

COMMEMORATING 20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE
AGAINST GRINGO COLONIALISM

Voz Fronteriza
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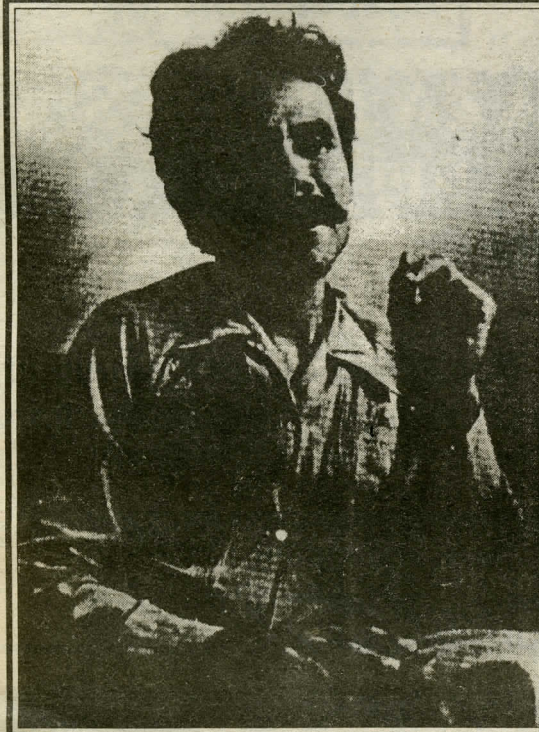
Voz Fronteriza

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SAN DIEGO, CALIFAZTLAN

JUNE, 1995

¡Que Viva La Revolución Mexicana, Cabrones!



From the Editor:

IF YOU CAN'T TAKE THE HEAT, GET THE FUCK OUT THE KITCHEN

By Harry Barra

God damn, the shit has really been flying at UCSD! Everyone has got something to say about *La Voz* now. I'm not really sure what happened, but I know that it didn't begin with Peter Chump's Opinion article in the *Guardian*. No, this began a long time ago, and it's just going to get worse - that's one thing we can be sure of. For those of you that don't know what has been going on, or are not at UCSD, *Voz Fronteriza* was the focus of a recent Opinion Article (May 4, 1995) in the *Guardian* (the UCSD campus newspaper). In the next issue of the *Guardian* I responded, and that is when it really got hot. Anyway, as far as the *Guardian* is concerned, I just want to quickly respond to the numerous letters that have targeted *La Voz* and me as the editor and clarify a few important points; at least for the sake of having the last word...

• May 4th, *Hypocrisy Alive and Well in Voz Fronteriza*, Peter Chump

This was the one that started the whole pedo and it is reprinted as it appeared in the *Guardian*. Included in this issue of *Voz Fronteriza* is also a copy of my response as it was turned into the *Guardian*. From the get-go, it has to be understood that when this response was put together, it was not written as a defense of the Mexican community or *Voz Fronteriza*. No, it was written with the goal of exposing a wanna-be capitalist mumbling clown named Peter Chang, and I think it did that relatively well.

It is not my responsibility to be the representative of Mexican politics at UCSD, and I am not going to waste my time upholding Chicano Power in the *Guardian* - that is what *Voz Fronteriza* is for. Chang threw the first rock, and I simply threw the same rock back at him, point blank. To be honest, his comments didn't really piss me off, they just made me laugh, and the response stays the same.

In the spirit of the Koala, we give P. Chump's article a big three *Voz* Logos (out of a possible four), not for its content (which is a bunch of crap), nor for its author (a wanna-be Newt Gingrich UCSD toad), but for giving *Voz Fronteriza* a gang of exposure on campus. Thank's Pete!



• May 11th, *Barra's Attack of Voz Commentary is Racist*, Josh Zlotlow

This is the first letter printed in the Readers Forum of the *Guardian* trying to jam up my response. In general it is a silly ass commentary that calls me a racist, defends Bill Clinton and Pete Wilson's ancestors, upholds the right for "free speech," and accuses me of having "condoned these death threats." This vato might even be a bigger chump than Peter because he's not only screwed up politically, but he can't write worth a shit. This one was not worth reprinting. Zlotlow gets one pity *Voz* Logo - not for the letter, but because we feel sorry for him having to live with a shitty name like Zlotlow.



Also included in this issue of the *Guardian* were two responses by other Vocistas: Michelle Garcia and Breca Rodriguez Griswold, and these are also reprinted in this issue - these compañeras did an excellent job at exposing Pito Chump. Something surprising also turned up in this issue; an article by Carl Lenox that does a decent job exposing Uncle Sam as the dope pusher he is. This article is also reprinted for its historical importance.

• May 15th, *Voz Fronteriza Is A Racist, Militant Rag*, Don Smith & Barra Incapable of Making an Argument, Boris Slutsky

This is where the shit slinging really started. The first letter, from Don Smith throws some low blows from the get-go. In classic F.B.I. COINTELPRO style, Smith attempts to set me up for character assassination. Whether or not he is an agent of the state doesn't matter, I got one thing to say - kiss my brown ass. This one is reprinted in full and gets a full two *Voz* Logos for its excellent impersonation of J. Edgar Hoover in drag.



Slutsky's letter didn't make any sense nor was it worth reprinting, but we did anyway just to make Boris look like an ass. Zero *Voz* Logos for Slutsky - not even a pity Logo for this payaso.

• May 18th, *Warning: Silence Reduces Risk of Death*, Brent Johnson

This is the second article from the *Guardian* staff that jumps bad with the *Voz*, and is really the best written one. It is obvious that Johnson spent some time on this one; he even went so far as to look at past issues of our paper and translate things he thought he could attack us on. This one gets a big "E" for effort, and three *Voz* Logos for being the least stupid of all the attacks against *Voz Fronteriza*.



Continued on page 11

VOZ FRONTERIZA



GUERRILLEROS DE LA PLUMA

Harry Barra
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Breca Rodriguez Griswold

Jose Luis Lepe Suastegui

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Yolanda Banda

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The views expressed in *Voz Fronteriza*, represent the views of individual writers and organizations, and do not necessarily represent the views of the ASUCSD or the Regents of the University of California.

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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20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Committed to the community and for fundamental change in society

20TH ANNIVERSARY OF VOZ FRONTERIZA

By Ernesto Bustillos

In late 1975, several Raza students at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) met to discuss the publication of a newspaper that would be of service not only to Raza on campus, but to the community as well. The "idea" for a publication had come from Arnulfo Cassillas, a graduate student who already had some experience in publications. Several students came to the initial meetings to discuss the publication of the newspaper. The first "staff" of the publication which was to be called "Voz Fronteriza" included Arnulfo Casillas, David Avalos, Ana Maria Flores, Raul Jaquez, Julia Martinez, Yolanda Orozco, Roberto Robledo, and Olga Villanueva. They were soon joined by Susana Martinez, Alfonso Gomez, Juan Gutierrez, Salvador Reza, Juan Mora, Pauline Boutris, and others.

Most of the original staff of Voz, besides being young, were new to political struggle. They were mostly students majoring in Mass Communication and Ethnic Studies. They were all idealistic, progressive, and some were revolutionary. All held strong commitment to the community and for the fundamental change of society. This made them a minority within a minority in a campus such as UCSD.

Attesting to the importance of the development of Voz Fronteriza -one just has to witness that it was founded when the "Chicano Power," "Black Power," and other liberation movements had been de-

feated and virtually annihilated (through arrests, murder, disruptions, etc.) by the various government police agencies (FBI, CIA, etc.). Therefore, Voz came to be one of the few publications pushing self-determination and liberation politics in a period where "hispanics" (with hardly no one to challenge them and with assistance from the colonial authorities/U.S. government) were coming out of the closets and claiming leadership of the Chicano Mexican masses. It was a period where we saw the Coors Corporation, LULAC, and the vendido sector of our population claiming we were entering the "Decade of the Hispanic." Which meant that our community was to be represented by sell-out, assimilationists, anti-Raza politics of the vendido hispanic puppets controlled by gringo colonialism. Radical, militant, nationalist, and revolutionary politics was to be isolated and eliminated. It was under these difficult conditions that Voz Fronteriza came to exist as a voice of struggle and liberation.

From its inception, the staff of Voz Fronteriza agreed that Voz was to be tied into the community. That it would serve the community. That it would report the truth and deal with issues that were real and dear to the Mexican community. That it would make its resources available to the community. In essence, that it would try to implement the "Plan de Santa Barbara" (a plan of action formulated by Raza students and professors in 1969) which called for bringing the university to the community and the community to the university. It has been this philosophy, with few exceptions, that has guided Voz Fronteriza for twenty years.

The first issue of Voz Fronteriza, dated January 5, 1976 was clearly representative of the philosophy of community and struggle, which was struggled out by the initial founders of Voz. It had on its cover an anti-bicentennial (200 year celebration of the founding of the U.S.) graphic. In was a 20-page issue, which include a special 4-page supplement in the form of a "state of Raza education at the

U.C. system" published by the UC Chicano Steering Committee. The first issue also included articles on the question of immigration and the border, the struggle to free Olga Talamante (a Chicana arrested as a political prisoner while visiting friends in Argentina), the boycott of the racist/fascist family-owned Coors Co., the women's struggle, the farmworker struggle, the killing of a young homeboy, Tato Rivera, by National City pigs, -along with several pages on art, culture, and the media. This first issue set the standards which were to be adhered to (with very few exceptions) by the issues to come. progressive ideas and positions being put out by our movement, but has become



La Voz's first issue. Though the founding of Voz Fronteriza was in late 1975, the first issue didn't hit the barrios until January of 1976.

Conferencia Sobre LA RESURGENCIA DE LA PRENSA CHICANA MEXICANA

Conference on the resurgence of the Chicano Press



December 8, 1990

10am - 4:30pm

San Diego City College
A 213 (Admissions Building)
12th & B San Diego

-SPEAKERS-

Mona Rivera
Former editor of La Gente, UCLA
Dr. Raul Ruiz
Co-founder of La Raza, Los Angeles
Adolfo Guzman Lopez
Co-editor Voz Fronteriza

-WORKSHOPS-

- Chicano Journalism, its history and its use as a weapon for LIBERATION!
- How to start a publication, finding sources and overcoming the system.
- "Somos Raza", importance of barrio youth publications.

ORGANIZED BY THE CHICANO PRESS ASSOCIATION

¡Chale Con - 500 years Celebration of Columbus!

Dec. 1990 conference on the resurgence of the Chicano press held at UCSD. The Voz was integral in the reformation of the CPA.

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The 3rd annual forum on the future direction of the Chicano Mexican movement. Speakers, students and community activists will be discussing the recent events in the movement and the role students must play in the Chicano movement in the 90's.

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National Chicano Moratorium Committee	Somos Raza
Herminda Enrique	Carmen Felix
Chicana Elder from San Antonio	Activist from El Paso

Special guest appearance by

Chunky Sanchez

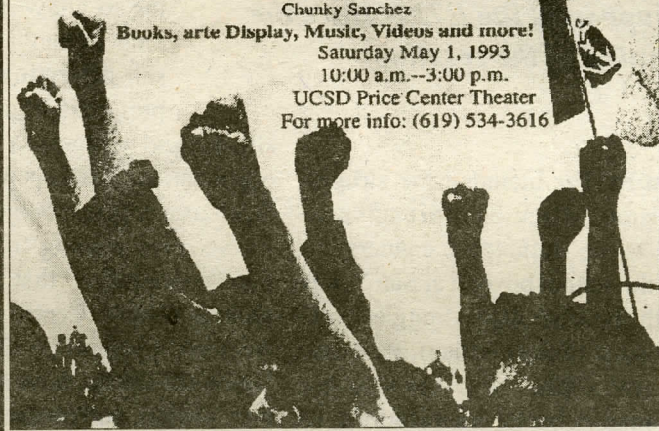
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10:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m.

UCSD Price Center Theater

For more info: (619) 534-3616



May 1993 forum on the future of the Chicano Movement, organized by Voz Fronteriza

one of the most consistent -oftentimes publishing seven or eight times during the school year. The first issues of Voz began a glorious example of the Raza liberation press on this side of the militarily imposed border.

VF HAS ALWAYS ADDRESSED THE REAL ISSUES OF NEO-COLONIALISM, RACIST OPPRESSION AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

In Voz Fronteriza's 12th anniversary issue, its editors wrote:

"As we celebrate Voz Fronteriza's twelfth

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Voz Fronteriza Commemorates Two Decades of Struggle, as the Most Consistent Raza Student Publication in All of Aztlán

anniversary, we must also stop to reflect on the significance of its history -the principles guiding its foundation, ideology and development. In establishing a bilingual alternative press for the Mexican community, VF [Voz Fronteriza] set out in October of 1975 to offer a much needed viewpoint on local, national and international news which not only challenged the mainstream, and often myopic mass media, but also responded to the needs of the Mexican community by reporting on issues affecting them and the future of our children.

"As an alternative newspaper, VF has always addressed the real issues of neo-colonialism, racist oppression and economic exploitation. Our history, from the Spanish Conquest to the expansionist war perpetuated by the U.S. 140 years ago, and up until today, is one of survival and struggle to keep our human dignity under a system which every day uses all its forces to maintain economic, political, military and ideological domination over our people and other third world peoples who reside inside its political borders." (Voz Fronteriza, Vol.

the mainstream media, covering and supporting liberation struggles worldwide, and assisting community-barrio based organizations continues today.

It not only has gained a reputation as a hard hitting voice in defense of La Raza, but has hosted numerous conferences on the press and has developed other forms of media such as Voz T.V. and Radio Califas. Within the last year, Voz has been the most consistent and effective publication supporting the struggle of the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista

de Liberación Nacional) in Chiapas. Its staff was central to the re-establishment of the

Chicano Press Association and have made their resources available to the work of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, as well as other community based organizations.

WHY HAS VOZ BEEN ABLE TO SURVIVE AFTER 20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE?

