composed of disciplined, committed, serious, and politically advanced membership and with a well thought out, scientific strategy and tactical program for winning the liberation of Chicano Mexicanos and all Raza, from Alaska to Chile."

## Prisons Are Tools Of Colonialism

Central to developing the leadership for our movement organizationally is to come to terms, in theory and practice, with a materialist strategy that will lead our struggle to victory. To achieve a correct strategy it is necessary to clearly analyze the characteristics and identify the foundation of the colonial-capitalist system that oppresses the great majority of nuestra Raza.

Our analysis have led is to the conclusion that that prisons are a tool of colonialism. Therefore, our revolutionary goals for liberation call for analysis on the question of prisons - its affects on our movement and impact on the whole Mexicano community - by clearly defining the political, social, and economic value of the prison system to gabacho-settler colonialism and capitalism, as well as what needs to be done in order to deal with this particular question in defense of our gente.

In 1986 - for the purpose of understanding what were the causes that led to the defeat of the Chicano Power Movement of the late 1960's and early 1970's - we published a brief document that identified several key factors. They included the lack of a clear revolutionary theory, lack of organization, isolation from other liberation struggles, individualistic approach to struggle, and the vicious attack led by various U.S. government law enforcement/military institutions (read Unión del Barrio pamphlet, "Summing Up The Last Period Of Struggle: The Chicano Movement 1965 to 1975," June 1986). It is within this last factor, that we find the role that the prison system plays in the continued oppression of our gente.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's the U.S. government, with the support of the general white population, unleashed all of its police-military might against the Chicano/Indio Movement, the Black Power Movement and other liberation struggles. Organizers and militants were murdered, brutalized, harassed, arrested and imprisoned. Raids on the headquarters of progressive and revolutionary organizations, setting-up of people on petty or phony charges, getting people fired, threats of losing jobs, and creating splits and divisions within organizations were constant realities of that period of struggle. If the militants couldn't be "neutralized" (forced into exile, give-up struggle, or selling out), they were either murdered or imprisoned (read the chapter "The Black Revolution of the Sixties," *Izwe Lethu i Afrika!*, by Omali Yeshitela; *Occupied America*, by Rodolfo Acuña; and *Agents of Repression*, by Churchill and Vander Wall).

Therefore, as we came to understand the causes which led to the defeat/decline of the Chicano Power Movement and the on-going colonial oppression of Mexicanos, we saw how along with police attacks and government drug pushing came the incarceration of activists and whole sectors of our community. Once the leading organizations of the movement were destroyed and most militants neutralized, murdered, or imprisoned the colonial state carried its vicious counterinsurgency war to the whole colonized communities within its borders.

The state wanted to insure that the movement would not rise again, and thus they implemented a community-wide strategy of oppression (low intensity warfare) that would keep La Raza from ever developing a force that could lead it to liberation. This required imprisonment of large sectors

of the oppressed community and the construction of prisons of a "new type" - a type that would exercise maximum control over prisoners.

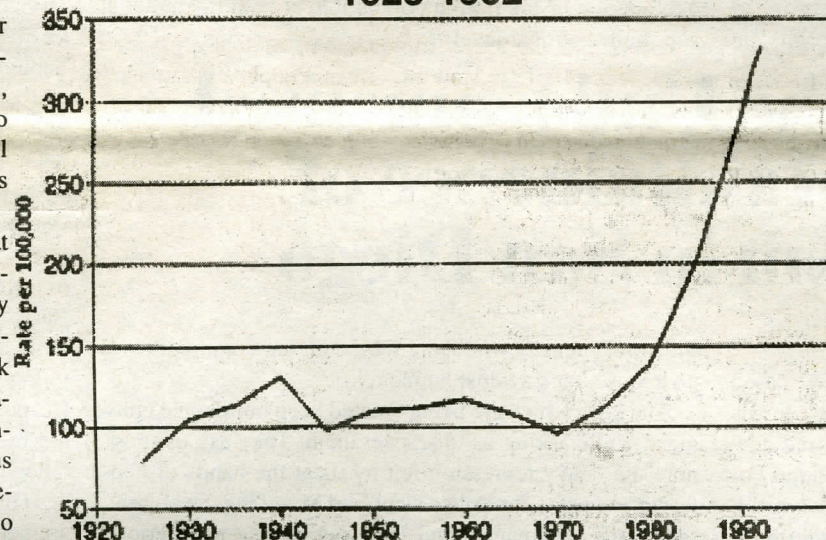
Historically, we have witnessed how many of nuestra Raza's best minds have been locked up in colonial-occupied America. Some of these individuals, even while still in prison, became leaders in the struggle for Raza liberation. The great revolutionary, Ricardo Flores Magón, was imprisoned and killed by guards in Leavenworth Federal Prison in 1922. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, various Chicano Movement organizations were active in prisons throughout Aztlán. To keep both the community and the prisoner under control, a new strategy of community and prisoner control had to be put into action.

This strategy (low intensity warfare) served, and continues to serve, a political and social purpose for U.S. colonialism. Beyond the social and political though, in a most parasitic fashion, low intensity warfare brings tremendous economic profits to the ruling class as well to its collaborators: the white masses and vendido hispanic elements within our own communities.

## Prisons, Genocide, And The New World Order

This low intensity warfare being waged against Mexicans - and other indigenous people - and Africans fits nicely within the imperialist "New World Order" and the political economic strategy of "Neo-liberalism" (a new version of laissez faire capitalism) practiced by the U.S. It is around this question where we find the answer to the massive prison construction of the last 25 years - capitalism's need to keep our people oppressed and from developing the organiza-

## U.S. Colonial Imprisonment Rate 1925-1992



Graph taken from: *Crime & Prisons*, by the Prison Law Project of the National Lawyers Guild, Fall 1994

**As the Chicano and Black Power Movements were destroyed in the 1970's, the rate of incarceration of the masses skyrocketed.**

tional capacity for liberation, while at the same time make billions of dollars in profits.

We address this fact in an article titled "The Clinton Crime Bill: A Vicious Program to Keep Our Gente Poor, Exploited, and Colonized" (*¡La Verdad!*, July-Sept 1994). The new U.S. government's counterinsurgency program, waged in the form of low intensity warfare "... also forms part of the 'New World Order' where the European population under the leadership of the white bourgeoisie (the rich ruling class) will become the supervisors and managers of the wealth and labor of the peoples of the world. The large Mexicano and African population within the borders of the U.S. is not part of this world scheme; thus we see a whole campaign to reduce the population and lock-up Mexicanos, Africans, and other non-European peoples. This campaign includes deportations, murders, spreading of AIDS, disarming of people, importation of drugs into poor communities, and the mass criminalization [and incarceration] of our peoples."

In a recent presentation given at California State University Fullerton, Philip Agee, former CIA agent and author of *Inside The Company* (aired on C-SPAN, Nov. 1995), called the attacks on Mexicanos, Africans, and other nationalities, as a way for the United States government to eliminate its "excess population." We see more references to the genocide of non-European people throughout the world in the book *Excessive Force: Power Politics and Population Control* (published by the Information Project for Africa).

## Some Facts Regarding Prisons In The U.S. Settler State

History has taught us that the role of prisons, since the rise of capitalist societies, has been to socially and economically control the masses and maintain the power of a small, rich ruling elite. In contrast with the old colonial society, where the white ruling class openly (and shamelessly) oppressed the masses of our people, capitalism has legally/constitutionally codified and masked the role of prisons to make us think that their primary function is to protect society from criminal elements. Yet nothing can be further from the truth, as we witness the fact that the great majority of the people in prisons are the poor or those who rebel against the injustices of the state.

For example, consider the following:

- The imprisonment rate has increase close to 500% within the last 20 years. (see *Crime & Prisons*, produced by the Prison Law Project of the National Lawyers Guild, Fall 1994 and *San Diego Union-Tribune* 12/4/95). This is no coincidence since colonialism has imposed a war on the masses under the cover of getting tough on crime and the war on drugs - arresting thousands upon thousands of people.

- Presently close to two million people - the great majority Mexicano Indios, African and poor people of other nationalities - are in U.S. prisons (see *Crime and Prison*) and millions more tied to the legal system (in the form of parole and probation). In fact, the U.S. has more people in prison than any other nation on earth. (*San Diego Union Tribune* 12/4/95).

- While the actual crime rate, relatively speaking, is going down, the media has distorted and sensationalized crime as ever-increasing and more violent. Over 70% of those getting 25 to life are doing so not for serious crimes (read *North Coast Xpress*, Dec. 1995/Jan 1996). Information from the system itself shows that most people doing time are not in for violent crime, but as a result of drug busts and burglary arrests. White collar crime (business and corporate crime) far exceeds costs and has far more impact on society than all burglaries, robberies and auto thefts combined. The difference is that business and corporate crimes are generally by the gringo. These crimes which are rarely highlighted by the media, are never put into any kind of perspective that consider their actual impact on society. This is especially important, since most of the time the activities of these gringo crooks run into the millions of dollars and impact many lives (savings and loan scams, stock market rip offs, environmental crimes, etc.). Yet, when some poor Mexican or African rips off some liquor store or gets caught selling a twenty dollar bag of dope, our picture ends up all over the evening news and on all the "Cops"-style shows - thus keeping us on the minds of every simple minded redneck who thinks they are going to be the next victim. On top of that there is fact that Mexicans and Africans are nine times most likely to be convicted

of a drug related crime - yet drug use is proportionately much higher among whites (*Crime and Punishment*). As if this was not enough proof to clearly demonstrate that the whole war on drugs has been used to criminalize and imprison Raza and other poor oppressed peoples there is more to this vicious plan of low intensity warfare.

- Woman imprisonment, relatively speaking, is growing at a faster rate than men. Over two thirds of women inmates in the U.S. are non-white women, the majority of these are Mexicanas and Africans. Over one-half of the women in prison have children. This perpetuates the break down of the family - a necessary factor in maintaining colonialism and advancing the genocide of a people (*Crime and Punishment*). As Unión del Barrio has explained in the past, the intent of the various new laws, the Democratic Party "Crime Bill" and the Republican Party "Contract With America," are attempts to "control the growing Raza population by targeting the family and thus maintaining white supremacy" (see *¡La Verdad!*, Oct.-Dec. 1994 and *La Opinión*, 11-25-1994).

- In relationship to the "Clinton Crime Bill" and the "Three Strikes You're Out," we see laws where at 13 years old you can now be legally tried as an adult (*Turning The Tide*, Fall 1995). This is key because it psychologically puts fear into youth and locks down a generation of potential revolutionaries. It attacks Mexicanos as most are under 18 years old and keeps us from replenishing the ranks of militants. In this "legal" attack against our youth, we see that in some cases prison sentences are increased to 10 years if crimes were committed by known gang members. This open attack on our youth can easily be applied to political groups



## THE BASIS FOR:

## Prisons In Occupied America

accused of anti-government violence. Furthermore, laws in the recent Anti-Terrorist Bill allow for immediate deportation (without hearings) of so-called "aliens" for "connection" to "terrorists activities" and the mass implementation of secret surveillance of anyone "suspected" of being in a terrorist organization (*Turning The Tide-Fall* 1995). As history has proven, these types of laws are applied to those in society who dare to stand up for their rights and struggle against violations of the civil and human rights.

- California, which has the highest number of Mexicans, is first in prison construction and 46th in public school spending (*North Coast Xpress*, Dec. 1995/Jan 1996). Yet, when the great majority of public schools students were white, California led the U.S. settler-nation in public school funding. Now that Raza and other non-white people form the majority of the student population, the colonial administrators have implemented plans to keep us under-educated and in prison.

- Time and time again through research by bourgeois groups themselves, studies have proven that prisons do not protect the public or rehabilitate the prisoners - rather it breeds anger and frustration against society (*The Fortress Economy: The Economic Role of the U.S. Prison System*, by Lichtenstein and Kroll, 1990). The fact that the cost of incarcerating one person can put 10 people through community college, five in the Cal State University system, and 2 in the U.C. system (*North Coast Xpress*, Dec. 1995/Jan 1996), leads us to understand the tremendous value, to the system, of keeping us imprisoned rather than educating us. Therefore, it is not surprising to know that there are more Raza in prisons, than there are in colleges and universities.

#### From Consultants To Prison Guards, Thousands Gain From Prison Industry

Generally, most people know very little about the political-economic benefits of

[sic] imprisoned nationally," explains Jerome Miller of the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives (quoted from article of Prisons, by the African People's Socialist Party).

- The FBI, CIA, DEA, INS and countless other police and military institutions in the U.S. have dossiers (personal files) on millions of people currently residing in what currently is the U.S. Eleven sites, presently empty, that are maintained and could serve as concentration camps for "radicals," have been identified. Most are strategically located in rural communities (check out *The Pig Society*, by Dean and Koontz, 1970).
- Recently, the INS (migra) along with other elements of the colonial police, held a massive three-day field exercise in case of a large flow of "illegal immigrants." In an article entitled "Border Patrol gets ready, just in case", (December 8, 1995, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*) the military exercise was upheld as "...the Clinton administration's top immigration policy-makers tested new plans to control the border in case Mexico's financial and political problems worsen dramatically... Their field radios crackling through a border canyon here [Nogales, Arizona], scores of Border Patrol agents practiced erecting cyclone-fence corrals, herding immigrants through them for emergency processing, and loading them onto bus convoys for travel to mass detention centers."

Based on the history of settler America, we know racist-colonialist-capitalists have always worked to maintain the Mexican and other non-European people in state of oppression and subjugation. They have been active agents in crushing the many uprisings of our people and of revolutionary movements, and staunch supporters of the prison industry.

We know that the growing incarceration of Raza is tied to the super profits made by businesses such as engineering, construction, medical services, waste removal, maintenance, consultants and academics (who do the research on prisoners), food preparation and delivery services, arms (special tear-gas and riot equipment producers) and security systems, and other companies and syndicates; corporations such as AT&T, G.E., American Express, Kitchel

Capital Expenditures Management, etc. Also cashing in on the profits to be made by imprisonment are the correctional guards, counselors

and psychologists, parole and probation officers, wardens and assistants, etc. We see the whole criminal justice system, lawyers, D.A., judges, police/sheriffs, etc. living off our colonial situation. Even business around prisons, such as hotels, restaurants, and

travel/transportation business such as train, bus, airlines, are making profits from the colonial concentration camps known as prisons. There is so much money to be made that private corporations are getting into the prison and jail business, establishing privately owned, for-profit prisons! (*The Fortress Economy*)

#### The Great Majority Of Gringo America Is Politically Or Economically Tied To The Prison Industry

Prison construction is "sold" to white, economically depressed communities (gladly accepted by them) as a source of employment and tax revenue and the solution to their problems. This sick complicity and unity between the rich white ruling class and its brothers and sisters, the general white population, is concretely expressed in their joint support of locking-up more Raza, African, and other non-white peoples. This cross-class, racial unity of white people around mass imprisonment of people is brilliantly summed-up by Omali Yeshitela (chairman of the African People's Socialist Party) as, "...the U.S. government and whites are making so much money off our genocide that the massive U.S.-wide prison-building alone is responsible for the current economic prosperity which flows to the majority of the white population. . . . White people making their prosperous livings off the suffering of African people is not new. . . . This is why the majority of the white population enthusiastically backs all of the genocidal anti-black legislation today - from the Crime Bill to the welfare cutbacks, attacks on affirmative action, to and the theft of our babies through the foster care program."

#### The Current Situation Of A Great Number Of Raza Presently Locked Down

Daily acts of brutality (physical and mental) by guards or intentional "set-ups" as a way of promoting confrontations between prisoners, forced inducement of mind altering drugs, and censorship of reading material, are common practice. Since 1963, starting with the construction of Marion, several Maximum Security Prison have been built (Pelican Bay, CA, etc.) and over 36 state prisons have created "prisons within prisons" known as super maximum security sections (*Crime and Punishment*). Everyday, rights of prisoners, won through uprisings, strikes and legal actions are being annulled. Access to legal advice, rights to file suits, visits by family and friends, literature and other information, exercise equipment, access to educational opportunities, etc. are basic fundamental rights being denied to prisoners. This whole movement to further punish and control prisoners has as its objective the use of terror of imprisonment as a psychological tool to keep the rest of the population in line - as a center for controlling those who dare to rebel, and an attempt to keep prisoners from organizing themselves and uniting with the liberation movement "outside" of the prisons.

#### Our Work Around This Particular Question

If we are serious about bringing about revolutionary change and liberation for nuestra Raza, then those involved in the movement must identify those forces which oppress us and unite with those forces which struggle to defeat and destroy colonialism. This calls for including the question of prisons and prisoners as something that our

movement must address. This is precisely the reason that Unión del Barrio founded the Chicano Mexican Prison

Project.

