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ADELANTE!

MEXICO SOLIDARITY & CHICANO LIBERATION

**U.S. &
Mexico:
Inseparably
Linked**

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- Poetry by
Bill Gallegos
Joe Navarro

Booklet 1 in an English & Spanish series from

Liberation Road/El Camino Para La Liberación

What is Liberation Road?

Liberation Road is a nationwide revolutionary political organization working to achieve a socialist United States. We are multi-racial and multi-generational, organizing around issues that affect the lives of working and oppressed people. One of our principal goals is to build unity among like-minded socialist organizations and individuals so that we can more effectively face the current challenge from the racist right-wing and neo-fascist social movement, led by Donald Trump, even as we work for a truly fundamental transformation of our society.

We live in a country where economic and political control of our lives resides with a small handful of multi-billionaires, nearly all of whom are white men. This tiny cabal determines, through their massive influence over who gets elected to office — who gets to vote, whether women have control over their own bodies, whether people of color can be massively incarcerated or even gunned down with impunity by the police, and how the tremen-

dous wealth produced by US workers will be used.

Doctor Martin Luther King correctly characterized US capitalist society in his 1968 speech at Riverside Church as the “greatest purveyor of violence in the world today.” Today the United States has over one thousand military bases abroad, causing violence, death and destruction in the Middle East and Africa, while supporting Israel’s genocidal war against Palestinians in Gaza. The US ruling elite continues to expand the trillion-dollar military budget. This even as millions of our people go hungry, lack housing, and our schools, hospitals, and necessary social services remain horrendously under-funded. All while they maintain their

“ **We are multi-racial and multi-generational, organizing around issues that affect the lives of working and oppressed people.**”



**LIBERATION
ROAD**
EL CAMINO PARA LA LIBERACIÓN

“Over the past 150+ years the U.S. has continued to plunder Mexico’s resources & super-exploit its labor, in Mexico itself, and in the sweatshops of our own nation.”

addiction to the fossil fuels which absolutely threatens the existence of all life on our planet.

Liberation Road firmly believes that none of this is inevitable or without alternative. We are working to achieve a socialist society — one based on three basic principles: genuine democracy, true equality for all races and nationalities, genders, and abilities, and an economy based on people’s needs not profit, with control of that economy in the hands of working people and their allies. We believe that to achieve socialism we must build the broadest possible unity from all the various sectors of our society, that we must be internationalist and support all peoples and nations who desire genuine independence and sovereignty. We must center the fight against racism and national oppression as the best path to unite our multi-racial working class and to develop the one alliance that can defeat our capitalist oppressors — that of the working class movement and the liberation movements of oppressed people of color.

As **one important** expression of our internationalism Liberation Road initiated the Mexico Solidarity Project (MSP) as a vehicle for building unity between the vibrant social movements in Mexico and our struggles here in the US. Mexico and the US share a nearly 2,000-mile border. We also share a tortured history dating back to the 1840’s when the US annexed nearly half of Mexico’s territory, and began the systematic oppression of its

conquered Indigenous and Mexican residents. Over the past 150+ years the US has continued to plunder Mexico’s resources and super-exploit its labor, in Mexico itself, and in the sweatshops of our own nation.

Mexico is now in an exciting period that they call the 4th Transformation, a comprehensive project of social and economic justice led by the government of the Morena Party and Mexican President Andre Manuel Lopez Obrador. We believe that if we can help to build strong ties across our borders we can provide critical support for the Mexican people, and gain an important ally in our effort to transform our society. Towards that end we must say: Si Se Puede! ■

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Mexico Solidarity Project

**“America, America, God shed his
grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea.”**

- “America the Beautiful”

Meizhu Lui, Bruce Hobson, Bill Gallegos

Liberation Road

The US imperialist myth is fed to us like pablum as soon as we enter kindergarten. Can the US claim to be “America,” or does this conflation signal its intent to eat up all of the Americas? Was it God’s intention, or that of US capitalists, to extend US domination from the Atlantic to the Pacific? Do “goodness” and “brotherhood” characterize US relations with the peoples here before the colonizers, or do genocide and land grabs more accurately describe these relations?

