



THE FREEDOM ARCHIVES



Symbols of Resistance Curriculum: Digitized Documents

Symbols of Resistance looks at the history of the Chican@ Movement as it emerges in the 1970s, with a focus on events in Colorado and Northern New Mexico. The curriculum will highlight the relevance of the history documented in the film to present-day struggles for justice – for immigrant rights, and against the ongoing repression of ICE raids, detention, and mass deportations. To accompany this curriculum we have digitized a number of documents from our archives that relate to organizations, topics or events mentioned in *Symbols of Resistance*.

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TOWARDS SOCIALIST REUNIFICATION



**Movimiento de Liberación Nacional
Mexicano Commission**

TOWARDS SOCIALIST REUNIFICATION

The major threat against imperialism is the rising movements of national liberation. Led by a strategy of prolonged people's war, anti-imperialist anti-colonial revolutionaries are laying the foundations for a new world order. Colonial hegemony is being challenged in Azania, Namibia, Northern Ireland, Puerto Rico, Palestine and here in Occupied Mexico (currently known as the U.S. Southwest). A major obstacle to these liberation movements is the bourgeois, settler and colonialist hegemony that has been accepted both internationally and by some of the colonized people themselves. This, our second discussion document on the Mexicano National Question, further advances our position of socialist reunifications while challenging the U.S. settler colonialist view of History.

We dedicate this discussion document as a tribute to the memory of two Mexicano revolutionaries who have influenced our organizational development. Ricardo Flores Magon, deserves our honor, respect and continued struggle, for his leadership in the 1910 revolution. Magon was the first Mexicano revolutionary to openly and actively organize Mexicans, north of the militarily-imposed border, as part of the revolution occurring in the southern 30 states. Magon was the first Mexicano revolutionary to openly and actively organize Mexicanos, north of the militarily-imposed border, as part of the revolution occurring in the southern 30 states. Magon once stated; "THERE IS NOTHING SADDER IN THE WORLD, THAN TO SEE A SATISFIED SLAVE."

The other Mexicano revolutionary was closer to us both historically and politically. Florencio "Guero" Medrano was the leader of the United Proletarian Party of the Americas in the late 1970's. He was murdered by Mexican government forces in March of 1979. "Guero" recognized the importance of the struggle of Mexicanos within the borders of the U.S. and how it is related to the struggle south of the border.



LUCHAR POR UNA PATRIA REUNIFICADA Y SOCIALISTA O MORIR POR ELLA

History does not lie. Yet it takes on a different meaning with the significance we attach to a given historical event. Particularly, in the occupied territory, many forces want our people to accept the historical fact of the treaty of guadalupe hidalgo and the fact that we live within the current boundaries of the U.S. to limit our struggle. This position stems from an acceptance of the settler colonialist view of history and negates our historical obligation. History, however, has taught us that clarity requires an analysis of the developmental process and not just an acceptance of a historical fact. An understanding of the developmental process that occurred in the occupied territory leads us to our historical obligation: the socialist reunification of Mexico.

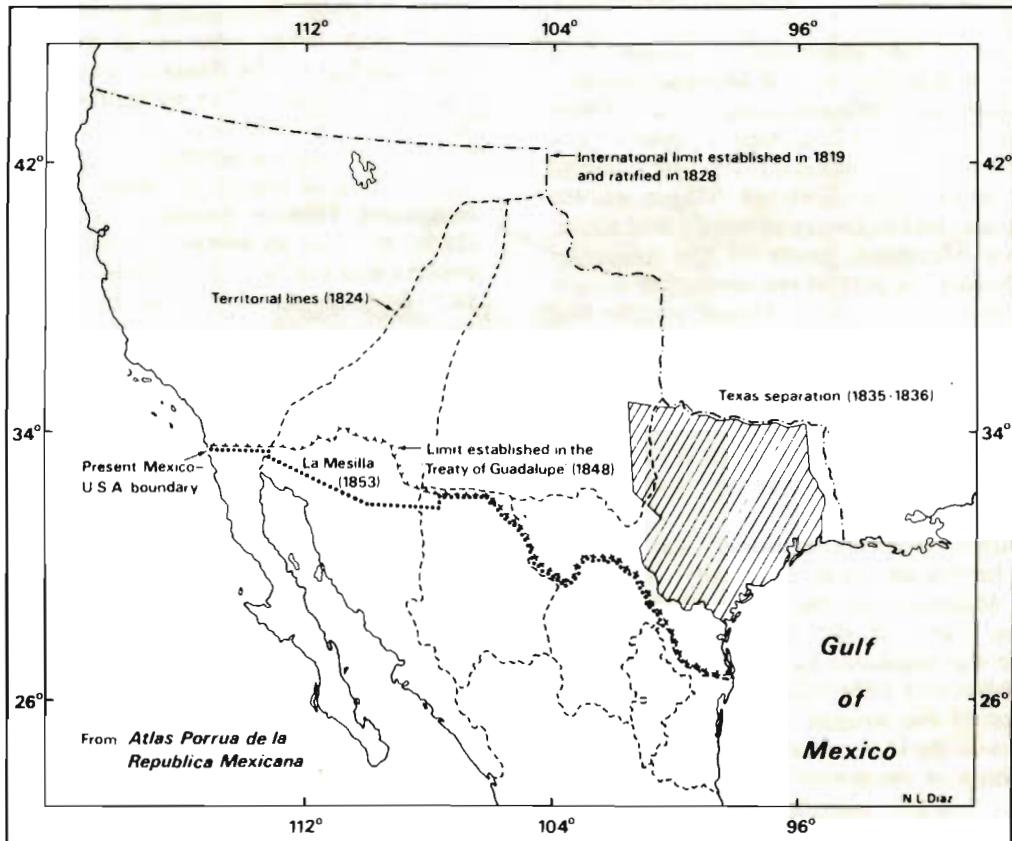
It is estimated that 20 million Mexicanos currently live in what is known as the "U.S. Southwest." Various projections state that by the year 2000, our people will constitute over 50% of the population in this geographical area. The majority of our people are denied adequate housing, education, medical care, human and democratic rights. We are constantly terrorized by the police and by the MIGRA (INS). Our people live in a colonial relationship to the U.S. federal state. However, as a result of an expansionist war, 50% of the Mexican National Territory was forcibly annexed to the U.S. federal state. It is these two facts that lay the foundation for our position of socialist reunification of Mexico.

I. NATIONAL FORMATION

In 1821, Mexico attained its independence from Spain. For the previous 300 years, Mexico then known as *Nuevo Espana*, was a colony of Spain. At this time, Mexico stretched from the northern boundaries of California into Central America. Two years after gaining independence, the Central American area separated from Mexico forming 5 different nation-states. The remaining geographical area consolidated as the Mexican nation. This developmental process was however, interrupted by U.S. military intervention of 1836 and again in 1846-48. Prior to the U.S. military intervention, despite the long distances between regional centers and Mexico City, this geographic area was recognized as the nation of Mexico. Also significant in this regard is the fact that military personnel were assigned and dispatched from Mexico City. These decisions affected "social economic rights, town lay-out, land tenure, irrigation, Indian relations, trade and military organization." As early as 1822, Mexican Independence

Day 16 de Septiembre was already celebrated in the occupied territories. After Mexican independence, men from California, Texas, *Neuvo Mexico* served in the Mexican Congress. Economic trade and development also was tied to the economy of the southern states. Economically, politically and militarily the northern territories were an integral part of the Mexican nation.

During these 300 years of colonization, a new nationality was born. From the inter-mixing of Spaniards, Indians, and African People the Mexican nationality was born. Despite regional differences between someone in Alta California, someone in *Nuevo Mexico*, someone in Texas-Coahuila and someone in Mexico City, the majority of the people were Mexicans. There were however, racial and class divisions which coincided. At the top of the social ladder was the *Espanol* followed by the *criollos*, the remaining 80% of the population was made up of the Indian and Mexican peoples.



History of the United States-Mexico Boundary



Meanwhile, on the eastern coast of what was to become the U.S., the original 13 colonies were winning their independence and consolidating as a federation. Even in 1776, when independence was won from England, the 13 colonies did not constitute a nation in the historical definition of the word. Each colony as a result of its historical development functioned independently. The first attempt at unification were the articles of confederation. This failed in favor of the stronger-worded constitution. This establishes that the U.S. from its beginnings was a "federation" of states. That is, the states voluntarily agreed at least until the U.S. Civil War, to function as a federal state. The land base of this federation continued to expand first with the Louisiana purchase in 1803, the acquisition of the Floridas in 1819 and the forced annexation of over 50% of the Mexican National Territory between 1836 and 1853.

A New "U.S." nationality was not born in the federated U.S. The white Anglo-saxon and Anglo-Celtic immigrants did not "merge" with the Native American population, the Black population nor with the Mexican population. The white immigrants, however, did merge with each other. The resulting "white settler society" has grown and prospered as a result of the near total elimination of the indigenous population, the colonial subjugation and enslavement of Black people and the colonization annexation of the Mexicano people. Native American, Black and Mexicano people have been treated as less than human beings. "White Supremacy", the ideology of the white society has helped U.S. imperialism to grow at the expense of Third World Nations and peoples.



II. U.S. INTERVENTION

Since the first U.S. settler-colonists entered Mexico, the U.S. has distorted the historical development of the Mexican nation. The first attempts in the 1820s to purchase Mexican land proved fruitless. The first U.S. ambassador to Mexico, Joel Poinsett, attempted in 1825 to buy Texas, California, Nuevo Mexico, and parts of Sonora and Coahuila. He repeated his offers in 1827 and 1829 to buy Mexican territory. Because of his continuous interference in Mexican affairs, the Mexican government requested his recall.

Because of the previous lack of colonization by Mexicanos into the Eastern area of Texas shortly

after independence in 1822, the Mexican government granted permission to Stephen F. Austin to settle that area. The settlers were required to become Mexican citizens and swear allegiance to the Mexican government. This allegiance only lasted temporarily until the Anglo settlers felt confident that their numbers could sustain a secessionist movement which culminated in 1836 with the independence of Texas. However, the Mexican government did not recognize the independence of Texas and even warned the expanding U.S. that Texas' annexation would lead to a full-scale war.

In 1845, the U.S. annexed Texas as a state, and the stage was set for the next yankee invasion of Mexico. This war of aggression lasted from 1846 to 1848. This war saw Santa Fe, Los Angeles and Mexico City occupied by the U.S. Army. As a result of these military defeats, Mexico was forced to sign the treaty of guadalupe hidalgo. This illegal treaty forced Mexico to give up one-half of its national territory. Again in 1853, with the Gadsen Purchase, Mexico lost more land to the expanding U.S.

This war of annexation was justified by the doctrine of "Manifest Destiny." This doctrine was used to explain the taking of territories that would furnish raw materials-lands for cultivation, forests, mines, as well as the necessary labor power for continued economic exploitation and

development. The United States had become aware of the vast resources of Mexico-both it's natural resources and human labor that was needed for the continued development of the United State's expanding economy. All of the land eventually stolen from Mexico has proved to be rich in natural resources, including, gold, silver, oil and water. Not to mention the rich agricultural areas of California. As well as access to the Gulf of California and the Pacific Ocean. The end of this was found between 75,000 and 116,000 Mexicanos in the occupied territory.

Despite the military conquest and the treaty of guadalupe hidalgo, Mexicanos in the occupied territory resisted the occupation. The first military governor of Nuevo Mexico was killed during a rebellion. The invading army suffered various



defeats at the hands of Mexicanos protecting their homeland. Various individuals resorted to armed struggle to defend their land from the encroachment of the Anglo invaders. Armed organizations such as las Gorras Blancas were formed to protect the Mexicano people.

The Anglo colonization of the occupied territory took different forms in direct relationship to the population of Mexicanos and the natural resources discovered in a given geographical area. California, where the Mexican population was sparse and the discovery of gold caused a large influx of Anglo immigrants, became a state in 1850. Meanwhile, Nuevo Mexico and Arizona which had large Mexican populations did not become states until 1912. This allowed for a sufficient number of Anglo settlers to arrive so as not to have two "Mexican" states admitted to the federation.

After the war of annexation, the Mexicanos, who remained in the occupied territory and those who have come afterwards, have been treated as less than human beings. We have received the same treatment at the hands of the yankee settler-colonialists, that colonized people around the world have received from the colonizer. We have lost the land that we owned before the war of annexation. We have been denied housing, education, medical care and even the most elemental democratic and human rights. The yankee settler has sought to eliminate our national language, history and even our culture. In essence, the Mexicano people living in the occupied territory are a colonized people.

Yankee interference in our national development did not end with the Gadsen purchase. During the Porfiriato, the U.S. was granted concessions to build all the northern railroads in Mexico. This exposed the mineral wealth of the interior of Mexico to exploitation by U.S. corporations. Between 1882 and 1889 between one-fifth and one-seventh of the total land surface of Mexico came under the control of U.S. companies. By the end of the Porfiriato in 1910, Mexico accounted for 2/3rds of all U.S. investments in Latin America.



Today, 2/3rds of all Mexico's imports and exports are to the U.S. Between 25 and 30% of Mexico's external debt is owed to the U.S. Thus we can see that Mexico is a dependent capitalist state.

In 1914, during the Mexican revolution, U.S. Marines occupied the port City of Vera Cruz, lasting from April to November. Again in March of 1916, U.S. federal troops invaded Mexico, this time in pursuit of Francisco Villa. These forces were removed in Feb. of 1917. During the Mexican revolution, the U.S. government kept one-quarter of its army on our border to contain the revolution.

III. TOWARDS SOCIALIST REUNIFICATION

The Mexicano people, living in the occupied territory have not become a separate and distinct nationality. We have not merged into the so-called U.S. "melting pot". A brief review of the objective conditions facing Mexicano people in the occupied territory will confirm this. It will show that we are a colonized people. Nor are we a national minority. A national minority is recognized as an "ethnic subdivision of another nation". The U.S. is a federation of captive nations or more correctly an empire. The Mexican nationality and nation were formed prior to the consolidation of the U.S. federation. Thus, we cannot be considered an "ethnic subdivision" of the U.S. To do so ignores our historical development as a people and the forced annexation of 50% of our national territory. Despite 147 years of colonialism, we have remained a Mexicano people.

Our Mexicanidad has been constantly re-enforced. There were no border stations that counted the migration of our people until 1894. The border patrol itself was not established until 1924. Previously, our people entered the occupied territory at will. The migration of our people has been continuous.

In 1847 the Mexican population of Texas has been estimated at between 4,000 and 23,200. In the next fifty years, Mexican migration accounted for 70,000 people to Texas. The population ratio in Texas became 1 resident Mexicano for 3 migrants. In 1849, the population of "Mexican residents" in California has been estimated at the low figure of 7,500 to a high figure of between 9,100 to 14,300. During this same year, Mexican migration to California is estimated at between 8,000 to 25,000.

The 1850 U.S. Census recorded 18,317 Mexican-born residents. In 1870, the U.S. recorded 5,162 Mexican migrants, yet the census for this same decade shows an increase of 26,000 Mexican-born residents. The 1900 census showed 103,410 Mexican-born residents. In Nuevo Mexico, 20,000 Mexican-born residents were recorded, this amount equals 1/2 of the total Nuevo Mexico population of 1805. During the Mexican revolution of 1910, 10% of Mexico's population of 15 million migrated to the occupied territory. In 1910, there were 162,959 persons whose parents were born in Mexico. This figure represents that at this time over one-half of the Mexican population was either a "migrant" or the offspring of migrants.

During the 1920's, more than half a million Mexican migrants came into the "occupied territory". As a result of the depression and labor organizing by Mexicanos, during the 1930's, 300,000 Mexicanos were deported. In Los Angeles alone, because of the militancy of Mexican workers, 75,000 Mexicans were deported. During the 1940's, with the Mexican and U.S. government Bracero program over 430,000 Mexican migrants came to the occupied territory. During this same time period, 800,000 Mexicanos were deported. Since the number of deportations only represents the number captured, it is safe to assume that there were many other migrants who continued to escape the dragnets of the Migra. Through the 1950's, 3 million Mexicanos became "legal" immigrants. At the same time, the government deported 3.4 million Mexicanos. This massive deportation offensive racistly called "Operation Wetback" was led by a white supremacist military general. The migration of our people has been constant even during the 1960's and 1970's, despite new programs to deport our people. This brief overview shows that the militarily-imposed border has not been able to destroy our roots as a Mexicano people.

The Mexicano people who have migrated to the "southwest" have not consciously migrated to "recapture" the occupied territory. Rather, they have come in search of work. Our people from the southern 30 states must migrate because the dependent capitalist government of the south is unable to provide sufficient employment for our people. This inability results because of the U.S. manipulation and control of the Mexican economy. Through the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (P.R.I.), the Mexican National Bourgeois in order to obtain some of the profits from the exploitation of Mexicano workers facilitates this manipulation. U.S. control over the Mexican economy has distorted our national development. Thus the current migration of Mexicanos cannot be said to be voluntary, rather it is a result of U.S. imperialist control over our homeland. Those of us who migrate must be seen as forced exiles from a dependent economic nation, as such we do not stop being part of the Mexican nation. On crossing the militarily-imposed border into the occupied territory, we do not lose our Mexicanidad.

Since 1836, the U.S. has sought to destroy and distort the Mexican nation. Today, 20 million Mexicanos in the occupied territory live in a colonial relationship to the U.S. federal state. South of the militarily-imposed border, 70 million Mexicanos live in a capitalist state dependent on the U.S. economy for its survival. The only resolution to the problem facing the Mexicano people is the socialist reunification of our homeland.



¡SOLO LA REUNIFICACION NACIONAL!

MNLM

Discussion Document on the Land Struggle



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\$ 3.00

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LAND

The critical importance of LAND to the Mexicano struggle for independence and socialist reunification has again been highlighted by Amador Flores' stand on 500 acres in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico. Along with his family and supporters, Amador Flores is bluntly telling Vista Del Brazos Real Estate Corporation from Arizona that Mexicano people are totally fed up with years of racism, land theft and exploitation.

South of the imposed border, clear understanding of land, the wealth it produces and who benefits from this wealth, is necessary to understand the misery affecting the Mexicano people today. The wealth of Mexicano land lies principally in the petroleum, food, and minerals it produces. This short article will explore how the ruling class in Mexico and the United States has profited from the spoils of the land and has left the vast majority of Mexicanos in extreme poverty with no alternative but revolution.

We begin by looking at Mexico's foreign debt - one the largest in the world - which stands today in excess of 100 billion dollars. In 1983 the interest payments alone reached 13 billion dollars a year. In 1983 total revenues from all oil revenues was estimated to be 15 billion dollars, leaving very little to finance the import of food and machinery on which the Mexican economy has become dependent.

U.S. banks profits from the situation. The IMF regulates this situation. The elite Mexican ruling class live in extravagance and build nest-eggs in the U.S., the outflow of cash reaching 100 million dollars everyday.

How did Mexico reach such a situation? Historically the Diaz regime of 1876 - 1911 initiated the entire process, leaving Mexico with huge foreign investments (90% of the U.S.), reserves of 70 million dollars and a foreign debt of 438 million dollars.

The trend is continued today by Mexican elite (government) officials who have been educated in the U.S. and who have embraced pro-imperialist economic views. For example, Sr. Silva Herzog, secretary of the treasury and author of the August, 1982 devaluation and March, 1982 Austerity program, is a Yale graduate in economics.

How does devaluation of the peso further Mexico's financial obligation to the U.S.? Defendants of devaluation claim that devaluation increases foreign trade. Let us look at an example, say tomatoes, and see the real impact on Mexico's entire situation. Let us say that there is a 50% devaluation and the price of tomatoes is cut in half in terms of U.S. dollars. The principal buyer, the U.S., can then buy twice the amount of tomatoes (provided the government ignores protests from the U.S. producers in Florida and California), and Mexico in turn then commits twice as much land, water and labor to produce twice the amount of tomatoes. In return from this increased production, Mexico is paid the exact same amount she would have received for producing half the crop before devaluation.

At the same time, Mexico has committed twice as much land to product a cash export crop (others being winter lettuce, strawberries, cotton and beef) at the expense of basic food crops needed by the Mexican people. Beginning in approximately 1970, Mexico had to import corn, beans and wheat, and there has been a steady increase in the importing of the necessary quantities. It is important to note that with the devaluation, Mexico is forced to pay twice as much for these crops.

Now, the reason why 350,000 Mexican children die from malnutrition every year can be understood. The reason can be tied directly to the Rockefeller foundation, the World Bank, and their joint promotion of increased commercialization of export agriculture in Mexico.

Again, the KEY ISSUE IN MEXICO IS LAND AND WHO CONTROLS IT. In another paper, the barriers to socialist reunification as the only possible solution to this key issue will be explored.

North of the imposed border, the land issue (and the issue of the wealth it produces) is more direct since imperialist forces have direct control of the land. We must look at the real value of the land stolen from Mexico in 1848:

TEXAS

The leading U.S. state in the production of oil and minerals - which is the main source of wealth for the state and basis for its economic growth. Petroleum, natural gas and natural gas liquids account for 95% of mineral output by value. In 1976, Texas produced 38% of total U.S. petroleum and accounted for 43% of oil reserves in the continental U.S. (excluding Alaska). Petroleum production averages one billion barrels a year. Natural gas production is 36% of the total U.S. production.

ARIZONA

The principal domestic source of U.S. copper (more than 50%). Molybdenum also of importance.

NEW MEXICO

Leading producer of potash, perlite and uranium in the U.S. contains 60% of total uranium reserves for the U.S.

CALIFORNIA

If an independent nation, California would be the fifth wealthiest country in the world.

Three aspects of Mexican people living the occupied territories are critical to the realistic prospect of socialist reunification restoring these lands to a socialist Mexico. These aspects of the Mexican people are their deep seated resentment to the racism, land theft and exploitation suffered at the hands of Anglos, their refusal

to give up their language and customs, and the great increase in their population.

In order to more completely (historically) join the Mexicano people on both sides of the border in the struggle against imperialism and the U.S., the next paper will be a calendar of important events both in Mexico and in the occupied territories.

HISTORY

NOTE: This is the second mini-paper in a series produced by M.L.M.N. to further the Socialist Reunification of Mexico. The first paper, LAND, was intended to stress the issue of land as the key issue in the struggle. Other papers will explore barriers to Socialist Reunification and Revolutionary Tradition.

KEY DATES IN MEXICAN HISTORYMayan Quiche Peoples

c 160-1442 Independent Mayan civilization followed by contact with Toltecan/Aztec culture c 1195. Strength of empire diminishes by 1442 but distinct Mayan people exist today.

Central Plateau People

c 246-1200 Toltecs; c 682-1472, non-Toltec Chichimecas
 c 1050 Aztecs (Mexico) arrive valley of Mexico
 1325 Aztecs establish Tenochtitlan, future site of Mexico City
 1376 Aztecs dominate a confederacy with Tezcocans and Tecpanecs which conquers and extracts tribute from many tribes
 1502-1520 Last Aztec ruler, Moctezuma

Spanish Colonization

1519 Cortez lands in February, conducts first massacre in October. Begins search for gold mines immediately
 1520 Tenochtitlan falls, Moctezuma murdered. Spanish occupation continues, presses south against Yucatan Mayas (1547) north to New Mexico (1602) and to San Francisco (1776). A series of Spanish viceroys oversee massive transport of wealth (silver, gold, etc.) to finance Spain whose power in Europe declines. Mexican elite class of "creoles" develops, natives work in slave/serf status on huge plantations. Conflict grows between creoles and Spaniards and sharpen as Spain wars with France in 1800.

Mexican Independence

1809 Valladolid first armed resistance to Spain
 1810 Father Hidalgo begins "El Grito de Dolores" September 16th
 1811 Hidalgo defeated and killed; Morelos, Bustamante, Santa Ana are among forces who continue fighting. Inturbide at first attacks them; by 1821 joins them.
 1821 Independence under Inturbide as Emperor of Mexico.

Post Independence Struggles

- 1823-1853 Various feudal and military elements battle each other using native armies for control of Mexico. Revolts occur in outlying provinces and among natives whose abysmal conditions unimproved by creole gains. Santa Ana in and out of power and favor. He fights in Texas in 1836, is exiled in 1844, returns in 1846, leaves in 1848, returns in 1853 to declare himself Perpetual Dictator, finally deposed in 1854.
- 1836 Texas declares independence from Mexico. Treaty signed by Santa Ana but not ratified by Mexican government.
- 1845-1848 War with U.S. after Texas declares self a state. Mexico defeated. Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo gives U.S. all land north of Rio Grande, one-half of Mexico's territory.
- 1854 Plan of Ayutla removes Santa Ana, Benito Juarez, minister of justice of new government.
- 1857 Constitution
- 1858-1860 War of Reform. Juarez wins against church/feudal interests.
- 1861 President Juarez suspends payments on all foreign debts.
- 1862-1876 War against French invaders (Maximilian) won by Juarez who dies in 1872.
- 1876-1911 "Porfiriato" Rule of Porfirio Diaz. Infusion of foreign capital, no taxes on foreigners, development of railroads and industry at cost of low mineral rights. Ends with reserve of 70 million dollars and debts of 438 million dollars. By 1900, over one-third U.S. foreign investments is in Mexico. Guggenheim and Hurst accumulate millions of dollars in mining and railroads.
- 1910 Madero runs against Diaz; forced to leave Mexico to U.S. Builds support among Villa, Orozco, Gonzales, Carranza. Zapata's movement growing in Morelos. Madero returns and wins presidency in 1911.
- 1913 Madero murdered and presidency usurped by Huerta. Some of Huerta's conspiring done in U.S. embassy but U.S. drops Huerta after deciding he favors British oil companies and will be unable to stabilize Mexico.
- 1914 July: Huerta exiled. Carranza takes power. Splits with Villa, Angeles, Maytorena. August: Villa/Zapata troops take Mexico City; hold it until July 1915. Country divided with Villa and Angeles north, Zapata south, Pelaez in Tampico. Carranza levies taxes on foreign oil producers until 1920.
- 1915 Carranza in Mexico City in July, recognized by U.S. in October.

- 1916 Carranza invites U.S. miners in, Villa combats them and raids Columbus, New Mexico in retaliation for the U.S. allowing the movement of Carranza's troops on U.S. railroads on U.S. territory to attack Villa's troops. Retaliatory invasion by U.S. General Pershing and 12,000 U.S. troops fail to catch him. U.S. continues raids into Mexico throughout Carranza's term.
- 1917 Constitution
- WW1 Mexico officially neutral but sympathetic to Germany who might buffer it from U.S. Germany hints that it will return Mexico's land from U.S. in return for support.
- 1919 Zapata and Angeles killed.
- 1920 Obregon leads groups against Carranza who is killed; Obregon becomes President. Villa retires.
- 1923 Villa killed. Obregon's precedence pacifies U.S.
- 1924 Peruvian exile in Mexico City, Haya de la Torre, founds a Latin American revolutionary organization APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) to help "export Mexican Revolution". Influence seen in Guatamala (1944-1954), Bolivia (1952-1964), Cuba (1956-1961), Argentina (1943-1955), Peru (1968-1975).
- 1924-1930 Calles' presidency has policies similar to Obregon's; revolts and land claims. He fights army of Cristeros Catholic Church and rich land owners in war from 1926-1929. Mexico is first nation in western hemisphere to recognize Soviet Union.
- 1934-1940 Cardenas' presidency conducts some labor and agrarian reform, puts workers militas in army, weakens old hacendado class, encourages modernization in industry and agri-business. Nationalizes petroleum industry in 1938. Spanish Civil War: Mexico supports Republicans against Franco. WW1: joins allies.
- 1945-1983 Is a founding state of OAS. Each six year term brings new president. Trends are to give first carrot then stick to unions and peasants, to limit any radical protest as a threat to stability for foreign investment, increasing foreign debts and problems internally partly due to world recession in 1980's. Guerrilla movements ruthlessly attacked with aid from U.S. December 1974: Lucio Cabanas killed. March 28, 1979, Medrano killed in Oaxaca. Left begins long process of organizing on a mass scale. C.D.P. (Comite de Defensa Popular) forms alliance with M.L.N.M. (Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano) in occupied territories.

Key Dates in the History of Occupied Mexico

Mexicano population in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah and Texas was established and maintained since the 1500's. The U.S. fought bloody wars against the Indians for land. The U.S. sharply escalated to genocide to conquer the territory completely. Legal attacks (Dawes Act of 1887) allowed further theft of reservation lands. Anglos then turned land thefts skills (through the courts) upon Mexicanos.

- 1821 Anglo colonization began in the occupied territories of Texas, by 1827 the Anglo population in Texas had surpassed Mexican population.
- 1823 The U.S. issues the Monroe Doctrine indicating that the Americas were no longer open for colonization by any power other than the U.S.
- 1825 U.S. president John Q. Adams offered to buy Texas from Mexico for the sum of one-million dollars. Since the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, the U.S. had plans to incorporate the Mexican Republic into the U.S. state, under the ideology of Manifest Destiny.
- 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo establishes Rio Grande as border, "guarantees" civil and property rights of Mexicanos. In practice, armed terrorists like the Texas Rangers and other robbers, in and out of court, steal land and oppress Mexicanos.
- 1853 Gadsen Purchase, Santa Ana sells part of Sonora (southern New Mexico and southern Arizona) after it has been infiltrated by U.S. colonialization and prospectors.
- 1859 Cortina in Texas leads revolt against Anglos. Many other Mexicanos used armed as well as legal attempts to protect themselves. They meet brutal suppression.
- 1910 Plan of San Diego. Ricardo Flores Magon prints *Regeneración* defending Mexicanos of Occupied Territories and criticizing Diaz, sets up unions of 1922. U.S. immigration policies vacillate with need for cheap labor from Mexico. Violence and racism used to control migratory labor and keep division between Mexicanos from different sides of imposed border by economic pressures, strikebreaking, etc.
- WWII Many Mexicanos from Occupied Territories fight in as those against "zoot suiters" in L.A.
- 1950 Immigration authorities begin selective deportations of activists.
- 1965 Tijerina forms Alianza in N.M. Later abandons land struggle.
- 1965 National Farm Workers Association forms under Cesar Chavez. Chavez supports U.S./Mexico border's existence, criticizes Mexican workers coming into the U.S. Appeals to white middle class through boycotts, turns to AFL-CIO for support.

1965 Crusade for Justice founded in Denver, Colorado.

1968 The establishment of U.M.A.S., United Mexican American Student organizations throughout the Occupied Territories (also M.E.C.H.A.).

1968 Republic of New Afrika founded. Supports Socialist Reunification of Mexico and Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico after M.L.N. (Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional) forms in 1977.

1972 Ricardo Falcon killed in Orogrande, New Mexico en route to the National La Raza Unida convention.

1974 Los Seis de Boulder killed in 2 separate car explosions.

1976 Ricardo Romero, Pedro Archuleta, Maria Cueto imprisoned for refusal to testify before a grand jury

1977 Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional formed. Demands socialist reunification of Mexico, independence and socialism for Puerto Rico, supports Republic of New Afrika and establishes relations with C.D.P. in Mexico.

1978 M.L.N.M. National Activity, Boulder, Colorado. National day of recognition commemorating fallen martyrs of Mexican struggle.

1980 Juarez, Mexico. National day of solidarity with the Mexican struggle.

1984 Second incarceration of the national leadership of the M.L.N.M.

1988 Tierra Amarilla land-occupation.

REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AND OBSTACLES TO SOCIALIST REUNIFICATION OF MEXICO

NOTE: This is the third mini-paper in a series produced by the M.L.M.N. The first, LAND, stressed the importance of LAND liberation. The second dealt with historical dates important to Mexicanos on both sides of the imposed border. This paper will present some analysis which draws from the first two papers and certain aspects of the national character of the Mexicano people: their awareness of themselves through their language, customs and history as a people who will resist colonial and imperialist domination.

A popular poem in Vietnam during the war dealt with a common Asian theme; reincarnation: "If you would be a stone, then be the most precious and beautiful gem. If you would be a bird, then by all means be the white dove. But if you would be a human, then you must be a revolutionary."

The poem reflects the degree of revolutionary commitment of the Vietnamese people, the result of decades of armed resistance to foreign imperialist domination of this developing ("Third World") agricultural nation.

Mexico's situation is vastly different from Vietnam in many key aspects, the most important of which are:

1. Proximity to the U.S. This exposes Mexico more to direct intervention on all levels; militarily, economically, and politically.
2. Armed resistance. This history of armed resistance in Mexico to foreign intervention has been periodic, not continuous as in Vietnam. The importance of history of armed resistance in Mexico is the CONSISTENCY of these periods - against Spain, then France, followed by the U.S. invasion and takeover of the northern territories, the Mexican revolution of 1910 and the guerrilla movement from 1965 to 1978.

Mexico is similar to Vietnam in two general areas:

1. Mexico remains a predominantly agrarian-based peasant economy whose character has been altered by government policies in response to U.S. economic policies. The most important shift has been to cash agricultural crops at the expense of basic food crops. Other "land redistribution" policies have left millions of Mexicanos on marginal lands (this will be explored in depth), forcing them to the cities in massive numbers recently. Mexicanos' ties to the land, however, remain strong and will be a major force in socialist revolution.
2. Mexico is being manipulated and threatened by a major imperialist power. The majority of Mexicanos harbor deep resentment and outright hatred towards the U.S., pinpointing a clear enemy.

The factors contributing to a national consciousness, mainly the common language, Spanish, and the cultural identity, combined with Mexico's revolutionary tradition, the increasing recognition of U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of the Mexican **people** and the key issue of reclaiming the lands of the **Occupied Territories** and redistributing the lands south of the imposed **border**, to create a powerful threat to the very existence of the U.S.

It is at this point that the actions of the U.S. government/ruling class becomes important in actually determining the timetable for social unrest and the resulting increase in revolutionary activity. Mexico is at the point where "democratic" options do not exist any more. U.S. imperialism and the Mexican elite have bled Mexico dry of minerals, destroyed its subsistence crop structure and proven to her people that basic services and needs cannot be provided under the current system.

Both the Mexican elite and the U.S. government recognize this situation. The Mexican elite gives proof by running while the running's good - to the U.S. The U.S. government/ruling class recognizes the general instability in Mexico by efforts such as English-Only, discussion of withdrawing troops from Asia and Europe to militarize the imposed border (which would have been absolutely unheard of as little as 10 years ago), and a serious look at options which would justify direct military intervention throughout all of Latin America, from the imposed border all the way down to the southern tip of Argentina and Cape Horn.

We must not turn our attention to a further analysis of the land situation in Mexico. Beginning in the mid-1800's, most of the land in Mexico was either privately owned or owned by the Church. Indigenous peoples had lost most of their traditional, communal lands (ejidos) due to population decimation by the conquest and the 1856 decree by the Mexican government requiring all villages to distribute ejidos among family heads. This gave the great estates tremendous leverage to obtain the distributed lands and by 1870, many ejido lands were in hands of estate owners. The Mexican government continued policies enriching the large haciendas. Benito Juarez, himself a full-blooded Zapotec, in 1863 sold 5 million acres of "vacant lands" for cash to help finance the war with France. "Vacant lands", however, meant the millions of acres belonging to Indian villages on which legal title had never been established.

Porfirio Diaz accelerated the theft of "vacant lands". In 1863, he passed legislation to implement a survey of national "unoccupied" lands, or lands which simply hadn't been surveyed. As payment to the surveyors, one-third of the land surveyed was offered. In the major population centers such as the states of Mexico and **Morelos** (Zapata's home), the great plantation owners simply took, **by force**, both the peasant's land and the peasants themselves through **debt peonage**.

In this climate, the Revolution (which **ended** with over one million Mexicanos dead) began in 1910. Every Revolutionary leader, including Madero, Carranza, Villa, Obregon, and Zapata appealed to the landless and enslaved native and Mestizo people to fight to restore their lands and bread up the haciendas. Zapata, in particular, led his mainly Indian army in repossessing the land in

Morelos and caused the most damage to the landowning class. In a manifesto to the Mexican people in 1914, Zapata declared: "Revolutionaries should fight to redeem the indigenous race, giving it back to it's lands and by that it's liberty."

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The revolution lasted 10 years and dealt a severe blow to the brutal hacienda system. However, only a small part of the demands of the revolutionaries was ever reflected in the constitution of 1917. Article 27, for example, called for all ejido lands taken from the Indians during and since the days of Diaz **be returned**, and any additional lands needed by the villages was to be **provided** by private properties and haciendas.

Under Carranza, from 1917 to 1920, Article 27 was largely ignored. Less than half a million acres were redistributed among the peasantry, affecting only 48,000 people, many of which received no seeds or tools and were forced to work again on plantations. Carranza's successor, Obregon, did little more to implement Article 27. Calles, who followed Obregon, applied Article 27 more energetically, as did Cardenas, who also passed Agrarian Code of 1934 which accelerated in redistribution. As a result, by 1964, about 133 million acres had been granted to about 24 million people, roughly 1/3 of the land mass in Mexico had been transferred from the Latifundistas and placed in the hands of individuals or groups of peasants. However, large tracts of land still remain in the hands of one person. More important, these tracts of land still owned by haciendas are the choice pieces of land with most of the water rights, the communal lands which were "returned" being of very marginal quality. All too often, the tracts of land given to families could not even support those who now "owned" them today, the indigenous people in Mexico form the poorest sector in Mexico with illiteracy, infant mortality and malnutrition even higher than the rest of Mexico.

In regards to these indigenous people of Mexico, descendants of the Maya and Aztec, the Taramuharas, Zapotec, Yaqui, (50 different language groups) the only correct revolutionary position would be: **Formation of an Anti-Imperialist Front for Mexican National Liberation.**

North of the imposed border, the M.L.N.M. has consistently supported the rights of Native-Americans for sovereignty over their own nations. The Navajo, Hopi, Papago, Apache, Hualapai, and the Pueblo nations in the Occupied Territories have nothing to fear in the Reunified Socialist Mexico, but it is critical that they recognize and support the equally valid National Liberation Struggles of the Mexicano, Black (New Africa) and Puerto Rican nations as well. Only when such recognition is given and acted upon can a truly unified antiimperialist front exist in the Occupied Territories.

REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS & OBSTACLES TO SOCIALIST REUNIFICATION

Mexico's history has been propelled by great revolutions. However, to date, none of them have made Mexico truly independent and prosperous for two reasons:

1. The powerful enemies they faced.
2. A failure to grasp either the class or national aspect of the struggle.

Father Hidalgo succeeded in unifying Mestizo and Native people, but failed to destroy the feudal structure of Mexico, leading to the military-feudal dictatorship of Santa Ana. Santa Ana, a strong nationalist, also represented the feudal class that was so repressive towards the mestizo and native people that were not able to mobilize against the United States.

Benito Juarez was the opposite of Santa Ana. He was a progressive who fought against the church and the feudal lords. He was Zapotec who learned Spanish as a youth. He aroused the masses to fight a valiant war against French imperialism, but he never understood the true nature of U.S. imperialism and attempted to maintain friendly relations with the U.S. Even though he ruled Mexico only one generation after the U.S. stole half its territory, he made no attempts to regain it. He took a stand towards Native people in Mexico that they should be assimilated and as a result lost their support. His friendship with the U.S. eventually led to the dark years of the Diaz dictatorship. Basically Diaz turned Mexico over completely to the U.S. and the big land owners.

Emiliano Zapata was a great peasant leader in southern Mexico who organized the landless peasants to fight the feudal landlords. Zapata's downfall was his failure to recognize U.S. imperialism as the main enemy. He accepted the leadership of the liberal Madero who had based himself in Texas with U.S. permission. Eventually, it was the support of U.S. imperialism along with English and French imperialism that allowed the landowners to defeat the Revolution and kill both Zapata and Villa.

The Plan de San Diego, issued in 1910, called for both the taking back of land stolen from Mexico by the U.S. and the creation of an independent black republic in the southeast U.S. along with sovereignty of Native American nations.

The guerrilla movements in Mexico from 1965 to 1978 organized large peasant groups in Mexico, recognized that U.S. imperialism was a major enemy and, in one notable case, Florencio "Guero" Medrano called for the return of lands stolen from Mexico by the U.S. However, a combination of military forces from the pro-imperialist Mexican government and the U.S. along with a lack of support and understanding from the rest of the Mexican population on both sides of the border (except for the radical Mexican student movement which was destroyed at Tlatelolco in 1968) led to its defeat.

In the Occupied Territories, the imposed border remains a material fact. Settler colonialism, racism, cultural imperialism and identification with U.S. imperialism combine to **weaken** a Mexican national consciousness. Relatively higher **wages lead** some to see people from southern Mexico as competition **and a threat** to their living standards. Cesar Chavez exemplified **these attitudes** and called for stronger immigration restrictions to **reduce** "illegal" immigrants so as to not threaten his union. He **failed** to recognize that the struggle could not be limited to getting a few more cents an hour for working the land, but that the struggle had to be for the land itself.

The concept of an independent Aztlan which surfaced in the '70's combined a desire to fight the oppressor of Mexicanos in the Occupied Territories with the recognition that a lower standard of living existed south of the imposed border and a desire to hold on to the "benefits" of living in an imperialist power. However, as U.S. imperialism suffers inevitable defeats as its power and influence diminish (whether from competition from other imperialist powers - Japan and Western Europe - or as a result of National Liberation struggles arising throughout Latin America), Mexicanos in the Occupied Territories will suffer loss of middle-class and high-wage jobs, reductions in welfare, food stamps and sub-minimum jobs. In addition, growing racism among Anglos in the Occupied Territories will serve to further sever ties that may exist among Mexicanos toward U.S. Imperialism. Gradually, material differences that separate Mexico will be eliminated and what will remain will be a stronger cultural and historic unity.

At the present time, there is a growing fear within the ruling class of the U.S. of the growing Mexican threat to the economic stability and national security of the U.S. It is particularly interesting to note the growing paranoia that the only feasible method to deal with Mexico is to militarize the imposed border. Whatever course U.S. imperialism takes, it will be too little too late. There is growing sentiment in Mexico to protect her invaluable remaining resources. In 1978, the National Front for the Protection of National Resources, a coalition of 20 different Mexican organizations, was formed to oppose Mexico's subservience to the U.S. All left-wing parties in Mexico have declared their opposition to the sale of oil and gas to the U.S. A member of the Chamber of Deputies has proposed that government policy should be "not to sell crude, rather use it in our own country." At the same time, Mexican papers printed a U.S. document dated June 26, 1982, in which U.S. officials were quoted (regarding the Mexican financial crisis) "....that perhaps the crisis will lead Mexico to sell more oil and gas to us at better prices, ease restriction on **foreign investments**, be less adventuresome in their foreign policy and **less critical** of ours."

The Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano (M.L.N.M.) has taken three critical steps to the eventual defeat of U.S. imperialism. It has called for:

1. Socialist reunification of Mexico, reclaiming the lands stolen from Mexico.

2. Recognition of the sovereign rights of Native-American along with the Republic of New Afrika and an independent and socialist Puerto Rico.
3. Establishment of working relations with **the most** progressive political organizations south of the **imposed border**.

Further work on consolidating the great and costly lessons from Mexico's revolutionary tradition continues at this very moment. The coming Mexican revolution will truly change the entire world.

Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Comision Mexicana

DOCUMENTO DE DISCUSION #1

SOBRE LA CUESTION
NACIONAL MEXICANA



Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

PREFACIO

El Movimiento de Liberación Nacional fundado en 1977 es una organización nacional anti-imperialista compuesta de revolucionarios ChicanoMexicanos y Puertorriqueños. Nuestra organización representa la unidad que se está desarrollando entre los pueblos de habla-hispana más grandes dentro de la federación yanqui. Anteriormente nuestras luchas existían aisladas la una de la otra, sin embargo ahora reconocemos lo común de nuestra lucha y nuestra opresión. Nuestros pueblos han sufrido la misma opresión colonial en territorio yanqui desde la intervención militar en nuestras patrias.

INTRODUCCION

Con la conquista Española del nuevo mundo en el siglo 15, el pueblo Mexicano ha luchado contra injusticias y colonización. Nuestro pueblo luchó contra España por 300 años hasta lograr la independencia en 1821. La nación Mexicana estaba geográficamente constituida desde los estados de Chiapas, Yucatan etc. hasta el territorio ocupado Mexicano, Texas, California, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Colorado y Nuevo Mexico. Durante esta epoca, nuestro pueblo tenía un vecino lejano, los Estados Unidos que representaba un poder capitalista ascendiente cuya naturaleza imperial fue y es expansión a traves de guerras de pilaje.

Desde la administración de Thomas Jefferson, los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica codiciaba la tierra y los recursos del pueblo Mexicano. La dinámica capitalista necesitaba acceso al Oceano Pacifico, recursos, tierra, labor y mercados. Por medio de la expansión beligerante del capitalismo estas necesidades se cumplieron al costo del pueblo Mexicano.

En 1823 con la Doctrina Monroe y por medio del concepto arrogante ideológico religioso chauvinista anglo-sajón -- "Manifest Destiny" -- mezclada con la religión Calvinista que aparentaba ser democrática se creó un ambiente nacionalista para ejecutar los diseños de la clase dominante. En 1825, Joel Poinsett, primer embajador de los Estados Unidos a México fue enviado para negociar la compra del territorio norteno de México, una región que constituye los estados de Arizona, California, Nuevo Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, y partes de Coahuila y Sonora. Aunque Poinsett tuvo gran influencia entre federalistas y republicanos Mexicanos tales como Lorenzo de Zavala, Valentin Gomez Farias, Nicolas Bravo y Guadalupe Victoria (Presidente Mexicano desde 1824-1829 durante la presencia de Poinsett) y otros Masones supuestamente progresistas, México negó vender parte de la patria. Este rechazo puso en marcha las fuerzas que formalizaron por el poder ejecutivo de la presidencia, la injusta guerra de anexión.

En 1844, el sector financiero expansionista, especuladores de tierra, inversionistas en el tráfico de esclavos y los intereses del comercio internacional, organizaron una campaña política para la elección de Polk, cuya plataforma estaba basada en el abastecimiento de los intereses anexionistas y expansionistas. Con la ascendencia de Polk a la presidencia, la superestructura del capitalismo estaba en posición para anexar la mitad nortena de la nación Mexicana. En 1846, Polk declaró guerra contra México. La tierra de Patrick Henry y Thomas Jefferson, bajo el pretexto de una constitución que hasta la fecha pretende determinar los destinos de otros pueblos se distingue

por las atrocidades lanzadas contra el pueblo Mexicano. Así empezó la etapa histórica de una segunda colonización que ha durado 135 años para los Mexicanos en el territorio ocupado militarmente.

A través de un periodo de 80 años de lucha interna, de coup y contra coup, subvertida internamente, al capricho de la iglesia colonial y terratenientes feudales, Mexico era una nación débil y fue sucumbida por la industria y armas superiores del capitalismo ascendiente. La batalla de Churubusco, el Castillo de Chapultepec con los niños heroes igual que la actividad militar en la retaguardia contra las líneas de abastecimiento en el territorio ocupado quedan como muestra histórica de nuestra resistencia a la agresión.

Una de las victorias más sobresalientes fue la derrota del General Steven Watts Kearny, quien tomó militarmente a Nuevo Mexico. El pueblo Mexicano bajo el mando de Andres Pico vencio al ejercito Norteamericano en la batalla de San Pascual, California. Las hostilidades siguieron despues de 1849. Despues del Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, en el este de Texas, el pueblo se levantó en lo que hoy se conoce como la rebelion de Cordova. La guerra de guerrillas en el sur de Texas bajo el liderato de Juan Cortinas fue derrotada a través del genocidio contra la población; igual ocurrió con la guerrilla de Aniceto Pizana bajo el Plan de San Diego en la misma región antes de la primera guerra mundial. Al inicio de este siglo nuestra resistencia a la opresión tomó la forma de lucha de clases. Las huelgas obreras de Cananea y Rio Blanco incendiaron la Revolución Mexicana de 1910. Mexicanos en el territorio ocupado hicieron trabajo político abierto y organizaron apoyo al ejercito del pueblo. Contingentes de voluntarios del territorio ocupado participaron en las primeras batallas contra la dictadura de Porfirio E. Diaz. Hoy como ayer la fuerza motriz de cualquier proceso revolucionario real es el control absoluto de la tierra.

LA CUESTION DE LA TIERRA

El territorio robado a Mexico como resultado de la invasión norteamericana contiene imensos recursos naturales igual que aceso a los Oceanos Pacifico y Atlantico. En terminos geograficos, el territorio es enorme y constituye más de 945,000 millas quadradas, que suma la mitad de territorio nacional Mexicano.

El Tratado de Cordova confirmó a Mexico independiente como reinado leal del rey Español en el 24 de Agosto de 1821. Agustin de Inturbide firmó la ley de colonización. Esta ley otorgó mercedes de tierra. Una era para promovedores conocidos como "empresarios" quienes bajo contrato con el gobierno podian colocar hasta 200 familias en un lugar determinado. La otra era para permitir individuos poseer mercedes de tierra autorizados por concilios de pueblos conocidos como "ayuntamientos". Esta ley fue dirigida a las provincias norteñas de Mexico, o lo que se conoce como el suroeste de los Estados Unidos.

Cuando los liberales Mexicanos tomaron el poder por medio de un golpe militar, desarrollaron un gobierno de forma republicano y federal, bajo los consejos de Poinsett, y lo llamaron los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Guadalupe Victoria, el segundo presidente liberal despues de Nicolas Bravo, tomó el poder el 3 de Marzo de 1824 y

permaneció hasta 1829. Victoria modificó la ley de colonización el 19 de Agosto de 1825. Ahora autorizaba la distribución de tierra a inmigrantes extranjeros. Los liberales (conocidos en ese tiempo como el Partido Americano) también abolieron la esclavitud y propusieron una política de fronteras abiertas para negocio y comercio con otros países. Hoy podemos caracterizar el honorable Joel Robert Poinsett como el antecesor original de actividad encubierta de la CIA en América Latina.

Después de la independencia más mercedes fueron otorgadas que durante el período Español. En Nuevo México y el sur de Colorado, los siguientes sirven de ejemplos:

Merced	Acre	Año
Beaubien y Miranda	1,714,764	1841
Montañas Sangre de Cristo	1,038,195	1843
Mora	827,889	1835
Tierra Amarilla	525,515	1832
Las Vegas	431,663	1836
Baca Locación I y II	189,522	1835
Mina Ortiz	69,458	1833
Chilili	41,481	1841
Pablo Montoya	65,465	1824

Después de la anexión de 1848 la lucha por las mercedes se intensificó como resultado de la usurpación de los pobladores blancos. El despojo forzado del pueblo Mexicano se llevó a cabo por medio de una legalidad postiza y por la fuerza feroz. Varias regiones conteniendo recursos vitales fueron nacionalizadas por el gobierno Estadounidense. Se les negó al pueblo Mexicano acceso a estos recursos, forzándolos que se aislaran en las montañas o a emigrar a las ciudades en busca de una manera de sobrevivir.

Desde 1848 con la imposición del injusto Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, se le ha negado al pueblo Mexicano acceso a sus recursos, libertades de movimiento, protección bajo la ley, retención de sus tierras, y el derecho a la auto-determinación en el territorio ocupado al norte del Río Grande. Desde la imposición de la frontera cuyo propósito es dividir México de los Mexicanos dentro del territorio ocupado, nuestra gente ha trabajado juntos, continuando sus emigraciones, cantando las mismas canciones, bailando a la misma música, leyendo los mismos poemas, y compartiendo la misma represión en la forma de despojo, explotación, racismo, etc...bajo la sutil protección de garantías constitucionales, bajo la máscara de ciudadanía, a nuestro pueblo se le ha engañado y convertido en esclavos asalariados.

Pretender que tratados inustos como el Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo son dignos de reconocimiento no será tarea que surgirá en el futuro. Tales tratados cuyos artículos nunca tuvieron la intención de implementar, solo merecen reconocimiento como marcos históricos de la injusticia e infamia. Ningún país tiene el derecho de colonizar a otro pueblo. Desde una perspectiva norte/sur y sur/norte, no reconocemos la frontera que divide nuestra patria. El estado Norteamericano no es una nación debidamente integrada. Es un sistema federalista que garantiza que un elite aristocratizado tenga el poder único y le extiende privilegios a su clase trabajadora blanca.

COLONIALISMO

Después de 1836, el pueblo Mexicano ha sido víctima de múltiples injusticias y crímenes a mano de los Estados Unidos. Paralelo a la gradual usurpación por los pobladores blancos, y el despojo y la legalidad falsa iniciadas con el colonialismo, fueron los métodos de destrucción psicológicos cuyos objetivos fueron desarraigar un pueblo de su pasado para así destruir su cultura, psicología común y su historia. Con la colonización, los yanquis esperaban hacernos reflexión de nuestro enemigo. El esfuerzo de robar nuestra identidad tenía como base el deseo de hacernos más yanquis que los yanquis, para consolidar su posteridad la malograda fruta de la injusticia. La destrucción de nuestra orientación y vitalidad como pueblo es parte del proceso para implantar la "mentalidad colonizada", por medio del terror, racismo y denigración. La discriminación y rechazo de nuestra gente del sur resultó de los atentados contra nuestra consciencia nacional como un pueblo mexicano, cuyos atentados continúan constituyendo una amenaza de genocidio psicológico y físico. Los oprimidos internalizaron las actitudes racistas penetrantes en la sociedad, se reconoció la frontera y empezamos a decir que éramos Americanos, Español-Americanos, Hispanos, Chicanos, Latinoamericanos, Mexico-Americanos, pero no Mexicanos. En la opinión de muchos, un Chicano es aquel que es descendiente de los habitantes en el territorio ocupado después de la invasión norteamericana o todos aquellos que nacieron en los Estados Unidos después de 1848. Esta distinción se continúa aplicándose contra los inmigrantes de hoy, como si la migración no había existido antes de 1836. Algunos creen que los colonizadores en el territorio norteño antes de la independencia fueron todos Españoles cuando en realidad había grandes contingentes de Otomíes, Tlaxcaltecas y Mestizos. Historicamente al independizarse la nación se constituía hasta sus límites más extremos y en los poblados donde se hablaba el lenguaje. Chicano constituye una distinción basada en legalidad, la legalidad del estado capitalista, de fronteras y regiones y ciudadanía.

Reconocemos lo que parece ser una contradicción en términos. Pero que se malinterpreta porque todavía se usa. Aunque se había usado el término en el pasado, no fue hasta los 1960's cuando empezamos a usar el término Chicano como símbolo de nuestra resistencia. Era una época de represión en contra de nuestro pueblo. Reconocemos que estábamos bajo ataque por el estado en sus esfuerzos de genocidio físico y psicológico. Sugieron movimientos simultáneos de resistencia; decidimos luchar por "nuestros derechos" -- nuestros derechos civiles. Esta historia claramente fue un paso adelante en nuestra lucha. Pero esto no ofreció una alternativa, el término Chicano se hizo popular y así sigue, pero los movimientos se han estancado y siguen reformistas por falta de un contenido ideológico. Entendiendo nuestro desarrollo político en el pasado y con una vista hacia el futuro, nos llamamos ChicanoMexicano. Hoy con un entendimiento más profundo de nuestra verdadera historia como una nación militarmente intervenida, con la resultante colonia interna ChicanaMexicana en el territorio ocupado y el estado dependiente capitalista al sur, luchamos como Mexicanos hacia la reunificación socialista de la patria, México.

La tendencia de asimilación hacia la corriente de esta sociedad ha sido parte de la dinámica capitalista con su resultante estratificación de clases y división de labor. Esta misma dinámica es incapaz de ceder auto-determinación, derechos humanos y democra-

ticos e igualdad porque incorpora la opresión nacional y explotación en sus esfuerzos de adquirir ganancias máximas y mantener división entre los pueblos oprimidos Tercermundistas dentro del estado capitalista norteamericano.

Historicamente, el pueblo Mexicano ha tenido que contener con los peligros del racismo que se utiliza por los explotadores. Sectores amplios de la población Norteamericana han sido imbuidos con racismo. Racismo crudo se ha usado tradicionalmente en los Estados Unidos para frustrar avances de los pueblos Tercermundistas. Racismo se usa para justificar las injusticias cometidas contra los pueblos Tercermundistas dentro de los Estados Unidos. El pueblo Mexicano igual que el Negro ha sufrido linchamientos, muertes quemados en la pira, ejecuciones arbitrarias y toda clase de genocidio a mano de los racistas. Las mismas condiciones que afectan a la gente Negra en el sur son enfrentadas por Mexicanos en el territorio ocupado.

Tenemos similitudes de lucha con otros pueblos oprimidos, similitudes basadas en una opresión común y explotación en el centro los Estados Unidos y en la periferia Tercermundista. Basandonos en este factor estratégico y con el conocimiento explícito que el imperialismo no tiene lealtad a naciones estados singulares sino a una clase explotadora transnacional. Aceptamos como nuestras las aspiraciones y luchas, las derrotas y victorias, los avances y atrasos de las fuerzas progresistas del mundo. Empezando con nuestra situación en los Estados Unidos nos solidarizamos con todas las luchas anti-coloniales internas que se pliegan sobre una base subjetiva, estas son: la lucha por la independencia y socialismo para Puerto Rico, la lucha para la independencia de la nación Negra, la lucha por la reunificación del pueblo Mexicano, y la soberanía de los Americanos Nativos.

Después de que el capitalismo Estadunidense había realizado un salto adicional en su desarrollo económico y militar, basándose en la colonización del pueblo Mexicano, consolidó su experiencia y base social nacional. El proceso imperialista se extendió a otros países que sabía del feudalismo en el hemisferio occidental y al Pacífico, a Puerto Rico y el Caribe, Centro y Sur América, las Filipinas, Guam y Hawaii. La Doctrina Monroe fue presentada ante el mundo para hacerles llegar el mensaje de un capitalismo imperial ascendiente. La ideología imperial de la doctrina de "Hablar suave y cargar un garrote" es el antecedente de la Doctrina Reagan-Nixon para nuestra gente en el Caribe y Sur América.

LIMITACIONES DE LA DEMOCRACIA BURGUESA

Hoy encontramos la situación soportada por el pueblo Mexicano en los Estados Unidos caracterizado por el analfabetismo funcional, enfermedades físicas y sociales, represión en formas abiertas físicas, negación de derechos laborales y un creciente lumpenización del proletariado en todos los centros industriales de los Estados Unidos. Acceso a educación secundaria, servicios médicos adecuados, empleo, libertad de asamblea y expresión, viviendas, transportación adecuada, etc., cada vez son más limitadas y inaccesible para el pueblo Mexicano y otros pueblos cautivos dentro del Estado Norteamericano.

El pueblo Mexicano en los Estados Unidos, igual que los Puertorriqueños, Negros y pueblos indígenas, no pueden desarrollar su orientación social y cultural libremente. La formación de la vida social y cultural en las Americas es determinada por las leyes de explotación, por los sistemas de producción y desarrollo, o por la opresión de culturas y razas. Cualquier cambio parcial o reformista no puede eliminar las contradicciones que hacen a nuestro pueblo una masa subyugada. La historia ha probado que el capitalismo no puede resolver este problema, por su propia dinámica de dominación clasista lo lleva a incorporar la opresión nacional a su sistema de opresión. La liberación total y real de los pueblos y clases oprimidas es imposible dentro de la esquema de una sociedad dividida entre clases, de explotadores y explotados.

LA LUCHA DE CLASES Y EL RACISMO

Hoy la represión contra los pueblos Tercermundistas en los Estados Unidos está aumentando. Los fracasos internacionales económicos, políticos y militares de la política imperialista diseñada por la Comisión Trilateral desenmascara la contradicción y sus objetivos hegemónicos. Con la creciente independencia de países Tercermundistas de la dominación imperialista por medio de revoluciones armadas y con la creciente competencia entre los centros trilaterales del mundo, uno esperaría que la creciente crisis general aceleraría inquietud y la enajenación en contra la plutocracia monopolista que determina la política imperialista de los Estados Unidos.