While most movement newspapers ceased to exist after a couple of years of production, become so "mainstream" assimilationist that you can't call them movement oriented, or have become "social rags" (centered around parties or other social-entertainment issues), Voz has for twenty years adhered to progressive and anti-colonial politics. There are several reasons for this. One, Voz has never detached itself from the community. Most of its members have actively got involved in struggle and community issues. It has historically opened itself up to community groups, bringing people to work on the production of the paper and other forms of propaganda. This has kept Voz from losing its class and nationalist character. Another reason has been its openness, non-dogmatic and non-sectarian approach to its work. Voz has been willing to allow different perspectives, as long as they are progressive and Raza self-determination oriented, to be expressed in its pages. And lastly, its close

alliance and willingness to work with progressive organizations has kept Voz from venturing to ridiculous and petit-bourgeoisie style of politics we see so often coming from student publications. The "connections" that Voz has had with groups such as CASA (Centro de Autonomo Social de Acción), Committee On Chicano Rights, and Unión del Barrio, have served as a guide for correct, serious, and progressive struggle.

It has been its non-dogmatic struggle, community work, and close relationship with



Members of Voz Fronteriza, in Feb. of 1992, at a march in Santa Barbara in support of Rudy Acuna, The late Arnulfo Cassillas, one of the founders of Voz Fronteriza, is third from the right.

movement forces that have enabled the Voz staff to survive the slanders, threats, and personal attacks by reactionary or ignorant forces. It has been these three key principles that has allowed Voz to win the vicious "funding" struggles against the ever present move by the university to defund and destroy Voz Fronteriza.

As Voz and its supporters reflect back on the 20 years of the publication of the Voz, it is important to not only look at its success, but to come to take task of what has made it so effective and build upon these features so that another 20 years from now Voz will continue to be in the forefront in our Raza's struggle for liberation. ¡Que viva Voz Fronteriza!



January 1994 issue of Voz Fronteriza, La Voz has supported the EZLN since the beginning of the rebellion.

12, No. 5, May 1987).

Issues taken on by Voz included the struggle against the Bakke Decision (attack on affirmative action), workers' struggle at the Bumblebee cannery and the NASSCO shipyard, the school boycott at San Ysidro by Raza, solidarity with the liberation struggles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Azania (South Africa), Palestine, Puerto Rico -to name just a few. Voz has also supported the work of community based organizations, for example CASA, CCR (Committee On Chicano Rights), Raza Against Police Terrorism, Unión del Barrio.

Twenty years later, this tradition of challenging

STUDENTS UNITE AGAINST MEXICAN BASHING!



U.S. POLITICIANS HAVE LAUNCHED A RACIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST MEXICANOS. NOT ONE DAY GOES BY THAT YOU DON'T HEAR OR READ SOME KIND OF ANTI-MEXICAN STATEMENT ON THE RADIO, TELEVISION, NEWSPAPER, ETC. THESE LIARS ARE COMING FROM BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS; THEY ARE BLAMING US FOR THEIR INABILITY TO RUN THEIR GOVERNMENT. ALL RAZA (MEXICANOS, SALVADORENOS, GUATEMALTECOS, ETC.) ARE THE TARGET OF THIS CAMPAIGN. WITH OR WITHOUT PAPERS, WE MUST TAKE ACTION NOW!

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Flier for a forum organized by Voz Fronteriza in November of 1993

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Monday, May 15, 1995

The UCSD Guardian

OPINION 5

VOZ FRONTERIZA IS A RACIST, MILITANT RAG

Editor:

Thursday, May 4, 1995

Chang Portrays Ethnic
Mexicans as a Menace

COMMENTARY: Chicano newspaper concentrates on making La Raza the perpetual victim of white domination rather than emphasizing self-empowerment and responsible citizenship

HYPOCRISY ALIVE AND WELL IN VOZ FRONTERIZA

WARNING: SILENCE REDUCES RISK OF DEATH

COMMENTARY: Opinions must be answered with open, intelligent discourse, not with anonymous threats to life and limb

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Resp
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themselves



Chang is not
allowed to
make
unsubstantiated
claims. Voz
writers, it
seems, are
under no such
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Mass Hysteria Is Threatening Our Rights

Editor:

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exercise their right
It has become a



Voz Fronteriza
translates roughly
to Chicano
Victimhood Rag.
The kindest thing
that can be said
about Voz is that
it is a humor
newspaper, albeit
unintentionally
so.

OPINION 5

Commentary: Chicano newspaper concentrates on making La Raza the perpetual victim of white domination rather than emphasizing self-empowerment and responsible citizenship.

Hypocrisy Alive And Well In Voz Fronteriza

By Peter Chang

UCSD Guardian Staff Writer (printed 5/4/95)

With the imminent demise of the *Koala*, the official humor paper, UCSD will be deprived of rich ironic and outrageous printed witticism so integral to the collegiate experience. In search for a substitute, I've stumbled upon *Voz Fronteriza*. For those of you whose memory of high school Spanish is limited to phrases like *Donde esta el baño?* and *No tengo dinero, señor*, *Voz Fronteriza* translates to *Chicano Victimhood Rag*. The kindest thing which can be said about *Voz* is that it is a humor newspaper, albeit unintentionally so. Recent editions do not inspire a glowing review.

Picking up the March issue, I was greeted with a picture of Gov. Pete "I swear I'm not gonna run for president" Wilson, with cross hairs centered around his head and a caption which read, "Wanted: Pete Wilson Raza Enemy #1. "Pete Wilson, states the sub caption, is wanted for the following crimes against *La Raza* (the people); Cutting education from kindergarten to the university level, supporting the abolition of affirmative action, building more prisons and signing the Three-Strikes initiative. These will confine *La Raza* to prisons, kick *La Raza* out of school, stop *La Raza* from receiving medical care, cut *La Raza*'s welfare benefits, and so on.

Curiously, there is no mention of crimes committed by "La Raza" which got them into prison in the first place, no mention of the fraud which is involved in illegal immigrants cashing in on our money vomiting welfare system and no mention of the extent to which affirmative action discredits and dilutes the value of college degrees. Turning the page, one is greeted with a bold declaration from the editor; The California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) is the "Latest Attack on the Mexican People." It decries the fact that "Mexicans will fall victims again to unfair, racist laws. Racist gringo politicians who support CCRI say they simply seek the principles of a colorblind society embodied in the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act. The CCRI will prevent at even higher rates, Mexicans from attending college, getting hired at skilled and professional jobs."

Think that's funny? It gets better:

"The CCRI of 1996 must be viewed as another attack against our people. Within the last 10 years, we've been attacked by the English Only Law, which makes English the official language. By outlawing our language, this system attempts to destroy our culture and our identity as Mexican people... The War on Drugs under the Reagan Era put more police and law enforcement in our barrios, when in fact it was the government itself who put drugs in our neighborhoods to infiltrate our homes."

I always have to say, "Look, I'm not making this up!" whenever I repeat these canards to friends at colleges less infiltrated with stupidity than ours. as funny as the material is, however, the hearty chortles which follow reading such wildly outrageous claims must be tempered with the sobering realization that people- a frighteningly large number of them- actually believe the stuff *Voz* writes.

The pages of *Voz* ooze with paranoia; Any law, action or agency which produces any amount of discomfort for persons of Latino heritage is perceived as a part of a carefully constructed conspiracy by evil white men who want to destroy the Latino community. Honestly, how paranoid do you have to be to claim that "...the government itself puts drugs in our neighborhoods to infiltrate our homes?"

How does the government "put drugs" into a neighborhood? Do Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents fan out across East Los Angeles with crack bags, dropping baggies off the front of doorsteps of families with Latino-sounding names? Maybe they're smuggling it in by spiking Alberto's burritos with cocaine (admittedly, this particular tactic would probably hit drunk college students more severely). And how does the government get presumably unwilling Latinos to ingest drugs until they are addicted? Do FBI agents in dark suits storm into barrios with intravenous equipment and dripfeed heroin to resisting *La Raza* at gunpoint?

To fully understand *Voz Fronteriza*, one must understand the resentment and bitter envy which percolates from the ranks of Chicano Victimhood. This is a movement fanned by opportunistic leaders who promote the very types of activities which ensure the alienation of *La Raza* from mainstream financial, political and social advancement. These leaders, whose sole source of power are the powerless-

ness of the disenfranchised they lead, position themselves as the saviors of "the people" and pour an endless stream of poison into the ears of their all-too-eager followers. They told students, for instance, that walking out of school to demonstrate against Proposition 187 was an effective way to empower themselves.

"Empowerment" and "franchise" seem to be the buzzwords of the latest trends in victimization. And while the movement promises both, the reality is that the naked emperors of ethnic narcissism deliver neither. Opportunistic self-declared messiahs understand all too well the powerful appeal which a carefully scripted mantra of victimhood has on a large majority of the people they intend to fleece.

The tenet of victimhood- whether gender, as evidenced by the Women's Movement, or race, as evidenced by papers like *Voz Fronteriza*- is the same: I am not responsible. I am a victim. I deserve special care.

When an indifferent world filled with contradictions says, "Be responsible, in spite of whatever setbacks you may have suffered,"

the appeal of the "poor me" (or, in this case of ethnic victimization, "poor us") mentality can be overwhelmingly seductive. Yet, to buy into this mind-set is the first step towards that long slippery slope down the stairwell of failure, to which so many young people are tragically shuttled by the hucksters who told them they were being led to the promised land.

Empowerment is not something which is received as the culmination of protest marches, rallies and sit-ins. It is the steady application of effort, toil and sometimes tears against seemingly insurmountable odds which yield that precious fruit. Being white is no guarantee for success, in spite of what the pundits tell you. In modern, capitalistic society, effort and talent and a touch of luck are all anyone needs. Although the path to independence and responsibility citizenship may be boring- there are no dramatic rallies, there is no jingoistic chanting against hated Republican oppressors of *La Raza*- it sure beats the alternatives.

"Voz Fronteriza Is A Racist, Militant Rag"

Editor:

Harry Barra whines that Peter Chang attacks the fundamental concepts of *Voz Fronteriza* in his letter ("Chang's Right-Wing Antics and Ignorance," *The UCSD Guardian*, May 8). That is calling the kettle black. All anyone needs to do is pick up the *Voz* to see it is nothing but a militant, racist rag. I can't believe that in this time of increasing tuition's, a part of my fees is siphoned off to help subsidize such a newspaper. If the administration gave this "newspaper" a critical review, it would be hard-pressed to justify its continued funding.

If I were to start a newspaper which advocated white supremacy, I would be labeled a racist. Why is there a double standard?

The excrement spouted by Barra is laced with communist ideology: "Que viva Mao!" If you like Mao and his cultural revolution so much, why don't you go live in China and let some other student who wants to be a part of this society benefit from your federally funded education?

Barra and his cronies cannot disassociate themselves from the threats to Chang. If you continuously advocate violence, as the *Voz* does, then you can hardly take the moral high ground.

As for encouraging "Asians to clean house," I wouldn't be advocating throwing out trash. The moderate Latinos may decide that you are more trouble than you are worth and throw you out too.

Don Smith (*UCSD Guardian*, May 15, 1995)

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Warning: Silence Reduces Risk of Death

Commentary: Opinions must be answered with open, intelligent discourse, not with anonymous threats to life and limb.

By Brent Johnson, Associate Opinion Editor, *UCSD Guardian* (printed 5/18/95)

On May 5, *Guardian* Staff writer Peter Chang received a death threat: "Eh homeboy, what shit you talkin' about *Voz Fronteriza*? We know where you live... We're gonna nail your ass, puto..." The next day, he received another: "Hey homeboy, look out for the drive-by." These anonymous, gutless warnings of impending eradication were made in response to a commentary Chang wrote about the Chicano newspaper *Voz Fronteriza*.

Voz Fronteriza Editor Harry Barra, after being informed of the calls, attempted to separate himself and his newspaper from the threats: "We would like to disassociate ourselves from the death threats, but people need to understand that racist comments will create reactions like that. People in the future need to be more careful about what they say."

In other words, we *would* like to disassociate ourselves from the death threats, but...

But what? The word "would" indicates uncertainty - the word "but" confirms it. In effect, Barra wants to distance himself from the threats, but cannot do so without the condition that people keep quiet about certain issues. This is not surprising, considering Barra himself condones violence in his response to Chang's commentary, calling for a "righteous ass kicking" for Chang's "racist attack not only against *Voz Fronteriza*... but against the Chicano community at UCSD and Mexicans in general."

However, Chang did not write a racist attack against anything or anyone. "Hypocrisy Alive and Well in *Voz Fronteriza*"

is, first and foremost, a criticism of a newspaper, *Voz Fronteriza*, which Chang describes as "oozing with paranoia." Chang follows up by disputing the *Voz*'s claims of government involvement in perpetuating drug use in the Latino communities, and ultimately reproaches the methods employed by the Chicano/Latino movement to achieve empowerment. If Chang is insulting anyone, it is the handful of people who publish the *Voz*, not the Chicano/Latino community. These insults do not extend to the realm of racism. Whether or not you feel Chang's assertions are ignorant of the facts - whatever the facts may be - his commentary itself is not racist, despite Barra's claims.

If there is overt prejudice in any publication on the campus, it can be found in *Voz Fronteriza*, which freely wields such labels as puto (fag), and gringo (a decidedly derogatory designation for white people). "Chicken-shit" and "sellout" regularly brand Latinos and Chicanos who do not fully support the Chicano movement and the *Voz*.

It can hardly be argued that the *Voz* is not biased. It makes generalizations such as "[Proposition 187] turns every Chicano Mexican into a hunted, harassed, brutalized, criminalized and despised human being. It also makes a dream held by most gringos come true which is to perform their patriotic duty by turning in and arresting Mexicans."

These kinds of imprecise and inevitable false observations have no verifiable documentation, and for nothing more than a point of view with which many people disagree. In effect, they are opinions - just as Chang's commentary is an opinion. The difference, however, is that Chang is not allowed to make unsubstantiated claims. *Voz* writers, it seems, are under no such constraints.