In the last issue of *La Verdad!*, we outlined the objectives of the Prison Project as the following:

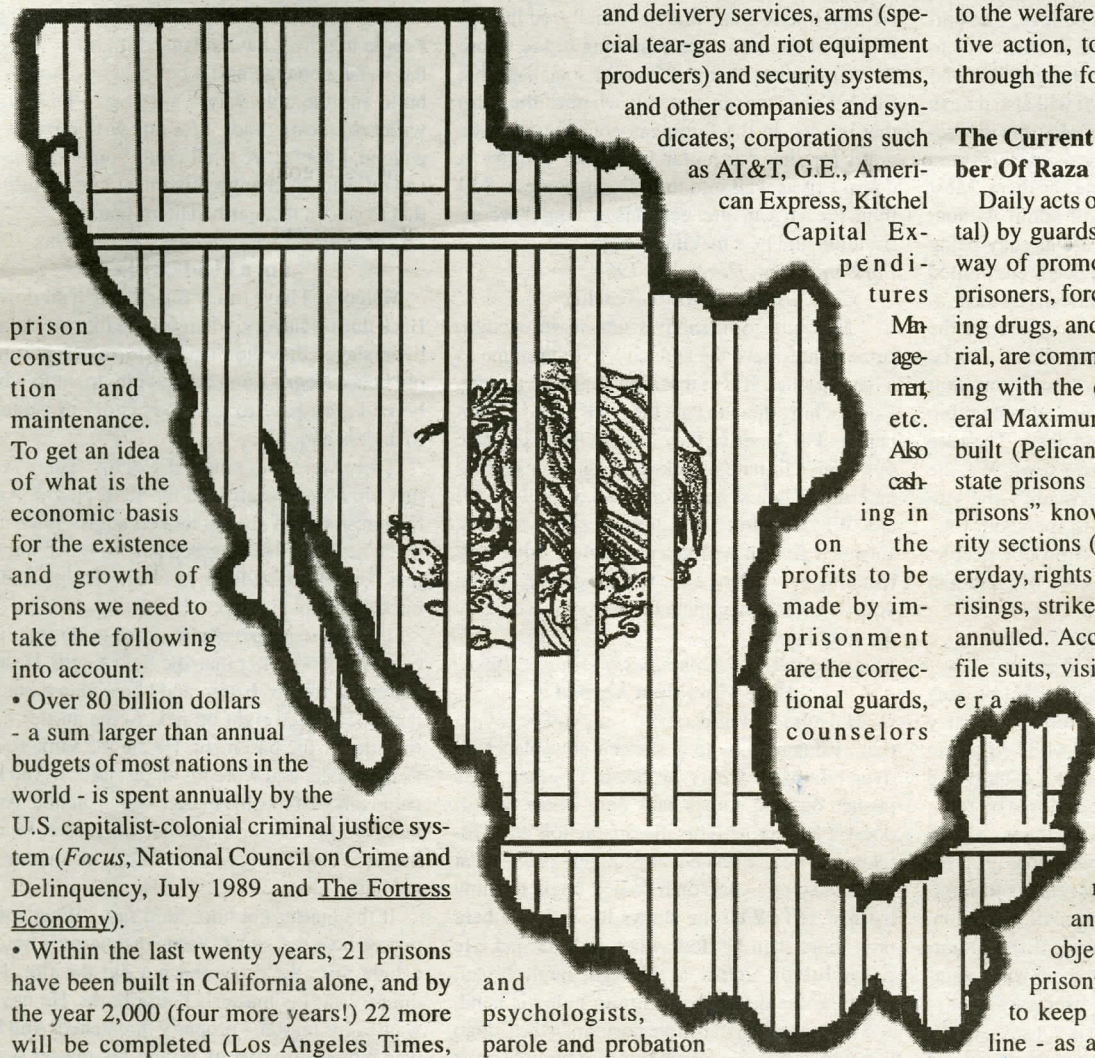
"The work of the CMPP is guided by three basic principles. One, to raise the political consciousness of Raza locked up in the U.S. colonial jails and prisons. Two, to expose to our communities, groups, students, and the families of prisoners, the political and economic realities of the prison system, which is set up to keep our gente colonized and oppressed, while at the same time making huge profits for the gringo capitalists and their vendido-puppet allies. And third, to advocate for the rights of all prisoners." (*La Verdad!*, July-Sept. 1995).

We currently have 500 members of the CMPP who get literature from our organization on a regular basis. As a way of advancing the objectives of the CMPP, through the Barrio Defense Committee (a component of the CMPP) in San José (see related article in this issue), we have launched a campaign to free a young Mexicano (Jose Luis Aviña) convicted for defending himself against a white vigilante. We have also supported the work around the defense of Ramsey Muñoz, a former leading member of La Raza Unida Party, presently in prison after being set-up by DEA agents on phony drug charges.

The Unión has also made it a point to raise the questions of police brutality and the role of prisons at all movement events in which we participate. In addition, a series of documents on the question of prisons is being developed and will be presented to the community and published by La Verdad Publications in January of 1996. We have committed ourselves to bringing this question up for discussion and action at the first Unión del Barrio Congreso which will be held mid 1995.

**IMPRISON THE OPPRESSOR,  
LIBERATE THE OPPRESSED!**

**¡EN LAS CALLES Y EN LA TORCIDA,  
LA RAZA VENCERÁ!**



prison construction and maintenance. To get an idea of what is the economic basis for the existence and growth of prisons we need to take the following into account:

- Over 80 billion dollars - a sum larger than annual budgets of most nations in the world - is spent annually by the U.S. capitalist-colonial criminal justice system (*Focus*, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, July 1989 and *The Fortress Economy*).
- Within the last twenty years, 21 prisons have been built in California alone, and by the year 2,000 (four more years!) 22 more will be completed (Los Angeles Times, 1994).
- With the enactment of laws such as the Crime Bill, Anti-Terrorist Acts, Three Strikes, etc., "We project 4 to 6 million people, most of them black and Hispanic



## Malcolm Little - Malcolm X - El Hajj Malik al-Shabazz:

## "Today You Still Have House Negroes And Field Negroes... I'm A Field Negro"

The following is a selection of statements, taken from the book *By Any Means Necessary*, published by Pathfinder Press, made by Malcolm X in various speeches, interviews and answers to questions during his last year.

**How We Got Here**

Malcolm: You wouldn't be in this country if some enemy hadn't kidnapped you and brought you here. On the other hand, some of you think you came here on the Mayflower.

Group on Advanced Leadership meeting, Detroit, April 12, 1964

**Fight or Forget It**

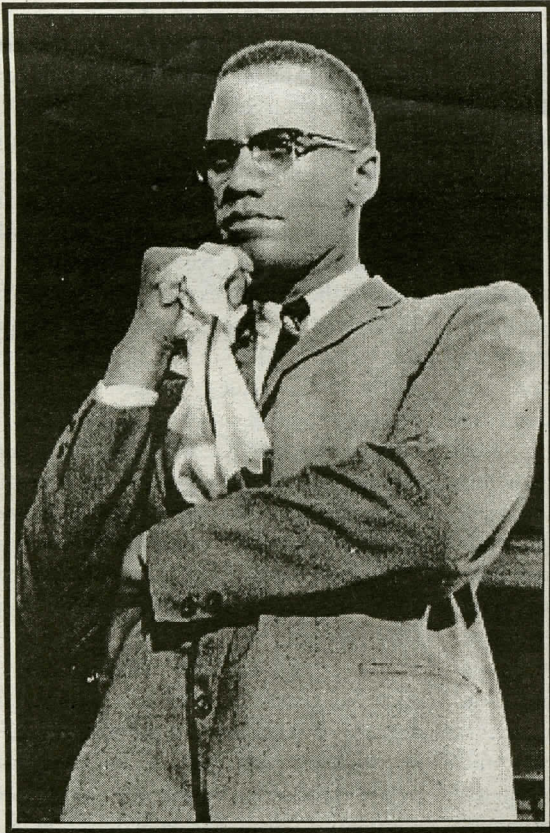
Malcolm: I say bluntly that you have had a generation of Africans who actually believed that you could negotiate, negotiate, negotiate and eventually get some kind of independence. But you're getting a new generation that has been growing right now, and they're beginning to think with their own minds and see that you can't negotiate up on freedom nowadays. If something is yours by right, then fight for it or shut up. If you can't fight for it, then forget it.

London School of Economics, February, 1965

**What They Mean by Violence**

Malcolm: You're out of your mind if you don't think that there's a racist element in the State Department. I'm not saying that everybody in the State Department is a racist, but I'm saying they've sure got some in there - a whole lot of them in there. They've got them in powerful positions in there. This is the element that became worried about the changing Negro mood and the changing Negro behavior, especially if that mood and that behavior became one of what they call violence. By violence they only mean when a black man protects himself against the attacks of a white man. This is what they mean by violence. They don't mean what you mean. Because they don't even use the word violence until someone gives the impression that you're about to explode. When it comes time for a black man to explode they call it violence. But white people can be exploding against black people all day long, and it's never called violence. I even have some of you come to me and ask me, am I for violence? I'm the victim of violence, and you're the victim of violence. But you've been so victimized by it that you can't recognize it for what it is today.

HARYOU-ACT Forum, New York, December 12, 1964

**How to Get Allies**

Malcolm X went to England on December 3, 1964, to participate in a debate sponsored by the Oxford Union Society and presented over television by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The question debated was "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue," a theme that had aroused heated controversy when it was propounded earlier in 1964 by Senator Barry Goldwater, the conservative Republican candidate for president. There were three speakers on each side, Malcolm being the final speaker for the affirmative.

Malcolm: My reason for believing in extremism, intelligently directed extremism, extremism in defense of liberty, extremism in quest of liberty, is because I firmly believe in my heart that the day that the black man takes an uncompromising step and realizes that he's within his rights, when his own freedom is being jeopardized, to use any means necessary to bring about his freedom or put a halt to that injustice, I don't think he'll be by himself. I live in America where there are only 22 million blacks, against probably 160 million whites. One of the reasons why I'm in no way reluctant or hesitant to do whatever is necessary to see that blacks do something to protect themselves is I honestly believe that the day they do, many whites will have more respect for them, and there will be more whites on their side than are now on their side with these little wishy-washy love-thy-enemy approaches that they've been using up to now. And if I'm wrong, then you are racialists.

Oxford Union Society debate, December 3, 1964

**Charges of Racism**

Malcolm: If you noticed, the American press during the last week has been accusing the Africans in the United Nations of dealing in racism. Have you noticed that? Why? Because for the first time in the history of the UN every one of those foreign ministers or representatives from Africa who come up there to speak on the Congo question not only are speaking on the Congo but they're talking about Mississippi and Alabama and New York City. And you're going to find this, brothers, increasingly.

HARYOU-ACT Forum, New York, December 12, 1964

**Education**

Malcolm: Without education, you are not going anywhere in this world.

Militant Labor Forum, New York, May 29, 1964

**Politics**

Malcolm: Any time you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promises that it made to you during election time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that political party, you're not only a chump but you're a traitor to your race.

Group on Advanced Leadership meeting, Detroit, April 12, 1964

**No Need To Be Vengeful**

Malcolm: The 22 million Afro-Americans are not yet filled with hate or the desire for vengeance as the propaganda of the segregationists would have you believe. The universal law of justice is sufficient to bring judgment upon those whites who are guilty of racism. It will also punish those who have benefited from the racist practices of their forefathers and done nothing to atone for them. Most intelligent whites will admit without hesitation that they are already being punished for the evil deeds committed against the Afro-Americans by their fathers. Thus it is not necessary for the victim - the Afro-American - to be vengeful. The very conditions that whites created are already plaguing them into insanity and death. They are reaping what they have sown. We, the 22 million Afro-Americans - the victims - will do better to spend our time removing the scars from our people, scars left by 400 years of inhuman treatment in America.

Chicago debate, May 23, 1964

**The Role of Women**

Malcolm: One thing that I became aware of in my traveling recently through Africa and the Middle East, in every country you go to, usually the degree of progress can never be separated from the woman. If you're in a country that's progressive, the woman is progressive. If you're in a country that reflects the consciousness toward the importance of education, it's because the woman is aware of the importance of education. But in every backward country you'll find the women are backward, and in every country where education is not stressed it's because the women don't have education. So one of the things I became thoroughly convinced of in my recent travels is the importance of giving freedom to the woman, giving her education, and giving her the incentive to get out there and put that same spirit and understanding in her children. And I frankly am proud of the contribu-

tions that our women have made in the struggle for freedom and I'm one person who's for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men.

Paris interview, November, 1964

**Religion**

Malcolm: This afternoon it's not our intention to talk religion. We're going to forget religion. If we bring up religion, we'll be in an argument. And the best way to keep away from arguments and differences, as I said earlier, is to put your religion at home, in the closet, keep it between you and your God. Because if it hasn't done anything more for you than it has, you need to forget it anyway.

Group on Advanced Leadership meeting, Detroit, April 12, 1964

**Whom to Fight**

Malcolm: As long as we dillydally, and try to appear more moral than anybody else by taking a beating without fighting back, why, people will continue to refer to us as very moral persons and very well-disciplined persons, but at the same time we'll be just as far back a hundred years from now as we are today. So I believe that fighting against those who fight against us is the best course of action in any situation. Not fighting against anybody, but fighting against anybody who fights against us.

HARYOU-ACT Forum, New York, December 12, 1964

**Intellectuals and Socialism**

Malcolm: In the past the Afro-American or American Negro intellectual perhaps permitted himself to be used in a way that wasn't really beneficial to the overall Afro-American struggle. But I think today these intellectuals have begun to undertake a new appraisal of the problem, are looking at it as it actually is, and are beginning to see it more in the intellectual context, the relation that it has with the African struggle. And the African intellectual is beginning to look at the problem in the African context and see that what might be good in one country, in order for it to be used in another country, has to be rearranged. You take African socialism. Many of the African intellectuals that have analyzed the approach of socialism are beginning to see where the African has to use a form of socialism that fits into the African context; whereas the form that is used in the European country might be good for that particular European country it doesn't fit as well into the African context. So I think the African intellectual is making that contribution and he's making it well.

Paris interview, November, 1964

**A Master Hate-Teacher**

Malcolm: Somebody's got nerve enough, some whites have the audacity, to refer to me as a hate teacher. If I'm teaching someone to hate, I'm teaching them to hate the Ku Klux Klan. But here and in America they have taught us to hate ourselves. To hate our skin, to hate our hair, to hate our features, hate our blood, hate what we are. Why, Uncle Sam is a master hate-teacher, so much so that he makes someone think he's teaching law when he's teaching hate. When you've made a man hate himself, you've really got it and gone.

London School of Economics, February, 1965

**Here More than Abroad**

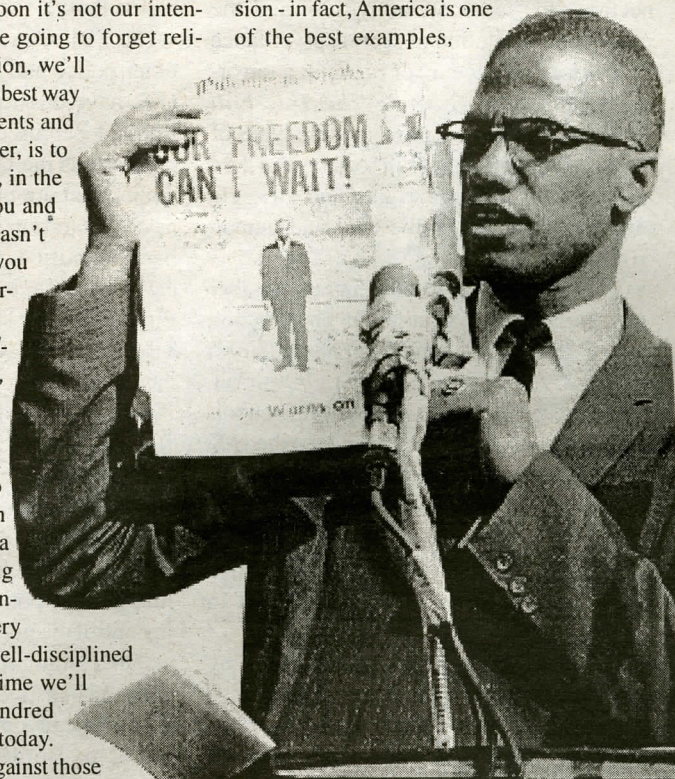
Malcolm: If I understand you, you're saying that as this man, who at present is in places all over this earth where he doesn't belong, gets pushed out and comes back here where he still doesn't belong, will his dissatisfaction be so intense that he can't hide it any longer - is this what you're saying? - and then he will begin to show his real self? Well, he shows his real self here now more than he does when he's abroad. He probably will, brother, as times get tough abroad; it'll be more difficult for him to hide his hand, and his present indefensible position in the Congo is a sign of this. . . . When they are brought back here from having been pushed out back there, it is true that they have more animosity.

HARYOU-ACT Forum, New York, December 12, 1964

**Youth in a Time of Revolution**

Malcolm: I don't believe in any form of un-

justified extremism, but I believe that when a man is exercising extremism, a human being is exercising extremism, in defense of liberty for human beings, it's no vice. And when one is moderate in the pursuit of justice for human beings, I say he's a sinner. And I might add in my conclusion - in fact, America is one of the best examples,



when you read its history, about extremism. Old Patrick Henry said "liberty or death" - that's extreme, very extreme.

I read once, passingly, about a man named Shakespeare - I only read about him passingly, but I remember one thing he wrote that kind of moved me. He put it in the mouth of Hamlet, I think it was, who said, "To be or not to be" - he was in doubt about something - "whether it was nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" - moderation - "or to take up arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them." And I go for that. If you take up arms, you'll end it. But if you sit around and wait for the one who's in power to make up his mind that he should end it, you'll be waiting a long time.

And in my opinion the young generation of whites, blacks, browns, whatever else there is, you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built, and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods. I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth. Thank you.

Oxford Union Society debate, December 3, 1964

**I'm a Field Negro**

Malcolm: I have to say this, then I'll sit down. Back during slavery, when people like me talked to the slaves, they didn't kill them, they sent some old house Negro along behind him to undo what he said. You have to read the history of slavery to understand this.

