

ON  
THE  
PRINCIPLES  
OF  
NON-  
COLLABORATION





Once again, as in 1977, the U.S. federal government is using the grand jury as a weapon to investigate the armed Puerto Rican independence movement. The current wave of grand jury repression has been and will continue to be met by the historic and revolutionary Puerto Rican independentist principle of noncollaboration. Knowing this, the U.S. government is seeking to convert the grand jury from a weapon of harrassment to a weapon it can use for political interment.

The 1977 wave of grand jury harrassment of the Puerto Rican and Mexican national liberation movements gave birth to the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN), which has struggled consistently for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico and the socialist reunification of Mexico. We are the only organization that has linked the struggles of our respective communities with the struggles in our homelands.

The government used the grand jury in 1977 to attempt to resolve the principal contradiction between the U.S. state and the nation of Puerto Rico. This growing contradiction is the increasing population of Puerto Ricans here in the U.S. "behind enemy lines" who are willing to fight for an independant socialist Puerto Rico.

With the emergence of the glorious Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) in 1974, this contradiction took on added meaning. The world, and in particular the U.S. state, recognized that the Puerto Rican independence movement had developed the capacity to strike at U.S. imperialism from behind its own "borders." In its attempts to stop the growth of this movement, the U.S. used the grand jury to intimidate and harrass supporters of Puerto Rican independence, but in particular those activists who openly supported armed struggle as the only way to attain independence and socialism.

To combat this wave of repression, the Puerto Rican independentists and their supporters raised the principled stance of noncollaboration with the state. This principled political position stated that at no time must a member of a colonized nation participate or cooperate with this colonizing power in the colonizer's attempts to crush the liberation struggle. Nine activists from across the U.S. were incarcerated for varying lengths of time for upholding and advancing the principle of noncollaboration. Of these activists, five were Puerto Ricans, four were Mexicans and one was Venezuelan. All of them supported Puerto Rican independence, and had a long and continuous history of political struggle in their respective communities. From this incarceration the MLN was born, and began to recognize the secondary contradiction that the U.S. must face--the developing struggle of the Mexican people.

Today, the grand juries continue to be used by the U.S. to repress the Puerto Rican independence movement and in particular the armed clandestine movement. But it is significant that two of the people re-subpoenaed are leading members of the Mexicano Commission of the MLN. As anti-imperialist Mexican revolutionaries we have an obligation to our people and to our movement to lead and to clarify the political situation facing Mexican people. If we are to truly lead, and not just be dragged along by "events", then we cannot make single-sided analyses. Rather we must understand each "event" within a historical and dialectical world analysis. We must heighten the secondary aspect of the current grand jury repression into a weapon that will advance both the destruction of U.S. imperialism and the socialist reunification of Mexico.

This secondary aspect is the struggle of the Mexicano people. It is estimated that Mexicans comprise 15 to 20 million people within U.S. borders. By the year 2,000 we will comprise more than 50% of the population in the "U.S. southwest." How did this situation develop, and why is this a potential threat to the U.S. federal state?



To answer this it is important to summarize our position on the socialist reunification of Mexico. In 1821, Mexico became a sovereign nation from Chiapas and Yucatan to the current northern boundary of California. In 1836, white settler colonialists led a secessionist movement, which led to the separation of Texas. From 1846 to 1848, the expanding U.S. fought a war with Mexico, and took California, Arizona, New Mexico and parts of Colorado, Utah and Nevada. A few years later the U.S. purchased more of our land. As a result over 50% of the Mexican national territory was forcibly annexed to the expanding federal empire.

Mexicanos who remained in their occupied territory did not dissolve into the so-called U.S. "melting pot." Nor were we accepted as equals by the white settler colonialists. Since the occupation of our homeland, we have been denied housing, employment, medical care, education and other democratic and human rights. But like colonized people around the world, we have resisted this annexation and colonization. Our resistance has taken various forms, including armed struggle primarily in the early years of the occupation, even though there have been sporadic outbursts of armed resistance since then. It is because of this colonial relationship that we call for the socialist reunification of Mexico.



PATRIA O MUERTE,  
¡VENCEREMOS!

Let us further examine our current situation. In 1973, the Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission issued its Report Number 8, entitled "The Crisis of Democracy." This document states that the social protest movements of the 1960's, including the Chicano movement, were heightening the U.S.' crisis because we demanded democratic rights such as housing and education. The solution advanced is that people must accept less and not demand as much from the U.S. government.

Also put forth in this report is the government's fear that, just as there was a social protest movement for Black civil and human rights which shook this country in the 60's, a similar protest movement for the undocumented Mexicanos would seriously heighten the crisis of legitimacy facing the U.S. government.