It is not exceptional that many people disagree with Chang's point of view - the only people who seem to embrace his views are usually hard-core Republicans or Libertarians. However, the nature of an opinion suggests that it neither fact nor certainty - a definition which everyone seems to have forgotten. A *Guardian* opinion writer expresses his well thought-out position on a concept or an event. If the editors had felt that Chang's piece was a racist attack, it would not have been published.

I can't begin to count the number of times I've heard the *Guardian* accused of being "sensationalistic" since Chang's article was published. One person said, "You guys knew this would cause a scandal. There are enough divisive issues between racial groups already. The paper didn't need to publish that article." Of course the *Guardian* didn't need to publish it. However, there was no reason not to publish it, either.

Ideally, the opinion section of a newspaper contains highly controversial commentaries. If a newspaper were to publish a commentary titled "Higher Education Is Good," who would object? However, if "The United States, An Ever-Expanding Secret Empire" were published, people would probably react, debate and respond heatedly. Expressing un-

popular opinion publicly is perhaps the most poignant example of the democratic process. If someone feels they have a point of view which needs to be expressed, popular or not, he has an opportunity to state it in a newspaper column or in a letter to the editor.

"...But people need to understand that racist comments will create reactions like that. People in the future need to be more careful about what they say." This statement, coming from the editor of a newspaper - which makes a practice of regularly blasting whites and "sellout" Mexicans - is the ultimate sanctimony. Besides falsely identifying Chang's commentary as racist, Barra's barely veiled threat is intended as a warning to all people who may write against the *Voz* in the future - don't do it, or you may get a "righteous ass kicking."

The job of an opinion writer is to state his views and defend them, not to worry about his health and safety. Anonymous, gutless death threats and Barra's circumlocutory warnings do not help the arguments against Chang's opinions in the least - they only serve to confirm Chang's assertion that the *Voz* is "oozing with paranoia."

Death Threats Show Disdain for Free Speech

Guardian Editorial May 11, 1995

Last weekend, *Guardian* Staff Writer Peter Chang received life-threatening phone calls. The anonymous caller referred to Chang's scathing commentary on *Voz Fronteriza*, UCSD's Chicano/Latino newspaper.

The death-threat tactic is a cowardly and disgusting attempt at making one's voice heard. Not only did it violate Chang's rights, but it also illustrated a frightening disregard for free speech. It is both surprising and alarming that anyone would stoop so low as to threaten someone's life over an opinion commentary.

When people disagree with a commentary which appears in the *Guardian*, they should write a letter to the editor. In this case, they could have even written letter to the editor of *Voz Fronteriza*. But under no circumstances should anyone have threatened Chang's life. The act was nothing less than barbaric, and only gave more publicity to the very commentary the caller found intolerable.

Barra Incapable of Making an Argument

Editor:

As a regular reader of the *Koala*, I was intrigued by Peter Chang's recommendation of *Voz Fronteriza* as a possible substitute ("Hypocrisy Alive and Well in *Voz Fronteriza*," *The UCSD Guardian*, May 4). Conveniently, the next issue of the *Guardian* contained a genuine sample of the *Voz*'s writing.

This hysterical and abusive letter ("Chang's Right-Wing Antics and Ignorance," *The UCSD Guardian*, May 8), composed by *Voz* editor Harry Barra, more than confirms Chang's observations. It also demonstrates Barra's disregard for material fact and his inability to construct a rational argument. An editor with such qualities no doubt makes for an excellent newspaper - the *Koala* once again comes to mind.

Boris Slutsky (*UCSD Guardian*, May 15, 1995)

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AUGUST 1996

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¡El Pueblo Unido, Jamas Será Vencido!

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Exposing Peter Chang and His Right Wing Antics... THE STRUGGLE OF VOZ FRONTERIZA IS AGAINST EXPLOITATION, OPPRESSION, AND RACISM!

By Harry Barra
Editor of Voz Fronteriza

In the last issue of the Guardian there was printed a very serious, racist attack; not only against Voz Fronteriza - the Chicano newspaper of UCSD - but against the Chicano community of UCSD and Mexicanos in general. It was authored by an individual named Peter Chang, who recently has been trying to make a name for himself on campus for his right wing antics such as support of Proposition 187 and the California Civil Rights Initiative. I really think it is a waste of time, ink and spit to even consider his remarks - but as someone capable of critical thought this attack merits being analyzed and placed into perspective.

The Historical

It is a sad thing when energy has to be spent convincing people that oppression exists when it should be spent combating oppression. Chang, an individual who really should know better, questions our understanding that the U.S. government is ultimately responsible for drug trafficking in Mexican barrios. Dismissing it as "stupidity," and "wildly outrageous," Chang exposes his ignorance of history. Throughout history oppressive colonizer governments have used the imposition of drugs on oppressed communities to undermine their ability to resist colonial domination.

In the 1800s, England, U.S. and France at gun point forced China to buy products from them, and coincidentally called it "free trade." Part of this free trade included the right for Europeans to sell opium to the Chinese masses, at which point thousands of "legal" opium dens were set up throughout China. This European sponsored and organized opium trade created a

national drug addiction - millions of Chinese became dope addicts.

Chang even goes further and liquidates the racist character of Proposition 187, claiming that Mexicanos are here only to defraud the U.S. government, refusing to recognize the terrible exploitation of Mexican labor and extreme poverty that exists in my community as a consequence of this open exploitation. Chang conveniently forgets the history of U.S. policy imposed of Chinese laborers. We think we should remind him:

In the mid to late 1800s, hundreds of Chinese were brought to the U.S. as "coolies" (feudal slaves) to work on the rail roads. After the rail roads were completed many were deported and Chinese were banned from coming to the U.S. under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Proposition 187?). Going even further, Chinese were forced to do only work that white men would not do - working in restaurants, laundries, small vegetable stands, as domestic workers etc. Thus the infamous roots of "Chinese Laundries," "Chinese Markets," and "Chinese Restaurants" are exposed. Of course Chang sees no parallel between these historical facts and Raza who are presently sweating in the fields picking vegetables, exploited in the factories, flipping burgers in the Price Center, or busting their backs keeping UCSD's gardening looking pretty.

Chang applies a social Darwinist smoke screen to his racist attacks by saying, "In a modern, capitalist society, effort and talent and a touch of luck are all anyone needs." Yet, when Chinese attempted to work outside those jobs limited to them by the white society they were brutally attacked. The ancestors of Pete Wilson and Bill Clinton openly committed every sort of crime that could be committed - Chinese miners were routinely

hanged in California and chased out of the gold mines and where the Chinese had established fishing villages (San Francisco, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, San Diego etc.) their boats and homes were burned down by "white patriots." Chang totally lets the vicious character of U.S. history off the hook as the social and historical force behind the intense poverty and misery experienced by the majority of non-white people in the U.S. Maybe Peter should take an Ethnic Studies class or two...

On the question of conspiracies - obviously to Chang these historical facts are mere accidents that could never occur again... The governors, senators, military generals, labor bosses, and presidents who **held conferences to develop plans** to stop the "yellow horde" (as it was described in all major U.S. newspapers at the time) had nothing to do with any conspiracy against Chinese or other Asian people - of course not, Uncle Sam is very well known throughout the world for his historical love and benevolence to all non-white people.

History has proven over and over again that as soon as white society perceives Asian communities as a threat they are just as easy a target as Mexicans are today. Maybe then Chang will not be so quick to wave his little American flag. To this day Chinese are still stereotyped as nerds and wimps by Hollywood and the mainstream media (check out the O.J. trial). The only reason racists in San Diego have not been more aggressive in their attacks against Asians - as is the case in other

areas like L.A., Chicago, New York - is that, at least for the moment, these same racists are more frightened by Mexicans and Africans.

The Individual

Something very interesting that has to be recognized is how UCSD responded to the slanderous insults Peter throws out; calling the Voz a "Chicano Victimhood rag," painting La Raza as criminals and welfare crooks, calling Chicanos on campus who read the VOZ stupid and opportunist. These are things that would get anyone a righteous ass kicking anywhere else. Peter Chang expresses ignorance and intolerance but because he is in an environment of education and tolerance he gets away with saying racist, KKK style remarks without suffering the consequences.

It is obvious that Peter is nothing but a punk, and if he wants to be white so badly he should just change his name to Peter Chump. Where does he get the nerve to go around attacking a newspaper that cares enough for its community that it attempts, to the best of its ability, to struggle for the rights of an historically oppressed people.

The real sad thing is that righteous and courageous Asians on campus don't clean house with clowns like this, and we, as Chicanos are forced to expose traitors like Peter Chump.

¡Que Viva La Raza!

¡Que Viva Mao!

I urge Chang to open his eyes to reality

By Angelica Ramirez, Voz Fronteriza.

This is in response to Chang's article of "Hypocrisy alive and well in Voz Fronteriza." I thought the article was utterly ridiculous and incredibly simple-minded, demonstrating his ignorance. First of all, throughout his entire article he provides no concrete evidence to support his ideas. When he says "affirmative action discredits and dilutes the value of college degrees," he does not support his statement and does not tell us why it "discredits and dilutes the value of college degrees". Affirmative action is a universal term used to describe public policy and programs designed to remedy the effects of past and continuing discrimination against women and people of color in higher education and employment. It is therefore absurd to say that "affirmative action discredits and dilutes the value of college degrees."

I found his commentary of "Think that's funny?" to be ridiculous. How could any individual find the attempt to legalize racist initiatives such as The California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) funny? Chang demonstrates as well a misunderstanding of Raza's goals and objectives, when he states "These leaders, whose sole source of power is the

powerlessness of the disenfranchised they lead" Chang not only demonstrates a misunderstanding of Raza's goals and objectives, but he discredits the movements of the 1960's, when he says "Empowerment is not something which is received as the culmination of protest marches, rallies and sit ins." When stating this he is saying that all of the marches, rallies and sit-ins that occurred during the 1960's in the Women's movement, Chicano Movement, were effortless and done in vain. When they were events that were done in an attempt to achieve social equality.

I find Chang's statement of the "appeal of the 'poor us'", when talking about the tenant of victimhood to show his dull understanding of the struggles by which people of color go through in order to survive in this capitalist society. He demonstrates this as well when he states "The pages of Voz ooze with paranoia." If reality is what he calls paranoia then I urge Chang to open his eyes to reality. Voz Fronteriza portrays the reality of the social injustices which take place in the society in which we live in.

We do not have time to listen to you, Chang

Michelle Garcia, Voz Fronteriza.

It is obvious that Peter Chang has never known spiritual struggle and has never seen people's lives destroyed by poverty or prejudice. By attacking Voz Fronteriza in his recent commentary ("Hypocrisy Alive and Well in Voz Fronteriza," May 4) with childish insults and narrow rhetoric, he attacks the expression of people who live the struggle everyday.

Chang writes, "In a modern, capitalistic society, effort and talent and a touch of luck are all anyone needs." Tell that to the

young Chicana who is surrounded by violence and cannot afford the high price of a college education. Tell that to the young man who is seen by mainstream society as a wetback, a thief or a gangster because of his skin or clothes. Tell that to the senior citizen who is suspected of being "illegal" because of his accent and traditional ways.

We do not have time to listen to you, Chang. We are too busy trying to survive in your "modern, capitalistic society." We are too busy fighting for our rights as human beings.

Chang intentionally misinterprets the active awareness of Voz Fronteriza

By Breca Rodriguez Griswold, Voz Fronteriza.

Peter Chang's May 4th article "Hypocrisy Alive and Well in Voz Fronteriza" is ignorant and uniformed. Chang, employing popular right-wing rhetoric, continues his wordy evasion of genuine issues in his failed argument and attack on Latinos.

Chang intentionally misinterprets the active awareness of Voz Fronteriza for what he perceives as "paranoia." I would hasten to remind him that empowerment which follows from this awareness is not synonymous with "victimization." Chang's equation of what he presents as "victimhood" is to appeal to a current "buzzword" of the right which ignores the legacy of U.S. racism in communities of color.

Chang conveniently constructs what is known as a "straw man" argument with his stereotypical references to, what he calls, the "dilution" of college degrees, the "crime," and the "fraud" committed by Latinos. He satirically denies the reality of FBI and government infiltration of the Chicano community while insinuating that Latinos are all too willing to consume and become addicted to drugs. In both cases, Chang strays from his original argument to create and attack an overblown and exaggerated hypothetical which evades the true issue.

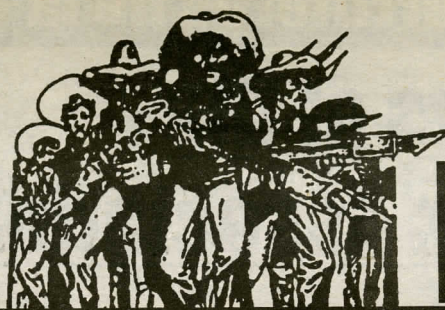
His assumption that Chicanos or Latinos or Women (whoever it is that he is

actually referring to) are mindless, blind, and weak followers is equally ridiculous. According to Chang, "they," the "disenfranchised" turn to yet-to-be-identified leaders who misguide and deceive them. Who are these fascist, deceptive leaders? The staff of Voz Fronteriza?! Laura Rodríguez?! Las/os Zapatistas?! Cesar Chavez?!

And what is Chang's argument anyway? What exactly is he trying to attack as hypocritical? Voz Fronteriza itself? Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, in general? The movement of Raza? The Women's movement? Chang stumbles over his own argument. He extends his attack on one editorial in Voz Fronteriza to the entire paper. From the entire paper, he attempts to dismiss not only the issues facing the Chicano/Latino community, at large, but also the causes and progress of entire movements.

Chang would have "people" reject collective resistance and empowerment in favor of silent acceptance. I question his advice to patiently bear oppression. We have arrived at a point in history where the demographics of California alone demand a persistent and more aggressive challenge to the system. Peter Chang can continue trying his "luck" at capitalism (I would suggest, however, that he spend more time acting on pressing socio-political issues, rather than continue ridiculing them). Meanwhile, Voz Fronteriza will persist in exposing the hypocrisy of this system and in empowering the Chicana/o and Latina/o community.