Tal inquietud y desconfianza está creciendo, pero ha tomado una dirección extremadamente no-revolucionaria y reaccionaria. Nos estamos refiriendo a las masas de obreros blancos. El turno reaccionario hacia la derecha de la clase obrera blanca es muy bien documentada. Al momento no existe un sindicato que esta enteresado en destruir la clase dominante que es responsable por la super-explotación de la clase obrera. Al contrario, los sindicatos regresan al racismo para eliminar a obreros Tercermundistas en excesos en los Estados Unidos para proteger los privilegios de su miembrecia. El sistema judicial resinde decisiones cuyo propósito era reparar siglos de injusticias racistas y deshumanizantes a pueblos Tercermundistas en los Estados Unidos. Grupos de la derecha como los Minutemen y el Ku Klux Klan gozan de una popularidad creciente. Estas contradicciones en la clase obrera Blanca nacen de su racismo y su posición privilegiada como clase, con intereses creadas en la sobrevivencia del capitalismo. Para que la clase obrera Blanca cumpla su papel revolucionario, tiene que resolver estas contradicciones fundamentales en su consciencia de clase. La clase obrera Chicana-Mexicana no comparte ninguna de los privilegios que goza la clase obrera Blanca. Mejor dicho con la clase obrera Puertorriqueña y Negra comparte las mismas condiciones impuesta por un sistema sofisticado de colonización inspirada por el racismo, bajos niveles de educación, ingresos y promedio de vida mientras tenemos los más altos niveles de crimen, alcoholismo, adicción de drogas y suicidios.

Comunidades Tercermundistas en los Estados Unidos tienen una historia de resistencia armada contra la manipulación y dominio de la clase imperante, mientras la clase obrera Blanca responde con un

fervor patriótico a la crisis imperialista tales como el escenario de los rehenes de Iran. El papel que juega el privilegio y el racismo en la política colonial, imperialista y neo-colonial estadounidense se tiene que entender por la clase obrera blanca para permitirle que participe en la revolución contra el imperialismo yanqui. Los esfuerzos coloniales para destruir el lenguaje, cultura, lazos económicos y sociales, conciencia y desarrollo nacional nos llevan a un entendimiento claro del racismo y colonialismo.

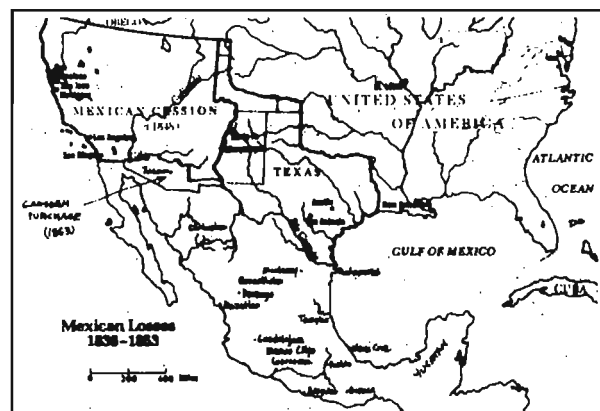
UN MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL

Vivimos en una época de decadencia del imperialismo y de un crecimiento de movimientos de liberación nacional, cuales son el filo contra el imperialismo.

Muchos proclamados marxistas creen que un movimiento de liberación nacional en los Estados Unidos está fuera de contexto, pero esto es un concepto legalista de la realidad de hoy, lo mismo que es aplicación de la ciudadanía a un Mexicano. La aplicación del Marxismo clásico sigue en marcha en los Estados Unidos sin tomar en cuenta el desarrollo del imperialismo. Hay una propensión tremenda de luchar dentro del esquema heredado de capitalismo pasado.

Nuestro pueblo no puede luchar por derechos democráticos bajo pretexto de una nación, tampoco podrá la lucha de clases trascender la democracia burguesa y establecer la dictadura del proletariado con el vehículo de la clase obrera Blanca. Sin un movimiento de liberación nacional, no hay la posibilidad de construir un México reunificado y socialista y de rechazar la ola de reacción.

Un movimiento de liberación nacional debe de recibir con agrado la participación de los sectores probados de la clase obrera. El movimiento de liberación nacional en los Estados Unidos es un paso necesario e indispensable para la construcción del socialismo en México, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Quebec y otros lugares, no es posible sin el deterioro del imperialismo.



En la construcción del socialismo, nos conduciremos en conformidad a las experiencias de otras luchas y las necesidades urgentes de nuestro movimiento en los Estados Unidos. Reconozemos que la clase obrera Mexicana impulsará el movimiento adelante y superará los defectos del sectarismo y dogmatismo.

El movimiento de liberación nacional en el territorio ocupado no está en contradicción con la lucha libertadora para el socialismo en Mexico. Según los factores tácticos y estratégicos desarrollemos la lucha de la retaguardia para la reunificación socialista de la patria.

¡ TIERRA SERA RECONQUISTADA!

¡ MAPAS SERAN CAMBIADOS!

¡ PAISES SERAN RENOMBRADOS!

¡ VIVA MEXICO REUNIFICADO Y SOCIALISTA!

LA PATRIA



ES UNA

DESAPARECIDOS PRESOS POLITICOS MEXICANOS



MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL MEXICANO

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Los desaparecidos al sur de la frontera impuesta son gente del pueblo campesinos, obreros, maestros, estudiantes, amas de casa. Las razones por la cual los desaparecen son muchas. La mayoría de las veces se les acusa de ser parte, de asistir o de contribuir a la guerrilla pero en otras ocasiones son militantes de organizaciones democraticas, y en algunas otras ocasiones son simplemente el vecino del secuestrado o un familiar que la policia acusa de ser complices o que pueden relatar algo de informacion. Uno de los casos mas flagrantes es lo que sucedio en Guerrero donde por el solo hecho de apellidarse Cabañas fue suficiente caso para ser secuestrado.

La desaparicion se utiliza como una forma de represion, como un metodo de terrorismo politico oficialmente sancionado, y utilizado como medio de silenciar a la oposicion politica que no en pocas ocasiones se ha llevado ha sus limites el asesinato de la disidencia politica. Las ventajas de las desapariciones politicas son muy convinientes para el regimen Mexicano. Puesto que no se requiere ningun tipo de legislacion ni hay necesidad de preocuparse por las legalidades puesto que no hay evidencia y no hay necesidad de utilizar el sistema juridico de las cortes.

El gobierno Mexicano, lo unico que necesita para desaparecer a alguien es un grupo de agentes entrenados para apresar a gentes seleccionadas, para interrogarlas y torturarlas, y si lo es necesario, matarlas en un lugar secreto. Estos agentes son por lo regular oficiales de alguna agencia represiva o simpatizantes ultra derechistas del gobierno. En cualquier caso la persona secuestrada es negada por las autoridades o si acaso el gobierno admite a dicha detencion, se culpa a la persona como terrorista. En donde los secuestradores no estan oficialmente ligados al gobierno, las autoridades no investigan y en raras ocasiones cuando se lluevan acabo investigaciones nunca se revela el contenido. De hecho las familias, los amigos de las victimas desaparecidas no tienen manera de saber si los detenidos estan vivos o si acaso estan bajo la tortura asi que cualquier accion legal es inutil. Asi se le hace mas sencillo al gobierno Mexicano torturar a los desaparecidos, pero el resultado mas profundo de las desapariciones es que sirve para aterrorizar a todos los sectores cercano al desaparecido. Se hace sentir que los cuerpos policiacos clandestinos asi como el gobierno, son omnipotentes, no hay proteccion en la ley.

En Mexico existen mas de 500 desaparecidos y la lista aumenta cotidianamente. De acuerdo a los informes de unos desaparecidos liberados en 1979, la Brigada Blanca fueron los directamente responsables por su secuestro, relatan que fueron llevados al Campo Militar Numero Uno en la Ciudad de Mexico D.F.; donde fueron puestos por un periodo prolongado de incomunicacion y torturados, esta es la forma en la cual el gobierno Mexicano ha obtenido informes y confesiones sobre la actividad guerrilla en Mexico. (Vea el apendice.)

El estado Mexicano necesariamente tiene que emplear un brazo represivo para poder contener el descontento y las movilizaciones que el pueblo Mexicano dirigido por las organizaciones revolucionarias, estan llevando acabo, ante la negacion por parte del PRI gobierno de proveer las mas elementales necesidades que un pueblo necesita para sobrevivir.

El gobierno Mexicano tiene una diversidad de unidades represivas que son utilizados para controlar el movimiento revolucionario de masas. Estos grupos operan con una autonomia que les permite llevar su actividad siniestra fuera de los supuestos marcos legales existentes en Mexico. El Ejercito, la Direccion de Investigaciones para la Prevencion de la Delincuencia (cuya brigada lleva el nombre de Jaguar) el Batallon de Radiopatrullas del estado de Mexico (BARAPEM), la Direccion Federal de Seguridad, la Direccion General de Investigaciones Politicas y Sociales, la Brigada de Control de Multitudes (antes el cuerpo de Granaderos), la Judicial Federal Militar, la Brigada Blanca y su nueva version el Frente Patriotico Anti-Comunista; este ejercito represivo del regimen Mexicano son entrenados cont-

ra la suvercion interna, contra el "Comunismo Internacional", contra - guerrilla, contra-insurgencia, guerra en la selva, supervivencia, control de motines e inteligencia en los Estados Unidos en Fort Davis y Fort Bragg al igual que en Usarcarib School (Escuela del Ejercito de los Estados Unidos en el Caribe que hoy funciona con el nombre de Escuela de las Americas y en otras zonas del Canal Panam   y Estados Unidos.

Las desapariciones las torturas y los asesinatos no son el unico metodo que utiliza el PRI gobierno para aterrorizar al pueblo Mexicano y a los militantes de la oposicion politica, sino que tambien la existencia de centenares de presos politicos, es una realidad irrefutable que tenemos que denunciar a nivel internacional; puesto que es importante desenmascarar la demagogia PRI-ista que existe a nivel mundial, respecto a la supuesta postura progresista que mantiene el gobierno Mexicano. Esta demagogia ha permitido el aislamiento del movimiento revolucionario Mexicano. Esto porque el gobierno hasta cierto punto apoya a movimientos revolucionarios tanto en America Latina como en otras partes del mundo. Esta manioobra de la burguesia Mexicana tiende a hacer creer a movimientos revolucionarios e inclusive a algunos paises que en Mexico existe algun tipo de democracia.

Esta politica unicamente tiende a confundir a la opinion mundial, cuyo resultado se manifiesta en el empobresimiento del pueblo y la falta de apoyo de la izquierda mundial no nomas a los desaparecidos y presos politicos sino que a la izquierda independiente revolucionaria cuyo objetivo es la destruccion del capitalismo Mexicano y el establecimiento de una sociedad Socialista donde termine para siempre la explotacion de hombre por el hombre.

Las carceles clandestinas como la de Chilpancingo, Guerrero; la prison de Topo Chico, Nuevo Leon; el Campo Militar Numero Uno en la Ciudad de Mexico D.F.; estan repletas de desaparecidos y de presos politicos. Los presos politicos son aquellos luchadores de organizaciones revolucionarias Mexicanas que son encarcelados, y torturados por sus actividades politicas en la oposicion gubernamental.

La cuestion de los asesinatos y de los presos politicos no es algo que le afecta unicamente a los revolucionarios al sur, sino que tambien le afecta al movimiento revolucionario Mexicano en el territorio Mexicano Ocupado (Texas, Nuevo Mexico, Arizona, California, Colorado, Utah, y Nevada) al norte de la frontera impuesta por el poderio militar del imperialismo colonial desde 1848 cuando le arrancaron a Mexico el 50% de tierra nacional.

El hecho que en Mexico Ocupado todavia no usan el secuestro como principal metodo para apresar a revolucionarios no quiere decir que es algo menos represivo. Como ejemplo tenemos a revolucionarios tales como Ricardo Falcon, Rito Canales, Antonio Cordova, Angel Diaz, Luis Martinez y otros que fueron asesinados por el gobierno colonizador norteamericano; algunos de ellos estuvieron envueltos en acciones armadas contra el estado y otros en movimientos democraticos. Lo cierto es que el hecho de haber sido parte de la oposicion politica fueron asesinados y tratados como terroristas. La otra fase de represion es el encarcelamiento y el uso del gran jurado federal para encarcelar en este particular caso a la direccion y militantes del Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano que lucha por la Reunificacion Socialista de Mexico y por el completo desmembramiento del estado imperialista norteamericano.

Los ataques del gran jurado en general se utilizan para destruir y aislar a la oposicion politica en un periodo cuando el imperialismo norteamericano se encuentra con grandes contradicciones economicas y politicas tanto a nivel interno como externo. El gran jurado siendo la principal arma que ahorita el estado utiliza para el encarcelamiento de la disidencia politica, provee un mecanismo efectivo con el cual hostigan, amedrentan y estrangulan dicha oposicion. El gran jurado

les permite co-ordinar los poderes represivos de las ramas judiciales y la ejecutiva en un instrumento represivo y sofisticado que cumple las siguientes funciones

1. Recoge informacion (inteligencia) concerniente a las estructuras y la membresia de grupos disidentes politicos y comunitarios. Esta informacion puede entonces ser usada contra aquellas fuerzas progresistas que luchan por lograr un verdadero cambio social.

2. Crea una "nube publica" de sospecha criminal sobre las personas u organizaciones llamadas a testificar "en secreto" ante el gran jurado federal. Tan solo el rumor de que una persona u organizacion esta envuelto en una investigacion del gran jurado es, a menudo, suficiente para desacreditar publicamente y obstaculizar el trabajo de la persona u organizacion. De esta forma se siembra en la imagen publica la impresion de que disidencia politica es lo mismo que conducta criminal.

3. Permite la encarcelacion de disidentes politicos sin necesidad de radicarles cargos criminales, de enjuiciarlos publicamente ni de presentar evidencia en su contra.

4. Pretende intimidar a otros activistas o activistas potenciales y los cohibe de envolverse en actividades politicas legitimas.

5. Trata de hacer ver el estado imperialista, a su sistema juridico, a sus agencias represivas particularmente al FBI como una fuerza indestructible e omnipotente ante el pueblo. Cosa que crea terror y miedo en sectores de la poblacion, para asi detener al apoyo que se pudiera dar a organizaciones revolucionarias.

Como Mexicanos, hermanos de clase y organizaciones revolucionarias, irrespectablemente de que lado de la frontera impuesta radiquemos tenemos la responsabilidad de lanzarnos en defensa de los presos politicos en Mexico y en Mexico Ocupado y de exigir la presentacion de los mas de 500 desaparecidos que existen en carceles clandestinas a lo largo y ancho de la Republica Mexicana. Al igual que no podemos ignorar o hacer de menos la presencia y la participacion del imperialismo norteamericano en la persecucion y el hostigamiento del movimiento revolucionario Mexicano. La burguesia y su gobierno el PRI no nomas esta de acuerdo sino que anima y nutre la intervencion Yanqui particularmente cuando se trata de su estabilidad interna ya que la burguesia Mexicana con todas sus contradicciones con el imperialismo depende totalmente en lo economico, politico, y militar para su existencia y por su puesto los Estados Unidos necesitan los recursos naturales y la fuerza de trabajo, Mexicana para su existencia. El hecho de que existe una dependencia entre el Imperialismo Yanqui y el Capitalismo Mexicano esta claro, es precisamente porque no podemos como revolucionarios Mexicanos ignorar a los yanquis ya que de ninguna forma o manera permitiran a nadie que obstaculize la posibilidad de aumentar sus ganancias y su adquisicion de mas mercados.

Mientras que es cierto que el Imperialismo Norteamericano es poderoso y que la burguesia Mexicana tambien es poderosa por el hecho de tener el completo apoyo del poderio Yanqui, de ninguna manera podemos permitir que el movimiento revolucionario al sur o al norte de la frontera impuesta detenga su avance o permitir desviaciones que unicamente crean confusion en el pueblo y divisiones entre la izquierda Mexicana. Sino que tenemos que ir hacia una unidad estrategica que no nomas nos lleve a exigir la presentacion de los desaparecidos y la libertad de los presos politicos pero que nos lleve hacia planteamientos que desarrollen el trabajo politico Mexicano en las entrañas del Imperialismo Norteamericano, a que le de cobertura al movimiento revolucionario al sur de la frontera impuesta y necesariamente que levante la conciencia politica y nacional de mas de 15 millones de Mexicanos que radican en los Estados Unidos y dirigir esta fuerza hacia el desmembramiento del Imperialismo Yanqui y la reunificacion de 945,00 millas cuadradas de tierra nacional que se le fue robado a Mexico por los Yanquis. Estamos claros que este proyecto es de largo alcance y necesariamente prolongado pero no es ilusionario ni romantico sino que es una necesidad de mayor importancia no nomas para la izquierda Mexicana sino que para la emancipacion de toda America Latina. La existencia de mas de 15 millones de Mexicanos en los Estados Unidos y

el 60% de ellos en los estados de Texas, California, Colorado, Nuevo Mexico, Arizona, Utah y Nevada (Mexico Ocupado) es un hecho que ni el gobierno imperialista estadounidense, ni el gobierno Mexicano y mucho menos la izquierda Mexicana en ambos lados de la frontera impuesta puede ignorar. Es una fuerza politica, harta de injusticia, racismo y explotacion que clama por la libertad y su identidad nacional. Dirijamos esta fuerza hacia exigir la presentacion de los desaparecidos Mexicanos, la libertad de los presos politicos en ambos lados de la frontera impuesta y movilizemos las masas Mexicanas de un Mexico dividido hacia la destruccion de la burguesia Mexicana, el desembramiento de Imperialismo colonial Norteamericano y la REUNIFICACION SOCIALISTA DE MEXICO.

POR LA REUNIFICACION SOCIALISTA DE MEXICO

MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL MEXICANO

APENDICE

Testimonio parcial de una Mexicana desaparecida y torturada por el gobierno Mexicano.

***Un caso específico es el de Berta Alicia Lopez Garcia de Zazueta:

"En la mañana de 9 de abril de 79 en la ciudad de Torreon, Coahuila; fuimos despertados mi esposo Jesus Humberto Zazueta Aguilar, su hermana, su esposo y dos niños, fuimos despertados por la Brigada Blanca que nos despertaron y gritaron que salieramos con los brazos en alto. Fuimos tirados al suelo y empujaron los agentes a golpear salvajemente a mi esposo para que diera la direccion de otras personas. Luego lo arrastraron de los cabellos y lo metieron a la cajuela de un auto; en seguida hicieron lo mismo conmigo, llevandome a otro auto y amarrandome los ojos para que no viera donde nos dirigiamos. A los niños los subieron a una ambulancia de la Policia Rural y a Alejandro Penolozza Garcia a otro automovil a recorrer la ciudad buscando una casa. Nos llevaron a un local que despues me di cuenta que era el departamento de transito y me echaron al piso junto con mi nenita. Ya para entonces yo escuchaba los golpes que le daban a Humberto y a Armando. En seguida oi que le decian a mi esposo: "Ahorita vas hablar cabron, traigame a su vieja". En seguida me levantaron, me quitaron el trapo que tenia en la cabeza y me obligaron a desnudarme por completo. Luego me llevaron a presencia de mi esposo, el cual se encontraba tambien desnudo y le estaban aplicando toques electricos en los testiculos. Me tiraron al suelo, me golpearon en su presencia y me levantaron de los pechos estirandome los pesones. Despues me introdujieron en la vagina un fierro al cual me dijeron que la iban a aplicar corriente electrica (cosa que despues no hicieron) pero si me dieron toques en la vulva y en los pechos. Uno de ellos me dijo: "¿Tienes hijos?" - Si, una niña de un año. "Bueno, ya viene en camino para que esta cabrona sepa lo que sabemos hacer" (decia otro). "¿Sabes que te vamos a matar?" - Por que? - "Por guerrillera, no te hagas pendeja". - Yo no soy guerrillera. -Al rato vas a jurar por tu madre que lo eres". (Otro) -"¿Sabes lo que les hacemos a los cabrones como tu? Las matamos pero de a poquito mamita y se mueren hasta que a nosotros se nos pega la gana. Vas a suplicar que te matemos". (Despues de un tiempo que no puede recistar llegamos a un lugar que desde un principio ubique como el Campo Militar Numero Uno de la Ciudad de Mexico, lo que mas tarde corroborare al decirme uno de los hombres que me interrogaron: "¿Sabes donde estas?, en el Campo Militar y de aqui nadie sale vivo". Me percate de que dicho funcionario traia en sus manos un papel membretado de la Secretaria de Gobernacion. Me bajaron del carro y me introdujeron en un lugar frio con el piso mojado (yo no tenia zapatos). Lo primero que escuche fue un radio a todo volumen, luego percibe un olor fetido como de excremento humano y senti una mano que me palpaba con mucho cuidado las orejas, los pechos, y los brazos, asi como el cuello (ignoro cual era la finalidad de esto). Escuche las voces de mi sobrino y de mi cuñada; luego me bajaron a un sotano, recuerdo que conte aproximadamente 16 escalones y me introdujeron en una celda; a mi cuñada y a cuñada y a su hijito lo metieron en otra. Todo ese dia nos habian dejado sin alimento ni agua. Ya no nos volvieron a torturar fisicamente, pero la tortura psicologica era cotidiana, pues con mucha frecuencia me decian cosas como estas: "Te vamos a matar", "A tu esposo y lo matamos", "Aqui tenemos a tu hijita". "A tu hijita se la llevaron a Estados Unidos.....la tenemos aqui en un lugar donde tenemos muchos otros". De tal forma que yo me encontraba angustiada por la situacion en que pudiera estar mi niña.

Algunas de las torturas a las que son sometidas las personas que llevan a ese lugar:

- golpes con las manos y con chachiporras

- aplicaciones de la "chicharra" (toques electricas) en todas las partes del cuerpo incluyendo ojos, oidos, dientes, fosas nasales, ano, genitales,

- echar agua mineral en las fosas nasales

- inmersión de la cabeza o todo el cuerpo en una pila de agua extremadamente sucia, algunas veces con excremento humano

- arrancamiento de uñas

- colgamiento de los pulgares y colocación de posiciones incómodas (a los hombres les atan un hilo a los testículos y los colgan por largo tiempo en culequillas de tal forma que si se mueven se pueden castrar)

- arrodillarse sobre tubos o pararse descalzos sobre ladrillos y muchas otras cosas mas

Este es un ejemplo por lo cual pasa el pueblo Mexicano, si es secuestrado por la fuerza represiva del gobierno Mexicano, irrespectablemente si esta envuelto en el movimiento en Mexico o no.

La Patria Es Una!

by the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Mexicano (MLN-M)

HIGH IN THE ANNALS of the devastation brought by the Spanish who followed in the footsteps of Columbus is the conquest of Mexico and the fall of the Aztec empire at the hands of Hernán Cortés in 1521. In many ways, this event was as significant as the first landfall by Columbus in setting a path of colonization that continues to this day. And while the tale of conquest and betrayal is well known, history also records an ongoing resistance to the Spanish, from Montezuma and Cuauhtémoc to the full-blooded Indian who became the first President of Mexico, Benito Juárez.

Five hundred years of colonialism, five hundred years of resistance is an apt encapsulation of the history of Mexicano people. A mestizo people, descendants of the indigenous people of this continent, Mexicano people are a product of the rape of our Indian foremothers by the *conquistadores*. Colonized by Spain in the 1500s, we fought and won our independence. But in the northern territories of Mexico, this independence was short-lived. In the 1830s the expanding US empire eyed Mexico's northern territories as a ripe field for the expansion of slavery and a new phase of our colonization began.

As the US and Spain prepare for the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage, our people are still colonized, treated as "foreigners" in our own land, and divided by an imposed border from the southern half of our nation.

The Mexicano people within the present boundaries of the United States did not come here as an immigrant people. It was US citizens who "came" to Mexico prior to 1836—and ended up militarily occupying 50% of the Mexicano national territory. In 1836, Anglo settlers succeeded in separating Texas from the Mexican Republic. Then, after a US-sponsored incident along that first imposed border, the United States invaded Mexico in 1846 (what Americans call the Mexican-American War is known in Mexico as *La Invasión Norteamericana*).

This war lasted for two years, with US troops occupying Mexico City and several regional capitals. The treaty that brought about a temporary cease-fire ceded the territories of New Mexico and Alta California to the United States. In 1854, the US stole even more of Mexico through the Gadsden Purchase, which brought the Mesilla Valley of Arizona into the US and provided the US access to the Gulf of California.

The takeover of Mexican territory brought terror and repression to Mexicanos. Recent studies show that after the conquest there were more lynching and hangings of Mexicanos throughout the occupied territories than there were of Blacks throughout the plantations and farms of the slave South.

Throughout the militarily occupied territories, Mexicano people organized, resisted, and fought against the invading armies and settler-colonialist society. Among the most famous Mexicano resistance fighters were Tiburcio Vasquez and Joaquín Murieta in California and the Cortez and Espinoza brothers in Colorado. In Texas, Juan Nepomuceno Cortina carried out a 15-year guerrilla war, evading the Texas Rangers and gaining wide support in the Mexicano community.

The Mexicanos also formed clandestine armed community organizations such as the Mano Negra and Gorras Blancas to defend their farms against land-grabbing Anglo settlers.

This, of course, led to further repression against the Mexicano people in general. The 1850 Anti-Foreign Miners Law was aimed at forcing "foreigners" (namely Mexicanos and Central and South Americans) from the mining fields of California. Between half and three-quarters of all Mexicano miners were forced to abandon the mines.

In El Paso, Texas, the Salt War broke out. Mexicanos had been using a salt mine for years prior to the occupation. In 1877, Anglos took control of the mine and began charging the Mexicanos for salt. This led to

**Mexicano
people
have survived
the tests
of time
and colonialism,
remaining
firmly rooted
in the land
of our ancestors.**

a local rebellion by the Mexicano community. Many Mexicanos were killed and lynched as a result.

The 1910 Mexican Revolution also unleashed a wave of repression in the occupied territories. Ricardo Flores Magon, his brother Enrique, and other members of the Partido Liberal Mexicano fled into the occupied territories in an attempt to continue their organizing efforts against the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship. In the southwest, they received major support from the Mexicano communities, which sent money, materiel, and men to fight the dictator. This, of course, led to repression against the Mexicano community, culminating in the jailing of Ricardo Flores Magon for seditious conspiracy. Flores Magon was killed by a Leavenworth prison guard in 1921.

In the midst of World War I, south Texas was in a virtual state of siege as armed supporters of the Plan de San Diego — a call for self-determination for Mexicanos — were violently repressed. The Plan called for the independence of the occupied territories and for the Black nation bordering the occupied territories.

TEXAS RANGERS

Violence in the occupied territories was the specialty of the rangers — California, New Mexico, and Arizona Rangers, and, of course, the notorious Texas Rangers. All of these ranger formations evolved from private vigilante squads to state institutions.

The Texas Rangers were born out of vigilantism that sought to tame the frontier by ridding it of Indians and Mexicanos. Their origins can be traced back to 1823, when they began as “ranging companies” to clear the way for white settler expansion. They went from killing Indians to subordinating the Mexicano population. The Rangers were employed by land barons and cattlemen’s associations, but also served as a fighting auxiliary to the regular army and state militia during the 1836 Texas revolt and the 1848 North American Invasion. Afterwards, they were organized into frontier battalions to repress the Mexican and Indian populations. In 1881, the Texas Rangers became a kind of state police, charged with suppressing crime and bringing law and order to the “lawless” counties.

“During World War I,” according to a 1977 *New York Times* article, “the Texas Rangers became little more than terrorists, a racist army supported by the state” for the purposes of intimidating Mexicanos on both sides of the border. Between 1915 and 1920, the Rangers killed thousands of Mexicanos along the border.

During the 1960s and 70s the Texas Rangers policed migratory labor, striking unions, civil rights activists, and Mexicano-Chicano community activists and organizations. In 1962 and ’63 the Texas Rangers were used to subvert the local elections of Chicanos to the city council of Crystal City, Texas. In 1976, the Texas Rangers, with encouragement from Gov. John Connolly, quashed a 13-month strike led by the Independent Worker Association.

LA MIGRA

The Border Patrol (BP) and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) — also called La Migra — are special police agencies created by the US primarily to be used against the Mexicano people. Since their formation, one of their principal objectives has been to control not just migration, but also to keep radical, revolutionary ideas from reaching the Mexicano people in the occupied territories.

The BP was created in 1924. It had been preceded, from 1919 to 1921, by the Army Air Service Armed Patrol, which was organized to protect American businesses and property in the border region against raids by General Francisco “Pancho” Villa and from Mexicano bandits. In the beginning, the mounted inspectors were a small band of men assigned to guard the militarily-imposed 2,000 mile border. The BP was viewed as an “international equivalent” of the Texas Rangers. In fact, the BP recruited heavily from the Texas Rangers.

Another job of the BP and INS is the actual and threatened deportation of Mexicanos from the occupied territories. In the post-World War I depression of 1921–22, as a precursor of what was to come, thousands of Mexicanos were arrested and deported. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, hundreds of thousands of Mexicanos were “repatriated” in “Operation Deportation.” The civil rights of the entire Mexicano people were wantonly violated as whole communities of Mexicanos were cordoned off and raided. It was a reign of terror. Any Mexicano stopped in the streets was required to prove

birth in the United States or was "voluntarily deported" back to Mexico.

In the 1950s, under "Operation Wetback," millions of Mexicanos were again deported. The reign of terror was reinstated: even Mexicanos born in the United States were not safe from the Migra dragnets; political activists were denaturalized and deported. These raids were carried out with military efficiency by Gen. Joseph M. Swing, who had participated in the 1916 punitive raid across the border against General Francisco Villa.

During "Operation Jobs" of the 1980s, also known as Operation Raids, the Migra carried out raids in churches, sports stadiums and wherever Mexicanos congregated. In recent years, the INS and BP have taken on a new more repressive role. In 1990, INS and Border Patrol agents killed four people in Tijuana, one in Mexicali and nine in San Diego, all unarmed Mexican citizens.

FBI AND CIA OPERATIONS

In the 1950s as part of its COINTELPRO counter-intelligence operations, the FBI created the Border Coverage Program, with offices on both sides of the border. This program was authorized to use disruptive tactics against Mexicano political organizations both in the occupied territories and in the dependent capitalist state in the south. It also engaged in monitoring the Mexican elections.

The FBI has used covert operations in various efforts to disrupt, subvert or destroy Mexican organizations regardless of their political orientation. These efforts must be seen as early forms of what is now known as "low intensity" warfare. The objective has been to deprive the community of revolutionary leadership and the resistance movements of a base of support. "Counter-intelligence" activity against the Mexicano people has not been limited to the occupied territories. The largest CIA office in Latin America is in Mexico City. The FBI has even carried out disruptive activities against the social and revolutionary movements of Mexicano people south of the imposed border.

The 60s and 70s witnessed FBI, CIA — even IRS — infiltration, disruption and harassment of dozens of Mexicano student groups and organizations, including La Raza National Law Student Association, Brown Berets, United Mexican American Students, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán, and the Mexican American Youth Organization. In 1973, the CIA created a program called

CHAOS which has recorded the activities of Chicano academicians, students, and leaders, and used dirty tricks to pit one activist group against another.

In the late 1980s, with the continued growth of the Mexicano population and its spirit of militant resistance, a new attack was launched from another angle against the Mexicano people. In a report titled "Nation within a Nation," the Committee for Internal Security pointed to the growth of a nationalist sentiment as a potential "Quebec-type" independence movement. This report specifically targeted the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional as a dangerous, subversive organization. This report added fuel to the English Only movement, which seeks the cultural genocide of the Mexicano people in the occupied territories. This is but a continuation of the attempts to eliminate the identity — and presence — of the Mexicano people within US borders, a practice which began with the early settler-colonialists.

Mexicano people, however, have survived the tests of time and colonialism, remaining firmly rooted in the land of our ancestors. Despite the persistent, continu-

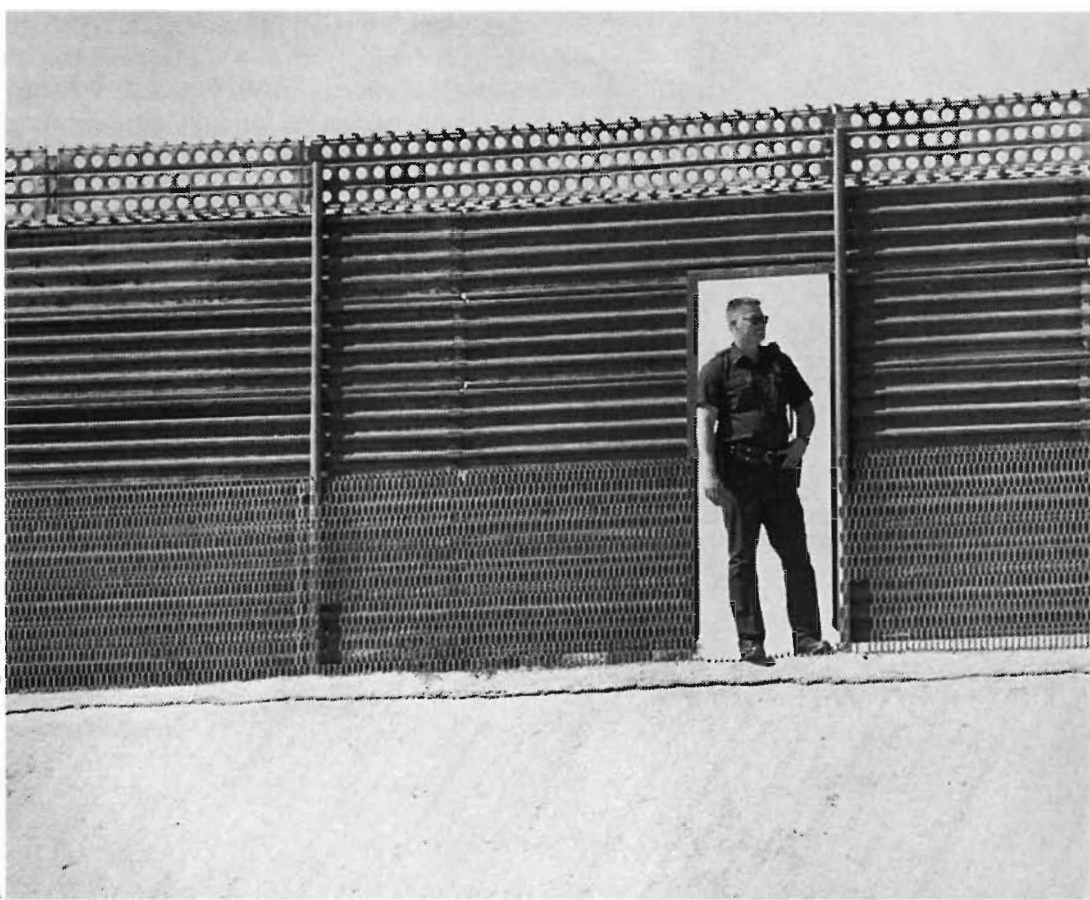


photo credit: David Maung/Impact Visuals

A US Border Patrol agent in the doorway of the new steel wall that separates Tijuana from San Diego.

ous attacks on Mexicanos for more than 140 years, the Mexicano people continue to struggle against the imposition of a colonial language, religion, and political institutions, against the attempts at physical, psychological, cultural, and linguistic genocide of the Mexicano people. □

TO THE PEOPLE:

On May 26, 1983, William Guillermo Morales, alleged member of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (F.A.L.N.), an armed Puerto Rican clandestine independence organization within the U.S. empire, was captured in Mexico. At the time of his arrest, two Mexican revolutionaries were assassinated and one was gravely wounded and captured.

The following is what occurred: INTERPOL and the F.B.I. arrested Morales in the state of Puebla, where Mexican solidarity with the Puerto Rican Independence Movement was again demonstrated. The Mexicano companero, who accompanied Morales, in an effort to defend the Puerto Rican comrade, took out his gun and critically wounded two police before being gunned down by the F.B.I. and the INTERPOL.

After Adelaido Villalpando Contreras was killed, the F.B.I. and INTERPOL went to where Morales lived and where there were also two Mexicano revolutionaries. On arrival, the repressive forces machine-gunned the house until they were sure that there was no resistance. As a result, Judith Vidrio Anguiano was assassinated without having been interrogated or having the opportunity to defend herself. The companero Antonio Pedro Ruiz, 16 years old, was critically wounded and is now in a hospital in Mexico. We are sure that the government will try to assassinate him or to disappear him as it has done to hundreds of other valiant companeros that have opposed the tyranny of the Mexican regime.

Since many Mexican revolutionaries have experienced torture by the government, we do not exaggerate when we say that there is a possibility that they will torture Ruiz—especially since it is known that companero Morales was severely beaten and tortured with electric shock to his genitals.

This clearly shows that the Mexican government not only depends on the U.S. economically, politically and militarily, but it also shows that the whole of the governmental structure is tied to the U.S.

In 1981, the International Day of Solidarity with the Revolutionary Movement in the Occupied Territories was organized by the Mexican Commission of the M.L.N. in Juarez, Chihuahua and El Paso, Texas. The F.B.I., INTERPOL, the C.I.A., the Mexican Federal Security Force,

the Judicial, Federal and state police coordinated their efforts to try and make this historic first encounter by Mexican revolutionary forces on both sides of the imposed border fail.

This experience of the Mexican revolutionary movement shows us that the Mexican regime, like the U.S. imperialist government, is the enemy of the Puerto Rican revolutionary forces and of the Puerto Rican people in general, since the repressive Mexican forces are directed by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Pentagon.

The Mexican people on both sides of the imposed border, have internationalized the Puerto Rican struggle for independence and socialism in a practical and theoretical way. The U.S. and the Mexican government must implicate and attack this revolutionary force now that the movement is advancing with giant strides, not only in the south of Mexico, nor in Central America, nor only in Puerto Rico, but is now challenging the imperialist North American powers on the border that divides our homeland..Mexico.

As such, the Mexican Commission of the M.L.N. denounces the reactionary Mexican regime for its intervention in the revolutionary Puerto Rican movement, for the assassination of Adelaido Villalpando Contreras and Judith Vidrio Anguiano and for the detention of Antonio Pedro Ruiz and William Guillermo Morales. We denounce the Mexican regime as a puppet to the U.S.; we demand the presentation of the disappeared Mexicanos and liberty for the hundreds of political prisoners.

We call on all people to protest through letters to the Mexican government and to join pickets in front of the Mexican consulates in coordination with the Comites Contra Represion.



MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL
MEXICANO COMMISSION

AL PUEBLO:

El 26 de Mayo de 1983 William Guillermo Morales, supuesto miembro de las Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (F.A.L.N.) una organización clandestina que lucha por la independencia de Puerto Rico dentro del imperio yanqui, fue capturado en Mexico. A la hora de su captura, quedaron muertos 2 revolucionarios Mexicanos y uno fue capturado y gravemente herido.

Los sucesos fueron los siguientes: El INTERPOL y el F.B.I. arrestaron a Morales en el estado de Puebla, donde se demostró de nuevo la solidaridad Mexicana por la independencia de Puerto Rico. El compañero Mexicano que acompañaba a Morales, en su esfuerzo de defender al compañero Puertorriqueño, sacó su revolver y herió gravemente a dos policías antes de ser acribillado por las metralletas del F.B.I. y el INTERPOL.

Al caer muerto el compañero Adelaido Villalpando Contreras, el F.B.I. y el INTERPOL se trasladaron a donde radicaba Morales y donde se encontraban otros dos guerrilleros Mexicanos. Al llegar al sitio las fuerzas represivas baliaron el hogar hasta estar seguros que no había ninguna resistencia. El resultado fue que Judith Vidrio Anguiano fue asesinada sin haber sido interrogada o tener la oportunidad para defenderse. El compañero Antonio Pedro Ruiz de 16 años de edad, fue gravemente herido y ahora se encuentra en un sanatorio en Mexico. Estamos seguros que el gobierno Mexicano hará un atentado de asesinarlo o de desaparecerlo a las cárceles clandestinas como lo ha hecho a cientos de valientes que se oponen a la tiranía del régimen Mexicano.

Como muchos revolucionarios Mexicanos han experimentado la tortura del gobierno, no exageramos cuando decimos que hay una posibilidad que torturan a Ruiz ya que es sabido que el compañero Morales fue severamente golpeado y torturado con cargas eléctricas en los órganos genitales.

Esto claramente nos indica que el gobierno Mexicano no únicamente depende de los EE.UU. en lo económico, político, y militar, sino que nos enseña que toda la estructura gubernamental a todos niveles, está ligada a los EE.UU.

En 1981, se lleva a cabo el Día Internacional en Solidaridad con el Movimiento Revolucionario Mexicano en el Territorio Ocupado, organizado por la Comisión Mexicana del M.L.N. en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, y en El Paso, Texas. El F.B.I. el INTERPOL, la C.I.A., la Seguridad Federal de Mexico, la Policía Judicial, federal y estatal se coordinaron para tratar de hacer fracazar este primer encuentro histórico de las fuerzas revolucionarias Mexicanas en ambos lados de la frontera impuesta.

Consideramos que con esta experiencia del movimiento revolucionario Mexicano, es como para ver con claridad que tanto el régimen Mexicano al igual que el gobierno imperialista de los EE.UU., es enemigo de las fuerzas revolucionarias Puertorriqueñas y del pueblo Puertorriqueño en general, ya que la fuerza represiva Mexicana es dirigida por el Departamento de Justicia y el Pentágono de los EE.UU.

El pueblo Mexicano en ambos lados de la frontera impuesta ha internacionalizado la lucha por la independencia y el socialismo de Puerto Rico en una forma práctica y teórica. El gobierno Mexicano y Estadounidense necesariamente tiene que implicar y atacar dicha fuerza revolucionaria ya que el movimiento avanza a pasos agigantados, no solamente al extremo sur de Mexico, ni en Centroamérica ni tan siquiera en la isla de Puerto Rico. Ahora se está retando el poderío del imperialismo norteamericano en la frontera que divide a nuestra patria..Mexico.

De hecho, la Comisión Mexicana del M.L.N. denuncia al régimen reaccionario Mexicano por la intervención en el Movimiento revolucionario Puertorriqueño, por el asesinato de Adelaido Villalpando Contreras y Judith Vidrio Anguiano y por la detención de William Guillermo Morales y Antonio Pedro Ruiz. Denunciamos al régimen Mexicano como títere represivo de los EE.UU.: Exigimos la presentación de los desaparecidos Mexicanos y la libertad de los centenares de prisioneros políticos.

Hacemos un llamado al pueblo en general a que envíe cartas de protesta al gobierno Mexicano y que se coordine con el Comité Contra la Represión, piqueteos frente a los Consulados Mexicanos.

DE PIE

THEORETICAL ORGAN
OF THE MLN



Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional

**Y
EN LUCHA**

**CALL FOR A REVOLUTIONARY
INDEPENDENTIST BLOC**

**STATEHOOD AND CULTURAL
AGRESSION**

**DOGMATISM AND ARMED
STRUGGLE**

**TWO FORMS OF
INTERNATIONAL ORDER**

QUEBEC NEW AFRIKA CHILE

QUEBEC : THESES ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

THESES ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

1. National oppression intensifies in the epoch of imperialism. The bourgeoisie uses national oppression to enhance its own profits, to expand its empire, and to corrupt its own working class with the crumbs of the super-profits. But national oppression brings a revolutionary response. Capitalism's general crisis has been characterized by a growing wave of revolutionary struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. The uprising of the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America has shaken imperialism. Iran, Palestine and Nicaragua are the most recent examples.

2. The democratic struggle against national oppression is an essential element in the proletarian revolutionary struggle for socialism. It would be a "fundamental mistake," writes Lenin, to suppose such struggles are a "diversion." The struggle for political democracy, of which national liberation is one part, prepares the proletariat for victory over the bourgeoisie. "We must combine the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary program and tactics on all democratic demands: a republic, a militia, the popular election of officials, equal rights for women, the self-determination of nations, etc.," wrote Lenin.

3. The struggle against national oppression, far from being "solved" in the advanced capitalist countries, is a profound contradiction of great revolutionary significance. The "national question" is not some-

thing that capitalism outgrows: on the contrary, its importance increases. Contemporary examples include Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland in the U.K., Brittany, Corsica and the Occitane in France, the Basques in Spain, the Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Afro-Americans in the U.S., and l'Acadie and Quebec in Canada. "The socialist revolution," writes Lenin, "may break out not only in consequence of a great strike, a street demonstration, a hunger riot, a mutiny in the forces, or a colonial rebellion, but also in consequence of any political crisis, like the Dreyfus affair, the Zabern incident, or in connection with a referendum on the secession of an oppressed nation, etc." Significantly, Lenin's three examples are all drawn from national oppression in Western Europe.

4. The distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations was described by Lenin as "the focal point" and "the cardinal idea" of a communist position on the national question. Refusal to recognize this distinction is a feature of opportunism in the working class movement. Because the objective conditions of workers in the oppressed and oppressor nations are not the same, communist activity addresses different tasks.

Communists in the oppressed nation aim to push forward, deepen and radicalize the struggle for national liberation. "When the revolution is confronted with tasks of a democratic and anti-imperialist character, (communists) aim to develop it unceasingly, to raise it to a socialist revolution, to go over as

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DESDE EL FORO INTERNACIONAL

Quebec and the National Question

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DESDE LAS REJAS

Communique From The Eleven

P.O.W.'s To The People

3

DESDE LA CLANDESTINIDAD

Colonial Elections and the Struggle Of The Working Class

Statehood and Cultural Aggression

Part 2 Dogmatism and the Armed Struggle

DESDE LA TRIBUNA

Statements to United Nations Decolonization Committee

Jose Lopez (M.L.N.)

Ricardo Romero

(Chicano-Mexicano Commission)

Ahmed Obafemi (R.N.A.)

DESDE NUESTRO PUNTO DE VISTA

Forced Emigration and the Development of Puertorriquenidad

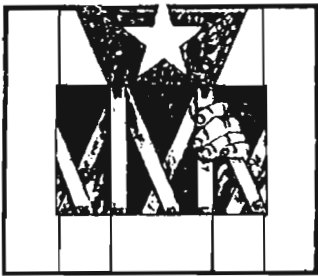
Solidarity Statement

FALL '80

DESDE LAS REJAS

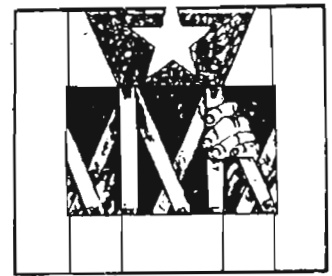
FROM WITHIN THE BARS

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE ELEVEN PRISONERS OF WAR



mation of a peoples army to bring about peoples war, rejection of compulsory military registration to the armed forces of the U.S.A., support of all political prisoners and Puerto Rican prisoners of war, implementation of a solid and unified anti-annexionist campaign.

We hope that these ideas will serve as an incentive and catalyst for the



Today, Tuesday August 26, 1980, we, the eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, wish to make a public call for the purpose of stressing various points of vital importance to the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement.

We call for the creation of a Pro-Independence Revolutionary Block as a first step towards the creation of the Puerto Rican National Liberation Front.

We address ourselves to all patriotic and pro-independence sectors affiliated and non-affiliated, committed and willing to unite around certain fundamental points in regards to the unity of the independence revolutionary movement.

We believe that the definition of this Block has to be socialist in content and anti-imperialist in character. repudiation of colonial elections, the expulsion of U.S. navy from Vieques to be seen within the contexts and perspective of ridding all Puerto Rico of imperialism, support for the armed struggle and all revolutionary clandestine organizations who are the embryo for the for-



creation of such a Block, We understand that in the final analysis it will be those integrating the Block who will realize the work and develop a strategic program based on clear points of unity.

For the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the unity of its forces in order to achieve indepen-

dence and to expel our enemy U.S. imperialism from our home land is of vital importance as it was for our Nationalist heroes Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda in their call to unity, as it was for our heroic revolutionary clandestine organizations: Organizacion De Voluntarios Para La Revolucion Puertorriquena, Ejercito Popular Boricua, Fuerzas Armadas De Resistencia Popular, Fuerzas Armadas De Liberacion Nacional Puertorriquena, in their acceptance of this call to unity given September 23, 1979 in Lares Puerto Rico, and as it is for us, the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

This call for unity is a historical necessity and historical responsibility in order to achieve final victory for our nation - Puerto Rico.

We call upon all Puerto Rican People to contribute with their ideas and creativity to the creation of a vehicle of unity which will bring about, and make possible the realization of the aspiration of our people in our homeland and in exile.

Cont. from page 2

quickly as possible to the fulfillment of socialist tasks," writes Enver Hoxha. They expose the narrow interests of the national bourgeoisie, which wants to cut the revolutionary upheaval short. This wavering class threatens to retard and sabotage the national liberation struggle, and to compromise with the oppressor. Finally, communists strive for unity with workers in the oppressor nation.

Communists in the oppressor nation fight for the right of the oppressed nation to self-determination, up to and including secession. They distinguish themselves from opportunists, who use the abstract slogans of "national equality" and "unity of nations" to cloak a chauvinist position. Communists aim to defeat the efforts of "their" bourgeoisie to hold the oppressed nation by force. They refuse all privileges. "Socialist Parties which fail to prove by all their activities now, as well as during the revolution and after its victory, that they will free the enslaved nations and establish relations with them on the basis of a free union -- and such a free union is a lying phrase without a right to secession -- such parties are committing treachery to socialism,"

Lenin.

5. For more than 200 years, Quebec has been an oppressed nation, first within Britain's North American colonies and then within independent Canada. The suppression of the 1837 rebellion, the Durham report (which advocated liquidation of the French nation), Confederation, the hanging of Riel, the conscription crisis of World War I through to the October crisis of 1970, are all episodes in the continuing oppression of Quebec.

Features of national oppression of the Quebecois include lower wages, higher unemployment, more dangerous working conditions, limited access to education, poorer housing, a higher mortality rate and inferior standards of medical and dental care. The English language continues to hold a privileged position, even in

Quebec. Outside Quebec, the linguistic rights of French-speaking minorities are everywhere denied.

There is a long tradition of resistance to this national oppression that has often taken on revolutionary dimensions. Louis Riel and 12 of the 1837 Patriots paid with their lives for their armed resistance to the chauvinist English-Canadian rulers. Following World War II, a renewed wave of national sentiment -- inspired in large part by anti-colonial revolutions in Asia and Africa -- rocked Quebec. The national bourgeoisie, which aspired to improve its own position with respect to its more powerful competitor in English Canada, dubbed this "the quiet revolution." But the working class forces, which had created the upheaval, were far from quiet. Their participation in the national struggle is a long history of strikes, demonstrations and street battles with the police. The Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) raised the spectre of armed struggle, and its revolutionary manifesto of 1970 fell on receptive ears among the workers of Quebec. The labor movement, led by the militant Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN), again and again challenged the chauvinist oppressors and their colonized French-speaking agents.

6. The struggle for the independence of Quebec is a component of the revolutionary struggle for socialism. Independentist sentiments among the workers of Quebec have unleashed powerful revolutionary energies. These have taken on an anti-imperialist and socialist orientation. We desire the development of this tendency, its advance to the stage of political general strike and armed struggle, and its eventual triumph over the English Canadian chauvinist bourgeoisie.

An obstacle along this path is the hesitant, wavering and compromising national bourgeoisie. Rene Levesque and the Parti Quebecois represent this class. Parliamentarist solutions, such as the referendum, offer little hope of striking a decisive blow for independence. They threaten to disarm and demoralize the most militant elements. Leves-

que himself is afraid to even use the word, though his "sovereignty" is the same thing as political independence. The "association" he proposes will perpetuate the economic domination by U.S. imperialism and its junior partner, English Canada. Levesque may become Quebec's Salvador Allende, leading workers into a bloody battle, all the while insisting that the army will not fight. 7. The working class must lead the national struggle. Leadership of the independence movement must be taken out of the hands of Levesque, and the proletariat put in command. Of course, the united front must encompass those elements of the national bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia willing to accept such leadership. Only the working class, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, can provide the uncompromising commitment, as well as the revolutionary tactics, necessary for victory.

8. No nation can be free if it oppresses another. English Canadian workers must learn that they can never throw off their chains until Quebec is free. Our slogan is the right of Quebec to separate. This means we resist all attacks on Quebec and attempts to subvert the independence struggle, be they the daily political intimidation of Davis, Clark and the Globe and Mail, or the naked threat of armed intervention. We strive for the military defeat of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie in its efforts to suppress the national liberation struggle. We endeavor to popularize the progress of the struggle in Quebec among the workers in English Canada, to build solidarity, and to develop respect for the militant example that is being set. We desire increasing cooperation on an organizational basis between workers in both nations.

9. The New Democratic Party (NDP) and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) play a particularly repulsive role as spokesmen for the English Canadian bourgeoisie within the labor movement. These organizations represent the backward views of the more privileged workers and the social-democratic intellec-

DESDE LA CLANDESTINIDAD FROM THE TRENCHES COLONIAL ELECTIONS AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

During the election year, it has been noted that all the participating parties have made a great show of recruiting union leaders as candidates for office -- a whole competition has emerged to demonstrate who is closest to the working class, who gives them more participation, and who represents them.

This situation has developed a great deal of debate in the heart of the left. Positions have flourished which go from an idealization of unions, of a populist shape, to the classic magic wand that some groups have continued repeatedly waving as a solution for everything, of the necessity for the communist party. Everyone has made a party analysis, throwing their coals on the bonfire, each above all, very partial. Certainly some have presented very valid arguments, but they have failed in seeing the whole scope of the problem.

The elements that stand out and seem of the greatest significance are the following:

- the necessity the bourgeois parties have had of presenting themselves in worker's clothing
- the right and the responsibilities the workers have (including the

union leaders) of participating in the political struggle

- what class character the political organizations that the workers participate in should have
- what benefits come to the working class as such, and to the unions, through the participation of the union leaders in those parties and in the bourgeois-colonial elections.
- should the unions determine the political participation of their leaders, and are their interests above the general ones of the working class?
- is there any particularity in the case of the UTIER?

The bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie have found themselves obliged by circumstances to disguise themselves as defenders of the working class. Organizationally and in its levels of political consciousness, the working class is still weak. Moreover it can be said that they haven't emerged from the ebb tide into which they fell some years ago. But everyone needs them to fix their perch in the government. They know that the economic crisis (above all in entering a recession phase) is suffered principally by the working

class. They are also well aware that the workers, for some years, have been in a process of development of political independence as a class. They have lost the hegemony they had in the first decades of the PPD, and everyone is struggling to be the substitute for it.

Possibly the ones who have the most interest in this are the PNP; or perhaps a very special interest. Being the present administration, it has stood out because of its anti-worker politics, and it needs a higher level of mass support to be able to proceed with its plans for annexation.

The PPD needs to be able to erase the anti-worker measures from its past administrations and try to channel popular disgust against the present administration.

Everything: its liberal declarations, its new thesis, its worker leaders, its attacks on corruption, its attacks on the PNP's americanization, etc. are part of its new wardrobe of opposition, "Puerto Ricaness" and workerism necessary to win office.

With the PIP, it's the same story. Only with the working class can anyone push through any change in the

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colonial political situation. Social democracy knows it, and is interested in replacing yanki imperialism with its own empire. Social democracy has demonstrated internationally a great capacity for the bourgeoisie to maintain control through governments and parties flavored with populism.

With the PSP things are a little different. Although this party is tightly linked organizationally and ideologically to the petty bourgeoisie, it presents itself as Marxist and as a workers' party. The case of the PSP must be seen from the perspective of the methods of struggle (employed); and as to how one contributes to the working class gaining consciousness as a class and consciousness of the necessity for revolutionary struggle to take power. PSP politics in regards to unions and to the use of union leaders has been very opportunist, and this has been debated so much that it is not necessary to go on recounting history. To a great extent, the rest of the analysis is applicable to these comrades.

What merits notice is that everyone, from the right to the reformists, have been pressured by the awakening and the unification demonstrated by the working class in the past 15 years. But it doesn't follow that anyone has a genuine interest in representing their interests, and much less that anyone aspires to a worker's state.

The fact that they have been able to integrate this gamut of union leaders, (from opportunists and grafters to so-called Marxists) also shows the low political development of the workers movement, the small amount of class consciousness, the penetration of bourgeois ideology, economism and reformism, and the precarious political organization of the left. This is not political participation of class conscious workers, it is completely the opposite. It is participation that strengthens different factions of the bourgeoisie. The workers haven't yet become aware that political participation of the workers, as a class, is essential to the political ends of the working class.

That their division among parties which don't have this class character debilitates the class and submerges it more in the political confusion, as much through the participation itself as through the not-very-militant position the PSP took through Lausell in the case of the UTIER.

It remains clear, however, that what is questionable is not the political party participation of the union leaders. Not only do they have this right, but it must be defended. Even more it must be defended from the point of view that they have the right to do so outside the bourgeois-colonial elections, from clandestine structures and in the armed struggle. It must be clarified also that it is a populist position to pretend that this participation can be determined by the unions. Where to participate organizationally in the class struggle is a party oriented question which the unions cannot dictate to their leaders. The unions are primary structures of struggle, ideologically heterogeneous which in their present development, respond to particular interests of sectors of the working class, but not to the historic interest of the class (seizure of power by the class, socialist society). For this reason UTIER cannot be consulted concerning the participation of Lausell and Dupry. This would only contribute to dividing UTIER more than it has already been divided by the participation of these principal leaders in the electoral process.

The candidacy of the different union leaders is not going to contribute anything to the development of the workers' movement. It has no utility for the workers. The ranks of the respective unions will be divided along party lines among parties foreign to the class; will strengthen their hopes for legislative reforms to alleviate their situation; they will continue believing in the bourgeois-colonial channels for political struggle. It will create a dependency on what the leaders can do instead of fomenting workers' participation in the struggles of the masses; it will strengthen the view of separating the unions from politics, when they see the disaster this brings to their unions or to the political organi-

zation of the class as to the development of the workers' consciousness.

Some have argued that the problem is the lack of a working class party. Again they bring the simplistic formula of parties, and don't even explain how the existence of such a party would resolve things. In reality if this ideal party existed, if Lausell were its candidate and if it participated in the bourgeois-colonial election process, its arguments presented here would be the same. It would do the same damage to the struggle for independence and socialism. In reality behind the argumentation for a party is hidden the hope of converting it into a powerful party so that some individuals could participate in elections. From this position, one of the arguments used against the PSP is that Lausell should be participating even when he has no chance. But if he had a chance, would the action be correct? NO!

In the case of the UTIER, the situation is graver. This union finds itself in negotiations and with the candidacy of two of its principal leaders, which is weakening the unity with which they should be confronting the bosses at this moment. The (mesquinos) party interests do not deserve the sacrifice of the political and organizational strength of the UTIER.

To conclude: the effort of the union leaders and of the workers on the left, as well as the socialist organizations themselves, should concentrate, in regards their union work and with the working class, in the development and strengthening of the processes of union democracy, the creation of the political consciousness of the class, and the organization of the working class not just in unions but primarily in partisan and non-partisan political organisms inside and outside the unions. They ought to seek the struggle in the streets and the mobilization of the masses which will foster political participation in the struggle and prepare the masses; they should avoid methods that detour from these objectives. Along this political and organizational line,
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PART TWO: DOGMATISM AND ARMED STRUGGLE A LITTLE HISTORY

The Third Communist International, having as its purpose to reunite and co-ordinate forces and tactics that were capable of seizing revolutionary state power by the working class, was founded in 1919.

The Bolshevik experience presented itself as the beacon that illuminated the path. For it was that party that had obtained the triumph, and its influence and prestige weighed heavily upon the revolutionary reasoning of that epoch.

The practice of the Russian communists had demonstrated the harmonious combination of both elements, and the European communists thought that the same could be repeated in their countries. In addition, they concluded that the Russian Revolution signaled the beginning of the revolution in Europe, and that this in turn signified the downfall of capitalism; all this within a short period of time.

Lenin shared this judgement, and along with the rest of the International, had his vision set on Germany. The German situation was frequently referred to as establishing parallels with the Russian experience. Parallels that did not correspond with the German political reality.

Three insurrections realized under extremely unfavorable conditions were smashed in Germany.

The Third International firmly maintained its insurrectional outlook in its revolutionary thinking; the defeats directed the revolutionaries to develop more effective forms of insurrection. But it was only after more insurrectional defeats, and in spite of the Third

International and his Party's leadership that Mao illuminated the correct road towards prolonged people's war.