There were two kinds of Negroes. There was that old house Negro and the field Negro. And the house Negro always looked out for his master. When the field Negroes got too much out of line, he held them back in check. He put them back on the plantation.

The house Negro could afford to do that because he lived better than the field Negro. He ate better, he dressed better, and he lived in a better house. He lived right up next to his master - in the attic or the basement. He ate the same food as his master and wore his same clothes. And he could talk just like his master - good diction. And he loved his master more than his master loved himself. That's why he didn't want his master to get hurt.

If the master got hurt, he'd say: "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" When the master's house caught afire, he'd try and put out the fire. He didn't want his master's house burnt. He never wanted his master's property threatened. And he was more defensive of it than his master was. That was the house Negro.

But then you had some field Negroes, who lived in huts, had nothing to lose. They wore the worst kind of clothes. They ate the worst food. And they caught hell. They felt the sting of the

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## Huey P. Newton - Minister of Defense - Servant of the People

# On The Defection Of Eldridge Cleaver From The Black Panther Party And The Defection Of The Black Panther Party From The Black Community

The following originally appeared in the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971.

By Huey P. Newton

Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, I watched him try to make a reality of

dom, and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words they have to see first some basic accomplishments, in order to realize that major successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will have to guide them into this understanding. But he can never take them from A to Z in one jump, because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore he is no longer a revolutionary, if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process-non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the policemen in front of the office of *Ramparts* magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were Police Alert Patrols all over the country, but we were the first armed police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time an action is revolutionary is when the people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have, your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary, because the fascists carry guns - in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power is the gun, but the emphasis is on "grows." The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon, so that you can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that, "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of get rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party

a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of *Ramparts* magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as the Revolution and the Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process, and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards and community police or something like this. This is why we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way they would get salvation is through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of

raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the



**Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of The Black Panther Party**

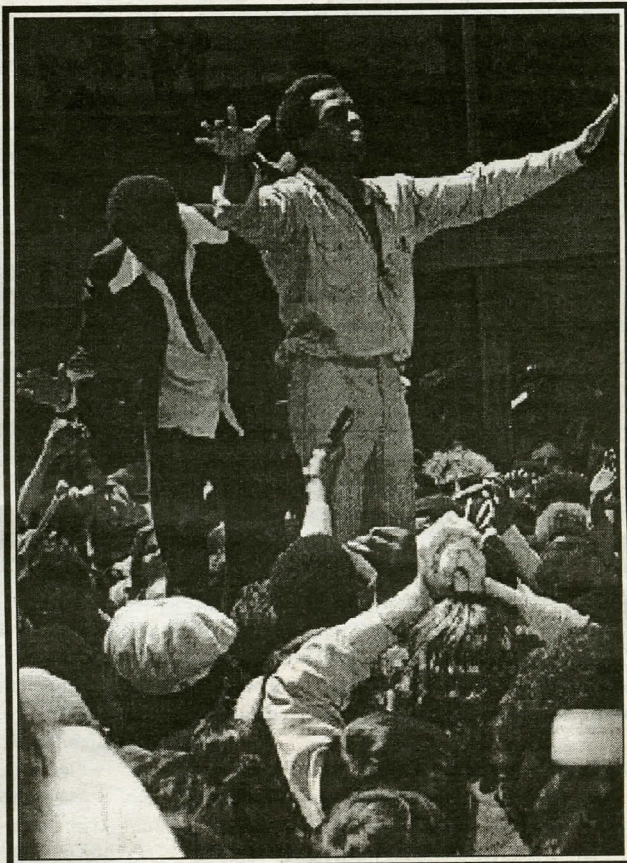
community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.

When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together, in a systematic manner. We did this through our basic Ten-Point Program. In actuality it was a 20-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe." This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.

The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions, for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom, it is not making a political statement and could even be counter-revolutionary.

We realized at a very early point in our development that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalism wiped out slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. This is why when capitalism wiped out feudalism, capitalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist; but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended, so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion; we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for free-



**Huey after being released on bail in 1970.**

Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of *Ramparts*. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz [Malcolm X's widow]. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This move was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

What the revolutionary movement and the Black community needs is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program - the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs, so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community, so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the



**Bobby Seale and Huey in front of Black Panther headquarters, Oakland, CA.**

bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward

**Continued on page 13**



A Message to New York Supreme Court Justice John M. Murtagh From the New York Panther 21

# We Could Be Silent No Longer

During the 1969 pre-trial hearing of thirteen Black Panthers in New York accused of conspiracy, New York Supreme Court Justice John M. Murtagh suspended proceedings and insisted that the defendants give him assurances about their behavior during trial. The thirteen sent a twenty-four page response to Judge Murtagh (which he rejected) which rapidly became famous as a significant summary of Black History as well as for its clear assertion that it is impossible for Black people to receive a fair trial in the United States. It was written by thirteen defendants. Originally, twenty-one persons were arrested and charged. Eight were severed from the case for various reasons, but the case is still referred to as the Panther 21. The Panther 21 were eventually acquitted of most charges. The following is their response, reprinted from *The Black Panthers Speak*.

We the defendants named by the state in the proceedings now, pending before "Justice" John M. Murtagh, in Part 38 Supreme Court, County of New York, say:

That the history of this nation has most definitely developed a dual set of social, economic and political realities, as well as dynamics. One white, and the other Black (The Black experience, or ghetto reality) having as their roots one of the most insidious and ruthless systems of human exploitation known to man, the enslavement and murder of over 40 million Black people, spread over a period of less than three centuries.

## Blacks-not Human?

Long ago in this nation certain basic decisions were made about Black people, but not consulting them. Even before the Constitution was even put on paper with its beautiful words and glowing rhetoric of man's equality and philosophical rights, human consideration had long given way before white economic necessity. Black people were to legally, be defined and classified as non-human, below a horse-but definitely not a man.

Color became the crucial variable, and the foundation of the system of Black slavery. While chattel slavery, is no longer upheld by the supreme law of the land, the habit and practice in thought and speech of looking at Black people from the chattel plain still persist. After much refinement, sophistication and development, it has remained to become embedded in the national character, making itself clear in organized society, its institutions, and the attitudes of the dominant white culture to this very day. For us to state there are two realities (experiences) that exist in this nation, is a statement of fact.

When we speak of American traditions, let us not forget the tradition of injustice inflicted again, and again upon those whom tradition has been created to exclude, exploit, dehumanize and murder.

Let us not conveniently forget how the system of "American justice" systematically upheld the bizarre reasoning about Black people in order to retain a system of slave labor. And when this became economically unnecessary, how "the great American system of justice" helped to establish and maintain social degradation and deprivation of all who were not white, and most certainly, those who were Black. To be sure, the entire country had to share in this denial; to justify the inhuman treatment of other human beings, the American had to conceal from himself and others his oppression of Blacks, but again the white dominant society has long had absolute power, especially over Black people - so it was no difficult matter to ignore them, define them, forget them, and if they persisted, pacify or punish them.

## Racism Is Built In

The duality of American society today need no longer be reinforced by laws, for it is now and has long been in the minds of men:

The Harlems of America, as opposed to those who decide the fate of America's Harlems. This is essentially a historical continuation today, of yesterday - the plantation mentality, system and division, in the cloak of 20th century enlightenment.

"Traditional American justice," its very application has created what it claims to remedy, for its eyes are truly, covered: it does not see the Black reality, nor does it consider or know of the Black experience, least of all consider it valid.

Black poor people are always subject to, but

do not take part in your corrupt grand Jury system and process.

We as a people do not exist except as victims, and to this and much more, we say no more. For 351 1/2 years we said this in various ways. But running deep in the American psyche is the fear of the ex-slave. He who for so long has been wronged, will be wronged no more, and in fact will demand, fight and die for his human rights.

## NO MORE!

But why need we feel this way in the first place? Does not your Constitution guarantee man's freedom, his human dignity against state encroachment? Or does the innate fear of the rebellious slave in the heart of the slave-master continue to this day to negate all those guarantees in the cases of Black people? Does this cultural racist phobia make one forget, and abridge his own constitution, as this court has done to us? Do you not know what we mean when we say "NO MORE"? What has been done to us by your court, the District Attorney, is only a reflection of all that has been infused and permeates this racist society.

Black people have said and felt this for over 100 years. But those of the other reality, the dominant white culture, its institutions, had no ears to truly hear. The wax of centuries of slave master-slave relationship had stopped up their ears, your ears. For if our reality, the Black experience in America, is invalid, then so are the institutions and social structure that contributed to its creation invalid. If you then concede it is valid (which it most definitely is), then it must be of consequence in determining what is "justice" compared to us, (Black people).

White citizens have grown up with the identity of an American, and have enjoyed a completely, different relationship to the institutions of this nation, with that, the unresolved conflicts of the ex-slaveholder.

Blacks are no longer the economic underpinning of the nation. But we continue to be willing, or unwilling, victims. There is a timeless quality to the unconscious which transforms yesterday into today.

## The Black Experience

On August 17, 1619, over a year prior to the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, a Dutch privateer dropped anchor off Jamestown, Virginia. There she exchanged her cargo of twenty Black men, women and children for provisions. According to the Dutch sailors, these Black people had been baptized, then, were "Christians" and therefore could not be enslaved under British laws. As a result of that law, we were legally defined as "indentured" servants.

By 1663, though, the "Christian" conscience had given way, to the capitalist desire for maximum profits. By 1663 also the Carolinas, New York and Maryland in 1664, Delaware and Pennsylvania in 1682 perpetrated the most heinous and despicable act conceivable to the human mind, that of denying an entire race of people their freedom by relegating them to eternal status of "chattel slavery," and this abominable feat was done through the courts, legally, and with the backing of guns - our first experience with "American justice."

But it did not stop there. Although later the "Declaration of Independence" proclaimed that "All men are created equal, that they, are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness," there was a most interesting omission. In the original draft there was a paragraph that Thomas Jefferson intended to include in the list of grievances against King George II. The paragraph read: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the person of a distant people (African Black people), who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither."

This paragraph was omitted in the final document, and understandably. For not only, would it have been a valid and factual indictment against King George, but also one against the "Founding Fathers" themselves.

When the "glorious" and "sacred" Constitution of the United States of America was drawn up in 1787, the "noble," "just" and "freedom loving" men who had fought a long and bloody war

against the tyrannical and oppressive British regime headed by King George, for their freedom, wrote into their constitution laws that further sanctified, legalized and protected that most "peculiar institution" (slavery). Apparently they recognized the absurd and repugnant contradiction, but not sufficiently, enough to do anything other than exclude the term "Negro" and "slave" from that document.

The Constitution contained three provisions that dealt specifically with the issue of slavery. The first, established the policy that in counting population in order to determine how many representatives a state might send to Congress all free persons and "three-fifths of all other persons" were to be counted (Article I Section 2). The second forbade the Congress from making any laws restricting the slave trade until 1808 (Article I Section 9), and the third, provided that runaway slaves who had escaped from any state had to be returned by any other state in which they, might have sought refuge (Article IV Section 2).

## The World the Slave-Holders Made

The years passed and our wretched plight progressively worsened, the "laws" of bondage became even more institutionalized, inculcated in the dominant culture. In order to further protect and perpetuate their domination over us, the southern states passed many repressive laws called "slave codes." For us, there was no freedom of assembly. If more than four or five slaves came together without permission from a white person, that gathering in the (depraved minds of the slave-masters was construed as a conspiracy. The towns and cities imposed a 9 p.m. curfew on us, there was no freedom of movement, a pass had to be carried by the slave whenever he was out of the presence of his master. And to enforce these ignoble laws, slave patrols, organized like militias were composed of armed and mounted whites. (This mentality persists to this day. Woe to the Black man who is out very late in a white neighborhood; the police (white) suspect him immediately of being up to some foul deed, even into the ghetto, the white policeman brings this mentality.)

Although slavery had been abolished in certain states, the Black people who lived in those states were subjected to degrading laws which belied their so-called free status, and even worse, they were subject to kidnapping and being sold into slavery. This so-called free Black man was anything but free under the "American system of justice."

Throughout this horrid epoch, a few slaves managed to escape, then more slaves. The slaveholders demanded that the runaway slave laws be enforced. They pleaded to the United States Supreme Court, and that "august" body, the most powerful judiciary body in the land, the ultimate interpreters of the Constitution, answered their plea by passing the "fugitive slave law" in 1850 [sic, by Congress not the Supreme Court]. Now for the run-away slave escaping to the North was not enough, for the Northern cities were overrun with slave-catchers.

## Dred Scott

In July 1847, Dred Scott, a Black resident of Missouri, brought suit in a Federal Court for his freedom. It read:

"Your petitioner, Dred Scott, a man of color, respectfully represents that sometime in the year of 1835 your petitioner was 'purchased' as a slave by one John Emerson, since deceased, who . . . conveyed your petitioner from the state of Missouri to Fort Snelling [Illinois] a fort then occupied by the troops of the United States and under the jurisdiction of the United States."

In essence Dred Scott was claiming that since he had been transported into territory (Illinois), in which slavery was forbidden by an act of Congress as well as state law, he was now a free man. This case was looked upon as a test to determine just what rights a Black man had in this country. It was the profound hope of many that a just and humane verdict would be rendered.

It took the Dred Scott case 10 years to reach the "sacred" halls of the Supreme Court, and when that "prestigious" group of men spoke in March 1857 through the voice of "Chief justice"

Roger Taney the Court ruled that "people of African descent are not and cannot be citizens of the United States and cannot sue in any court of the United States," and the Black people have "no rights which whites are bound to respect" - a classic example of the "American way of justice."

## Reconstruction - the Pretense of Democracy

The Reconstruction Era was a time of great and un-

paralleled hope. It seemed as though Black people were finally, to be accorded equal and humane treatment when the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were enacted.

But terror, violence, intimidation and murder still haunted us; the Ku Klux Klan did "their thing."

In 1875 Congress enacted the first significant civil rights law. It theoretically gave Black people the right to equal accommodations, facilities and access to public transportation and places of public amusement. But as Blacks well know and whites deny there is a world of difference in America between theory and practice. For although the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and the civil rights act of 1875 "gave" Black people so-called freedom, the right of citizenship and the right to vote, the enforcement of those laws was an entirely different thing. The extent of enforcement was totally dependent upon the degree to which it was advantageous to the Republican Party and the Northern industrialist.

By 1876 it was decided that Black people had served their purpose and, therefore, even the pretense of Black equality was no longer necessary.

The Supreme Court in 1883 embodied that attitude in law by declaring that the civil rights act of 1875 was unconstitutional. In other decisions it displayed its remarkable and ingenious talent for interpreting the law according to the needs and interests of the dominant white ruling class. It nullified the 14th and 15th Amendments by declaring that they were Federal restrictions only on the powers of the states or their agents, not on the powers of individuals within those states. Thus it was still illegal for any states to violate or abridge the rights of Black people; but if on the other hand, private citizens or a group of them (such as the Ku Klux Klan), within any state actively prevented Black people from exercising their rights, then the crime came under the jurisdiction of the state in which the crime, or crimes, took place.

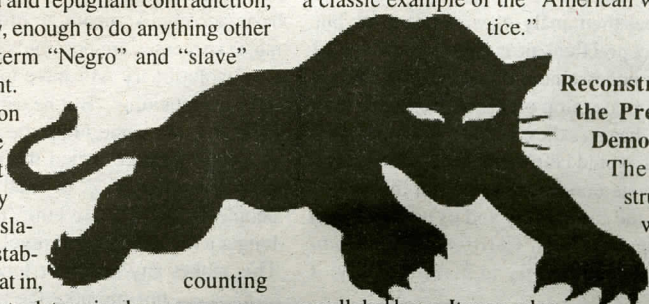
The court also ruled that if a state law did not appear on its surface discriminatory against Black people, then the federal courts had no right to investigate. But this was not enough. It was necessary to go even further, and they did.

In 1896 the Supreme Court in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, upheld a Louisiana law requiring segregated railroad facilities. As long as equality of accommodations existed, the court held segregation did not constitute discrimination, and Black people were not deprived of equal protection of the law under the 14th Amendment. American justice!

Segregation automatically meant discrimination. Black people were forced to use in public buildings, freight elevators and toilet facilities reserved for janitors. On trains all Black people, even those with first class tickets, were forced to seat themselves in the baggage car. Employment discrimination and wage discrimination, "inferior" schools for Black children. All of these inhuman crimes were made legal by the highest court in the land. Typical American justice, for Black people.

## The 20th Century

In 1954 the Supreme Court, only after intense domestic pressure and unveiling internationally as a nation of hypocrites, this nation's ruling elite reversed the infamous *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision, and ruled that segregated educational facilities were unconstitutional. But this ruling, like virtually every seemingly just decision for Black people, was almost immediately revealed as a sham, a mere gesture to pacify us and alleviate your embarrassment. For the public schools of the nation are still overwhelmingly segregated





and unequal, the result of a century of duality.

In the north, in the south, in the east and in the west, all over the country Black people are accused of crimes, thrown in your jails, dragged through your courts and administered a sour dose of "American justice." We are in jail outside, and jail inside. Black people and now all poor people have been well educated in the American system of justice.

We know very well what is meant by your statement, "This court is responsible for maintaining proper respect for the administration of criminal justice and preventing any reflection on the image of American justice." Properly translated, it simply means that the farce must go on. The image must remain intact.