In 1982, the senator from California, Hayakawa, reintroduced his amendment to make English the official language of the U.S., because he fears that bilingualism will lead to a "separatist movement in the southwest." Also introduced in Congress that year were more restrictive immigration laws, which include a "national identity card." Since in practice only Mexican and other "foreign-looking" individuals will be asked for their identification cards, this leads to the creation of an internal passport for Mexicanos in their own occupied territories.

Furthermore, the U.S.-manipulated economic crisis in Mexico is heightening. Top U.S. policy makers admit that Mexico, given its 2,000-mile border with the U.S., also poses its greatest threat. Because of the fear of spreading Latin American communism, plans are being discussed openly for the militarization of the border. One senator even went so far as to state that if the U.S. couldn't contain socialist revolution in El Salvador, it might have to be fought north of Mexico---implying in the occupied territories.



For three years we have consistently called for the Chicano-Mexicano movement to struggle for the socialist reunification of Mexico, and said that only through the combination of a mass militant movement with armed clandestine groupings in a prolonged people's war, will we be able to achieve our goal. In the last four years we have denounced the political and economic conditions that confront the majority of Mexicanos south of the imposed border. We have denounced the repressive acts of the PRI---the Mexican government.

We have also sponsored tours of Mexican revolutionaries into the occupied territories and beyond, to explain the current situation in Mexico and build support for that struggle.

In May 1981, we initiated the first International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of the ChicanoMexicano People, bringing together revolutionaries from throughout the Western hemisphere in support of our liberation movement.

From this brief overview of our major political work, and of the objective situation facing the U.S. empire and the Mexicano people, it becomes clear why two leading members of our Commission have been subpoenaed. The U.S. recognizes the potential threat of conscious Mexicans struggling with revolutionary leadership and direction from behind its own borders. The FALN has shown the path that conscious revolutionaries must take, and how they can lead the mass movement.

When members of our Commission go before the grand jury they go as Mexicans, taking the firm and unconditional stance of noncollaboration, and in support of the Puerto Rican independence movement and the armed clandestine struggle. Along with our Puerto Rican companeros, they take the offensive against the grand juries, using that as an organizing tool to strengthen our movement and to unmask to the people the true nature of the U.S. state---to clarify to our people that we are Mexicans.

Patria O Muerte!! Viva Las FALN!! Viva Puerto Rico Libre Y Socialista!! Lucharemos Por Un Mexico Socialista Y Reunificado O Moriremos Por Ella!!

**TIERRA O  
MUERTE**



**LA****PATRIA****ES  
UNA**

A HISTORY OF MEXICAN RESISTANCE AND NONCOLLABORATION

FROM A SPEECH GIVEN APRIL 16, 1983 BY RICARDO ROMERO,  
NATIONAL COORDINATOR OF THE MEXICAN COMMISSION OF THE MLN

I would like to share a little bit of history about our people's struggle, a little history about Mexicano resistance. It seems that there's so little known about that in this country.

In 1848, we were converted from a sovereign nation and a sovereign people, which had gained its independence from Spain after 300 years of struggle, into an internal colony of the United States. Looking back and trying to understand our history, we can look at it from the perspective of the grand juries, and what has taken place with them.

In 1936, Don Juan Antonio Corretjer set the example of noncollaboration for the Puerto Rican people. And I was thinking one day, "I guess in terms of our people, we never dealt with grand juries." We never dealt with the question of repression as we see it today. Sometimes we tend to think that we are at the forefront of the struggle, that the struggle just started five years ago, 10 years, 18 years ago. It was really by chance, and really ironic that soon after, I ran across a publication that shows that in 1898 a Mexicano by the name of Romaldo Fernandez refused to testify before a grand jury investigating a clandestine organization known as "Las Gorras Blancas"---the "White Caps."

And I said to myself, "We think we're at the forefront of this struggle, we think that we are the ones who have started this whole process." But when we really understand history, when we really understand the question of colonialism and people's struggles against colonialism, we ask why have the Mexicanos come together with the Puerto Ricans? Why is it that we came together in 1977? It wasn't by mere chance. It was because we are part and parcel of two peoples who are struggling against United States colonialism. That's what brought us together in 1977.



From there, we knew that the only principled way to deal with repression in this country, with the grand juries, was through the principle of noncollaboration. It's not that we are anything so special as individuals, or that we don't have our personal lives, or that we don't have certain things that affect us. What really makes us strong is the political principle that we uphold. As Brother Jose has so eloquently pointed out, It comes down to that moment when you have spoken out, you have said all these things, you have said that we have to destroy United States imperialism because it's the worst enemy of humanity. In understanding that, there comes the time when you have to own up. And it's not that anybody is so special, it isn't that an individual is so strong, it's what you uphold. The principles and politics that guide you, and the movement that you're a part of, that's what you uphold. And in doing that, that is what makes you strong.