The dogmatists, however, identifying armed struggle with insurrections, concluded that these insurrectional defeats signified the present incapacity or impossibility of taking up arms, and began to preach the "parliamentary tactic" as the first stage of the "Revolution" that would fortify the possibilities and ripen the "objective conditions" that would culminate in a victorious insurrection.



But the "tactical" incidence resulted in a deviation. The "means" became an "end" and parliamentarism became a true means of political and ideological perversion upon the leadership of the Communist parties. In Germany, in addition to the initial theory that the social democrats were the principal enemies, the parliamentarism of the Communist Party facilitated the fascists' rise to power.

All this was before the Second World War.

During World War II the French Communists fought in the Resistance against the Nazi occupation,

with a courage and heroism with few historical precedents. Thousands of lives were lost. While the Communists operated in guerrilla units, the non-Communist anti-fascists limited themselves to obtaining information for the Allies. Very few, if any, were combatants.

Once the war had ended, the leadership of the French Communist Party literally disarmed its combatants, whose organization was experienced, massive and solid; in other words, capable of developing the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of state power, at the War's end, and returned to the "revolutionary" parliamentarist tactic.

The piglets, Orwell would say, could no longer be distinguished from the humans.

Historically, the dogmatists have been extremely flexible in their tactics (the very cry of "flexibility" is a tactic). However, they have been extremely rigid in other things: they have reneged on the working-class struggle and have opted for compromise, with the active collaboration with the enemy class. The strikes, the mass demonstrations, and the confrontations with the armed forces of the bourgeoisie have all been replaced by the electoral fronts, the strike-breaking pacifism, the economism and other reformist leprosies.

They are, objectively, the fifth column of the "anti-fascist" or "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie within the working class. They are the tranquilizing pill with which fascism and imperialism paralyze the work-

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DOGMATISM AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE:

ing class, while they prepare to repress and make war.

THE SOLUTION

There is an old dialectical dictum that the remedy is a product of the illness.

With the rise and proliferation of prolonged people's war on a world-wide scale, the conditions which gave life to the development of dogmatism disappear. From the very entrails of dogmatism have arisen the revolutionary elements which, reacting against the collaborationist politic of the previous parties, have routed their militancy along paths productive to the working class: Carlos Marighella was a member of the Executive Commission of the Communist Party of Brazil, Douglas Bravo was a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Venezuela, and Salvador Cayetano Carpio was the Secretary General of the Communist Party of El Salvador.

Dogmatism, however, is not dead. The enemy sponsors it generously.

The politico-military development of the revolutionary guerrillas will lead the working class in overcoming this limitation. The stupefaction which its existence produces is dangerous, but if revolutionaries orient themselves correctly, they can annihilate it. One never undertakes or adopts a centrist position in relation to them. To do so would mean that Che's sacrifice was in vain, and that the Mario Monjes became once again effective.



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tuals. If armed invasion of Quebec is threatened, it will be Broadbent and McDermott egging the troops on to battle.

10. There is another variety of chauvinist which attacks the national movement from the "left." Organizations such as the Communist Party of Canada, The Forge, In Struggle and the Communist Party of Canada (ML), devote more energy to attacks on Levesque's petty-bourgeois nationalism than they do to the chauvinists in Ottawa. They betray their own Canadian -- that is, English Canadian -- nationalism. They see an independent Quebec as a threat to a "strong Canada," though such chauvinist drivel is often masked in slogans about a "free union" and a "new constitution." For example, the Communist Party of Canada (pro-Moscow) urges a strong Canada to fight U.S. imperialism, while The Forge (pro-Peking) urges a strong Canada to fight Soviet imperialism. The Communist Party has a long two-faced history of craven support for the most nationalist demands of the English Canadian petty-bourgeoisie, all the while condemning "nationalist tendencies" among the workers of Quebec. The virulent, one-sided attacks on the PQ pervade the propaganda of these groups, not only in Quebec but in English Canada as well, where they fan the flames of chauvinism.

11. Just as struggles in Iran, Nicaragua and Palestine have struck a mortal blow at U.S. imperialism, the struggle for the liberation of Quebec may devastate the English Canadian bourgeoisie, and bring on its own revolutionary crisis. Plagued by contradictions not only with Quebec but also with a long history of separatist movements in Maritime and Western Canada (mainly annexationists who wanted to join the U.S.), the main source of strength of the dominant Montreal-Toronto capitalist group has been its rule and oppression of Quebec. This is the cornerstone of Canadian capitalism, in much the same sense as Ireland has "served" British imperialism.

Quebec's favored natural resources, advantageous geographic position along the St. Lawrence, and rich source of labor (paid less and treated worse than workers elsewhere in the country), all contributed to the strength of the oppressor. Quebec was the plum that made this group supreme not only in Ontario but on the Atlantic and Pacific as well. Lenin says a revolutionary situation arises not only when the people have reached a situation where "they have nothing to lose but their chains," but also where the rulers themselves are unable to continue in the old way. Therefore, the possible break-up of Canada prompted by the national liberation of Quebec, could cause a crisis that would totally undermine the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and precipitate a revolution throughout Canada.

November 29, 1979

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valid for both public and clandestine organizations, will be found the base to organize the working class for participation and leadership of the struggle for independence and socialism.

Taken from Urayoan, the official organ of the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular, (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance) F.A.R.P., 3rd year, May/June, number 3.

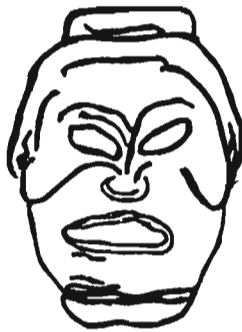
NO VOTE

STATEHOOD AND CULTURAL AGRESSION

Culture is one of the aspects of society whose study presents major difficulties. The principal barrier is that it is not limited to material production of a people, but rather is a phenomenon principally of the thought and the conduct of a social being. Also we consider that there are multiple concrete and tangible manifestations of culture such as the instruments of labor, literature the mode of production, the plastic arts, customs, crafts, architecture, clothing, music, language and dance. All these elements manifest particular features of the culture of a people and are possibly the principal instruments to approach the study and comprehension of the culture. They are a manifestation of and a part of, but do not in themselves constitute, a culture. This human process that we call culture also encompasses a way of seeing things, of appreciating various natural and social phenomena, of the concept of what is beautiful and what is ugly, of determining what function anyone in society (as a class or social sector) can hope to fulfill, as well as a code of ethics and the whole gamut of thoughts and tastes. All these are elements that sometimes are explicitly manifest and other times are implicit and in use even though never mentioned. The implicit character of many of these aspects is one of the barriers in the way of comprehending the cultural phenomenon of a people.

Two other characteristics of a culture are its dialectical essence and its dependence on the mode of life of the society. Culture is in constant development. Like all social processes it springs forth, develops and changes, and can die. It goes on discarding what is worn out, whatever becomes an obstacle to the economic development of the society. In this way the indigenous or Taino

culture which the Spanish encountered was affected by the imposition of another culture that came accompanied by certain methods of production and technology that were more developed. The aboriginal culture was halted in its own development and succumbed before a more developed social organization. The same thing occurred with the culture that was brought by the African element. Uprooted from their milieu, forced to adapt to other conditions of life; their concept of the world,



their way of seeing things, their mode of relating to other human beings and their form of showing their feelings were all changed. They were assimilated culturally by a milieu and a culture that was at an advantage.

This process of assimilation that took place with the Taino and the African culture, which we have mentioned very superficially and without detail, flowed in its turn into a development of the predominant culture, the Spanish. After this process one can no longer speak of a Spanish culture like the ruling culture of the metropolis (also one can not say that the culture of Spain remains the same before and after the discovery of America) corresponding to the culture among the Spaniards who lived in Puerto Rico at that time. In the process of cultural assimilation, from the adaptation of the Spaniards themselves to

different conditions of life, from the establishment of certain modes of production appropriate to the colony, the inhabitants of the Island continued adapting features of the assimilated cultures, and at the same time there emerged characteristics of that society which distinguished it from the metropolis as well as from the other colonies in America.

This differentiation was forming a new nation in America, the Puerto Rican nation. Descendants of Tainos, Africans, and Spaniards began to call themselves, and to feel like, criollos (creoles). The island economy acquired its own demands and interests. The people born here developed a patriotic love of this island and a particular form of expressing their sentiments.

There emerged two essential elements for the consolidation of a people as a nation: the national feeling of its component parts, that is, the consciousness of themselves as a nation; and what the sociologists call "spirit of the body" (a feeling of belonging to a larger group, family, team, barrio or country) together with certain economic interests that needed to create their own road ahead.

The new cultural formation which was consolidated in the 19th Century had in turn its own development. From the moment that we can observe the emergence of the new nation and its culture we see a movement that produced changes in two directions. In one direction distinguishing itself more and more from its origins and building its own personality; and in the other direction developing itself within the new mechanisms, channels, patterns visions and interests which had been forming in its breast. The struggle between the old and the new dynamized a culture. In turn this

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STATEHOOD AND CULTURAL AGGRESSION

acquires its own life and—even though determined by the mode of production—becomes independent and influences it.

The key word in the process is “determined.” Although a culture develops into a structure of its own, subject to its own laws of development, affected by interaction with other cultures, enriching itself by the acquisition of universal values, and even influencing the material medium of its existence, it is limited by the material base on which it is built.*1

It has been scientifically demonstrated that this material base is where there is erected the whole edifice formed by political institutions, the state, ideas, parties, religion and other factors usually known as the superstructure of the society. Culture is a broader concept than superstructure because it integrates aspects which constitute the material base, or the mode of production.

In the material base the most important factors are those which revolve around the economic life of a people. To the extent that the economic conditions of life of the population of Borinquen were differentiating themselves and becoming less dependent on the metropolis, they were forging different interests and methods of seeing things.*2

*1 The material base of a culture is constituted by its geography, climate and mode of production. By mode of production we mean what constitutes the productive forces, which embrace everything from the social being itself as an entity with experience, the instruments of work, up to the technology and scientific discoveries, and on the other hand the relations of production which are established among human beings at a particular historical developmental stage of the productive forces.

*2. Other influential factors were the distance from the metropolis and the state of communications media.

Also influential in the process of Yanqui intervention in Puerto Rico was the emergence of a capitalist power in America and the commercial relations already established before the invasion, between the Spanish colony and the U.S. This trade came to be part of the material base on which were developed classes and class interests which formed a contradictory nation where some defended the status quo, others sought to free themselves from the colonial shackles that impeded their development as a class, and others sought to deepen the relationships with the U.S. as a means to achieve their own interests. Within the pre-invasion commercial relations were established the political and ideological bases that facilitated the military intervention. These relations were developing the social base of support for the yanquis.

From the North American intervention up until now the Puerto Rican culture has been a debate between two antagonistic currents. One was national affirmation and the other assimilation into North America. Both, with their own development and at the same time interrelated. The great difference between them is that one, the pro-North American, has counted on the whole material weight of the ruling colonial relations. The assimilationist ideology has been the foundation of the predominant modes of production cultural assimilation has matched economic assimilation. The other current has had to fulfill the magnificent function of resistance.

It is not out of the geniality of the political rulers that the annexationists are governing now. Decades of yanqui colonialism and an entire period of free associated state-ism have been the base which has placed annexationism on the offensive. If in the past there have been criollos who have felt themselves to be Spaniards and Spanish patterns of life were felt to be the ones that should be imitated; today, thanks to eighty years of yanqui imperialism, we also have a sector of the population which feels itself to be North American and whose patterns of life copy those of the north.

The assimilationists want to present the Puerto Rican culture as something static and superficial, as a process subject to the will and whim of the Puerto Ricans. They attempt to show that conditions cannot exist, beyond the will of the people, that could assimilate the national culture into North American culture. Moreover they pretend to show that the yanquis have no such intention. Let's read some paragraphs from the pamphlet by Romero Barcelo entitled “Statehood is for the poor”:

“Puerto Rico is a duly constituted people, with a way of existing—what is called a culture—which is very much particular to us and well defined.”

“What was the situation when the U.S. invasion came to Puerto Rico in 1898 as part of the war between Spain and the U.S.?”

“...Then began a mistaken chapter in the relations between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. The Americans then began an attempt to convert the Puerto Ricans into Americans. And, mistakenly, some Puerto Ricans of those times began to believe that within a short time the Puerto Ricans would become Americans.”

“This experiment lasted some thirty years. And it failed, as it had to fail. Because the Puerto Ricans are Puerto Ricans and we cannot ever be converted into Anglo-Saxons without going crazy.”

“...This is so for many reasons. First because the Puerto Ricans of that time, who were our fathers and our grandfathers, had a way of being that they were not going to change for any other way of being, so abruptly and almost violently. In the second place the Americans did not move to Puerto Rico in great numbers...”

“All of the above only goes to explain a great truth which we all know and recognize in our most intimate hearts and our way of being: that we Puerto Ricans are what we are, and what we are going to continue being.”

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"Our culture, as we pointed out earlier, is our way of being. Is our Puerto Rican way of being going to change overnight when the U.S. Congress converts us, on our petition, into the 51st State? Clearly not. How is it possible to change? Peoples ways of being are not something that can be controlled by legislation."

"When another piece of legislation made Puerto Ricans citizens of the U.S. in 1917, our way of being did not change at all. We kept dressing the way we dressed. We kept eating what we ate. We continued to have the same religion. And we continued speaking Spanish. There is not one aspect of Puerto Rican culture that has changed since 1917 as a consequence of Puerto Ricans being made, by Congressional legislation, into citizens of the U.S."

"When Congress passes the law that converts us into the 51st State ...we will continue being the same people, speaking the same language that we now speak, dancing the same dances that we now dance, and celebrating the same holidays we now celebrate."

And he concludes:

"How do we guarantee to the Puerto Ricans that this will be so?"

"We guarantee it simply by insisting that it be so."

The man who denied Puerto Rican culture, the party that describes our culture as a provincial one, now wants to give it a false strength and limit it to dance, dress, food and language. In truth, the reality of what they describe has been different. The beginning of the century was a titanic resistance to preserve our culture before the coarse and savage yanqui attempt to assimilate us. The children of this land who lived or were born in the beginning of this century know another reality. They have seen how "our way of being" has been changing. How a sector of the population has been americanizing; how the "american way of life" has penetrated even into our countryside.

If the Puerto Rican culture has succeeded in surviving and developing itself as it has, this has been because of two fundamental factors. When the North Americans invaded Puerto Rico they encountered a nation already constituted, with strong cultural characteristics in full development. The mechanisms of



defense and development already had decades of establishment and had manifested themselves in the Grito de Lares, in a struggle to abolish slavery, in art, literature, politics, in an autonomous government and in a social class (the large landowners) who, having economic power, were seeking political power.

Assimilation did not easily result from these conditions, and the process required fundamental changes in the economic order. The first years were ones of unequal struggle between a power, and an economy in transition that did not have mechanisms for struggle. But what did exist was an economy that would have to be absorbed in order to facilitate cultural assimilation, constituted an initial barrier of resistance.

Today, after 82 years of Yanki penetration, we find an economy absorbed by imperialism. Now they have the material base to complete the cultural assimilation. In the process they have accomplished the Americanization of a great sector of the population, but they have encountered a tenacious resistance in the order of the spiritual culture of our people. The PPD and the ELA served as an instrument of assimilation in order to create the platform from which they launched the pro-statehood forces, who are hurrying to surpass the servility of the others.

The PNP has been outstanding for its attempts to consolidate the mechanisms of destruction of the Puerto Rican culture. They have

intensified the process of americanization in the whole educational system, they have proposed to abolish sovereignty in sports, they have introduced the primaries of the Yanki parties and propose to introduce the U.S. presidential vote with the intention of assimilation the local parties; they have deepened economic dependence and have attacked institutions like the Puerto Rican Ateneo, the University and the Institute of Culture. Their intention is obvious: to eliminate the sources of resistance in the cultural sphere. If this is so even while we are not yet a federal state, what remains for us when they win their goal?

Under federal statehood all the vital institutions of the people will be integrated into the institutions of the empire. The political system, the educational system, sports, the legislature, the development of culture, the whole judicial system, would be at the service of the national interests of the U.S. Already, in practice, many of these institutions fulfill this function. Statehood would end with taking away the instruments needed for the will of the national struggle of the people to be able to find means to concretize themselves in a development of their culture.

Moreover they propose to bring the people to stop thinking in terms of their national identity. They would not speak in terms of the nation and the Puerto Rican people. They would be the people, and the nation of North America. These are the true objectives of the annexationists. In the past they have encountered strong resistance from the people against the disappearance of the nation. Today, when the imperialists have achieved absolute domination over the economy, it is of vital importance to strengthen the instruments of defense of the culture and to win national independence, the only way in which the people and the working class can create the mechanisms for strengthening and developing the national culture to higher levels.

DESDE LA TRIBUNA FROM THE PODIUM

UNITED NATIONS

STATEMENT BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON DECOLONI-
ZATION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS ON THE COLONIAL
CASE OF PUERTO RICO AND
PUERTO RICANS IN THE
UNITED STATES
ON BEHALF OF THE MOVI-
MIENTO DE LIBERACION
NACIONAL

Jose Lopez
National Coordinator
August 18, 1980

Honorable Delegates:

It has been exactly two years since we last addressed this august body. At that time we outlined the conditions of the Puerto Rican people inside the United States—or, as Jose Marti referred to it, to live within the belly of the monster and to know its ways.

Since that time, much has happened, particularly in regards to the revolutionary Puerto Rican independence movement, both in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. We have witnessed the glorious escape of William Guillermo Morales, the death of the Patriot Andres Figueroa Cordero, the unconditional release of the remaining four Puerto Rican national heroes: Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores, the issuance of a joint communique by four of the six active Puerto Rican revolutionary guerrilla organizations in response to the unitary call made by the Four upon their release. Since then, we have witnessed also, the horrible and barbaric assassination of the Patriot Angel Rodriguez Cristobal,

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Mr. President, and Distinguished Delegates:

I am Ahmed Obafemi, the Eastern Regional Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. I appear before you today on behalf of 20 million New Afrikan people of the New Afrikan Nation, in North America, to express our full support and solidarity for the Independence of Puerto Rico and the 11 Prisoners of War.

The New Afrikan Nation is an internal colony of the United States. The territory of the nation is located in the southeast portion of what is currently called by imperialists the United States of America. As a colony, we have suffered the hideous results of colonization, rampant unemployment, wretched health care, and diabolical mal-treatment in the educational area. In the area of criminal justice at this very moment the state of Illinois is attempting to put to death 17 Black men on a frame-up prosecution in Chicago. This continues an American tradition wherein 54% of the persons executed in the United States have been New Afrikans, although the New Afrikan population is only 12% of the total population of the United States.

The New Afrikan people became a nation upon this land via the institution of slavery when millions of Afrikans were kidnapped from the Afrikan continent, and from various tribal nations and brought to the Americas. In North America a New Afrikan nation was born, the captives from numerous Afrikan tribal nations merged into one people during slavery, with one culture, a new Afrikan homeland, and one language

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Statement Before the Committee on Decolonization of the U.N. By Ricardo Romero Representative of the Chicano/Mexicano Commission of the M.L.N.

I would like to thank all the Members of the Decolonization Committee, all the nations present here today, who have made it possible to address ourselves to the question of Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico.

I also choose to take this opportunity to address myself to the plight of the Chicano/Mexicano people in the United States.

I will begin by giving a brief historical background and analysis of the necessity of our struggle.

Since the early 1500's, with the invasion of our homelands by the Spaniards, the Chicano/Mexicano people have struggled to gain their Independence. We struggled against Spain for 300 years until finally, in the year 1821 we gained our independence from Spain.

Our people have a history of struggle that is unequalled in the history of the Americas.

Our independence from Spain was short-lived, as the French imposed an Emperor on our nation by the name of Maximilian. We struggled against this invasion by the French and defeated them on the Fifth of May at Puebla in the year 1867.

During this period we had a neighbor to the north of us who was the rising capitalist power, who had deliberate plans to expand their capitalism and looked to our country as a basis from which they could begin.

Thus the Mexican nation was coming out of 80 years of internal

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leader of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, at the hands of his jailers in Tallahassee Federal Prison. A month later, we witnessed a political execution, by a combined commando force of the guerrilla organizations, during an attack on a U.S. Navy bus—one of the most dramatic and well-executed military actions in Puerto Rico's history. This incident, which left 2 sailors dead and 10 others wounded, saw the revolutionary forces escape unharmed, while some of the Naval survivors were given the Purple Heart—a military honor bestowed by the U.S. government for actions of courage demonstrated in a war situation, a clear testimony that a state of war exists between Puerto Rico and the U.S. On April 4, 1980, we witnessed the capture of 11 Puerto Rican freedom fighters, accused of membership in the heroic Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (F.A.L.N.) by the civilian police of Evanston, Illinois. It is this latter incident that we wish to address ourselves to today.

Before continuing, it is appropriate that we salute those peoples and movements who today, along with us, struggle against the greatest enemy of humanity, U.S. imperialism: we stretch our hands to greet the courageous people of Iran who have demonstrated to the world that a small nation can bring a major power to its knees. We take note of and solidify ourselves with the heroic Chilean resistance against the bloody Pinochet's dictatorship. We salute the valiant people of El Salvador, who like their brave neighbors of Nicaragua, have pledged to rid their territory of imperialism and its dictatorial lackeys. We embrace the heroic Palestinian people in their struggle against Zionism, which is a specific form of racism and imperialism. We wish to extend our unconditional solidarity to the people of Ireland, who struggle for a United Ireland, to the Mexican revolutionary movement which seeks to realize the dreams of Zapata in this new era, and the Black Li-

beration struggle which seeks to end internal colonialism and which in Miami gave a prelude of the militant and revolutionary mood that is sweeping the Black community in this decade of the 80s. We wish, at this time, to make particular note of the struggle of the people of Quebec for self-determination and independence, and to extend to them our revolutionary greetings.

Honorable Delegates, all these forces, and many of the nations represented in this body, in one degree or another are challenging U.S. imperialist hegemony, particularly as enunciated in its strategy of trilateralism. I am sure that all of you



are familiar with trilateralism. However, it is necessary for us to elaborate a bit on the subject, as it relates significantly to Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

The organization whom I have the great honor to represent before this august assembly, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (M.L.N.) has enunciated a four-pronged program for the total liberation of the Puerto Rican people, placing it within the context of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for social progress. In analyzing our program, which is essentially the program of the Puerto Rican revolutionary movement, we see Puerto Rico playing a

strategic role in the human struggle for liberation. Why do we have the audacity to proclaim this?

Honorable Delegates, the reasons are two-fold. We need only look around this room to see that national liberation in this epoch is the motive force for social progress, and in the struggle for national independence. Secondly, Puerto Rico is both the Achilles Heel of U.S. imperialism and its Trojan Horse. There is no doubt in our minds that, regardless of who is elected in November 1980, the present Trilateralist strategy will continue.

Internationally this means that the declining U.S. imperialists will attempt by whatever means to sustain a hegemonistic position over the so-called free world. While trying to make some concessions to three other Western economies, particularly Western Europe, Canada, and Japan, and perhaps even share some of its technology with emerging Third World countries with mineral wealth, it will do everything possible to suffocate liberation struggles wherever they appear. However, we know that the world is changing and inter-imperialist conflicts are definitely emerging. This brings us to the point of domestic trilateralism.

As the U.S. is weakened abroad, as its economic and political position wanes, the U.S. monopolists, particularly the finance capitalists, will have to confront major internal conflicts. For hundreds of years the U.S., not content with settling the lands of the native peoples, and not content with the takeover of half the national territory of Mexico, and not content with enslaving millions of Africans, and not content with its military intervention in Puerto Rico, has attempted, by whatever means—from starvation to lynching, from sterilization to assassinations, from infanticide to national annihilation of these subject peoples—the U.S. has done everything possible to transform these peoples within its federal structure into objects. This policy can only be called genocide.

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The common history of objectification of Third World people within the imperialist borders of the federal state has given birth to a common history of resistance. This resistance of Native People, of Black People, of Chicano-Mexicano people and of Puerto Rican people reached a high point in the 1960's. Particular note of this is made in the Trilateralist blueprint for fascism in the U.S., *Crisis in Democracy*. This document, which we discussed when we last addressed this body, clearly states that fascism is the only alternative for the U.S. It is within this context that one must examine both police, F.B.I. and I.N.S. terrorism in Third World communities, as well as the reimplementation of draft registration. For as the U.S. tightens its belt, it must insure its ability to combat the growing insurgency from its internal colonies.

Honorable Delegates, one only has to look at America to see clearly the road it is trotting. Cities are being transformed from dwellings for the poor into renaissance centers for the wealthy. The policy of gentrification is resolving one of America's greatest problems— for, unlike in any other cities in the world, in the U.S. the poor and the people of color live in the inner cities, while the white and the wealthy live in the outskirts. Through an urban policy that pours money directly into communities, the Carter administration is changing the urban settings of America. While Carter whitens the cities, the financial oligarchy begins to directly manage them, even to the point where city budgets are now approved by finance capital. They can no longer trust the politicians to do their work for them. The whole superstructure increasingly is transforming itself into a fascist corporate state. Fascism is characterized by the state's ability to mobilize the masses to wholeheartedly support the programs of the national monopolies. One has only to look at Hitler addressing one million applauding German workers to understand that his ability to do this was

at the expense of millions of lives of Jews, Poles and other Slavs, whom he sacrificed as scapegoats. One does not have to be a wise man to decipher who are to be America's scapegoats. They most certainly will be found in this country's internal colonies— the Blacks, the Chicano-Mexicanos, the Puerto Ricans and the Native Americans.

Across the land we are seeing a reemergence of fascist and racist organisms, from the election of a Nazi to a Congressional seat in Michigan to open attacks by the K.K.K. on Blacks and Mexicans everywhere. The most blatant forms of racism were channeled and orchestrated by the state against Iranian students in the U.S., even to the point where young Iranians cannot walk the streets of America's cities without fear of losing their lives.

Not only are the masses of white people being mobilized to support the right-wing trend in the U.S., but an all-out effort is being made to control the Third World population in the U.S. As we mentioned earlier, a general wave of dispersion of Third World communities in America's urban regions is taking place. This dispersion is systematic, and well orchestrated. At the same time, certain areas in the suburbs are being opened for occupancy by people of color. Do not be surprised if America's suburbs of today are transformed into America's bantustans tomorrow. At the same time that this is happening, America's jails are filled with Third World people. 70% to 80% of the nearly 500,000 prisoners in this country's jails are Blacks, Chicano-Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans; although we still constitute a minority of the general population. Do not be surprised when today's American prisons are transformed into tomorrow's American political internment centers.

Honorable Delegates, I did not wish to develop a thesis on domestic trilateralism or fascism in the U.S. I did want you to understand the situation of Third World people, their relationship to world-wide imperialism, and that U.S. imperial-

ism has developed a fully operational strategy to maintain its hegemony ; that is, trilateralism.

And a challenge to this strategy must be developed. We, as an organization, intend to contribute our grain of salt to the evolution of such a strategy against U.S. imperialist hegemony across the Americas, based upon the principle of self-determination and mutual respect, accepting the idea that we are distinct peoples whose conditions require the realization that only a common strategy will insure the destruction of our common enemy. Therefore, one of our organizational perspectives, upon which we have built our strategy, is to nurture and enlist the support of oppressed nationalities as well as progressive white people within this country.

Today, as a consequence of our efforts and those of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, this body is being addressed by representatives of the Chicano-Mexicano and Black liberation movements. They have come to demonstrate their support for our cause as articulated by our eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. They have come, along with their brothers from Quebec and Mexico, to tell you that by your recognition of the P.O.W. status for the eleven, you are actually recognizing the right, not only of Puerto Ricans, but also of Chicano-Mexicano, Black and Native peoples to rid themselves of the shackles of colonialism by whatever means are necessary, including armed struggle.

Honorable Delegates, history charges you with a tremendous responsibility. Your support, the support of the General Assembly, the support of peoples everywhere, is of the utmost importance in our quest to reclaim our national sovereignty, taken from us 82 years ago by the armed forces of the U.S. There are only few of you sitting here today whose nation has not been a pawn of imperialism; there are few of you who have not tasted the bitter experience of being a non-human entity. There are few of you
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who are not living the legacy of colonialism.

That the struggle from within the U.S. is as legitimate an anti-imperialist struggle as that of peoples in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe. The eleven Puerto Rican P.O.W.s were captured within the enemy's lines. They organized themselves to challenge the power of U.S. colonialism. They have clearly stated that the struggle of the Puerto Ricans on the island and the struggle within the metropolitan hearth are one and the same. They, following the heroic examples of Oscar Collazo, Griselio Torresola, Lolita Lebron, Andres Figueroa Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores, have opened and strengthened what we refer to as the rearguard struggle.

This brings us to the second point of our four-pronged strategy, the development of a rearguard struggle deeply rooted in the Puerto Rican reality of the barrios of the U.S. and capable of mobilizing the Puerto Rican masses to support concretely the revolutionary struggle of Puerto Rico. We intend to develop a rearguard movement that addresses itself to the reality of oppressed nationalities here, and to develop a strategic unity with these forces. A unity that recognizes the diversity of historical experiences and the commonality of our resistance. As we enter the decade of the eighties, the very survival of our people will depend upon this unity. We intend to develop a rearguard struggle that is capable of mobilizing solidarity from progressive whites and sectors of the white working class who have not been bought off by the state. In doing this we hope to contribute significantly to revolution in this country. We believe that from the ashes of a totally dismembered federal structure, a new order will rise, a new order in which injustices, racial and national oppression cannot exist.

At this point we see that the priority, because of the rising contradiction, because of the U.S. imperialist attempt to annihilate our nation through statehood, is Puerto

Rico. From our programmatic perspective, there are two other strategic points: international support and solidarity, and the creation of a National Liberation Front.



Honorable Delegates, let your conscience guide you through these difficult moments. It is imperative that in the decade of the eighties, colonialism be put to rest. You have a tremendous role to play; accept the challenge. Two years ago I told you we, as a people, have accepted the challenge of history. Today we bring you the courage of examples of Luis Rosa, Elizam Escobar, Carlos Torres, Ricardo Jimenez, Carmen Valentin, Adolfo Matos, Lucy Rodriguez, Alicia Rodriguez, Maria Haydee Beltran Torres, Dylcia Pagan and Alfredo Mendez. These cadres of the Puerto Rican conscience in arms accepted the challenge to free our homeland, to bring the struggle within the entrails of the monster and to tell the world that Puerto Rico cannot be free without a strategy that revolves around the concept of prolonged people's war. These eleven are committed to a life and death struggle against imperialism; they clearly understand the consequences of their actions and are willing to accept the responsibility. You, who have long lists of freedom fighters, are being asked to recognize their right to be Prisoners of War, to be treated according to international mandates of the 1949 Geneva Convention, and subsequent U.N. resolutions.

Even though the U.S. has charged them with criminal activities, one quick review of the transcript of their so-called trials will suffice to tell you that they were tried for political reasons. An all-white jury condemned them to long years in

prison for criminal actions that in most cases would be served under probation. The state's attorney stated these people have declared war on us, we have to teach them and their supporters a lesson. What is the lesson—incarceration in control units, where a prisoner is not allowed human contact, not allowed to read or write, not permitted visits, where he or she must vegetate for years. The charge of conspiracy which, if present legislation is passed, can be an automatic death penalty. I could go on but, Honorable Delegates, there is no reason for me to. Most of you know that under the guise of a campaign of human rights this nation has the greatest human rights problem in the world today.

The eleven have heard the call of freedom and they have responded. They shall continue to do so until final victory. They clearly understand that Puerto Rico cannot be free without the emergence of a National Liberation Front. The embryo of such a front is emerging as the ideological debate sharpened by the question of the position of prisoners of war grows; and as armed organizations advance their joint politico-military work.

Puerto Rico will be free by the efforts of the Puerto Rican people and with the support of peoples everywhere. Your recognition of the right of Puerto Rico to be free, your support of the eleven to be treated as prisoners of war, will advance the cause of humanity. As the Puerto Rican revolution grows, I can assure you, U.S. imperialism will be altered dramatically. A free Puerto Rico in Latin America will be the Achilles' Heel of U.S. Imperialism; and the struggle of the Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities will be its Trojan Horse.

Honorable Delegates, we call upon you to heed our message; we do not want violence, we want peace. You can ensure this through your direct involvement by demanding that the U.S. respect Puerto Rico's right to independence and repatriate our freedom fighters, Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marciano.

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The provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika was founded by a Declaration of Independence in 1968, at a New Afrikan Peoples' Convention in Detroit, Michigan. With the signing of the Declaration We declared ourselves formally and before the world as non-citizens of the United States and instead as citizens of our own Nation. The Provisional Government is a leader among the many formations which are currently working for the liberation of New Afrika and the New Afrikan people. The Provisional Government is a political descendant of the slave rebels who fought to overthrow the plantation. It is also a political descendant of the New Afrikan independence fighters who fought for the freedom of the New Afrikan communities in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama immediately after the institution of slavery in North America was declared to be legally abolished. The Provisional Government is a political successor of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey, the Afro-American Blood Brotherhood, the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, the Nation of Islam and numerous other formations. Our struggle for the independence of New Afrika and the freedom of New Afrikan people is conducted in union with the Afrikan Peoples Party, the New Afrikan Prison Organization, the Black Liberation Army, and various black united fronts including the National Black United Front, and the National Black Human Rights Coalition.

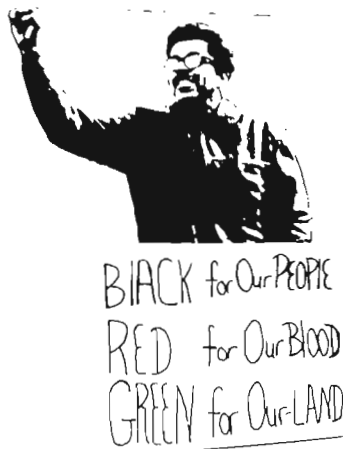
In 1970 the Provisional Government established its national government headquarters in the subjugated territory.

The intentions of the Republic of New Afrika were well known to the United States government as early as May, 1968, when the United States State Department met with an official of the Republic of New Afrika and accepted a note containing a request for negotiations over questions of land and reparations. The United States State Department said the note would be studied.

Again in March 1971, United States Congressman John Conyers Jr. delivered a Republic of New Afrika proposal to the then United States President Richard Nixon. The legal case for the existence of the Black Nation can be found in the Article Three Brief which was filed in United States District Court for the Southern District (The U.S. vs. Imari A. Obadele).

However it is worthy to note that the Attorney General of Mississippi stated to the press in April of 1971, that he had no authority to negotiate with the Republic of New Afrika since he had no authority to negotiate in the area of foreign affairs.

In response to the Attorney General of Mississippi's request to rid the state of the Republic of New Afrika, the United States Government as a part of its war strategy "COINTELPRO" conspired to militarily attack the Republic of New Afrika. Shortly after sunrise on



August 18, 1971, in Jackson Mississippi, the official residence of the Republic of New Afrika was raided by 15 policemen, and 14 FBI agents seeking to serve a fugitive warrant on a young man believed to be in the house. Gunfire was exchanged and a policeman was killed and two other law enforcement agents were injured. Seven Republic of New Afrika citizens in the house and four others at the Republics nearby office were arrested and jailed on charges of murder, assault with a deadly weapon and "waging war against the State of Mississippi." The latter charge was based on a pre-civil war statute. Eventually, certain charges were dropped and some Republic

of New Afrika citizens were released after serving fail terms. Three, however, were sentenced to life imprisonment, one received two concurrent 10 year prison terms. In May 1973, seven Republic of New Afrika citizens were ordered to stand trial on federal charges on conspiracy and assault -- charges on which they were found guilty and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to seventeen years. These prisoners became known as the RNA-11.

Previous to the attack on the Republic of New Afrika, the Counter Intelligence Program had decimated the Black Panther Party, sent the Revolutionary Action Movement members into exile and forced the Afrikan Peoples Party and many others underground. The implementation of the infamous COINTELPRO was declaration of war on the Black community. It was an attempt to crush the indigenous leadership and to neutralize, (an intelligence term for destroy), the movement of Black people. Just as this government attempted to crush the people's struggle on the Afrikan continent, Southeast Asia, Latin Ameirca, and other parts of the globe so it saw the need to crush the legitimate struggle of its domestic colony here in North America.

It was during this period that the Black Liberation Army, an armed clandestine formation emerged in response to the colonial violence of the United States government. After many successful actions against the state, the Counter Intelligence Program isolated the Black Liberation Army, and eventually rendered it ineffective with the capture of many of its soldiers. However, it still lives.

In May of 1975, the Republic of New Afrika called upon the United Nations Organization to recognize the 15,000 square mile District of KUSH, the Republic of New Afrika, also sometimes known as the western side of Mississippi, as a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the purview of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, for the following reasons:

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a. New Afrikans, persons of Afrikan descent, have been the majority population in this area for 200 years: We have worked and developed this land, and We have fought to stay here;

b. But a white minority government rules KUSH by fraud, coercion, force, and naked violence, in collusion with the District Courts and other agencies of the United States Federal Government; this white minority Government in KUSH is a lineal descendant of the Government found to be illegal by a Select Committee of the United States Senate in 1876 (see Senate Report 527, Part 2, of the 44th Congress, First Session), and it ruthlessly pursues a campaign of Genocide against the New Afrikan Population, in contravention of the United Nations Convention on Genocide of 9 December 1948 and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, to which (the latter) the United States is signatory, and suppresses the authentic political will to the majority population:

c. The minority white government in KUSH, with the support and collusion of the United States, persistently interferes with the exercise of New Afrikan nationality by the majority population in violation of Article 15, of the Declaration of Human Rights, which reads; Article 15. "(1) Everyone has a right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."

We also requested the release of the RNA 11 and called upon the United Nations Organization to insist that the government of the United States cease the use of criminal statutes against captured male and female soldiers of the Black Liberation Army and accord to these soldiers full status as Prisoners Of War. This petition was denied. In part primarily because our independence movement was in its embryonic state of development and had state of development and had not as of yet gained mass popular support.

In the past few years the conditions of New Afrikans have become more deplorable. We have begun to organize around these conditions. Black people are being victimized more and more by racist killer cops. Black youth as young as 10 years old are being shot down in cold blood! We find massive cut backs in anti-poverty programs and essential services as well as attacks on affirmative action in education and employment. The response to the mass movement of New Afrikans has been more military aggression by the United States government and right wing terror organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. The resistance of the Black community in Miami, Florida, Wrightville, Ga., and Chattanooga, Tennessee, are clear expressions of Black people's struggle for self-determination.

On November 5th 1979, the National Black Human Rights Coalition led a mass march of over 5000 people to the United Nations under the banner of self-determination for the Black Nation at that time again We submitted a petition to Salim Ahmed Salim, President of the General Assembly, seeking recognition of our Prisoners of War.

On November 2nd, just two (2) days before the demonstration at the United Nations, in an action to dispell the United States governments insistence that the Black Liberation Army was dead, the armed clandestine formation went into a New Jersey prison and freed our most prominent Prisoner of War, Assata Shakur. In Assata's own words she speaks about the army, "There is and always will be until every Black man, woman and child is free a Black Liberation Army. We must defend ourselves and let no one disrespect us. We must win our liberation by any means necessary."

The support of the New Afrikan Nation for the independence of Puerto Rico reflects an understanding of its colonial status based upon our own experience of 400 years of colonial domination by United States imperialism.

The Republic of New Afrika agrees with the United Nations bodies when they say that colonialism is a crime of the highest sort, and therefore We support the rights of colonized nations to engage in armed struggle in its quest for independence.

An armed struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico has been in progress, and recently 11 Puerto Rican freedom fighters have been captured. The United States government has attempted to apply criminal status to these courageous freedom fighters, who in no uncertain terms have made it clear that they are embers of the clandestine army in their war of liberation for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico.

The Republic of New Afrika fears for the life of these courageous Puerto Rican freedom fighters under the jurisdiction of the United States government without the rights of the Geneva Convention, and therefore call upon the Decolonization Committee to grant full status as Prisoners of War to the 11 Puerto Rican freedom fighters.

In these great international commitments and declarations you have pledged to support the independence knowing that as those oppressed colonies before us have gained their independence so too will We witness in the near future the Independence of both Puerto Rico and New Afrika.

LONG LIVE THE CLANDESTINE
ARMY OF PUERTO RICO

LONG LIVE THE BLACK
LIBERATION ARMY

INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO

INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM FOR NEW AFRIKA

FREE THE LAND!!!

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strife and revolution; and, being economically powerless, was no military match for the United States. The United States, on the other hand, since the presidency of Thomas Jefferson had their eyes on the Mexican nation, because they needed new markets and labor power for their expanding capitalism, and they saw Mexico as a prime target.

In the year 1825, Joel Poinsett, the first Ambassador from the U.S. to Mexico, was sent on a mission to try and purchase the territory now known as California, Texas, New Mexico and parts of the states of Sonora and Coahuila.

When the Mexican government refused to sell her northern territories, a mechanism was then put into order, whereby military force would be used to acquire and control those areas.

With the election of President Polk in 1844, whose political views had their roots in the great-nation chauvinist idea of Manifest Destiny, the whole mechanism of capitalism was set into motion for acquisition of the northern territories of Mexico.

In 1846 Polk declared war upon the Mexican nation, and with that started the 134 year period of internal colonization for the Chicano/Mexicano people who resided in the United States.

The territory acquired through that war included the states of New Mexico, California, Texas, the state of Colorado and parts of Utah and Nevada, and all of Arizona. Today to drive from Colorado to the Gulf, Brownsville, Texas is 1600 miles; to drive from Colorado to Oakland, California is 1400 miles. In terms of a land base, you can see that the territory that was taken from the Mexican nation constituted an enormous amount of territory, in total over 945,000 square miles.

This amounts to half of the Mexican national territory.

Since 1848, as a consequence of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, there exists a militarily imposed border across our nation, a border which attempts to legalize

the imperialist division of our homeland.

Since 1846, the Chicano-Mexicano people have been the victims and subjected to both physical and psychological genocide at the hands of the United States.

We do not recognize the border that divides our country, for that border was imposed upon us militarily by a capitalist power and is sustained today only by the military capabilities of U.S. imperialism.

For us to recognize the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, for us to recognize the border, is to recognize the legalisms of imperialism; and thus recognizing the right of the U.S. to colonize the Chicano/Mexicano people.

The different methods which the U.S. used to colonize the Chicano/Mexicano people were aimed at completely destroying us psychologically through uprooting and destruction of our culture. By colonization they wished to make us a reflection of our enemy. Their attempt to strip us of all our identity had at its basis the desire to make us more yankees than the yankee.

They attempted to destroy all of our internal fabric as a people, indeed as a nation! The living proof of this came when we started to reject ourselves, when we started to recognize the border, when we started to say that we are Spanish American, or that we are Hispanics, that we were Chicanos, not Mexicanos . . . totally ignoring and trying to change who we really are, what we really are!

We see, then, a trend in the U.S. for Chicano/Mexicano people to try to assimilate into the mainstream of society, but it's impossible for us to do so because we refuse to relinquish our language, our cultural values and our way of life.

We must also address ourselves to the question of racism in the U.S. The North American people have felt that they are racially superior to the Chicano/Mexicano people since the occupation of 1848. This attitude was evident in the position of Manifest Destiny and continues

to be imbedded in the present society. Chicano/Mexicano people refuse to become part of the mainstream and give up our cultural values.

The similarities of struggle that we have with other peoples is clear in terms of the oppression in the U.S. and the conditions that we face everyday.

The same conditions that affect Black people in the South, lynching, the raping, the mutilation, are faced in the southwestern part of the U.S. by Chicano/Mexicano people.

That is why we can understand and recognize the colonization of Puerto Rico by the United States.

After U.S. capitalism perfected colonialism with us, they exported the process to other countries . . . to other nations . . . to the Caribbean, to the Philippines, to Cuba . . .

That is why we can recognize and understand clearly the similarities of struggle with the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian people are in the same position as the Chicano/Mexicano people.

They lost their land to Israel in 1948, when the Zionists held a plebiscite and took it before the United Nations. The Zionist idea was supported by the imperialist powers of the world and the settler state of Israel was carved out of Palestine. We also have a clear understanding of the struggle of the Irish people for unification of Ireland, and we support that struggle as we support the Palestinian people's struggle for their homeland.

At this point I would like to address myself to the current miserable situation of the Chicano/Mexicano people within the U.S. We have one of the lowest levels of attainment in the educational system of the U.S. And Chicano/Mexicano people have one of the highest unemployment rates in the U.S. We are affected by institutional racism, by some of the most deplorable of housing conditions.

Chicano/Mexicano people suffer physical genocide at the hands of the police departments across the United States. cont. on page 19

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Last year, for example in:

Texas 34 Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by police
California, 23 Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by police
New Mexico 22 Chicanos/Mexicanos were killed by police
Colorado 18 Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by police.

Who knows how many more in the other areas in which Chicano/Mexicano people live.

As we struggled to regain and retain our national identity as a people, the term Chicano came forth in the middle of the 1960's, as a way of identifying ourselves as being Mexican, but living in occupied Mexico, in the colonized territories of Mexico.

From these conditions we started demonstrating, marching demanding civil rights and equal treatment patterned after the Black struggle that was taking place in the United States.

As our struggle heightened in the early seventies and we started to move, the masses of the Chicano/Mexicano people marched in the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles, California, in protest against the war in Vietnam. Three Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by the police at that demonstration. As our struggle intensified the repression intensified against our people. In the state of Colorado we have the Symbols of Resistance of the Chicano/Mexicano struggle.

Twelve young people, nine who were viciously liquidated, two who were forced into political exile and one who remains maimed for life.

The names of these companeros and companeras are:

Ricardo Falcon from Fort Lupton, Colorado
Florencio Granados from Brownsville, Texas
Heriberto Teran from Laredo, Texas
Reyes Martinez from Alamosa, Colorado
Neva Romero from Ignacio, Colorado
Una Jaakola from Minnesota
Francisco Dougherty from Lare-

do, Texas

Mario Vasquez from Michigan
Kiko Martinex from Alamosa, Colorado

Antonio Alcantar from Laredo, Texas

Carlos Zapata from Denver, Colorado

Luis Jr. Martinez from Denver, Colorado

These particular people were singled out because they were political activists and leaders of the Chicano/Mexicano struggle. They were involved in the student movement in Boulder. They worked with prisoners in the State Penitentiaries; they were involved in creating alternative education institutions. They were spokespersons of our people's struggle and that's why they became a threat. They had to be dealt with.

Six of them died in two car explosions in Boulder and one was maimed for life.

Ricardo Falcon was killed in Orogrande, New Mexico, by Perry Burnson, a member of the American Independent Party, which was George Wallace's party at that time in 1972. There is also suspicion of involvement by the C.I.A. through their Operation Chaos program.

Kiko Martinez had to go into political exile!

Mario Vasquez also had to go into political exile!

Luis Jr. Martinez was killed in 1973 by the Denver police.

Still our people have always maintained active resistance to the U.S. imperialist colonization of our homeland.

We are the Chicano/Mexicano people and we remain one nation. We do not recognize the border or the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Our position today is the reunification of the Mexican nation to create the Socialist republic of Mexico.

We recognize that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and we Chicano/Mexicano people support the Puerto Rican people's right to Independence and Socialism . . .

That is why we are before this body to ask your support in recognizing the Puerto Rican Prisoners of

War status of the Eleven Puerto Rican Companeros and Companeras:

Carlos Alberto Torres

Luis Rosa

Alfredo Mendez

Adolfo Matos

Elizam Escobar

Ricardo Jimenez

Carmen Valentin

Dylcia Pagan

Alicia Rodriguez

Ida Luz Rodriguez

Haydee Beltran Torres

All who are incarcerated in the United States Prisons.

The Chicano/Mexicano people support the Puerto Rican Independence Movement not only in theory but in practice: this was proven when 3 Chicano/Mexicanos were sent to Federal Prisons for refusing to testify before Federal Grand Juries who were investigating the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

Land will be reconquered!

Maps will be changed!

Countries will be renamed!

Viva Puerto Rico Libre!

Viva Mexico Reunificado!

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We ask you to be like Prometheus, who dared to challenge the mighty gods, not like Sisyphus, condemned forever to serve them.

Honorable Delegates, I would like to leave you with a thought: if Puerto Rico is the Achilles' Heel of U.S. imperialism abroad, and Puerto Ricans in the U.S., united with their Black, Chicano-Mexicano and Native American brothers are its Trojan Horse at home; then together with our allies in Canada, Quebec, Mexico and Latin America, our freedom fighters possess a Pandora's box with a storm the enemy cannot contain.

NO TO DEFEATIST SOLUTIONS!

YES TO PEOPLE'S WAR!

FREE PUERTO RICO,
THE ELEVEN WILL FOLLOW!

DESDE NUESTRO PUNTO DE VISTA

FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW

FORCED EMIGRATION

The emigration of Puerto Ricans to the US since the yanqui invasion of 1898 is a direct result of the colonial status of Puerto Rico. Although even prior to the US invasion Puerto Ricans were forced to emigrate, at that time it was to escape Spanish persecution and oppression.

In order for one to better understand the relationship between yanqui colonialism and Puerto Rican emigration, it is necessary to divide the yanqui domination and presence in Puerto Rico into two historical stages.

The first stage covered a period from 1898 to the 1930's. It was during this period that US imperialism pursued a policy of entrenchment, but in order for this phenomenon to take place it was necessary to destroy those forces capable and willing to consolidate a national idea.

For this policy to be successful two factors had to be assured. First, it was necessary to destroy the national legislative process started in 1897 when Puerto Rico won a Charter of Autonomy from Spain. The second component of this imperialist scheme rested on its ability to create a circumstance that would allow for the complete destruction of the incipient national economy which was in the process of coalescence.

The latter was to be accomplished by the destruction of the coffee industry and the class represented

by it (whose political life was rooted in the independentist sector of the Unionist Party). For it was within this sector that the potential for the creation of an independent national economic life lay. This, together with the devaluation of Puerto Rican currency, the destruction of small scale industry by the introduction of North American products (soap, mining goods, canning, preserves, cattle, etc., etc.) and by taking over the land which previously belonged to Puerto Ricans, had a devastating effect on the national economic life of Puerto Rico.

The success in destroying the Puerto Rican national legislative process was due primarily to the internal contradictions prevailing at the time of the invasion. The yanqui placed in the leadership role that force in Puerto Rico which staunchly advocated assimilation, those who saw Americanization as synonymous with democracy, progress, modernity, indeed even with civilization. Led by Dr. Jose Celso Barbosa, this force had economic and political interests compatible with those of the invader and antagonistic ones to those whose interests are best characterized as national. These "pitiyanquis" were only too willing to convert themselves into a parasitic or comprador bourgeoisie. Thus it was to the benefit of the imperialists to create a leadership role for them.

It was this concubinity between Barbosa, those Puerto Ricans in-

volved in sugar production, and the imperialist financiers from the North that helped entrench the yanquis in Puerto Rico, and created the conditions for the wholesale destruction of Puerto Rico's incipient national economy. For all practical purposes this—together with the denial to the owners of the coffee plantations (los hacendados) of the power to legislate—delivered what was effectively a "coup de grace" to this sector of the population.

It was this process which led to the stifling of the national forces to develop an independent political life. It was also this process which forced more than 100,000 Puerto Ricans to emigrate.

The stifling of the national forces (economically and politically) generated a displacement which resulted in the forced emigration of artisans and small proprietors to the United States. This process of emigration resulted in the depletion of a very important sector of Puerto Rico's productive forces which was crucial to the Island's economic development. For it was the artisans who possessed the necessary skills needed to help Puerto Rico's incipient national economic life if it was to ascend.

It was the depletion of this very important economic grouping via the newly-developed mechanism of emigration that created the circumstance for further imperialist entrenchment in Puerto Rico: by 1930

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the island had been effectively converted into a massive sugar plantation and a captive market for all manner of US products, subject to the political whims of Washington and the economic ones of Wall Street finance.

By 1930, over 40% of the Puerto Rican population depended on sugar production. This dependency brought extreme poverty to the point that the mortality rate was twice as high as that of the United States. Tuberculosis and every disease associated with malnutrition reached epidemic proportions. Puerto Rico underwent a change from poverty under Spain's colonial rule to dire pauperism under the wing of American imperialism.

The monocultural character of the sugar system forced the Puerto Rican masses to sell their labor at the cheapest rates imaginable. It was in this period of Puerto Rico's history that the true nature of capitalism exposed itself to the Puerto Rican masses, for wages were just enough to allow the cane workers to reproduce themselves and to consume North American products in the process. Thus, it should come as no surprise that during this epoch Puerto Rico was bestowed the title "Poorhouse of the Caribbean" thanks to the ogre of yanqui imperialism.

By 1930, the Nationalist Party was emerging as a patient and potent leader of the independence forces. During this time the issue of independence began to accelerate to the degree that it was soon to occupy the forefront of all struggles. It became so that even the accommodationists (those who supported assimilation) had to say that they too supported a type of independence.

To better understand the significance of this upsurge and the forces which governed this period of anti-colonial struggle, one need look no further than the sugar cane workers' strike in 1934. For it was no longer Santiago Iglesias Pantin, or the liberal reformers whom the workers sought to defend their interests; rather they looked to Pedro Albizu Campos, who had emerged in this

period as the leader of the true independentist ideology as well as the Nationalist Party.

In the face of this rising independentist tide, the concubinity which had existed for over 30 years between the accommodationists and the imperialists began to crumble. This was due exclusively to the fact that the balance of forces was tipping favorably to the side of independence. The imperialists and their lackeys understood that the sugar cane workers made up the only force with a common material base and a collective life, strong enough to destroy the chains of colonialism. It was also clear that a potential alliance between the workers and the Nationalist Party would serve greatly to accelerate the independence process. It became clear that if yanqui imperialism was to maintain hegemony over the colony, a systematic plan of repression had to be devised.

Toward this end the imperialists developed a plan that is best characterized as one that was in the nature of an iron fist hidden in a velvet glove. For this plan to be successful, a wholesale campaign of terror had to be unleashed against the rising independence movement. It was also necessary to break the back of the developing workers' movement. By utilizing systematic repression it was possible to destroy any alliance between the workers and the independentist forces.

The second part of the strategy for the destruction of this alliance rested upon imperialism's ability to institute new reforms. It was toward this end that the Franklin Roosevelt administration seized the opportunity to extend to the Island the liberal bourgeois reforms comparable to those that had been instituted in the United States. Roosevelt was of the belief that as soon as Puerto Ricans learned English, that would create a sufficient base for economic and political advancement. It was this perspective which prompted the appointment of Dr. Jose Gallardo to the post of Secretary of Education. Washington's second major reform was the appointment of Rexford Tugwell, a Roosevelt

protegee, to the governorship of Puerto Rico. This appointment would be crucial—as we shall see later—to the imperialists' plans for the colony.

Of significant importance during this time is the fact that, as Puerto Ricans clamored for an end to colonialism, the emigrants residing in the US made echo to this call. Those artisans and small proprietors forced out of their homeland by imperialism now called on Vito Marcantonio to take the independence struggle to the Congress of the United States. This Congressman from Spanish Harlem not only defended the issue of independence but also put it in its correct historical perspective when he said "the main cause of misery and unemployment in the Island is due primarily to the fact that Puerto Rico's economic life has been strangled by American intervention." He understood that the issue of colonialism had to be resolved before anyone could address the problems of the Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

During the decade of the 30's, due to the success of a series of liberal bourgeois reforms and of sending the independence forces into disarray, the yanqui imperialists gained the necessary momentum to begin to put into effect a new economic order for Puerto Rico. Thus starts the second historical stage of American presence and domination over Puerto Rico.

This new economic order for the colony was not independent of the yanquis' global interest. The fascist war had brought a certain degree of prosperity to the United States, and with it a redirection of its productive forces. The American involvement in the war forced close to 100,000 Puerto Ricans to join the imperialist military services. This resulted in another displacement which affected the internal situation of the colony.

War production and military preparation deeply affected the internal situation of Puerto Rico. Construction of military bases, roads, irrigation projects, energy generating sys-

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tems, etc. created a new type of work force in Puerto Rico. The liberal bourgeois reforms of the Roosevelt administration brought with them the necessary funds for the above-mentioned projects, and even for the establishment of government-owned corporations. This new economic activity had a negative effect on cane production, which had already suffered an adverse transformation during the Depression (US quota system was applied to Puerto Rico and sugar beets from the Southwest had preference.)

This economic activity was accompanied by a political reform and a new concubinity. The realignment of forces brought together a group of professionals headed by Luis Munoz Marin, and the masses of wage-earners (mostly made up of sugar cane workers and urban proletarians) who had joined the new Confederacion General de los Trabajadores.

The concubinity was consummated by this Puerto Rican force and the imperialists from the North, whose political representative was Rexford Tugwell. This arrangement brought about a new economic and political orientation.

This new economic orientation was the "Bootstrap Program;" the political one was to allow a Puerto Rican to become governor and to manage the colonial administration. This was a remarkable arrangement because: 1) sugar production did not enjoy the economic advantages which it had prior to the Depression; 2) the Nationalist Party and the independence forces had been neutralized; and 3) the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) had fused the workers' movement, the reformists within the independence movement and the liberal reformers into one political organization which took orders from Washington, the State Department and Wall Street.

It was the creation of this remarkable relationship, together with the end of the fascist war, that was to help the new economic order even further. Yankee imperialism

had now inherited uncontested hegemony of the capitalist western nations, the Pacific and part of the Orient. Thus in the US a new internal economic orientation occurred; and as a consequence, its productive forces were realigned. The conglomerates and the multi-national corporations needed more and more industrial workers. The economic emphasis was on industrial development, and as a result of this agricultural work was relegated to a less significant category.

There was a vacuum in the United States agricultural sector, which called and demanded workers who would sell their labor cheap. This particular internal economic situation brought about the recruitment of Puerto Ricans to do seasonal farm work in the United States.

Such an environment was conducive to a healthy take-off for "Bootstrap." For the implementation of Bootstrap, according to Robert H. Lbroner, it was necessary to shift the country's productive forces from the area where economic activity was stagnant (agriculture) to another area of accelerated production (industry) without hurting the capital formation base which is necessary to industrialize and develop. In such a situation, industry had priority over agriculture. Thus a displacement of the productive forces occurs, the farm worker or peasant has to be sacrificed and the industrial sector gains in importance.

The question arises under "Bootstrap," where does the Nation aspiring to industrialize place the excess of the agricultural workers and peasants?

Because of the colonial relationship that exists between the US and Puerto Rico, the excess in the productive forces in the area of agriculture were simply disposed of via emigration.

One aspect of emigration, and probably the most important for the implementation of "Bootstrap," which has been underplayed, is the fact that Puerto Ricans who emigrated contributed more to the capital formation of Puerto Rico than any other single factor. Their

earnings were saved and sent to family and relatives on the Island. This money was then put in circulation through consumption, almost all of it ending up back in the hands of the US imperialists. Even the tourist trade was mostly made up of Puerto Ricans going back and forth to visit their families or to do seasonal work. We can see how the displacement of the excess in the agricultural productive forces, rather than having a negative effect, resulted in a positive one for capital formation. Unfortunately, it was only to help the imperialists.

By 1948, Rexford Tugwell (the representative of the imperialists) and Luis Munoz Marin (the head lackey of the imperialists) had instituted a plan for mass emigration. The plan also involved the US Dept. of Labor, which helped to accelerate the process of forced emigration. The plan was accompanied by a systematic propaganda campaign, which made emigration so palatable that masses of Puerto Ricans just packed their belongings and hopped on a plane, to sweep up the riches off the streets of the United States.

The emigration plan established a cozy relationship: Puerto Rico would get rid of its excess in its productive forces without losing or jeopardizing its capital formation base, and the US would receive these emigrants and at a very low cost, and they sustained necessary labor force for its agricultural economy.