It is precisely these contradictions of maintaining justice as a reality or rhetorically asserting such procedure that must be resolved. The process of determining judicially by which the legal rights of private parties or the people are vindicated, and the guilt or innocence of accused persons is established has a history that is as variable as the color and the class of the individual prosecuted. It is not only doubtful, it is appalling, to say the least.

#### Who Is in Contempt?

Accusations of contempt for the "dignity" of and respect for, the court indicates to us, the defendants, that a devious attempt by the court prevails, to obscure the truth of these proceedings. There is a note of glaring distinction between theory and practice within the "halls of justice" which is consistent with the judicial history as it pertains to Black and poor people. This is why the brief history. What fool cannot see that the "justice" of which you speak has a dual interpretation quite apart from the legal definition and is in keeping with "slave-master" traditions.

In light of historical fact, the perspective must be put into the proper context and true time continuum as to whether justice and United States constitutional rights are effectively afforded unvaryingly to all who stand before the "American system" of justice, that exercises due process.

Just law, in reality, shall not be defamed by its dual application according to racial and social values because of wealth, position and influence. History provides the doubt of "American system" of justice when comparison of class orientation defines the degree of rights, respect and justice the individual shall receive. Political favors as existed then for judicial position has not varied even to the present.

With such political relationships existing have the courts, in practice, escaped from the abuse of authority which is a threat to the development of a free nation of people? Fascism encroaches in just such a manner. Historically the qualitative change in society still reveals a lack of humane interaction with the socially, economically and politically exploited and isolated Black and poor peoples. The preceding chronology substantiates a blatant contempt for Black people and other non-white poor people, not recognizing their human rights and liberties as a matter of law, or morality, and a total disregard to our social reality, is an insult to us. We can see the yesterday in today and the history of our particular case runs upon the same tracks as does our people's long struggle.

#### The Big Lie

This court represents the most ruthless system in the world, caring nothing for the wholesale misery that it brings, while at the same time, your papers are full of verbiage of your "nobility," "righteousness," "justice," "fairness," and the "good" that you do.

We are very, very sick and tired of the BIG LIE. We cannot stand passive to the big lie any longer. We cannot accept it any longer.

It is time to state the truth, for Black people, for poor Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Chi-

nese American, Indian and poor white people. The "Amerikkkan system of justice" is a hideous sham and a revolting farce.

We must look at the situation objectively. As has been explicitly implied in the preceding, we realize that are not 2nd Class citizens at all. We are a colonized people. (Read your own Commission Reports). We see that we are still considered chattel. We see how the Fugitive Slave Act has been modified in words, but is still being used, how the Dred Scott decision was never really reversed. That the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution did not liberate us - that in fact, in social reality, they only legalized slavery and expanded the Dred Scott decision to include Indians, Spanish-speaking and poor white people.

We see that things have not gotten better, but only progressively worse, and that includes tyranny. We completely oppose racism and tyranny and will continue to do so. You wish us to act according to a Decorum set down by an organization, the "American Bar Association," which is not only racist, but is also not against genocide. (Perhaps they realize the truth, and see that the American ruling class is definitely liable, for its treatment of Black people?)

In court you ask us to submit to a code of laws... your laws, not our laws (Black and poor people) but your laws - your laws because we were never asked (Black people) if we consented to having them as our laws, nor are these laws relevant to our ghetto reality. They are your laws, and we find them racist and oppressive. They, these laws, perpetuate our plantation continuation. Right now, in 1970, 90% of the inmates of your prisons are nonwhites. 90%! And we (Black people, etc.) have never had the right to decide if we wanted to be governed by laws which we had no part in making. Yet, the primary concern of the men who drafted the "Declaration of Independence" was the consent of the governed by laws which they had a part in forming and which was relevant to them. We are in your prison, but these are not our laws. They are your laws, and in dealing with Black and poor people, you do not even adhere to your own laws.

In fact, a leading criminologist, Dr. R. R. Korn of Stanford University, has noted that 80% of the people now in prison were put there illegally according to your own law. (Strange that the overwhelming population is Black and non-white?)

The record clearly shows this, when not clouded with the mist of racism.

A) Let us clear up one basic misconception. You constantly refer to this case as a "criminal" trial, while all of the time we know, you know, Frank Hogan knows, the people know, the other prisoners and even the guards know that this is not a criminal trial. Everyone knows that this is a political trial, for if we were not members of the Black Panther Party a lot of things would never have been done to us in the first place.

Why are we not allowed to be with other prisoners? Why are we not allowed to even talk to the other prisoners? Why are we isolated? (Something we might say or do that can open their eyes, perhaps?) Alleged murderers and rapists are not treated in this manner, even "convicted" murderers and rapists are not treated in the manner in which we were treated. Why do you persist in the big lie? It is one of many clear contradictions.

B) On April 2, 1969, hordes of "police" broke down our doors, or otherwise forced entry into our homes, and ran amuck. Rampaging and rummaging through our homes, they seized articles from us with wild abandon while having no search warrants. The "police" put us and our families in grave danger, nervously aiming shotguns, rifles and pistols at us and our families - even our children.

We were then kidnapped as were some of our families. We state "kidnap" because many of us were never shown any arrest warrant, even to this day. This is illegal. This is a blatant contradiction of your own Constitution. ... We said nothing.

C) Upon the arrest of some of the defendants and before the appearance of any of the defendants, New York City District Attorney Frank Hogan appeared on national radio and national television (Channels 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11) in a press conference, during which time he gave our information from an "indictment" against us in an inflammatory and provocative manner, deliberately designed to incite the people against us and to deny us even the semblance of a "fair trial." Mr. Hogan implied a lie - we had been seized on the way to commit these alleged acts with bombs in our hands - rather than the truth - that we had no bombs and that most of us were taken out of our beds.

Subsequent to that press conference, "unidentified police sources" and "persons close to the investigation" stated falsely to the press that we, as members of the Black Panther Party were being aided and abetted by foreign governments considered hostile to your government (i.e. Cuba and China) - that we,

as Black Panther Party members were stealing money from federal and/or state agencies and many other false wild charges, designed to heighten the public alarm against us and our Party, rather than diminish it, so as to create an atmosphere conducive to the extermination of the Black Panther Party and justify anything that might be done to us.

#### Fair Trial Impossible

This unethical behavior gave, aided, and abetted further prejudicial pre-trial publicity, in direct contradiction to your law as outlined in the 14th Amendment of your Constitution of the United States. Due to this behavior alone, we are positive that we could not get a fair trial any-

where in this country. ... We still said nothing.

D) When our attorneys learned of our arrest, they attempted to see us, as we were being held in your District Attorney's office. They were refused permission to do so. At the "arraignment" a similar request by our counsel was again refused by Mr. Charles



Marks who presided thereat. These refusals were in blatant violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States. ... We continued to be silent.

E) At this "arraignment" this Mr. Charles Marks who was presiding, refused to read, explain or give us a copy of this "indictment" against us. This is another violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States ... yet, we remained silent.

F) Bail (ransom) was set at \$100,000, which is ridiculous and tantamount to no bail at all. This is another violation of your own law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States. We state that this bail is not only contradictory to your own law, but that it is also racist. When white "radical" groups are arrested, their bails do not usually exceed \$10,000. When three Yemenites were charged with "conspiracy" to murder your President Nixon, and with the equipment to do such, their bail was \$25,000; when Minutemen in New York were arrested and charged with a conspiracy to commit murder, the murder of 155 persons and were arrested with bombs and guns more than enough to do this. Bail was set at \$25,000. We had no bombs. Our bail was \$100,000. ... We remained silent.

G) At this arraignment, this Mr. Charles Marks, the same "Judge" who is alleged to have signed the "Arrest Warrants," stated in words or substance that he was accepting all of the allegation in the "indictment" against us to be true. On subsequent hearings during May 1969 concerning reduction of ransom (bail) at which this same Mr. Marks still presided, he stated that we were "un-American" and that the law "did not apply to us" (sounds like sounds like history?). This does not quite show impartiality. ... Yet, we said nothing.

H) Our counsel have been in front of at least 35 "Judges" concerning our bail, and this attitude permeates the "great American system of justice." All motions on this were denied, either without comment or because of the "seriousness" of the "charges," but never dealing with the Constitutional issues involved, and it is your Constitution. All of this seems to underlie "Judge" Marks' remarks. ... Yet, we said nothing.

I) We have been treated like animals - in fact, like less than animals. On January 17, 1969, Miss Joan Bird was kidnapped, beaten, and tortured. She was punched and beaten, given the "Thumb Torture," hung upside down by the ankle from out of a third-story window of a "Police Precinct." On April 2-3, 1969, some of us were beaten as we were being kidnapped. From April 2, 1969, all of us were placed under constant abuse and harassment, which included 24-hour lock-in, complete isolation, no library or recreation, lights kept on in our cells for 24 hours, physical assaults, deprivations of seeing our families, at times denied mattresses, medication, sheets, showers, pillowcases, towels, soap, toothpaste, and toilet paper.

Our families have suffered abuse in visiting us, and mental anguish. One of us suffered the loss of a child because of this. Some of our families had to go on welfare because of our outrageous incarceration and ransom. We were denied mail, even from our attorneys - denied ac-

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#### Hanging Judge

Mr. Murtagh - your record speaks for itself. You are known in the ghetto as a "Hanging judge." (How many Black and white poor men did you convict without their even having counsel just in 1969 alone, in your clever slick way?) Frank Hogan [N.Y. District Attorney] and his aides are well known in the Ghetto - very well known in the Ghetto - known for what they are - racist and unethical. (We have knowledge of cases, since our incarceration of Assistant District Attorneys, or D.A.'s men posing as legal aides to get conviction). But in our case you and Mr. Hogan have gotten together and have outdone yourselves in denying us all, everyone of our "alleged" state, federal and human rights.



Chairman Omali Yeshitela of the African People's Socialist Party

# Colonialism: Same In Africa, World, USA

By Omali Yeshitela

*Omali Yeshitela is the Chairman and co-founder of the African People's Socialist Party (APSP) as well as the founder of the Party's main organ, The Burning Spear newspaper. Chairman Yeshitela has dedicated his life to the struggle of his people for independence, liberation and socialism against the U.S. imperialist system. His strong and uncompromising leadership has taken the form of consistent and militant activism and agitation over the years on all of the many pressing issues facing African people in the U.S. today. Chairman Yeshitela has contributed profoundly to the theoretical development of the Black Liberation Movement in this country and around the world. He has developed the understanding that racism is the ideological expression of colonialism which is the major contradiction facing U.S. born African people, and he has shed significant light on the role that capitalist primitive accumulation, slavery and colonialism play in the present condition and tasks before African people everywhere and particularly in the U.S. Yeshitela has brought clarity to the relationship of African people to the North American working class, and to the Mexican and other colonized populations inside this country. A tireless internationalist, the Chairman has done much to bring about the revolutionary unity of African people around the world and has forged the bonds of international solidarity of African people to all of the world's oppressed, colonized, struggling peoples and underdeveloped and socialist nations. The following was originally presented at the January 1, 1977, Fourth Annual APSP Banquet in St. Petersburg, Florida. It is reprinted from Not One Step Backward!: The Black Liberation Movement from 1971 to 1982, by Burning Spear Publications.*

Today marks the beginning of 1977 and, as already stated, the fourth consecutive year our Party has held a freedom banquet on this date. It has also been stated that our banquets are designed to challenge any claim that this date marks the liberation of black people within the current U.S. borders, as some people would have us believe. However, after making such a statement, it is necessary for us to explain further:

Our challenge to the fraudulent Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 is not something we are doing as spoilsports or soreheads in order to dispute someone else. We are challenging the concept because it is misleading. We are challenging the notion of emancipation as an accomplished fact because it is unscientific and because it has the capacity to lull our people to sleep and disarm our struggle for true liberation and human dignity.

It is necessary that we do this, especially during these times of great difficulties for African people living within current U.S. borders. It is necessary that we do this despite the extraordinarily great amounts of money and media expended by the U.S. North American ruling class to convince us that we are free. It is necessary that we do this despite the self-serving collusion by certain sectors of our community designed to assist the North American ruling class in perpetrating this fraud upon our people.

## We Are Not Free

Our time has yet to come. We are not free, and when independence comes for us as it will, it will not be as a result of a proclamation signed by our colonial oppressors, but through our own intelligent, self-defined efforts. It may be a difficult and terrible lesson for some of us, but we will learn in the long run that we are our own liberators.

In order to better explain our contention that black people in the U.S. are not free, we would like to examine certain aspects of our history.

I know some of you feel that our Party has a certain fanaticism about history. We have often been reprimanded by certain black people for constantly referring our people to our history and the historical involvement of our relationship to North America. However, I am going to ask you to bear with me, for history is filled with valuable lessons.

If we understood our history better, no one would have to tell us whether the African people's struggles in Zimbabwe, Angola or South Africa are just struggles, for we would know that those same struggles used to be clearly our struggles. For it was the same European invasion that resulted in the domination of Africa, our Motherland, that is responsible for our presence in this country.

The struggles being waged by our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa are the last stage of their attempt to end that illegitimate European domination. It is important for us to understand this historical fact, because not only can it clear up for us what is happening in Africa, but it may also lend clarity to our situation here in the United States.

## Struggle Began In Africa

My main point here is simply this: The struggle by African people within the current U.S. borders did not begin here in this country. As quietly as it is kept in certain quarters, black people did not simply pop up in the U.S. on a southern cotton plantation. Contrary to some popular beliefs, we did not mysteriously appear one day beneath a turnip leaf.

Our struggle, which was begun on the Continent of Africa, was the same struggle, and it was a struggle then to liberate our land from foreign invaders and our people from foreign domination.

We were forcibly brought here, chained, but fighting all the way. Indeed many of us were brought here from Angola, and for that matter some of the people who just fought and died in the recent Angolan struggle may have been distant relatives of some of the people sitting here tonight. Therefore, it should be clear that in the beginning our struggle was one struggle.

It began when the first European businessman first put his foot on the Continent of Africa and violently forced an African to do something against our will. It continued on the Continent of Africa under the courageous leadership of the Zulu, and the great Queen Nzinga of Angola, and throughout the southern U.S. as heroic leaders like Nat Turner and Denmark Vessey struck a thousand blows for liberation.

Our struggle, which was begun on the Continent of Africa, was the same struggle, and it was a struggle then to liberate our land from foreign invaders and our people from foreign domination.

## Character The Same

It is the contention of the African People's Socialist Party that the basic character of our struggle has not changed even now. We contend that just as we were Africans when we were dragged on slave ships on the Continent of Africa in 1619, we were still Africans when we disembarked in Jamestown, Virginia.

There is no logical explanation for our having got on a ship as Africans and getting off at another location as Negroes, or Negro-Americans or Black-Americans, or even Afro-Americans, for that matter. Such a happening is an invention, a fanciful, misleading and distorted explanation of reality, the basis for which exists in someone's head and not in any examination of the real world and our relationship to it.

It is important that we understand this because I want to talk to you for a moment about theory, about ideology, and our world outlook.

Before I begin this discussion I appeal to you to be patient and unafraid. I ask for your patience because I understand we are not very accustomed to coming out to affairs to hold theoretical discussions, and therefore it may take some getting used to. I ask you to be unafraid, because I understand what a threat new and challenging ideas can be to us. Sometimes ideas are so contrary to what we have rather comfortably been led to believe, that we are afraid to hear them. They make us uncomfortable. We have been trained to be intellectual cowards, and some new and challenging ideas cause us intellectual instability.

And then there is always the fear that our ruling class colonial bosses may learn that we were actually sitting in the company of other black people, holding a theoretical discussion concerning our liberation, that they the bosses, are adamantly opposed to. This very real, very concrete and material fear is one I offer you as evidence of our enslavement as a people. For surely no free people would have to worry about losing their jobs and livelihood because of a discussion about freedom.

## Theoretical Basis

So I ask you to pretend for a moment that the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 did free us and that you have nothing to fear. Pretend we are free long enough for us to have this discussion about becoming free without fear.

It is necessary for us to hold this theoretical discussion, because every definitively different sector of our community that speaks of the freedom or advancement of black people does so from some theoretical basis. They speak from some perception of the world and our relationship to it, which when presented in some organized fashion, reveals their political, economic, and social philosophy.

Therefore, if you are going to be able to make a meaningful and scientific assessment of the relative value of any program, you need to understand the worldview of those who push the program, for it is true that theory informs our practice. It is true that there must be some relationship between what we say and what we do. Theory informs practice, which simply means that if we come to some theoretical premise of why black people are oppressed, we must do certain things to end that oppression which are in conformity with our theory.

If we begin with the premise that black people were freed by a proclamation in 1863, that also informs our practice. If we are free, there is no need to struggle for freedom.

I know the proponents of emancipation celebrations will hurriedly and angrily take issue with what I have just said, loudly declaring that is not what they meant. But if they don't mean we are free, why do they say it? And if they do mean we are free, they must be accused of leading black people down a dead-end street of nonstruggle. For in order to accomplish anything in the real world, it is absolutely necessary for there to be unity between theory and practice, and any theory that tells us we are free leads us to practice based upon that false assumption rather than struggle based upon a real analysis of the real world.

## Integration

Another related theoretical position in our community informs us that we can be free as soon as we integrate with the dominant U.S. North American colonialist nation. We have been victimized by this vicious theory for many years, and I would like to say a few words about it.

First, it is an incredible, fantastic, theory. It is an incredible and fantastic theory because it is impossible to realize. It is impossible to realize because of the very nature of our oppression and our relationship with the dominant U.S. North American nation.