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE



JUNE 1995

MAY DAY IN MEXICO: **A DAY OF PROTEST AND STRUGGLE**

By Pablo Aceves, Coordinator NCMC

This May 1 (International Workers' Day) was a day of protest and unity for el pueblo Mexicano. All over Mexico, there were militant demonstrations and confrontations between el pueblo and the PRI dictatorship's police forces. In Mexico City, over 100,000 demonstrators marched from Parque Chapultepec down Avenida Insurgentes to the Governmental Palace (Zocalo) where they demonstrated and some painted revolutionary slogans and many were attacked by the government's agents of repression.

This scene repeated itself in most major cities of the Republic. El pueblo Mexicano (overwhelmingly poor workers and campesinos) came together to demand an end to the failed economic policies of President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon. They demanded that the PRI government respect worker rights and the ultimate human right to live with dignity (both these rights are guaranteed by the Mexican Constitution). They demanded an end to the Free Trade (Free Slave) Agreement with the US and Canada. This sellout treaty has lowered the standard of living of Mexicans everywhere and has surrendered what was left of the national industry to foreigners. They demanded pay raises and the right to organize authentic, democratically elected unions that could truly represent the workers. They demanded justice for political prisoners (there are over 2,500 in Mexico today) and the disappeared (over 810) and an end to the repression of our people and of the independent organizations which wage the struggle for democracy and liberation.

In all of the demonstrations that were really led by the people, there was a tremendous outpouring of support for the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional and for the people of Chiapas who now find themselves under incredible repression at the hands of the Mexican Army and other

repressive military and paramilitary bodies. All over Mexico, el pueblo spray painted slogans supporting the EZLN and Subcomandante Marcos and banners and signs could be seen supporting the EZLN's struggle for a Mexico of the workers and campesinos that would be really independent and where our gente would have real power over their own lives.

Anyone who watched the mobilizations could see another common factor: a total rejection and disgust for the PRI and its policies. Throughout the streets, all could hear slogans like "Zedillo is an idiot," and others against Zedillo, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the Armed Forces, the PRI, and Fidel Velasquez (also known as The Mummy) the ancient, decrepit, corrupt President of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (the labor sector of the PRI which controls the unions and represses dissent among the workers so the companies may step all over them in total peace).

A common theme for all of the demonstrations was the popular discontent with the devaluation of the Peso by Zedillo which has sunk Mexico deeper than ever into the abyss of misery and abject poverty as well as a growing uncertainty about the economic future of the country. For these reasons, all over Mexico, it was common on May 1 to see effigies of Zedillo, Salinas, Velasco, and other PRIistas burned by angry crowds. Many also burned US flags to protest Yanqui Imperialism and foreign domination and corporate exploitation of Mexico's resources and labor.

Fidel Velasquez was the object of special hatred this May 1. This senile fossil has consistently betrayed the interests of Mexican workers since the forties as a faithful servant to the PRI and their Gringo masters. He had converted May 1 into a spectacle of glorification of the PRI and this contributed to the false image in much of the world that Mexico was a country where workers had the right to organize. Each year, large parades were held upholding the PRI and obscuring the spirit of

militant struggle that is May 1. This year, he made an incredible blunder when he announced that the traditional parades and celebrations would not be held because they "cost too much" and because of the economic crisis. This decision was arrived at, of course without consulting any of the millions of workers he supposedly represents.

What the PRI government really wanted to do was to close off any avenue of support for the forces of national liberation (who enjoy more support by el pueblo than ever before). Nevertheless, when they made this decision, they greatly underestimated the collective rage of the people and the ability of the forces of liberation to organize around a program of struggle and to take to the streets.

May 1, 1995 and the events of recent years signal a new era of struggle for el pueblo Mexicano. Interestingly, this comes precisely at a time of resurgence in the Chicano Movimiento in Aztlán/Occupied Mexico. We are able to see now more than ever that we are one gente and that our oppression is the same and comes from the same source (Tio Sam). One way or another, we are victims of European Colonialism (recently manifested in the gringos) which has underdeveloped our continent for over 502 years and which cuts our patria in half and forcibly separates our people.

Now more than ever, the struggle for our liberation and self-determination in our own land is forming unbreakable links with the struggle of our brothers and sisters south of la frontera falsa for the complete transformation of Mexican Society. As Mexicanos we have always been and will always be, a part of this struggle and for this reason, our movimiento is the enemy of the PRI Government. For this reason also, we support unconditionally the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional and we are part of the Convención Nacional Democrática.

PRIMERO DE MAYO EN MEXICO: **UN DIA DE PROTESTA Y LUCHA**

Por Pablo Aceves, Coordinador del NCMC

Este Primero de Mayo (Día Internacional del Obrero) fue un día de protesta y de solidaridad para el pueblo mexicano. Por todas partes del país hubo manifestaciones militantes y hasta enfrentamientos con los cuerpos de seguridad del PRI gobierno. En el Distrito Federal, mas de 100,000 manifestantes marcharon por la Avenida Insurgentes, iniciándose en el Parque de Chapultepec y concluyendo frente al Palacio del Gobierno (el Zocalo) donde realizaron pintas y algunos se enfrentaron con los cuerpos de represión de la dictadura.

En en la mayoría de las ciudades de la República, fue igual. El pueblo Mexicano (en su gran mayoría obreros y campesinos pobres) se reunió para exigir un fin a la política económica fracasada del PRI y del Presidente Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon. Exigieron el reconocimiento del PRI gobierno de sus derechos laborales y de su derecho humano de gozar un vida digna. Esto, por cierto, garantiza la Constitución Mexicana. Exigieron un fin al nefasto Tratado de Libre Comercio con los EEUU y Canada que ha bajado el nivel de vida del pueblo y que ha rendido lo que había quedado de la industria nacional al extranjero. Exigieron un aumento salarial y el derecho de organizar sindicatos democráticos y auténticos que representarán realmente al obrero. Exigieron justicia para los presos por motivos políticos y sociales (México cuenta con mas de 2,500) y los desaparecidos (hay mas de 810) y un fin a la represión del pueblo y de las organizaciones independientes y democráticas en la lucha social.

En todas las manifestaciones auténticas, se mostró un gran apoyo al Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional y al pueblo Chiapaneco que se encuentra bajo una represión tremenda por el Ejército Mexicano y los demas agentes de represión de la dictadura en estos momentos. Por todas partes del país, se realizaron pintas en apoyo al EZLN y al Subcomandante Marcos y se podía ver pancartas y mantas en

apoyo a esta lucha justa por la transformación de la sociedad mexicana a una sociedad obrera campesina, popular, y soberana en donde el pueblo mexicano pueda vivir con dignidad y en donde se ejerce el derecho fundamental de un pueblo: la autodeterminación.

También en todas las manifestaciones hubo un factor en común: el disgusto y el rechazo al PRI gobierno. Se oyó resonar los gritos por todo el país de: "se vé, se nota, Zedillo es un idiota," "sacaremos a este guey (Zedillo) de nuestra patria, de nuestra patria sacaremos a este guey," y otras consignas en contra del Ejército, Zedillo, el PRI, y en contra de Fidel Velasquez (también conocido como la momia), el líder anciano, decrepito, y corrupto de la Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos (el sector laboral del PRI que maneja a los sindicatos corruptos que aplastan a los obreros para que los patrones tengan paz para pisotear sus derechos sin problemas).

En todas las manifestaciones se señaló el descontento con la devaluación de Zedillo que ha hundido al pueblo mexicano espantosamente en un abismo de la hiperpobreza e incertidumbre del futuro político y económico de la patria. Por eso, por toda la República monos de Zedillo, Velas PRIistas fueron quemados y pisoteados por la gente. También se quemó la bandera de los EEUU como una protesta a la dominación extranjera del país por los gringos y sus compañías que vienen a México a explotar a nuestro pueblo y llevarse nuestras riquezas.

A Fidel Velasquez se le guarda un rencor especial. Esta reliquia arqueológica ha traicionado a los obreros desde los años cuarenta como fiel servidor del PRI y sus jefes Gringos. Ha convertido el Primero de Mayo en un día de glorificación del PRI gobierno y ha contribuido mucho a la falsa imagen externa de México como una sociedad que respeta y vela por la clase obrera. Cada año, se realizaba grandes desfiles dando gloria al PRI y tratando de quitar, poco a poco el espíritu de lucha y de militancia del Primero de Mayo. Sin embargo, este año, cometió un error garrafal cuando anunció (por cierto sin consultar

en ningún momento a los millones de obreros que el dizque representaba) que no se iba a desfilar este Primero de Mayo dado la crisis económico en el País y porque costaba mucho.

Lo que realmente quería el PRI gobierno era cerrar desde un principio-cualquier oportunidad a las fuerzas de liberación de manifestarse frente al pueblo Mexicano (que por cierto apoya a la lucha en contra del gobierno ahora mas que nunca). Sin embargo, cuando llegaron a esta decisión, no contaron con el coraje público del pueblo ni con la voluntad de las organizaciones que luchan en contra de la dictadura de salir a las calles con acción unida en contra del PRI-un titere del Imperialismo Yanqui.

Este día de protesta y los acontecimientos de los últimos dos años señalan una nueva era en la lucha del pueblo de Mexico. Esto viene precisamente en un momento de regeneración de la liberación Chicano Mexicano en Aztlán/México Ocupado. Se nota ahora mas que nunca que somos un mismo pueblo y que nuestra opresión es la misma. De una o de otra forma, somos víctimas del colonialismo europeo (mas recientemente se ha manifestado con los gringos) que ha subdesarrollado a nuestro continente a través de 502 años y que ha dividido a nuestra patria y nos ha separado forzosamente.

Ahora mas que nunca, la lucha en contra de la represión policiaca y de la migra, por nuestros derechos humanos, democráticos, laborales y educacionales; por nuestra autodeterminación en nuestra propia tierra-es decir, el derecho de controlar a las instituciones sociales, políticos y educacionales que nos afectan forma lazos inquebrantables con la lucha de nuestros hermanos y hermanas al sur de la frontera falsa por la transformación de la sociedad Mexicana. Como los Mexicanos que seguimos siendo, somos parte de esa lucha y somos los enemigos feroces del PRI gobierno. Por lo tanto, apoyamos al Ejército Zapatista incondicionalmente y somos parte de la Convención Nacional Democrática.

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Patricia Marin

Member-at-Large

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

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

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

A CALL TO MARCH ON AUGUST 26, 1995

As we come closer to August 26, 1995 and the 25th Chicano Moratorium Commemoration of the August 29, 1970 Marcha in East Los Angeles to end the War in Vietnam and the repression and exploitation of Chicano Mexicanos throughout Aztlán/Occupied Mexico, we must reflect on our present conditions and what importance this day holds for us. Are we merely commemorating what happened 25 years ago, or are we continuing a 502 year struggle that can only end in Chicano Mexicano Liberation and self-determination?

The National Chicano Moratorium Committee, since its founding in 1989 has been rooted in our present struggles and in an understanding of our conditions today. We see that the conditions we face in our barrios in 1995 are much worse than those we struggled against in 1970. We understand and have signaled that the struggle is not something that ended in 1975 when our movement was actually defeated by the US Government. As long as the conditions of repression and misery exist for our gente-and they exist for over 90% of us today-we must struggle by any means necessary. For these reasons the National Chicano Moratorium was formed in December, 1989 and for these reasons, we have continued to thrive for nearly six years as an active, independent, Chicano Mexicano national formation with a solid platform that puts forth self-determination for la Raza and always comes from the understanding that far from being immigrants to this tierra, we are the original people and were here long before the gringo invaders. We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us!

We raise this question of our conditions now because although many may commemorate or want to remember August 29, 1970, it may not always be for the same or even a good or honest reason.

Many want to relive the sixties and talk about the good old days without becoming involved in or even supporting the Chicano Movement of today at a time when we find ourselves under the worst conditions and repression in our history. They want to talk about how "that was then, this is now" and how although marchas, militant actions, and the politics of liberation were the way to do things then, "times have changed." They would tell us that they "learned" from the struggle that we must work within the system and in the two-party system. Far from denouncing us for commemorating this historic day of resistance, they would like nothing better than to latch onto it and twist it into something as harmless as a high school reunion complete with voter registration forms and propa-

ganda for the Democratic party (which they would tell us is our only hope).

Many of these elements of "ex-activists" would also have us forget that we are part of a struggle for Mexican Liberation and that we are a colonized pueblo struggling against this system. These are the same slimy leeches that talk about cutting deals with the repressive, illegitimate PRI government (which is a puppet of Tio Sam) to "protect immigrants" (as if these sellouts have ever protected us). They want to snuggle up to the right-wing government of El Salvador for the same reason. They would isolate our gente on this side of la Frontera Falsa from our brothers and sisters throughout the continent and sell us out to the US government, the Democratic Party, and its puppets.