But the U.S. got more than workers who were forced to work for cheap wages. Through Bootstrap, the whole economic and political character of the Island was transformed. An unparalleled tax exempt system was instituted and a haven for the Wall Street investors was created. The money that was generated by Puerto Rico's productive forces, including that of the emigrants, was used to build factories, roads and energy sources to lure the investors from the United States. By 1960, 77% of all the industry in Puerto Rico was in the hands of the imperialists from the

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North; and 85% of the capital was in their pockets.

Puerto Rico underwent a transformation from a labor intensive system to a capital intensive system of production, but it did not enjoy the benefits of this change. On the contrary, by 1960, the unemployment rate was 13% (according to statistics from Dept. of Labor) in comparison to an 11% rate in 1940. Also, by this date, Puerto Rico had lost more than one million of its people through forced emigration.

Again, as it had happened during the first historical stage, a displacement of the productive forces occurred. This time, it was the sugar cane worker and the marginal urban worker. This displacement was a tremendous victory for the imperialists and their lackeys of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD). By the forced emigration of over 1 million Puerto Ricans, the imperialists had robbed the base of the independence movement.

The threat which the sugar cane workers and marginal urban workers in alliance with the Nationalist Party, presented to the Imperialists' presence and domination of Puerto Rico, had diffused due to forced emigration. Not only did the Imperialists benefit, but also the colonial lackeys, for now the PPD no longer had to deliver the promises made to the masses of Bread, Land and Liberty. So when Munoz Marin took the reigns of the colonial administration in 1948, he knew that there was no force present in the Island that could successfully oppose him.

It was precisely for the above mentioned reasons that Bootstrap, as a liberal bourgeois reform was so successful from its conception in the 30's, to its implementation after the War. It became the biggest and most profitable maneuver of the century for the Imperialists from the North.

With the introduction of American industry, the capitalists best ally, the North American organized labor movement also made its presence felt on the Island. By 1955, the so called Internationals, had the

uncontested control of the labor movement in Puerto Rico. To add more obstacles to the Puerto Rican masses, the Taft-Hartley Act, the most repressive and anti-labor piece of legislation ever enacted in the United States, was also applicable on the Island. Under such horrendous, barbaric and oppressive conditions, emigration became an attractive alternative.

Puerto Rico was now on its way to becoming an industrial/military Colony, with an unparalleled system of incentives, an ample skilled working force, roads sources of energy all of which contributed handsomely for the investors from Wall Street. At the same time there was no force present to oppose these maneuvers, for the PPD and Washington had taken care of this, by co-opting the labor movement, destroying the Nationalist Party and forcing the masses of Puerto Ricans to emigrate.

Through Bootstrap one can see the integral relationship which exist, between colonialism and emigration. Since the Yanqui invasion of 1898, emigration has been viewed as the perfect escape valve for colonialism. The displacement which occurs, is another form of separation and division; although it is a temporary solution, thus far it has worked well for American Imperialism. For, to this day, the Yanqui imperialists have retained their colonial yoke over the necks of the Puerto Rican masses.

It is precisely this integral relationship which depicts vividly that the problems of Puerto Ricans whether residing in the Island or the United States, can only be resolved by destroying the structure of colonialism. To clarify this point better, one need only take a look at the Puerto Ricans living in the United States.

The Puerto Rican who was forced to emigrate, is different than all other immigrants living in the United States. First, the Puerto Rican did not come seeking a new homeland or a sanctuary to escape from political or religious oppression. We did not bring with us the cultural and religious institutions which the other

immigrants brought and which helped them to formulate a collective life, once settled in the U.S. Examples: The Irish brought the Catholic Church, their political organizations and their trade union movement. The Jews brought with them synagogues, their political expertise and their tradition as independent traders. We were and remain colonial subjects and estranged of the United States, all at the same time.

The Puerto Rican immigrant sought solely economic prosperity, and our stay here was to be a temporary one. Nothing attests to this fact better than the return migration of over 1 million nationals to Puerto Rico every year. The most significant factor, is the one of support for Puerto Rico's independence, which has been waged by Puerto Rican immigrants, and which will be discussed at a later point in this paper.

The Puerto Rican immigrants' conception of the United States is yet another factor which must be pointed out. Due to the fact that the Wall Street investors and Washington desired us out of the Island, a massive propaganda campaign was orchestrated. This campaign distorted the facts about life in the United States, and it was only a tool to lure us out of our homeland. We were told that richness awaited us in the streets of the large metropolitan centers of the U.S. The only thing that we had to do was to sweep it off the streets and it was ours. For the starving Puerto Rican masses, this was the perfect temptation.

Puerto Ricans emigrated by the thousands, and a virtual aerial bridge was created. In less than 15 years, over 1 million Puerto Ricans had emigrated. The economic prosperity and richness we were supposed to sweep off the streets was nowhere to be found.

On the contrary, what we found was dire poverty, extreme forms of racism and discrimination, and a literal human race for the few menial jobs left in the inner cities.

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A fact which we must point out here is that after the Second World War, the urban center, or the so called inner cities have been depleted or drained of economic opportunities. The move now was from the large urban areas to the suburbs, where the giant corporations had space to expand, and where the whites could enjoy the life of suburbia without having to worry about blacks or other minorities living next to them. So as early as 1950, large urban centers like New York City, were decaying rapidly, primarily because they were losing their economic base to the suburbs. They no longer enjoyed the prosperity which made them popular at the turn of the century.

So when Puerto Ricans arrived en masse in New York City, because it no longer possessed the economic or capital movement which it had enjoyed before, we faced dire consequences. In the city the only economic activity which remained was light industry (mostly garment) and the service industry (mostly generated by hotels and tourism).

The absence of economic opportunities negated Puerto Rican access to a material base which could bring them parity with the rest of the North American working class. Besides encountering this economic situation, we also found a socio-economic political structure nourished by racism, and alien to us. This situation still prevails today.

The absence of the most fundamental need of all workers, which is the need to have access to a market to sell their labor, left the Puerto Rican immigrant (mostly made up of workers) in a social limbo. The only work available to us was that which no one else wanted. Farm hands, seasonal work, dish washers, factory laborers -- jobs with little economic compensation and very degrading to the human being.

The hastiness which the colonial administration and Washington used to force us to emigrate, left us prey to unscrupulous employers, to abide by contracts which were only beneficial to the contractor,

to work in the most horrendous conditions (in forms which resemble more a concentration camp than a place to earn a living); For example, a group of migrant workers was sent from Puerto Rico to work in Southern Illinois. The workers arrived in March, wearing tropical clothes, when the temperature was below freezing. Upon their arrival, they were informed that the farm had stopped operations the previous year because the train did not stop in the town any longer. The Dept. of Labor and the colonial administration had arranged for these workers to emigrate to this town. The horrible experience of standing in a strange land, freezing and finding out that there was no work had to be a traumatic experience for these workers.

Another case which clearly depicts the negligence of the colonial administration and Washington, was the Arizona Plan. Under this plan 5,000 Puerto Ricans were supposed to emigrate to do farm labor in that state. The recruitment process had already started when the Governor of Arizona found out; incensed by such a move, he told Washington that he would not allow one single Puerto Rican in his State. If the Governor of Arizona hadn't found out, there would have been 5,000 Puerto Ricans in a State which did not want them. This clearly reflects the fact that the only concern of the colonial administration in Puerto Rico was to rid itself of its excess population.

If this were not enough the Puerto Rican immigrant still had to encounter more -- the malignancy of American racism. An example of this was the case of a Puerto Rican family sent to work in Batavia, Ill., in the military ammunition factory. Their teenage daughter had to attend school outside of the camp. When she tried to be served in a restaurant, the owner refused because she was not white.

The father was a World War II veteran and the mother had been active in the labor movement. They decided to sue the restaurant for discrimination. Although they won the case, the scar which

that experience left on their child could not be cured.

But we still had to face and endure more hardships. We were subjected to living in the most deplorable ghettos: places like Hell's Kitchen, Harlem, South Bronx, Williamsburg, in New York City, or in the Near West Side of Chicago. These slum-blighted areas, with houses infested with rats and roaches dilapidated, without proper sanitation services, were traps which resembled pigsties rather than homes where human beings were to live.

The Puerto Ricans did not create slums; we were forced into them. The ghettoization of the Puerto Rican is another reflection of the benign negligence of the colonial administration and Washington, and once again clearly proves that their only interest was to force us out of Puerto Rico.

Today, after three decades of living under the most deplorable, infra-human conditions, it is no surprise to find out that we are the most oppressed people in the United States. We have the lowest median income per family, the lowest educational level, the highest mortality rate, the highest percentage of suicides, the highest incidence of alcoholism and drug addiction, and alone occupy the bottom of the economic ladder. In essence, it seems as if the Puerto Rican has become the receptacle and depository of all the social ills of American society, rather than the beneficiary of any social advancement.

Our assertion and affirmation that the colonial status of Puerto Rico and the colonial government and Washington are the key factors responsible for the plight of the Puerto Ricans in the US can best be understood if we compare our situation to that of another group of immigrants, the Cubans.

When the Cuban refugee program was instituted in the '60's, the immigrant was provided with suitable housing, health care, economic aid, employment and an environment conducive for the person to live in a collective life and to develop.

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There was not a single need that was not addressed and met.

By 1965, in the city of Chicago, there were multiple agencies which had been instituted for the sole purpose of helping the Cuban immigrant. In that same year, there was not one single agency in the city which addressed, much less met the multiple needs of the Puerto Rican community. There was only one employment agency, administered by the colonial government of Puerto Rico, known best for its chronically ineffective operations (this is the agency responsible for sending those workers which we mentioned earlier to Southern Illinois), but its primary role was to deal with the Puerto Rican migrant farm worker.

The so-called industriousness of the Cubans is not any different from the industriousness of the Puerto Rican or any other group for that matter. What is different is the preferential treatment which the Cubans received in comparison. The Puerto Rican immigrant is treated as a colonial subject, as a slave of the imperialists, but the Cuban, because of his reactionary, counter-revolutionary stance, is treated as an ally of imperialism. The preferential treatment of the Cubans is not based on altruistic or philanthropic motives, but rather, on the realities and necessities of imperialism.

It is as colonial subjects that the Puerto Ricans must wage their struggle in the United States. During the past three decades, we can attest to the fact that the struggle to redress the plight of the Puerto Ricans in the United States has always been accompanied by the struggle for independence. As the time has passed, the compatibility between the two issues has crystallized and become more pronounced. In the late '60's, the struggle gained a new dimension.

Up to then, the struggle for independence was looked at as an issue which was relevant only to the Puerto Ricans with roots in Puerto Rico. But with the emergence of such organizations as the Young Lords, this belief was totally dis-

proved. When second and third generation Puerto Ricans took to the streets to demand the independence of their homeland, the fact that there is a correlation between immigration and colonialism was confirmed.

Today the affirmation of Puerto-riquenidad has taken the forefront of the struggle. But to better understand this affirmation, it is necessary to put it in the correct perspective. The struggle of the Puerto Ricans—the protests, the riots, the demands for redress—has created two distinct groups within the community, with different aspirations and class interests. One group's economic and political base depends primarily on the poverty and infra-human conditions of our community. This group, correctly called "poverty pimps," has attempted to integrate and to climb or ascend the American social ladder. Petty politicians, professionals, patronage workers and religious leaders form the basis for this particular group.

In spite of the fact that this group aspires to assimilate into the mainstream of American life, its social position is often contradictory and precarious. Precarious because it must respond to the political party or political machine in power. It must form alliances and allegiances with the Republican or Democratic Party or the powers to be. If it forms the wrong alliance or allegiance, it is doomed. Contradictory because on the one hand its ambition as a group is to assimilate; and on the other, what gives it its reason for being is the oppressive conditions of our community. So in order to perpetuate itself, it must identify with the Puerto Rican community and its struggle. Even more, at times it is forced to voice and defend the demands of the community. Thus, we can see how a Herman Badillo or a Robert Garcia is forced to support the release of the Nationalists, and the community's demand for better education, health, housing, employment, etc. This group claims the community as their constituency in order to survive. By this we don't mean that it is a legi-

timate representative of the community, for the contrary is the reality.

The other group is made up of Puerto Ricans who support independence and who see the end of colonialism as the beginning of their freedom. Puerto Rico thus becomes its homeland.

This group finds its historic roots dating back to the 1890's and the organization of the Puerto Rican Clubs, the Nationalist Party, the attack on Blair House, the attack on the United States Congress. But most important, it finds its roots in being Puerto Rican and a worker. This affirmation is its essence.

It is no surprise then, to see this group seeking redress of its social, economic and political condition, and at the same time fighting for Puerto Rico's independence.

It is in this struggle that the Puerto Rican in the United States finds his affirmation for being.

As we stated earlier, the Puerto Rican immigrant did not come to the United States seeking a homeland, because he has one. And as a result of the socio-economic-political conditions prevailing in the United States, he has not assimilated or integrated into the mainstream of American life.

The absence of a material base negates to the Puerto Rican the ability to join the rest of the North American working class. Racism, which is part and parcel of the socio-economic-political structure, further negates the Puerto Rican's ability to assimilate or to integrate. On the contrary, what these factors do is to force the Puerto Rican to affirm his "puertorriquenidad;" otherwise he will be stripped of his personality both culturally and historically. This affirmation is what constitutes the basis for his struggle. This struggle is not an abstraction, for not only history proves its validity, but also the need for a people to be free. Only by destroying the chains of colonialism can we be free. Only by destroying the chains of colonialism can we have a choice. A choice to return to a free Puerto Rico—the original aspiration—or to stay in the United States and integrate into the North American working class and wage class struggle.



TWO FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER

During the weekend before the Decolonization Committee again heard the colonial problem of Puerto Rico, and during the two days when our case was debated in the Committee, there coexisted two forms of International Order, two concepts, two distinct methods of international law: the official and the revolutionary.

In relationship to both we, the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, along with our fraternal organization, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, (centered in Chicago), put forth a new dimension of the struggle for independence. The new proposition was based on the position assumed by the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, captured in Evanston on April 4th, 1980.

In our position before the United Nations Decolonization Committee we put forth:

"We recognize the magnitude of this matter. The task of advancing a step further before the international legal community the Puerto Rican claim for the recognition of the state of war existing between Puerto Rico and the United States. What these valiant comrades captured in the United States claim is to be recognized as belligerents.

"By claiming this right now, our comrades insert their claim within a revealing and justly opportune chronology.

"I have here clearly and directly exposed the contents of that simple claim which expresses the high level of our consciousness: We are Prisoners of War."

We are clarifying a historical point of order; any one of the Nationalist Comrades captured since 1949 could have, under the sanction of the Geneva Convention and its Additional Protocols, claimed that

recognition on the part of the official international law.

That step, to demand treatment as Prisoners of War was curiously not taken, despite the fact that the existence of a state of war between Puerto Rico and the United States has been constant throughout the judicial struggle of the Nationalist Party. Moreover in New York, William Guillermo Morales, and then in Puerto Rico, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal both assumed the position of Prisoners of War. But the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War captured in Evanston were the first to direct themselves to an international organism claiming recognition of their Prisoner of War position, and demanding treatment as such, in accordance with the Geneva Convention, its Additional Protocols, and four United Nations Resolutions, especially R-3103, of Dec. 12, 1976.

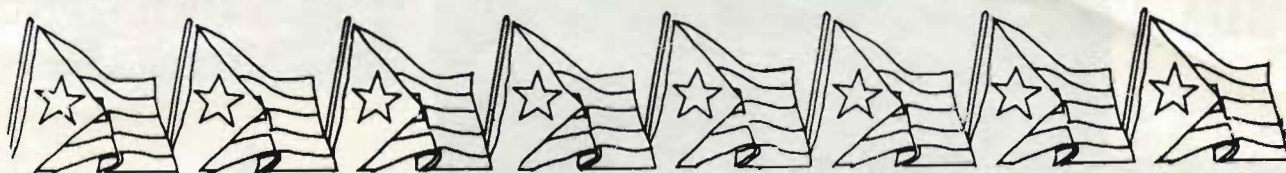
It is worthwhile to review the situation created before the United Nations by the Puerto Rican revolutionary claim. We were the only ones who explicitly put forth the real content of the petition made by the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War—status of belligerents—while the rest of the speakers indicated the right of our comrades to such recognition. Before such a situation, the ideal would have been to force the machinery to include this claim in the Resolution drafted by Cuba and Iraq. However, due to the division among the votes assured for Puerto Rico, the most energetic resolution until now approved, would not have been approved with this added provision. We can actually affirm that three, maybe five delegations were ready to do battle. But doing so would have been to fall into the trap that the United States saw as the opening of the heavens: to postpone the discussion until next year—the last recourse Washington had to win the occasion. Upon previous consultation with our Prisoners of

War in Chicago, we had decided not to press the issue further. The friendly delegations that so desired made reference to the Prisoners of War without this being included in the Resolution. In this manner, the strongest and clearest Resolution for the Independence of Puerto Rico was approved by a majority vote, not one vote against, and a small minority in abstention.

The beginning of a long struggle for the recognition of the existence of a state of belligerence between the armed clandestine organizations, representatives of Puerto Rican independence, and the United States government represented by its armed forces, was brought before the official international legal order represented by the United Nations. This occurred when the Cuban delegate stated: "This year there is added to the repression and persecution of the persons and organizations in struggle for independence and self-determination, the incarceration of 11 young Puerto Rican Patriots in Chicago, accused of violating the laws of the United States. Demonstrating the dignity that ennobles them, they unanimously reject the power of the yanki courts to judge them, declaring themselves Prisoners of War, because the struggle against foreign repression and colonial domination cannot be described as a crime. One day the international community will recognize that all those who today struggle for independence deserve that status..."

The Liga Socialista Puertorriquena has for many years practically since the moment of its foundation, refrained from entering into alliances and narrow relations with governments or governmental parties. We have limited our relations, very few to be sure, to revolutionary movements in armed struggle that have nothing to do with their countries governments, or with non-electoral political organizations of struggle.

SOLIDARITY MESSAGE



Companeros & Companeras of the Exiled Chilean Community in Venezuela;

On behalf of the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, Pablo Marcano Garcia and Nydia Ester Cuevas, we, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, wish to extend our revolutionary greetings and support to the heroic cause of the Chilean people.

Companeros, our solidarity must not be denigrated to mere words, for solidarity is not words, and it is not charity, and must never, ever be interpreted as such. True solidarity is, and will always be an act whereby two forces strike one blow to one enemy. As revolutionary internationalists we must always remember that in a war to the death there are no frontiers. Companeros chilenos, examine these words carefully, for they guide the destiny of our two nations. All over the world people of merit have begun the task of digging imperialism's grave. From Palestine to Ireland, from the Philippines to Azania, people are rising up and shouting in a thousand tongues, "Esta lucha va a llegar a la Guerra Popular!"

Today in the Americas, the whole of our hemisphere looks to Chile and Puerto Rico, not because we wish it, but because it is in our two countries that imperialism has dug its trenches. A great responsibility has been thrust upon our peoples, and we must be equal to our tasks.

In Puerto Rico, imperialism designs a scheme whereby a whole Latin American nation will be swallowed up by U.S. imperialism. But this scheme, to make Puerto Rico change from an external to an internal colony via statehood, is being challenged by the rapid emer-

gence of an armed clandestine movement, which today wages guerilla warfare, and tomorrow will lead the peoples' war which will transform our national reality, and lead our people to the establishment of an independent and socialist republic. The impact of the Puerto Rican revolution must not be diminished, for while Puerto Rico is small, its consequences will be great. The four million rearguard members existing within the belly of the monster assure us that our struggle will be integral in the destruction of the U.S. empire from within.

Companeros chilenos, the task you have is equally important, for the vicious intervention in your country by the yankee imperialists and their fascist lackeys place Chile at the enter of the Latin American struggle! for Chile is not Nicaragua, and Chile is not El Salvador. This is not to diminish the importance of these two countries, but as Marxists we must understand that no two we must understand that no two things are equal; and mineral rich Chile will never peacefully remove itself from imperialism's orbit. The coup against Chile, while a terrible blow to the Chilean people, must be understood within a greater context by all of Latin America, for the coup was an attack on the whole of Latin America. The survival of the Chilean resistance must be understood then within its proper context. If Chile does not win, and the fascist junta is not destroyed, no country in Latin America will be able to achieve revolution. So companeros, the importance of your task is not lost upon us. The future of Latin America rests with your people. Your willingness to openly

admit mistakes and rethink strategy assures us that you move forward towards your country's complete and total liberation.

The victories of Puerto Rico and Chile will mark the destruction of imperialism as we know it. Our commitment to dig imperialism's grave is sealed with the blood of our great heroes such as Don Pedro Albizu Campos, and Angel Rodriguez Cristobal. Your commitment is sealed in the highest example of heroism of President Salvador Allende, and in the spirit of Calixto Garcia.

Companeros, the fate of Latin America hangs in the balance. The solution is simple and is to be found in the slogans of our two organizations, but they must cease to be words and must become political realities.

**NO TO DEFEATIST SOLUTIONS,
NO TO IMPERIALIST SCHEMES!"**

We also make your slogan ours:
**"LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM,
WHATEVER THE COST!"**

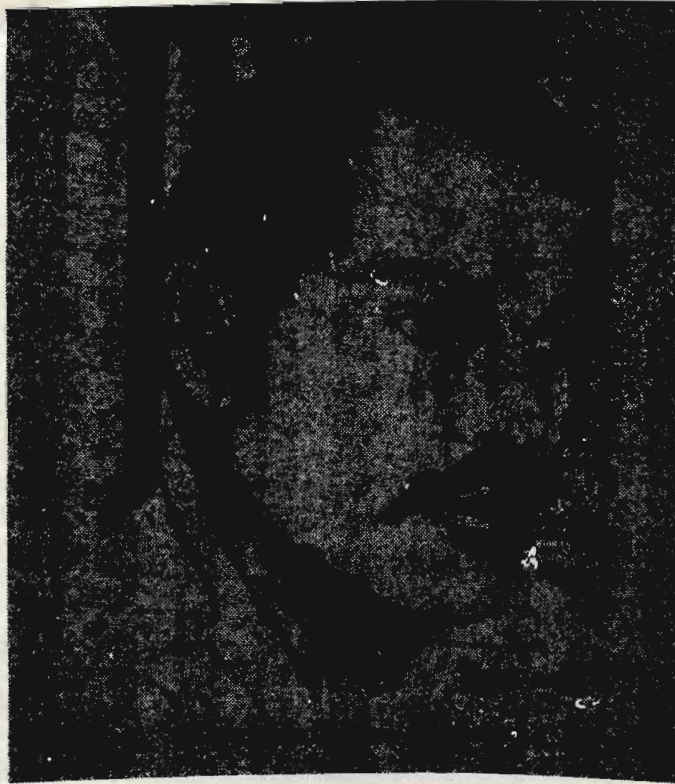
FREE PUERTO RICO

**DEATH TO PINOCHET AND THE
FASCIST JUNTA!**

**WAR AND DEATH
TO IMPERIALISM!**

**LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE
CHILEAN AND PUERTO RICAN
PEOPLE!**

FROM THE BEACH TO IMMORTALITY



I sustained there and I sustain now that the CIA assassinated Angel Rodriguez Cristobal for being a prominent member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, the only organization that has backed the revolutionary -- politico/military clandestine activity of the clandestine apparatus in Puerto Rico and the U.S.A. They have wanted to provoke, to make a provocation of the clandestine organizations, especially the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional) in the U.S. to provoke a reaction that would facilitate their penetration of the capture of some of their members. It is a provocation directed at the FALN with the precedente of Fraunces Tavern and the Anglers Club in hopes that the precipitation of a punitive action could occasion and provide them the conditions to destroy the FALN in the U.S. and the clandestine movement in Puerto Rico. They won't get away with it.

Juan Antonio Corretjer

The yankee military strategists should not deceive themselves. The blood of the Puerto Rican martyrs and patriots will be revenged with the blood of the Imperialists. The Yankee occupying forces will be a target of the Patriotic Fire every time that the assassin hand of the Imperialist takes the life of a Puerto Rican patriot. We warn the Imperialists that they should respect the life and security of our prisoners according to the Geneva Convention, otherwise they will be responsible for the irreversible consequences that will follow as a result of our people's popular indignation.

The clandestine organizations that suscribe to this statement are not playing at war. We are prepared to take this struggle to its last consequences.

For independence and socialism

Long Live a Free Puerto Rico!

Organizacion de Voluntarios para la Revolucion Puertorriquena, (OVRP), (Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution), the Ejercito Popular Boricua, (EPB -- Macheteros), (Boricua Popular Army), and the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular, (FARP), (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance).

DE PIE Y

ORGANO TEORICO
DEL M.L.N.



EN LUCHA

**LONG LIVE THE HEROIC
PUERTO RICAN
PRISONERS OF WAR!**

• **BEYOND SABANA SECA**

• **ON THE PRIMARIES**

• **ARMED STRUGGLE**

PALESTINE • IRELAND

BOOKS AND LITERATURE AVAILABLE

Puerto Rican Nationalism: A Reader - English.....\$5.00
By Jose E. Lopez - 1977 - First Edition - 218 pages

A collection of works which include the most important original material available in English about the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. Introductory note on the historical development of United States imperialism in Puerto Rico.

Trilateral Commission: The New U.S. Imperialist World Strategy..\$3.00
By U.L.N. Political Studies Commission - English
1979 - First Edition - 84 pages

A topic which has had little analysis, but which is essential to understand in order to program for the coming decade of the 80's.

Disarm the Police or Arm the People - English.....\$2.50
By Colorado Committee Against Repression

An analysis of the growth of repression against Chicano/Mexicano, Puerto Rican and other 3rd World people in the U.S. (i.e. police, F.B.I. and Grand Jury repression)

Toward People's War for Independence and Socialism in Puerto Rico: In Defense of Armed Struggle - English.....\$2.50
By Interim Committee for a New Puerto Rican Solidarity Movement

The book contains speeches and articles by leading forces in the revolutionary public Independence movement as well as statements and communiqués from the armed clandestine organizations.

***La Lucha Radical - Spanish.....\$4.00
Por Juan Antonio Corretjer - 1978 - Cuarta Edición - 150 pgs.

***La Lucha Por La Independencia de Puerto Rico - Spanish.....\$3.00
Por Juan Antonio Corretjer - 1977 - Quinta Edición - 149 pgs.

***These two books will soon be available in English.

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Heed The Message Of FALN

The following was taken from the Milwaukee Courier Sat. March 29, 1980, on the editorial page.

HEED THE MESSAGE OF FALN

As supporters of the Puerto Rican Nationalist movement for the complete liberation of the island from United States authority, we see a valuable lesson for the Black community in this week's intervention into the campaign offices of Republican hopeful George Bush and President Carter.

Just as the Southern Africa freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, Azania, Namibia, Mozambique and Angola see armed struggle as the only way to win freedom against an intransigent white force, FALN, the Armed Forces of National Liberation, sees direct assaults against the system as the only way toward a liberated Puerto Rico. They recognize, just as their African brothers and sisters, that to wait on an oppressive system to move its gears and perhaps grant independence somewhere down the line and even then with strings attached, is a process that leaves those suffering now with no relief— and little hope for the future.

While the Black community ponders over who to support in upcoming November presidential election, many already announcing their backing of an incumbent who has failed in more instances to live up to the promises that garnered him 92 percent of the Black vote in 1976, the Puerto Rican nationalists spend their time taking direct action against those people who, because of the ever-present theory of white man's burden, feel they can speak for Third World peoples. They see no hope in relying on elections to gain freedom and emphasize that feeling in New York in Bush's office and in Chicago at the Carter-Mondale headquarters. No one was hurt and the message was left loud and clear.

Such action was also taken up by Black Liberation forces in the 1960's. Witness the takeover of the California court by Jonathan Jackson and company in 1970. But those times seem to be far off for the Black community in 1980, despite the continuing

Despite relatively little change for the masses of Black people in this country, the traditional Black leadership continues to rely on living within the political system as a means of winning the small concessions they see as adequate. The "We Shall Overcome" mentality lingers sickeningly on. Someday is the promise.

Someday is here for the FALN, or they will die trying. They realize that to leave four of their most prominent comrades languishing in prison cells since the early 1950's tells that the system does not care for them and is nowhere near ready to concede to their demands. Despite Jimmy Carter's release of the four Puerto Rican Nationalists last year, the liberation forces for island freedom recognize that such trivial matters along the course of liberation are mute without the final verdict of "freedom now" a reality.



LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

Why do we as a people fail to see the message in the work of the FALN and even decry their methods? Although it is regrettable that people have died as a result of FALN liberation activities, we cannot forget that America is all too willing to kill people to get its own way. Witness Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. Witness Dr Martin Luther King. Witness Malcolm. Witness Vietnam...

While current Black leadership poo-poo's the fact that none of the presidential candidates felt it important enough to come before the Black political convention in Richmond late last month, they accept it and go on to announce their support for four more years of the same. They have lied down in the heavy fire of status quo and the rightward American turn.

The message written on the walls of the campaign headquarters, words of liberation for Puerto Rico, could very well have been freedom talk for Black people. Sadly, they were not.

We did not accept slavery. Why do we today accept neoslavery? ☆

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SUPPORT THE Freedom Fighters

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC PRISONERS OF WAR!

On April 4, 1980, police in Evanston, Ill. captured 11 Puerto Rican men and women who they accused of being members of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional) a Puerto Rican armed clandestine organization.

These eleven Puerto Ricans, 5 women and 6 men, are now facing various state charges ranging from auto theft to possession of weapons. The most serious charge is against Haydee Beltran de Torres, who is being charged with murder. Haydee is being accused of bombing the Mobil Oil Company in N.Y. where one person was killed. She is presently being held in the New York Metropolitan Correctional Center and will be tried on May 19, 1980. The other 10 who are still in Chicago will also be tried on May 19, 1980.



The 11 have taken the position that they are Prisoners of War and that they do not recognize the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts or any domestic legal proceedings. In their position the 11 have put forth that they must be turned over to a neutral country and tried by an international court.

The Position of the 11 is consistent with the position taken by the Five Nationalists Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, Oscar Collazo, and Andres Figueroa, who were the longest held Prisoners of War in the Western hemisphere. These five freedom fighters refused to recognize any type of domestic legalistic methods to gain their release.

William Guillermo Morales, who was the first person to be captured and accused of belonging to the FALN; was also the first person to refuse to make any type of legal defense, stating that he was a Prisoner of War. William was convicted of various explosives and weapons charges. He was sentenced to 89 years in jail, but escaped in May of 1979.

Following the examples already set by William Morales, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, member of the Central Committee of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, and one of the 21 people arrested May 21, 1979, for demonstrating against the U.S. Navy's use of

Vieques for target practice, the eleven took the P.O.W. position and refused to recognize the authority of the U.S. courts. Angel was sentenced to six months for trespassing on military property and sent to a federal prison in Tallahassee, Florida where he was assassinated by government agents.

De Pie y En Lucha

The position of P.O.W. is based on the fact that Puerto Rico was militarily invaded in 1898 by the United States and that since then Puerto Rico has been an occupied nation at war with the U.S. invaders; that their imperialist invasion and continual occupation goes against all the laws of humanity and nations. As such, the task of ending their occupation falls upon the people of the occupied nation, in this case the Puerto Rican people. The right to free itself by any means necessary is recognized by all freedom loving nations of the world, and negated only by the invader.

Resolution 2621 (XXV) approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 12, 1970, stated that colonialism in all its forms and manifes-

Resolution 2621 (XXV) approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 12, 1970, stated that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime, constituting a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Puerto Rico was officially recognized a colony of the United States by the United Nations on September 12, 1978.

In its Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514 (XV), the U.N. states that "It is the inalienable right of colonial people to struggle by all means at their disposal against colonial powers which suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence." Other United Nations resolutions also reaffirm the right of every colonized people to struggle for independence, even when they should resort to armed struggle. Resolution 2852, approved December 20, 1971 and Resolution 3103, approved December 12, 1973, established that all participants in Liberation Movements struggling for their independence and self-determination when captured shall be treated according to the stipulations made in the Geneva Convention.

The United States refuses to accept any of the U.N. resolutions or the position of Prisoners of War. Instead the United States has proceeded to apply domestic criminal laws to try the eleven. Domestic laws that are specifically designed to protect United States interests at home. As such, any so called court proceedings have a pre-determined outcome. It is these very same laws which the U.S. uses to justify the colonization of Puerto Rico. For this reason the eleven have refused to make any defense what so ever. To participate in these farsical court hearings, would be to say that justice can be found in the U.S. courts. The laws of a capitalist country are made to facilitate exploitation not eliminate it.

The nature and character of the U.S. judicial system has already been exposed by the occurrences at the preliminary hearings.

Chicano/Mexicano? in Vieques

As members of the Chicano/Mejicano commission of the M.L.N. it is our responsibility to respond to the political situation in regards to the Island of Vieques and the whole question of Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico. In the last four years there has been forged, in the heat of revolutionary struggle, an unbreakable unity between the Chicano/Mejicano people and the Puerto Rican people. That unity came about as the result of the repression unleashed by the U.S. government against the Puerto Rican Independence movement and its closest allies, the Chicano/Mejicano people. As many people already know, in 1977, Federal Grand Juries were convened in New York City and Chicago, Illinois. At that time the F.B.I., which is an instrument of U.S. Imperialism, tried unsuccessfully to break the unity of Chicano/Mejicano and Puerto Rican people by subpoenaing three Chicano/Mejicanos; two men and one woman to testify before the Grand Jury. All three refused to cooperate with the U.S. government's attempt to divide the Chicano/Mejicano peoples and Puerto Rican peoples struggle. As a result of their refusal to testify, Pedro Archuleta spent eleven months in Federal prison in New York and Chicago; Maria Cueto spent 10½ months in Federal Prison in New York; Ricardo Romero spent 4 months in Federal Prison in Chicago.

The U.S. government has a great fear of this unity and has made every attempt to destroy it to the extent of harassing Chicano/Mejicano political activists with the FBI visiting their families, jobs, and threatening them with subpoenas if they refuse to cooperate with them. Also by visiting post offices and taking their mail and photographing it; by tapping their telephones for periods of nine months and in a particular small town in New Mexico, they went to the extent of tapping all the public telephones in the town. As a result of this repression the National Committee Against Repression in the U.S. was created; composed of Chicano/Mejicano and Puerto Rican people. The National Committee Against Repression in the U.S. has been intensifying its work around the question of REPRESSION in MEXICO working with the National Committee there to expose to the world that there are 600 political activists and revolutionaries in Mexico who have disappeared, and over 3000 political prisoners in Mexico.

The latest ploy that the U.S. government has used to try to confuse and destroy the unity between the Chicano/Mejicano and Puerto Rican people centers around the Island of Vieques; by using a so called Chicano/Mejicano who in reality is a vende Patria and a scout for U.S. Imperialism, Alex de la Cerda to attack the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. From the beginning, when he was appointed to head the U.S. Navy community relations with the fisherman of Vieques, we knew why a Chicano/Mejicano

De Pie y En Lucha



from San Antonio, Texas was picked for the job. The U.S. government had other plans for him. When Alex de la Cerda was arrested for the bombing of a lawyers college and learned to be part of an anti-communist group our suspicions were confirmed.

The F.B.I., C.I.A., also the Army and the Navy intelligence have a big recruitment drive in the U.S. for Spanish speaking people -be they Chicano/Mejicano or Puerto Rican. They are needed by these agencies for intelligence work in Central America, the Caribbean, South America, and Mexico. We would like to set the record straight. Why did the U.S. government expose one of its agents, in this case, de la Cerda, by arresting him. It is obvious to us that they are trying to create disillusion and confusion by using one of their Chicano/Mejicano lackies and pitting him against the Puerto Rican Independence Movement so that the Puerto Ricans will get the understanding that the Chicano/Mejicano people are against Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism.

Alex de la Cerda is not part of the Chicano/Mejicano struggle; he is not part of the millions of us who struggle for reunification of our homelands. Since 1848, we, the Southwest, part of U.S. in the states of Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, have been an internal colony of the U.S. Our people suffer from racism, unemployment, drug addiction, loss of our lands, and police repression. Last year over 130 Chicano/Mejicanos were killed by the police in the U.S. Alex de la Cerda is an enemy of the Puerto Rican people and is a traitor and enemy of the Chicano/Mejicano people. WE CONDEMN his actions in Puerto Rico. We completely understand that he is a lackey and a scout for U.S. IMPERIALISM. ☆





Juan Antonio Corretjer

BEYOND SABANA SECA

REPRINT - EL NUEVO DIA - JAN. 11, 1980

In my constant determination to explain our people to myself and at the same time to them, a factor as important as is revolutionary clandestinity occupies my attention in a very particular way. With this motive I return to the violent skirmish of Sabana Seca. I want to explain how it is concerned with something more—and even this would already be a great deal—something more than a victorious episode of the revolutionary armed forces in the military history of Puerto Rico. Because its political and military importance goes very much further than those thirty lightning seconds of concentrated fire on the morning of December 3, 1979. Let's see.

September 23, 1979 the clandestine organizations, Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) operating in the U.S., the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular (FARP), the Ejército Popular Boricua (EPB), popularly known as the Macheteros; and the Organization of Volunteers of the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP) signed and circulated at Lares a "First Joint Communique." It was the only unitary act produced in the "altar of the Homeland" that day. The only one, since the call of the recently liberated Four Nationalists was lamentably unheard by all except for the signers of the Communique. It was also the first public unitary act of the four clandestine liberation organizations, even though earlier the OVRP appeared in military parts of actions carried out separately by the EPB and the FARP. October 18, 1979, the four organizations operated together in bombing targets of the U.S. Navy in both Puerto Rico and in the U.S. The communique of Lares was authenticated in action.

So the enormous importance of the ambush at Sabana Seca rests upon its persistent testimony to a unity on the rise. When for so many years the major vociferation in all independentist sectors has been for unity, when the major reproach against the independentists is around their disunity, the clandestine organizations appear exemplifying unity by deeds—and what deeds! The preaching without practice of the rest and the reproach without alternatives of the others.

This consistent unitary process in the development among the most important elements of independentism will reflect itself increasingly in the dispersed forces of legal independentism. Because, being dispersed but not disunified, they possess an instinctive desire for unity upon which extralegal revolutionary activity will act magnetically.

This is the maximum importance of the unitary example of the clandestine forces. And this is also the major motive for the hatred and resentment with which they are hated and resented by the enemies of independence.

De Pie y En Lucha

The armed struggle is the highest of the forms of struggle. With this classification "the most elevated" one wishes to say that it is the most difficult. Clearly it is. It requires, among other things, an ideological formation much stronger than that of the legal struggle. It requires inviolable discipline. In essence triumph depends on such an inseparable relationship between ideology and discipline. Polemic encompasses all the sciences, but they will be effectively promoted if they are sustained by these two poles. This means not only material triumph, in the logic of actions in relation to how they develop in military time and space. It is also, above all, the triumph of principles. With this harmonious relationship, politico-military direction will be assured in relation to democratic centralism; the most delicate factors of the armed revolutionary process will be balanced and it will be secure against the primacy of militarism.

The politico-military action of Sabana Seca demonstrated a coordination of factors attempted previously in operations divided among some of the organizations participating on this occasion: the logistical operation of Campo Alegre in Manati, for example, mounted by the EPB and the OVRP; and that of last October 18, which united in an international operation the national vanguards and their rearguard in the United States.



The time taken in arriving at Sabana Seca seems to reveal to us a laborious unitary development still in process. The years in which they have expressed themselves publicly in their communiqués, the style manifested in their operations, pointed towards different origins, both of class and of politics and ideology. This difference revealed itself, as is natural, most notably between the FALN and its equivalents in Puerto Rico, but also among the operatives in the country of Puerto Rico. The very development of each of them seems different, perhaps unequal among them because of the distinct experience and possible formation of their leaders, in order to climb laboriously to the search, through praxis, for unitary actions and through discussion to the notion of unity as a necessity in the philosophical sense of the word. But this unitary process is incomplete. It still remains to be known how far away from appearing together with them is the other clandestine organization, the Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo (CRP).

PALESTINE



REPRINT - PFLP BULLETIN - MAR. - APR. 1980

The Syrian regime's decision to regroup its troops in Lebanon, withdrawing them from the Beirut area, was announced at the end of January. This provoked a response from all parties to the conflict in Lebanon and served to accentuate their present positions.

The Syrian decision was motivated by two factors:

First, expectations concerning an Israeli military operation through Lebanon to strike Syria. Accordingly, the troops should be regrouped to insure Syrian defense against such an attack.

Second, Syrian refusal to have its forces used as a security net for the Lebanese regime's maneuvers.

The Sarkis regime has always functioned in close understanding with the fascist Lebanese Front, but its own weakness has dictated a relatively cautious policy. However, in recent months, with the re-building of its army, the regime has begun to assert its pro-fascist policies more forcefully. Under this cover, the Lebanese Front has become more aggressive in its demand for Syrian withdrawal and the end of the Resistance's armed presence in Lebanon. The fascist forces have become bolder in their military provocations to further these aims.

Initially, the regime responded to the Syrian decision by declaring that it would deploy the army in Beirut and other areas vacated by the Syrian forces. Moreover, Sarkis took the opportunity to declare the regime's rejection of all armed presence other than the Army, the ADF and the International Security Forces. The Lebanese Front called for army deployment to replace the ADF.

However, certain realities imposed themselves. The Lebanese Patriotic Movement clearly rejected army deployment for internal security purposes. This firm stand reminded the regime that its army is not yet strong enough to withstand a head-on confrontation with the LPM, and its ally, the Palestinian Resistance.

Thus, the Syrian decision served to confront the regime with its own unresolved crisis. Official Lebanese-Syrian negotiations began in Damascus, resulting in Syria freezing implementation of the measures it had announced.

The Zionist-Imperialist Response

Carter responded by accusing Syria of stirring up trouble in Lebanon in order to divert from the Afghanistan events. Begin warned of planned 'Syrian aggression' and loudly renewed the Zionist pledge to protect 'the Christian minority' in Lebanon, by which he means the fascists. We know this rhetoric all too well. As history has repeatedly demonstrated, such proclamations are customarily issued to justify imperialist-Zionist aggression.

In fact, Zionist support to the fascist forces is being stepped up, with the frequent presence of Israeli troops and armed vehicles in the border strip of South Lebanon. Heavy Israeli support has always been necessary for maintenance of Saad Haddad's enclave; this need has become more acute recently in light of the success of the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces' operations against the Zionist-fascist occupation in the South. The Zionist-fascist forces responded to the situation which arose with the Syrian decision, by resuming almost daily bombardment of the camps and villages of South Lebanon this month.

We can see that the reactions from various sides indicate no basic change in the positions of the forces involved. On the one hand, Syrian refusal to go along with the official Lebanese maneuvers indicates a strengthening of the ties between Syria, the LPM and the Palestinian Resistance. On the other hand, there is the continued incapacity of the regime to re-establish the Lebanon desired by imperialism and the local comprador; as of now this regime merely maintains the official framework, in which the Zionist and fascist forces can continue their aggression.

Exactly how and when this Zionist-fascist aggression is carried out depends to a great degree on what suits their source of support, i.e. imperialism. Implementation of the imperialist plans for the area entail dealing a crushing blow to the Resistance in Lebanon. To this purpose in the past, the fascists have ignited a civil war and 'Israel' has launched a major invasion into Lebanon. Both failed to achieve the desired results, but remain as options to be launched again at the suitable time.

The combination of developments in Iran and Afghanistan, coinciding with the current dead-lock for the Camp David plan, concerning 'autonomy' have brought imperialism's dilemma in our area to a head. The overall reactivation of the mass movement means an increasing number of contradictions, which imperialism is unable to solve to its advantage. The US's latest initiative to overcome this dilemma is renewal of the cold war in the name of supporting Islam. Precisely this campaign gives Arab reaction a convenient banner under which to carry on its cooperation with US-imperialism. A major Israeli aggression at this time would create confusion in this campaign. It would embarrass Arab reaction before the masses. It might jolt the 'normalization' being enacted on the Israeli-Egyptian front, rather than extending this normalization to other fronts as is planned.

Thus, the most probable development is sustained aggression on the South of Lebanon and localized clashes in other areas. This would aim to wear down the Resistance, the LPM and their mass base, while imperialism seeks new avenues on the road to a political settlement. In this context, we can also expect continuous provocations of internal unrest in Syria and intensified pressure on Syria from Arab reaction.

Although the confrontation in Lebanon may continue on a level short of all-out war, the situation is nonetheless dangerous. A high degree of political and military alertness is required of the LPM and the Resistance: to redouble efforts to protect the masses from continuing Zionist-fascist aggression and to liberate the occupied border strip which facilitates this aggression; to consolidate the unity which until now has prevented the enemy from crushing the positions of people's power established in Lebanon.

The LPM has taken the correct position in its stand on the new situation which arose, by rejecting army deployment until it is in the context of Lebanese action to confront the Zionist danger and with a clear definition of commitment to the Palestinian cause and the relation with Syria. It is in harmony with this position that the Palestinian Resistance can protect its armed presence and mobilize the masses in Lebanon in a continuation of the long-term war against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

This issue was sent to press Feb. 23, 1980.

ON THE PRIMARIES

1. INTRODUCTION:

The Republican and Democratic Party Primaries were held in February and March, respectively, in Puerto Rico for the first time in the 82-year history of U.S. colonial domination over our homeland. Without a doubt, the primaries represent a consolidation of the annexationist base. They were an important step toward the liquidation of the Puerto Rican nationality in the juridical sense of the word, and a firm step towards one of the bloodiest chapters yet to be written in the annals of human history. No amount of words can wipe away or divert the inexorable course to civil war which the United States is pushing in Puerto Rico. No State Department study, no newspaper article, no resolution in the U.S. Congress can explain away the immense suffering which U.S. policy over the last 82 years is heaping on the people of the U.S. and Puerto Rico. No warning by the most humane petitioner will change the course upon which U.S. capital has embarked in relation to Puerto Rico. The toll in lives will be great.

This is perhaps the real significance of the primaries just held in Puerto Rico. And because it is so significant a development, and so much subject to misinterpretation and miscalculation, it should be placed in perspective for all those who have a genuine interest in what has happened. Without pretending to see it all, or know it all, we will attempt to answer the two fundamental questions raised by the primaries; what have the Puerto Rican people said, and what are the prospects for the November, 1980 colonial elections.

We will also, in the course of this short analysis, try to show why armed struggle is the only serious answer left to the Puerto Rican liberation movement, and why the colonial system is trying desperately to postpone the confrontation, or at least defuse the explosive situation in Puerto Rico until it can mobilize the masses of the Puerto Rican people to support their annexationist plans.

There are some background factors to consider in why annexationism has become so virulent in the last decade. These are: the potentially large deposits of petroleum in the Puerto Rican coastal shelf, the mineral wealth in its subsoil of such strategic war materials as nickel and copper, the economic value of its consumer market which is totally controlled by U.S. capital, its strategic location in the Caribbean for U.S. political and military interests, and finally the arrogant inflexibility of U.S. foreign and domestic policy.

The potential petroleum deposits in the coastal shelf of Puerto Rico are estimated in the tens of billions of barrels. The U.S., however, is not in a hurry to exploit it. Politically the issue is explosive, because it could generate a strong movement for independence within the ranks of the autonomists. Eco-
De Pie y En Lucha

nomically, it is worth more untapped to U.S. capital, because its value increases as the world's resource is depleted. Nickel in Puerto Rico's subsoil is estimated at 45 per cent of the world's total available to the U.S. Nickel is essential to armor and metallurgy. Copper is to be found worth nearly \$100 billion. It is a strategic material in reserve. Exploitable quantities of other basic metals are also to be found.

The Puerto Rican economy generates between \$5 and \$7 billion in profits to U.S. corporations yearly. The consumer credit debt is well above \$10 billion, and the worth of U.S. capital investment in Puerto Rico surpasses the \$21 billion mark. Puerto Rico sits astride the Caribbean and Atlantic shipping lanes, and has been used as a major deployment center for the U.S. military against Caribbean and Central American targets.

Annexationism, then, is the principal means for securing such an important bastion of U.S. capital and military interests.



To guarantee their continued hold over Puerto Rico, the U.S. allows a minimal political colonial structure to exist, with a limited number of judicial, fiscal, and political-legislative powers. These powers are circumscribed by various U.S. government agencies, among them: Congress, the President, the U.S. Supreme Court and courts of appeal, the U.S. Justice Department, the National Security Agency, the Postal Service, the U.S. Department of the Interior, the Treasury, State, Customs, etc., etc.

At any one time, and on any one fiscal, legislative or juridical matter, each and any of these agencies can overrule or disregard anything decided by the Puerto Rican people or its elected officials and their appointees. This is done routinely often. The U.S. capital and legislative and judicial stranglehold in Puerto Rico is such that the life and decision of every Puerto Rican, voluntary and involuntary, is determined—indeed, predetermined!—by some agency or corporation in the U.S. Puerto Rico is a large reservation!

The electoral system, and the elections they engender, must be seen within the confines of this colonial reality we have outlined. This is the principal reason why the use of the tactical consolidation pro-

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cess spoken and written about by Lenin on the uses of the legislative apparatus of the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois and semi-feudal nation state is so out of focus when pseudo-marxists argue for it within the colonial framework. It is no insignificant matter that the colonialists have time and again amended colonial law in Puerto Rico to allow for the validation of an electoral party of independence when that party has polled so few votes it has failed to qualify as an electoral party. This is why the colonial newspaper EL MUNDO, in an editorial dated March 11, 1980, said in welcoming the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) as the newest party to register for the November, 1980 colonial elections: "We welcome the Socialist Party and call upon it to maintain the debate at the highest level and to watch, jointly with the other political parties, over the purity of the electoral process ..."

The editorial warned that "to create obstacles for the legal participation of a party (in the elections) is to push it in the direction of CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES which have such toxic results for the country." (See EL MUNDO, p. 8A, March 11, 1980).

This is the background against which the primaries were held— and against which all elections are held in Puerto Rico. When the U.S. press and the propagandists of the State Department argue that the strength of the independence movement is only the six per cent shown at the polls, their self deceit, and the deceit perpetrated on the peoples of the world and the U.S. public is so great as to make the coming agony of all our people a prolonged and painful one.



II. THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM:

The electoral system in Puerto Rico under U.S. colonialism is a continuation of the Puerto Rican legislative system which came into being with the Charter of Autonomy under Spain in 1897. To appreciate fully the significance of electoral politics in Puerto Rico, we suggest the reader turn to Juan Antonio Corretjer's "La Lucha Por La Independencia" published by the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP).

Since the resumption of the electoral process in 1900 (two years after the invasion of Puerto Rico, and immediately upon the closing of military administration), autonomists and statehooders have contended for colonial administrative power— either in alliance or as single political parties. The history of the electoral process is the history of the changing of power from the hands of one set of compradores to those of another, from the hands of those who would make Puerto Rico a state to those who would have it retain a colonial status with a measure of autonomy.

De Pie Y En Lucha

ALBIZU CAMPOS
IVIVE!

In 1940, with the rumble of war in the near distance and the need to consolidate friendly governments against internal and external subversion, the S. incarcerated the Nationalist leadership and entrusted the colonial administration to a liberal autonomist administration. For the next twenty years this autonomist administration repressed and oppressed the people of Puerto Rico while facilitating the penetration and ultimate control of U.S. monopoly capital. In 1968, U.S. capital thought it could dispense with the autonomists and address the question of annexation. The natural resources of Puerto Rico had come to the attention of colonialists. The rediscovery of Puerto Rico's political and military significance in the world game of chess had become an important item on the agenda.

That year, 1968, Puerto Rico's richest comprador, Luis A. Ferre, became the governor of Puerto Rico under the banner of a new statehood party—the Partido Nuevo Progresista (New Progressive Party)—PNP. This party was organized out of the older and discredited Republican Statehood Party, which since the first decades of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico had represented the interests of the latifundist agrarian bourgeoisie. Now, under the PNP banner, their sons—trained, schooled, and shaped in the U.S.—took up the reins of U.S. interests in Puerto Rico. After losing the elections of 1972, the PNP came back in 1976 with an aggressive and sophisticated annexationist strategy which threatens to drive Puerto Rico to civil war.

The autonomists, once a reformist party with social progressive tendencies, has held power in four of the last twelve years.

The first independence electoral party was formed in 1947 out of a large group of lawyers and civil servants from the autonomist party (PPD) who had become disenchanted with that party's growing rejection of independence. It has gone to elections every four years despite three elections prior to 1972, in which it failed to get enough votes to remain officially an electoral party. In the wake of each the legislature had to lower the per cent of voters required to re-register the party, in order to have the independence option rejected at the polls, for U.S. and international consumption. Since 1972, under a new leadership, it has held steadily at about 100,000 votes.

More recently, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) has opted for an electoral policy following increased repression of its rank and file in direct proportion to the increase in armed action by urban guerrillas in Puerto Rico. Its influence in the electoral process is so negligible that it cannot be statistically measured, and its policy of "using the elections to broaden the socialist base among the masses" is so unintelligible that it is having difficulty explaining it to its own party membership.

IRELAND

IRELAND: 32 COUNTIES IN STRUGGLE
by Revolutionary Struggle, Ireland, 1979

Section 1. 32 Counties—Divided and Dominated

A. Background analysis

The 32 Counties of Ireland are one single social formation. *The political separation of the North Eastern part of Ireland (the six counties of Armagh, Antrim, Derry, Down, Fermanagh and Tyrone) from the 26 Counties of the south is an imperialist partition imposed by British rule for the last 60 years.

This partition divides the political structures and correspondingly the political position and situation of all the social classes of the island. This division is primarily the result of the defeat of the popular forces in the Civil War of 1919—22 of which followed the Easter Rising of 1916 and still constitutes the primary—the essential—political contradiction of the social formation.

But inside this division, the 4½ million Irish people live and produce under capitalist relations.. Capitalism is the DOMINANT mode of production—though pre-capitalist forms of production still persist in certain parts of the country...especially the west and north-west. All struggle for a better life is therefore, essentially, a struggle against the rule of capital...whether the people who are struggling are conscious of it or not.

This dominant rule of capital has historically assumed very particular national forms. This shows itself in the structure of social classes as well as in the form that the restructuring of classes is taking under the gigantic influx of international capital into the country over the last 15 to 20 years.

This particularity (the fact that capital is dominant in a non-unified social formation) is well reflected in the deep historical and political divisions of the various social classes. This is evident in their highly asymmetric inter relation of forces and especially in the form of the power of the state(s). While the state contains classic bourgeois democratic appearances, it is, in fact, a state with exceptional features.

This contradictory aspect of the state is the "other side" of another important feature of the Irish situation—the weakness of the bourgeoisie. The owners and controllers of capital in Ireland are weak—primarily because they are divided. This division is deeper than the usual contradictions between fractions of the bourgeoisie in any country.

The divisions which criss cross the Irish bourgeoisie have wide historical roots which spread across economic, political, cultural, religious and social aspects. The essential source of that division was the

* A historically and geographically determined territory where various modes of production coexist.
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desire of the major part of the dominant class to build an independent and sovereign capitalist economy unfettered by colonial domination; thus, the full participation of the bourgeois class in the "independent wave" starting in the late 19th century. A smaller part of the bourgeois class—mainly situated in the six counties—chose to continue its rule in close collaboration with British Capital. That "choice" of the Unionist bourgeoisie (ideologically, culturally, politically and economically determined) still bedevils the Rule of capital in the 32 Counties as a whole.

It is their choice, and the consequent capacity to draw some sections of workers as well as middle strata into their political projects, which constitutes the heart of the national question. Choice, no doubt, fanned by the imperialist interests of the British State up to very recently.

Thus has developed the very peculiarly national situation in Ireland; a situation in which the major part of capital—in which international capital is now dominant part—see economic and political unification as a desirable project. An ever diminishing and weakening part of the Unionist bourgeoisie—allied to a small fraction of British capital—see partition and the continuation of British rule as essential to their survivalwhich, of course, it is!

The effect of those divisions among the bourgeoisie on the Irish masses provide the background to the highly explosive and charged situation of permanent war; 2,000 dead, prisons full to the brim, repression and all the bitterness and division which results from a partial war in a small country.

It is in this context that international capital is pouring into the country, north and south. It is international capital that has shaped and moulded the economic, political and social life of the people to suit its needs and interests.

B. Products of Domination

As a result of this domination, the standard of living of working people has been shattered over the last 7/8 years by a crisis which is the direct effect of the domination of the country by international capital. British, American and German capital EXPORT their crisis into the Irish economy. The 32 counties provides one outlet for this crisis of overproduction. Out-of-date technology is exported, outlawed production processes are imposed on the 32 Counties as capital desperately tries to resolve its crisis. The ever deeper penetration of international capital has deformed and disfigured the economy, politics and culture. Irish children are "educated" by Kojak, The Professionals, Charlie's Angels. Both north and south, work, leisure, education, culture, media, press, food habits, transport, environment, and language scarcely any area of everyday life has been left unmolested by the terror of capital. ►

PRIMARIES

No one questions the fact that consciously or unconsciously, the abstention in colonial elections is very high. The percentage which abstains consciously is thought to be small. It has never been scientifically measured. But the abstention rate today stands at about 300,000 out of 1.2 million active voters; and at one-million out of the 2 million eligible to vote.

Such is the electoral system in Puerto Rico. The issues and names change periodically, but the substance of status and objectives remain the same year after year. As the consciousness of the masses grows, the electoral boycott-abstention, becomes the most significant form of expression against the electoral system.

JIBARO SI

III. THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES:

The transformation of the statehood movement's strategy for annexing our homeland to the U. S. to facilitate the exploitation of our people within an internationally recognized legal framework cannot depend on support from the masses, which have historically rejected it. Lacking support, annexationists turn to the transformation of the national political, cultural and economic infrastructure into vehicles of Americanization. One of the cornerstones of that strategy is to supplant the traditional electoral parties and colonial elections into U.S. electoral parties and U.S. elections—bringing about a de-facto annexation. The annexations say that statehood “will be phased in” over a 10-year period should they win the 1980 colonial elections. The first step in that direction were the primaries; the second step are the November colonial elections. The following series of steps are the consolidation of power over the colonial institutions in Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican community institutions in the U.S.: the referendum on the status issue in 1981, and the building-process of linkages with U.S. political, cultural and economic institutions over the 1980-1990 period.

The recent primaries were both a polling of statehood strength in Puerto Rico and a measure of what numbers of people could be mobilized to support the establishment of U.S. parties in Puerto Rico. The statehood strength, for our purposes, could be measured by the number of votes cast in the Republican primaries—200,000. The integral and peripheral strength of the statehood movement stands at the number of votes obtained by the Jimmy Carter primary vote—400,000 approximately. The mobilization capacity for electoral participation within the U.S. parties framework amounts to slightly above 800,000 out of an electorate of 2.2 million.

To measure the strength of the assimilationist tendency in a real sense, however, we must look at the portion which went to the primaries and voted for President Carter, whose commitment to statehood was stated over and over again. The Carter vote was about 453,000—including in it about 70,000 to 100,000 persons who had voted already in the Republican party primary the month before and who were mobilized to vote a second time by the PNP. The real Carter vote may very well have been between 350,000 and 375,000—which is the real strength of the PNP in Puerto Rico. If this is true, then the PNP strength within the voting Puerto Rican electorate of 1.2 million is approximately one-third of the total vote.

The autonomist vote for Kennedy, which turned out almost fully, was about 425,000. This represents about one-third of the electorate. What was surprising was the rate of abstentions. Some 400,000 abstained. This too represents about one-third of the electorate. If we follow the traditional and conventional measurements offered to us by pollsters and electoral experts in Puerto Rico, then two-thirds of the 1.2 million electors rejected statehood, while 400,000 voters heeded the call by the Puerto Rican independence movement and patriotic forces to boycott the primaries.



The colonial administration and U.S. experts monitoring the process had said that the primaries had a plebiscitary character—that is, that the primaries should give them a clear indication of where the Puerto Rican voters (one-third of the population and one-half of all those eligible to vote) stood on the status issue. Forgetting that one million who do not vote and who have not been polled or measured in any way as to why they do not vote, we'll find that the statehood drive is stalled at the mass level and that the electoral system in Puerto Rico may not prove useful to U.S. capital as a vehicle for annexation.