We do not have the power to integrate even if we wanted to. Only the North American people have the ability to integrate, as it presupposes collectively moving from one area to another, opening up job markets throughout the entire U.S. economy which automatically brings us into increased competition with North American workers and bosses, and smashing overnight the colonialist anti-black attitudes held by most U.S. North Americans.

Secondly, it is a self-defeating theory, based on capitulation rather than struggle. In order to realize the theory of integration, it is necessary to become "acceptable" to the dominant U.S. North American nation, which means the willing destruction of all cultural and traditional peculiarities which distinguish us as a people.

The theory of integration, supported by the liberal sector of the U.S. North American ruling class, is the theory most articulated within our community. And it is no accident, just as it is no accident that the bosses, through every institution available to them, go to any lengths to build your hatred, suspicion and contempt for those of us who have theories which contradict integrationism and promote true black independence through self-liberation.

## COINTELPRO

Since you are still pretending we are free I know you may not believe me, so I offer the following as evidence. The Federal Bureau of Investigation formalized its colonial repression of black people in 1967 under a counter-intelligence program often called COINTELPRO. Under the general title of "Black Nationalist Hate Groups," and the sub-title of "Racial Intelligence," former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover put forward the following as goals to be realized by the COINTEL program:

1. Prevent the coalition of militant Black Nationalist groups. In unity there is strength, a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness.
2. Prevent the rise of a messiah who could unify, and electrify, the militant Black Nationalist movement... King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white," liberal doctrines.
3. Through counter-intelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
4. Prevent militant Black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting Black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the respectable Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community, both the respectable community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant Black nationalists simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement.
5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant Black nationalist organizations, especially among youth...

So you can see, the U.S. government itself has an obvious stake in having you adopt one philosophical outlook over another. Here, you have been hating Stokely Carmichael, Marcus Garvey, Joseph Waller [Omali Yeshitela's slave name], Malcolm X and others, thinking it was your own idea to do so, while your attitudes and opinions have been willfully and coldly manipulated by the enemies of our people.

Black people within the current U.S. borders are a domestically colonized part, or sector, of the developing African nation. The U.S. North American government is our enemy and colonial oppressor. I want to be very clear on this point, so I will repeat it and again ask you to be unafraid.

Black people within the current U.S. borders are a domestically colonized part, or sector, of the developing African nation. The U.S. North American government is our enemy and colonial oppressor. We

have to be very clear on this point, because we must first define our oppression if we are to overcome it.

We cannot simply pretend that our oppression is due to some kind of mysterious magic. There is a reason that more than a third of the black population within the current U.S. North American borders live below the official poverty level. There is a reason that approximately 50 per cent of all the people in prisons in this country are black people although we represent only 11 per cent of the total population. There is a reason that 58 per cent of the people presently on death rows in the prisons of this country are black people. And the reasons for these conditions have their basis in the real world.



I know that some people would have you believe that these things happen to us because of some mistake in the system - because a few evil men and women somehow thwart or misrepresent the true "great character" of this government. And I would also be inclined to listen to their arguments were the conditions I just mentioned only isolated incidents which occur in one or two cities or states within the U.S.

## U.S. - The Colonial Oppressor

But the truth is, the conditions exist throughout the entire United States. Wherever there are black people within the current U.S. North American borders, there is oppression. Wherever there are black people in this country, there is forced sterilization of our women. Wherever we are, there is police terror within our communities. There are brutal attacks on our children in the schools; there is rundown housing, and the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs are reserved especially for us.

For there to be oppression there must necessarily be an oppressor, and black people in this country are oppressed by the U.S. government and the form of that oppression is colonialism.

There is no basic difference in the character of the colonialism affecting African people within the current U.S. North American borders, and that which was so recently overthrown by our heroic brothers and sisters in Angola.

There is no basic difference in the character of the colonialism affecting and oppressing our people here and that colonialism that our courageous brothers and sisters of Zimbabwe and South Africa are presently fighting against.

The vicious colonialism recently overthrown by the freedom fighters of Vietnam and Cambodia is of the same character as the colonialism which victimizes us in this country.

Colonialism is colonialism wherever you find it in the world, and you may know it by its violent and forced appropriation of the means of economic, social and political self-determination. That is the only thing that "taxation without representation" has ever meant: The foreign and alien colonial power has brutally deprived a people of its means to speak to its own needs and aspirations through smashing its own indigenous state apparatus and replacing it with an extension of its own.

All colonialism is colonialism wherever it occurs on the face of this earth, and everyone who struggles against colonialism is necessarily an ally of any other force struggling against a common enemy. This is why when some of our North American liberal comrades were raising the slogan: "Bring the Boys Home" during the Vietnam war, our Party was calling for victory to the heroic Vietnamese patriotic freedom fighters over U.S. imperialist aggression.

But the main point I would make here is that we must have a theory, a philosophy, a worldview or outlook, that will inform our practice, which when adopted by anyone will offer some guide with its basis in scientific investigation and an understanding of our relationship with the real world.

The colonial analysis of our Party does just that. It is not a position that we invented just to have something to explain our problem with. It is not an analysis we came up with simply to be different. It is the only analysis of our condition that springs from a scientific and empirical investigation, and it is therefore the only analysis that makes sense.



# NY Panther 21 continued

cess to consult all together with our attorneys. We have been subjected to the most onerous and barbaric of jail conditions. The objective of all this was our psychological and physical destruction during our pre-trial detention.

As NEWSWEEK Magazine even states, "... the handling of the suspects between their arrest and their trial was something less than a model of American criminal justice," and "None of it was very becoming to the state. ..." (How well we know.) All this is a blatant violation of your own law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your own Federal Constitution. ... Yet, we *still* remained silent.

J) You - Murtagh. You came into the case in May 1969. You were informed of these conditions. You could have righted these blatant violations of your own law, the laws you have "sworn" to uphold. But you did not. You refused to do this ... and remained silent. You tried to rush us pell-mell to trial, knowing full well that we were not, could not, be prepared. ... We remained silent.

## The Government Conspiracy

We filed motions that are guaranteed to "citizens" by the 14th Amendment of your Federal Constitution. You denied them all. You denied us the right as guaranteed in your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your own Constitution, to conduct a voir dire of the Grand jury in these proceedings, knowing full well that they did not comprise members of our peer group. ... We remained silent.

You denied us a hearing with which to be confronted with the witnesses against us, as is guaranteed by your law in the 6th Amendment of your Constitution. ... We remained silent.

You denied us a Bill of Particulars which is guaranteed by your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution. We remained silent.

Two "suspects" were kidnapped under the modification of the Fugitive Slave Act in November 1969. You gave them no bail! (No sense pretending anymore, it seems) ... We remained silent.

You denied us every state and federal constitutional right, and we remained silent. You substantiated Mr. Marks' "the law does not apply" to us. ... Yet, we remained silent.

## Lee Berry

K) Lee Berry. Lee Berry is a classical example of how you and your cohorts conduct the "American System of Justice" when dealing with Black people. On April 3, 1969, Lee Berry was a patient in the Veteran's Administration Hospital where he was receiving treatment as an epileptic, subject to Grand Mal seizures, which can be fatal. Lee Berry is not mentioned particularly, in the "indictment." Yet, on April 3, 1969, your "police" dragged him out of the hospital. These "police" stood him up before your cohort,

"Judge" Marks. Lee was "arraigned" without counsel. Bail \$100,000. He was thrown into an isolation cell in the Tombs without even a mattress. In July 1969, he was physically attacked without provocation and without warning, while he was in a drugged stupor.

You were aware of his condition - you were quite aware. Numerous motions were in your "Great Court System." It took four months to even get him medication, and only in November when he had become so ill, so progressively worse that it was frightening. He finally got consent to be transferred to Bellevue Hospital. Because of the courts' decisions under your "American System of Justice," Lee Berry has had four serious operations within the last two months. Because of the courts' decisions under the great American System of Justice at this precise moment Lee Berry is lying in the shadow of death with a possible fatal case of pneumonia. At the very least, your Great Court system is guilty of attempted murder, and D.A. Hogan should be jailed as a co-defendant. Lee Berry is our Brother, and what is done to him, has been done to us all. ... and we remained silent.

L) In November 1969, four white persons were arrested for allegedly "bombing" various sites in New York City. They were arrested allegedly with "bombs in their possession," but they were white. For three of them, bail was reduced 80% in two days, because "the presumption of innocence is basic among both the statutory and constitutional principles affecting bail" ... if you are white. (The political climate is such today, even this hardly matters anymore if one is dissident.)

## We Could Be Silent No Longer

Two days after that decision, we were brought in front of you and given a superseding "indictment." We could be silent no longer. We had been insulted enough - more than enough. We had been treated with contempt, in an atmosphere of intimidation for too long.

We must reiterate - we are looking at the situation objectively. Object Reality.

At the pre-trial hearings we are confronted with a "Judge" who has admitted, in fact, had been indicted and arrested for ignoring "police" graft and corruption ... a "Judge" who by his record shows an unblemished career of "police" favoritism and All-American racism. In your previous dealings with Black people, you have shown yourself to be totally unjust, bloodthirsty, pitiless, and inhuman. We are confronted with a District Attorney machine which has shown itself to be vigilant and unswerving in its racist policies. 90% of the inmates convicted are non-white and poor. This machine has shown itself to be unethical in its techniques and practices - even in front of our eyes - tactics which include going up and whispering to the witnesses on the stand, signaling and coaching them. We know as LOOK Magazine stated in June 1969 "how

the police corrupt the truth ... Prosecutors and judges become their accomplices." To cite a small example: A man, a Black man ... was beaten to death in the Tombs in front of forty witnesses in May 1969 and the police swore that he died of a "heart attack." Yes, we know to what the police will swear to. All Black people, poor people, know to what the police will swear to. With all this, together with the hostility inculcated in the dominant white culture towards anything Black, is shown by you and your cohorts very well indeed. Under these conditions, and considering our stand against American racism, this is not only a challenge to us and Black people, but the whole people. To relate in terms you can understand, even Racist Woodrow Wilson stated concerning fascism: "... This is a challenge to all mankind; there is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making, we will not choose the path of submission ... we will be, we must be as harsh as the Truth and as uncompromising as justice - true justice is on our side" ... To that we say, Right On!

## Court Out of Order

You have implied contempt charges. We cannot conceive of how this could be possible. How can we be in contempt of a court that is in contempt of its own laws? How can you be responsible for "maintaining respect and dispersing justice," when you have dispensed with justice, and you do not maintain respect for your own Constitution? How can you expect us to respect your laws, when you do not respect them yourself? Then you have the audacity to demand respect, when you, your whole Great System of Justice is out of order and does not respect us, or our rights.

You have talked about our counsel inciting us. Nothing could be further from the truth. The injustices we have been accorded over the past year incite us, the injustice in these hearings incite us, racism incites us, fascism incites us, in short - when we reflect back over history, its continuation up until today, you and your Courts incite us.

But we will not leave it there for you and others, to distort, as some are inclined to do. There will be left no room for your Courts and media to distort and misinterpret our actions. We wish for a speedy and FAIR trial, a just trial. But we must have our "alleged" Constitutional rights. This court is in contempt of our Constitutional rights and have been for almost a year. We must have our rights first. The wrongs inflicted must be redressed. Bygones are not bygones. Later for that. 351 1/2 years are enough. We must clean the slate. We do not believe in your Appeal Courts (we've had experience with 300 years of appeals generally, and 35 judges specifically). So we must begin with a mutual understanding anew. When we have our constitutional guarantees redressed, we will give the court the respect it claims to deserve - precisely the respect it de-

serves.

## Contempt of the People

In light of all that has been said, in view of the collusion of the federal, state, and city courts, the New York City Department of Correction, the city police, and District Attorney's office, we feel that we, as members of the Black Panther Party, cannot receive a fair and impartial trial without certain preconditions conforming to our alleged constitutional rights. So we state the following: we feel that the courts should follow their own federal Constitution, and when they have failed to do so, and continue to ignore their mistakes, but persist dogmatically to add insult to injury, those courts are in contempt of the people. One need not be black to relate to that, but it is often those who never experience such actions on the part of the courts, who believe they, the courts, can never be wrong.

So, in keeping with that, and the social reality in which that principle must relate, we further state:

1) That we have a constitutional right to reasonable bail, and a few would, if they were white, be released in their own custody. We demand that, and the courts' consistent denial of that right, in effect is in contempt of its own Constitution.

2) We demand a jury of our peers, or people from our own community, as defined by the Constitution.

3) We say that because the Grand jury system in New York City systematically excludes poor Black people, it cannot be representative of a cross-section of the community from which we come. So in effect, it is unconstitutional, and nothing more than a method of wielding class power and racial suppression and repression. We demand to have a constitutional and legal indictment, or be released, for we are being held illegally, by malicious and racist unethical laws.

4) We demand that the unethical practice of the police and D.A.'s office, in its production of evidence, lying, and misrepresentation be strictly limited by the introduction of an impartial jury of our peers of all pre-trial hearings, to judge all motions and evidence submitted, subsequent to a new constitutional indictment.

Therefore, since you have effectively denied by your ruling of Wednesday, February 25, 1970, our right to a trial, and since this ruling will affect the future of Black and white political prisoners, we have directed our Attorney's to do everything in their power, to upset this vicious, barbaric, insidious and racist ruling, which runs head-on in contrast with the promise of the 13th and 14th Amendments of your U.S. Constitution.

Let this be entered into all records pertaining to our case.

## ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Lumumba Abdul Shakur, Richard Moore (Analye Dharuba), Curtis Powell, Michael Tabor (Cetewayo), Robert Collier, Walter Johnson (Baba Odinga), Afeni Shakur, John J. Casson (Ali Bey Hassan), Alex McKiever (Catarras), Clark Squire, Joan Bird, Lee Roper, [and] William King (Kinshasa)

# Huey Newton Continued

community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The Black community does not relate to them, so we were left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was not necessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed, because I would not stand for it. But Eldridge's influence brought this about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it.

Eldridge was never fully in the leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby [Seale] was snatched away from us, I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership, because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party. But I knew that he could make a contribution; and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't do it. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind, because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer the people an "either-or" ultimatum. We must instead gain the support of the

people through serving their needs. Then when the police or any other agency of repression tries to destroy the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when we were related to in a positive way.

So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver and he has defected from the Party, because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy, because the people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival program. We can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests. We can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

Huey P. Newton  
Minister of Defense  
Black Panther Party,  
Servant of The People

# Malcolm X Continued

lash. They hated this land.

You know what they did? If the master got sick, they'd pray that the master'd die. If the master's house caught afire, they'd pray for a strong wind to come along. This was the difference between the two.

And today you still have house Negroes and field Negroes.

I'm a field Negro. If I can't live in the house as a human being, I'm praying for a wind to come along. If the master won't treat me right and he's sick, I'll call the doctor to go in the other direction. But if all of us are going to live as human beings, then I'm for a society of human beings that can practice brotherhood.

But before I sit down, I want to thank you for listening to me. I hope I haven't put anybody on the spot. I'm not intending to try and stir you up and make you, do something that you wouldn't have done anyway.

I pray that God will bless you in everything that you do. I pray that you will grow intellectually, so that, you can understand the problems of the world and where you fit into that world picture. And I pray that all the fear that is evident in your heart will be taken out, and when you know that that man - if you know he's nothing but a coward, you won't fear him. If he wasn't a coward, he wouldn't gang up on you. This is how they function: They function in mobs - that's a coward. They put on a sheet so you won't know who they are - that's a coward.

Now the time will come when that sheet will be ripped off. If the federal government doesn't take it off, we'll take it off. Thank you.

Selma, Alabama, February 4, 1965



## Ejército Zapatatista de Liberación Nacional's

# FOURTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE

TODAY WE SAY:

WE ARE HERE

WE ARE REBEL DIGNITY, THE FORTGOTTEN OF THE HOMELAND

January 1, 1996

"All those communities, all those who work the land, all whom we invite to stand on our side so that together we may give life to one sole struggle, so that we may walk with your help.

We must continue to struggle and not rest until the land is our own, property of the people, of our grandfathers, and that the toes of those who have paws of rocks which have crushed us to the shadow of those who loom over us, who command us; that together we raise with the strength of our heart and our hand held high that beautiful banner of the dignity and freedom of we who work the land. We must continue to struggle until we defeat those who have crowned themselves, those who have helped to take the land from others, those who make much money with the labor of people like us, those who mock us in their estates. That is our obligation of honor, if we want to be called men of honesty and good inhabitants of our communities.

Now then, somehow, more than ever, we need to be united, with all our heart, and all our effort in that great task of marvelous and true unity, of those who began the struggle, who preserve purity in their heart, guard their principles and do not lose faith in a good life.

We beg that those who receive this manifesto pass it on to all the men and women of those communities."

Reform, Liberty, Justice and Law  
Chief General of the Southern Liberation Army  
Emiliano Zapata  
(original Zapatista manifesto written in nahuatl)

TO THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO:  
TO THE PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD:  
BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

The flower of the word will not die. The masked face which today has a name may die, but the word which came from the depth of history and the earth can no longer be cut by the arrogance of the powerful. We were born of the night. We live in the night. We will die in her. But the light will be tomorrow for others, for all those who today weep at the night, for those who have been denied the day, for those for whom death is a gift, for those who are denied life. The light will be for all of them. For everyone everything. For us pain and anguish, for us the joy of rebellion, for us a future denied, for us the dignity of insurrection. For us nothing.