At home, they tell us that the repressive measures of Proposition 187, attacks on affirmative action, bilingual education, the "Contract With America (Contract out on Chicano Mexicanos and Africans)" the militarization of the Frontera, the new "anti-crime" and "anti-terrorism"

measures being forced down our throats and into our barrios every day by this sistema can be combated by appealing to the Gringo's sense of fairness and showing them that we are really harmless. This was seen in the wake of the passage of Proposition 187

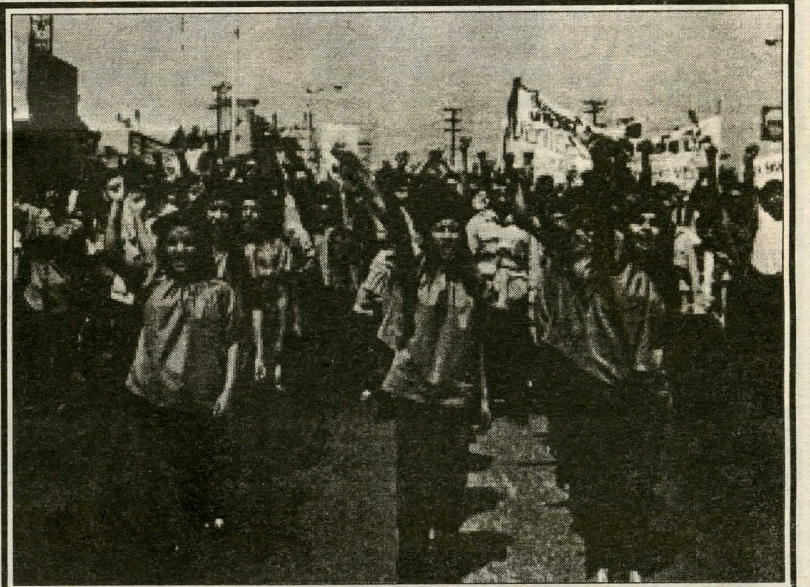
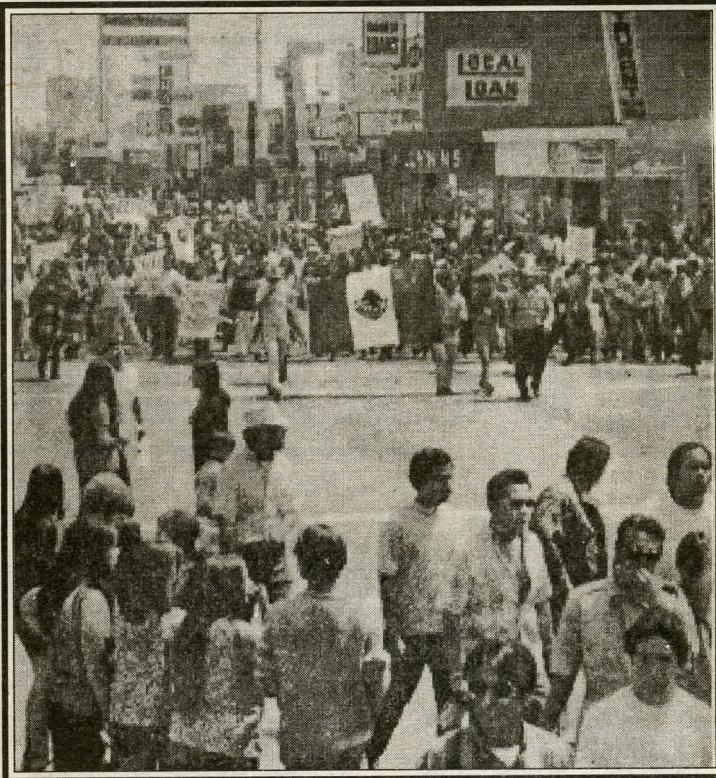
when these forces blamed young Raza for taking a righteous stand and walking out of the racist school system. They quickly moved to hold "acceptable" demonstrations where American flags were waved, sellouts tried to convince the gringos that we were not going to hurt them, and our gente were told to register to vote, become citizens, and wait for the US court system (which puts our gente into prison and on death row in record numbers) to make things right. This is an agenda of accommodation with the system, of opportunist politicking off the backs of la Raza. This is not the agenda of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee.

The NCMC stands for uncompromising struggle for our self-determination and for our basic human and democratic rights. We believe that the Chicano Mexicano community should and must control the political, social, economic, and educational institutions that affect us. We must have direct control over our lives in our own land. We are not immigrants who came to someone else's land looking for a handout, but the original people who have had our land, labor and resources sto-

len for over 500 years by European Colonialism (Spanish and Gringo).

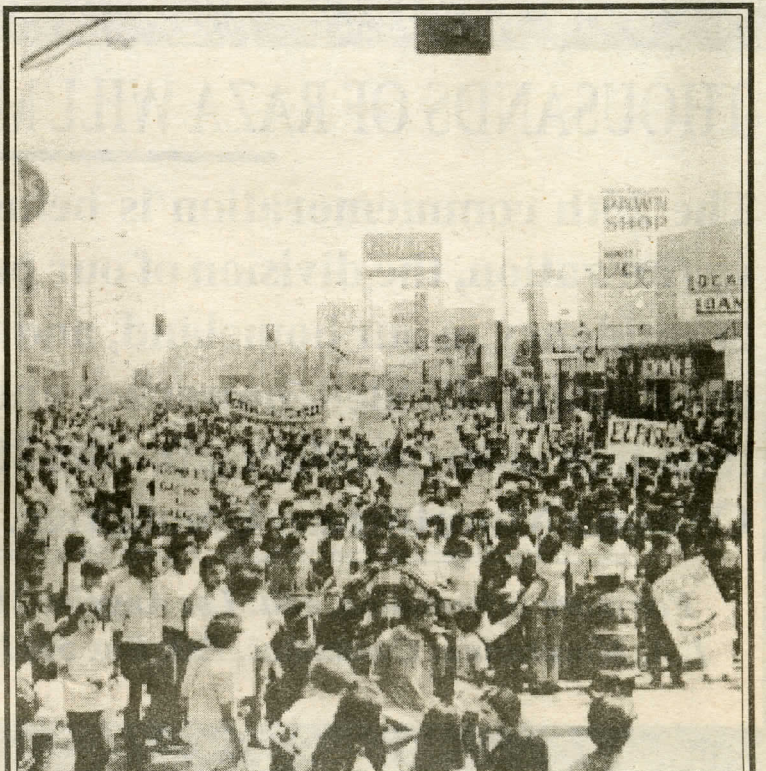
We don't need to convince someone else that we won't take anything away from them, we must demand that nothing is taken from us or from our children. We cannot limit our participation to voting and working within the system. All of la Raza, with or without papers must make the struggle for our defense by any means necessary if we are serious about Chicano Mexicano self-determination.

In this context, the NCMC understands that the upcoming 25th Commemoration of the Chicano Moratorium to be held on August 26, 1995 is a re-commitment to further a 502 year old struggle for self-determination. This is a struggle the NCMC will wage and we call on all concerned Raza to wage it with



us. Let us not go away from August 26 thinking that it is the end. We simply turn another page in our struggle and come one step closer to true Raza self-determination.

¡QUE VIVA EL MORATORIO CHICANO!
¡TIERRA Y LIBERTAD!
¡NUESTRA GUERRA ESTA AQUI EN AZTLAN!



JOIN THE FIGHTBACK!

¡YA BASTA!

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



WE DEMAND:

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

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

THOUSANDS OF RAZA WILL MARCH FOR POWER AND SELF-DETERMINATION

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

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

Organized by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee

Voz Fronteriza simply tells the truth flat out

By Angelica Gallegos, *Voz Fronteriza*.

This article is a response to Peter Chang's "Hypocrisy Alive and Well in *Voz Fronteriza*."

In response that "there is no mention of crimes committed by 'La Raza' which got them into prison" on *La Voz Fronteriza* newspaper, city newspapers and mass media have already covered mostly all "La Raza's" crimes. But they hardly ever mention Raza's achievements. Also in response that there is "no mention of the fraud which is involved in illegal immigrants cashing in on our money-vomiting welfare system" is an ignorant generalization of "illegal" immigrants. Immigrants working in the fields are paid less than minimum wage, do not have any kind of benefits and are absolutely not receiving any of the government's "money-vomiting welfare."

Also in response to how there is "no mention of the extent to which affirmative action discredits and dilutes the value of college degrees." Affirmative Action is here to open up the campus to underrepresented minorities who have the equal qualification of being admitted. Affirmative action makes this campus more diverse and multicultural, which enhances all our educations. People of color have been under represented for a very long time and have not been given equal opportunity. In my opinion, if a student believes that people of color in this university "discredits & dilutes the value [their] college degrees," I just have to say that you are afraid of people of color getting educated and one day being at the same level or higher than you and in the words of Peter Chang "Think that's funny? It gets better."

If you think our college is "infiltrated with stupidity" then educate yourself and the people around you. All the laws (CCRI of 1996, English Only Law, The War On Drugs) that attack the Mexican community, are not funny or something to laugh about. If you think the *Voz* is a bunch of unbelievable lies, what life are you living? Don't hide out in a conservative atmosphere. Analyze the laws and the events going on around you. You will find that the people speaking out the way they are, is because they are frustrated and outraged.

Voz does not "ooze with paranoia," it simply tells the truth flat out, without loitering or protecting the attacker. To answer Chang's question, "How, does government 'put drugs' into a neighborhood? It's very simple, there are sell-

outs who you put a price on their ass and they will turn against their own people and commit these crimes like putting drugs in our community.

Chicanos do not resent or envy anything. Chicanos just want what they justly deserve, equality. The opportunistic leaders that according to Chang, "position themselves as the saviors of 'the people' and pour an endless stream of poison into the ears of their all-too-eager followers," is a lie. The leaders are trying to organize and unify *La Raza*, because *La Raza* unida jamas sera vencida. (The people united will never be divided) *La Raza* is willing and ready to organize and all these leaders do is try to get them organized. They don't pretend to be saviors or God's gift to *La Raza*, because they are part of *La Raza* fighting for the same struggle.

The Women's Movement was not a "tenet...of victimhood" movement. It was a struggle that all women of every color fought for and are still trying to fight for equal right. All the women on this campus should be ignited by Chang's comment. Women and *Raza* are not saying "I am not responsible. I am a Victim. I deserve special care." *Raza* is not asking for handouts or sympathy, *Raza* is asking to be heard and for equal Civil rights. It is true that saying "poor me" and letting someone take care of you is "overwhelmingly seductive," but that is not what *La Raza's* goal as a community is. Empowerment is something which is received as the culmination of protest marches, rallies & sit ins. That was what the 60's were all about empowerment, and many numbers of people in power.

According to Chang "steady application of effort, toil and sometimes tears against seemingly insurmountable odds which yield that precious fruit...effort & talent & a touch of luck are all anyone needs." How ironic! If Chang is trying to give *Raza* solutions, luck is not going to help because there are people like Chang. Crying is not going to help because there are people who don't give a damn. The application of effort is sometimes violently interrupted by people like Chang.

Chang's article starts out saying that *la Voz Fronteriza* is a replacement for the humorous paper, *The Koala*. He ends up making political analogies that have nothing to do with a humorous paper. He gives ridiculous fictional solutions to *Raza's* problems. In my opinion for people like Chang: Get educated before attempting to write an article.

Chang's commentary on Voz Fronteriza, simply fuels the antagonism towards Chicano students

By Humberto Rosales, *Voz Fronteriza*.

Responding to Chang's article on *Voz Fronteriza* one cannot neglect the ignorance reflected in such commentary. However, to respond to Chang's commentaries as an individual would be futile and lacking professionalism. What must be recognized is the fact that such ignorance is pervasive in all areas of journalism and media. In some instances it is pure ignorance that drive such commentaries, but in many cases acknowledged ignorance is what provides a basis for individuals to ignore the realities that many people face. By ignoring the realities that affect people of color, individuals render themselves as not responsible to the existent pressing issues at hand. Here, one must also note that sensationalism does little to bring to light the nature of issues and the core arguments involved. It is in light of this that commentaries such as Chang's need to be recognized. His blasphemous directed comment on *Voz Fronteriza* should not be seen as an attack on *Voz Fronteriza* itself, but rather as a comment that seeks to invalidate the struggles of groups and individuals who have partaken in the struggle for self-determination. He invalidates the gains made by César Chavez, Cecilia Rodriguez and others who have acted upon their beliefs for justice. Not recognizing their struggle means ignoring the system that has been the cause of such struggles.

To the Chicanos and Chicanas who recognize the artificiality of Chang's article, such comment reflects nothing but the ignorance of unconcerned individuals. Such individuals will be found everywhere. One cannot expect for individuals to come to terms with the role that they play when such roles demand of them to further sustain the system that propagates inequality and injustice along racial lines. In order to critically assess any argument this relationship must first be recognized.

To the unlearned community, Chang's commentary on *Voz Fronteriza* simply fuels the antagonisms towards Chicano and Latino students. By saying that *Voz Fronteriza* is a "Chicano Victimhood Rag," Chang's commentary implies that Chicano students do nothing more than cry victimization and that whatever Chicanos have to say merits no recognition. This positions Chicanos and Latinos in a subordinate situation along with their frustrations, and their rhetoric. What is invalidated is the anger felt by many towards a system that has proven itself to be historically unequal and race-based.

In retrospect, instead of simply superficially looking at what Chicanos are saying, people should attempt to understand and learn the history of Chicanos. Maybe then, individuals like Peter Chang will be better prepared to offer a serious critique and not simple criticism.

Voz Commentary Was Oblivious To History

Peter Chang's characterization of the idea that the government brings drugs into the barrios as "paranoia" is ignorant and dangerous. Unfortunately, the assertion in *Voz Fronteriza* have a well-documented factual basis.

The U.S. government was instrumental in establishing the hard drug racket right after World War II, when it used Mafia connections to undermine the French Communist Party and French labor movements. Involvement in the heroin trade out of the "Golden Triangle" (Laos, Burma and Thailand) continued the trend. The CIA helped implement this trade in 1965 to recruit a mercenary army of highland tribesmen for counterinsurgency operations in Laos. U.S. involvement in Central American drug rackets as part of the Contra-aid scandal is also well documented. Quite simply, the clandestine, quasi-legal and illegal operations in which the CIA and other shady governments agencies engage require hidden funds and resources. These are most easily available through organized crime, which expects a quick pro quo.

On a more subtle level, the United States has consistently shown that it is not interested in stopping the flow of drugs into these communities, despite its "drug war" posturing. By the CIA's own estimates, far more chemicals flow into Latin America than are required for any legal purposes. These chemicals are used for heroin and cocaine processing. There has been no significant attempt to counter the diversions. Furthermore, drug trafficking could be significantly reduced by prosecuting U.S. banks which are known to launder drug money. A Treasury Department program called "Operation Greenback" was poised to do just that in 1979, but floundered because of lack of interest by the Reagan-Bush administrations. Of course, such activities would hurt U.S. chemical and banking companies. Moreover, U.S. judicial policies enable those with some clout in the drug-importation business to go free while ruthlessly prosecuting street-level dealers. This is the origin of the "paranoia" about police invading the barrios.