One of the clear indications of the primaries is that the base of the electoral organizations have not changed significantly since 1968, and that the additional hundreds of thousands of voters since then have either preferred to abstain or have become independentists. The electoral base of the three principal parties (the PSP does not measure in per cent because of their negligible voter appeal) may be said to stand at about 400,000 for each of the PPD and PNP, while the PIP counts with a base of about 100,000. There is another 300,000 voters who either abstain, or vote in very small numbers. Of these latter, all abstained from the primaries.



Sabana Seca Communique



On the morning of the 3rd of December the joint forces of the 'organizacion de Voluntarios para la Revolucion Puertorriqueña' (OVRP) (Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution), the 'Ejercito Popular Boricua' (EPB — Macheteros) (Boricua Popular Army), and the 'Fuerzas Armadas de

Resistencia Popular' (FARP) (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance) carried out a military action against the occupying Yankee military forces that operate in the "U.S. Naval Security Group Activity" in the Barrio Sabana Seca, in the town of Toa Baja.

The aggressive imperialist enemies of our people have lately massacred two young patriots at Cerro Maravilla and very recently a young farmer and patriot, Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal, in the dungeon of the Federal Prison of Tallahassee, Florida.

The assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal was perpetrated by the Yankee Intelligence to intimidate our people and their leaders in a useless attempt to make us cease our struggle. Instead of being intimidated our people have

responded with shame and indignation.

The plot by the Colonial Government, the principal hangman in the assassinations at Cerro Maravilla, the the North American (U.S.) Government, executioner of Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal is evident. Persisting in their imperialist efforts to perpetuate the control and exploitation of our people they try to paralyse the patriotic forces in their revolutionary and liberating advance by using the politics of terror and repression.

The Yankee military strategists should not deceive themselves. The blood of the Puerto Rican martyrs and patriots will be revenged with the blood of the Imperialists. The Yankee occupying forces will be a target of the Patriotic Fire every time that the

assassin hand of the Imperialist takes the life of a Puerto Rican patriot. We warn the Imperialists that they should respect the life and security of our prisoners according to the Geneva Convention, otherwise they will be responsible for the irreversible consequences that will follow as a result of our people's popular indignation.

The clandestine organizations that subscribe to this statement are not playing at war. We are prepared to take this struggle to it's last consequences. ☆

For independence and socialism!

Long Live Free Puerto Rico!

**SUPPORT THE
ARMED
CLANDESTINE
MOVEMENT!**

POEMS FROM THE PRISONERS OF WAR

To Our Revolutionary Children

Children of our country,
Children of armed struggle,
always ready, always strong,
soon your moment will come.

We strengthen you
with the rifle's seed;
We now anxiously await
the fruits of victory.

We adore you
identical with our homeland;
at the same time we wait for you
to bring us Liberty.

Tomorrow will be very late
The people will not wait
Arise Borinquenitos,
we have given the sign.

Children of our homeland,
Sons and daughters of liberty,
Never suffer, always laughing,
and fooling the bourgeoisie
that cut short our joy.

TO FUTURE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Rise and stand proud
for it soon will be your time
to aid in the struggle
that will bring us our freedom!

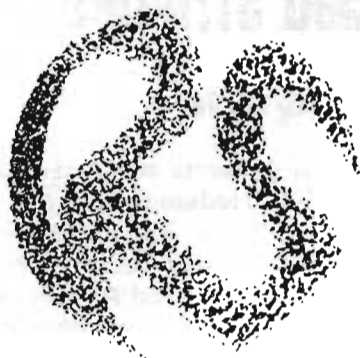
We all have a responsibility
to work towards this goal
since it means
Life or death for our people!

Strengthen yourselves
and stand on sure ground
and remember that it is in unity
that we will achieve victory! =

Learn to question what is around you
and never take things for granted,
Otherwise,
you will remain ignorant of the truth.

We all have something to contribute
toward our liberation,
open your hearts and minds
and live as a true Borinqueno!

Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War



At the economic level, domination means the complete uprooting of old traditional industries like textiles, shoe and leather manufacture, food processing and ship building in the North. In their place, capital imposes highly exploitative, high technology, capital-intensive "new" industries like drugs, chemicals, electronics and synthetic textiles.

STC, SPS, ECCO, AKZO, SHELL, BP, TEXACO, PFIZER, ABBOTT, SYNTEX, ELI LILLY, EXXON, COURTAULDS, BURLINGTON, DIGITAL, ALCAN, ASAHI, SNIA, RENAULT, VW, FIAT, WESTINGHOUSE, TOYOTA, BAYER, and some "Irish" monopolies like SMURFITS, CEMENT ROADSTONE, GULF, WATERFORD GLASS together with a number of semi-States share out to the Irish bourgeoisie a tiny fragment of their international production. And a tiny part of their international profits. Already we are experiencing the cycle of capital rationalisation, as multinationals close down, lay off and make redundant thousands of workers.

Section 2. An Economic Overview

Political Effects

In the ghettos, the people suffer severely in housing, unemployment and inflation—the effects of a worsening economic crisis. More and more, the terror of capital is felt amongst the protestant workers. There are thousands of young people who have lived 10 years of war, who live by violence outside the direct control of any single political force, and to whom repression is the only means offered by the society for their integration.

As long as this situation continues, it is likely that the war will be "resolved" while the interests of working people remain excluded from the political arena. It means that new imperialist forces will consolidate a new form of economic and political domination of the people, north and south. It means that the aspiring petty bourgeoisie, on both sides of the sectarian divide, along with a comprador bourgeois class, will attain political power.

SHORT AND LONG TERM PERSPECTIVE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

STRATEGY

1 The first element of our strategy is to attack the PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING. New Agencies, Tribunals, Boards and Committees which have
De Pie y En Lucha

been charged with the implementation of capitals' plans. WE OPPOSE ALL REFORMIST ATTEMPTS to give credibility or legitimacy to these agencies of so-called "development," "modernisation," "industrial revolution" and "New Projects."

HITTING THE PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING hits capital and State in their transition; at their weak points. By "hitting" we mean opposition at any leveltheoretical investigation and counter-information, refusal to cooperate and organised rebellion against the plans by ANY MEANS NECESSARY.

By "hitting" we mean transforming the widespread individual or sectoral withdrawal of working class people from these plans into an offensive attack on State and capital. Our strategy sees the mistrust, apathy, cynicism and occasional hitting out by working people at these new institutions of change as a positive rejection of these new managers of new disorders.

Hitting the process of restructuring defines for us further, what our strategy will NOT be. We will not be simply "exposing" capital and State's new plans. We do not imagine that organisation can be built through "informed fear." Rather, the power of a class is built through its practice of opposition. That practice of opposition we want to organise, solidify and extend across the breadth and width of the proletariat.

Neither are we democrats, hoping to invite participation in the self-management of oppression, imagining that working class people will thus be "educated" as to the futility of capital. No! This part of our strategy is to hit back now, responding to the short and medium term NEED of the working class and other classes to disengage themselves from the logic of capital and State's solution to the crisis of profitability.

2 All of Ireland is dominated by imperialism. The immediate imperialist enemy of the Irish people is British imperialism. The short to medium term enemy is U.S. imperialism. In the chain of domination, we define the 26 County capital and State as the weak link. Politically weak, not only in its relationship to the British army presence in the 6 Counties, but also weakening daily in its economic relationship with Britain. The organisation of those international relationships—being so weak—is carefully controlled and supervised by American and European political directives. Our strategy is to focus, at any and every level, on Fianna Fail: the present 26 County Government's international relationships. Precisely, this means directing various forms of action and protest against individuals, organisations, occasions and study centres who organise, manage and direct their foreign policy. In this we join, where possible, with other organisations and associations concerned and outraged by the increasing political, military, economic and ideological interference in the daily lives of Irish people.

Cont. on Page 14



Armed Struggle

Press Release April 9, 1980

The past April 4, forces in the service of yanki imperialism jailed 11 freedom-fighters for the independence of Puerto Rico. The imperialists alleged that they had struck a heavy blow to the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) and to the struggle for the independence of our people.

We, the revolutionary organizations that are struggling from clandestinity in Puerto Rico, as well as in the very entrails of the monster, understand that any offensive of this type constitutes a blow for our people in struggle. What it does not mean, by any means, is that they have been able to weaken in the least the rising growth of our liberation struggle.

We represent a people enchained and exploited, which every day demonstrates that its liberty and independence will be won, regardless of the sacrifices which might be necessary.

We want the comrades in jail to know they can count on our militant solidarity and to know that our support and aid for our people's freedom fighters is unshakable to the ultimate consequences.

To our people and to the independence fighters we say that we, the organized revolutionary forces, will continue to strengthen ourselves with firm steps and that very soon our organized people in struggle will triumph.

Our hundred-year struggle against exploitation, colonialism, racial discrimination, corruption and all the unjust products of capitalism will never be stopped. It will be cemented with the blood of our martyrs, the bravery of our patriots and the force of our working class.

Moreover, the government of the United States should remember that they are obligated to respect the life and the rights of the captured comrades in Chicago, as Prisoners of War. They are responsible for this before the peoples of the world and also before us.

The peoples of the world have the moral force to demand it, and we have the physical force and the courage to support what they demand.

Long Live Puerto Rico Libre!

Long Live The Revolutionary Struggle!

Puerto Rico Will Win!

Organizacion de Voluntarios por la Revolucion
Puertorriquena (OVRP)

Ejercito popular Boricua (Macheteros) (PRT-EPB)

Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN)

Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular (FARP)

At each hearing the freedom fighters have been forcibly dragged into court and beaten up before the eyes of the community supporters who have been attending the hearings. The courts attitude has been one which says we are going to give you "justice" even if we have to kill you doing it. Community supporters have been shoved, pushed, threatened and in some cases arrested. Since their arrest the eleven have been threatened and brutalized by every official from the judge down to the prison "guard."

A few days after capturing the eleven, F.B.I. officials separated Haydee Betran de Torres from the other ten. Haydee was sent to N.Y. to be tried for murder, stemming from the bombing of a Mobil Oil office building in 1978. The trial which is to begin on May 19th has all the makings of a "legal lynching," including a jury which is to remain anonymous.

The eleven however, do not stand alone. The correctness of their tactics and the political positions which they have advanced over the years, has materialized into a base of support that has surprised and impressed those most critical of armed struggle (and even the state itself).

Ironically as it may seem, the arrest of the eleven comes almost as a necessary step in the construction of the subjective conditions which will lead to Peoples War in Puerto Rico. The capture of these eleven patriots, one of them as young as 19 years old, has given a physical character to the current struggle for Puerto Rico's independence. Many people have come to accept that the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence is not a relic of the past, nor an abstract dream for some undetermined time in the future; but that it is a physical reality who's future is determined by the here and now.

While the F.A.L.N. carries out armed actions in the U.S., the emergence of more than five armed clandestine organizations in Puerto Rico, along with the increased militancy of the mass movement, has moved the question of Puerto Rico's independence from the drawing board to the phase of trial and error. The combination of theory and practice, armed action and mass movement, will lead to protracted Peoples War, and only Peoples War will lead to victory. ☆

De Pie y En Lucha



BETANCES: Dr. Ramón Emeterio Betances, Padre de la Patria Puertorriqueña, líder máximo del movimiento libertador boricua de finales del siglo pasado.

PRIMERIES

The colonial elections of November, 1980, are another story. Here, social issues become relevant to the way the electorate votes.

THE NOVEMBER, 1980 COLONIAL ELECTIONS

Come November, every four years, one of the colonial parties will assume control of the colonial government bureaucracy and manage the dispensation of services and public bribes which maintain the peace in the colony. But what is certain is that it will not be one of the two electoral independence parties. Jointly, or separately, neither will do better than 10 per cent—and even six to eight per cent will be more likely. The reasons are fundamental and elementary. Neither has the money, the institutional independent power, nor the support of U.S. capital essential for winning, or even for making a decent run at electoral influence.

Colonial elections in Puerto Rico are designed to guarantee the continuation of colonialism. Independence parties are needed in the electoral game to validate the process and for no other reason. That is why they are encouraged. That is why they are subsidized by the very colonial administration they attack. Like Don Pedro Albizu Campos said: "If elections were good for the people of Puerto Rico, the yanquis would never hold elections. . ."

The lessons of the primaries show that the PNP will win the 1980 colonial elections. But that the PPD is not as dead as we assumed. It also shows a higher rate of electoral abstention than in all previous elections.

The factors which make the primaries different from the general colonial elections held every four years is that while the primaries centered on foreign political realities, the quaterennial elections in Puerto Rico center on national and social issues of vital importance to the Puerto Rican people. This difference explains the larger voter turn-out in the November colonial elections. ☆

NO TO STATEHOOD NO TO THE FREE ASSOCIATED STATE INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

BEYOND SABANA SECA

A feeling surely began to unite them and this feeling calls them to the duty of complete unity: patriotism. In this purest fountain, in this ancestral feeling, is their true origin and the emotional motor that moves them and motivates them. In it their link, their life to that of our homeland from its strongest and most evident roots; there they join with the Betancist and Albizuist callings; there they testify how "patriotism is a competition with the ancestors" in the most beautiful classical sense (these are the words of Tacitus). And from there also, from this incorruptible patriotism, the lucid consciousness that has animated all of them: without independence, all Puerto Rico can be is a colony.

For me, the certitude that this is so means a great deal because it promises a free and independent life for Puerto Rico, once it has overcome the present disgrace of colonialism and whatever other possible future avatar in the internal or international life of Puerto Rico. ☆

IRELAND

WE ARE

Revolutionary Struggle is a communist organisation. Its method of analysis is based on Marxism and those Marxists who have enriched marxist theory. It is a marxist organisation. Our method of structuring ourselves is based on Lenin and the enrichment of Lenin's theory of organisation adapted to suit Irish conditions. We are a Leninist organisation, using internal democracy to make decisions and employing internal debate to guide our centralised decision-making, based on collectively agreed broad lines of strategy. ☆

EDITOR'S NOTE: We regret that we were not able to print the second part of our series on the Chicano/Mexicano National Question. However, we intend to continue the series on this very important topic in the next issue of our publication. Thank you for your support.

FROM THE PODIUM

ON ARMED STRUGGLE AND UNITY

Comrades, representatives of fraternal organizations and invited speakers:

We take this opportunity to put forth political positions and propositions of our organization, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (M.L.N.), which I have the great pleasure of representing here as coordinator of the eastern region of the Federated States of North America (erroneously named the United States). I have two themes, which are themes of great importance at this time—armed struggle and the question of unity.

ON ARMED STRUGGLE

The theme of armed struggle is one of the most discussed and least understood in the Puerto Rican political atmosphere, misunderstood because of the lack of practical experience we have in the present epoch; and misunderstood because of the confusion, at times purposeful, with which the armed actions of the patriotic Puerto Rican forces have been covered up. However, thanks to the insistence of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena on this theme, and the writings and discussions of its Secretary-General, Juan Antonio Corretjer, armed

struggle is at last a theme of general discussion in Puerto Rico.

The discussion is certainly very healthy. It revolves around the centrality of this form of struggle in the independentist contest for definitive national liberation, and concerning its character, primary or secondary to the organizations of masses, or the equitable contribution of armed struggle and mass struggle. The majority of those in the discussion, even when they have never put the theory of armed struggle into practice, have in fact learned as part of observing the process, as much in Puerto Rico, as on an international level; and using the science of Marxism-Leninism as a leverage have expressed themselves concerning the current stage, the reaction of the peripheral sector to this form of struggle and the popular expressions concerning its impact on the masses.

As always, things are colored by the light in which they are seen—some offer as a consequence of the analysis, the absolute necessity of the proper construction of the Party. They see armed struggle in the current stage as a dangerous obstacle that threatens to unchain a repression for which they have not prepared themselves. Others believe that they already have the

Party, and they oppose armed struggle at the present as a hindrance to the mobilization of the masses of the Puerto Rican people, and to their own political program.

We, the MLN, and the LSP, put forward that the Party (and clearly we are referring to the party which is going to lead the struggle for independence and socialism) is being forged in clandestinity, in the bosom of the clandestine politico-military organizations, and that it will surge forward to the surface when conditions are appropriate. We say that we know much more about what takes place in legality than that which is taking place in clandestinity, which, even with the inevitable losses, remains much further from the eyes and ears of the repressive agencies than all of this Puerto Rican political legality. We can also say that when clandestinity is attacked, none of its detractors have any notion of what they are saying—not on the practical level, nor on the level of knowing the organizations they are denouncing.

At the general theoretical level, however, we all have a series of points of coincidence that are worthwhile to point out, without

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having illusions that we will soon be able to reach an agreement concerning common practice. Both the clandestine (and therefore politico-military) organizations and the legal organizations renounce "focoism," the position that a very few, by the military road, can create the conditions whereby the entire people are aroused into a struggle against the empire that colonizes us. We all agree in a serious rejection of "militarism" that tends to see everything in terms of armed struggles exclusively.

We agree on the combination of armed struggle with the struggle to organize, to give political direction and leadership to the struggle of the Puerto Rican masses. It is the combination of these factors which we call protracted peoples war. We do not agree with the insistence of the legalists on postponing the armed struggle for an indeterminate future. While they emphasize legal work, we emphasize the creation and development of military cadres, who can acquire experience in practice and are developing the nucleus of military leadership. We emphasize equally political work with a view towards popularizing armed struggle, organizing the most conscious sectors of our proletariat, students and patriotic professionals to defend and advance the struggle for our national liberation—a struggle which to us, is for independence and socialism, and for nothing less than independence and socialism.

All of our study of guerrilla action indicates (if we read and study their writings carefully) that in independentist thought there is no sector more anti-sectarian, with a politics more popular and unifying, than the clandestine organizations. This is why even when diversity, sectarianism, and the malign influence of sectarian and hegemonic blocs at the international level influence Puerto Rican patriotism as much as they divide it, the clandestine groups function in a unified form and content. There is Sabana Seca, there are the synchronized attacks on targets in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, with

the first Joint Communique to the People on September 23, 1979, and here is the whole process of unity that will bring clandestinity to forge one single political military organization in the near future.

Meanwhile, clandestine unity grows, and we have a slogan which reflects this: "Se dare la Patria Unida, en la Lucha Clandestina." ("The unified homeland will be obtained through the Clandestine Struggle." While unity grows among the Puerto Rican political-military organizations, the legalistic groups find themselves not only divided, but in the process of more division and more disintegration. What is happening?

Legality itself is our own worst enemy. Our whole history cries out to us that yanki imperialism has manipulated legalism. It manipulated the Republicans and Federalists of statehood from 1899 to 1900, making them believe that votes would bring them statehood, and when they were ready, imperialism gave them a blow of permanent colonialism in the Foraker Act, ratified by the imperialist Congress on April 12, 1900.

The electoral forces realigned themselves within the Puerto Rican Unionist Party and on Feb. 19, 1904, initiated the legalist electoral process for Puerto Rico's independence, which brought this party a massive triumph, and put it in power from 1904 until 1912 with a radical demand for independence. The result—in 1917, imperialism imposed Yanki citizenship against our popular will and as a form of accentuating colonialism. It was worth nothing that the Unionist Party won, alone or in alliance, all the elections until 1936, because the yankis never granted anything.

Henceforth the Nationalist Party is founded, which then on May 11, 1930, was taken from the hands of the legalists by Pedro Albizu Campos and the nationalist youth in order to transform it into a revolutionary and anti-electoral party.

In all the countries of the world, legalism and revolution have been currents in contention. This was so in the past and is so in the present.

Albizu said, and consecrated it in the Nationalist Platform of 1930, that the Party "will deal without pity with natives or foreigners who, with good or bad intentions, endeavor to guarantee the colonial regime, in whatever form it is presented to the country."

There are some who find Albizu guilty of narrow nationalism. But if there is indeed any necessity to convince anyone of what Corretjer said of Albizu in his defense—that Albizu was the greatest of all the anti-imperialists of his epoch in Latin America—let me cite the following:

"We will free the worker

immediately of the chieftans of disoriented workerism, of Yanki origin, which under the suggestive denomination of socialist, but without the definition of any politics, and who are therefore the most effective and skillful defenders of colonialism, who have carried the North American flag, under whose shadow is ruling this colonialism which has turned us into slaves to the North American industries and corporations."

I do not want to leave any doubts, comrades, about how revolutionary and anti-imperialist this position was—that we have to hit reformism hard no matter what disguise it may have at the moment. It is worth citing Lenin so that no doubt remains. In his work entitled "Against Revisionism," the great architect of workers' revolution says:

"The dialectic of history is such that the theoretical triumph of Marxism, internally rotten, tries to be reborn in the form of socialist opportunism. The period of preparing forces for the great battles is interpreted by them in the sense of renouncing these battles..."

Further along, Lenin says, "These people have been so corrupted and so brutalized by bourgeois legality that they cannot even understand the necessity of other illegal organizations to lead the revolutionary struggle."

I would say that there is a high degree of unity between Albizu and

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Lenin, more unity than exists between revisionism, so-called socialism and the revolutionary socialists.

All I have said is geared to emphasize why there exists such contradictions between legalists in Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican revolutionaries, and why they attack each other so much. We propose, just like Lenin and Albizu, that to denounce collaboration with our enemy, to denounce revisionism and the political "moguls" is not sectarianism, but a patriotic obligation. We would be failing in our patriotic duty if we did not fulfill our political mandate of opposing and speaking against the pacification of our people.

The reformists, for their part, speak to us of military deviation, of "broad fronts," of unity despite political and ideological differences. They present to us alternatives they say are patriotic. In the same breath, they present opposition to the armed struggle and the clandestine organizations. We say that this is all a great cynicism because since yesterday, many thousands of our workers passed to lumpenism for lack of work, and this is part of imperialist genocide. Cold and cynical is he, who contemplates armed struggle with theoretical disdain while the enemy sterilized our women and men, rendering a zero-birth rate in 17 villages of Puerto Rico in 1980, and closing birth control centers in some areas because there does not remain a single woman who has not been violated by sterilization.

No, comrades! We defend and advance the armed struggle, until it becomes the principal form of struggle. We will defeat every intention of underestimating the guerrillas. We will hit the manufacturers of lies hard, wherever they come from.

UNITY

On certain occasions the Movimiento de Liberacion (M.L.N.) has stated its position in regards to various calls for unity that have been made. Tonight we will analyze the present calls and offer our own

unity proposal in order to contribute to a dialogue which we feel is ultimately necessary.

The MLN is a revolutionary organization—not by self-proclamation but because the political content of our organization, its practice and experience define it as such. We were born in 1977 as a historical necessity to broaden support for the armed struggle which had taken a new turn after 1974 with the appearance of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (F.A.L.N.), and a year later with the emergence in Puerto Rico of an armed clandestine movement, which we also moved to defend.

As soon as we began the work, one third of our leadership was jailed by Federal Grand Juries in New York, Chicago and New Mexico, organized to repress the attempt to popularize the armed struggle. In the face of this enemy attack, we applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of "transforming defeat into victory," and that is what we did. A year later, when the 11 of us who were imprisoned came out of jail, we found that the organization had grown and had established itself firmly in those places where we had only one representative.

The repression however did not cease, as it has not ended yet. But neither has the struggle and the revolutionary determination to carry our strategy forward. Today, after four deaths, three disappearances, and eighteen prisoners, we can assure you with all objectivity and sincerity, that we are stronger than before on all levels, and better prepared to carry out the strategy that our organization began that June of 1977 when we met in Chicago to begin the task assigned to us of popularizing the armed struggle on a basis of the Marxist-Leninist political-military theory of prolonged armed struggle.

From the first moment we have rejected focoism, but we embraced the principle of the practice of armed nuclei as the only way to verify the methods and structures appropriate to the task. We commit ourselves to the proposition of

popular mobilization, understanding how long and difficult a process it will be. We will never underestimate the enemy forces and their allies who oppose us, not only our theory but also the very existence of our organization. We anticipate traps, penetration of trained agents, campaigns of bribery and campaigns of isolation. All of these have been used and continue to be used against the M.L.N., especially in New York City, where 80% of our Puerto Rican population resides.

We can say, with sober caution, but also with the highest pride, that today today we are the only organization in the entire Puerto Rican independence movement that is being persecuted to the death by imperialism. As the great thinkers of history have shown, the ones who are persecuted are those who truly represent a threat to the empire. Those who do nothing, those who play at reform, those who remain at home, those who do not deal with the people, have nothing to fear from the enemy.

Today the M.L.N. represents the political prisoners and prisoners of war, by virtue of their political principles and not because of tricks and manipulation. All those present who have had the opportunity to deal with us respect us for the consistency of our principles, ideology and practice.

I do not want to make you believe that we are perfect. There is no such thing, even less in an organization so young and with such limited resources. We lack technique in many areas. As diplomats we are very poor. We are behind in economic levels. We lack important contacts and support at the international level, in the quantity and quality a movement of this nature requires. We have committed many errors in practice, particularly in the practice of the clandestinity of structures.

However, our experience continues to accumulate and to be more disciplined. We believe that our ideas represent the future of our independence struggle, and that beyond the appearances of the moment we will

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arrive at the strategic goals set four years ago, at the founding of our organization. The struggle will be long and bloody.

I believe that having said this, you will accept the fact that we are capable of contributing something to the debate over patriotic unity:

These days unity is much discussed - socialist unity, independentist unity, broad unity of all the patriotic sectors, and there is even talk about unity of purpose, anti-annexationist unity and unity of coincidence.

The PIP speaks of unity with the annexationists of Romero Barcelo, and with the surrenderers of Hernandez Colon in order to resolve the evils that plague the people; among them, violence and criminality.

In earlier times violence was a question of the attacks against the independentists. No one protested. Today it is a question of the degeneration of the colonial structures, which generates a climate of social disorder in which no one (understand by this also the colonialists and the comprador bourgeoisie) feels secure. Every one is building prisons with bars in Puerto Rico. They are transforming their homes into prisons so robbers can not enter. The police can not cope with the state of disintegration. Now there are more than 700,000 Puerto Ricans who do not believe in the elections, and because of this it is said that the electoral system is in crisis.

To us, what is in crisis is the colonial system, and the proof of this is the degeneration in the colonial society. Read Fanon: "The Wretched of The Earth," to see Puerto Rico on the eve of its liberation. Because for us the crisis is good, and colonialism should not be saved by delivering independentism into an alliance with those who want to sell Puerto Rico as real estate to the empire. The Puerto Rican people, so peaceful in the past for the lack of patriotic work, are violent today; and because of this, they are coming to understand revolutionary violence more and more - and

finally they will accept it as the only road.

There is talk of anti-annexationist unity between the PSP and the PPD of Hernandez Colon. We do not believe it will happen. The PPD is still very strong, and moreover they are not crazy to unite their greater force to such an insignificant force in the Puerto Rican scene. Moreover, we believe that this proposal is illogical. The entire history of Puerto Rico teaches us loudly that reformist alliances, of whatever nature they may be, have always served the colonialist empire and have never advanced the cause of independence.

A new independentist-autonomist alliance would only serve - and the PIP is entirely correct in saying so - the interests of the PPD to save their hide and prolong the life of a colonial party, which deserves nothing but to disappear from the historical map of our homeland. For this reason, we firmly oppose this tendency toward alliances with all our fervor and strength.

Comrades, the MLN sees the question of unity from three very specific revolutionary anti-imperialist perspectives. We see the necessity for unity; we see the question of patriotic unity; and we see the unity which exists among the forces inimical to our national liberation. Each one of these contains its own problems. The first two can be achieved. The last we will have to struggle to destroy.

Anti-imperialist revolutionary unity is being achieved now, and we have only to move toward its culmination. Two years ago in Lares, a clandestine proclamation was issued, signed by the majority of the organizations of the armed struggle: the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN), the Ejercito Popular Boricua-Macheteros, the Fuerza Armadas de Resistencia Popular (FARP), and the Organizacion de Voluntarios por la Revolucion Popular (OVRP). The only organization of armed struggle still active that did not sign this document was the Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo (CRP). But I can assure you tonight that they

too are following the same path and the same process, and that unity is being forged among all the clandestine organizations, towards the inevitable future construction of the Revolutionary People's Army.

This unity represents for us not just a military unity. It also represents the political unity of forces who, from clandestinity are taking up at full steam, the political-military construction of the vanguard of the Puerto Rican people coagulated in blood, fire, solidified in the experience of clandestine work in all the mass fronts: unions, parties, committees, etc. This is the most valuable and enduring of all possible forms of unity which the long and difficult struggle of the Puerto Rican people can produce for their independence and for socialism.

On a secondary level we see patriotic unity. Broad unity of all the sectors in struggle against colonialism; independentists in all social spheres, and Puerto Ricans - professionals, students and workers who will enter, are entering, or have already entered into open contradiction with colonialism in Puerto Rico and in exile. This unity, however, cannot be obtained by voluntarism, partisanship, or by the wish of an organization to involve everyone within their strategy. It cannot happen by decree. It cannot be achieved by pressure of any foreign nation - be it socialist or otherwise - who wishes to enclose us within their policy. This unity will be obtained when revolutionary unity combines with the appropriate conditions to obtain it.

We, by our own will, individual or party-based, want to develop it. We will initiate the process, a semblance of unity can be constructed for the public, but as in earlier epochs - like the Mesa de Lares at the beginning in the 60's, or like the unity dialogues of that other part, it will explode in the face of the reality of adverse conditions, of enemy strategy, of sectarianism, and internal conflicts.

The MLN does not believe present conditions lead themselves to the unity of independence sectors

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which are still fighting on the level of strategy. If revolutionary unity is being built it is because there are common purposes. All revolutionaries support the armed struggle as practice in the same process of constructing the political-military vanguard. They cooperate, do joint work; there is no conflict over objectives - and even when there are differences over analysis, the unity already acquired is strong enough to wait calmly until practice confirms the truth.

The public unity which has been presented to us among diverse independence organizations is loaded with contradictions. They want to implement this over deep objectives and differences on such a political level, that they seem to us more like an abyss than a puddle that has to be jumped over.

We do not believe it will be easy at this stage, in which the theories of struggle in Puerto Rico are still untested by some, for unity to be achieved. That is, if unity is a serious thing with depth and not merely a political scheme to delude the incautious or to mobilize the anxious liberals and idealists of the moment. For example: we have to resolve the question of using the elections. What enduring unity can there be, when some of us are certain to enter into electoral campaigns on the one hand, and on the other, we are going to do everything possible to ensure that the people do not vote? What unity can there be when some put forward the necessity of a people's war, and on the other hand another sector denies it, fights against it publicly, does everything possible to prevent the advance of that ideology? What unity can be achieved when some of us do everything to break the political nexus with colonialism and others seek forms to cement them? Comrades, every antagonism and contradiction, however slight it may seem, deepens the discord and wins mutual enmity among independentists.

We firmly oppose with revolutionary spirit everything which tends to consolidate colonialism in Puerto

Rico. We oppose all grades of cooperation between the enemies of independence, and the independentists, however pretty it may sound. We firmly oppose on a strategic level, because it is totally opposite to our immediate and long-range goals, any understanding between the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño and the statehood leaders, be they PNP or PPD, over how to rescue the colonial structures from their present crisis. We oppose, and as you already know, we will do everything possible to break, the agreement made in 1978 between the PSP and the PPD of Hernandez



Colon to bring Puerto Rico out towards the status of Free Association, founded on the basis of the status already obtained by the Marianas Islands which, in exchange for a formal constitution of independence, would surrender to the U.S. the recognition and the authority to maintain Puerto Rico as a military colony. A status, by which we would be sovereign in title, but the U.S. would maintain its military bases in Puerto Rico, the right of military intervention, and control of Puerto Rican armed forces.

The MLN wants and directs itself towards full sovereignty - towards true independence and true socialism.

Comrades, we have spoken about what we want and what we do not

want on the level of unity. Let us now present what our organization believes would be the basis for a true unity.

We believe that as a beginning, there should be a public commitment of all the patriotic organizations, to attend a summit meeting on the leadership level in Puerto Rico. Appropriate delegates should be named to elaborate, in accordance with the interests of each party, the agenda of this series of meetings. That as a first step, there should be a public announcement of the intention to not enter into any type of compromise with the colonialists and neo-colonialists. That after that announcement all party attacks end, on the public level and also the clandestine level. That we prepare for this dialogue with all honesty and all possible spirit to build our homeland.

For our part, the MLN does not ask for nor want representation. For us what will suffice is the integrity and resolution, the revolutionary commitment and seriousness of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña, and of its chief representative - also our representative - Juan Antonio Co-retjer.

We are so committed to true patriotic unity, that if reaching an agreement of purpose after emerging with a strategic accord, we are asked to dissolve our organization, or we are assigned the duties of cleaning the floor of our new unitary center every day, we will do it with all the pride, the joy and all the pleasure that we have in participating here today, together with Lolita Lebron, together with you, and with the pride of representing the politics and integrity of the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and the F.A.L.N., which yesterday, today and tomorrow are prepared to sacrifice everything for our homeland.

Comrades:

Independence or Death:
We Shall Win!

DE PIE Y EN LUCHA

SPECIAL EDITION



Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

50c

REVOLUTION IN MEXICO CONTINUES...

INTRODUCTION

DE PIE Y EN LUCHA is honored to dedicate this special issue to the 68th anniversary of the Mexican Revolution and the ongoing revolutionary process it initiated.

Sixty eight years after the beginning of that glorious revolution of 1910, the Mexican people are still struggling against a regime based on privileges, oppression and exploitation. Under the guise of revolutionary politics this regime undertakes a wholesale attack upon the Mexican masses and their national patrimony. While on the one hand Mexico is the 3rd largest nation in the Americas, and one of the world's wealthiest, in terms of mineral resources, millions of Mexicans, each year, are forced to leave their native land in order to survive. On the other hand, a small elite enjoys great benefits and profits. But, not content with the misery it has imposed on the Mexican populace, the Mexican oligarchy, invoking the revolutionary words of Zapata and Villa, have developed a policy of repression exemplifying the worst forms of fascism. This policy has resulted in the incarceration of 300,000 political prisoners, including thousands whose whereabouts are unknown.

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THE LAND BELONGS...

"The Land Belongs To Those Who
Work It."

Emiliano Zapata

The struggle for land has been developing since the land was taken from our ancestors, who worked the land together, and since then has passed into the hands of a few foreigners who made laws to legalize the thefts. Assassinations were committed to take possession of the large extensions of land.

The struggle of Zapata, Villa, Arturo Gamiz, Ruben Jaramillo and of Genaro Vazquez Rojas is the path of blood. Our social class is seeding for its liberty; for a worker's society.

The politics of this Capitalist system that is the oppressor in the political and economic sense, is to give free rein to the landlords and bad living conditions to the worker.



These forms of exploitation are the ones that have come to Ciudad Juarez with the dividers, who in an illegal form sold land that was not their property, without fulfilling the requirements to divide and sell, making a mercantile and fraudulent negotiation, against the working class. They are protected in their acts by the authorities who have done nothing to resolve this social problem. Landlords like Regina W. Chavez, Miguel Lugo Alvarado and Eduardo Zaragoza, have negotiated our lives.

The Colonias de Juarez, La Cuesta, KM.7, KM.4, Mex. 68, Pancho Villa and Tierra y Libertad, are organized into the Committee For Popular Defense, An independent and revolutionary organization of the poor, to defend our interests as the working class. To force the authorities to resolve problems, because it is their obligation to

do it and not to permit the dividers to keep on impoverishing us and stealing the money product of our work.

Problems like these occur all across our country, where it is permitted. Converting the land into merchandise in spite of the fact that this is a natural resource that all human beings need to live. Because in Capitalism, this is economic development; to continue exploitation in different manners against the needy.



The rich; where do they obtain money to buy the land? From the product of exploitation of the workers. The Governors cede lands to their allies, and the businessmen who sell the products to us at such high prices. If the land belongs to the people, then when someone has large tracts of land it is because they have obtained them illegally.

The colonias "Pancho Villa" and "Tierra y Libertad" have emerged from the struggle. These colonies were not victims of the exploiters. Through struggle we took them from the Bourgeoisie (invaders of our land).

To establish our homes and organize more fronts of struggle

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POLITICAL REFORM AND REPRESSION

According to some misguided illusions, the passing of the "Law of Political Organizations and the Electoral Process" would initiate "the Beginning of Democracy" in Mexico. It is good to take the opportunity to clarify the foundation of this matter.

The bourgeoisie is very good at using political rhetoric in order to convince the people and they will use any means to confuse the people. Remember the political rhetoric of "Up and Forward," "We can make it better," and "The small family lives better" etc..



The importance of this rhetoric is to see if they are fulfilled or just conceal a broken promise. If time passes and the promises are not fulfilled, undoubtedly it was just demagoguery (a means to deceive the people).

In the case of "Political Reform" the same thing will happen; they think that because the minority parties will have political participation the situation of the country will change; that because the Chamber of Deputies will have more popular representatives, hunger, misery, and unemployment will end. That since it advances a major separation of the three powers, protest demonstrations will automatically cease throughout the national territory. We think that these

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from pg.1 Revolution

Against this background of fascist repression and of betrayal of the principles of Zapata and Villa, a new widespread movement of popular resistance has emerged. A movement that combines the finest revolutionary tradition of the Mexican people with the highest level of political unity. Thus the contemporary Mexican revolutionary movement, exemplified in such groups as the Comité de Defensa Popular de Chihuahua, directs the Mexican masses towards the complete seizure of state power by the proletariat and the establishment of a true socialist republic.

Recently two members of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), Jose Lopez and Jaime Delgado, visited Mexico and spoke about the Puerto Rican struggle. More than four hundred people packed the Activity Center of the Juarez High School in Ciudad Juarez to hear the message from the Puerto Rican liberation struggle and at the end acclaimed in one voice, "Viva Puerto Rico Libre." This act of solidarity is demonstrative of the growing unity of the Puerto Rican and Mexican working class struggles.

It is in the spirit of deepening the bonds between the two people and broadening our knowledge of the Mexican revolutionary struggle that DE PIE Y EN LUCHA publishes the following articles from the Comité de Defensa Popular.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 continues to smolder. Fanned by the failure of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), the political party in power, to effectively deal with the major issues of the country - a huge foreign debt, staggering unemployment, exploding population growth, and the lack of an effective agrarian reform plan, militant movements are gaining momentum.

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MAY 15

The events which occurred on May 15th, in the "Tierra y Libertad" community, demonstrates the true character that guards this capitalist system; This community was repressed for the mere reason of being a community in struggle, one who demands their rights and tries to teach the people self-defense against the exploiters.

The way capitalism advances, the life conditions of the workers worsen, while those of the bourgeoisie improve, the repression heightens, the bourgeoisie improves their instruments of repression to drown the cries of liberty of the proletariat in blood.

When human beings begin to struggle for what they have created through their efforts they become men and this is what preoccupies the great bourgeoisie.

The event which occurred on May 15th, was the culmination of a series of threats that the bourgeoisie authorities have launched against the inhabitants of the community of "Tierra y Libertad". The blackout was only a pretext to consummate what was

already premeditated, where a militant compañero of the Comité de Defensa Popular was assassinated and other injured.

The preceding clearly demonstrates the great class struggle which is developing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, completely by antagonistic classes.

The militants of the C.P.D., before this act against our people and our organization, will continue to denounce this crime until we achieve:

The destitution of the police chiefs-assassins of the people.

Solution to the problem of Land Holdings.

For the Proletariat Revolution.

COMMITTEE OF POPULAR DEFENSE.

THE LAND IS OURS



-from pg. 3

The Committee for Popular Defense (CDP) is a mass movement dedicated to improving the conditions of the poor and working class.

The CDP began in 1970 as a result of militant actions taken in Chihuahua and the government repression that followed. It was formed to protect the interests jailed guerrilleros, many of which were killed in jails as a result of taking action.

The CDP strives to change the present system of Mexico that offers opportunity and advancement only for the rich. The system advocated by the CDP would have factories and the land run by the workers collectively. All facets of production and power are to be shared equally.



The CDP organizes in both the urban and rural areas. Together with numerous "land invasions" in the principal cities of the state of Chihuahua, rural ejidos are also affiliated with the CDP. In Juarez, there are 8 colonias that have been appropriated by the CDP. In the Colonia Francisco Villa in Chihuahua, there are 16 schools, and preporatory and day care centers.

Land takeovers in the cities were necesitated when many families, unable to maintain rent, were forced to organize and acquire homes. The CDP considers it incorrect to pay rent and utilities.

The Colonia Tierra y Libertad (Land and Liberty) in Juarez is a rundown neighborhood lacking in sewer facilities and other necessities.

There is a high moral among its residents. The Colonia is secured by armed guards at night. Thus far the Juarez government has not attempted a forced removal of the Colonia which marked its first anniversary September 15, 1978.

The most recent confrontation with the authorities in Juarez occurred on May 15th when police entered the Colonia to rescue a Federal Commissioner and his henchmen from Colonia residents. A riot followed and claimed the life of a resident and scores of injuries to both Colonia residents and police.

The political structure of the Colonia is an intricate one. It is divided into apples. One apple is a square block. Each apple meets once a week. Two representatives from each apple are elected to sit on the Colonia assembly. Over the assembly is a group that participates in organizational work called activists. Above them is the Central Committee, that coordinates the general issues of the Colonia. 90% of the 350 families participate in weekly meetings.

Social problems are addressed in the Colonia. Vices such as alcoholism are discussed at weekly meetings and throughout the Colonia there is advising against drinking alcohol. A drunk resident or visitor will not be admitted into the Colonia until he is sober.

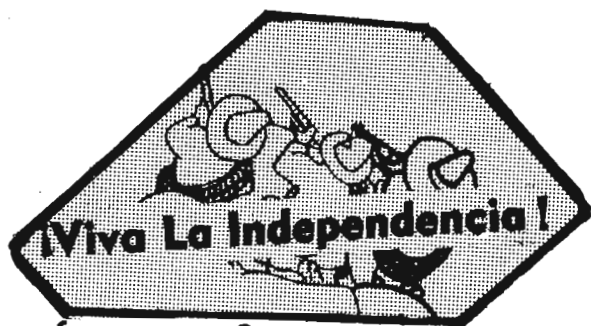
The political direction of the CDP is to struggle to eat and to struggle for power. The CDP considers the traditional political parties (including those on the left) as a negative factor and opportunists. They boycott the general elections because they are aware that the candidates on the ballot are selected by the rich to represent their interests.

In Mexico, there is a wave of repression against the people. But despite this, the CDP is firm in its economic blows in their actions of land takeovers. It is our revolutionary duty to support the CDP and the revolutionary actions

against yanki imperialism and its their puppets in Mexico.

Taken from the Chicano newspaper, LA CUCARACHA, September, 1978.





from pg. 3

"Political Reforms" are nothing more than theory (demagoguery) and that when the class in power (the bourgeoisie) realize that the present political parties can no longer serve to deceive the people then they will use their reserves; in this case the so called opposition parties in an attempt to stop the phantom of electoral absentism which has given them so many headaches.

The reality is that just like the political rhetoric of "Political Reform" will end up in nothing, because the people of Mexico do not need reforms but real change that will transform the pathetic state of affairs in Mexico.

The day when the worker can have enough to sufficiently maintain and adequately educate his/her family, when the peasant can enjoy a much deserved piece of land, and have enough to work it, and the fortunate day when the exploitation of man by man will forever cease to exist, then our country will have changed and the political reforms and rhetoric will be things of the past.

Our responsibility is to struggle for this; to combat and unmask all reforms which come from the bourgeoisie, because we should not forget that "what is good for the bourgeoisie is bad for the worker and what is good for the worker is bad for the bourgeoisie".

For the Proletarian Revolution

Committee of Popular Defense

from pg. 2

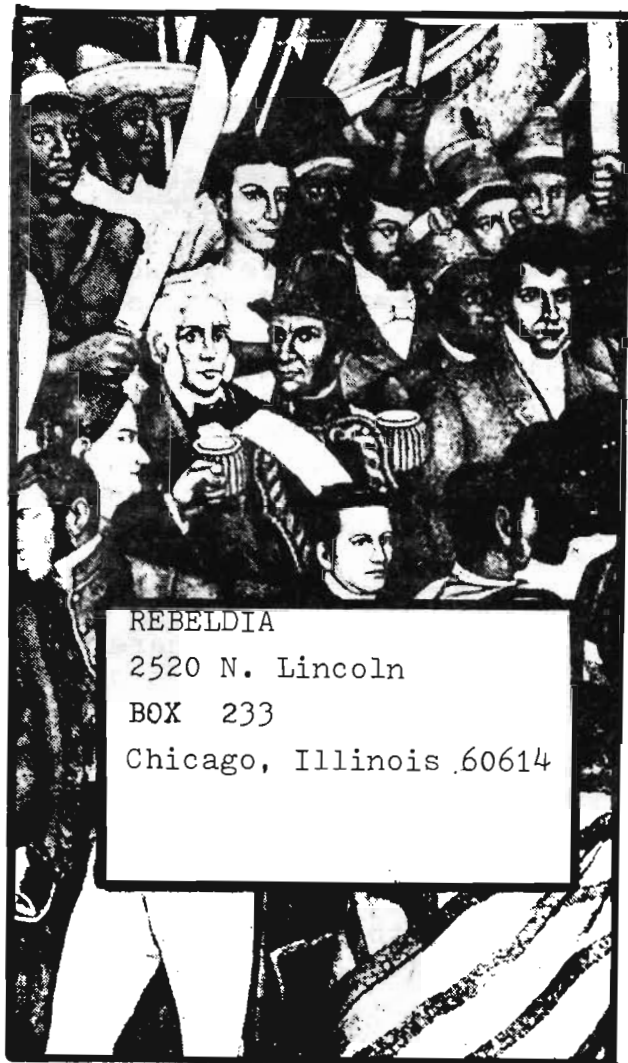
it is necessary to struggle in an organized manner. We will achieve that through the Committee For Popular Defense, an organism of the masses, that by way of mobilizations and denunciations have achieved a class-consciousness in the aforementioned colonias.

We shall keep struggling uninterruptedly until we achieve a solution to each and every one of the problems of the different fronts that form our organization.

¡Long Live the Precursors of the Proletarian Revolution!

¡Long Live the Committee For Popular Defense!

¡Immediate Solution to the Land Problem!



DE PIE Y EN LUCHA

EDICION ESPECIAL



Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

50¢

REVOLUCION EN MEXICO CONTINUA

INTRODUCCION

DE PIE EN LUCHA se complace en dedicarle este numero especial al 68 aniversario de la Revolución Mejicana y al continuo proceso revolucionario que la misma inicio.

Sesenta y ocho años después del comienzo de la revolución gloriosa de 1910, el pueblo mexicano continúa luchando contra un régimen basado en privilegios, opresión, y explotación. Bajo el pretexto de política revolucionaria, este régimen realiza todo un ataque contra las masas mejicanas y su (patrimonio) nacional. Es triste decir que Mexico siendo la tercera nación más grande en las Americas, y una de las más ricas en el mundo, entérminos de recursos naturales, cada año ve a millones de mejicanos forzados a abandonar su tierra nativa para poder sobrevivir; mientras una pequeña elite disfruta del gran beneficio y de las super-ganancias. Pero, no satisfecho aún con la miseria que han impuesto al pueblo mejicano, esta oligarquía mejicana, invocando las palabras revolucionarias de Zapata y Villa, han desarrollado una política de represión copia de las peores formas del facismo. Esta política ha resultado en el encarcelamiento de más de 300,000 presos políticos, incluyendo otros millares de desaparecidos.

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LA TIERRA ES



DE
QUIEN LA
TRABAJA

contenido

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LA TIERRA PERTENECE...

"La tierra pertenece a quienes la trabajan"

Emiliano Zapata

La lucha por la tierra se viene desarrollando desde que la tierra fue arrebatada a nuestros antepasados, que la trabajaban en comun, y, que paso a ser de unos cuantos extranjeros, que hicieron leyes para amparar los robos, y asesinatos que cometieron para apoderarse de grandes extensiones de tierra.

La lucha de Zapata, de Villa, Arturo Gamiz, Ruben Jaramillo y de Genaro Vazquez Rojas es el camino con sangre, que viene sembrando nuestra clase social, por su libertad, por la sociedad de los trabajadores.

La politica de este sistema capitalista, que es represor, en lo politico y opresor en lo economico, es darles manos libres a los terratenientes, y peores condiciones de vida a los trabajadores.

Tales formas de explotación, son las que han venido dando aquí en Ciudad Juarez con los fraccionadores, quienes en forma ilegal vendieron terrenos que no eran de su propiedad, sin cumplir con los requisitos para fraccionar, y vender haciendo un negociazo mercantil, y fraudulento, en contra de la clase trabajadora, amparados en sus actos por las autoridades, que han hecho nada para resolver este problema social; terratenientes como Regin W. de Chavez, Miguel Lugo Alvarado y Eduardo Zaragoza quienes han hecho el negocio de su vida.

Las colonias Colinas de Juarez, La Cuesta, Km.7 Km.4 Mex. 68, Pancho Villa, y Tierra y Libertad; quienes estamos organizados en el Comité de Defensa Popular regional, una organizacion independiente, y revolucionaria, de los pobres, para defender

nuestros intereses como clase trabajadora, para hacer que las autoridades resuelvan los problemas, porque es obligación de ellos hacerlo; para no permitir que los fraccionadores nos sigan esquilmando, y robando el dinero producto de nuestro trabajo.

Problemas como estos suceden a lo largo de nuestro país, donde se permite, que se convierta la tierra en una mercancía, a pesar que este es un recurso natural, que el desarrollo economico, ir formando la explotación de diferentes maneras contra los necesitados.



Los ricos ¿de donde obtienen dinero para comprar la tierra? del producto de la explotación a los trabajadores; Los gobernantes ceden terrenos a sus allegados, o los comerciantes de los productos tan caros que nos venden. Si la tierra es del pueblo, cuando si tienen grandes extensiones de tierra es porque las han obtenido en forma ilegal.

Las colonias "Pancho Villa" y "Tierra y Libertad" han salido de la lucha, estas

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REFORMA POLÍTICA Y REPRESIÓN

Según algunos ilusos, con la aprobación de la Ley de Organizaciones Políticas y Procesos Electorales se inicia en México, la "apertura democrática" y es bueno aclarar el trasfondo del asunto.

La burguesía es muy dada a emplear lemas para convencer al pueblo, y para ello se vale de todos los medios de difusión. Recuerdese "arriba y adelante", "todos la hacemos mejor" "la familia pequeña vive mejor" etc.

Lo importante de ello, es ver si los lemas se cumplen o solo es el disfraz que oculta una promesa. Si transcurrido un tiempo, el lema no se cumple; indudablemente que fue solo demagogia (engaño al pueblo).



En el caso de la Reforma Política sucede exactamente igual: Se piensa que por el hecho de que los partidos minoritarios, tendrán mayor participación política, la situación del país cambiará, que porque en la Cámara de Diputados habría más representantes populares, el hambre, la miseria y el desempleo terminaran; Que porque promueve una mayor separación de los tres poderes, automáticamente dejará de haber manifestaciones de protesta a lo largo y ancho del territorio nacional y nosotros creemos que la Refor-

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Revolución

Contra este trasfondo de represión facista, y del traicionamiento de las ideas Zapatistas y Villista, un amplio movimiento nuevo de resistencia popular ha surgido; movimiento en el cual se combina las tradiciones mejores revolucionarias del pueblo mejicano, con el nivel más alto político.

Así el presente movimiento revolucionario mejicano, ejemplificado por el Comité de Defensa Popular de Chihuahua, dirige las masas mejicanas hacia la toma completa del poder estatal por el proletariado y hacia el establecimiento de una república verdaderamente socialista. Recientemente dos miembros del Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (M.L.N.), José Lopez y Jaime Delgado, visitaron a México para hablar sobre la lucha puertorriqueña. Fueron recibidos por un casi 400 personas quienes llenaron el salón de actividades de la Escuela Benito Juárez en la Ciudad Juárez y al fin del acto proclamaron en una sola voz, "Viva Puerto Rico Libre."

Esta manifestación de solidaridad demuestra la creciente unidad de las masas populares puertorriqueñas y mejicanas.

En el espíritu de estrechar los lazos entre los dos pueblos y de profundizar nuestro conocimiento de la lucha revolucionaria mejicana que DE PIE Y EN LUCHA publica los siguientes artículos del Comité de Defensa Popular.

La Revolución Méjicana de 1910 continua. Desplegado por el fracaso del Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), el partido político en el poder, de efectivamente bregar con los asuntos mayores del país - grandes deudas extranjeras, alto nivel de desempleo, crecimiento de la población y la falta de un plan efectivo de reforma agraria; movimientos militantes están logrando ímpetu.

...cont. pagina 5

15 DE MAYO

El hecho del día 15 de mayo en la colonia "Tierra y Libertad", es una muestra del verdadero carácter que guarda este sistema capitalista; se reprimió a esta colonia por el solo hecho de ser una colonia luchadora, y exigir sus derechos y tratar de enseñar a el pueblo a defenderse de los explotadores.

A medida que avanza el capitalismo, las condiciones de vida de los trabajadores son peores y las de la burguesía mejores, la represión se agudiza, la burguesía mejora sus instrumentos de represión, para ahogar en sangre los gritos de libertad del proletariado.

Cuando los seres humanos empiezan a luchar por lo que han creado con su esfuerzo, van convirtiéndose en hombres y esto es lo que le preocupa a la gran burguesía.

El hecho sucedido el 15 de mayo, fue la culminación de una serie de amenazas que las autoridades burguesas, habían venido lanzando en contra de los habitantes de la colonia "Tierra y Libertad". Lo del "Corte de luz" solo fue en pretexto para consumir un hecho que ya estaba premeditado, y en donde se asesinó, a un compañero militante del Comité de Defensa Popular y se hirio a otros.

Lo anterior es una muestra clara de la gran lucha de clases que se desarrolla entre en proletariado y la burguesía; clases completamente antagonicas.

Los militantes del C.P.D. ante este acto en contra del pueblo, de nuestra organización, seguiremos denunciando este crimen hasta lograr:

DESTITUCION DE JEFES POLICIACOS
ASESINOS DEL PUEBLO.
SOLUCION AL PROBLEMA DE LA TENDENCIA DE LA TIERRA.

Por la Revolución Proletaria.
COMITE DE DEFENSA POPULAR.



de pga. 3

Reforma...

ma Política no es más que teoría (demagogia), y que la clase en el poder (burguesía), al darse cuenta que los partidos actuales ya no sirven para seguir engañando al pueblo, echa mano de las reservas, en este caso llamados partidos de oposición, para tratar de acabar con el fantasía del abstencionismo, que en los últimos años, les ha causado muchos dolores de cabeza.

La realidad del caso es que, al igual que los lemas, la Reforma Política va a terminar en nada, porque el pueblo de Mexico no necesita reformas sino cambios substanciales que vengán a modificar el patético estado de cosas en que se desenvuelve el país.



El día que el obrero tenga lo suficiente para mantener y educar adecuadamente a su familia, el campesino goce de un merecido pedazo de tierra con el suficiente crédito para trabajarlo, y el venturoso día en que se acabe para siempre la explotación del hombre por el hombre, entonces nuestro país habrá cambiado y las reformas políticas y lemas demagogicos serán cosas del pasado.

Nuestro deber es luchar por algo así, y combatir y desenmascarar toda la serie de reformas que surjan del seno de la burguesía, porque no debemos olvidar que: "lo que es bueno para la burguesía, es malo para el pueblo y lo que es bueno para el pueblo, es malo para la burguesía."

Por la Revolución Proletaria.

COMITE DE DEFENSA POPULAR.

Revolución..

El Comité de Defensa Popular (CDP) es un movimiento de masas dedicado a mejorar las condiciones de los pobres y la clase obrera.

El CDP comenzó en 1970 como resultado de acciones militantes que se llevaron a cabo en el pueblo de Chihuahua y la represión siguiente lanzada por el gobierno. Fue organizado para proteger a los guerrilleros encarcelados. Muchos perdieron sus vidas en prisión por sus acciones.

El CDP lucha para cambiar el presente sistema de México que ofrece oportunidad y avance solo para los ricos. El sistema abogado por el CDP tendría las fabricas y las tierras manejadas colectivamente por los obreros. Toda producción y poder sería compartida igualmente.



El CDP organiza en las areas urbanas y rurales. Junto a numerosas "invasiones de tierra" en las ciudades principales del estado de Chihuahua; ejidos rurales están afiliados al CDP. En Juarez, existen 8 colonias que han sido apropiados por el CDP. En la colonia Francisco Villa en la ciudad de Chihuahua, hay 16 escuelas, centros preparatorios y jardines de niños.

La toma de tierras en las ciudades fue necesario cuando muchas familias, incapaz de mantener sus rentas, y fueron forzadas a organizar y adquirir hogares. El CDP considera incorrecto tener que pagar renta y utilidades.

La Colonia Tierra y Libertad en la ciudad de Juarez es un vecindario pobre con falta de facilidades albañal y otras necesidades. Existe un alto moral en sus residentes. Es asegurado de noche por guardias armados. Hasta hoy el gobierno no ha atentado eliminar con la fuerza a la Colonia que cumplió su primer aniversario el 15 de septiembre de 1978.



La confrontación más reciente con las autoridades en Juarez ocurrió el 15 de mayo cuando la policia entró a la Colonia para rescatar a un comisario federal y su lacayos contra los residentes de la Colonia. Culminó en un motin en la cual un residente perdió su vida y ambos (residentes y la policia) sufrieron heridas.

La estructura política de la Colonia Tierra y Libertad es intrincado. Está dividida en manzanas. Una manzana es un bloque. Cada manzana se reúne semanalmente. Dos representantes de cada manzana son electos a la Asamblea de la Colonia. Encima de la Asamblea, hay un grupo llamado activistas quienes participan en el trabajo de organización. Encima de estos está el Comité Central quienes coordinan los asuntos generales de la Colonia. 90% de las 350 familias participan en reuniones cada semana.

Problemas sociales son tratados en la Colonia. Vicios, como alcoholismo, son discutidos en las reuniones cada semana. En la Colonia hay aconsejamiento contra el consumo de alcohol. Un visitador o residente borracho no es permitido entrar a la Colonia hasta que esté desemborrachado.

La dirección política del CDP es luchar para tener de comer y para tomar el poder. Consideran los partidos políticos tradicionales (encluyendo los de la izquierda), como factor negativo y oportunistas. Boicotean las elecciones generales porque reconocen que los candidatos

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La tierra pertenece..

colonias no fueron victimas de los explotadores, sino que a travez de la lucha se las arrancamos a los burgueses (acaparadores de tierra).
(LA TENENCIA DE LA TIERRA)

Para constituir nuestros hogares y formar mas frentes de lucha, es nesesarario luchar organizadamente. Nosotros lo logramos a travez del Comite de Defensa Popular; Organizmo de masas, que por medio de movilizaciones y denuncias ha logrado forma una conciencia de clase en las mencionadas colonias.

Seguiremos luchando interrumpidamente hasta lograr la solucion a todos y cada uno de los problemas, de los diferentes frentes que forman nuestra organizacion.

¡¡VIVAN LOS PRECURSORES DE LA REVOLUCION PROLETARIA!!!
¡¡VIVA EL COMITE DE DEFENSA POPULAR!!
¡¡SOLUCION INMEDIATA A LA TENENCIA DE LA TIERRA!!



de pga.5

Revolucion..

representan los intereses de los ricos.

Existe una ola de represión contra el pueblo en Méjico. Pero aún, el CDP está firme en sus golpes económicos contra los ricos en sus acciones de "tomar las tierras". Es nuestro deber revolucionario apoyar al CDP y estas acciones revolucionarias contra el imperialismo yanqui y su lacayos en Méjico.

Tomado del periodico Chicano, LA CUCARACHA, septiembre, 1978.

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DE PIE Y

THEORETICAL
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THE M.L.N.



EN LUCHA

- **Puerto Rico's Not So Manifest Destiny**
- **On The Chicano-Mexicano Question**
- **Long Live The Armed Struggle**



de pie y en guerra

Evaluation of a campaign

It is the duty of every revolutionary to extract the lessons of victories and defeats in order to learn and advance the struggle against imperialism. It is in this constructive spirit that we submit for the consideration of the independence movement, this brief evaluation of the political events that we consider of major importance, occurring during the celebration in our nation of the Panamerican Games. We expect all the revolutionary comrades and organizations to read and discuss this evaluation and if possible, make public your own conclusions.