And it is a question of war. Some people do not want to see it. But when we talk about the question of socialist reunification, when we talk of reunifying our Mexican homeland, a lot of people don't want to listen to that. If you live in Texas, you have a vested interest in our homeland. If you live in New Mexico, or Colorado, or Arizona or Utah you have a vested interest in our homeland. So you don't want to hear about socialist reunification.

But we say to you that it's a dialectical, historical process that has to take place. For as the saying goes, "What goes around, comes around." And it's really true. It took us 300 years to defeat the Spanish. We have been under U.S. imperialist rule for 138 years. And we guarantee you that the Mexican people are not going to take 300 years to defeat United States imperialism.

You see, every day you read about the big threat. The biggest threat to the U.S. is the Mexicans. "The Mexicans are coming"--- that's basically what every editorial in every major newspaper says. Every day you read, "The Guatemalan question...the Salvadoran question...the Nicaraguan situation is going to affect the Mexican nation. And we agree with that. We know that it is so. But also, we are going to affect that situation from the occupied territories. And once you start to see that when we push for the recovery of our homeland, that means that we are talking about dismemberment of the U.S. federal state.



And that's why we have complete and unconditional support for the Republic of New Afrika, for the creation of the Republic of New Afrika, because that also falls in line with our strategy to dismember the U.S. federal system. Independence and socialism for Puerto Rico falls in line with our strategy. So that's why we come together---because we have a common enemy, we understand that we have a common enemy.

The most important thing that is happening now is the white anti-imperialist forces who are really a part of this--of our particular struggle. They support the questions that we are raising, and not just theoretically. Not just by saying, "Well, we support independence and socialism for Puerto Rico, long live Puerto Rico", or there's a demonstration and then the support ends. The role that people like Shelley Miller play (she's a member of the New Movement in Solidarity with the Puerto Rico and Mexican Revolutions who's willing to take the same principled position of noncollaboration and maintain that in front of the grand jury and the federal judge, who's willing to go to prison to support that)---that's what we call internationalism in practice.

And those are the politics, and this is the line, and this is what makes us such a threat to the United States. And this is why they have to unleash this repression against us. But if we weren't affecting them, there wouldn't be any repression against us. So we have to look at it from that perspective. If we want to struggle in a safe manner, we would raise safe issues. Independence and socialism for Puerto Rico is not a safe issue. The creation of the Republic of New Afrika is not a safe issue. The socialist reunification of Mexico, toward the creation of the Socialist Republic of Mexico, is not a safe issue. Those are real political issues that are the cutting edge that will destroy United States imperialism.



And in understanding this, we are willing to face up and own up to this challenge: that the U.S. is moving against us because we are being effective. And if we are being effective, that means our lines are correct, our politics are correct, and we will prevail.

So tonight we have to look at the question that is raised around the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. I would say to everyone in this room, and to myself, that they have been a very vivid example to me of what a revolutionary should be. I would like to, in my 46 years of age, be able to maintain the principles of Luis Rosa at 21 or 22 years of age. I think all of us should strive to be like the 11 P.O.W.'s. And that's what a revolutionary is.



We have a common political ideology we uphold within the organization. Many times it's been hard. But what we've been able to do within a five or six year period, since the development of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, is something that has never existed in this country. So we understand why they have such a great fear of us. They recognize the potential we have in coming together to struggle against them.

So we understand that all these things have happened; we have struggled since 1848. We have waged the struggle against U.S. imperialism. So we come to the present. But we should study and understand the whole question of Las Gorras Blancas. In 1898 47 Mexicans were indicted by that same grand jury that Ronaldo Fernandez refused to testify before. It was in the winter when those indictments were returned. In those years, in the winter they couldn't bring a circuit judge into Las Vegas in the mountains of northern New Mexico. By the time spring rolled around, all three witnesses for the state had been executed, and could not appear for trial. So it seems that in knowing these things, we really start to recognize how long our people have been waging war.

So in understanding this I would like to say that these are the politics that guide us. This is the path we follow. This is what gives us our principles. This is how we maintain our organizational integrity. Long Live the FALN!! Long Live the Armed Clandestine Movement!! Long Live Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico, and Long Live a Socialist and Reunified Mexico!!



Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

**Movimiento de  
Liberación Nacional (M.L.N.)  
P.O. Box 1073  
Alamosa, CO 81101**