A massive police presence was introduced into poor neighborhoods in the mid-1970s on the pretense of battling drugs. Interestingly, this coincided directly with the persecution of socially progressive organizations in the inner city, a huge influx of illicit drugs, the formation of drug-trade centered gangs, a disintegration of community, a massive incarceration rate for young men of color, a drop in people of color attending educational institutions, the criminalization of Latinos and African Americans and an ongoing media blitz which turned American people's attention away from the budget deficit and to the "drug war."

Contrary to Chang's assertion that "anybody" can "make it" in this society with ingenuity and a bit of luck are the realities of an inner-city educational system which cannot prepare students for anything more than jobs at the lowest-wage tier, a job market which does not even provide adequate employment at that level and a climate of cynical hopelessness, all of which stem directly from our government's policies. This makes drug dealing the most rational vocational choice from a capitalist standpoint. It is therefore not surprising that, in such a desperate environment, an ample market exists for substances which provide an escape from an intolerable existence.

Chang, you seem to have a habit of spouting off on issues of which you are totally ignorant. Stop spreading the same tired, reactionary rhetoric as "the truth." Be as conservative as you want, but base your critiques on verifiable fact.

Carl Lenox (*UCSD Guardian*, May 11, 1995)

If you can write,
or if you can fight, *Raza*,
Join

Voz Fronteriza

For more information about *La Voz* call (619) 534-3616

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

The Guiding Principle of Voz Fronteriza Has Always Been That It Would Report the Truth, and Deal With Issues That Were Real and Dear to the Mexican Community...

Harry Barra,
Outgoing Editor of *Voz Fronteriza*

When the time came to lay down my final article as editor of *Voz Fronteriza* I wasn't really sure of what to write. After asking two close compañeros what they thought, I finally decided to procrastinate. So I put it off until now, the night of final production and the last hours before the printers deadline. At a time when I should be working on my last papers and catching up on my last reading before finishing up my time at UCSD, I am here jotting down a few reflections about our movement, *Voz Fronteriza*, and Raza on this campus. I guess that is the way it should be.

Before anything else is written, we all have to recognize the truth behind these words: "From its inception, the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* agreed that *Voz* was to be tied into the community. That it would serve the community. That it would report the truth and deal with issues that were real and dear to the Mexican community." Since my first day at *Voz*, this has always been the guiding principle behind our work. This may sound idealistic and maybe even corny, but as far as I can remember, it has always been that way. In 1975 Raza at UCSD struggled to build a Chicano newspaper under the guiding principle mentioned above, and today in 1995 I am proud to have been part of the great legacy of *Voz Fronteriza*. We understand that the true nature of any Chicano publication should be to serve its community - as long as there is oppression the Chicano Press must

work to give voice to those who fight against that injustice.

It has always been *Voz Fronteriza's* ability to look beyond the limits of La Jolla to see the greater reality of our people that has kept it from disappearing into the annals of Chicano history. Essentially, it has been a student run newspaper that never limited itself to the campus shell - and today, after twenty years we can see the correctness of this guiding principle. Due to the tremendous work of many individuals and organizations *Voz Fronteriza* not only survived but grew over the last twenty years. Today we have a legacy and a history that can never be taken away from our movement and our people.

During my participation at *Voz* there have been several key individuals that deserve recognition: people such as Gene Chavira - who was central to the re-establishment of *Voz* after it had been de-funded for over a year in 1989, Adolfo Lopez Guzman - who put in many production hours with Gene towards building *La Voz* back up to the level it had been in previous years, Brent Beltran - who sort of latched on and became a major player in the *Voz* although not being a student at UCSD, and Kelly Shumate - who put up with a lot of crap and still produced quality work.

There is one thing that becomes very clear by recognizing these people though, and that is that individuals have come and gone through the last twenty years of *Voz Fronteriza*, but the community has remained. It is the transitory nature of students itself that has made community organizations so important to the

Voz. Students come, do their part, and graduate - but it has been the community groups that have given the *Voz* its sense of history. It is fundamentally for this reason that we have survived, and it is also for this reason that the community organizations that made it possible have to be recognized. C.A.S.A. (Centro de Acción Social Autònoma) played a central role in giving *Voz Fronteriza* its class analysis from very early on. Later, groups such as the C.C.R. (Committee on Chicano Rights) helped *Voz* maintain its direct link to the Chicano Mexican community of San Diego. As time passed it was the Raza Rights Coalition and Unión del Barrio that gave, and continue to give, *Voz Fronteriza* its Mexican Power approach to politics. Although not all of these groups still exist, they live on in *Voz Fronteriza*.

As far as what I have done as editor of *La Voz* for the last three years, well all I can say for sure is that I reaffirmed the original principle of *Voz Fronteriza*. It was my community involvement that allowed this to occur. Something that has been very difficult for people to grasp on this campus is the concept of organization. This has been especially true recently, with the resurgence of Chicano politics on the UCSD campus. The articles in the *Guardian* and the reactions of Chicanos on campus have had the tendency to focus on individuals as opposed to movements or organizations. Attacks on the *Voz* have become attacks on me, and attacks on me have become attacks on the movement in general. The movement is much wider than UCSD - there is a whole world out there for us as Raza, and the

sooner we realize it the sooner we will be writing our own history again, as Mexicanos. I belong to several community organizations to which I owe everything I have today, including my education. The best thing I can recommend to any UCSD Chicana or Chicano is to hook up with one of these groups; it will make your time at UCSD that much more fulfilling and your education will be worth having. There is no struggle more noble than that dedicated to the upliftment of your gente.

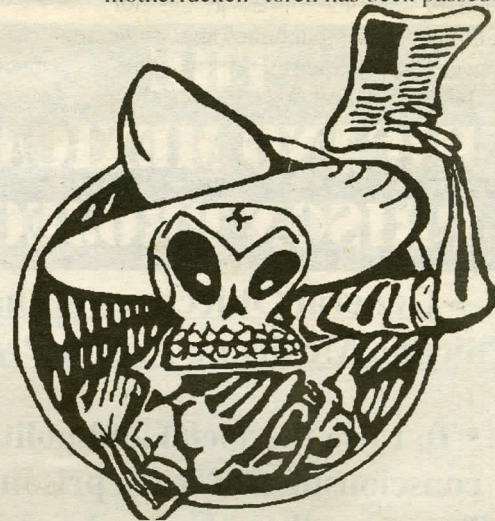
The direction of *Voz Fronteriza* now rests in the hands of a new editor, Humberto Rosales - watch out for this vato, he has vision. The future of *La Voz* rests on the work of an excellent and promising staff. My full respect and recognition to those Vocistas who will be leading the *Voz* in the upcoming years... Ben, Breca, Angelica R., Angelica G., Jose C., and Jose Luis - the writing on the wall says that the next few years are definitely not going to be boring.

To all you people who have made my time served at UCSD less shitty, I got a special place in my heart for you. You know who you are - even those of you I'm pissed at...

To the faculty and staff that have always shown respect and been cool to this little Chicano - Gracias.

To all those who have shown no respect, no support, and no love to the movement, to the community, or to *La Voz* - fuck you, you'll get yours.

Al Rato, UCSD - this motherfucken' torch has been passed!



Chang's life, again I want to clarify a few things. When I first heard about it I was caught by surprise, and tried to sound official by saying: "We would like to disassociate ourselves from the death threats, but people need to understand that racist comments will create reactions like that. People in the future need to be more careful about what they say." Well, I guess this really pissed off Brent Johnson of the *Guardian*, because he writes a whole article about how this is a veiled threat to anyone who doesn't agree with the *Voz*. I'm not sure Brent but I think you might have wasted your time trying to read between the lines of my statements. No veiled threats here - at the *Voz Fronteriza* we say what we mean, and we mean what we say! In the words of Huey P. Newton: "The oppressor has no rights that the oppressed are bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor." So, Mr. Johnson, do those words scare you? They are only words... just like the article by Peter Chang was only words.

I don't feel sorry about Peter Chang getting death threats. I couldn't give a shit what happens to that chump. By writing what he writes and thinking what he thinks he opens himself to shit like that. I have one thing to say to Peter Chang; If you can't take the heat, get the fuck out the kitchen!

From the Editor: continued

Taking the Gloves Off..

Just under a month has gone by, and we at the *Voz* have been getting seriously jammed up in the *Guardian*. The attacks on the *Voz* have revolved around the same general themes; "free speech," racism, differing opinions, and white supremacy. These are important issues and I have a few things to say about them. People have been asking about how we were going to respond to the attacks, and the last issue we put out was done before all this broke out, so we had to wait until now to throw it down Chicano style. From what we heard, the articles mentioned above are only a handful of the many letters the *Guardian* got in response to all this pedo.

To begin, I want everyone to take note that the great majority of the people who responded to the articles in the *Guardian* got pissed off at my letter, and not at the original article by Peter Chang. This is important to note, since something most of these anti-*Voz Fronteriza* people claim in their letters is that I am a racist. This is really sickening to see - all these people are so ready to call me a racist in defense of Peter Chang, but saw no racism in Chang's original article. I suppose these individuals reserve their race consciousness for non-whites who agree with white supremacy. In other words ask yourself this; if Chang wasn't a right wing sack of shit do you think all these people would be so quick to defend his ass. I don't think so... Now a days it seems that angry white males and reactionary, sell-out, upper class non-whites are the only ones that are suffering under the yoke of racism. When the truly oppressed mention racism we are labeled as whiners, "professional victims," "reverse racists," etc.

On that note I want to make something crystal clear. The United States Government is a white supremacist government - it is now and it always has been. This country was born and has been maintained off of the genocide of indigenous people, the theft of Mexican land, and the enslavement of African people. The so-called "founding fathers" were a gang of murdering thugs, who owned slaves and committed atrocities against the Indians - I don't give a shit how many constitutions they wrote. From then on, the United States, both within its borders and abroad, laid down a legacy that today makes it the most violent, murderous, war-mongering state in the annals of human history. So when people call us paranoid for saying that Uncle Sam is still fucking

with us today, they either got to be real stupid, or they themselves have something to gain from maintaining oppression. So these individuals will call the *Voz* racist and paranoid all they want, but that fails to explain the intense poverty, misery, and social insecurity that is prevalent in most Mexican barrios in this country. This has to be understood in no uncertain terms. The struggle for Mexican liberation is not a game - it is a life or death struggle for survival. The struggle for freedom in Chiapas is just another front of the same struggle for Chicano Studies at UCLA. We are one people with one history that binds us, and until we are all liberated none of us will know freedom. Furthermore, I am a Mexican - I was born a Mexican in Occupied Mexico. What drives the movement I belong to is an intense love for my people, and as long as there is oppression, this movement will continue. And don't be so quick to tell me and my people to go back home, because I'll tell you to take your funky colonizer ass back to Europe - this is Occupied Mexico motherfucker! Mexican Power coming to town near you!

What we print in *Voz Fronteriza* comes from this perspective, and it is because of this that we don't take too well to fucked up little right wing commentaries, regardless of who they come from. We take our work very seriously, and are very proud of the paper we produce. On the question of using words such as puto, gringo, chicken shit, and sell-out, we use these terms to denote the antagonism we feel towards those people and institutions that oppress our people. If you're not an oppressor then don't take offense. If those words are the only things that stick with you after reading the *Voz*, then don't read it at all - stick to the Koala. On this same note, I also find it really sick how these people try to invoke their right of "Free Speech" and how important differing opinions are. Free Speech! We exist in a society where all social services are being slashed, prisons are being filled faster than they can build them, education is no longer an option for the great majority, the most basic democratic rights are being denied, and these idiots invoke their right of free speech to jam up *Voz Fronteriza*! What the hell is wrong with you people?! Wouldn't your right to free speech be better utilized in the building of a better world for your children? No, of course not, not while those terrible Chicanos still have a newspaper and are allowed to use their right to free speech.

Regarding this whole thing about the threats on Peter

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

VOZ MEETINGS

Friday's at 3:00P.M.
Room E-028, UCSD
In the old Student
Services Building.
For more info call 619/534-3616

Barrios de Aztlán Unite!**SOMOS RAZA****Barrio Youth Collective**

Those working on Somos Raza are committed
young activists who abide by the following
principles of unity:

- To utilize Somos Raza as a tool by which to raise the social and cultural conciencia of barrio youth.
- To strive at all times to promote Unity between Raza of all Barrios.
- To always demonstrate respect for ourselves and all Raza.
- To educate and advance our knowledge of society.
 - To promote the culture and history of the Chicano Mexicano people.
 - At all times support the struggle for Chicano Mexicano self-determination.

For information about joining, write to:
Somos Raza

P.O. Box 620095

San Diego, Califas 92162

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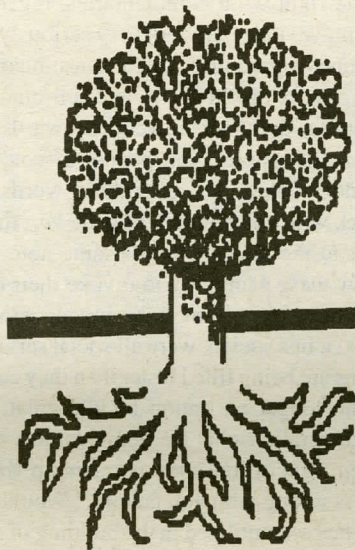
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Long Live The Anti-Imperialist Struggle!

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

A Vision for A New World

By Penny Hess, Chairwoman of the African People's Solidarity Committee

Editor's Note: This is an excerpt from the Introduction to the book, Culture of Violence: The Foundation of White America on Slavery and Genocide. A Call for White Solidarity With Black Power. Burning Spear Publications, 1991. We have included this because it offers a clear explanation about the oppressive relationship white people maintain over colonized people in this country. It was written by Penny Hess, a righteous white woman and Chairwoman of the African Peoples Solidarity Committee - an organization of white people who have given up their historical roles as oppressors and have united under the leadership of revolutionary Africans. This is definitely recommended reading for all people, but especially for honest white people. For more information contact the addresses at the end of this article.



Penny Hess of the African People's Solidarity Committee

In order to grasp a viable vision for the future we must honestly examine the past and analyze it correctly.