The Political Framework

The celebration in our nation of the 8th Panamerican Games was preceded and accompanied by a total mobilization of the national and foreign repressive forces: not only were the police and national guard mobilized, but also the FBI, Secret Service and the CIA. Many independentistas were persecuted and harassed. Attempts were made to intimidate various labor leaders. The coming and going of military vehicles and the presence of national guardsmen in combat fatigues carrying M-16 rifles were common sights. For almost one month, Puerto Rico lived an undeclared state of siege.

In addition, the propaganda offensive was stepped up. The pages of *El Vocero* and *El Nuevo Día*, beginning one month before the Games, were filled with alleged threats and terrorist conspiracies. Every robbery appeared in the press as an act of a "subversive commando". Every crime was the work of "extremists". They were even ridiculous enough to state that a submachine gun found in the possession of a mafia member was part of a cargo destined for the possession of a mafia member was part of a cargo destined for "terrorist", and that it was of the type used by Palestinian Commandos in the Olympic Games at Munich.

Before this colonial outcry of "subversive conspiracies", the only "terrorist" actions carried out were unclaimed attempts against members of the national guard. It is important to state that none of the clandestine organizations operating in Puerto Rico carried out any action to disrupt the Panamerican Games. Why?

Although we cannot speak on behalf of all the clandestine organizations, we understand that it would not be contradictory to say that the reason no actions were carried out during the Games was the same for all: the strategy of people's war is based on the necessity of uniting the people around anti-imperialist objectives and national liberation. To disrupt a sports event would not have advanced, in any way, this strategic objective. Although we are frequently accused of being "militarists", our organization considers that military actions are always subordinate to the political criteria and necessities that can be clearly supported. As Mao once said: the gun is subordinate to politics.

De Pie y En Lucha

July 3rd

July 3rd was the first anniversary of the revolutionary takeover of the Chilean Consulate by the compañeros Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano. The daring action carried out by the two young patriots shook the consciousness of an independence movement weakened by years of reformist and legalist struggles.

Unfortunately, the incarceration and exile of these compañeros has not resulted in a unitary movement for their liberation. Orphans of political support, they are progressively isolated from the collective memory of an oppressed people that imperatively needs revolutionaries they can emulate. In that sense, it was encouraging to see the picket sponsored by the Socialist League in commemoration of the takeover of the Consulate, and the support demonstrated for all the prisoners of war in the unitary activity on July 4th.



We must remember the words of Nydia and Pablo about the possibility of an exchange of the 4 Nationalist compañeros for northamerican spies imprisoned in Cuba:

"This exchange, far from being a comfortable outcome for our liberation movement or of the good purpose that formed it, represents a weakness or recognition of the weakness of that movement. Until what point can we continue glorifying before the working class and marginalized sectors in Puerto Rico as their representatives, when in practice (despite popular support) we have not been capable of saving and reinvidicating those who with their sacrifice nourish and give meaning to our struggle."

It is precisely raising the banner of unconditional freedom for all political prisoners and converting that struggle into a revolutionary struggle, one of the ways in which the independence movement can truly earn the role of the vanguard.

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Puerto Rico: Not So Manifest Destiny

INTRODUCTION

Over one year ago, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) issued a discussion document which outlined the combination of factors needed to win the independence of Puerto Rico. The four prong strategy included the following: a strong united revolutionary movement on the island; a widespread and committed international support; an anti-imperialist solidarity movement within the U.S. capable of organizing advance sectors of the white working class; and a rear-guard base among Puerto Ricans in the U.S. able to reinforce and defend a revolutionary struggle on the island.

While all three points are interesting, in themselves, in that for the first time the U.S. ruling class admits (not only in *Forbes*, but also in *Fortune*, the *Nation*, and in the *New York Times*--all in the month of August) that Puerto Rico is a nation which is impossible to integrate: "Puerto Ricans might insist that Spanish continue as the island's official language, something Congress might refuse," says the *New York Times* (Editorial, August 21, 1979). What is most startling, however, is the revelation of the importance of the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. in regards to the status issue. Jerry Flint, in the *Forbes* article, while analyzing congressional reaction to a de-

Puerto Rican residents of the U.S.; only that way can the terrorist threat be contained." It, thus, becomes quite clear to the reader that the imperialists have an obvious conception of the significance of the rearguard struggle as outlined in our discussion paper a year ago.

If the number of ruling class publications, in August, dealing with Puerto Rico are any indication, then it is clear that "the Puerto Rican connection is the most intimate...the most dangerous in many ways," for the ruling establishment. Even through all the articles pose an uncertainty about Puerto Rico's future, they all acknowledge two facts which independentistas have steadfastly sustained: 1) that Puerto Rico is a nation; for example, *Fortune* states, "historically the admission of the first truly Hispanic state would also raise questions that have never been posed before"; 2) that the present status is a political farse. What such famous Puerto Rican jurists, such as Pedro Albizu Campos and Vicente Geigel Polanco, advance more than a generation ago concerning the so-called "commonwealth" (hailed at that time by the Harvard-legal mind Carl Friedrich and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren), the *New York Times* has finally had to admit that the "Constitution makes no provision for a semi-sovereign entity." (Editorial, August 21, 1979).

In conclusion we can say that the final crisis for U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico--the crisis Albizu Campos talked about in the 1930's--is finally unfolding. U.S. imperialism is finally awakening to realize its nightmare (the spectre of Northern Ireland looms over then, as is clerally indicated in the *Forbes* article) that if Puerto Rico is its Achilles heel in Latin America, then the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are its Trojan Horse who bring with themselves a Pandora's box and within it a storm they would not be able to contain.



On August 6 of this year, the article which appears below was published in one of the most important organs of the U.S. ruling class, *Forbes* magazine. In this article an analysis is made of the major obstacles to the imperialist strategy of statehood for Puerto Rico; it includes the following factors: that Puerto Rico is a nation--a Spanish speaking nation at that; that there does not exist overwhelming support for statehood among the Puerto Rican masses; and that the 2.5 million Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland are a factor to be reckoned with.

mand for statehood, states that the idea of imposing statehood on a large minority--and the possibility of terrorism--also might give Congress pause. Such violence could go beyond tearing down a few American flags before the Pan American Games. One tiny terrorist group, the New York based F.A.L.N. ... is credited with 90 bombings and 5 deaths in 5 years.

He goes further to state that "Governor Romero must build a genuine consensus among the island's citizens as well as among



Cont. on Page 4

Will Puerto Rico become the U.S.' Northern Ireland? Our first Spanish-speaking state? Or something else? We may soon find out.

Puerto Rico's not-so-manifest destiny

By Jerry Flint

PUERTO RICO WOULD MAKE one strange state. The official language wouldn't be English; half the folks would be on food stamps; there might be resident terrorists throwing bombs on the island and the mainland; and they might not get around to paying full federal income taxes for 10 or 20 years.

If this seems strange to most mainland dwellers, it sounds strange to many Puerto Ricans, too. Puerto Rico a state? Like New York or Alaska or North Dakota? Unlike most of the modern Caribbean, Spanish-speaking Puerto Rico is not an independent country nor do any but a tiny minority of its people want it to be. The question is: What exactly do the majority of them want, these people of mixed race whose culture is part Spanish, part American, whose small island came under U.S. rule after our victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898? Now they are citizens of the U.S. in a vague association with the U.S. known as commonwealth, but without full political rights in their homeland.

But this status question that has bedeviled the island for decades appears to be pushing to conclusion. The options: Puerto Rico could become the 51st state; it could remain a commonwealth; or it could move toward independence.

The issue so divides the island that the will of the majority might not be accepted if statehood comes. This is a Spanish society and talk of violence comes easily. Says one of the island's most prominent private citizens: "We're talking about civil war. It's only a small group, maybe 2,000 or 3,000, but they would create havoc. They would probably blow one or two [U.S.] senators to pieces. It would be permanently violent."

"You will be buying a problem for a long time," warns Senator Miguel Hernandez Agosto, president of the pro-commonwealth, antistatehood Popular Democratic Party, the second-largest po-

litical force on the island.

"We're not Eskimos or Hawaiians. We are a distinct nation. There is no possibility for statehood," says Ruben Berrios Martinez, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, which demands an independent socialist state. And on the far left, under a red flag, there is the tiny Marxist-Leninist Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Its leader, Juan Mari Bras, cuts no such dramatic figure as Fidel Castro does, but Mari Bras would dearly love to emulate the Cuban caudillo. "Undoubtedly the only alternative would be armed struggle, even after statehood," he threatens.

Those are the threats of the opposition, attempting to frighten an American Congress from accepting the majority will if statehood wins a majority in a



plebiscite. But Puerto Ricans battling for the 51st star are just as forceful.

"I believe in democracy and I'm not being cynical about it or sarcastic, no, I'm being very, very frank," says the island's elected Governor Carlos Romero-Barcelo, a handsome, gray-haired man who clenches his fist and speaks slowly to make his point. "I would feel uncomfortable being denied participation in that [U.S.] democratic process and having my children disenfranchised." His pro-statehood New Progressive Party now controls the local legislature, and if it is victorious again in 1980 he pledges to hold that status plebiscite in 1981, win it and take the demand for the 51st star to Congress. Adds one of the governor's associates, if opponents who talk violence want confrontation, "they will find us ready." The implication of that statement will not be lost on the *independentistas* who have not forgotten the decisive and bloody defeat the Puerto Rican National Guard inflicted on the independence uprising in 1950. There is no question of the U.S. regular Army being used—of mainland troops firing on Puerto Ricans. The National Guard and local police are efficient and determined.

It would be wrong to think of the problem in purely economic terms. Dr. Francisco Pabon, director of Puerto Rican Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo and an accomplished maker of documentary films, explains the situation: "There is a painful ambivalence here, especially in the educated middle class. We enjoy the benefits of the American connection but are deathly afraid that our own quite different vision of life will not survive. We are, after all, only 5 million in a sea of 250 million." Even the pro-statehood people desire to maintain their cultural identity, holding on to their own Spanish language, their own teams in the Olympics, even their own Miss Universe entry. That couldn't happen under statehood, say opponents. "Our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren will talk less Spanish and after a generation, and certainly after two generations, my name will not be [pronounced] *Ernandez* but *Hernandez*," says Senator Hernandez of the commonwealth faction.

Would statehood put an additional burden on the U.S. taxpayer? Puerto Rico would then be entitled to its full share of the federal treasure chest, not just for welfare-type grants but for such capital projects as schools and transit systems. With two U.S. senators and seven representatives, it could compete for the big bundles. "We never had a chance to compete for Cape Canaveral because we're not a state," says Governor Romero. However, as a state Puerto Rico would also be contributing to the federal treasury, with the balance uncertain.

Puerto Rico's economic troubles are
Cont. on Page 8 Page 4

On the Chicano/Mexicano National Question

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Rebeldia will publish, beginning with this issue, a series of articles on the chicano/mexicano national question. This analysis first appeared in a pamphlet form as a publication of La Causa, Inc., and subsequently in an instalment basis in the journal of the Mexican revolutionary left, Punto Critico. While we agree with many of the criticisms level at the reformist and revisionist North American left, particularly his criticism of their opportunism in regards to the chicano/mexicano national question, we are disturbed by the fact that Antonio Rios Bustamante leaves out the significant role which the Mexican revolutionary forces must play in the definition of this most important question. His position, if led astray, ends up where C.A.S.A. is at this particular moment, in alliance with the reformist, and revisionist sectors of the Mexican left.

Over two years ago the chicano/mexicano members of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) presented a discussion paper to the National Conference on Grand Jury Repression clearly outlining the necessity of the participation of the Mexican revolutionary left in the debate, and in the direction of the issue of the national question. The position advanced, at that time, was the result of many years of practice which demonstrated the indispensable need of the participation of Mexican revolutionaries in that process. It also arose out of the realization that what unites chicano/mexicanos and Mexicans, and what ultimately must unite all Latin American revolutionaries in common strategy. This common strategy transcends national boundaries and goes above the particular conditions of any given nation--the legacy of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara--it is the strategy of peoples' war guided by Marxist-Leninist thought.

As we enter the decade of the '80's, and as the imperialists attempt to consolidate their worldwide strategy of trilateralism, it becomes even more important for revolutionary chicano/mexicanos and Mexicans to strengthen their bonds. The revolutionary unity of the chicano/mexicanos and Mexican peoples is what the U.S. imperialist fear. It is no accident that lately they have been intensifying their repression around the so-call border. It is not so much the migration of Mexicans that they fear, as is the potential unity of nearly 100 million people who can wage war from within and without the imperialist borders. It is within this context, to promulgate the unity of chicano/mexicanos and Mexicans, that we are publishing these articles.

MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES & THE NATIONAL QUESTION

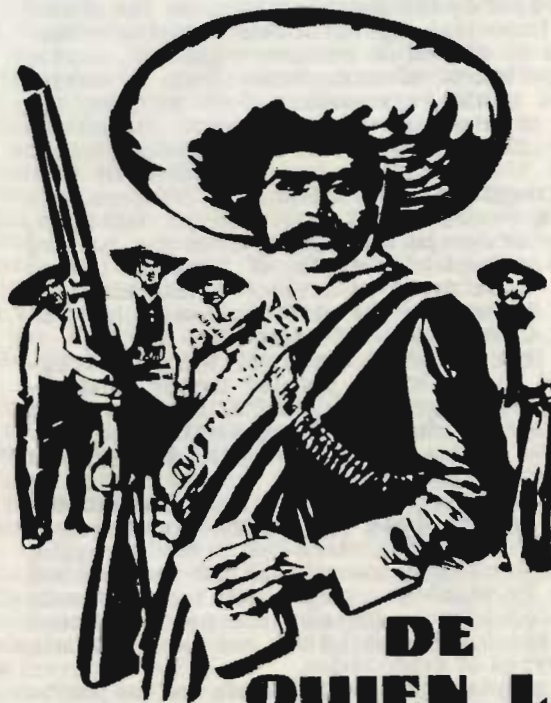
Over the last six year several polemics on the National Question in reference to people of mexican descent in the United States have appeared. There are positive aspects to this recent development. Marxist writings on the Mexican in the United States are a significant development politically and intellectually. Undeniably Marxism is now a presence in the Mexican community, politically and intellectually. All of the recent polemics call for social action, stress Marxist analysis as useful, and apply or call for the application of class analysis to explain and change the reality of today. This class analysis, even if crude by universal Marxist standards, points to the richness to be gained by it in explaining both the historical experience of domination and the internal complexity of the Mexican community. In regards to data and interpretation the most relatively novel contribution in the polemics is the attention given to the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century development of the Mexican people which even in the schematic state of position papers demands a re-evaluation by mainstream as well as activist writer. Not least the published polemics and organizational competition visible in polemics are an indication of the greater awareness among the United States political left of the importance of the Mexican people and the study of Mexican history.

The criteria used in this essay for examining these polemics are as follows: their understanding of the National Question; their understanding of the question of nationality; their understanding of racism, the struggle against it and attitudes on chauvinism; their positions on annexation, the border, and immigration; their positions on self-determination,

and proletariat internationalism; their use of historical data and the interpretation of history; and their use of Marxist analysis. Six polemics in order of publication are analyzed.

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LA TIERRA ES



DE
QUIEN LA
TRABAJA

Long live the armed struggle

1978 was a year of major importance for the struggle to free our nation. As a result of popular discontent, the annexationist and abusive colonial politics of imperialism and the present colonial government, there has emerged in our nation various armed organizations of a clandestine character that have carried out accurate and successful actions against the regime.

The organizations that stand out are the Popular Puerto Rican Army (EPB) (Macheteros), the Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP), the People's Revolutionary Commandos (CRP) and other groups of more recent creation, such as the Movement for Revolutionary Action (MAR). In addition to these organizations that have appeared in Puerto Rico, we have seen consequent revolutionary actions in the United States by the organization known as the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).



Between all these revolutionary organizations numerous armed actions have been carried out in our national territory as well as in the United States. This signifies the introduction of new forms of struggle that are of major importance in our national struggle. Among the actions carried out by the armed groups, we can enumerate important expropriations of explosive materials in places of extreme vigilance, daring expropriations of armaments from armories located in the very centers of the metropolitan area, explosive devices planted in the offices of the Coast Guard and recruitment centers of the Northamerican Navy in solidarity with the struggle of our brothers in Vieques, explosive devices planted in federal buildings, and in order to mention it, even the burning of the offices of the ADA of Franklin Delano Lopez by a group of a clear autonomist tendency known as the Anti Annexationist Patriotic Committee (COPAAN).

All this has been realized without recognizable losses to the popular forces, that although organizationally divided, demonstrate a good sense of clandestine organization and serious possibilities for continuing the development of the armed process.

We, the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR) support these revolutionary armed sectors, since we understand that armed struggle, correctly utilized, constitutes the fundamental means by which our people will reach not only our independence, but also the more profound goals which are socialism and the termination of all types of exploitation.

We maintain that imperialism and its political, economic and social structure destined to exploitation can only be defeated by the army

De Pie y En Lucha

of revolutionary violence. The enemies of our people tenaciously oppose changes in those structures that are detrimental for maintaining power. They will not yield to any changes that endanger their positions of privilege. They have demonstrated that with all clarity. Whatever victory is accomplished by our people will be the result of the most combative struggles we can wage.

The clandestine armed organizations have begun to clear the road. It corresponds to all the clandestine organizations of an organizational character to offer all our support and solidarity. Up front although we are not together, the same ideal moves us and that should be our unitary base.

We exhort all the armed organizations that operate in our nation to continue their work in that direction. They will always find in the COR, the moral support that our condition as revolutionaries imposes in this historical process of struggle.

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE!
LONG LIVE THE CLANDESTINE ORGANIZATIONS!

Taken from EL MARTILLO, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR), May-June, 1979

Reprinted from CORREO DE LA QUINCENA, Organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP), Vol. XVI, Num. 325-329



ORGANIZACION DE VOLUNTARIOS POR LA REVOLUCION PUERTORRIQUEÑA (OVRP)



FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA POPULAR

Conference in Mexico

The following article was published by the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR) of Puerto Rico. It clarifies the obstructive, sectarian role of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) in pushing the United Nations Resolution on Puerto Rico (1978) which includes "free association" as an alternative to independence. The result has been the withdrawal of many open and revolutionary organizations from the work towards the Second International Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rico scheduled for September 12, 1979 in Mexico City.

The position of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP) has been not to participate in the Conference for two reasons; because it provides an alternative to independence, and because it is being hosted by a country whose institutionalized "revolution" openly collaborates with our colonizer and whose open policy of repression against the revolutionary left in Mexico only benefits the imperialists.

The Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) supports the principled position assumed by the Puerto Rican Socialist League and COR. Mexico's policy of repression against leftist revolutionaries forces us to denounce the obvious contradiction of being host to the Conference. A government that oppresses its own people does not merit the honor of hosting a Conference to support the national liberation of our people. Nor can we support any alternative to independence. We cannot play with the survival of our nation, nor with the lives of our brothers in arm--the Mexican revolutionaries.

The position outlined below by the COR is the same position which Juan Antonio Corretjer put forth in Mexico on his recent journey to that country which took him and a combined MLN-LSP delegation from Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, to Guadalajara and Mexico City. He was warmly received by the Mexican masses in every public appearance he made. In response and in gratitude for his act of solidarity and to demonstrate their commitment to our national liberation, the people of Ciudad Juarez under the leadership of the Comité de Defensa Popular, on August 13, 1979 named one of their colonias, Andres Figueroa Cordero.

ES IMPOSIBLE EN AMERICA LATINA EL TRIUNFO DE LA REVOLUCION PACIFICA, PERO ADEMAS EL TRIUNFO INSURRECCIONAL... EL TRIUNFO ES POSIBLE SOLAMENTE MEDIANTE UNA LARGA LUCHA ARMADA LIGADA A LAS MASAS. SANTUCHO



On March 22nd a meeting was held in the Puerto Rican Bar Association by the Preparatory Committee for the National Committee to Support the 2nd International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico to be held in Mexico later this year. Representatives of almost all the political sectors of the left in our nation were present at the meeting.

According to the information we received of the Preparatory Committee's work, there was a consensus of the political declaration that would be presented at the meeting for ratification and would be reaffirmed in Mexico. The declaration presented at the meeting was the result of the agreements reached by the Preparatory Committee which included members and representatives of various left open organizations with the exception of the Puerto Rican Socialist League.

The political declaration was written in a manner in which no mention was made of the Resolution of the United Nations Decolonization Committee approved by the General Assembly in 1978. That Resolution recognized "free association" as a valid alternative for the solution our condition as a colonized nation. Various political organizations stated that the inclusion of the resolution in the political declaration would hurt the participation of a sector of the revolutionary left and individuals who were willing to cooperate with the National Committee's work.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), obviating from what should be a position of consensus in the politics of a front, attacked the agreements of the Preparatory Committee. In the meeting of March 22nd they presented an amendment to the political declaration that included support for the U.N. resolution. The P.S.P. leadership took advantage of a meeting constituted by invitation only. It was clear to all that the majority of persons invited were either members or sympathizers of their organization and positions. After another of the known attacks against armed struggle and the clandestine organizations by its Secretary General, the PSP obtained the approval of the political declaration with the above mentioned amendment. We doubt that the PSP would have received this approval at an open meeting.

With its obstructive, sectarian hegemonist attitudes the PSP again buried the possibility of collective work in an important international event. It was a repetition of the practices utilized during the work of the National Committee to Support the 1st Conference held in Havana in 1975.

The left organizations that participated in the work are familiar with the obstructive, sectarian practices, the hegemonist attitudes, and the vicious, insulting anti revolutionary attacks of PSP members, especially those of Juan Mari Bras, against organizations that oppose its pretensions of domination and control.

Before the March 22nd meeting, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Popular Socialist Movement (MSP), and the National Committee to Support Vieques withdrew from the work of the Committee as well as other persons who represented sectors. Included among those persons were: Federico Cintron, Norberto Cintron, Maria Carrera and Carmen del Toro. We have no doubt that the companeros of the Nationalist Party will also withdraw from the work.

Traditionally, the false image that the PSP has created at the international level with the help of governments and parties that are sympathizers of our independence has constituted and continues to be the principal factor for its hegemonist attitudes. They have never ceased in their attempts to project themselves as the only representatives of the liberation movement of our nation.

rooted in its geography: a small island, 111 miles long, 36 miles wide, roughly the size of Connecticut, 900 miles from the mainland; its population, 3.4 million crowded together and held down only by mass migration (2 million Americans of Puerto Rican descent now live stateside); and its lack of natural resources—most of its energy comes from high-priced foreign oil. For centuries poverty was a natural state.

After World War II a charismatic leader, Governor Luis Munoz-Marin, bootstrapped his country into its present not-quite-a-colony, not-quite-a-state relationship with the U.S. He pushed the unusual commonwealth status which, after a burst of nationalist violence (including an assassination attempt against President Truman and an uprising on the island), cooled the status fight, and with tax incentives began to lure industry for his "Operation Bootstrap."

"No one thought it would be a success because nothing ever worked in Puerto Rico," said Alex Maldonado, editor of *El Mundo*, a major San Juan newspaper. "But 2,000 companies came. People started to work. We were worth something. In that euphoria, we saw a shining new political status, a middle road to freedom." In commonwealth, said another Puerto Rican, "we had created a funny-looking suit to fit the body; but if you have a funny-looking body you need a funny-looking suit."

But euphoria collapsed in the 1970s. Other states began playing the industry-incentive game better than Puerto Rico, and the 1973-74 recession wiped out 25,000 industrial jobs, a fifth of the gains won by Bootstrap. Companies seeking cheap labor drifted to Haiti or Taiwan. "In the last four years [1973-77] a net of 200 jobs were created in the industrial sector, public debt tripled [to \$6 billion] and the resources to finance it diminished by 25%," says José Madera of Fomento, the Economic Development Administration. With unemployment soaring—16% officially and 30% unofficially—Puerto Rico went on food stamps.

But whereas on the mainland food stamps were intended for the poor minority, in Puerto Rico, where personal income per capita is \$2,700, more than half the population signed on. Even the land went untillied. "This is a nation of rice and beans, and now we don't even grow our own rice and beans," says one Puerto Rican. Even Communist Mari Bras complains that "these food stamps are developing a sense of dependency, encouraging people not to work." "The Communists are threatening to kick ass if they take over," says a Puerto Rican with friends in Mari Bras' radical party. "They say they are going to put people back to work again." (Little wonder the radical party is supported only by a handful of intellectuals who look to Cuba,

China and Cambodia for inspiration.)

No one knows how to stop the welfare process, once started. Governor Romero says: "They say food stamps develop laziness, but I think it is only for that generation that worked only to eat." Their children won't be satisfied with just food or food stamps, he goes on. "It will be the television set they want to buy, their furniture, their car, a better home, money to go on vacation, those will be the motivations to work. When there was no welfare there were beggars. So now instead of begging we have welfare." He has a point. Whatever the prob-

out his welcoming speech, but he held his ground and shouted back at them. His statehood party won 48% of the vote in the election of 1976, and he says his latest poll shows 59% for statehood.

Of course, the statehood demand, if approved in a plebiscite, would pose problems for the U.S. Congress. Statehooders insist it would have to be phased in over 10 or 20 years, particularly those U.S. taxes, and Spanish would have to remain the official language. That doesn't appear to pose a constitutional problem.

The Commonwealth Party, in contrast, contends that Puerto Rico needs more autonomy, not less, to make commonwealth work again. For example, it might need the power to levy tariffs (to protect local industry) and to veto some acts of Congress.

Congress understandably hesitates to grant all-but-freedom under commonwealth status while continuing to supply the benefits of the U.S. Treasury and U.S. citizenship; and yet the idea of imposing statehood on a large minority—and the possibility of terrorism—also might give Congress pause. Such violence could be beyond tearing down a few American flags before the Pan American Games. One tiny terrorist group, the New York-based F.A.L.N. (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Puerto Rico), with no more than one or two dozen members, is credited with 90 bombings and 5 deaths in 5 years.

The statehood forces, then, need more than a tiny majority to win their star; Governor Romero must build a genuine consensus among the island's citizens as well as among Puerto Rican residents of the U.S.; only that way can the terrorist threat be contained. It may not be easy. The statehood drive "will crystallize all nationalists on one side," says Ruben Berrios of the Independence Party. Berrios is hoping that the campaign for statehood will drive most of the procommonwealth people into his party, which espouses independence but friendly trading relations with the U.S.

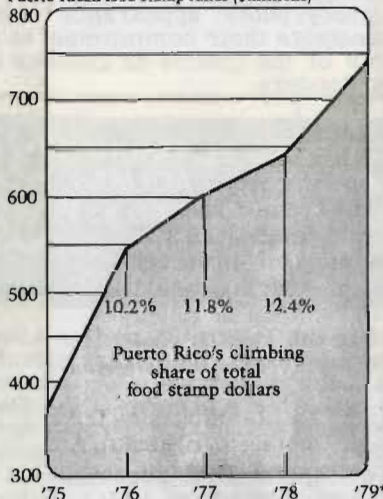
But if—despite Berrios' claims—a true pro-statehood consensus can be built, then the American Congress must be willing to accept the will of the majority even if a handful of Puerto Ricans never do. "Are we going to be terrorized by a minority?" asks Joaquin A. Marquez, who runs the Puerto Rican office in Washington.

All that spells trouble for Puerto Rico and for the mainland. It would be convenient if, somehow, the U.S. could avoid the whole mess. But we can't. This North American nation is increasingly involved with the Latin American world to our south and the Puerto Rican connection is the most intimate part of that association—the most dangerous in many ways, the most hopeful in others. ■

Food-stamp junkie

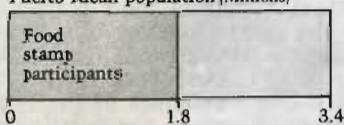
Work incentives sagged with the massive \$740 million program. One of every eight food-stamp dollars goes to Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rican food stamp funds (\$millions)



They feed half the population, but then there are no beggars.

Puerto Rican population (Millions)



Source: U.S.D.A.

*Estimate

lems, Puerto Rico is not Jamaica or Guatemala. It has in fact one of the highest standards of living in all Latin America.

Nevertheless, the island's political and intellectual leaders were depressed enormously by the failure of Bootstrap to solve all their problems. "We've had our golden era and it's over," is the way one long-term resident described the attitude. From that malaise came the drive to settle the status issue and get building again, this time as a state.

Governor Romero is forcing the issue. At July's Pan American Games, for example, he demanded that "The Star-Spangled Banner" be played and the American flag raised, along with playing the anthem and raising the single-star banner of Puerto Rico. Nationalists packed the stadium to boo and drown

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July 4th

For us, the act of greatest significance during this campaign, was the Act of National Reaffirmation on July 4th. The march and rally was organized by the Committee of National Affirmation, which consists of the National Committee Against Repression and the National Committee to Support Vieques. The Committee of National Affirmation also received the support of 16 political, labor, and other such organizations.

This unitary and anti-imperialist activity was carried out despite the indifference of the leadership of the PIP and the sabotage perpetrated by the leadership of the PSP. Regarding the leadership of the PIP, we are not surprised by its attitude since in the past few years they have not participated in unitary activities with other sectors of the independence movement. Nevertheless, it is necessary to show that the PIP permitted its militants to participate in these activities as individuals, which many have done.

What is not understandable nor justifiable, was the attitude assumed by the leadership of the PSP. It is widely known that Juan Mari Bras prohibited the militants of the party from participating in the unitary march on July 4th, citing that the PSP does not recognize the Committee of Vieques and the Soto Rosado Committee as "fronts of struggle".

This openly sectarian attitude of the leadership of the PSP quickly received the repudiation of the base of that party; many members of the PSP participated in the unitary activity on July 4th. This situation, in which for the most part major sectors of the PSP defy party discipline is an undeniable indication of the process of disintegration that the party suffers from since the elections of 1976. On the other hand, it demonstrates that no matter what organization they belong to, honest revolutionaries are committed only to revolutionary principles, and not with parties or leaders that pretend to be the "vanguard" with sectarian positions that contradict those principles.

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Our understanding is that if the leadership of the PSP persists in its sectarian positions and continues directing the party blindly toward colonial elections, it is hopelessly destined to disappear as a political force, or even worse, become a counter-revolutionary group.

The Struggle Against the Navy

The Act of National Affirmation brought out, once again, one of the most serious contradictions in the struggle against the Navy in Vieques: the contradiction arising from the vision that the struggle of the people of Vieques "is not a political struggle". This argument, wielded by the leader of the fishermen, Carlos Zenon and Ismael Guadalupe, President of the Crusade to Rescue Vieques, is not only false, but also appears to cover up other much more profound motivations.

What does this "apolitical" position signify? It would signify that the struggle for the rescue of Vieques is exclusively between the people of Vieques and the Navy: a regional struggle which only involves local questions. Nevertheless, the struggle of Vieques is simply one more manifestation of imperialist oppression over our nation - and as an imperialist manifestation, is intimately linked to all the other manifestations of imperialism, be they political, economic, military or ideological.

We understand that refusing to participate in a unitary activity like the march held July 4th because "other political plans are involved that have nothing to do with the struggle of the people of Vieques", is a completely incorrect position. All the political plans involved in the Act of National Affirmation have the same root and a common enemy - yanki imperialism. Isn't the Navy bombing Vieques precisely because Puerto Rico is a yanki colony? Weren't the 21 companeros arrested in Vieques political prisoners? Aren't the combatants for the liberation of our nation assassinated or for the most part, incarcerated? Isn't yanki monopoly capital behind all these repressive manifestations - an imperialism that lives off the sweat and blood of dozens of peoples throughout the world.

The only way the people of Vieques can save their land is understanding the link that exists between one manifestation of imperialism and all its other manifestations. When this is understood, they will understand that the struggle to save Vieques is more than a struggle against the Navy - it is a struggle of an anti-imperialist character and above all, a revolutionary struggle of the people for their liberation. And not only a struggle of the people of Vieques, but also a struggle of all Puerto Rican workers.

We understand that it is a fundamental task of the political organizations and the National Committee to Support Vieques to show, not only to the people of Vieques, but to all the honest companeros that are in the struggle, the necessary and unbreakable unity that exists between the struggle of Vieques and the anti-imperialist political struggle.

Political Prisoners and the Anti-repressive Struggle

The celebration of the Panamerican Games brought out two important issues for the consideration of the independence movement.

In the first place, it destroyed the illusion that the yankis would liberate the four Nationalists companeros before the games. It is evident that the Nationalists will be free only when one of two things occur: when popular pressure, at the level of mass struggle as

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well as armed struggle forces imperialism to free all political prisoners, or if this situation does not occur, when imperialism deems it convenient for them. It is the duty of the Puerto Rican independence movement to choose the alternative.

Secondly, it demonstrated by the heightened repression, that it becomes more necessary to develop a combative and unitary anti-repressive struggle. At this moment, the minimum conditions exist to initiate this struggle as two committees exist with similar purposes: the Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners and the Soto-Rosado Committee. We feel that it would be beneficial to the struggle for these two Committees to discuss the possibility of unitary struggle around these minimal points

of consensus:

- 1) Freedom for the Nationalist Prisoners
- 2) Freedom for Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano
- 13) The defense of political prisoners and persecuted persons
- 4) Denunciation of the massacre in Cerro Maravilla
- 5) Denunciation of other cases of political repression

The Road to Follow

We understand that the Act of National Affirmation that took place on July 4 shows the independence movement the road to follow: only unity over the questions we have in common and unitary anti-imperialist slogans, can push forward the struggle for our independence.

The fact that 16 political, labor, and other such organizations united to denounce the massacre in Cerro Maravilla, the presence of the Navy in Vieques, and for the freedom of political prisoners is an indication that unity is not only desirable but fundamental to reach the objectives we have outlined.

It has also demonstrated the necessity of permanently overcoming the partial vision of a struggle for objectives that have a common enemy; imperialism. We must accustom ourselves to the fact that a committee originally organized to support the struggle of Vieques struggles also for other anti-imperialist objectives, such as the freedom of political prisoners and the anti-repressive struggle. It should also be natural for a committee for political prisoners and an anti-repressive committee to directly involve themselves in the struggle to save Vieques. Here is true solidarity.

We exhort all the organizations that participated in the Act of National Affirmation to evaluate the activity and to seriously consider unitary work around common objectives. One way to accomplish this would be to convert the Committee of National Affirmation into a permanent center of coordination for future unitary activities.

The companeros have the word.

The Salvation of our Nation lies in people's war.

People's Revolutionary Commandos (CRP)
Reprinted from *De Pie y En Guerra*, Organ
of the People's Revolutionary Commandos (CRP)
Vo. 2, #3.

Important Statements

The following statements were made by Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP) and transmitted over the island-wide radio program RADIO RELOJ.

The first statement issued and transmitted on Friday and Saturday, August 10 and 11, deals with the naming of a colonia, in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, after the patriot Andres Figueroa Cordero.

The second statement issued and transmitted on Friday, August 24 deals with the cruel process and harsh sentencing of Catholic Bishop Antulio Parrilla, S.J.

Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, is speaking. We have received word from Mexico, from the Comité de Defensa Popular, informing us that a new settlement of home steads near Ciudad Juarez will be named Andres Figueroa Cordero, as a symbol of revolutionary solidarity with the

armed struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña also takes this opportunity to condemn the assassination of the Secretary General of the Proletarian Party of Mexico, Guero Medrano who was murdered in Oaxaca by General Castillo, Chief of the 18th Military District of the Mexican Army.

The process and sentencing of Antulio Parrilla is an infamy and a disgrace.

Parrilla was forced to undergo a military police trial, whose origins are in the central offices of the F.B.I., in Washington, who instigated and ordered it, and in the Navy, the protagonist of the whole process.

In spite of the human figure of Judge Torruellas, when he opened his mouth the cannons of the U.S. Navy in Vieques spoke.

We express our solidarity with the patriot Parrilla and call upon that of all Puerto Ricans for the sentenced patriot.



For more information:

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Box 233
Chicago, Illinois 60614

CONFERENCE IN MEXICO

The Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR) understand that no revolutionary political organization that supports independence as the only recognizably alternative for the liberation of our nation should collaborate in the work towards the celebration of a conference that was called to gather support for our independence from other nations of the world and which is being manipulated to gather support for a Resolution that includes formulas of free association. That Resolution was constituted in collaboration with colonial parties and leaders who have traditionally cooperated with the yanki government in creating the rotten condition that permeates our nation today.

We make a call to all revolutionary left organizations so that either separately or in coordination we make clear our repudiation of this Conference on the basis of the positions being advanced. At the same time, begin to make clear that the PSP represents a small minority in the Puerto Rican national liberation movement.

Combat sectarianism!

No to the formulas of free association!

Independence is the only alternative!

Taken from EL MARTILLO, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR), May-June, 1979. Reprinted from CORREO DE LA QUINCENA, Organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP), Vol. xvi, Num. 325-329.

Chicano/Mexicanos and the national question.

Toward Chicano Liberation (Communist Party-USA, 1972)

Viewed in the context of six decades of organizational experience and five decades of theoretical analysis of the struggle of Mexican people within the United States, Toward Chicano Liberation by the Communist Party-USA is a disappointingly poor theoretical and historical analysis of the National Question. This tightly written and carefully formulated document presents a historical account of the period since the end of World War II. Its primary thrust is a reform program for mass work. The description of the immediate historical period in the Mexican movement and the conditions of life of the Mexican people is fairly accurate but superficial. The document fails primarily by understatement and in some cases omission. Certainly this document falls short in relation to previous CP-USA positions of 1949 and 1953 and in conceptual framework to the seminal United States Marxist Leninist analysis "The Mexican Question in the Southwest," by Emma Tenayuca (The Communist, Vol. 18, March 1939). The roots of later positions by other contemporary socialist groups are in the Communist Party statements, thus because of this as well as because of its present position the party shares the position of the Trotskyites and Maoists in depreciating the historical development and political question of the Mexican people within the United States.

Toward Chicano Liberation refers to the achievements of the nationalities and former oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union and argues unconvincingly on the positive impact these have had on the consciousness of Mexicanos. It fails to state those achievements which have the greatest bearing on the National Question--the implementation of the right to self-determination in respect to national federation, national autonomy, regional and local autonomy which the

Soviet Union has developed as its administrative response to the National Question within its borders. Worse still is the failure to apply the Soviet theoretical and practical knowledge of the National Question to the concrete ex-

De Pie y En Lucha



perience and specific conditions of historical development of the Mexican people within the United States.

Toward Chicano Liberation uses the term "Chicanos" primarily in a subjective sense and the people are defined as a "specially oppressed people," who are "native to the southwestern territory" and related to Mexico by history and continued numerical and cultural reinforcement, retaining language as a major factor in sustaining national identity. "Chicano" identity is not made precise (pg. 1). Later the people are referred to as a "national group" (pg. 1) suffering from national, racial, cultural, and economic oppression. A "new culture" is alleged to exist but not explained. Special national forms are identified as the principal organizational forms for struggle and the solution to oppression is seen as providing special compensating opportunities to make up for the long period of special deprivation (pg. 4). The "party" does not practice its own line evidently.

The gist of the position offered for the future is that socialism will eliminate all aspects of oppression and made possible "full all around independent development of Chicano Culture" (pg. 7), thus social equality is the promise. No reference is made to independent, autonomous political or territorial development. The CP-USA is ambiguous in regard to electoral politics. Other later CP statements indicate that the political form of liberation, after the achievement of socialism, will be equality with all other nationalities within the existing general state political, administrative, economic and territorial frameworks and institutions. The "party" does not further clarify its position.

BOOKS AND LITERATURE AVAILABLE

Puerto Rican Nationalism: A Reader - English.....\$5.00
By Jose E. Lopez - 1977 - First Edition - 218 pages

A collection of works which include the most important original material available in English about the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. Introductory note on the historical development of United States imperialism in Puerto Rico.

Trilateral Commission: The New U.S. Imperialist World Strategy...\$3.00
By M.L.N. Political Studies Commission - English
1979 - First Edition - 84 pages

A topic which has had little analysis, but which is essential to understand in order to program for the coming decade of the 80's.

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MIGRATION, NOT IMMIGRATION:

Mexicans Coming Home

OCCUPIED MEXICO

MEXICO

GUATEMALA

BELIZE

HONDURAS

EL SALVADOR

NICARAGUA

COSTA RICA

by
The New Movement
in Solidarity with
the Mexican Revolution



MIGRATION, NOT IMMIGRATION:
MEXICANS COMING HOME

by:

THE NEW MOVEMENT IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION
SEPTEMBER, 1984
DENVER, COLORADO

Dedicated to Maria Cueto and Ricardo Romero, grand jury resisters and leaders of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano, whose insight and commitment have served as an example and inspiration to us all.

INTRODUCTION

Recently, controversy about migration and immigration has been swirling on the air waves, pages, and screens of the U.S. media. It has centered on the United States' control of its borders and the impact of undocumented workers on the U.S. economy. Republicans and Democrats comment on various pieces of legislation, giving us "both sides" of the story. This is intertwined with the opinions of professional economists and sociologists, as well as occasional civil libertarians and supposed Latino community leaders. Rarely do we hear from the millions of people themselves, who, because of imperialist control of their nations, are forced to leave their homes and families to seek jobs thousands of miles away that U.S. citizens do not want. And rarer yet, do we hear from the revolutionary organizations who fight to change the terms of both the debate and the system.

For us, the issue of migration raises much more fundamental questions about the relationship of Mexico and the United States -- about the U.S. conquest and seizure of over half of Mexico's territory (the current "southwest"); about the control and distortion of the Mexican economy to make profits for foreign corporations while millions starve; and about the very nature of the political and economic systems in both the United States and Mexico.

Language, often subtly, helps to shape how we think about an issue or about the world. While the U.S. government considers the theft of northern Mexico completely "legal" and protected by U.S. law, they complain that Mexican workers "illegally" cross the border to "steal our jobs." Throughout this pamphlet, "legal" and "illegal" are in quotation marks, because we do not recognize the right of the United States to establish a "legality" based on the conquest of nations and peoples.

"Immigration" refers to the movement of a people across a border into another country, as for example from Central American nations into the U.S. However, Mexicans who cross the militarily imposed border into the United States, do not cross into another country, but into their occupied homeland. Therefore, we use "migration" and "migrants" in referring to Mexicans moving to the occupied territories, since migration is the movement within one given country.

The term "alien" is not used in this pamphlet. "Aliens" usually conjure up visions of monsters invading from outer space. Used in reference to Mexicans and other Third World people, this term reinforces the white supremacist ideology that encourages North Americans to see Third World people as the source of their problems -- at the same time that it turns United States history on its head.

Whether we realize it or not, what happens in Mexico is critical to every person in this country. Of all the Latin American nations, it is Mexico where the U.S. has the most at stake. The 2,000 mile United States-Mexico border separates 70 million Mexicans in the south from another 15 to 20 million Mexicans inside the U.S. Rich in minerals and agricultural production, Mexico is the United States' third largest trading partner and number one supplier of foreign oil. It is an area of massive U.S. corporate and banking investment, and an increasingly important source of cheap labor for United States business. The Mexican ruling class is represented by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), the repressive ruling party, which has never lost a major

election in its 54 years. While the PRI government, in collaboration with U.S. interests, has helped the Mexican ruling class to accumulate more and more of the nation's wealth, most of the people live in extreme poverty, -- 1,000 children die of malnutrition daily, 14 million peasants are landless, and the number of people without adequate or any employment is over 50 percent.



The revolutionary movement is growing in Mexico against these fundamental injustices, with links to liberation movements throughout Central America and in the United States. While the corrupt Mexican government maintains a progressive facade internationally (through the Contadora process, for example) it brutally represses its own people. There are over 500 documented cases of kidnapped and disappeared political activists, while government backed death squads and torture are common.(1)

Although still at a relatively early stage, the revolutionary left in Mexico will inevitably grow as the economic crisis deepens and war intensifies in Central America. Already the U.S. government is justifying its increased involvement in the wars in Central America in part on its desire to limit the political impact and example these movements provide to Mexico. A revolutionary war in Mexico will be met not only by more repression from the Mexican government, but quite likely by massive, unrestrained intervention by the United States. The U.S. cannot afford to lose control over the Mexican economy and fears the political impact of a revolutionary Mexican movement on the 15 to 20 million Mexicans within the U.S. borders, as well as all people fighting for change here.

The New Movement is a North American solidarity organization that educates North Americans about the economic, political and historical conditions faced by the Mexican people on both sides of the border. We also organize North Americans to support Mexican organizations fighting to change these conditions. We work directly with the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano (MLNM), a national organization of Mexicans within the United States, and through them with other revolutionary organizations south of the border in Mexico.

The New Movement has had a broad program of work nationally over the past five years. Our activities have included conferences, forums and classes featuring international, national and local speakers, as well as film series, cultural events and fundraising activities in support of the Mexican movement. In addition to our work around migration, we have organized pickets and demonstrations against political repression, both at Mexican consulates, demanding the presentation of disappeared political activists in Mexico, as well as against the United States government for its use of the FBI and grand juries to harass and intern political activists here.

This pamphlet would not have been possible without the political leadership we have had from the MLNM. We highly recommend that people read two of their publications -- On the Question of Mexican Migration and the Militarily Imposed Border, and also Towards Socialist Reunification. They are available by writing NCAR, P.O. Box 9284, Denver, Colorado 80209; or NCAR, P.O. Box 33687, Los Angeles, California 90033. For information on the revolutionary movement in Mexico, we suggest Already the Hour: History and Analysis of the Guerrilla Movement in Mexico 1965 to 1978 available from the New Movement, as well as other literature about Mexico and the Mexican movement.

For additional copies of this pamphlet, or more information, contact:

The New Movement in Solidarity with the Mexican Revolution
P.O. Box 18072
Denver, Colorado 80218



UNITED STATES OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF MEXICO

Contemporary Mexico began in 1519 with the Spanish invasion and conquest. Under the leadership of Hernando Cortez and Guzman de Beltran, the Aztec empire was defeated and Spanish domination established. Nueva Espana (New Spain) as Mexico was then known, extended from what is today Costa Rica in the south to California, southern Colorado and Texas in the north.

Mexico's colonial relationship to Spain lasted over 300 years. Spain's primary interest was to extract as much mineral and agricultural wealth as possible, to force Mexico to buy only Spanish goods, and to prevent the development of any local industry or markets. The result was that the only economic infrastructure developed was based on Spain's needs and not Mexico's.

During Spain's rule the Spanish mixed with the indigenous population. Out of this mixture of Spanish, Indian and African blood, the Mexican people were born.

After a ten year struggle, Mexico won its independence from Spain on September 16, 1821. Although there were different sectors of the independence movement, chiefly representing the interests of landowners, shopowners, and traders these groups were united with the poor in their frustration and opposition to Spain's tight control.

Geographically, Mexico was a large country in 1821. In the south, contemporary Central America, the large landowners were dissatisfied with the Mexican government. They seceded in 1839 forming a Central American republic and ultimately dividing into the present countries.

In the north, Mexico had programs of "colonization" to consolidate the territory. Also, settlers from the U.S. were encouraged to settle in northern Coahuila, today known as Texas. The settlers, most of whom were slaveowners, were given land grants by the Mexican government, if they accepted Mexican citizenship and agreed to abide by Mexico's laws. But many of the settlers came with little intention of obeying Mexican laws, despite their newly acquired citizenship. In 1823, slavery was abolished. By 1830 20,000 Anglos and 2,000 African slaves were living in Texas.

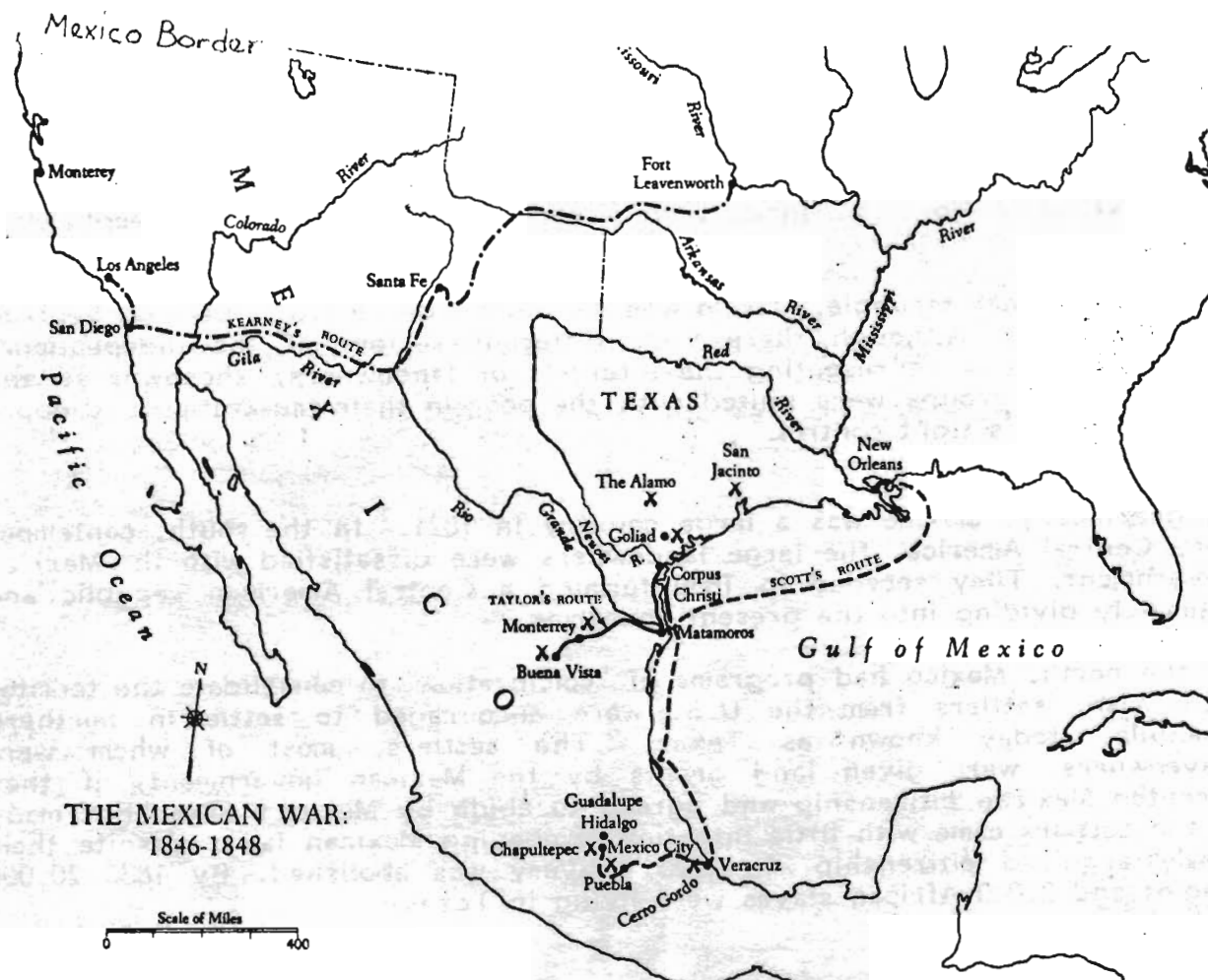
Andrew Jackson, who was president at this time, brought in Sam Houston an old subordinate. He proposed a plan for the annexation of Texas. Houston was sent to Texas in 1832 to give direction to the insurgency, channel the separatism and organize the rebellion.

The first letter from Houston to Jackson announced the convention of Texas in 1833 and the plans of the North American settlers. From here on, Houston assumed leadership of the movement.

In effect there was a conspiracy between the United States government and the settlers. In 1836, after a rebellion, Texas seceded and the Texas Republic was established. Houston became the first president of the Republic. In December 1845, Texas joined the U.S. as a slave state.

The expanding U.S. empire had long coveted Mexico's land, rich mineral resources and access to Pacific ports. James Polk became president in 1844

advocating Manifest Destiny and war. Following the annexation of Texas, Mexico broke relations with the U.S. In 1846 a dispute developed over the border. Mexico claimed it was the Rio Nueces to the north, while the U.S. claimed the Rio Bravo (Grande) to the south. The U.S. sent 4,000 troops to the Rio Bravo, and in May, when Mexican forces crossed the river, the U.S. used this as an excuse to declare war and began a full scale invasion of Mexico.



By late 1847, the U.S. controlled most of northern Mexico as well as Mexico City. In February 1848, Mexico was forced to sign the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Surrendering its northern territory at the point of a gun, Mexicans in the occupied territory were given one year to leave or become U.S. citizens, with "the enjoyment of all the rights of U.S. citizens..."(1) By 1859 with the so-called Gadsden Purchase, Mexico had lost over 50 percent of its territory.

The United States was not the only foreign power to invade Mexico during this period. Between 1823 and 1861, Mexico suffered an average of one invasion every six years. In 1829, the Spanish briefly occupied Tampico. In 1838, during the so-called Pastry War, the French invaded Veracruz, leaving only when Mexico guaranteed payment of a 600,000 peso debt. Nevertheless, the United States was the most successful aggressor. Having gained its independence almost half a century earlier than Mexico, the northern republic had long wanted to expand into Latin America.(2) Mexico being the closest neighbor received the brunt of the aggression.

The U.S. occupation was possible in part because of serious political divisions in Mexico. The first constitution was drawn up in 1824, however a major power struggle was brewing between two camps. One camp, known as the Conservatives represented the large landowners, high clergy, militarists and monarchists. The other camp, the Liberals, supported civil liberties, individualism, free enterprise, and attacked the church because it stifled economic development. This struggle culminated in a civil war, the War of Reform, in 1857 and a Liberal victory in 1860.

After the invasion, the United States no longer needed the army to control the newly acquired territory. Ranger forces were formed to terrorize and subdue the Mexicans. They were hired guns of the white settler ranchers, businessmen and railroad tycoons. Guarding the new border, they drove Mexicans off desirable lands and fought their resistance to the occupation. Big ranchers, like Richard King of the million acre King Ranch in Texas, set up the Texas Rangers to protect their interests. The Texas Rangers coined the brutal phrase "shoot first, ask questions later." From 1910 to 1915, Rangers and vigilantes killed from 500 to 1,500 Mexicans.



Texas Rangers, Company "D," with Mexicano prisoner

Expansionist sectors of the United States promoted the ideology of Manifest Destiny. White people readily embraced this because it justified their right to trample on Mexicans, stealing their land just as they had from the Indians. The settlers believed Mexicans and other non-white people were inferior, subhuman, lazy and untrustworthy, and that by virtue of being European, Christian and white, they had the right to treat Mexicans however they wanted. The Texas Rangers, Arizona Rangers and California Rangers operated to enforce this system of white supremacy.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo supposedly guaranteed that the United States would respect property rights of Mexicans who owned land in the occupied territory. The land and its resources were one of the reasons the U.S. invaded, and it did not take long before the settlers began taking Mexican land. This was done through superimposed laws, rules and taxation that were not part of Mexican tradition; an economic system that made access to capital necessary and difficult; greedy speculators and swindlers; federal and state governments; and the railroads. Mexicans had lost most of their land in Texas by 1860. In New Mexico, 3.7 million acres were taken through government "conservation programs" and fraud. This resulted in the state and federal governments taking control of 53.7 percent of New Mexico. In California prior to 1860, Mexicans owned most of the land. By 1880, they were relatively landless.(3)

The effects of the occupation for the Mexican people were brutal. Between 1850 and 1930, in an attempt to crush their resistance, more Mexicans were lynched in the occupied territory than were Black people in the southern U.S. during the same period. In 1854, an estimated 350 Mexicans were killed in Los Angeles. But, Mexicans did not passively accept their attempted conquest, degradation and genocide. Active and militant resistance against the occupation continued, led by Juan Cortina, Tiburcio Vasquez, Joaquin Murrieta and others. Organizations like Las Gorras Blancas also counterattacked the ranchers, railroads and white settlers who were dividing up Mexican lands.

Mexican resistance has continued to the present day and the United States has only been able to maintain the border by massively reinforcing it militarily. The imposed U.S.-Mexico border follows no geographical division of land for most of its length and requires fortification and defense. The U.S. recognizes the strategic necessity of dividing the Mexicans in the south from the 15 to 20 million in the north. There are approximately 200 U.S. military installations in the occupied territory. Examples are Fort Bliss, stretching over a million acres near El Paso; Fort Huachuca in Arizona; Fort Williams Air Force Base in Phoenix; Davis Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson; Camp Pendleton near the border in California and Kirtland Air Force Base in Albuquerque. Along the border itself, massive and expensive fortifications make it a militarized zone. The multi-million dollar "Tortilla Curtain" at El Paso built under Jimmy Carter, and similar barriers at San Diego, Nogales and Brownsville, as well as hundreds of miles of barbed wire elsewhere, are all part of this system.

The Border Patrol, using counterinsurgency techniques developed in Vietnam, reinforces the border area as a war zone, in which an occupied people are resisting the superior military power of the United States. The Border Patrol guards the border with high powered rifles, .45 caliber pistols and helicopters.

Historically, Border Patrol troops have carried other weapons such as "black jacks," garottes for strangling, and "throw down guns." The "throw down guns" are extra pistols carried by the agents and planted on unarmed persons shot by the Border Patrol to frame them and justify their shooting.

Adding to the firepower and repressive tactics is a high-tech monitor system planted along border crossing areas and elsewhere. It consists of an elaborate computer system with infrared cameras, video monitors, underground heat and vibration sensors, computer operations control rooms, and most recently the development of a heat seeking mobile robot. By moving to detect the body heat of crossing migrants and relaying information on their position, the robots can perform where conditions are too remote or dangerous for human agents. The

human agents continue to travel in "war wagons," heavily armored and equipped four wheel drive vehicles, and special helicopters featuring computer equipment and high intensity spotlights.

UNITED STATES ECONOMIC CONTROL OF MEXICO

In 1848, a variety of factors made direct occupation of more than Mexico's northern half unfeasible. The U.S. government and businesses instituted a policy of domination of key industries, land and resources, making Mexico a dependent capitalist state.

Just as with Spain's colonial rule, the economic infrastructure was developed, not according to Mexico's needs, but according to the needs of United States investors. The Mexican dictator Diaz contracted United States firms in 1897 to build a railroad system. The resulting pattern of south to north tracks is a diagram of greed and the hemorrhaging of wealth flowing north to the U.S. A United States company built the first steel mill in Monterrey; another started the first oil company in Mexico, later bought by Standard Oil. In 1897 U.S. investments in Mexico reached an astounding \$200 million. By 1911 United States investment in Mexico exceeded that of local businessmen! That year, 14 to 20 percent of its land area was owned by foreigners, mostly U.S. citizens. (4)

Now in 1984, Mexico owes United States banks, corporations and international banking agencies about 90 billion dollars. Nearly all of Mexico's oil is mortgaged to pay back interest alone on the huge debt to United States banks. Much of the borrowed money was spent by the Mexican regime for oil drilling, refining and shipping equipment, ports and pipelines. Another large part was "invested" by wealthy Mexicans in homes, real estate and business ventures in the United States. Extremely little has trickled down to benefit the millions of landless peasants, the unemployed, the half of the population that lacks sewage, running water, electricity, nondirt floors, adequate footwear or income over 25 cents per day. (5)



But they are the ones who are paying. In exchange for refinancing Mexico's debt and extending new loans, the International Monetary Fund has further distorted the Mexican economy by imposing an austerity program. To meet the loan terms and meet its interest payments, the Mexican regime has devalued the peso against the dollar, triggered three digit inflation, raised taxes, frozen wages and slashed subsidies for the meager staples just barely keeping the Mexican masses alive. Poverty, disease and discontent are soaring. But Mexico, its national output virtually mortgaged out to the United States, cannot meet those rising interest rates. Twelve billion dollars is needed this year alone, \$25 billion in 1985.(6)

Many people contend that foreign investment is necessary and beneficial. "Investments develop the economy, supply needed capital, create jobs and spark the building of a solid economic foundation," they say. But United States corporations own or control 90 percent of car manufacture and sales, 72 percent of pharmaceuticals, 85 percent of rubber tires, 90 percent of investment in computer and office equipment, and most of 75 percent of food processing and sales. More and more essentials are produced and/or imported by United States companies. All this means that the labor and resources of Mexico are being turned into dollars for the U.S. Except in banking, the foreign corporations do not even introduce capital. In recent years, 72 percent of U.S. investment was financed with private or public Mexican capital, and usually U.S. corporations buy up existing companies or facilities. In 1975-1976, new direct foreign investment in Mexico totalled \$594 million, while over \$1.5 billion in profits, dividends, contracts, interest and equity passed to foreign hands.