Our fight has been to make ourselves heard, and the bad government screams arrogance and closes its ears with its cannons. Our fight is caused by hunger, and the gifts of the bad government are lead and paper for the stomachs of our children.

Our fight is for a roof over our heads which has dignity, and the bad government destroys our homes and our history.

Our fight is for knowledge, and the bad government distributes ignorance and disdain.

Our fight is for the land, and the bad government gives us cementaries.

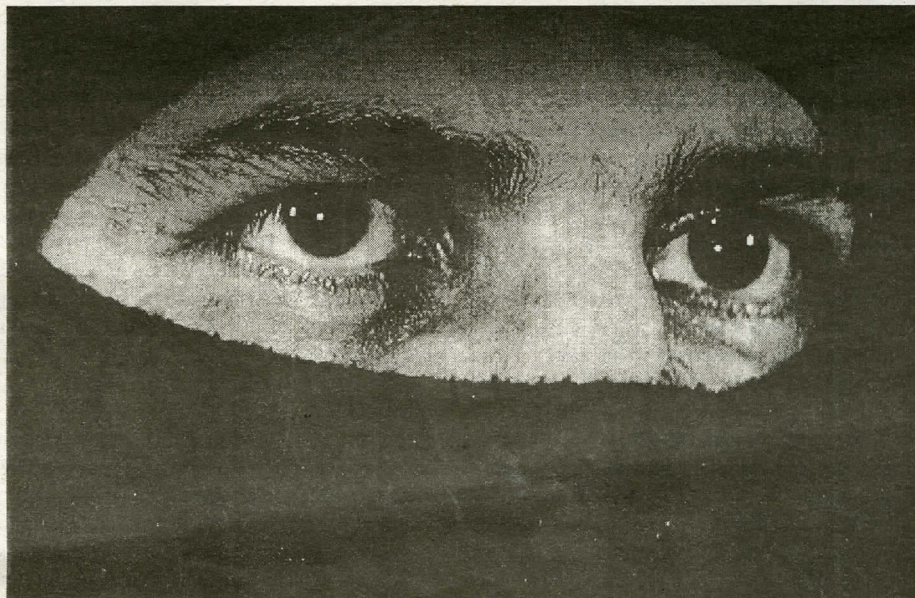
Our fight is for a job which is just and dignified, and the bad government buys and sells our bodies and our shames.

Our fight is for life, and the bad govern-

ment offers death as our future.

Our fight is for respect for our right to sovereignty and self-government, and the bad government imposes laws of the few on the many.

Our fight is for liberty of thought and walk, and the bad government builds jails



and graves.

Our fight is for justice, and the bad government consists of criminals and assassins.

Our fight is for history and the bad government proposes to erase history.

Our fight is for the homeland, and the bad government dreams with the flag and the language of foreigners.

Our fight is for peace, and the bad government announces war and destruction.

Housing, land, employment, food, education, independence, democracy, liberty, justice and peace. These were our banners during the dawn of 1994. These were our demands during that long night of 500 years. These are, today, our necessities.

Our blood and our word have lit a small fire in the mountain and we walk a path against the house of money and the powerful. Brothers and sisters of other races and languages, of other colors, but with the same heart now protect our light and in it they drink of the same fire.

The powerful came to extinguish us with its violent wind, but our light grew in other lights. The rich dream still about extinguishing the first light. It is useless, there are now too many lights and they have all become the first.

The arrogant wish to extinguish a rebellion which they mistakenly believe began in the dawn of 1994. But the rebellion which now has a dark face and an indigenous language was not born today. It spoke before with other languages and in other lands. This rebellion against injustice spoke in many mountains and many histories. It has already spoken in nahuatl, paipai, kiliwa, cucapa, cochimi, kumiai, yuma, seri, chontal, chinanteco, pame, chichimeca, otomi, mazahua, matlatzinka, ocuilteco, zapoteco, solteco, chatino, papabuco, mixteco, cucateco, triqui, amuzzgo, mazateco, chocho, ixcaateco, huave, tlapaneco, totonaca, tepehua, populuca, mixe, zoque, huasteco, lacandon, mayo, chol, tzeltal, tzotzil, tojolabal, mame, teco, ixil, aguacateco, motocintleco, chicomuceltec.

They want to take the land so that our feet have nothing to stand on. They want to take our history so that our word and we will be forgotten and die. They do not want Indians. They want us dead.

The powerful want our silence. When we were silent, we died, without the word we did not exist. We fight against this loss of memory, against death and for life. We fight the fear of a death because we have ceased to exist in memory.

When the homeland speaks its indian heart, it will have dignity and memory.

I

Brothers and Sisters:

On January 1 of 1995, after breaking the military blockade with which the bad gov-

ernment pretended to submerge us in surrender and isolation, we called upon the different citizen forces to construct a broad opposition front which would unite those democratic voices which exist against the State-Party System: the National Liberation Movement. Although the beginning of this effort at unity encountered many problems, it lives still in the thoughts of those men and women who reject conformity when they see their Homeland under the rule of the Powerful and foreign monies. This broad opposition front, after following a route filled with difficulty, regressions and misunderstandings, is about to concretize its first Apropals and agreements for coordinated action. The long process of maturity of this organizing effort will bear fruit this new year. We Zapatistas, salute the birth of this Movement for National Liberation and we hope that, among those who form it there will always be a zeal for unity and respect for differences.

Once the dialogue with the supreme government began, the commitment of the EZLN to its search for a political solution to the war begun in 1994 was betrayed. Pretending to want to dialogue, the bad government opted for a cowardly military solution, and with stupid and clumsy arguments, unleashed a great military and police persecution which had as its supreme objective the assassination of the leadership of the EZLN. The armed rebel forces of the EZLN met this attack with serene resistance tolerating the blows of thousands of soldiers assisted by the sophisticated death machinery and technical assistance of foreigners who wanted to end the cry for dignity which came out of the mountains of the Mexican Southeast. An order to retreat allowed the Zapatista forces to conserve their military power, their moral authority, and their political force and historic reason which is the principal weapon against crime made government. The great mobilizations of national and international civil society stopped the treacherous offensive and forced the government to insist upon the path of dialogue and negotiation. Thousands of innocent civilians were taken prisoners by the bad government and still remain in jail utilized as hostages of war by the terrorists who govern us. The federal forces had no other military victory other than the destruction of a library, an auditorium for cultural events, a dance floor and the pillage of the few belongings of the indigenous people of the Lacandon jungle. This murderous attempt was covered up by the governmental lie of "recuperating national sovereignty."

Ignoring Article 39 of the Constitution which it swore to uphold on December 1, 1994, the supreme government reduced the Mexican Federal Army to the role of an army of occupation. It gave it the task of salvaging the organized crime which has become government, and deployed it to attack its own Mexican brothers.

Meanwhile, the true loss of national sovereignty was concretized in the secret pacts and public economic cabinet with the owners of money and foreign governments. Today, as thousands of federal soldiers harass and provoke a people armed with wooden guns and the word of dignity, the high officials finish selling off the wealth of the great Mexican Nation and destroy the little which was left.

Once it took up that dialogue for peace again, forced by the pressure of international and national civil society, the government delegation once again took the opportunity to demonstrate clearly its true motivation for the peace negotiations. The neo-conquerors of the indigenous people headed by the negotiating team of the government have distinguished themselves by their prepotent attitude, their arrogance, their racism and their constant humiliation which pursues failure after failure in the different sessions of the Dialogue of San Andres. It bet upon the exhaustion and frustration of the Zapatistas, and the government delegation placed all its energies to breaking the dialogue, confident that it would then have all the arguments in its favor for the use of armed force, securing what reason could not secure.

Once the EZLN understood that the government refused to concentrate seriously on the national conflict which the war represented, it took a peace initiative in an attempt to unravel the dialogue and negotiations. It called civil society to a national and international dialogue in its search for a new peace, it called for the PLEBISCITE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY in order to hear national and international opinion about its demands and future.

With the enthusiastic participation of the members of the NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, the disinterested volunteerism of thousands of disorganized citizens with democratic hopes, the mobilization of international solidarity groups and groups of young people, and the invaluable help of the brothers and sister of NATIONAL CIVIC ALLIANCE during the months of August and September of 1995 a civic and unprecedented experiment was carried out. Never before in the history of the world or the nation had a peaceful civil society dialogued with a clandestine and armed group. More than a million three hundred thousand dialogues were realized in order to verify this encounter with democratic wills. As a result of this plebiscite, the legitimacy of the Zapatista demands were ratified, a new push was given to the broad opposition front which had become stagnated and clearly expressed the will to see the Zapatistas participating in the civic political life of the country. The massive participation of international civil society called attention to the necessity to construct those spaces where the different aspirations for democratic change could find expression even among the different countries. The EZLN considers the results of this national and international dialogue very serious and will now begin the political and organizational work necessary in order to comply with those messages.

Three new initiatives were launched by the Zapatistas as responses to the success of the PLEBISCITE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

An initiative for the international arena



expresses itself in a call to carry out an intercontinental dialogue in opposition to neoliberalism. The two other initiatives are of a national character: the formation of civic committees of dialogue whose base is the discussion of the major national problems and which are the seeds of a non-partisan political force; and the construction of the new Aguascalientes as places for encounters between civil society and Zapatismo.

Three months after these three initiatives were launched, the call for the intercontinental dialogue for humanity and against neoliberalism is almost complete, more than two hundred civic committees of dialogue have been organized in all of the Mexican republic, and today, 5 new "Aguascalientes" will be inaugurated: one in the community of La Garrucha, another in Oventic, Morelia, La Realidad, and the first and last one in the hearts of all the honest men and women who live in the world. In the midst of threats and penuries, the indigenous Zapatista communities and civil society have managed to raise these centers of civic and peaceful resistance which will be a gathering place for Mexican culture and cultures of the world.

The new National Dialogue had its first test under the rationale for Discussion Table Number One in San Andres. While the government discovered its ignorance in regards to the original inhabitants of these lands, the advisors and guests of the EZLN began such a new and rich dialogue that it overwhelmed the limitations of the Discussion Table in San Andres and it had to be re-located to its rightful place: the nation. The indigenous Mexicans, the ones always forced to listen, to obey, to accept, to resign themselves, took the word and spoke the wisdom which is in their walk. The image of the ignorant Indian, pusillanimous and ridiculous, the image which the Powerful had decreed for national consumption, was shattered, and the indigenous pride and dignity returned to history in order to take the place it deserves: that of complete and capable citizens.

Independently of what arises as a result of the first negotiation of the agreements of San Andres, the dialogue begun by the different ethnic groups and their representatives will continue now within the INDIGENOUS NATIONAL FORUM, and it will have its rhythm and achievements which the indigenous people themselves will agree upon and decide.

On the national political scene, the criminality of Salinismo was re-discovered and it de-stabilized the State-Party System. The apologists for Salinas, who reformed and altered the Constitution now have amnesia and are among the most enthusiastic persecutors of the man under whom they acquired their wealth. The National Action Party, the most faithful ally of Salinas de Gortari, began to demonstrate its real possibilities of replacing the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in the summit of political power and demonstrate its repressive, intolerant and reactionary nature. Those who see hope in the rise of neo-PANism forget that a substitution in a dictatorship is not democracy. They applaud the new inquisition, which through a democratic facade, pretends to sanction with moralistic blows the last remains of a country which was once a world wonder and today provides the material for chronicles of police action and scandals. A constant presence within the exercise of government was repression and impunity; the massacres of indigenous people in Guerrero, Oaxaca, and the Huasteca ratify government policy towards indigenous peoples; the authoritarianism in the UNAM toward the movement of those students wishing to democratize the College of Sciences and Humanities is a manifestation of the corruption which seeps into academia from politics; the detention of the leaders of El Barzon is another manifestation of treachery as a method of dialogue; the bestial repression of the regent Espinoza re-

hearses street fascism in Mexico City; the reforms to the Social Security law repeat the democratization of misery, and the support for the privatization of the banks secure the unity between the State-Party System and money. These political crimes have no solution because they are committed by those who are supposed to prosecute; the economic crisis makes corruption even more prevalent in government spheres. Government and crime, are today synonymous and equivalent.

While the legal opposition dedicated itself to find the center in a dying nation, large sectors of the population increased their skepticism towards political parties and searched, without finding it still, for an option for new political work, a political organization of a new kind.

Like a star, the dignified and heroic resistance of the indigenous Zapatista communities illuminated 1995 and wrote a beautiful lesson in Mexican history. In Tepoztlan, in the workers of SUTAU-100, in El Barzon, just to mention a few places and movements, popular resistance found representatives with great dignity.

In summary, 1995 was characterized by the definition of two national projects completely different and contradictory.

On the one hand, the national project of the Powerful, a project which entails the total destruction of the Mexican nation; the negation of its history; the sale of its sovereignty; treachery and crime as supreme values; hypocrisy and deceit as a method of government; destabilization and insecurity as a national program; repression and intolerance as a plan for economic development. This project finds in the PRI its criminal face and in the PAN its pretense of democracy.

On the other hand, the project of a transition to democracy, not a transition within a corrupt system which simulates change in order for everything to remain the same, but the transition to democracy as a reconstruction project for the nation; the defense of national sovereignty; justice and hope as aspirations; truth and government through obedience as a guide for leadership; the stability and security given by democracy and liberty; dialogue, tolerance and inclusion as a new way of making politics. This project must still be created and it will correspond, not to a homogeneous political force or to the geniality of an individual, but to a broad opposition movement capable of gathering the sentiments of the nation.

We are in the midst of a great war which has shaken Mexico at the end of the 20th century. The war between those who intend to perpetuate a social, cultural and political regime which is the equivalent to the crime of treachery to the nation; and those who struggle for a democratic, just, and free change. The Zapatista war is only a part of that great war which is the struggle between a history which aspires for a future and an amnesia which has foreign vocation.

A plural, tolerant, inclusive, democratic, just, free and new society is only possible today, in a new nation. The Powerful will not be the ones to construct it. The Powerful are only the salesmen of the remains of a destroyed country, one devastated by the true subversives and destabilizers: those who govern.

Those projects which belong to the new opposition lack something which today has become decisive. We are opposed to a national project which implies its destruction, but we lack a proposal for a new Nation, a proposal for reconstruction.

Part, but certainly not all its vanguard, has been and is the EZLN in its effort for a transition to democracy. In spite of the persecution and the threats, beyond the lies and deceptions, the EZLN has remained legitimate and accountable and forges ahead in its struggle for democracy, liberty and justice for all Mexicans.

Today, the struggle for democracy, liberty and justice in Mexico is a struggle for national liberation.

## II

Today, with heart of Emiliano Zapata and having heard the voice of all our brothers and sisters, we call upon the people of Mexico to participate in a new stage of the struggle for national liberation and the construction of a new nation, through this. . .

## FOURTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE

in which we call upon all honest men and women to participate in the new national political force which is born today: the ZAPATISTA FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION a civic and peaceful organization, independent and democratic, Mexican and national, which will struggle for democracy, liberty and justice in Mexico. The Zapatista Front of National Liberation is born today and we invite the participation of the workers of the Republic, the workers in the field and in the city, the indigenous people, the squatters, the teachers and students, Mexican women, the youth in all the nation, honest artists and intellectuals, religious people who are accountable, all those Mexican citizens who do not want Power but democracy, liberty, and justice for ourselves and for our children.

We invite national civic society, those without a party, the citizen and social movement, all Mexicans to construct this new political force.

A new political force which will be national. A new political force based in the EZLN.

A new political force which forms part of a broad opposition movement, the National Liberation Movement, as a space for citizen political action where there may be a confluence with other political forces of the independent opposition, a space where popular wills may encounter and coordinate united actions with one another.

A political force whose members do not exert nor aspire to hold elective positions or government offices in any of its levels. A political force which does not aspire to take power. A force which is not a political party.

A political force which can organize the demands and proposals of those citizens and is willing to give direction through obedience. A political force which can organize a solution to the collective problems without the intervention of political parties and of the government. We do not need permission in order to be free. The role of the government is the prerogative of society and it is its right to exert that function.

A political force which struggles against the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and against the centralization of power. A political force whose members do not have any other privilege than the satisfaction of having fulfilled its commitment.

A political force with local, state and regional organization which grows from the base, which is its social force. A political force given birth by the civic committees of dialogue. A political force which is called a FRONT because it incorporates organizational efforts which are non-partisan, and has many levels of participation and many forms of struggle.

A political force called ZAPATISTA because it is born with the hope and the indigenous heart which, together with the EZLN, descended again from the Mexican mountains.

A political force with a program of struggle with 13 points. Those contained in the First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle and added throughout the past two years of insurgency. A political force which struggles against the State-Party System. A political force which struggles for a new constituency and a new constitution. A political force which does not struggle to take political power but for a democracy where those who govern, govern by obeying.

We call upon all those men and women of Mexico, the indigenous and those who are not indigenous, we call upon all the

peoples who form this Nation; upon those who agree to struggle for housing, land, work, bread, health, education, information, culture, independence, democracy, justice, liberty and peace; to those who understand that the State-Party System is the main obstacle to a transition to democracy in Mexico; to those who know that democracy does not mean substituting those in absolute power but government of the people, for the people and by the people; for those who agree with the need to create a new Magna Carta which incorporates the principal demands of the Mexican people and the guarantees that Article 39 be complied with through plebiscites and referendums; to those who do not aspire or pretend to exercise public privileges or elected posts; to those who have the heart, the will and the wisdom on the left side of their chest; to those who want to stop being spectators and are willing to go without pay or privilege other than participation in national reconstruction; to those who want to construct something new and good, to become a part of the ZAPATISTA FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION.