The capitalist system, with us as its white benefactors, has created for us a myth of an independent and endless present. This myth would have us believe that somehow today is unconnected to the stream of history upon which all the contradiction of today rest. Such a myth is necessary for the perpetuation of white nationalism and white people's unity with this parasitic social and economic system in which we live.

Most of us enthusiastically accept this myth: it serves us well. We participate in constructing it. Certainly the lives of white Americans are characterized by denial and alienation, both in a figurative and literal sense. By upholding and identifying with the goals and values of the genocidal white power capitalist system, we are alienated both from history and from the vast majority of the peoples of the world.

According to the general world view that most of us grew up with, we - the white people - are ordained to abide on tree-lined streets in our peaceful houses with our cars, dogs, appropriate numbers of children, with our vacations, credit cards and our assumption that this good life is somehow something we deserve or earned. We choose to believe that unconnected to us, African [and Mexican] people are forever trapped in grim, roach and rat-infested housing projects, always being brutalized by police, hauled off to jail, and dying at untimely rates.

Under this system black [and Mexican] teenagers on the streets of any city in the U.S. will never know democracy, plan an extended vacation, find fulfillment in the energy of their youth, or have the leisure to experiment with the full potential of their talents. Chances are one in four that any young African man in the U.S. will end up in prison, if he is not already dead before his mid-twenties. The struggling mother in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn who has to get her water from fire hydrants is far away from our lives as the hundreds of thousands of nameless Arabs who were slaughtered by the relentless pounding of U.S. bombs on Iraq in the early months of 1991.

Many of us have never questioned this relationship we have to African people and other colonized peoples around the world. We would like to believe that "it's just the way it is." We in the African People's Solidarity Committee believe, however, that there are many white people who increasingly want to reject the lies about our place in the world and how we got there. There are those of us who want to expose the fact that the U.S. constitution and Bill of Rights exist solely for us and that our very existence and experience of democracy rests on the slavery and genocide on which this country is founded and maintained. There are many who suspect that our affluence is directly related to the poverty of others, and who find life at the expense of Africans and the rest of the

peoples of the Earth intolerable.

We are finding that our historic identification with the U.S. government, capitalism and white nationalism, slavery, genocide and colonialism - and our own history of violence in upholding this system - to be at the root of this sick society. For underneath the dream of the quiet streets and an endless prosperous tomorrow are the countless manifestations of this parasitic social system that we are much a part of.

Abuse and sexual exploitation of women and children, alienation, isolation from humanity and nature, ruthless competition, consumerism, alcoholism, drug addiction and teenage suicide, mass murder, depression, terrorism against non-white people, loneliness and despair, brutality, hatred and greed: scratch the myth of white America and the culture of violence is exposed. The crimes of colonialism which we

have actively committed or passively stood by and watched are turned in on ourselves.

All of the other atrocities of history could never approach the holocaust of genocide and terror that has been perpetuated by the white world in the name of democracy, Christianity and white supremacy. Regular white people - white workers, the middle class, those who dwell on the quiet streets - have actively participated in the assault on Africans and others. None of us is separate from this reality. The price of a luxurious lifestyle is genocide, and slavery is the foundation of the "nobel" Western civilization.

Under the leadership of the African People's Socialist Party, the African People's Solidarity Committee calls on other white people to join us in stripping away the white nationalist myths that have motivated us and justified our terroristic methods of forcing the peoples of the world to serve our will, at the expense of our humanity. We can experience the world through the eyes of the slave, take up our responsibilities in the forging of a new world, and participate in a movement led by African and colonized peoples. Therein lies our own liberation - for the first time in history to be united with humanity instead of opposed to it.

But in order to truly join humanity in a principled relationship we must first look squarely at the reality of who we are. Scientific investigation of the nature of this capitalist system reveals a direct relationship between us and the masses

of oppressed Africans and other peoples. Because Africans and others are forced to endure the horrors of a colonized existence, we are able to experience the singular reality of white America.

African Internationalism, or Yeshitism, the political theory developed by Omali Yeshitela, Chairman of the African People's Socialist Party, provides for us an honest examination of the past. It reveals the reality of the present day world as an exact product of all its history. It also tells us precisely what it will take to change the world; the revolutionary leadership of the African working class to overturn the blood-sucking system of U.S. imperialism. Yeshitism is the basic premise and point of view of this book. With it we can discover why it is that a handful of human beings virtually enslaves four-fifths of the world's population. We can honestly look at the extent of the violence and the unity of the general white population necessary to keep it this way. We can find out how the white world came to enjoy 75 percent of the resources of the world. We can answer the question of what kind of "civilization" it is that built itself in a foundation of 500 years of slavery and genocide.

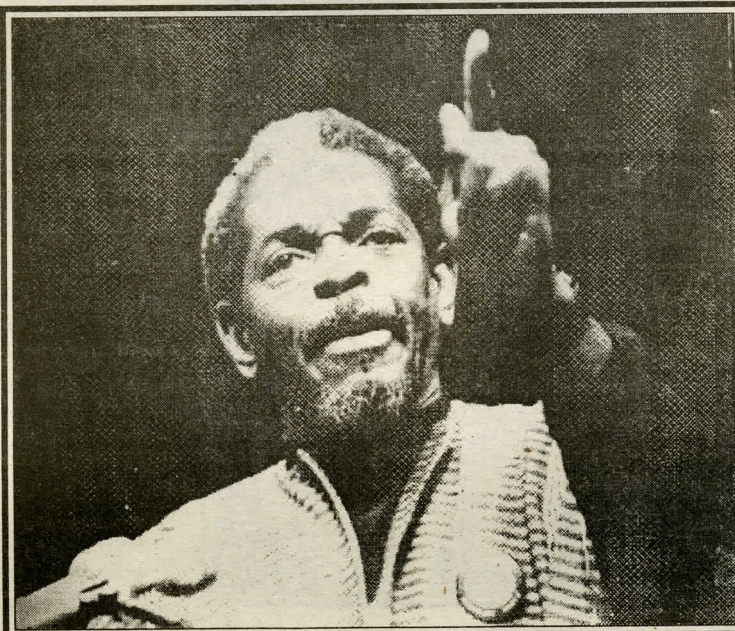
A just and humane vision for the future means digging down into the causes and effects of the present situation. This is not an easy task because the assault on Africa by Europeans and North Americans is deep and long-standing. It has involved the deliberate rewriting of history to make it fit the vicious and ridiculous notions of white supremacy which justify the enslavement and colonization of Africans. Europeans and North American scholars will tell you that the great ancient civilization of Egypt was populated by white people instead of Africans. Histories commonly used in American schools depict Africa as the "dark continent" inhabited by savages. They will tell you that Africans were cannibals and the Native people scalped their enemies, when in fact it was Europeans who practiced these aberrations of nature. Slave masters, like Thomas Jefferson and George Washington, are upheld as heroes, leaders to be emulated.

While evidence abounds that Africans sailed to Central and South America as early as 800 BC - as is so well-documented in the book *They Came Before Columbus* - "white scholarship" refuses to acknowledge these facts. The image of Africans sailing the world in ancient times must be suppressed along with any vision of the free and independent society of African people who produced the earliest and greatest civilizations on Earth. The Africans who built the pyramids, practiced the most delicate of surgery, systematized astronomy, and brilliantly repulsed the military onslaughts of marauding Europeans must be kept hidden from the colonized African youth forced to attend the white nationalist school system in the U.S. Even many of the books by Africanist authors must spend most of their time refuting the lies of books by Europeans, rather than being able to describe how things really were.

We hope this book will provide the reader with a new approach to the world, and refute just about everything most white people have ever read or assumed about history. We operate with the assumption that the future lies in the liberation of the African, and in all of the colonized peoples whose suppressed histories have been carried on within their cultures of resistance for the past five hundred years.

Collectivity and generosity of spirit, the equality and leadership of women, the experience of music, beauty and art as an integral part of everyday life, a harmonious relationship with nature and the environment, a genuine and spontaneous joy of living, a sense of the endless potential of the human spirit - these qualities so foreign to white America spring from the ancient civilizations of Africa and the Americas and have long been nurtured in the oppressed societies of colonized peoples in the U.S. and around the world. These qualities, when liberated by African people struggling to be free, will be the foundation on which the new and just world can be built.

For more information about the African People's Solidarity Committee or African People's Solidarity Day, contact APSC c/o the Uhuru Solidarity Center, 4905 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, (510) 655-6868, or P.O. Box 23407, Philadelphia, PA 19143, (215) 727-3114.



Chairman Omali Yeshitela of the African Peoples Socialist Party

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

As Part of the U.S. War Against Mexicanos and other Colonized People, FORMER RAZA UNIDA PARTY ACTIVIST IS FRAMED AND GIVEN A LIFE TERM IN PRISON!

(From ¡La Verdad!, via the Chicano Press Association)

According to the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), on December 16, 1994, Ramiro "Ramsey" Muñiz, a long time activist of La Raza Unida Party was sentenced to life without the possibility of release for the possession of 40 kilograms of cocaine in a car he was driving near the hotel where he was staying in the town of Lewisville, Texas.

The life term came as a result of this being Ramsey's third felony and requirements of the new federal law (or the Clinton Crime Bill), which calls for life in prison without parole if someone has two other previous felonies. In the past, Unión del Barrio and the African People's Socialist Party (a leading African liberation organization based in the U.S.), and as well as other liberation forces, have explained how these new federal laws are part of a general program to keep Raza, Africans and other peoples in a colonized situation (see article, "Federal Crime Bill: A Vicious Program to Keep Our Gente Poor, Exploited, and Colonized", ¡La Verdad!, July-Sept and "Counterinsurgency Deepened: Crime Bill Exposes the Crisis of White Power," *The Burning Spear*, Vol. 20, No. 5, Winter 1995).

Since many of the past and present activists who have chosen not to sell-out, by

the very nature of them growing-up in politically and economically oppressed communities (barrios and colonias), have criminal records, we see how the new laws are specifically used as a means to lock up these veterano and present Movimiento activists. Now that the threat of the "Soviet Union" no longer exists, the colonial establishment has re-directed some of the resources of the DEA, CIA, and so forth, to be used in its war against the masses of the Mexicano, African, and other oppressed people.

THE CASE HAS ALL THE MARKINGS OF A FRAME-UP

According to supporters of Muñiz, his attorney, and the records of the DEA agents themselves, the arrest of Ramsey Muñiz has all the markings of a frame-up. Examples:

1. The person that the DEA agents were originally in pursuit of and had earlier made a drug deal with, an individual by the name of Donacio Medina, was set free and no charges were filed against him.
2. The car (in which the cocaine was found) was rented by Juan Gonzalez (a client of Muñiz) who asked Muñiz to drive it from one location to another (while Gonzalez followed in another car).
3. The DEA claimed Ramsey used a false name when checking into his hotel, so as to hide his identity, when instead, had actually used his

own name, as shown on the hotel records.

4. It was also claimed that Ramsey was making suspicious phone calls from the lobby. Fact: his attorney Dick DeGuerin retrieved all phone records and all calls were confirmed as legitimate business calls (Ramsey, a former lawyer, was doing paralegal work for a law firm), and it was the DEA who refused to provide any information on the so-called "suspicious phone calls".
5. The DEA claimed that hotel employees alerted them to Ramsey's suspicious

activities. When interviewed, all employees told Ramsey's attorney that there was nothing suspicious about his behavior and that they had not contacted any authorities. (see information packet disseminated by Muñiz Legal Defense Fund)

RAMSEY MUÑIZ INSPIRED THOUSANDS TO STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The fact of the matter is that Ramsey was framed because of his long involvement in La Raza Unida Party (LRUP). Ramsey Muñiz, a popular former high school and Baylor College football star and lawyer, twice ran for governor of Texas under LRUP, once in 1972 and another time in 1974. His involvement in the struggle for Raza civil and human rights motivated and inspired thousands to struggle for justice and self-determination. The reality is that the struggle waged by LRUP and Muñiz, changed the face of politics throughout Aztlán.

Formed in Texas in 1970, the Raza Unida Party won several local elections (school districts, city council seats, mayor, and judgeships) and challenged the two party system, exposing the Democratic Party as being one of the two political parties representing the same ruling class. In the arena of electing members to office, the LRUP was particularly effective in South Texas, where Raza are in the majority. In areas of Aztlán (occupied Mexico) where Raza were in the minority, the LRUP was effective in forcing the colonial establishment to address some of the needs of our communities and in raising the political consciousness of literally hundreds of thousands of Mexicanos.

During Ramsey Muñiz's campaign for governor in 1972, he was quoted as saying, "Mexican Americans have had it with the lies. ¡Ya Basta! Raza Unida offers the people an alternative and the days of being led to the polls to vote straight

ticket for these two parties are over..." and, "The Mexican American and the black communitiesdon't vote because in the past they didn't have a real choice.....Our connection with the Democratic Party has been nothing more than a cheap marriage.....they have lied to us and betrayed us.....Now we are divorcing ourselves from the Democratic Party" (read pgs. 80-81, *United We Win, The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party*, by Ignacio García).