The major United States companies and investors in Mexico include banks, like Chase Manhattan, Continental Illinois, Bank America, Citibank, Morgan Guarantee Trust, Manufacturers Hanover, and businesses include RCA, General Motors, Anderson Clayton, Kraft, Del Monte, Nabisco, United Brands, Chrysler, Ford, ITT, John Deere, International Harvester, IBM, Sperry Rand, NCR, Anaconda, Dow Chemical, Bethlehem Steel, Coca Cola, PepsiCo, General Foods, Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich, Searle, Squibb, Lilly, Colgate, Hilton, Denny's...

HISTORY OF UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION POLICIES

The U.S. has established its borders through the theft and exploitation of the natural and human resources of Mexicans and Native Americans, and enslaved Africans. The white European settlers, while expanding their empire through this domination and subjugation of Third World people, have always required a reserve army of cheap labor that could be expanded or contracted according to the economic needs of the United States. U.S. immigration policy and legislation has been initiated to meet this need and maintain a nation built upon the principle of white supremacy.

The United States' first immigration law was a prohibition of the African slave trade in 1807. But because African labor was essential to building the wealth of the southern U.S., more slaves were brought into the country during the 50 years after 1807 than before the law was passed.

Many thousands of Chinese came to the U.S. in the late 1870s and, along with Mexicans, their cheap labor was exploited in the "southwest," particularly on the railroads, mining, textile factories and laundries. The U.S. tried to secure the occupied Mexican territories in part by driving Mexicans off their land, and Asian labor was used to replace some of the Mexicans. When the Chinese started to become more than cheap "coolie" labor, settling and opening businesses of their own, laws were passed by the government, including licensing taxes and statutes. In 1882, Congress enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred all Chinese immigration into the U.S. and prohibited them from obtaining citizenship. Chinese laborers were blamed for the economic depression and accused of taking jobs away from white workers; and racist campaigns of hatred were waged against them. The Chinese Exclusion Act was extended up until 1943.

Soon after this time, the Japanese were restricted from free immigration to the U.S. by the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907. Also, during this time, Congress attempted to prevent Blacks from immigrating. In 1915, an amendment to exclude "all members of the African or Black race" from entry into the U.S. was introduced in Congress. It was approved by the Senate, but defeated by the House of Representatives due to intensive lobbying by the NAACP.(8)

After the seizure of northern Mexico, relatively few Mexicans migrated to the occupied territories until the twentieth century. As there were virtually no immigration controls prior to 1885, most Mexicans who crossed the border before this time, simply walked back and forth when they wished.

There were several conditions in Mexico that added to the increase in migration to the north. Beginning in 1876, during the Diaz regime, there was a decline in feudalism, a system in which landowners of large estates had a great number of peasants living on and working their land. Land was taken away from Indians and peasants by the government and the land that was made communal and state owned was, for the most part, uncultivable. An increase in mechanization on farms during this period resulted in more of the work being performed by machines and forced people to look north for jobs.

A large amount of land was bought very cheaply by U.S. corporations. Also at this time, cash crops were grown for profit and substituted for crops that people could grow for their own consumption and survival. The intensified development of mining forced Mexicans off their land and the construction of the railroad in the area now known as the "southwest U.S." created more jobs for Mexicans there as well as made it easier for them to migrate north. Thus,

an economic situation and dependence was created in which U.S. investment in Mexico served to keep Mexico underdeveloped, while insuring a constant supply of raw materials and cheap labor for corporations in the "southwest U.S."

In 1893, guerrilla warfare was begun by peasant revolutionaries fighting for land and against the oppressive Diaz regime. This revolutionary activity took place in the states of Guerrero in southern Mexico and in Chihuahua and Coahuila along the imposed border. The U.S. government reacted by establishing border installations in 1894 to "contain" this revolutionary activity. They feared it would spread north to the occupied territories, uniting Mexicans to take back their nation conquered 46 years earlier.

The Pinkerton Detective Agency of New York City, Texas Rangers and vigilantes systematically beat and jailed members of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), a revolutionary Mexican organization. PLM leadership included Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magon, Praxidis Guerrero, Juan Sabiabria and Librado Rivera. In 1906 the PLM led a strike against an Anaconda subsidiary at the Cananea mine in Sonora, and made the beatings and jailings a central issue. U.S. troops were sent across the border and some 275 armed U.S. volunteers under the command of six Arizona Rangers temporarily occupied Cananea, before being replaced by Mexican troops. Nearly 100 workers were killed.

The PLM and others organized Mexicans in the occupied territories for support and militant solidarity with the Mexican Revolution. The arrests of PLM members prevented planned attacks on Ciudad Juarez from El Paso two times, in 1906 and 1908, against the Diaz forces.



Ricardo y Enrique Flores Magón



When the Mexican Revolution fully erupted in 1910, the U.S. government formed the Mounted Guard in 1911 to help keep revolutionary leaders and ideas from spreading north, and to restrict the increasing number of Mexican refugees fleeing the revolutionary war. Also in 1916, the Mounted Guard patrolled the border to catch smugglers "in violation of prohibition." Guarding the border on horses and wearing cavalry type uniforms, these guards were predecessors of the Border Patrol.

The United States made sure to play a role in determining the outcome of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. It wanted the fighting to end as soon as possible, so as not to hurt its business interests. But at the same time, the U.S. wanted liberal, capitalist forces to triumph, to promote the same kind of corporate profit taking and control in Mexico as had existed under Diaz. But Diaz had become a liability, for under his three decades of rule popular discontent had risen to a boiling point. The 1910 Revolution was a mass movement to end corruption, establish land reform, restore human rights and ensure the basic necessities of food, clothing, shelter and education. When Madero's seemingly progressive government came to power in 1912, promising such reforms, the U.S. did everything it could to have Madero overthrown and replaced by General Huerta in a coup.

In 1914, Huerta, an ex-Diaz general, was in power. Beginning to restore the old Diaz system, he received support from the U.S. This could mean only renewed suffering for the Mexican people, and so fighting broke out anew. Once again, the fresh fighting threatened U.S. business operations, so that Huerta, with only shaky popular support, also became a liability. United States armed forces landed in Veracruz that year to help prop up the more liberal bourgeois rule of Venustiano Carranza, a northern landowner and fierce rival of the land reform bent Pancho Villa and Zapata, by helping to oust Huerta in another coup.

Fighting went on. In 1915 the U.S. made arrangements with Carranza's forces to cross the border into "U.S. territory" to attack Villa's peasant army from behind and deal it a crippling blow. Villa responded by attacking the U.S.' 13th Cavalry stationed in Columbus, New Mexico. This famous Columbus Raid was to become important as the justification used for a third U.S. invasion of Mexico.



Francisco "Pancho" Villa



Pershing's troops in México

On March 9, 1916, over 10,000 U.S. troops under General Pershing invaded Chihuahua in an attempt to destroy the revolutionary forces of Villa. Villa's guerrilla tactics ran circles around the frustrated general, and the U.S. invasion was a flop. However, the U.S. invasion did put the peasant revolutionary army in a two front situation, battling both the U.S. and Carranzista battalions.

During the height of the Mexican Revolution the U.S. government discovered the "Plan de San Diego de Tejas." (9) This plan called upon the Mexican residents of the occupied territories to rise up against the U.S. federal state. With the discovery of the plan, and the arrest of several of the leaders of the insurgency, the remaining militants decided to begin the uprising earlier than planned. War erupted in the south of Texas as U.S. forces moved in to quell the uprising. 65,000 U.S. military troops were deployed to guard the strategic border town of El Paso.

The U.S. Army withdrew from Chihuahua on February 5, 1917 to redeploy in Europe for a conflict that would temporarily overshadow U.S. problems in holding on to its occupied territories -- World War I. Much of the fighting was ending in Mexico.

Prior to 1908, approximately 60,000 Mexicans entered the U.S. annually, staying for only a brief period of time before returning south. As with other Third World immigrants in the past, such as the Chinese and other Asians, Mexicans were not welcomed as permanent residents, but only as temporary ones who would do the work that white people would not and then return home. But many thousands more Mexicans migrated because of the political and economic upheaval from the Mexican revolution of 1910.

The Immigration Act of 1917 prohibited all immigration from the Asian-Pacific Triangle and was designed to completely exclude all Asians from the U.S. This Act also added illiterates to the list of those ineligible to immigrate out of a fear that white supremacist standards would be lowered by immigrants who were believed to be "racially unassimilable." Anyone over sixteen years of age who could not read was barred entry to the United States. Due to the shortages of workers created by World War I, however, industrialists and agriculturalists pressured the government to exempt Mexicans from the literacy law and to waive the eight dollar head tax so they could be used as cheap labor for temporary employment.

Many North Americans were successfully encouraged to view migration as a threat to their jobs and economic security, and to see the Mexican as culturally and racially inferior. In periods when it has not been in the U.S.' economic interests to have Mexicans here, campaigns have been carried out, whipping up fear and racism in white people. This has provided a base of support for government policies to close the border and deport Mexicans.

By 1924, this white supremacist opposition and chauvinism had increased as more Mexicans migrated; membership in the KKK had reached over three million. In an attempt to maintain a white majority, Congress enacted the 1924 Natural Origins Act, which set quotas from each country based upon a percentage of the total members of that nationality residing in the U.S. according to the 1890 census. This racist law prohibited immigration of Asians and Africans while setting no limits on immigration from the western hemisphere, or white Europeans. This law also added new classes of ineligible, including homosexuals, anarchists, revolutionaries and those who could be banned on "moral grounds." It set up the visa system and created the Border

Patrol while strengthening the imposed border between Mexico and the United States with fences, barbed wire and cables. It provided legal justification for mass deportations of those the U.S. saw as undesirable or a threat to U.S. economy or security. As a result of this law, thirteen states passed legislation that effectively prohibited Third World people, particularly Asians, from owning property.

The Deportation Act of 1929 was enacted during the Depression and was aimed at Mexican laborers. Congress made it a misdemeanor to enter the U.S. without government permission and a felony for those deported to reenter.

Jobs became scarce in 1929 with the beginning of the Depression and Mexican migration drastically dropped. It was at this time that President Hoover initiated the Mexican Repatriation Program, ordering persons "illegally" in the United States to be found and deported. More than one million Mexicans were deported or left "voluntarily" and more than 400,000 who had obtained U.S. citizenship were also forced to return to Mexico. This program was carried out by both police and federal authorities as Mexican neighborhoods were raided, seeking any brown-skinned person who could be deported. It was during this time that Congress unsuccessfully tried to pass such legislation as the Box and Harris bills in an attempt to limit Mexicans entering the United States.



The United States needed a cheap source of labor once again during World War II, as soldiers went overseas and the war economy boomed. In 1942, in their own interest to ease the opposition of landless and jobless Mexicans, the Mexican regime, signed a treaty with the U.S. initiating the Bracero Program. Mexico agreed to send a predetermined number of workers to the U.S., who in turn was to pay them the minimum wage and treat them fairly. The treatment the Mexican workers received in Texas was so appalling, that one year later Mexico forbade them to work there and refused to renew most parts of the treaty in 1947. But many undocumented workers, with no other possibilities of employment, continued to migrate north and were hired by U.S. industries and agribusiness. It was also during the 1940s that more than 110,000 Japanese were interned in concentration camps in the United States and their property was confiscated.

The Bracero Program was officially renewed in the 1950s and was reenacted in response to the labor shortage created by the Korean War. It lasted until 1965 and was basically a 20th century bond servant arrangement. The importation of Mexican workers was on a temporary basis -- workers had to contract to work for a specific time, on a specific farm and were not free to work where they pleased. It entitled employers to contract for as many Mexican farm laborers as they wanted.

After the Korean War, amidst a growing anti-communist, nationalist hysteria and increasing migration, the government launched another racist campaign in 1954 called Operation Wetback. At this time, there was a growing recession in the United States and more than one million Mexicans were deported and denied deportation hearings, many of whom were Mexicans with U.S. citizenship. In Slave Trade Today, Sasha Lewis notes,

"The Bracero Program again provided evidence that non-whites were welcome in the U.S. as cheap labor, but not as citizens. During the 22 year history of the program, some five million temporary workers were imported, while fewer than one-tenth that number were admitted as permanent residents."(10)

Operation Wetback was led by President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell and INS Commissioner Swing. Thirty-eight years earlier, these three men had been aides to General Pershing during his expedition against Pancho Villa's forces.(11)

Congress passed the McCarren Act in 1950, which authorized the building of concentration camps to intern "subversives" without a trial or hearing if either the President or Congress were to declare a national emergency. Two years later six camps were built and at least one of the same camps used for the Japanese was prepared for "subversives" in the 1950s. Parts of this law are still in effect today.

The McCarren-Walter Act of 1952, established three principles for immigration policy: the reunification of families; the protection of the domestic labor force; and the immigration of persons with needed skills. It maintained unlimited entry into the U.S. for western hemisphere immigrants and on the surface appeared to remove the barrier to immigration and citizenship for Third World people. In actuality, it still discriminated against Third World nations through its quota provisions.

In 1965, immigration from the western hemisphere was limited for the first time and more Mexicans migrated north without papers. The 1965 and 1976 Immigration Acts removed the national origins quota system, but still imposed numerical restrictions on all countries to limit annual immigration. Also, a seven category preference system was set up, giving priorities to relatives of United States citizens and those with needed talents or skills. While this policy appears to apply equally to all, it continues to discriminate against Third World nations. Because previous racist immigration laws created long waiting lists from these countries, it is still much more difficult for Third World people to enter "legally." For example, brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens who wish to immigrate from England need only wait six months, while siblings from Hong Kong must wait twelve years, a period 24 times as long. Furthermore, by giving preference to relatives of U.S. citizens, the United States maintains its current racial ratio and the existing white majority.

The severe peso devaluations and the deteriorating economic conditions of Mexico in the 1970s influenced the steady annual growth in the number of

undocumented migrating north. At the same time, the United States was facing a deepening recession and rising unemployment. Scapegoating Mexicans by claiming "they are stealing our jobs," the U.S. initiated Operation Jobs in April, 1982, attempting to divert the country's attention from the real source of its economic problems. Operation Jobs was carried out in nine cities, including Denver, Chicago, Detroit, Newark, New York, Houston, Dallas, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, and involved over 400 INS agents, sweeping these cities and terrorizing the Mexican communities. For example, one Mexican youth in the Denver area was hit by a truck and killed while fleeing from INS agents. Many people were harassed and arrested on the sole basis of their Latino appearances. After five days, 5,635 people had been arrested in the nine cities.



In 1983, a record 1.2 million people were arrested by the Border Patrol along the Mexican border.

The current Simpson-Mazzoli Bill is another example of racist legislation aimed at limiting Mexican migration north of the border and scapegoating Mexicans as the cause of the worsening economic conditions in the United States. Its intention is to further divide colonized Mexican people on both sides of the border and deepen the division among all working class members.

The bill would:

- Make it a crime to hire undocumented workers by imposing fines or jail sentences upon employers who knowingly hire them. This would result in further discrimination in hiring Third World people, especially Mexicans, whether they are from north or south of the border.
- Subject a job seeker who falsely claims to be a citizen to a fine of 10,000 dollars and up to five years imprisonment. It is the undocumented worker who would suffer the most from penalties and imprisonment. The fines imposed upon large industries will be minimal compared to the millions of dollars they make off of undocumented workers, while most undocumented will have no choice but to be imprisoned.

-- Grant amnesty status to those who can establish that they have been in the United States continuously since 1980 or 1982. This amendment is deceptive for several reasons. It would be extremely difficult for the undocumented to obtain proof of eligibility given the high mobile nature of migrants and owing to the fugitive life the migrant is forced to live. Also, under this plan, the undocumented would get temporary status for only two years and would then have to show an "achievement" in United States history and English language. It is unlikely that many immigrants would reveal their identity and addresses to the U.S. regardless of their "eligibility," since this would make them vulnerable to deportation if amnesty was denied.

-- Establish a new "guest worker" program admitting foreign workers to seek temporary work in the U.S. This is a reenactment of the Bracero Programs. As in the past, workers would be exploited by substandard working conditions and wages, while insuring the employer a constant source of cheap labor and higher profits.

-- Require workers to present a national ID card. This has many implications as a national surveillance system that could control people's daily activities and repress political dissent. It is likely to target Third World peoples, especially Mexicans, much as the ID card system is used in apartheid South Africa.

-- Provide more funding for the INS.

Although this pamphlet deals primarily with Mexican migration, the INS estimates that non-Mexican border crossings now average twelve percent. Increasingly refugees from Central America are being targeted by the INS and U.S. government. This is another example of politically motivated, selective enforcement of immigration laws. The U.S. has readily opened its doors to people leaving communist countries such as Cuba and Vietnam, accompanying their arrival with choruses of anti-communist propaganda. But entry, residency and citizenship are much more restricted for refugees from U.S. backed dictatorships such as El Salvador, Guatemala and Haiti.

The Supreme Court in spring, 1984 reversed a lower court ruling that immigrants seeking refuge in this country need only prove "a well founded fear of persecution" to avoid deportation. Instead they must demonstrate "a clear probability" they will be persecuted if they are deported to their homelands. Besides making it much more difficult for people to be granted political asylum in this country, this means that more refugees will be deported. The Catholic Archdiocese of San Salvador has estimated that 30 percent of refugees returned to El Salvador are imprisoned, tortured or killed, many by right wing death squads who are funded and trained by the U.S.

Political and church activists who are providing sanctuary to Central American refugees are coming increasingly under U.S. government repression. In June, 1984, Stacey Lynn Merkt, a Catholic layworker in Texas, was convicted of "illegally" conspiring to transport two people from El Salvador to the United States and was sentenced to two years of probation. Well over 100 religious organizations in the United States are currently involved in the sanctuary movement.

THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE (INS)

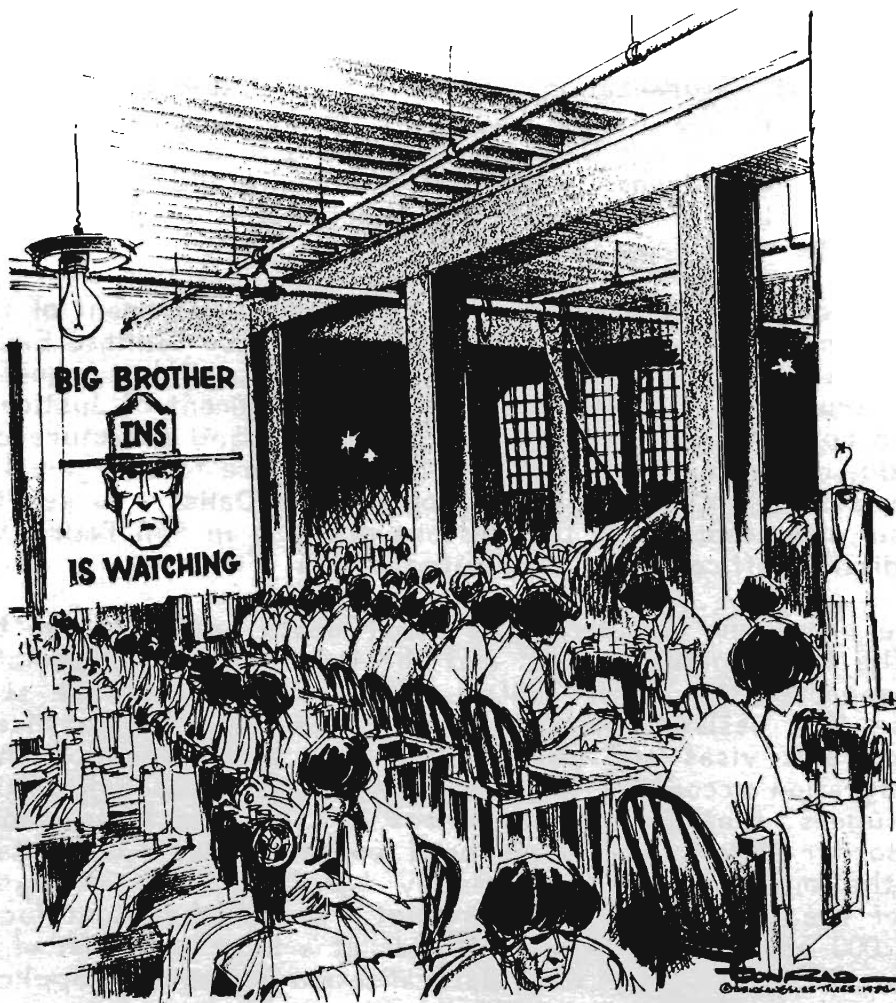
The Immigration and Naturalization Service is the United States government's law enforcement arm in the area of migration, immigration and citizenship. Its official mandate is to carry out U.S. policy relating to entry, exit and naturalization of prospective citizens. INS history, origin and practice show this policy to be "Keep Third World and other 'undesireable' people out of the U.S. unless profit can be made from their labor."

The first agency dealing with immigration, under the Department of Labor, was the Bureau of Immigration, formed a few years after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Today, the INS, so renamed in 1933, is a small but rapidly growing quasi-military structure. It forms a part of the Department of Justice. The INS commissioner is appointed by the President. The command structure consists of a central headquarters in Washington, D.C. There are four regional divisions: the eastern in Burlington, Vermont; the southern in Dallas, Texas; the northern in St. Paul, Minnesota; and the western office is in San Pedro, California. Thirty-eight district offices span the United States.

The four more prominent and strongest departments nationally are the Intelligence Unit, the Investigations Unit, and the Detention and Deportations Unit, to which is connected the Border Patrol. These departments are stronger by far than those that assist prospective citizens to achieve naturalization, deal with entry and exit visas and permits, regulate quotas from each country, supervise immigration according to needed skills, or assist in granting asylum to political refugees. Financial appropriations that allocate large sums to beefing up the Border Patrol, to its manhunt operations and to militarizing the border, are the ones passed most readily by Congress. For example, the largest part of the entire Justice Department's proposed budget for 1985 is a request for 1,000 new Border Patrol officers, at a first year cost of 100 to 150 million dollars. This is partly why naturalization or asylum applications get backlogged for years, while over a million undocumented workers are arrested, processed, detained and deported each year.

The Investigations and Intelligence Units conduct investigations of "domestic immigration fraud." Beyond that, in a completely political way, they develop information on "subversive criminals and terrorists," a function of domestic spying supposedly contrary to law and Constitution. This politically motivated spying is frequently carried out in cooperation with the police, the FBI or other law enforcement agencies with whom their jurisdiction overlaps. The now well known FBI COINTELPRO program to disrupt and destroy political organizations opposed to U.S. policy and control is another example of a deliberate, politically motivated program of attack by a federal agency posing as a law abiding service.





1984

By the end of fiscal 1976, the INS Investigations Division had compiled a list of 221,335 names of foreign nationals allegedly "subversive" or "terrorist", and has made the information available to other agencies on request. Although few undocumented workers dare turn to public services like welfare or hospitals, the Social Security Administration has recently been persuaded to open its files to INS Investigations' cross searches in an attempted to locate undocumented workers or other "undesireables."

Investigations has also cooperated with Israeli Intelligence, supposedly to locate Nazi war criminals. But recent evidence shows that the U.S. government has actually helped cover up for known war criminals like Klaus Barbie. So other speculation is that Israel and the U.S. INS work together to track down and neutralize Palestinian or Arab activists in this country who oppose Israeli occupation of Palestine and Lebanon, and U.S. support for it.

Finally, the Investigations Unit carries out manhunts, "sweeps" and surveillance called "Area Control" in major metropolitan areas to arrest or drive out undocumented workers and keep others terrorized. Campaigns like Operation Jobs are reminiscent of "zone control" and other population control/elimination tactics practiced by U.S. forces in Vietnam.

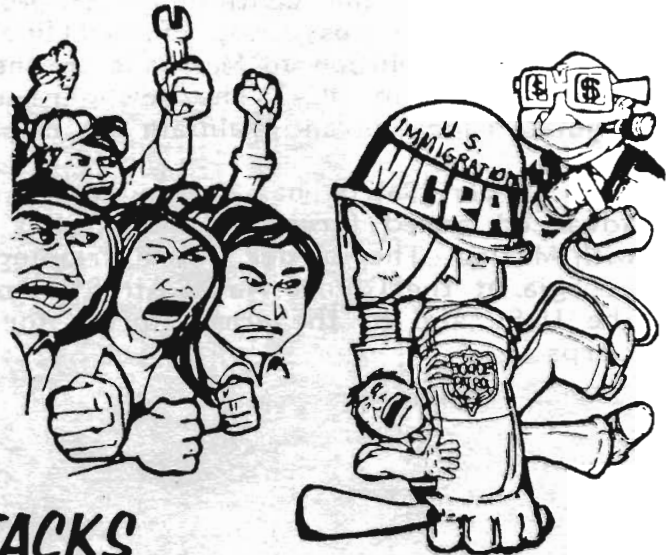
The Detention and Deportation Division is responsible for holding and expelling "deportable aliens" to their home countries or across the Mexican border. Mexicans now make up 90 percent of the people held in detention centers. The INS is readying large scale detention camps in certain areas.

The Border Patrol is the military arm of the INS, successor to the Rangers, Mounted Guard and the U.S. Army. The post World War I recession with its labor surplus; the continuing struggle of the Mexican Revolution with its message of the possibility of real liberating change; and the "threat" of the spread of revolution to Mexicans in the north, occasioned the creation of the Border Patrol in 1924. The new para-military force would enforce the border, regulate migration and maintain a strict division of the Mexican nation.

The Border Patrol has grown from a small guard to now, a technologically advanced armed force of 2,400 troops -- most located on the imposed border with Mexico. The Border Patrol training base is located outside of Brunswick, Georgia at the Glynnco Naval Air Station. Recruitment is being done throughout the U.S. and in the armed forces for more agents, especially in the Marine Corps.



The white supremacist underpinning of the INS work is clear in its collaboration with the Ku Klux Klan. In 1928, "Klan cooperation in San Antonio, Texas was better than undependable police for a raid in Dallas," wrote Cliff Perkins in Border Patrol.(12) More recently, the Klan has accompanied Border Patrol agents in Mexican border "skirmishes," has operated a motorized "Klan Border Watch" in parts of California and Texas, and has staged heavily armed "ra-
lies" along the border.



STOP KLAN/MIGRA ATTACKS ON MEXICANO PEOPLE

The Border Patrol cooperates with other law enforcement agencies, such as, the INS Intelligence Unit. It works with the FBI in rooting out information on "subversives or terrorists." When the need arises Border Patrol troops are used in repressing the political actions of Third World people. In 1973, the Border Patrol helped federal police during the occupation of Wounded Knee. The Border Patrol and Investigation Unit also work together in deportation procedures.

Colorado Situation

Denver is estimated to have approximately 3,000 undocumented workers and the combined areas of Colorado and Wyoming to have up to 170,000. The INS office located in Denver is a district office having six to eight investigators with its regional office located in San Pedro, California.

Undocumented workers who are picked up by the INS are sent to either one of two Aurora detention centers. There are plans of developing additional centers in Aurora and Erie. Denver city jail and Pueblo jail are also used to detain undocumented workers, when there is an overflow. People are usually detained at these facilities for several days before they are transferred by bus to El Paso, Texas, where they are deported. Usually one to three bus loads leave the Denver area to El Paso weekly.

During Operation Jobs in 1982, 499 undocumented workers were arrested in Denver. Businesses that were raided included meat packing plants, fresh fruit plants, rag plants, restaurants and farms. People arrested were coerced into signing "voluntary departure" forms. One person who refused was handcuffed for 36 hours. Those arrested were denied phone calls, access to lawyers and

were given a minimum of food and blankets. There were no sleeping facilities at the holding center. Police were actively involved in these activities, although they have no legal jurisdiction in these affairs.

Raids are still conducted in the Denver area at a rate of two per month with an increase usually in the summer months. The INS has a list of 1,700 locations in the Denver metro area that employ undocumented workers.

In September, 1984, Colorado will become the first state to have extensive access to federal immigration records by using a computerized system linked up with the INS headquarters in Washington, D.C. This system will enable the government to determine if workers who apply for social services are documented or undocumented. The "Alien Verification System" as it is being called, will become the "only direct link between the INS and a state agency" and will provide INS officials with a computerized surveillance method of locating undocumented workers as well as providing much intelligence information on people being investigated. Although Colorado will be setting the precedent for this operation, the INS plans to extend this surveillance system by installing a communication network of 64 complete computer systems and 8,000 terminals at over 180 INS offices.

INS BRUTALITY AND CORRUPTION

There have been a variety of techniques used to repress Mexican and other border crossing people, both past and present. Until 1958, the Border Patrol used dog and horse tracking -- reminiscent of methods used on African slaves. Also, the assistance of vigilante groups was frequently relied upon in arresting and terrorizing Mexicans and others. Today, troops use psychological and physical terror to intimidate Mexicans into admitting that they are from the south, in a process known to agents as "breaking the alien." This method involves isolating the migrant, threatening his or her family, verbal harassment and physical beatings. Agents are expected to arrest and deport a satisfactory number of undocumented workers regularly. Such tactics serve to help meet the "body count" -- a phrase that recalls the slaughter of Vietnamese by U.S. forces in Southeast Asia. Intimidation of the undocumented is intended to serve as a lesson to others. So is violence, which pervades the operations of the Border Patrol. In 1979, two Mexican youths were pistol whipped, and one eventually killed even though they were actually handcuffed, by Border Patrol agents. The agents were acquitted.

Many reports of beatings, bribery, drug smuggling and sexual abuse, including rape, and killings of undocumented workers have been documented. In Houston, one Mexican woman who was apprehended by the INS, accused an INS officer of forcing her to have sexual relations with her in order to remain in Texas for one month. In Laredo, Texas, another woman openly charged an INS officer with rape. After the case received a lot of publicity, the woman disappeared and no action was taken against the officer (13). An INS criminal investigator in Los Angeles was indicted for accepting more than \$7,000 in bribes between March 1974 and November 1977. The officer had reportedly accepted kickbacks for releasing undocumented workers caught by both the INS and local authorities. (14) Witnesses in a San Antonio federal court hearing testified that a Border Patrol agent shot an undocumented worker in the leg and knee, hit him on the head with the butt of his pistol, and dunked him several times in the Rio Grande. The hearing ended when the undocumented was found guilty of assaulting the officer. (15)

There have also been charges that INS officials have established prostitution

rings as well as charges of collusion between Border Patrol and INS agents and employers trying to break strikes. A federal grand jury in Miami accused an immigration inspector of selling tourist visas to Latina prostitutes so they could work in the United States. Under the arrangement, each woman was issued a form allowing her to remain in the U.S. with tourist status for two weeks. The women, according to the indictment, were then required to pay \$3,000 for six month visas.(16) While some INS officials have been indicted on such charges, few have been convicted. Sometimes, while Mexican parents have been detained in prison, their children have been shipped alone on buses back to the south. Other times, children have been imprisoned, farmed out to adoption agencies, or simply abandoned in the work place.

Frequently "due process of law" is ignored or trampled on by INS officials. INS officers are given the jurisdiction to interrogate, without warrant, any person thought to be here without papers, and do not have to have any "probable cause" other than "suspicion." This is in violation of the Fourth Amendment which supposedly guarantees the right of people to be free from unreasonable search and seizure. In certain circumstances, the INS officers can also make arrests without warrants.

During raids, INS investigators stop and question only people of color, mostly Latino and Black people. For example, the INS began raiding New York City subways, accosting only people of color. The INS never raids white communities or protected businesses, either. Instead, they target poorer Third World neighborhoods. When one of the authors lived in Texas, he was present during raids, but was ignored as officers demanded papers of every brown-skinned person in the room. Frequently, contrary to federal regulations, all the exits of a factory or restaurant will be locked as a raid begins, so that no escape would be possible, even if a fire broke out.

Once arrested, the INS prefers that migrants and immigrants sign "voluntary departure" forms. By doing so, a person forfeits the right to a deportation hearing and is deprived of certain supposedly "constitutional rights": the right to counsel, the right to bail, the right against self-incrimination and the right to an impartial hearing. The Supreme Court ruled that the INS does not have to inform people suspected of being undocumented workers of all their constitutional rights when they are arrested, except for their "right to an attorney."

Often INS agents brutalize undocumented workers who insist they are United States citizens or who refuse to sign the "voluntary departure" forms, or detain them until they agree to sign. Sometimes when employers are charged with hiring undocumented workers, these workers, are held in jail as evidence until the case comes to court, as much as a year later.

In its methods of deportation, the INS aims to prevent the return of the deported worker. In past years with the Mexicans, INS agents have shipped them to the south far from their home regions, or to oppressive farm camps in the Yucatan. Today, most Mexicans are bused or flown to Mexican border cities, after signing the "voluntary departure" forms. Alone, without legal counsel or knowledge of their rights and in the custody of a para-military agency, undocumented workers and political refugees have had little choice but to sign and be deported.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act prohibits local police from becoming involved in enforcing immigration laws. It states that the police may not stop an individual when they merely suspect he or she is undocumented unless that

person has been involved in some "criminal offense." But, there are few restraints on this activity. In reality, police often stop people on the suspicion that they may be undocumented and detain them until the INS arrives.

MIGRANTS AND IMMIGRANTS

The Border Patrol estimates that anywhere between three to six million people cross the border each year without documents, and estimates are that .6 to 12 million currently live in the U.S. In 1982, the number of people apprehended near the border jumped nearly 50 percent, 1.2 million arrested, the most ever. More than 90 percent of those arrested were Mexicans. Over 90 percent of undocumented workers cross the border without papers and the rest come with visas and decide to remain.

Most undocumented workers are young males who support families at home, while many, especially Mexicans, frequently return across the border. Increasingly entire families are migrating and immigrating.

In addition to the exploitation Mexicans experience in their working environment, there are many other harsh situations they must endure with both the actual trip across the border and their daily living conditions once they succeed in reaching their destination. Much of the 2,000 miles of the border is either marked by the water of the Rio Grande or lies in barren desert. Often people drown in the river's swift currents or die in the high temperatures of the desert, which may reach 130 degrees.

There is also much violence at the border. Many people migrating north are robbed, assaulted, raped or murdered by people both north and south of the border. There have been many incidences of Mexican police and INS agents being responsible for some of this violence, as well as North American vigilantes who attempt to forcibly stop migrations.

Many Mexicans feel their chances of making it across the border undetected by the Border Patrol are much better if they engage the services of a coyote, or smuggler, to help them across. While many may safely cross the border aided by the coyote, who has become adept in detecting sophisticated sensor equipment laid down by "la migra," it is not without its high price. Up to \$500 may be extorted by each person making the trip, which may amount to the life time savings or the total amount a family has been able to raise using whatever they own as collateral. Many coyotes take the money and leave the migrants stranded. Smuggling rings operate from both sides of the border and often involve corrupt INS officials, who not only insure that false IDs pass inspection, but also have been responsible for organizing these smuggling rings.

Once across the border many find employment on farms that have the worst working conditions. Some farms and ranches rely almost entirely on Mexican migrant labor. These places located primarily in Texas, California and Arizona are the most exploitive of all, often paying an average wage of \$1.14 an hour or less and having Mexicans work from 50 to 60 hours per week with no overtime pay. At the end of the pay period, many employers deducted exorbitant fees from the worker's pay check for substandard housing and meals, leaving the worker with little or no money for the grueling hours of labor he or she put in.



Other workers, particularly women, find employment as domestic workers after having had their way paid across the border by their employers and live as indentured slaves. Sasha Lewis in Slave Trade Today states:

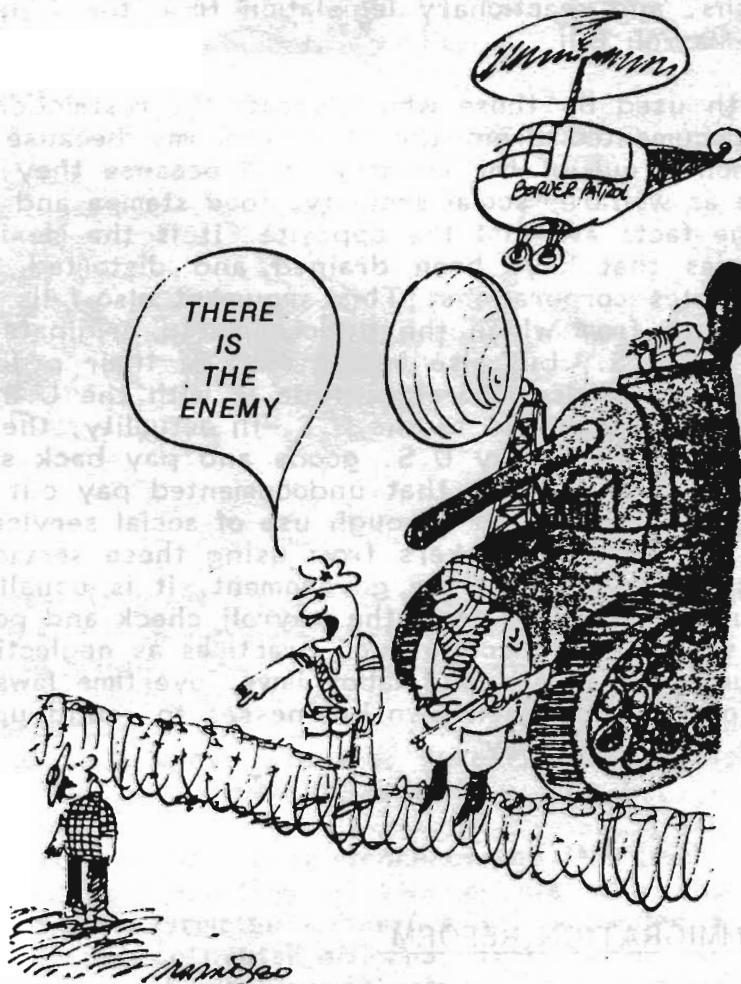
"It is only after living in the U.S. for a while that the undocumented domestic worker is confident enough to escape and seek out work for herself... One maid escaped in Alexandria, Virginia only to be apprehended by the INS, but her testimony to the grand jury resulted in the indictment of a former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica and his wife. The grand jury charged that not only had the ambassador transported the maid to the U.S. illegally, but then paid her \$12 to \$25 a week when, according to the law at that time, she should have been paid \$2.50 an hour, plus room and board... The man served as a commissioner on the Equal Opportunity Commission until a month before his indictment. After leaving his ambassadorship he chaired the U.S.-Mexico Border Commission for two years."(17)

Many undocumented also work in garment sweat shops, receiving below minimum wages and working under hazardous conditions for employers who reap large profits from their work.

Fear of apprehension by "La Migra" permeates every aspect of the migrant's living situation from being ripped off by landlords who overcharge for sub-standard living quarters, to paying large sums of money for poorly forged documents or for fraudulent immigration consultants who convince the Mexican that they can help him or her with the INS. Many others never seek badly needed medical attention or medications for fear of being detected or deported.

RACIST MYTHS

The United States, in its white supremacist campaign against Mexican migration, has encouraged people in this country to accept several myths concerning the Mexican undocumented workers. While it is important to refute such widely spread myths, they are really not the issue, but rather serve to misdirect people about the real causes of economic problems in the U.S., absolving the capitalist system of all responsibility. At the same time, they reinforce the white supremacist ideology that has justified the colonization of Third World people throughout U.S. history, and bolster the ideological foundation for war.



One such myth is that Mexicans are stealing jobs from U.S. citizens. This turns history upside down since the entire southwest of the United States is the occupied northern territory of Mexico, stolen by conquest. Further, it is inherent in a capitalist economy to have built in unemployment, cyclical crisis and unsatisfying jobs whose sole purpose is to make profits for the employer. Even on its own terms, this myth is untrue. Many studies indicate that generally migrant workers do not displace U.S. citizens.(18) For the most part the jobs the Mexican worker takes are unacceptable to the white worker. It has also been shown that positions that are vacated by the undocumented worker will only be refilled by many employers with new undocumented workers. In addition, studies have indicated that while many Mexicans migrate north, at least 47 to 52.3 percent of those apprehended by the INS are reported never to have found work, and of those who do, the work tends to last an average of three months.(19)

Another accusation leveled at the undocumented workers is that they tend to depress wages and working conditions in places where they are employed. This again turns the situation upside down, blaming undocumented workers for their exploitation by greedy employers who pay them at subsistence wages in sub-standard working conditions. Due to fear of apprehension and deportation, undocumented workers often have difficulty organizing, joining unions, and striking. They know that employers can and do call the INS to stop these activities. This myth also ignores the long white supremacist history of U.S. labor unions that have usually at best made little attempt to organize or support Third World immigrants. In fact, the North American labor movement has frequently been an ardent supporter of immigration restrictions, massive deportation campaigns, and reactionary legislation from the Chinese Exclusion Act to the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.

One other false myth used by those who advocate the restriction of migration, states that the undocumented drain the U.S. economy because they tend to take the flow of money out of the country, and because they tend to abuse social services such as welfare, social security, food stamps and health services. Once again, the facts are just the opposite. It is the Mexican and other Third World economies that have been drained and distorted to make huge profits for United States corporations. This argument also falls in light of the fact that most countries from which the undocumented originate are not only deeply in debt to the U.S., but also import most of their products from the U.S. Seventy percent of Mexico's foreign trade is with the U.S. and over 30 percent of its foreign debt is also to the U.S. In actuality, the money earned in the United States is used to buy U.S. goods and pay back such loans. As for social services, studies indicate that undocumented pay out much more in taxes than they are compensated for through use of social services. Again, the fear of deportation deters most workers from using these services. If anyone benefits from this situation, besides the government, it is usually the employers who often deduct these taxes from the payroll check and pocket the money. The employers save money through such practices as neglecting health and safety laws, minimum wage laws, child labor laws, overtime laws and often by calling in the INS for a raid of their own businesses to round up undocumented workers the day before pay day.

PROPOSALS FOR "IMMIGRATION REFORM"

Many critics of the INS and United States immigration policy have argued for "immigration reform" on a variety of legal and humanitarian bases. One area of concern is the barriers Latinos, Africans, and Asians face in "legally" immigrating to the United States. Some people have advocated that national quotas should be increased for underdeveloped nations to permit entry for the "neediest" people. Others have suggested changing the preference system to eliminate the biases against Third World people. Another proposal in this area is to restructure the application process for immigration to facilitate more rapid entry, since the INS is currently backlogged with thousands of applications.

A related concern is the difficulty many refugees have in getting political asylum. Many people have advocated liberalizing the process for acquiring political asylum, particularly for those fleeing U.S. backed dictatorships. This has often been combined with a call to end military aid to repressive regimes, so that fewer people will be forced to flee oppressive conditions in their own nations.



A similar proposal is made by those who argue that too many undocumented workers come to the U.S. because poverty is so widespread and destructive in their countries of origin. They press for a change in U.S. foreign policy, and economic operations, such as an end to the more flagrant abuses of U.S. based multinational corporations. Often, increased economic assistance is called for so that Third World nations can begin to develop healthy, self-sufficient economies with adequate jobs for their citizens.

Other critics object not to the existence of the INS itself, but to the corruption, insensitivity and brutality of INS agents who oppress Mexicans and others. They advocate stricter adherence to INS rules and regulations, the prosecution of corrupt or brutal officials, and the hiring of more "minority" agents and employees. Some also encourage "human relations programs" and "sensitivity training" for officers.

Still others see the "key problem" as the treatment of migrants, immigrants and refugees once they have entered the United States. Demands have been made to end the selective, discriminatory INS sweeps and deportations aimed at people of color. Pointing to smugglers and violent thugs preying on undocumented workers along the border and further north, they have called for increased police "protection." Where employers take advantage of undocumented workers with horrible working conditions and the denial of pay or benefits, they insist on stricter enforcement of existing labor laws and the prosecution of unfair employers. Some people also promote independent labor organizing and unionization to win better working situations.

Finally, some critics think that the U.S. government should help migrants and immigrants rather than just turning them away. They want the government to provide assistance through a variety of welfare and social service programs.

POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

All of the previously outlined proposals, no matter how well intentioned, still accept the legitimacy of the border and the theft of northern Mexico, as well as the basic economic and political system of the U.S. They all offer reforms to "bad" domestic and foreign government policies, "bad" government institutions, or "bad" laws and personnel without challenging the U.S. imperialist system itself.

We have described in this pamphlet how Mexico achieved its independence from Spain after 300 years of Spanish colonization and became a sovereign nation in 1821. White settlements in northern Mexico began as early as 1819, as the U.S. encouraged settling in this area, coveting the land and rich resources. In Texas, Anglo settlers rebelled and then seceded in 1836, joining the United States in 1845. Through the Mexican-American war of 1846-48, and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the point of a gun, the U.S. seized and occupied the northern 51 percent of Mexico. It was at this point that a border was imposed to divide not only northern and southern Mexico, but the Mexican people as well. For those of us in the New Movement, it is not a question of Mexican migrants achieving United States citizenship; nor is it a question of increasing quotas, fairer preference systems, or amnesty programs. We do not recognize the illegitimately imposed border -- what today the U.S. calls the southwest, the states of Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and parts of Colorado, is in fact, the occupied northern territories of Mexico. We do not recognize the right of the U.S. to establish a border based upon the conquest and theft of a sovereign nation.

The militarily imposed border helps to perpetuate the colonization of 20 million Mexicans in the occupied territories and of the dependent capitalist state of Mexico. To the south most Mexicans live in extreme poverty. Their labor and vast resources have gone to enrich a corrupt and repressive Mexican ruling class, as well as U.S. and other foreign corporations. Liberal proposals aimed at restricting migration to the U.S. by supplying more foreign aid to Mexico and other Third World countries ignores the reality that U.S. policy toward them has always been based upon U.S. corporate profit not the needs of their people. Foreign aid and U.S. investment, which benefits only a minority, has created corruption and dependence.

North of the border 20 million Mexicans face unemployment, poor housing and medical care, and police terror in their communities. Well over 2,000 Third World people were killed by police during the last ten years. According to the U.S. government statistics, in 1972, Mexican family income was only 71 percent of Anglo family income. A decade later that figure had fallen to 68 percent.(20) Thirty percent of Mexicans in the United States live below the "official poverty line," twice the U.S. average, as do one of every two Third World children in the United States. In 1983, the government claimed 15.7 percent of Mexicans and over 30 percent of Mexican teenagers were unemployed, although this is greatly understated. Only half the number of Third World children as white children graduate from high school.(21) All of these statistics do little to actually convey the daily human toll of colonialism.

There is now a proposed bill that would make English the official U.S. language. This is yet another step in the 135 years of U.S. efforts to break Mexican resistance in the occupied territories, and to destroy the Mexican identity as one people by suppressing their language, history, and traditions.

We agree with the position of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano

that says that Mexicans have the right to migrate freely from the southern to the northern territories. We also agree with their perspective that the best strategy for the liberation of the Mexican people, both north and south, is the reunification of the occupied territories with the rest of Mexico in a Socialist Republic of Mexico. We support this as a way that Mexicans can gain control over their lands and lives. For us it is not a question of Mexicans achieving U.S. citizenship, but of the Mexican people's right to self-determination -- including their right to reclaim their homeland. This will involve a struggle against both the repressive governments of Mexico and the United States, and the establishment of a new social system based upon human needs rather than corporate profits.

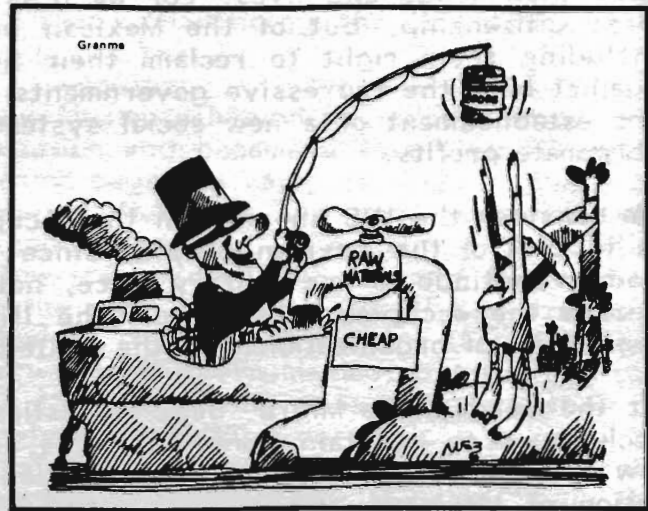
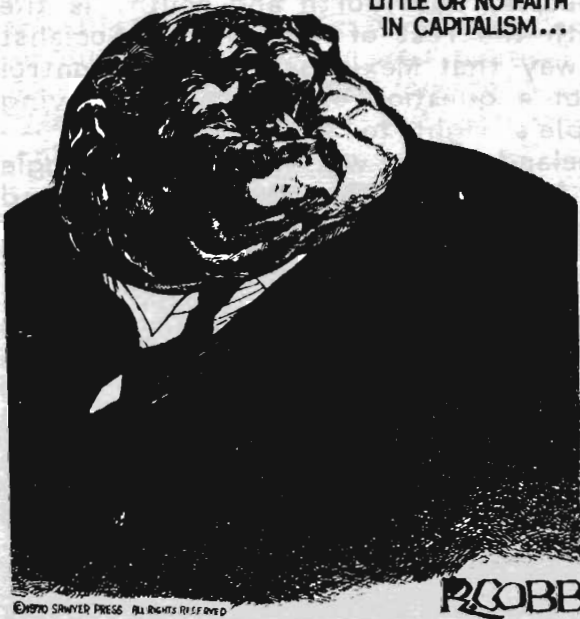
We consider the INS an army in the occupied territories whose primary purpose is to control the Mexican people. Since the border was imposed, the U.S. has had to continue to use military force, not only to maintain this border, but to secure the occupied territories. The INS is simply the current military and legal form of organization that the United States is employing.

At the border, "la Migra" uses sophisticated counterinsurgency technology and techniques to maintain control of this area. It acts in cooperation with other law enforcement agencies in investigation, apprehension, detention and deportation of Mexicans and others. Within the occupied territories, it selectively conducts raids when there is political organizing and strikes. Just as its predecessors, the Texas Rangers, terrorized Mexicans to gain control of their land and squash their resistance. INS officers today terrorize Mexican communities by their continuous presence in an attempt to intimidate and repress Mexican resistance to their colonial conditions. Regardless of how "sensitive" any particular INS agent may be or how ethically he or she adheres to agency rules and regulations, they are still members of an occupying army whose role is to enforce an historical injustice.

The U.S. is a white European settler nation, which was established through the theft of the lands of Native Americans and Mexican peoples. Even despite the seizure of lands rich in resources, the great wealth of the United States could not have been amassed from white working people alone; it required the blood and labor of millions of Africans, Asians, Latin Americans and Indigenous peoples both inside and outside United States borders. The enslavement and forced labor of the African people on southern plantations, created the foundations of the economy in that area, as did the labor of the Chinese and Mexicans in the west. This is apparent in the fact that if California was a nation, it would be the fifth richest nation in the world. Much of their wealth was built by the labor of Third World people. Appealing to the U.S. for fairer immigration policies for Third World people or for more government services, is at best, naive idealism. Throughout history, the U.S. has had no need for Third World people other than as a source of cheap, exploitable labor, or, as in the case of people admitted from communist nations, as an excuse to unleash a barrage of anti-communist propaganda. Immigration laws and policies have consistently reflected this.

Capitalism is an economic, political, and social system in which all of the decisions about how society will operate are based on what will make profits, not on what will benefit people collectively. Any system based on profits is a system which must control and exploit the world's resources, labor and markets. The U.S. is a country which has six percent of the world's population but consumes over half of the world's resources. But even this is somewhat incomplete, because in the stage of imperialism, the world has become divided up into a few highly developed, industrialized nations like the U.S., the

STARVATION IS GOD'S
WAY OF PUNISHING
THOSE WHO HAVE
LITTLE OR NO FAITH
IN CAPITALISM...



western Europe nations and Japan; and the overwhelming majority of the world's nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the occupied territories of Mexico and the internal colonies of the United States, are kept systematically impoverish and underdeveloped.

This superdevelopment and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin. Wealth flows out of the Third World and into the advanced capitalist nations, giving U.S. and worldwide imperialism its strength. This is as true today, through United States' control over the world economy and its support for Third World dictatorships, as it was when the U.S. empire was first founded.

National liberation movements pose a threat to the U.S. and worldwide imperialism. It has been the national liberation movements from Vietnam to Zimbabwe to Nicaragua that have actually succeeded in defeating imperialism, and which have begun the long process of building new socialist societies to replace the colonial domination of their nations. They have proven that despite all the hype, imperialism is not invincible, and that the U.S. empire which has risen, will also fall in time like the other empires before it, because it is based on fundamental injustice.

National liberation movements have provided strategic leadership to us, by showing that even the most technologically sophisticated army in history can be defeated by a protracted peoples war, by a massive political and military mobilization and organization which builds slowly, over time, through stages, as conditions change.

As national liberation movements continue to win, and the U.S. empire increasingly loses control over the world's nations and resources, it is moving into a deeper and deeper economic crisis. To reassert its domination in the world, the U.S. is planning and participating in war, eventually, probably, leading to a third world war. To carry out this war, the U.S. is attempting to create a loyal population at home through a fascist mobilization based on patriotism, white supremacy and repression. The scapegoating of migrants and immigrants is part of this process, which encourages North Americans to see Third World people as the source of our problem.

But, the statements of top government and business leaders that "The U.S. should fight in Central America today or it will have to fight on its borders tomorrow," are not merely inflammatory rhetoric. They reflect the understanding that the impact of revolutionary movements in the region will not be limited to those nations themselves, but will rock the very foundations of the United States. Above all, it is Mexico that the U.S. must control, only in part because of its tremendous economic stake there. Equally as important, the revolutionary movement in Mexico will continue making connections to revolutionary organizations here, helping to mobilize the 20 million Mexicans north of the border, as well as their allies, to fight the U.S. from within its borders. It is in this context that the U.S. pours more and more money into building up and reinforcing INS troops and military technology. At all costs, the U.S. will try to control the border and the occupied territories, and attempt to prevent the further development of revolutionary forces inside the heart of the empire.



credit: photo by Fireworks

This poses very sharp choices for all of us. We hope that this pamphlet will help, not only in understanding the issue of migration, but also in building a North American solidarity movement with the Mexican struggle and all oppressed peoples. We believe that this movement must support the right of Mexicans and all oppressed nations to self-determination. We also believe that for it to be effective, it must be an anti-imperialist movement that goes beyond electoral politics, legislative reform, and the "supporting someone else's struggle" attitude. The destruction of imperialism is a prerequisite for the building of a humane society for all of us. Ultimately, the deepest expression of North American solidarity comes when we recognize the role that we have to play in building a movement among North Americans that fights on all levels just as seriously against imperialism as do the national liberation movements we support.

FOOTNOTES

1. Acuna, Occupied Mexico, p29
2. Cockcroft, Mexico: Class Formation, Capital Accumulation and the State, p70
3. Acuna, Ibid, p 60-61, 106
4. Cockcroft, Ibid, pg 93
5. Cockcroft, Ibid, pg 3
6. Wall Street Journal, May 16, 1984, p33
7. Cockcroft, Ibid, p162
8. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "The Tarnished Door", p9
9. Rosenbaum, Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest: "The Sacred Right of Self-Preservation", p50-52
10. Lewis, Slave Trade Today, p19
11. Zamora, Los Mojados: The Wetback Story
12. Perkins, Border Patrol, p116
13. Lewis, Ibid, p26
14. Lewis, Ibid, p102
15. Lewis, Ibid, p103
16. Lewis, Ibid, p102
17. Lewis, Ibid, p90
18. U.S. GAO, "Illegal Aliens: Estimating Thier Impact on the U.S.", p19, 20, 57 and Los Angeles Times, March 1, 1984
19. Lewis, Ibid, p148
20. Denver Post, May 20, 1984
21. Rocky Mountain News, p26, August 28, 1983; p63 January 3, 1983

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CONFLICT AND MIGRATION

THE REALITY OF THE MEXICAN BORDER



BY THE
BORDERLANDS EDUCATION COMMITTEE

San Diego, California

CONTENTS

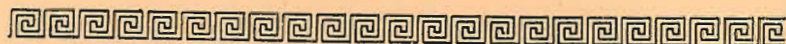
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The Borderlands Education Committee is a group of North American activists based in San Diego. We are doing educational work in the Anglo community in solidarity with the Mexican national liberation struggle on both sides of the border.

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The Borderlands

Comparison between San Diego and Tijuana

Outside of shopping and playing Jai Lai, Anglos in San Diego know very little of Tijuana, although it is just across the border. This reflects how North Americans relate to the whole country of Mexico. We know so little about this nation and its people, their identity, history and land, even though the U.S. has been so directly involved—even establishing the border in its present location through military conquest.

For that matter, few Anglos really know San Diego and the role it plays as the largest U.S. city along the 2000 mile border with Mexico. So let's look at San Diego, the town we all live in, briefly, and then view Tijuana, the town we all visit, and compare them.

These two cities of roughly equal proportions sit side by side, so near to one another, but so far apart with their stark inequalities. These two urban

We know so little about this nation and its people, their identity, history and land...

centers, situated in the same metropolitan area, share many things: a common air basin—and common smog, a common coastline and the river that flows through them. They also share a common history of economic and social development as both have been affected by forces that molded each to the other.

Driving through these parallel cities, one watches as the similarities fall off sharply. Gross disparities exist between them in wealth, resources and, most importantly, in the living and working conditions of their peoples. From the condos, high-rises and tract homes on this side to the wooden and clapboard structures tilting on the hillsides bolstered by embankments of rubber tires on the other side, the differences are all too apparent. No where else in the world where a major metropolitan area crosses an international border are there such disparities in the living standards as exist between San Diego and Tijuana.

Many of us are familiar with San Diego's leisure world and palm-studded horizons, but below the surface something else is going on. Like Tijuana, San Diego has experienced rapid growth and expansion in the last generation or two, and now has a population sprouting around the million mark.

Yes indeed, San Diego has a diversified economy. It includes a powerful aerospace industry that expands with each launching into space and with each war. It includes growing electronics and clothing manufacturing enterprises in the city's surrounding "industrial parks." It includes agricultural fiefdoms that ring the urban areas, where hundred of undocumented Mexican workers live in brush shelters and caves near the fields.

Then there's the fishing and tuna industry, ship-building where the Navy is the main customer, the towering and pervasive tourist industry, the burgeoning educational and medical factories of which UCSD is an integral part, the growth of downtown redevelopment, the sprawling suburbs that rip through the earth off to the north, the east and south.

But look past the suntan oil, the leisure suits, the high-rises and affluent suburbs and we see a different city: a metropolis of highly segregated neighborhoods, where non-white people are in effect prevented from living north of Mission Valley, except for a few neighborhoods. This is the city in which, up until 1960, 90% of black people lived in only two communities. This is the city where freeways and junkyards divide up the Mexican neighborhoods. This is where, although upwards of a third of the county residents are Mexicano, there's never been a Mexican elected to the County of City governments.

We see a city where the rich play by day, in the tennis courts, golf courses and the circus of sea sports. This while poor immigrants travel by night, through the dark, moist valleys of the borderlands, across the harsh, dry and barren fields of the desert.

By blinking through the sunshine, we primarily view a city of special importance; we see that San Diego has been established as the Pearl Harbor of the mainland coast where the U.S. armed forces, the Navy, predominate.

The Navy also has a corresponding dominance and conservative influence at the top echelons of the aerospace and shipbuilding industries, and in the backrooms of San Diego's politics. This influence is displayed quite openly in such local issues as the Naval Hospital/Florida Canyon dispute and in

A quarter of the people of San Diego are either Navy personnel, dependents, former Navy, retired, or Naval and civilian workers—close to 400,000 people. A third of the entire U.S. fleet is based in San Diego with some 45,000

What divides Tijuana and San Diego is a border, an arbitrarily drawn artificial line that was established 130 years ago by military conquest...

sailors stationed aboard the 137 ships and vessels that call the city their home port. The military is indeed the single largest employer in the county, payroll over 150,000 people. The Navy brings in \$7 million a day to this city. It's the bedrock of San Diego's economy.