Those citizens without a party, those social and political organizations, those civic committees of dialogue, movements and groups, all those who do not aspire to take Power and who subscribe to this FOURTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE commit themselves to participate in a dialogue to formulate its organic structure, its plan of action, and its declaration of principles for this ZAPATISTA FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION.

Today, this January 1 of 1996, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation signs this FOURTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE. We invite all the people of Mexico to subscribe to it.

## III

## Brothers and Sisters:

Many words walk in the world. Many worlds are made. Many worlds are made for us. There are words and worlds which are lies and injustices. There are words and worlds which are truths and truthful. We make true words. We have been made from true words.

In the world of the powerful there is no space for anyone but themselves and their servants. In the world we want everyone fits. In the world we want many worlds to fit. The Nation which we construct is one where all communities and languages fit, where all steps may walk, where all may have laughter, where all may live the dawn.

We speak of unity even when we are silent. Softly and gently we speak the words which find the unity which will embrace us in history and which will discard the abandonment which confronts and destroys one another.

Our word, our song and our cry, is so that the most dead will no longer die. So that we may live fighting, we may live singing.

Long live the word. Long live Enough is Enough! Long live the night which becomes a soldier in order not to die in oblivion. In order to live the word dies, its seed germinating forever in the womb of the earth. By being born and living we die. We will always live. Only those who give up their history are consigned to oblivion.

We are here. We do not surrender. Zapata is alive, and in spite of everything, the struggle continues.

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast.  
Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos  
Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee  
General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation  
Mexico, January of 1996



# What do the FZLN and the Centers of Resistance Mean to us in the United States?

by Cecilia Rodriguez

National Center for Democracy, Liberty and Justice  
601 N. Cotton Street, #A10  
El Paso, Texas 79902  
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<moonlight@igc.apc.org>

Because there is so much geographical and cultural difference between us and the reality of the Zapatistas, there are times when it is difficult to understand their analysis and rationale. For this reason alone, it is necessary and useful for us to visit the area, and build the kind of relationships which will allow us to interpret correctly the political direction which they are taking.

The Mexican people have stated clearly that they do not want a war, and have organized successfully to avoid it. For this reason the Zapatistas seek a political solution, because in order to retain the trust of the people of Mexico they must obey their direction. Recently the Zapatistas took two very clear and public actions:

1. The Centers of Resistance - these are Zapatista villages, typical of the community base which protected and helped the EZLN grow during ten years of clandestine development. These centers, named the "new Aguascalientes" have been designated in order to respond to the need for a closer more open relationship with civil society on a national and international level. Hopefully, economic and social projects can be developed from there like production cooperatives, schools, cultural activities, etc. They also serve to provide a focal point for humanitarian solidarity efforts who wish to take money, food or supplies directly to those civilians affected by the war. The inauguration of these centers was met with suspicion and accusations on behalf of the government. In its angry response to the centers, the government reveals its disinterest in a political solution - if civilians are not free to associate with other civilians and peacefully resolve their problems, then what alternative do they have? If the government continues to impose its policy of isolation and harassment, how can these communities work towards peace? For these reasons, it is important to support the centers of resistance, because they enable a political process, a peaceful resolution to the conflict, and thwart the government's militarization. It is important to support these centers of resistance because it also thwarts the government's policy of isolation, their recent use of Mexican immigration to harass international visitors is concrete proof that they are so weakened politically only force is available to them in order to continue to marginalize the EZLN.

2. The Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle - this new proposal comes on the heels of the results of the National Plebiscite wherein the EZLN asked specifically if it

should become an independent peaceful political force. This proposal is once again intended to gather up peaceful civilian efforts to build a transitional government. The EZLN does not believe that the existing system must first be destroyed and then a new one constructed. The EZLN believes that the organizational process of a transitional government should begin now. And so the Zapatista Front of National Liberation [FZLN], which will organize local, regional, and national committees of dialogue which will develop proposals and plans of action for this transitional government will be its civic arm. Once again, the EZLN takes the government at its word, and it remains to be seen what kind of harassment and repression will be meted out to those who become members of the Front. If the government is serious about a political solution, the FZLN will provide a transition point for members of the EZLN, which has a different set of operating principles from the CND and the MLN. If the government only wants war, the EZLN will continue to be their military option. The FZLN provides a way for civilians, who agree with Zapatista principles, to work peacefully.

The Front is an organizing mechanism, public, pluralistic, prohibited from any possibility of becoming an official political party, designed to be a pressure point, and specifically built from the thought and practice of the EZLN. The Front must keep a political space open, and make the public work of the EZLN something which can engage the ordinary people of Mexico.

These two developments are historic. They represent an advancement in the political program of the EZLN, which can only be brought to fruition IF AND WHEN A WAR IS AVOIDED. They represent the implementation of their proposal to a transitional process to democracy. These developments have been confusing to some, and there are those who believe the EZLN has become entrapped in the government's negotiation process. It is clear to us from both private and public meetings, which the press has deliberately played down, that this is not the case. The EZLN is struggling to find a way to keep a political space open while at the same time, maintaining their military character in response to continued government deception.

Subcomandante Marcos has stated clearly and specifically that the government is preparing a "war of extermination," using the peace talks to buy time to prepare a genocidal war intended to wipe out any remnant of resistance to the government line. Therefore we cannot interpret the EZLN's program as concessions to a negotiations process, but as political challenges to an imminent war. We must continue to prepare for the war, to prepare the civilian resistance to that war, and the rationale for peace.

It is for these reasons that we think it is important to begin a Campaign for a Pledge of Resistance. In view of

this imminent war, we think it is irresponsible to do anything else but attempt to build a large enough base to provide a pressure point in favor of peace and against a genocidal war. The EZLN has already inaugurated the national possibilities for a transitional government. It is our responsibility, as that international civic movement, to secure peace.

## Campaign for a pledge of resistance

The Campaign for Pledges of Resistance includes 2 basic strategies:

- Raising funds to support the Centers of Resistance and
- Preparing an Emergency Plan - Getting Pledges of Resistance Signed

## Support For Centers Of Resistance-

Given that the EZLN has now officially inaugurated four Centers of Resistance we recommend that each committee commit time once given to other humanitarian aid or solidarity efforts to support these Centers and take delegations to visit as well as recruit humanitarian aid.

Reports of ongoing harassment of international supporters continue to emerge, and Mexican immigration is establishing migration checkpoints at the entry to each of the communities - Oventic, La Garrucha, La Realidad, and Morelia. Therefore we think it is important to develop a campaign to support these centers, and perhaps recruit specific kinds of humanitarian aid to be taken there.

The existence of the centers gives us a rationale for continuing to highlight the need for humanitarian aid. There is an excellent film about Oventic available through NCDM's National Office which can be used to explain the centers, and to illustrate the amount of militarization in the area.

## Preparation Of Emergency Plan - Pledges Of Resistance

Because the Mexican government continues to prepare itself for a military attack that may occur at any moment, it is important to make a long-term proposal, and a short-term one, and work hard this year to accomplish them.

We suggest that each committee recruit a minimal of 1,000 people to sign a Pledge of Resistance. The Pledge consists of the following:

"I am aware that the Mexican government is preparing a military attack on an area with a large and defenseless civilian population. Given this situation I pledge to participate in an emergency response by doing the following:

- Pledge \$25 to support an emergency response plan;
- Participate in whatever action the local committee may have designed to respond to this possibility;
- Participate in whatever national action may be deemed necessary by the national coordinating committee.

For more information on the Pledges of Resistance and/or the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, U.S.A. write, call, fax, or Email the above address' or phone/fax #.



Help create a Raza Liberation news service  
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## Chicano Press Association

### OBJECTIVES OF THE CHICANO PRESS ASSOCIATION

1. To establish a Raza news-wire service.
2. Create a network of progressive Raza press.
3. Hold on-going workshops/conferences to advance Chicano Mexican journalism.
4. Establish an editorial board to oversee joint publications.
5. To pool existing resources to assist publications and to establish new ones.
6. That a "collection" of periodicals, past and current, be established.

### Members of the Chicano Press Association are:

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For information on joining the CPA and/or creating  
your own independent Raza publication write to:

Chicano Press Association

P.O. Box 620095

San Diego, Califas 92102

or Email at: <MagonBros@aol.com>

The CPA is a member of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee

## Native Hawaiian kills self over U.S. occupation

59 year old, Native Hawaiian Kahale Smith, took his own life, by dousing himself with gasoline, as 20 armed officers and officials of the State of Hawaii and the Department of Hawaiian Homes Land (DHHL) attempted to forcibly evict Mr. Smith from his family home at Anahola, on the Island of Kaua'i. Moments before Smith and his home went up in flames, the police were throwing his belongings out into the street.

Political activist Smith had been battling with DHHL, the State of Hawaii and United States Federal government over native Hawaiian land title claims and human rights violations against Native Hawaiians. Based in part on revelations at United States Public Law 103-150, enacted by the United States Congress in 1993; Smith and many native Hawaiians believe that their land rights and title are outside the jurisdiction of the United States and the State of Hawaii. At USPL 103-150, the United States admitted that it conspired with others to overthrow the government of Hawaii in 1893, in an "illegal" act of war, in violation of treaty and U.S. Constitution.

On November 20, 1995, Native Hawaiian tax protester John Marshe was acquitted by a U.S. Federal jury in Honolulu (U.S.A. v. Marshe C#94-00749) of willful failure to file, and willful failure to pay income taxes, for several years. Marshe based his defense on a

claim to "sovereignty"; i.e. that he was outside U.S. jurisdiction. By his death, Kahale Smith lost his opportunity to make a similar defense and his day in court.

The DHHL has recently been involved in the "loss" of well over \$120,000,000 in funds and property it has administered for Native Hawaiians. These funds are still not yet accounted for.

Smith contended that the continued occupation of Hawaiian lands by the United States was in violation of international law. In addition, Smith accused the U.S. government, the State and the DHHL of acts of "genocide" in violation of the Geneva Convention and United Nations Charter.

Native Hawaiian groups have planned protests and rallies to oust DHHL administrator Mr. Kale Watson and bring an end to "the abuse of Native Hawaiians by agents of the United States".

For more specific information see:

Hawaii Resource Library:

<http://hawaii-shopping.com/~sammonet/hrlhome.html>

Sam Monet

P.O. Box 309

Haleiwa, Hawaii 96712

Ph/Fax: (808) 638-8934/ 638-8018

email: monet@aloha.net



# Summary Of Information Regarding U.S. Military Involvement In Mexico And Chiapas

## Equipment:

- 25 military vehicles from the US crossed the border at Ciudad Juarez the previous day (December 6, 1995 *Diario de Juarez*);
- [U.S.] Secretary of Defense William Perry maintained that his country will collaborate in the improvement of our [Mexico] defense capacity in air and maritime space in the modernization of military hardware and in the improvement of personnel for combating the drug trade. He insisted that the bilateral relationship, aided before on two bases - the political and commercial - now will also be founded on one more, that is, on the question of security. After pointing out commercial and economic collaboration - such as the NAFTA [North American Free Trade (Slave) Agreement] and the recent aid Mexico received due to the economic crisis of last December [1994] - the chief of the U.S. Armed Forces maintained, "when it comes to stability and security, our destinies are also indissoluble linked." Members of the United States retinue asserted that Mexico bought a radar worth seven million dollars as well as 12 Huey-H1 helicopters to fight drug trafficking (*La Jornada*, October 24, 1995);
- The US wants to rent 12 Huey helicopters to Mexico (*New York Times*, September 24, 1995);
- The government of President Ernesto Zedillo has requested the purchase of airplanes, armament, radars and communication systems worth a total of \$27 million to reinforce the capacities of the Armed Forces and Federal Attorney General (*El Financiero*, August 29, 1995);
- In 1991, the United States Army donated a total of 609 vehicles and diverse war material to the [Mexican] Armed Forces (*La Jornada*, July 1995);
- Mexico's U.S. supplied military helicopter fleet could be nearly doubled, to almost 200, by Pentagon transfers, including several dozen state of the art Blackhawk choppers (*New York Times*, May 23, 1995);
- Mexican army has been spending "considerable amounts" on Navstar GPS guidance systems, a critical weapon in satellite warfare (*Jane's 1995 Intelligence Review*);
- From 1988 to 1992 the U.S. exported over \$214 million in arms to the PRI government, an amount 16 times higher than France, the second-place supplier (*El Proceso*, December 12, 1994);
- In 1994 Clinton authorized a new arms export package for Mexico, including over \$64 million of sophisticated electronic equipment and satellite guided UH-60 Blackhawk helicopters;
- U.S. Huey and Bell 212 helicopters along with C-130 Hercules troop transport planes were used against the Zapatistas in 1994;

## Training Of Officers:

- A senior U.S. defense official briefly mentions that there are "routine exchanges of officers attending [U.S.] military schools and [Mexican] military schools," and that "[U.S.] senior officers visit Mexico as part of the U.S. Capstone program. The Mexican military routinely visit the U.S.' National Defense University" (October 20, 1995, press briefing);
- There are U.S. advisors "preparing" counterinsurgency commandos or paramilitary groups among indigenous organizations not affiliated with the Zapatistas in order that they, at the appropriate time, struggle against the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. ... The [Mexican] government has replaced the "armed wing" with the Federal Attorney General and state public security bodies, led by "old masters" such as General Arturo Acosta Chaparro [who directed the army's massacre of students at Tlatelolco on October 2, 1969, and who was trained in

the U.S.' School of the Americas]. ... (*La Jornada*, November 7, 1995, article regarding Radio Universidad's interview with SubComandante Marcos of the EZLN);

## Intelligence Efforts:

- Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Propp is named as the head of a Secret or Covert Operations team operating since June 1994 in Chiapas. He was detected in San Cristobal de las Casas since that time and was in Guadalupe Tepeyac with the Mexican military unit that took that village on February 10, 1995. He also was seen in San Quintin. It is confirmed that the United States government interfered in communications amongst the EZLN delegation to the dialogues in San Andres and passing the information to the government's delegation. Another report is that the United States Army is acting as an intermediary in bringing Argentinean mercenaries to Chiapas; people have reported them with the paramilitary groups, the "white guards" (*La Brecha de Uruguay*, interview with SubComandante Marcos, Oct. 28, 1995);
- Major John Kevin Kord, and Lieutenant Colonel Alan Hasson Sanchez are U.S. military men identified as being in Chiapas during the Mexican military offensive in February. (*El Norte Chiapas*, February 12, 1995);
- "American intelligence services" actively assisted in determining the (alleged) identity of Zapatista leader SubComandante Marcos (*New York Times*, February 10, 1995);
- [FBI] staff in Mexico participate in training Mexicans, in the development of common strategies against organized crimes and in the prosecution of crimes involving American citizens, stated Paul Bresson, spokesperson for the FBI. The head of the FBI team in Mexico is Stanley Pimental, and he has a handful of special agents working under him including James Wells, Gilberto Contreras and Ornelo Flores. Mexico is one of 21 countries in which the FBI operates and has one of the largest staff - approximately 10 people (*El Financiero*, November 6, 1994);
- The CIA fields a substantial, expanding network of agents and covert operatives in southeastern Chiapas (ex-CIA officers John Stockwell and Ralph McGehee);

## Consolidated List Of Equipment To "Combat Drug Trafficking" By The Mexican Federal Government

Published by *El Financiero*, August 29, 1995

1. Secretary of National Defense (Sedena): \$81,839,427; \$72 million for the purchase of radars, Phase III TPS-70, Radar TPS-63, Phase IV TPS-70. Electrical, Hydraulic and Sanitation Infrastructure, \$9,564,729 for the three radar sites. Communication equipment for the three \$274,698 radar sites.
2. Secretary of the Navy: \$47,500,000; \$18,000,000 for the purchase of two Dornier 228-212 airplanes with Flir night vision equipment, Comint Communication System and Ocean Master Radar. \$4,501,950 for the purchase of fifteen search and detect equipment with Flir ANIAAQ-21 night vision and Sperry Primus 500 radar detection equipment. \$16,289,925 for the purchase of two BO 105 CBS Super Five Helicopters and 11,987 M-16-A2 Automatic rifles, 5.6X 45 millimeter caliber. \$8,750,000 for the purchase of five MI-8 helicopters equipped with Flir night vision, Comit communication systems and Ocean Master radar.
3. Federal Attorney General (PGR): \$15,000,000 for equipment for a satellite network; \$5,500,000 for a master station and remote stations for 52 connection sites.

\$6,000,000 for an Afis system to make identifications from fingerprints, voice prints, and aliases. \$500,000 for security equipment for voice, fax and data communications. \$3,000,000 for a fail-safe computer system (hardware & software). National Institute to Combat Drugs: \$93,000,000 for VHF-FM radios, HF-ALE radios and airplanes and \$36,609 for assorted information equipment

4. General Director of Aerial Services: \$11,500,000 for three factory-services for UH-1M helicopters and parts. two donated Kaman SH-2G helicopters. two donated Grumman E-2C helicopters. \$8,000,000 in funds to repair Bell 206/02615/212 \$20,000,000 helicopters. \$1,500,000 in funds to repair fumigation equipment. \$5,000,000 in training and specialized courses for pilots. \$38,000,000 to supply parts, repairs and aerial equipment to provide ground support to the general fleet of the PGR. \$1,500,000 in support for the renovation and maintenance of rural bases. \$13,000,000 for two Flight Simulators. \$1,000,000 in security equipment for technical personnel and pilots.