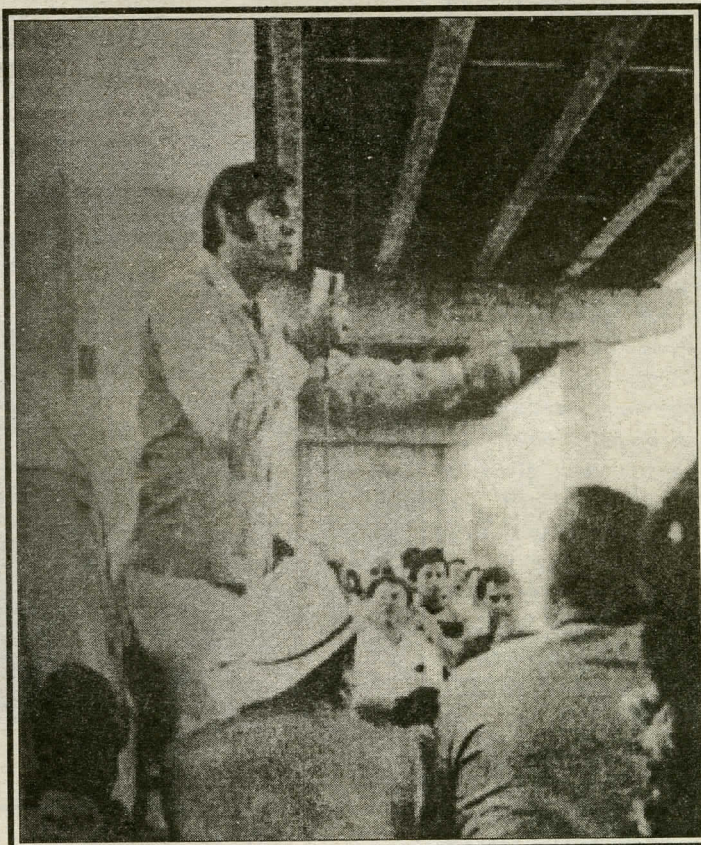
While he lost the election, Ramsey got over 200,000 votes in a LRUP platform that called, among other things, for free education for all; lowering the voting age to eighteen; giving the right to vote to foreigners [all people living within the false borders of the U.S.]; breaking up monopolies; fair distribution of wealth; implementation of equal minority representation in the judicial system; abolishment of capital punishment [death penalty]; passage of the Equal Rights Amendment [guarantee rights for women]; removal of trade embargoes and economic sanctions against Cuba; the reduction of U.S. forces in Europe; and the abolishment of the Texas Rangers (read *United We Win*, page 84).

Though not a revolutionary program (which calls for the liberation of Aztlán, its unification with Mexico, and the establishment of a socialist society), it was nevertheless an extremely progressive and nationalist stance, and one that challenged the very foundations of the gringo colonial establishment; certainly far more progressive than any of the hispanic vendidos (many them former "Chicano activists") are pimping to our gente today.

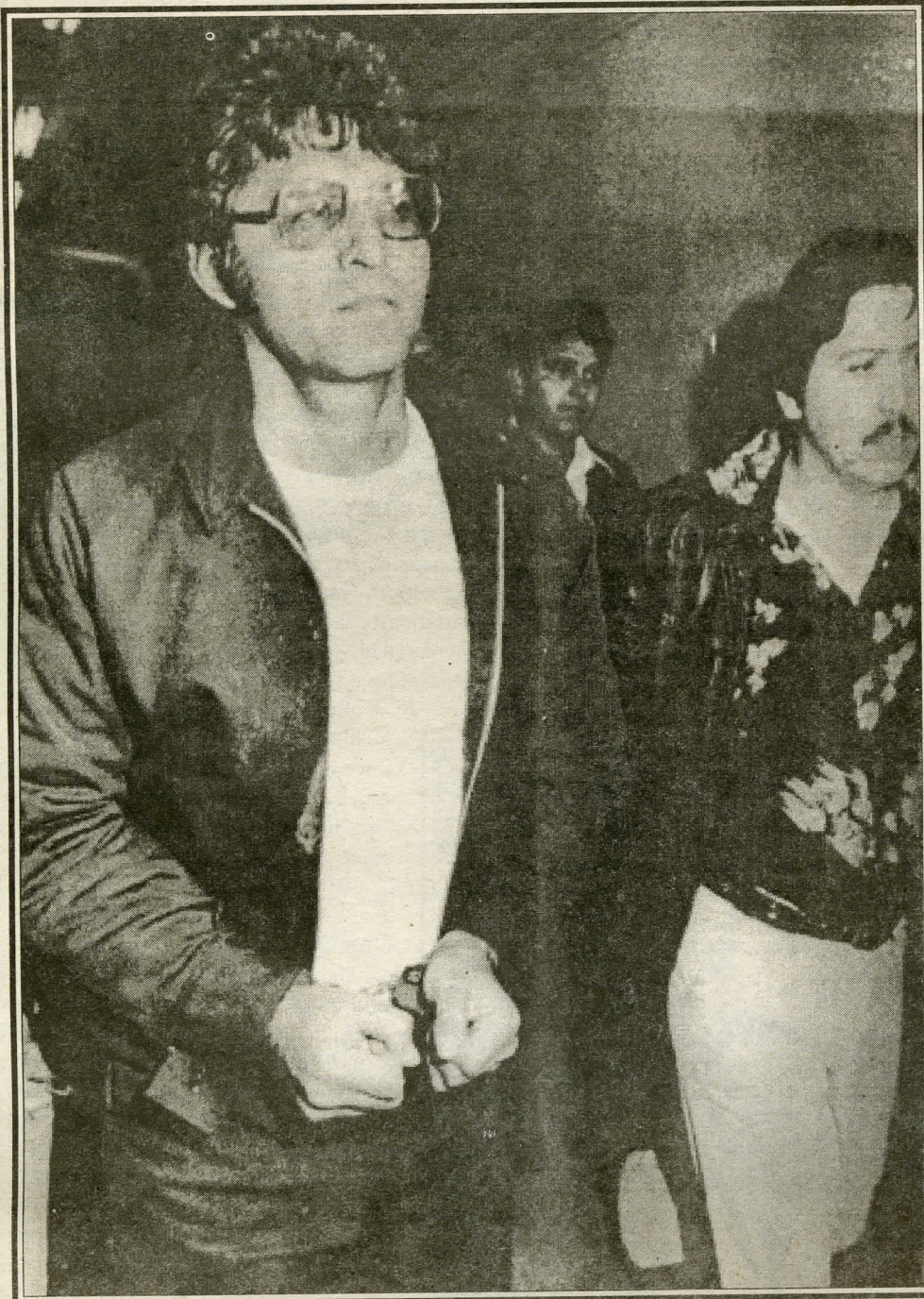
THE GRINGO COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENT WILL HUNT DOWN AND FRAME ANYONE WHO REFUSES TO DENOUNCE THE PRINCIPLES OF RAZA SELF-DETERMINATION

This change and this challenge that came from a Mexicano organization was something that terrified the gringo power structure (colonialism) and was not about to

Continued on next page



Ramsey Muñiz speaking during his 1972 gubernatorial campaign.



Muñiz arrested by neo-colonial pigs.

20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Muñiz Continued

be taken lightly. Not satisfied with the destruction, by 1975, of the Chicano Power Movement and other self-determination struggles taking place during that period of time, the colonialists (racist gringos) have been hunting down anyone who in the past dared to struggle and take a stand against white capitalist power, and who to date refuses to sell out to colonialism. The fact that the majority of our gente, and even some of the activists themselves, do not know the extend and scope of the Counterintelligence Programs (as the police and military programs directed against movement organizations were known) does not deny the hard core reality of their existence and its thousands victims.

It is our position that Ramsey Muñiz, as have countless other Mexicanos, was targeted by the colonial police for his past activism and his unwillingness to refute the activism of the past. In fact, a relative over heard an DEA agent say, years before his 1994 arrest, that they "were going to get that guy." (see letter by Sandra Alvarez, in Advocates of Justice packet of information)

Those of us who have gotten a taste of what struggle is all about and who understand the viciousness and cowardice of the animal called U.S. capitalism, know the depths to which their agents will go to destroy any opposition to its rule. Anyone who has done even the most rudimentary research knows that the whole drug trade was developed and is control by U.S.-European capitalism and that the few Raza, African, Asians, involved in this underground-capitalist economy are nothing but pawns of the gabacho ruling class. Therefore, if we are sincere about ending the drug trade, let start with arresting the executives of the leading corporations in U.S. and Europe, the real king pins of the so-called drug cartels.

FREE RAMSEY MUÑIZ, NOW!

In closing, we support the demands of the Ramsey Muñiz defense committee, Advocates of Justice, in their call for a new trial for Muñiz and a formal investigation into the illegal activities of the DEA agents involved in the case. We call on all progressive Raza and allies of our movement to send letters of support to: Advocates For Justice, 5403 Everhart Rd. #213, Corpus Christi, Texas, 78411-4895 [ph. (512) 814-7609].

Free Ramsey Muñiz!

Abajo Con Los Vendidos!
Que Viva La Raza Unida!

Free All U.S. Political Prisoners!

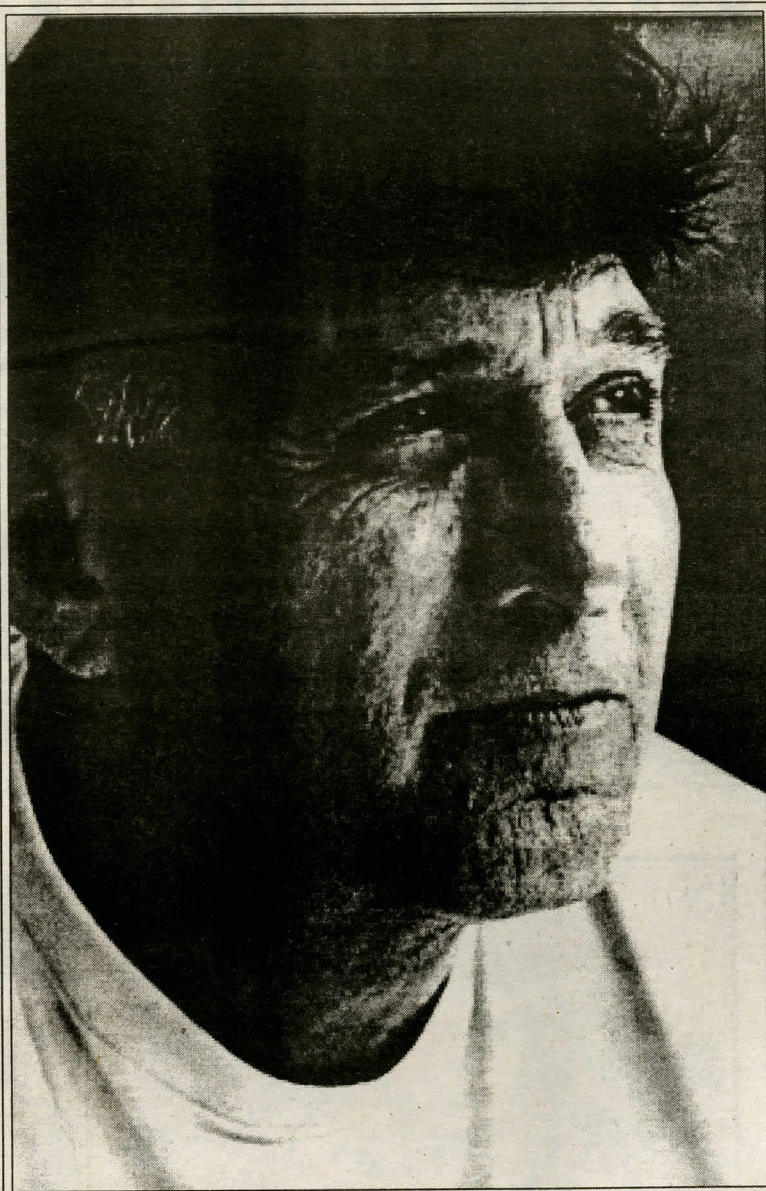
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RAMSEY R. MUNIZ

FORMER LA RAZA UNIDA
PARTY ACTIVIST

STILL BEING
PROSECUTED

- THE REAL CULPRIT WAS SET FREE
- TESTIMONY FOR THE PROSECUTION WAS PROVEN NOT TRUE
- RAMSEY WAS NOT ALLOWED TO DEFEND HIMSELF IN TRIAL

"Ramsey changed the face of politics in Texas. He gave power of inclusion to Hispanic Americans. He particularly changed the face of political offices in South Texas. There has been a lot of resentment from the Establishment because of that. A lot of people would like to see him fall because of who he is and what he did."

Dick DeGuerrin
Attorney at Law
Houston, Texas

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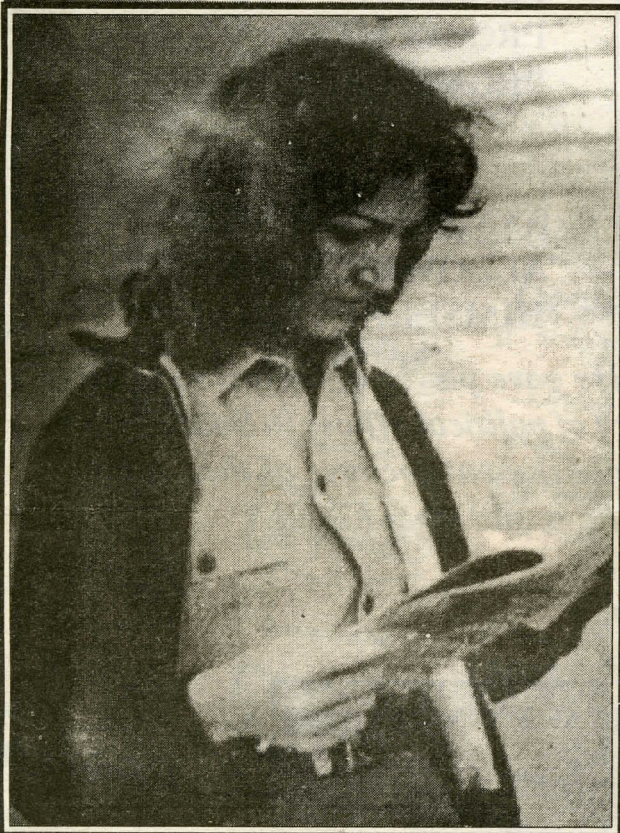
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20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

¡Que Vivan Las Mujeres Revolucionarias!



Nicaraguan Revolutionaries



Haydée Tamara Bunke (AKA Laura Gutierrez, Tania)- Guerrilla fighter in Bolivia, she was killed by Bolivian neo-colonial agents.



Valentina Ramirez- Mexican Revolutionary



Las Adelitas- Women fighters during the Mexican Revolution.



Salvadoran Revolutionary



Lolita Lebrón- Puerto Rican Nationalist who was arrested in 1954 for shooting up the floor of the U.S. Congress.



Loyola Guzmán- Leader of guerrilla urban support network in Bolivia, arrested Sept., 1967.