San Diego has 30,000 Marines up at Pendleton. Then there's the training depots, the naval air bases, the submarine bases, military docks, research facilities, helicopter pads, military hospitals, nuclear weapons on the subs, nuclear waste and dumping sites, missile silos, housing complexes, the Naval headquarters, and the corrupting military-related research being performed at the universities... the airport relocation controversy.

San Diego is a Navy town. San Diego is the Navy's town. It basks in the sun as a Pacific and frontier fortress.

across the border

All this military might and wealth sits across the border from Tijuana and Mexico. And it's obvious that Tijuana is very poor compared to its northern neighbor. Whereas San Diego's city budget spends roughly \$250 per taxpayer a year, Tijuana spends 22 pesos, or one dollar a year per person.

With 5000 emigrants arriving from the south every month, Tijuana's economy and situation is much different and even less diversified than San Diego. Growing at a rate of 5 to 10% a year, twice that of San Diego, its major industries are tourism and light manufacturing.

Tijuana's population has exploded in the last 40 years from 21,000 to close to a million. Unemployment is a staggering 20 to 30% or more. Social services and housing conditions are impoverished and barely existant compared to the reality just a few miles north. Only a quarter of Tijuana's roads are paved. A third of the residents go without electricity. Only two-thirds have plumbing and only half the neighborhoods have some kind of drainage system. Garbage is not collected regularly. The city is near bankruptcy itself.

Tijuana residents have access to only one hospital in the entire city, compared to the many numerous ones scattered about San Diego. Public schools in Tijuana are jammed as students are turned away. Sixty to seventy pupils cram into a single classroom, while in San Diego, schools are being closed for declining enrollments. These are the differences a few miles can make.

Tijuana is changing. With government sponsored redevelopments—downtown, and along the Tia Juana Reiver plain, new office buildings, freeways, and new shopping centers, new apartments and model homes for government workers, Tijuana's image of a rowdy border town are fading. Tiajuana's role, both along the border and within Mexico, is growing in significance and influence. With nearly four dozen banks, Tijuana is the third largest center of savings accounts in Mexico.

The largest border city on the Mexican side, Tijuana has become one of Mexico's wealthiest cities, and a

major financial and industrial center. However, little has changed over the last decade for the average resident. The minimum daily wage is only a meager \$6.50, still the highest of all Mexico. Most of those who are working are just making enough to get by on.

Incredibly, the cost of living in Tijuana is almost on the level of San Diego's, due to the soaring peso inflation and the city's greater distances from the industrial centers of Mexico, certain foods, clothing, and consumer goods are often cheaper in San Diego. Thus many residents cross and shop in San Diego stores, spending close to an estimated \$500 million annually on this side of the border. This accounts for 9 to 12% of all San Diego retail sales.

Thousands of green-card workers who cross daily and work legally in San Diego also spend millions of dollars north of the border. For every dollar green-card holders make in San Diego through employment, about 82 cents comes back to the U.S. one way or another.

In the other direction, U.S. tourists spend around \$120 million a year in Tijuana, the city that claims it attracts more visitors than any other city in the world. The tourist trade has fostered the 800 or so curio shops within the downtown area, putting 15,000 people to work, making and selling artifacts and crafts. Yet it is this very tourism that keeps the city in an impoverished dependency on the U.S. dollar.

Tourism created Tijuana and maintains the city in an inferior economic status. U.S. and Mexican investors take their profits instead of creating new industry and lessening the city's reliance on the tourist money. And San Diego definitely benefits from the influx of visitors traveling south to shop

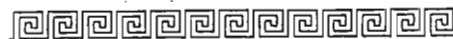
and play in Tijuana, for of course they also spend a lot of money in San Diego.

Because of this dependency, many of the basics are imported from the U.S.: nearly 70% of its machinery and appliances, over 60% of its food, drink, tobacco, and half of all clothing and footwear.

The newer industry in Tijuana, the assembly plants of electronics, textiles, toys, CB radios and TVs are mostly owned by U.S. corporations. These plants, called maguiladores, employ some 8,000 people at wages far lower than prevail just over the border on the U.S. side. As part of the Border Industrialization Program, the plants

are subsidized by the Mexican government, and were initially begun in the mid-60s as a response to the large-scale migration of unemployed Mexicano laborers to the northern border region. Studies have shown, however, that the U.S. owned maguiladores mainly employ local people, primarily young unmarried women, and not the many coming from the south.

Tijuana's high unemployment thus remains and continues to grow as a direct result of this migration.



some historical notes

San Diego's dominance over Tijuana is nothing new, as is apparent if we trace some history.

100 years ago, San Diego was a small seaport town, surrounded by large ranchos. Lured by cheap land as bounty seized from native people and from Mexico itself—from the War of 1848—white settlers began pouring into the area. This was the time of the Manifest destiny as U.S. capitalism pushed west after the Civil War.

Tijuana was initially one of those large ranchos in the area. Accompanying San Diego's boom in the 1880s, Tijuana was established as a border town. With growing population and money, U.S. investments began in Baja, with foreigners ultimately owning the majority of the peninsula. A railroad was constructed in 1906 linking San Diego with Yuma and points east, crossing at the border at Tijuana. This was a time when Tijuana had more saloons than resident housing.

Continually attracting visitors south, Tijuana remained dependent on U.S. tourism. Horse racing, gambling and alcohol were the promises drawing Anglos into this hey-day of the popular casinos. Prohibition added to Tijuana's expansion in the 1920s as many Anglo-

San Diego's dominance over Tijuana is nothing new...

owned bars and businesses sprang up. During the war years, U.S. sailors poured into the city every night seeking refuge from military life. Into the 50s and 60s the prostitution and booze industries continued to thrive. Then in the mid to late 60s, the black market exploded with the marijuana and pills trade.

But in the 1970s the commodities of the black market changed—to people, undocumented workers. As the economic conditions in the south grew worse, and because of its proximity to the border, Tijuana became one of the major border smuggling points in the sale of humans across the border.

So today Tijuana bulges with the aspirations of thousands who've traveled north from the interior of Mexico. This has caused Tijuana to even surpass San Diego's census count, and has established the city as the second largest city on the North American Pacific coast.

What divides Tijuana and San Diego is a border, an arbitrarily drawn artificial line that was established 130 years ago by military conquest, and is today guarded jealously by the armed forces of the United States. It is over this armed and fenced border that San Diego continues to dominate Tijuana. And this domination is but a microcosm of the larger relationship between the two countries, U.S. and Mexico.

These two cities are divided by the border, while they are locked together in a web of history and economic and social forces. While the fence divides the cities, it also divides a land, a people and a nation. And in an era in history where nations long suppressed by others are throwing off the shackles of colonialism, this makes the U.S.-Mexico borderlands a highly controversial and volatile area. The war zone between San Diego and Tijuana that has been created by U.S. Imperialism is but one facet of this situation.

The quiet and sun-swept calm of San Diego during the daylight hours gives this city in motion a false facade. At night, in the valleys along the border and to the east of the suburbs, amid the grid of freeways traversing southern California, another reality prevails. It is the reality of the dark and fearful world of the undocumented workers migrating northward, from the interiors of Mexico.

Across from San Diego, Tijuana has been established as a major stopping and smuggling point for thousands of these migrants. They are poor campesinos who've been driven off their traditional lands and replaced with machinery, by encroaching North American and foreign corporations in the south.

One of the few avenues for them is to move where the money and jobs exist. They travel north through a borderland that used to be part of their own country,



but find a guarded and patrolled fence line. many of the migrants stop and remain in Tijuana and the other border cities along the 2,000 mile frontier between Mexico and the United States, accounting for the extremely high unemployment in these cities. Others continue north, for even a fence cannot stop hunger.

Those who do push on are the most courageous and most desperate. With hope in their hearts, they seek only work and lives worth living, and money to send home to waiting families. they are jobless, landless and lack the 'right' documents.

Many never reach their destination, for every year hundreds of migrants perish, either as victims of the harsh desert and terrain of the borderlands, or they drown in the rivers that parallel the frontier. A few suffocate to death, stuffed into the steaming back trunks and boiling enclosed compartments of the cars and trucks of the coyotes, the smugglers.

Many of the pollos, as the migrants are called in border slang, are thrust into another destination: the War Zone, that volatile strip of land running along the border.

For the migrants' most visible enemy is La Migra, the Border Patrol, the arm of the U.S. Government that patrols the frontier and who maintains the war zone. It is La Migra who meets them in the dark valleys of the borderlands with guns drawn, who raids the large farm

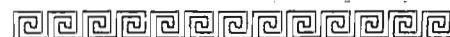
estates, the sweatshop factories and neighborhoods. In the grip of La Migra, the immigrants are shot at, beaten, raped, harassed and verbally abused as they are rounded up like so many cattle. A few do not survive their encounter with the Border patrol.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, the INS, with its agents mounted and patrolling in their "war wagons"—as their paddy vans are called, is in fact a military force. Many of the agents are former soldiers and marines, and many of its leaders are former military officers. Before Leonard Castillo, who recently resigned as INS head, its leader was Marine Corps Commandant General Chapman, who wanted to enlarge the Border Patrol to the size of the Marine Corps itself. Many of the La Migra raids are coordinated with local police and undercover agents, as well.

At their disposal, the INS has Vietnam-tested military hardware and equipment: electronic body sensors scattered along the borderline alert them of migrants' movements, helicopters with infra-red scanners, searchlights, patrol wagons, tear gas, riot equipment and .357 magnums. In addition, many agents carry lead-lined gloves and illegal blackjacks, and a few others have unregistered "throw-away" guns, all with which to commit "unregistered" acts of brutality against the migrants. And today, in these times of costly gasoline, a few agents are mounted on horseback—bringing back haunting scenes of the murderous Texas Rangers.

With this arsenal, a million undocumented people were rounded up in 1978. Over 400,000 arrests were made within the 65 mile stretch of land between the Pacific Ocean and rugged desert east of San Diego.

It's been estimated that for every undocumented worker caught, 7 to 10 people with brown skin are stopped and harassed. Because of this, a virtual police state exists within the numerous Mexican communities of the U.S. The Border Patrol has become a standing and operating army, an army of occupation.



The fact that the Border Patrol has created a violent war zone along the border is evidenced over the last several years. During this period local agents have engaged in shoot-outs with Mexican police, they have murdered migrants coming across, have shot at individuals with high-powered rifles out of helicopters, have refused to allow dying children across for emergency medical attention, have sexually abused women migrants. And now it's apparent that agents conspire in carrying out systematic beatings of migrants in order to escape official reprimands of their superiors.

Violent confrontations within the War Zone between San Diego and Tijuana, although long a consistent pattern, have intensified in recent years. In late January on 1978, a Mexican migrant was shot to death, and his two travelling companions wounded by the since-disbanded San Diego Police Border Crime Task Force.

On August 4th of the same year, a Border Patrol agent near Calexico wounded an undocumented worker in the leg, and then returned him to the Mexican side of the border without giving him any medical attention. Then a month and a half later, five Migra officers were pinned down for nearly three hours by rifle shots fired from across the border, near the San Ysidro port of entry.

Just a little more than a year ago, in mid-March 1979, patrolman Dan Cole handcuffed migrants Efren Reyes and Benito Rincon together after arresting both of them while attempting to cross near Tijuana. As Cole began placing them inside the War Wagon, one of them resisted and began pulling away towards the fence. Agent Cole opened up with his .357, killing Reyes instantly and seriously wounding Rincon. The Border Patrol has since characterized the shooting as justified self-defense.

While the Border Patrol has an arsenal of weaponry, the increasing resistance to their presence at the border has escalated into serious incidents where Mexican youths pelt agents with rocks. During the late evening of November 23, 1979, rocks thrown from the north side of the border lodged into the blades of an INS helicopter swirling close overhead. It was forced to make a crash landing on the dry river bottom. Then INS re-inforcements were prevented for half an hour from rescuing the injured agents in the helicopter by a continuous barrage of more rocks.

Very recently, early April 1980, large crowds met Border agents with rocks as darkness settled over the Tia Juana river, the flow of water that separates the two sides. Agents were forced to use teargas and gunshots to disperse the Mexican youth. INS leaders dismiss these incidents by declaring that the rock-throwers are all in the pay of the coyotes, simply providing diversionary events to draw agents away from heavier smuggling areas. Yet the same agents describe the crowds as larger than 60 and maybe into the hundreds. In this dangerous situation, what smuggler could afford to employ all these youth?

By discounting these incidents as merely diversionary tactics, the INS and media refuse to acknowledge the very real pent-up feelings of anguish and desperation the rock-throwers and undocumented people have for the border and its guardians. They want jobs and better lives, and many of them understand the history of the borderlands better than the uniformed agents. They know that the border was established only by military conquest by the U.S., that it is an arbitrary line drawn 130 years ago and still maintained by military force. These youth, in their late teens and early 20s are guided by national feelings: for them this area is still Mexico.

The War Zone, then, is disputed territory. With the rise of the militarization of the border by the U.S. government, there is an opposing rise of resistance. And it is increasing.

Recently in San Diego four Border Patrol agents were brought to trial—charged with violating the civil rights of migrants, based on documented beatings and abuse. The first trial ended in a hung jury, which voted 11 to 1 for conviction. Later a San Diego court convicted two of the agents, but punished them with slaps on the wrists. Yet this was the first time any such legal action had been taken by the U.S. government in prosecuting its own border agents.

Local Chicano activists have declared that "...the Border Patrol is now totally out of control and is nothing but a lawless agency which is accountable and responsible to no one." Other Mexican grass-roots organizers here on this side of the border add, "La Migra is part of the colonial occupation forces that guard the frontier." Many have called for a full-scale Congressional investigation to review the actions of the Border Patrol.

The INS does not only patrol the border. It also is used to break up legal strikes. In 1972, for example, farmworkers struck a large California agri-business estate for better working conditions and higher pay. The INS then issued massive numbers of green cards, bringing in workers from the south to labor in the strife-torn fields. It worked, and the strike was broken.

The INS is also used to repress outbursts from the Mexican communities, as during the 1975 walk-out from Southwestern junior high school. There, Mexican students protested the lack of bilingual education and the racism of school administrators. The INS sent its agents to the homes of protest organizers, demanding citizenship papers, harassing them and their families.

imprisoned

When the Border Patrol captures undocumented people, it imprisons them in detention centers, like the Chula Vista station or the Metropolitan Correctional Center that towers above downtown San Diego. Many are held up to 6 months while waiting to go to court.

Children of undocumented workers are also held—some of them as "material witnesses" in cases involving smugglers. Separated from their parents, the children are fingerprinted and given criminal records, and some are detained for months. Once they are no longer needed, the INS sends the children back to Mexico without making efforts to reunite them with their parents. Often they are turned loose onto the streets to fend for themselves.

If arrested at a workplace, a migrant is handcuffed and whisked away, without pay, without belongings, without notification to the family. The crime: working without papers.

Everyone agrees that the numbers of those migrating have been growing. An estimated undocumented population of 6 to 12 million live and work throughout the U.S.—mostly in California and what we now call the "Southwest."

Usually Anglos think of undocumented workers as mainly working on farms and in agri-business. But only 4 to 8.5% do so. The rest work in food processing and service industries, clothing manufacture, electronics and transportation.

In San Diego County the number of undocumented people employed is not known, with estimates ranging from 21,000 to 60,000. They earn from \$150 to \$260 million in wages, but spend more

than half of that right here as consumers of local goods and services.

These same workers contribute nearly \$40 million in social security and income taxes to San Diego County—monies that they never see again.

Most of the jobs they take are the lowest rated, status-wise, averaging \$2 an hour or less. Throughout all the industries where migrants and employed, one-quarter of them paid less than the minimum wage.

Thus, undocumented workers are a vital labor force, not only for San Diego, vital labor force—not only for San Diego and Los Angeles—but throughout the "Southwest." Without them, whole economies would collapse—from the tomato fields of North County in San Diego to the sweatshops of L.A., from the Mid-West bread basket fields to the factories of Chicago.

Take just the garment industry, for example. Shop owners admit that their industry would collapse without them. This is an industry that has shifted out of New England and New York to the cheaper shops out west. 90% of the garment industry sweatshops pay less than the minimum wage to undocumented workers, whose products are then sold to J.C. Penny, Sears and Buffums.

If tomorrow, all the undocumented workers left L.A. and San Diego, the garage-parking, landscaping, fast-food, garment, luggage, janitorial-service industries would immediately shut down. Much of the local manufacturing and agricultural enterprises would follow. There would immediately be a severe curtailment of life as we know it in Southern California.

In fact, much of the sunny affluence that white people seemingly enjoy in this part of the world exists because the economic base of the "Southwest"—historically the Northwest of Mexico—was built and is maintained by migrant and undocumented workers, and their ancestors, from Mexico.

At their workplaces, migrants are denied safe, sanitary working conditions. They are abused and betrayed often by their employers, who frequently call the INS in just before payday. Instead of receiving protection and help from unions—until recently most unions considered them 'scabs', and a threat to U.S. workers rather than as a challenge to organize.

Some unions are now picking up the gauntlet and are beginning to view undocumented workers as allies and not competitors. In fact, recently in L.A. a strike was won by workers without papers.

Outside the cities, undocumented people who labor on large farms are often forced to live right next to the fields, in brush shacks, denied basic kitchen and toilet facilities. Those who complain are handed over to La Migra.

If they do live in residential communities, they are still subjected to INS raids and harassment—leading lives of intimidation and fear. A common Anglo myth holds undocumented people responsible for high crime rates—but in fact their neighborhoods are the quietest and experience low crime, for fear of detection.

Another Anglo myth says that they suck social services away from "bonafide" citizens—but even though they paid for them through paycheck deductions, hardly ever do undocumented people seek to claim

Undocumented workers are one of the most super-exploited peoples in the country. They greatly contribute to the high profits of U.S. business...

them or use social services—again for fear of detection. They also pay for benefits, taxes and social security insurance... and never see anything in return.

Because of their status, migrants are denied so-called 'civil-rights'; they cannot vote, or hold office, or take anyone to court.

Their children attend schools taught in a foreign language. The state of Texas even denies giving any education to the children of undocumented workers.

Daily they all are subject to racist abuse and harassment from employers, health administrators, their fellow workers, the KKK, the press and media who continue to label them inferior with the terms "illegal alien."

As the recession of the 1970s worsened, undocumented people became the scapegoats—targeted by politicians from Nixon through Carter who blamed them for every economic woe afflicting the U.S. One big myth that's still around holds them

responsible for taking jobs away from U.S. citizens. But these are the back-breaking and sweatshop jobs that no one wants anyway.

The truth remains...if anything, they have contributed more to your economy, through the sale of their labor, through the loss of their country's resources which the U.S. uses up, more than anything else.

Like a virtual faucet, the border is opened during times of economic expansion and labor shortages. And it is closed in times of recession, when unwanted workers are rounded up and deported. The U.S. government preforms this task in order to control the flow of people and material goods, capital and labor, totally suiting the profit goals of North American businesses.

All this isn't new, by any means.

The first massive waves of immigration from Mexico occurred during the 1910 Revolution. Through the 1920s these migrants were welcomed, and even sought after. It was a time when the fields, groves, mines and other industries needed laborers to work cheaply. Agents of large farming estates traveled south into the interior of Mexico and recruited farmworkers with promises of good pay and higher standards of living. So thousands came north and helped build the economy of the "southwest."

With the Depression of the 30s, however, the situation changed drastically—with businesses failing and closing down. Mexicans were blamed for the high unemployment, and subsequently several millions were deported by the U.S. government—packed onto railroad cars heading south.

During World War II, the U.S. experienced a labor shortage. So, flip-flopping policy, Mexican workers were once more encouraged to cross the border and work in the factories and fields. 200,000 did so.

Begun in 1942 and lasting until the early 60s in some form, the Bracero Program was the official agreement worked out between the two governments. It allowed eventually up to 400,000 Mexican workers to cross legally each year to labor in the U.S. But under this program, there the U.S. government ended up leasing workers directly to employers, many abuses occurred. These left the workers poor, neglected and in the worst living conditions—all with the government's sanction.

As the post-war economy faltered and the U.S. experienced a recession immigrant workers and Mexicans again took the brunt of the blame. The government and the media whipped up a jingoistic campaign—so volatile that event the name was racist. Under this INS-sponsored "Operation Wetback"—a joint effort between INS, the Navy, the FBI and state and local police—2 million Mexican workers were rounded up and deported.

With the prosperous upturn of the 1960s, North American businesses again needed cheap labor, and this is why a form of the Bracero program lasted until early in the decade. The tone around immigration changed, however, with the recession of the seventies. A new

"anti-wetback" campaign was geared up, but with a name change: now it was directed against the "illegal aliens"... a sub-human reference and identity given a whole generation of immigrants.

Under Nixon the immigration department initiated its militaristic system of capturing, imprisoning and then deporting millions of Mexican workers, and it was continued under Ford and Carter. It is this policy of dealing with an economic and political problem militarily that has created a war zone right here on the border.

Undocumented workers from Mexico are, as a group, one of the most super-exploited people in the country. While denied basic civil and human rights, they

greatly contribute to the high profits of U.S. businesses and to the affluent living standards of Anglos. They represent for large businesses a highly controllable, mobile and cheap labor force.

Although immigration does act as a release valve for Mexico's economic and social problems, deportations and policing the border with a military force do not go after the roots of the causes: unemployment and poverty. And these exist mainly as a result of the actions of North American and international corporations—the international banking and loan institutions that dominate the economy of Mexico.

Short History of Mexico for Anglos



Most North Americans don't know too much of the history of our southern neighbor, even though our nation has been deeply involved in its internal affairs. This involvement over the last 150 years has led to the domination of Mexico's economy by North American capitalists. To understand this relationship, and to understand why undocumented workers migrate north, we must trace Mexico's history and highlight the role of the United States. Doing this, we counter the distortions and our right lies that U.S. schools teach North Americans about Mexico.

Long before the European colonialists landed on the shores, native civilizations flourished in the Americas, building large cities, establishing trade and industry, exhibiting high levels of science, technology and art.

By the time Cortes arrived in 1521 to seize land and riches for Spain, the Aztecs ruled over a highly complex society in Central Mexico. Employing the old method of 'divide and rule', the Spanish conquered the Aztecs and other peoples throughout Central America through a series of bloody wars. The Spanish consolidated their colonial holdings over the next 300 years.

By 1600 the population of an estimated 25 million had been reduced to only some 2 1/2 million by famine, overwork and European diseases.

Unlike the English, and later the Anglo-Americans, however, the Spanish did intermarry with the native peoples—

Thus a new race, a new people were born—the Mestizo. By 1800, mestizos and Indians made up 80% of the population of what was then "New Spain."

The Spanish extracted wealth from their colony through mining and large-scale farming and ranching. The Spanish monarchy was financed for years by the gold and silver coming in from Mexico. In fact all of Europe benefitted from the plunder of the Mexican colony. Indian laborers were forced to give up their communal lands and were collected on the haciendas, the large ranchos where they were subjected to debt peonage and slave-like hardships.

Left with a fraction of the poorest land, and at the bottom of the new social structure, the Indians rebelled against the Spanish continually.

Spain used the system of church missions to colonialize the Californian coast and the rest of their holdings up in the north. This colonialization meant the enslavement of thousands of native peoples to perform the labor of the farms and ranches. Many Indians died of this brutal exploitation as the missions were nothing more than early forms of concentration camps. Those Indian tribes that survived had the least contact with the Spanish missions.

Finally, a weakened Spanish hold on the country was broken. In 1910, the Grito de Dolores was proclaimed—

calling for an end to Indian slavery and a return of lands to their rightful owners. Under the leadership of Miguel Hidalgo and Jose Morelos, two enlightened parish priests who are today regarded as the fathers of independence, a mass popular rebellion broke out. It was nominally in favor of independence, but it was fueled by popular hatred against the European elite that governed the society. The elite were willing to accept the support of the mass movement, but they were not in favor of any reforms which would undermine their class power. They executed Hidalgo and Morelos, but they finally did win independence from Spain in 1821. Thus the nation of Mexico was born.

Twice the size that it is now, the new nation included much of Central America, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah and parts of Colorado and Oklahoma.

The war of Independence, although ridding the country of the Spanish crown, failed to dismantle the class structure that existed. For the masses, economic exploitation continued. The powerful church, the military and the Hacienda lords, moving in to fill the vacuum, amassed great wealth for themselves over the following decades. More importantly, the new rulers opened Mexico to further exploitation by the colonial powers of France and Britain, and to the expanding country to the north—the United States.

The weak central government, however, did not or could not prevent foreign control of the economy. In addition, there was also a threat to the land and territory of Mexico developing.

The Yankees Come

Up in the north, Yankee settlers appeared in the early 1800s. At first a trickle, then a flood, they began pushing southeast and west, leaving behind them a genocidal trail of broken treaties with Indian nations and an economy based on Black slave labor. It was a time of booming expansion and a period of struggle between the slave south and the industrialized north.

Fueled by feelings of white, national chauvinism and desires for land, and propelled by the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the settlers and their country eyed Mexico greedily. At first with Mexico's permission, but later as illegal aliens, Anglo immigrants moved into northern Mexico and began staking claims. This surge was mainly in Texas, where the new immigrants attempted to expand the southern plantation economy by bringing in African slaves.

Taking advantage of the weak central government in Mexico City, the settler colonialists agitated for separation and began skirmishing with Mexican troops. This blew-up into a war, as Mexico feared, and quite rightly so, that the Texans and the U.S. secretly desired to take over the whole country. We are taught that the Alamo was a heroic defense by freedom-loving fighters. The opposite is more true, for those who resisted the Mexican army were mainly mercenaries, Indian-killers and slave-owners attempting to illegally seize Mexican land.

The result: a large portion of Mexico in 1836 separated and became the Anglo colony of Texas. This was the opening salvo of war between Mexico and the United States.

In 1846, desiring to expand the territory of the U.S. in the interests of the slave owners, President Polk declared war on Mexico, and ordered an invasion by U.S. troops. The North Americans drove towards the capital in campaign long remembered for its savage and brutal treatment of Mexicans by U.S. troops. These included instances where Anglo soldiers scalped and murdered captured prisoners of war.

General Winfield Scott invaded and bombed Vera Cruz, turning the city into a burning inferno, killing countless civilians. Scott refused to let up on his bombardment to allow women, children and non-Mexicans to evacuate.

San Diego witnessed a relatively minor skirmish in the San Pasqual Valley. There, mounted Mexican lancers routed U.S. troops under the command of the famous Indian-killer Kit Carson as they tried to make their way to San Diego. Forced to retreat, they slaughtered and ate their mules, and were finally relieved by reinforcements from town. A monument now stands commemorating this innocuous defeat.

The U.S. army captured Mexico City militarily in 1847 and forced the Mexican government at gunpoint to give up half its territory. Thus, in the space of a few years, the U.S. annexed Texas and the entire northwest of Mexico. Till this day, Mexican students are taught that this territory was illegally seized by the gringos and is only held temporarily.

During the fighting in Mexico, 150 Irish American soldiers, disgusted with the intense anti-Catholic feelings of the other North Americans, deserted and joined to fight on the Mexican side—forming the Saint Patrick's Brigade.

However, they too were defeated and captured. Fifty were executed, the rest whipped and branded.

Back in the U.S. there was opposition to this expansionism, including the anti-slavery abolition movement. Henry Thoreau went to jail for refusing to pay the war tax, and Abraham Lincoln, as a Congressman, challenged Polk's policy as well as his sanity.

In order to legitimize the U.S. seizure of half the nation, Mexico was forced to sign the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty contained provisions ensuring the civil and property rights of the 75,000 Mexicans who remained in the territory now controlled by the U.S. But like treaties the U.S. signed with Native peoples, it became little more than a scrap of paper.



In the wake of the defeat, a power struggle between certain sectors of the ruling class burst into the forefront of Mexico's political arena.

Up to then, the state and the Church basically operated together. A strong, conservative social force even today in Latin America, the Church was much stronger back then. Church lands accounted for almost one quarter of the national wealth. This wealth and influence was used to block any social progress. The Church was allied with other conservative forces: landlords, merchants, monarchists and the militarists.

Liberal forces, led by Benito Juarez, the first and only Indian to gain the Presidency, wished to dismantle the old semi-feudal economic structure. Only after a bloody civil war in 1857 was a new constitution written that enacted some reforms and secularized the Church's property.

During this period, monarchists in Mexico and France allied themselves and attempted to impose their ruler on the country, an Austrian aristocrat connected to the old Spanish crown named Maximilian. But he too was toppled by the Juarez forces.

Mexico's main problem, though, the inequitable distribution of land, was not dealt with. This meant that the campesinos, the peasantry, the great majority, saw little gains for themselves. Juarez opened up Church lands for sale, mainly to rich Yankees who bought up much of the large landholdings for cattle ranches in the states of Sonora and Chihuahua, and bought up the sugar refineries and hemp plantations in the south.

The reforming liberals ultimately agreed with the conservatives by allowing the hacienda system to remain intact, and by continuing the suppression of the indigenous peoples. As a result, the pattern of repression and exploitation and grass-roots rebellion was not broken. Juarez in reality had opened up the country to capitalist development, and allowed the United States to increase its efforts to take over Mexico's economy. Juarez's reforms actually did more to set up the coming Diaz dictatorship by building up the central government, than in distributing land to the poor.



Colonialism in the North

Up north in the territory seized in the war, thousands of Mexicanos continued to live their lives, but now under the domination of another nation and a foreign government. But many Mexicans did not quietly accept the lynchings and murders, the theft of their land and resources, and the loss of civil rights. Many resisted throughout the 1800's with armed struggle.

One such hero of resistance was Joaquin Murieta, a miner who had come to California to make a living. But Anglos killed his wife, beat and robbed him, driving him and many other Mexicans out of the mines. Joaquin fought back, like Robin Hood, stole from the richer Anglos and gave to the poor Mexicans.

The mythical figure of Zorro, popularized by Walt Disney, had his origins during this period. The son of the last Mexican governor of California, Pio Pico, led raids and ambushes, not against fat Sgt. Garcia, but against Yankee settlers from Los Angeles to Santa Barbara.

In Texas, Juan Cortina also fought back against the invaders. With an armed organization and an ideology of liberation, he waged guerrilla warfare for nearly 20 years.

Las Gorras Blancas, a New Mexico secret organization of the poor against the rich, also resisted the encroaching settlers and the new capitalists. They proclaimed, "Our purpose is to protect the rights and interests of the people in general and especially those of the helpless classes..."

Powerful cattle barons in Texas set up the Texas Rangers as a terrorist force to maintain control in the areas where Mexicans were the majority. So glorified in movies and TV, they were actually armed colonial mercenaries, torturing and killing thousands of Mexicans.

Over the years, using the machinery of the legal process and the knots of the lynch rope, Anglo settlers came to completely control the economic, political and social life of the new territories—despite the guarantees to Mexicans spelled out in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Dominated, Mexicans suffered the loss of their land, their political rights, their culture,

language and customs. This was colonialism. The Mexican people became the colonized and the Anglo-American settlers became the colonizers.

Mexicanos were a colonized people in a land whose economy they had built. The skills in building adobe houses, in sheep-herding, in mining and irrigation farming that Anglos later employed were learned from Mexicanos. Virtually everything we credit the Anglo-cowboy with was taken from his Mexican counterpart, "el vaquero" including much of western slang. The labor of Mexican workers on the railroads, in the mines and in the fields laid the basis for the economy throughout what we now call the "southwest."

The Revolution

By the latter part of the century, the Mexican government had been strengthened but not democratized. A new ruler came to power, a man so ruthless in dealing with his opponents and the Mexican people that even today he remains a symbol of despised despotism—Porfiro Diaz. His powerful dictatorship lasted for 35 years and was only broken by the upheaval of the 1910 Revolution. Diaz tried to modernize Mexico with railroads and revived industries, but he did it from the top down, using the saber and bullet for persuasion. Opening wide the doors to the interior of the country to foreign powers, especially the U.S., Diaz allowed foreign investments to control mining, utilities, banking and commerce. The north became very strongly dominated by wealthy North Americans like William Randolph Hearst, who owned 6 million acres of land.

Other U.S. capitalists, with visions of colonial profits dancing in their heads, continued to buy up the country. By the time of the revolt, two-thirds of all U.S. foreign investments were in Mexico. While most of all rural families went landless, as Diaz had appropriated the Indian communal lands.

Once again rising up against tyranny, masses of campesinos confronted and struggled against Diaz and the entire capitalist system. The bloody revolt raged across the land, resulting in over a million deaths.

Peasant leaders such as Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa emerged to fight the federal government and its

allies. In the state of Morelos, Zapata began a revolutionary re-distribution of land to the poor, declaring that those who work the land should own it. Villa, meanwhile, led the rebellion in the north. Other revolutionaries in the Yucatan and up around the border called for a socialist Mexico. These included Flores and Enrique Magon, who operated out of Los Angeles.

Women played a very strong and significant role during the Revolution, joining their men at the front and supporting them behind the lines. General Carmen Robles led her brigade, and fought alongside of Villa and Zapata.

Because U.S. businesses and investments became threatened by the revolt, the U.S. government once again intervened militarily in the internal affairs of Mexico. In a classic show of gunboat diplomacy, U.S. Marines landed and occupied Vera Cruz in 1914. Two years later, General Pershing invaded from the north in pursuit of the elusive Pancho Villa. Villa's forces had attacked and burned sections of Columbus, New Mexico in retaliation for the U.S. authorities allowing the federales to travel through the U.S. to hit Villa on his northern flank.

Up here on the border, Tijuana witnessed its own combat, as Flores Magon's forces took over the town, attempting to set up an independent socialist republic of Baja California, along with members of the I.W.W. in 1911. They were soon overwhelmed by Tijuana townspeople and troops from both the U.S. and Mexico.

Eventually through the conflict Mexico's own emerging capitalist class allied with the U.S. government and businesses, consolidated its forces and engineered a coup against the moderate leader Francisco Madero, led by General Huerta. The more revolutionary insurgents were outmaneuvered; Zapata and Villa were both ambushed and assassinated, the Yucatan socialist movement was brutally smashed. Magon was jailed by the U.S.

The fighting ceased and the forward motion of the Revolution was halted. Yet another constitution was written, this one with minimum wage laws, rights to unionize and strike and provisions for equal pay by sex and nationality. But throughout this turmoil, little of substance was gained by the campesinos and urban workers.



Twentieth Century

Over the next several decades, Mexico had a series of presidents who initiated very little land reform, but who suppressed any insurgent movements. As the U.S. economy boomed in the 1920s, massive investments increased into Mexico as North America continued its control over the Mexican economy.

With the coming of the world-wide Depression of the '30s, Mexico too suffered basic shortages and high unemployment. As a result, popular discontent with the so-called "revolutionary" government increased.

Riding this crest of renewed rebelliousness and growing populism, then-president Cardenas initiated an array of seemingly far-reaching reforms: an extensive land program with which over 45 million acres were distributed, nationalizing the railroads, legalizing trade unions.

By this time, Mexico had become the third largest producer of oil in the world, but most of it was controlled by U.S. and European companies, so in 1938, with popular mass support, Cardenas nationalized the oil industry.

By forging an alliance between the capitalists and the urban working class, Cardenas strengthened and centralized the Mexican state in order to speed up the industrialization of the society. It is his organization that is the parent of the party that today governs the country.

After Cardenas, a succession of regimes finalized the co-optation of the goals of the Revolution. This allowed foreign money to dominate and direct the modernization of the economy.

Yet Mexico was still part of the world capitalist market—which was clearly dominated by the large developed and imperialist powers. Like other third world countries, Mexico found itself continually dependent on foreign capital and technology, hampering its efforts to grow out of an underdeveloped and mainly agrarian economy.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Mexico increased its process of industrialization. Yet it remained a neo-colony of North America. During this period, a series of struggles broke out involving labor struggles and land take-overs by organized campesinos. To maintain stability, the government responded with repression, sending labor leaders to jail, and putting down the rural insurgency with military force.



Thus standing on its 150 years of history and turmoil as a nation, Mexico reached the stage with which it faces the modern day of the 1960s.



For North Americans to understand the root causes that lead thousands of Mexican workers to migrate north in search of jobs in the United States, we must comprehend Mexico's current reality and the role that our country plays in its internal affairs.

Present day Mexico is a land of extremes and contradictions. So vast and beautiful, Mexico is the third largest country in Latin America, with a population of some 65 million. Nearly half of its people still live in rural areas, while 12 to 20 million push together in the area of Mexico City, one of the world's largest cities.

This is a land of dire poverty and of huge cosmopolitan cities. Half of the workforce is not employed, 1000 unemployed persons reach Mexico City each day. This is a country that is a rising industrial power, yet 1000 malnourished children die every 24 hours.

Mexico City, the virtual center of the country, is a very modern city, with traffic jams to match. Yet thousands walk the streets without jobs and money.

Outside the cities, the poverty is blatantly obvious. In southern regions, the beauty of the land contrasts with the conditions people live in. Palm huts,

adobe villages without sanitary facilities, no electricity or mail service. For many villages the only water is a nearby creek. Children with swollen bellies are plagued by parasites. And so-called constitutional liberties lie in the dust as privately-paid gunmen (pistoleros) rule the countryside, assassinating outspoken village leaders.

Mexican society is a class society. At the bottom are the campesinos and indigenas, next the urban working class, above them a small middle class, and on the top a tiny elite ruling class of Mexican capitalists. But as we'll see, even this elite isn't in firm or complete control.

The Countryside

Almost half the nation, the great masses of rural campesinos and peasantry, earn only 6% of the national income, giving Mexico one of the world's most unequal distributions of wealth. Actually they are no longer classic peasants, for as ownership of the land changes with the development of capitalist agriculture, they are increasingly turned into a rural based working class. And due to these land changes, this class is the chief source of northern emigration.

Increasingly, rural areas are coming under the control of large US and foreign companies as they buy up the best growing lands. These corporations are replacing human labor with machinery, but are not providing employment for those who've been

replaced. This means that a traditionally agrarian society is being disrupted, throwing thousands off their farming land, making it impossible for many people to support themselves and their families. Thus people flock to the already over-crowded cities looking for jobs.

These mainly North American corporations, in partnership with large Mexican landowners, are farming Mexico's rich, fertile valleys. Over half of all the vegetables consumed in the US during the winter are supplied by these agri-business giants, which control over \$100 million a year of Mexico's vegetable export industry. Thus Mexican farmers and peasants are being replaced by the very same corporate companies who dominate the rural areas of the US.

In northern Mexico, in the states of Sinaloa and Sonora, the rich farmlands resemble the agricultural valleys of California, Arizona, and Texas. In these states, independent Mexican farmers who can't afford to compete against the modern technology of the corporations are forced out of business.

In Sinaloa for example, corporate farming has developed very quickly. Today 85 families control one-quarter of all the irrigated lands. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of subsequent landless farmers doubled to 126,000 people.

Because of these conditions, Mexico has a large migrant work force of some 5 million people. From the harvests in Sinaloa and Sonora, the migrants move to Baja California, earning a meagre \$2.50 to \$5 a day. The migrants harvest and pack the tomatoes, cucumbers, and bell peppers for loading onto trucks and railroad cars, where they are shipped to border cities. There the vegetables are met by buyers from Safeway, Lucky's, McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken and other US food giants.

The growing monopolization of the best lands by U.S. and foreign corporations contradicts the concept of communal land—land owned and worked by a village or community. This communal land, or ejidos, account for only half of all arable acreage in the country, and are partially a product of popular struggle as campesinos have battled and have been killed in attempts at taking over new ejidos.

Many ejidos, however, are constantly losing money, and are being subsidized by the government. Although other ejidos are productive, the over-all

market is controlled by the large agricultural businesses. This results in the government actually using the ejidos to control business, as the government still has the final say in who owns the lands.

Large land-owners hold the rest of the land, and they are protected by small armies of pistoleros.

Land take-overs are one response to the deterioration of Mexico's rural economy. Migration is the other response by thousands of farmworkers. Thrown off the land, unable to find meaningful work in the cities, these people migrate north for survival. And many cross into the U.S. to work in the fields and sweatshops.

To this day, the indigenas, the native peoples of Mexico, remain at the very bottom of the socio-economic scale, marginalized through laws and customs. Many Indian communities have been destroyed, their traditional lands taken from them. They face constant pressure from the government in the forms of assimilation programs and the guns of government troops. But many of them resist, by retaining their own languages and cultures, and their sense of native heritage.



Industrial Urban Mexico

The last 50 years in Mexico have witnessed the spectacular growth and expansion of the urban working class in a society that's been largely agrarian for centuries. As more and more sectors of the economy become industrialized, this class of urban laborers has significantly increased its role in society. Today it exerts tremendous pressure to democratize the industrialized sectors.

Yet these working people are forced to labor in increasingly more exploitative and demeaning conditions. As most industrialized sectors of the economy fall under the control of U.S. corporations, speed-ups, repression and inflation hack away at their living standards. One-fourth of the urban workforce is employed in industries dominated by

just 4 U.S. corporations. Their wages are kept low by an alliance between the Mexican government and these companies. Representatives of U.S. companies sit on the labor relations board that determines minimum wages. Companies like General Electric, Westinghouse, Union Carbide and Philco each employ thousands of workers.

The traditional avenues for workers to force change, the unions, are mostly controlled by the government.

U.S. corporate investments jumped considerably with the establishment of the Border Industrialization Program. It began in the early '60s as a response to the large-scale migration of unemployed to the northern border region. To provide employment for the new arrivals, the program was created jointly by the Mexican government and U.S. corporations.

Agreements were worked out where basically Mexico would subsidize U.S. industries in building assembly plants along the border. U.S.-owned factories, then, were established in the border cities producing clothing, toys, electronic parts, TVs and CB radios. The finished products are then shipped into the U.S. for sale without payment of import or export fees.

These corporations are allowed to use the large army of unemployed along the border, paying less than \$4 a day to workers. With tax breaks, no import fees, little or no costs for utilities, and cheap labor these maguiladores mainly benefit their U.S. owners.

The assembly plant workers labor in dangerously unhealthy conditions, where young, unmarried women work 6 days a week, 9 hours a day for very meager pay. In the electronics plants, which comprise about 70% of all the shops, women are forced to perform such close work that many complain of constant headaches. Some don't last a year. Those who do need glasses to aid their failing eyes. Thus there's a constant turnover of workers. People who complain or who even talk about unions are fired. Attempted strikes are suppressed by the government.

Working women, then, have been especially singled out by the U.S. dominated sectors of the economy as "ideal" for their factories. Because they have traditionally been left out of being employed, woman laborers are particularly susceptible to the low-paying jobs offered by these factories.



Many of the plants and factories that have moved into Mexico from the U.S. are in fact "run-away shops." They are owned by companies who have pulled out of U.S. locations to re-settle where they can pay workers a lot less, have no unions to deal with, and have no environmental controls on their pollution. Thus, they end up exploiting people on both sides of the border.

Today the giant corporations, by far the majority U.S.-based, dominate the most important sectors of the Mexican economy: autos, rubber and chemicals. Since World War II, and steadily increasing each year, these corporations have made heavy investments in the country's industries, to where they own more than \$5 billion today. Of all the shares of Mexico's top 300 companies, one-half are controlled by such giants as GE, Dupont, Ford and DelMonte.

Profit taking has been enormous. And it increased each year. In one fiscal quarter, for example, in 1977, \$49 million was invested by them into Mexico and during the same period \$366 million was taken out in profits. For every dollar invested, 7 were removed as profits.

80% of foreign investments are from the United States, and these have been in the fastest growing sectors. Ten U.S. companies own over half of all North American assets in Mexico. If you break Mexico's economy down into its basic groups, the majority are controlled by foreign corporations.

Oil in Mexico has captured recent headlines in the U.S. Indeed, Mexico's future and potential is tied into that one critical resource. Recent discoveries have placed the country's oil reserves at 120 to 200 billion barrels, making it potentially the world's primary oil producer and exporter. And naturally, U.S. eyes are squarely on it.

The U.S. National Security Council hopes to see 30% of the U.S.'s oil needs supplied by its southern neighbor. For these reasons, the U.S. government and business circles are concerned about Mexico's political instability.

Oil and gas, nationalized since 1938, are operated by PEMEX, a government monopoly. But despite its oil fields, PEMEX, until just recently, has been operating at a loss. And this is important in understanding how Mexico's government owned industries actually are run at a loss in order to subsidize the private and foreign industries.

Masks of the Government

At the top of Mexico's society, the small elite manages the society. They do this through the one-party government of the PRI, the Institutional Revolutionary Party.

The government, however, wears two masks. On the surface, it has a progressive and nationalist stance. Mexico has always recognized the socialist government of Cuba. It takes an apparent hard-line on oil sales and border negotiations with the U.S.

Recently, Mexico refused to allow the ex-Shah of Iran back into the country. And it is not boycotting the 1980 Olympics. Mexico now sits on the United Nations Security Council and attempts an independent orientation in world diplomacy.

On the other hand, the government wears another mask in its domestic policies. It is one of repression and austerity. For in reality, Mexico's rulers maintain a strategic alliance with the large North American corporations and the international banking institutions.

The party that dominates the government has a history of corrupt elections. Lopez Portillo, the current president, who ran unopposed for his office, wields tremendous power. The government itself is run on a spoils system of machine politics, where the huge bureaucracy has become the base for the politicians.

Recently, Portillo has made overtures to open up the country's political life, by allowing other political parties to be elected to the national congress. This "democratic opening" is little more than a facade, however, for the government maintains its policy of silencing internal dissent. This was seen recently in Tijuana, when agents acting for the government closed down the city's only independent newspaper, ABC.

The government at the same time has been building up its army, and is receiving millions of dollars in military hardware from the U.S. under the cover of fighting the drug trade. Reports from families, labor and student groups cite the incarceration of thousands of political prisoners. Many Mexican dissenters have simply disappeared, presumed assassinated either by government thugs or by para-military right-wing groups that operate at the behest of the rulers.

Dependent on foreign technology and capital, and with one of the largest foreign debts in the world, \$32 billion, the government is forced to follow the dictates of the banks and the IMF. These institutions are demanding that Mexico's rulers initiate a program of strict austerity.

This has meant cutbacks in public money for health care, for schools, new housing, and has meant restrictions on wage increases and reductions of people employed by the government. These powerful institutions are also demanding political stability, which gets translated into government suppression of strikes and labor disputes by force.

Thus trapped in this vicious cycle of dependency through its debts, the country's progress in both social and economic terms is blocked. Its development is directed by these international banks, credit agencies and giant corporations. And their interest is solely in using Mexican labor and resources for their own profit.

This is the essence of Mexico's situation. The country still remains a virtual colony of United States companies, yet no foreign armies or governments run it—in economic terms, Mexico is a neo-colony. At least for appearances sake, Mexicans remain in the top positions of society.



In the Depression of the 1930's Mexican workers fought for higher pay and better working conditions in the fields and canneries. Despite their struggles, Mexicans were blamed for the high unemployment and many were deported.

While half a million Mexicanos served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II, Mexican youth, wearing the rebellious zoot suits, were attacked on the streets of Los Angeles. In June 1943 hundreds of sailors went on a racist rampage, pulling young "pachucos" out of theatres and off streetcars and brutally beat them.

When the war was over across the seas, another war continued back home, as Mexicans continued to fight for better lives. One such fight took place at the zinc mine in Silver City, New Mexico, in the early 1950's. The mainly Mexican miners had gone out on strike for equal pay and treatment but had their demands rejected by the mine owners, who then called in the police and company gunmen to attack the picket lines. With the men barred from further picketing by a court injunction, their wives and children replaced them. Despite the jailing of over 60 women and children, the strikers held fast and the strike was eventually won. This strike was immortalized in the movie, "Salt of the Earth."

And today the conditions of Mexicanos living within the U.S. has not substantially changed; the struggle continues.

conditions today

Official figures place seven and a half million Mexicans in the U.S. But these are low because they are based on the 1970 census that did not specifically count Mexicans, and because they do not represent the some 6 to 12 million

undocumented people who also live here. Mexicans live mostly in the border states plus Colorado, but growing numbers live in mid-west cities, like Chicago—home of half a million Mexicanos.

Los Angeles is the second largest Mexican metropolitan area in the world having close to two million, with predictions it will have a Mexican majority in 20 years. East L.A. is the largest barrio of the U.S. with 700,000 Mexicans, a full third speaking only Spanish. Already half of all births in L.A. are Mexican.

Despite the numerical size of their people on this side of the border, Mexicanos are clearly not represented in the U.S. political system. Although they make up a third to a fifth of California, Mexicanos hold only 2% of the 20,000 elective posts in the state, and not one state-wide elective office. There hasn't been a Mexican on the Los Angeles City Council for 17 years. San Diego, with a population approaching a quarter of a million Mexicanos, has never elected one to the city or county governments.

Living mostly in urban areas, one in five Mexicanos lives below the official poverty line, with their median family income \$5,000 below that of non-Mexican families. Mexicanos often live in the poorest sections of town, in mainly segregated neighborhoods, in the cheapest housing and apartments, and having to deal with absentee landlords.

Social services are limited and even the few gains that have been made in bilingual education are threatened by reactionary legislation that would end vital programs. The schools themselves are often old and run-down. In San Diego's Barrio Logan, for example, a temporary elementary school was built in the 1930's. People in the community have been promised a new school year after year, until now some 40 years later they have the same structure, standing in the midst of junkyards where it was constructed so long ago.

In employment Mexicanos generally hold lesser-paying, low status jobs. In San Diego, nearly two-thirds of Mexican workers hold service or blue-collar jobs, while not even half of all Anglo workers do. And unemployment is generally twice the rate that it is for whites. Youth, especially, cannot find adequate work and meaningful employment.

The U.S. government plays a particularly harsh role in Mexican

Mexicans in the U.S.

Whether they call themselves "Chicanos," "Mexican-Americans," "Hispanics" or "Mexicanos," at the root of their situation is the conquest and subsequent colonization of half the territory of Mexico by the United States in 1848. As we continue in our examination of the conditions of Mexicanos on both sides of the border, we survey those forces aligned in opposition to the status quo. Doing this, we highlight some history that is the backdrop to the conditions Mexicanos are in on this side of the border.

Throughout this century Mexican workers have played important roles in the U.S. labor movement, particularly west of the Rockies. As they have provided much of the basis for the economy of the West with their labor, Mexican working people proved their worth in the groves, the mines, and in the factories of the fields. In the early 1900's, Mexicanos made up 80% of the railroad workers on the western lines that were so significant in the West's industrialization.

During the famous Ludlow, Colorado coal mine strike in 1913, twelve thousand miners—half of them Mexican—went on strike against the Rockefeller family. Evicted from their company-owned shacks, the strikers were forced to set up tents in a nearby ravine. National Guardsmen, ordered to take control because Rockefeller refused to negotiate, opened fire on the encampment and set the tents on fire, killing 18 including 7 children. Half the dead were Mexican. Thus the Ludlow Massacre became history.

communities. Local police and Border Patrol agents harass and intimidate many legal citizens in their zealous search for undocumented people. With their neighborhoods often turned into occupied territory, cultural diversions like low-riding become targets for mass arrests by police. Whittier Boulevard in Los Angeles and Highland Avenue in National City both were scenes of recent heavy crack-downs by police.

Vigilantes like the Klan make repeated open threats against Mexicanos. Other Anglos harbor racist stereotypes of Mexicans that are a rationale for colonialism. This colonial mentality says it's okay for white people to be better off while Mexicanos are being oppressed. This mentality of white supremacy, if not surfaced in violence directed at individual Mexicanos, allows for Mexicanos to be beaten up by the Border Patrol at the border.

Mexico In the sixties

On both sides of the border, Mexicanos, since the 1960's have experienced a new surge for social change.

Down south, Mexico, like most of South and Central America, has experienced people's movements aimed at overthrowing the ruling elites. Across the continent during the '60's and '70's guerrilla movements have stubbornly resisted the dictatorships who have been relying increasingly on U.S. arms and money to control their societies.

In 1968, with the approach of the World Olympics in Mexico City, the discontent took to the streets to draw the world's attention to the injustices of Mexican society. Led by students and young people, the movement quickly achieved mass proportions, openly challenging the Mexican government's complicity with the power of North American corporations.

Diaz Ordaz, then president, made his move. The showdown that occurred in early October stands today as an important watershed for Mexican politics. Thousands of demonstrators massed at a peaceful night rally. Suddenly troops on nearby rooftops began firing into the crowd of men, women and children, slaughtering hundreds, perhaps as many as 2000. The massacre revealed the true faces of the Mexican regime to the people, for whom the date October 2nd remains a day of vengeance and remembrance.



Although the student movement was crushed into inaction for several years, many committed themselves to continue the struggle against the government and its allies. Since the mid-70's, the student movement has been gathering strength and making alliances with other sectors of the people.

In the countryside, another situation exists. Confronted with the increasing power of large land-owners and agricultural monopolies, landless families have taken part in numerous land invasions and take-overs each year.

Armed campesinos risk their lives in these attempts to regain or establish ejidos. In 1977 there were 1000 people killed in the more than 300 land take-overs that occurred. Over 60,000 acres have been occupied by farmworkers in the past several years.

Although the government backs many of the land invasions to control agriculture and the farmworkers, the take-overs by an increasingly organized rural people represent an important facet of the struggle for change in the countryside.

Since the early '60's a new wave of guerrilla warfare has emerged, with two of the most significant movements led by Jenero Vasquez and Lucio Cabanas in the jungles and mountains of the area around Acapulco. Other modern-day Zapatistas operate in the southern region today, organizing rural people for a base for armed struggle and social change.

As the rebellion grows against the rich landowners and foreigners, the U.S. will probably increase its military presence. The Mexican police have received \$70 million in aid from the U.S. government since 1973, \$2 million in military arms alone in 1979. Already, imprisoned guerrillas report that they've been interrogated by English-speaking men. Helicopters that the U.S. sells to the government for drug trade crack-downs are used for spotting guerrilla camps deep in the jungles and mountains.

In the cities, sectors of the Mexican labor movement are struggling to become stronger and more independent from the government controlled unions, despite the jailing of leaders and the suppression of strikes. These urban forces are fighting to democratize and socialize the country's industries and resources.

Despite the role of the Church and the heavily ingrained machismo of the culture, a growing movement in Mexico is emerging to challenge these traditions, particularly in the urban and industrial areas. Women are organizing at the assembly lines and packing houses in defense against the exploitation of longer hours and less pay than men. Confronting the patriarchy of the society, women in Mexico represent an important influence in developing opposition to the status quo.

The growing popular resistance to the Mexican oligarchy includes urban coalitions made up of families unable to pay rent. They are leading take-overs and seizures of whole communities—colonias. There they set up their own schools, day care centers and establish new political structures. These coalitions, like the Committees for Popular Defense, envision a Mexico where the factories, farms and neighborhoods are run by the people collectively. They see themselves in a struggle for state power and the creation of a socialist republic.

What happens south of the border deeply affects Mexicans north of the border. When repression came down in and after 1968, some activists escaped and traveled north to inspire the struggles of Mexicans in the U.S.

reawakening in the north

Reawakening in the north during the 1960s, an explosion occurred in the Mexican communities. A mass resurgence arose attempting to challenge the racism and colonialism.

The United Farmworkers Union, created in 1962 and led by Cesar Chavez, became a major rallying force, organizing a grape strike and boycott, and later a lettuce strike. Repression against the union escalated in 1973 as growers, police and the Teamsters union tried to break strikes the UFW was waging in the vineyards of California's Coachella Valley. Nearly 5000 people were arrested. Beatings and killings still occur in the fields against the farmworkers as the murder of Rulfinio Contreras in 1979 shows.

In northern New Mexico in early June 1967, armed men took over the courthouse in the small mountaintop village of Tierra Amarilla. This action led by the Alianza and Reyes Tijerina, was a protest against government violations of the land grant rights of Mexican owners.

One thousand National Guardsmen with tanks were called out and mass arrests were made of the families involved.

In the late sixties and early seventies the wave of protest hit the schools and the education system. Thousands of Mexican students in '68 walked out of their classrooms in Los Angeles, in Denver and throughout Texas, demanding an end to racist policies and teachings. This upsurge ignited demands for Chicano Studies Programs at many colleges and led to the formations of MEChA's—Mexican student organizations.

Over the years this new spirit of resistance found many different forms. The Crusade for Justice, created in Denver, Colorado, fights for the rights of people in the barrios. The Brown Berets, organized to put into practice community service and protection programs whose members often were jailed for their confrontations with police.

As Mexicanos realized that the 2-party system wasn't representing them, they formed an electoral party, the La Raza Unida Party, in 1969. Running candidates for local elections, it has had the most success in southern Texas, where whole towns are now governed by Mexicanos.

Some communities, fed-up with Anglo-dominated institutions, have created their own health clinics, schools and farming co-ops.

During the VietNam war the Mexican community's first resistance to the conflict began as a defense of their own people, who were being drafted and killed far out of proportion to their numbers in the general population. In late August 1970, tens of thousands of Mexican families marched in protest but were then attacked with tear-gas and shot-guns of the L.A. County Sheriffs. Three people were killed, including the well-known L.A. Times reporter Ruben Salazar. In response, a riot ensued and Whittier Boulevard was burned. A decade later, August 29th remains a rallying call and has become a symbol of resistance.

With every police murder and killing, opposition to the status quo grows. Many cities have experienced protests against police brutality and the role of the police as an occupation force. These



have occurred in Albuquerque, Dallas, Santa Fe, Los Angeles, Taos, Denver, San Francisco, National City and many smaller towns.

Throughout the border states and increasingly in the mid-western states, Mexicanos are actively taking part and leading many struggles by working people for better conditions and pay. The famous Farah Company strike in 1972 is an example of this, where 400 mostly Mexican workers won a long and bitter fight.

Beginning in the early '70's and continuing today, protests have been mounting against the deportations of undocumented workers and against the brutality of La Migra. This solidarity has been an important way for the movement for change on this side of the border to relate to its counterpart on the other side.

The art and mural movement, reborn also in the mid-60's, has become a way to explain, enlarge on and enrich the Mexicanos struggle for justice and self-determination. It has helped establish their culture, giving it roots and identity.

From the mid-60's on, a mass movement surged up as Mexicanos in the U.S. awakened to their history and the reality of their conditions. This has become a grass-roots political struggle for power and self-determination, forcing out questions of identity and different strategies. The continual oppression of their people, the role of the police and other occupational forces, and the legitimacy of the U.S. government are all challenged by this movement.

Reclaiming ones identity after years and decades of lies and myths is no easy task, and today Mexicanos in the U.S. cannot agree exactly on what course or strategy to take, in just which direction of change they should head.

The struggles of Mexicanos on both sides of the border are deeply inter-related. However, people in the south have traditionally ignored the problems of the people in the north, and visa-versa.

Political theorists in the south point out that Mexicanos in the U.S. will not win in their struggle against discrimination until Mexico is free and independent. This won't occur until the North American grip on the economy is broken by popular struggle. At that point, the question of re-unification of the north and south, long a dormant issue, will most certainly be raised.

The differences of life between San Diego and Tijuana, the horrible plight of the undocumented workers, the domination of Mexico's economy and society by U.S. businesses, are all related. As we've seen, Mexican society is rushing toward a crisis. The government cannot hide the contradictions it has helped create. The insurgency of the people is rising once again as more and more working people, women, campesinos, and students realize that the real solution is independence and self-determination.

As social revolutions burn throughout Latin America, like in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico will most certainly be shaken by the effects over the coming years. And we can expect North America itself to be shaken.

As North Americans, our interests are aligned with justice and social change, and in this part of the world Mexicanos are the leading force acting for change. We must move in solidarity and activate ourselves, demanding: 1) democratic rights and unconditional amnesty for undocumented workers, 2) an end to the militarization of the border, and more broadly, 3) an end to the colonization of people on this side, and an end to U.S. domination and control of Mexico on the other.