GRAND TOTAL \$237,000,000

## Chronological List Of Equipment And Sophisticated Armaments Acquired By The Mexican Government

(based on an article from *La Jornada*, August 21, 1995)

### 1988-1992

(2000) HUMMER Armored troop transport vehicles

### 1990

(7) ARAVA planes  
(100) HUMMER Armored vehicles  
(100) MACK armored artillery vehicles  
(5) MACK-TALLER armored vehicles

### 1991

(710) HUMMER Armored Vehicles  
(60) M925 A2 5 Ton Tactical Trucks  
(2) SIKORSKY Helicopters  
(13) PILATUS PC-7 Planes  
(4) PORTER Turbo Planes  
Vehicles and war materials donated by the US Army:  
(400) Jeeps  
(32) Ambulances  
(106) Pickup trucks  
(15) Transport Trailers  
(15) Water trucks  
(11) Ambulances

### 1992

(597) HUMMER Armored Vehicles  
(10) McDONNELL DOUGLAS Helicopters  
(4) ARAVA Planes  
(15) MAULE Planes  
(1000) Parachutes for Paratroopers  
(424) HK-19 3-40mm Machine guns ("for military units in the southeast")  
(430) HIGH EXPLOSIVE Grenades (same destiny)  
(26) COBRA I anti-riot vehicles

### 1993

(1600) HUMMER Armored troop transport carriers  
(5) Rapid Attack Vehicles  
(221) CLE vehicles  
(332) HK-19 3-40mm machine guns  
(266) Electric prods  
(4585) Night sticks  
(21) Electric shields  
(84) Anti projectile "escopetas"

(17,784) HK-19 Grenades  
(22,200) Tear Gas Grenades  
(26) COBRA I Anti-riot vehicles  
(26) CADILLAC armored cars

### 1994

Purchases of armament ideal for land and jungle combat, ie. Chiapas:

(6) SIKORSKY Helicopters  
(17) PILATUS PC-7 Planes  
(38) BELL Helicopters  
(22) McDONNELL DOUGLAS Helicopters  
(2) BELL-206 Planes  
(16) MAULE Planes  
(4) ARVANA Planes  
(1) HERCULES C-130 Plane  
(2) SCHWEIZER Planes  
(10) Artillery weapons for BELL Helicopters  
(10) Artillery weapons for MD-530 Helicopters

Field Equipment, Rations and Night Vision:

(660,000) combat rations  
(473,000) field sets  
(120,000) Army belts  
(102,000) KEVLAR helmets  
(70,000) Canteens  
(70,000) USA model mess kits  
(2,232) AITOR survival knives  
(2,232) Machetes  
(20,672) Flack jackets  
(608) LASER targets  
(208) telescopic lens for night vision  
(3297) HUMMER Troop armored vehicles  
(110) MACK armored vehicles  
(168) DNC-1 Vehicles  
(90) DN-2 Armored vehicles  
(57) RAM CHARGERS converted into VHS-WT-500

Donations of Arms and Weaponry:

(270) MK-1 cohetes  
(500) BUNDICE lanzacohetes  
(859) HK-19 40mm Machine guns  
(500) Semiautomatic rifles  
(374) 38 calibre escopetas  
(192,874) M430 40mm calibre grenades  
(40,000) M918 40mm calibre grenades  
(85,678) M781 40mm calibre grenades  
(109) Telescopic lens  
Donations for the Military Police:

(2516) Anti-riot  
(2233) Granade carrier  
(3466) Gas masks  
(2974) Night sticks  
(2993) Helmets  
(1365) Electric shields  
(3266) Flame throwers  
(30) CL anti-riot vehicles with catapult  
(30) Vehicles with BULLDOZER to dissipate protests or disturbances

## National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA

*The Legitimate Voice of the EZLN  
North of the Mexican Border*

Support the just struggle of the Zapatistas, send your tax-deductable donations to the NCDM



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### M.U.J.E.R.

(Mujeres Unidas para  
Justicia, Educación, y  
Revolución)



Graphic by Judith Baca

Invitation to all Mujeres interested in  
Self-Empowerment and Self-Determina-  
tion for Raza

General Meetings: Tuesdays  
Time: 6pm  
Place: Cross Cultural Center

¡QUE VIVA LA MUJER!

## ¡Concientización, Organización, Acción, y Liberación!

### UNION DEL BARRIO

Advancing the Chicano Mexicano Movement



#### Unión del Barrio Eleven Point Program

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

1) MEXICANOS IN AZTLÁN ARE A COLONY OF THE U.S. ILLEGAL SETTLER NATION. 2) MEXICANOS IN AZTLÁN MUST SELF-DETERMINE OUR DESTINY. 3) AZTLÁN/MEXICO

OCUPADO IS THE HOMELAND OF THE MEXICANO. 4) SOMOS MEXICANOS. 5) THE CHARACTER OF OUR MOVEMENT IS REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM. 6) MEXICANO INTERNATIONALISM IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR MOVEMENT. 7) CONCIETIZACIÓN OF OUR GENTE IS CRITICAL TO OUR LIBERATION. 8) COLLECTIVISM, ORGANIZATION BUILDING AND ACCOUNTABILITY ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR STRUGGLE. 9) A UNITED FRONT IS CRUCIAL IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. 10) THE ABSOLUTE AND UNEQUIVOCAL LIBERATION OF RAZA WOMEN IS A FUNDAMENTAL

MENTAL COMPONENT OF OUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AS A PEOPLE. 11) DIALECTICAL/HISTORICAL MATERIALISM IS KEY TO FORMING STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR OUR LIBERATION.

For more information on  
Unión del Barrio, write to:

Unión del Barrio  
P.O. Box 620095  
San Diego, Califas 92162

## CHICANO MEXICANO PRISON PROJECT

### General Objectives of the Chicano Mexicano Prison Project:

- To raise the social and political consciousness of Raza prisoners.
- To expose the role of prisons in the criminalization of La Raza and in maintaining colonialism, capitalism and imperialism.
- To advocate for the civil and human rights of all prisoners.

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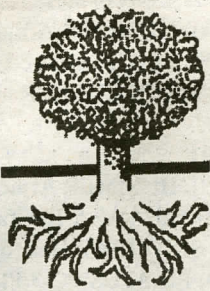
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CMPP

P.O. BOX 620095

SAN DIEGO, CALIFAS 92162

The CMPP is a Project of Unión del Barrio



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is a political collective working toward social change to give people more control over their own lives. We are located in the Student Center on the UCSD campus. 0323 Student Center La Jolla, CA 92037 (619) 452-9625

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**Cuban President Fidel Castro Speaking in Ho Chi Minh City, Peoples Republic of Viet Nam:**

## **"All Those Who Believed Socialism Was Disappearing Thought That Capitalism Could Be Eternal, and Nothing Can Be Eternal"**

By Fidel Castro Ruz

(reprinted from *Workers World*)

On Dec. 10 Cuban President Fidel Castro spoke in Ho Chi Minh City, Viet Nam. The following is the text of his speech, reprinted from the Cuban newspaper *Granma*.

Comrade Vo Tran Chi recalled the time I visited Viet Nam 22 years ago. Those were very difficult times, very hard. I came from the Non-Aligned conference in Algeria, and stopped over the India, and it was there that we heard the bitter news of the coup d'état in Chile, which resulted in the overthrow and death of the great friend of progressive people throughout the world, and that friend of Viet Nam and of Cuba, Salvador Allende.

I had planned a program of intensive visits, which I was obliged to reduce because of those events; but I did have the opportunity to make a visit to the south.

I came in a little AN-26 aircraft. Throughout the journey I saw the signs of war, thousands upon thousands of bombs launched on the Viet Nameese people, aimed at communications and bridges; every bridgehead was riddled with holes, resulting from an attempt to destroy communications.

We had to travel over many roads and cross impoverished bridges to reach the McNamara line, along the 17th parallel, and there our Viet Nameese companions showed me the battlegrounds of a few months earlier, the major battles of Quang Tri and other sites.

I was really amazed to see how the Viet Nameese combatants had managed to breach those extraordinary fortifications, full of trenches, cannons and steel-strengthened fortifications, which had to yield to the thrust and valor of the Viet Nameese fighters.

They introduced me to many fighters and many heroes. I met with military units, and I remembered a flag that was put in my hands, which I let fly there. (Applause) Photographs still exist of that visit, very beautiful images and the photos of the flag of a valiant people, which I keep as one of the greatest treasures of my life. But at that time, the country was still not unified, a large part of the south still remained to be liberated; more time was to pass, much work had to be undertaken in organizing and preparing for the final battle.

Those were difficult times, complex times. The Viet



Nameese leadership, acting with great wisdom, had achieved the agreements which committed the U.S. troop withdrawal. Those troops had been overcome, and they were retrieving, but a massive puppet army of one million men remained, armed to the teeth, with the best airplane, the best tanks, the best U.S. arms.

However, I had absolutely no doubt that when those troops came up against the Viet Nameese patriots they would not be able to resist for very long. Those were my feelings then, and I was sure of victory; for that reason, when the last battles were initiated some months later, and the world received the news of the liberation of this city - at that time called Saigon, and from then on named Ho Chi Minh City - the world celebrated that victory as one of the greatest events in modern history.

### **Future Belongs To Socialism**

Along the way we talked with our Viet Nameese companions. How much money did the United States spend here in South Viet Nam? A trillion dollars in order to prevent Viet Nameese reunification, independence and sovereignty. But one day those dreams of Ho Chi Minh were realized. He said that there was nothing more precious than independence and freedom, and that after the war you would build a Viet Nam one thousand times more beautiful.

What an exceptional man! What a far sighted vision! What a profound conviction! How prophetic! Within fifteen years, Viet Nam was unified. Fifteen years later, and although he was dead, that reunification, independence and

sovereignty had been won, and now this great work of reshaping and reconstructing a Viet Nam one thousand times more beautiful is in progress.

Neither can we forget Ho Chi Minh's advice to the international communist movement: unite! Keep ourselves united! How Ho Chi Minh would have suffered if he had witnessed the disappearance of the European socialist camp, if he had witnessed the disintegration of the Soviet Union! What a heavy blow, so terrible to the world and all its peoples, such as Viet Nam and Cuba!

But since just ideals are invincible, the countries which persisted in Socialism were not brought down, they had the capacity to fight, they had the capacity to persist in Socialism and they were capable of resisting, as Viet Nam had done as Cuba has done, and as other countries close to Viet Nam had done. For that reason I feel optimistic.

Those who applauded the disappearance of the European socialist bloc and the disappearance of the Soviet Union, believed that was the end of Socialism. It may be very far from the end of Socialism and close to being the beginning of the end of capitalism. All those who believed Socialism was disappearing thought that capitalism could be eternal, and nothing can be eternal, much less capitalism, so full of contradictions and injustices.

The capitalists who applauded then are now shocked by what is happening in the former U.S.S.R. and what is happening in the former European socialist countries. There are many people in those countries vacillated, but who now are thinking, mediating. They see the disorder, lack of discipline and chaos, and they are perceiving that capitalism has no future. Only the countries which are persisting in Socialism - in spite of the enormous difficulties resulting from us being left almost alone - using our intelligence, using our hearts, using our creative spirit, are capable of introducing innovations which will not only save Socialism, but will improve it, and one day will bring it to a definite triumph.

Because of this, today, in these times, we can say: the future - and this can be said with more conviction than ever before - is one of Socialism (APPLAUSE). Capitalism is in crisis, it does not have solutions to any of the world's problems; only peoples such as those of Viet Nam, Cuba and other countries, who did not abandon the principles of Marxism-Leninism, or of popular democratic government, or of the leadership of the Communist Party, are now forging ahead and achieving results not experienced by any other country in the world.

### **We Have Resisted And Are Moving Forward**

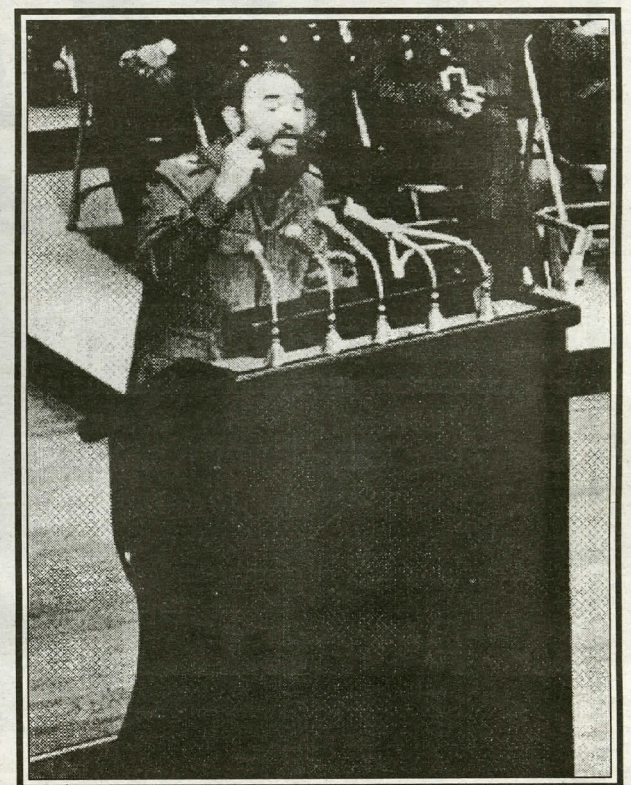
Cuba is in a special situation, being so close to the United States, 90 miles away; there is even a military base on our territory, and a rigorous and criminal blockade is still maintained against Cuba; because they cannot allow there

to be Socialism in the Caribbean, Socialism in Latin America, Socialism on the doorstep of the United States. They thought that we would also fall within a few days; but five years have gone by and we are still standing, firm, solid, with the great support of international opinion, and despite the great sacrifices that we have to make, we have resisted, we will continue to resist and are starting to move forward.

So others fell. In my view they fell like beaten egg whites, but our Revolution was not made of egg whites and I am sure that the egg whites with which socialist countries fell would turn into iron, and they will once again defend and uphold the just ideas that they used to defend. That will happen when consciousness is totally awakened, when they regret previous actions, when they see with all clarity those orderly countries, where everyone had clothes, food, medicine, education, and there was no crime, no Mafia; when all those countries en masse realize the great historic mistake they made when they destroyed Socialism. Then history will save a place of honor for those peoples who, under such difficult conditions, were able to maintain their socialist principles, and figuring

among the ranks among those peoples, like inseparable twin brothers, will be Viet Nam and Cuba (APPLAUSE).

Some moments ago, when this ceremony was being announced, the names of many people who wrote heroic pages of history were mentioned. It gave me great satisfaction to



here those names, because they symbolized the heroism of this people that lasted for decades, this people who shed so much blood while others did business with the blood of Viet Nam, while others improved their economies at the expense of Viet Nam's blood, while others progressed at the expense of Viet Nam, which they thought had been defeated, which they thought had been destroyed.

Today, many of those countries recognize Viet Nam, admire Viet Nam, make peace with Viet Nam and cooperate with Viet Nam; and though noble Viet Nameese blood was turned into gold and money for many, today Viet Nam is growing more than any other country in the region. Today, the noble and generous blood of the Viet Nameese is being converted into well being, prosperity and happiness for the people.

I would like to embrace all those heroes present here, with all my heart, all those heroes mentioned here, from those who threw bombs at this building, or were imprisoned for many years, to the families and widows of the martyrs. The world has rarely seen so much honor, so much merit and so much glory.

For this reason, we Cubans who are here, who have been given such a warm welcome by you, feel full of joy, full of honor, and full of glory at having received your tribute, hospitality and fondness.

Long live just ideals, because they will never be defeated!

Long live independence and sovereignty, because there is nothing more beautiful, as Ho Chi Minh said!

Long live the Viet Nam that is being constructed today,



one hundred times more beautiful! (APPLAUSE)

Long live the exploited of the world who will one day also build a more beautiful future!

Long live the friendship - not the friendship - long live the eternal sisterhood between the peoples of Viet Nam and Cuba! (APPLAUSE)



# Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán Annual Community Conference



SATURDAY FEBRUARY 24, 1996  
SAN DIEGO, CALIFAS  
UCSD PRICE CENTER



## MEXICA TIAHUI

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- BROWN BERETS DE AZTLAN
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For more information contact Dante at (619) 574-1245  
Organized by UCSD M.E.Ch.A.  
**La Union Hace La Fuerza**

**Proposition 187, English Only Laws, Anti-Affirmative Action,**

## SAVE CHICANO PARK! *Stop The Destruction Of Our Murals!*

**Marcha to Save  
Chicano Park  
Sat March 30, 1996  
9:00 am Chicano Park**

CalTrans (California Transportation Department) has decided, due to a law that has been passed, to "Retrofit" the pillars of the Coronado Bay Bridge. This may put the historic Chicano Park Murals in danger of being destroyed. We can't let this happen! Join the Raza community to march and demand that the murals not be touched.



## No Retrofitting. . . Not Now, Not Ever!

Organized by the Chicano Park Steering Committee  
For more information call: (619) 563-4661

**And Now They Want To Destroy The Murals At Chicano Park!  
Stop The Attacks Against Our People And Our Communities!**

Police Brutality In Our Barrios, NAFTA, Three-Strikes-You're-Out Law, Border Patrol Abuse,

Increased Militarization Of The Border, Education, Health And Social Service Cutbacks