The ideology cunningly rendered in “America the Beautiful” is manifest in the two-thousand-mile border from Tijuana/Imperial Beach to Matamoros/Brownsville. Before the Mexican-American War, the US and

México were roughly the same size, and México’s Afro-Mestizo president, Vicente Guerrero, had outlawed slavery. In 1846, just 19 years after that fact, the US used lies to justify waging a war against México that was so blatantly a pretext for domination that Irish-American troops in the US Army switched sides and fought with the Mexicans. Superior military force led to the annexation of 40% of México: the states of Alta California, Nevada, Arizona, Nuevo México, Texas, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Whether slavery would be permitted in the newly acquired territories was a matter of contention.

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo laid out the new border lines. It also detailed that upon

the establishment of the new political boundary between the United States and México, all Mexicans may travel freely into the United States, that upon entry they have the right to remain, to become US citizens, to own land, to bear arms, to vote in elections, and have the right to a free education in the language of their choice. Those rights sound good - but those clauses were as worthless as all the treaties the United States made with the Indian nations. A greatly reduced Mexico, kept on a leash by the US, never recovered.

Cross-Border Resistance

Mexican revolutionary leaders and intellectuals have had connections to both countries since before the 1910 Mexican Revolution. During the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, the revolutionary anarchists Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magón organized social movements to end the 31 years of the Porfiriato, and to promote revolutionary consciousness of their people in both countries. The newspaper of their Party (the Mexican Liberal Party) *Regeneración*, was read in much of México and the US Southwest. In 1917, the Magón brothers found

During the October 2023 UAW strike, members protested at the Detroit headquarters of VU Manufacturing in solidarity with Mexican workers. VU closed their Piedras Negras plant rather than bargain with the newly elected democratic union.



Photo: jimwestphoto.com

“ Chicano/a activists identified with and defined the occupied area that was part of México until 1848 as Aztlán, a nation that developed over more than a century of land theft, occupation, discrimination, and resistance...”

themselves in LA County Jail on charges of having co-written The Manifesto to the Anarchists of the Entire World and to the Workers in General, which asserted that México no longer belonged to the Mexican people, but to the American railroads, oil companies and sugar interests underwriting the dictatorship of Díaz. Charged with espionage and sedition, Ricardo Magón died in Leavenworth Federal Prison in Kansas in 1922.

Aztlán

Influenced by the rise of Black revolutionary nationalism in the US, the ebb and flow of cross-border organizing became a flood once again in the 1960's. Chicano/a activists identified with and defined the occupied area that

was part of México until 1848 as Aztlán, a nation that developed over more than a century of land theft, occupation, discrimination, and resistance: annexation didn't just subordinate México to the US, it subordinated Chicanos/ Mexicanos caught on the US side of the new border to the mandates of white supremacist rule. Chicano/Mexicano unity in the struggle against capitalism and oppression in El Norte, and in support of movements in México, generated the formation of Chicano-led socialist organizations in the sixties through the eighties, a time when Marxist analysis and its internationalist perspective was the ideological grounding for much radical activism. ATM (August 29th Movement), in which many of today's older activists cut their teeth, grew out of the massive

1970 demonstration, the Chicano Moratorium Against the War in Vietnam. Many Chicana and Chicano leaders have shared histories in the Black Liberation and Civil Rights movements. For example, Betita Martínez, author of *500 Years of Chicano History*, began her decades of organizing with SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) in the sixties.

In 1994, the Zapatista uprising exploded onto the world stage. As Emiliano Zapata had long been a symbol of resistance for Chicanos, the uprising struck a deep chord and sparked the organizing of EZLN solidarity committees all over the world. In México, the Zapatistas gave rise to a profound social movement against injustice and racism in México since the 1910 Revolution.

US Mexico Solidarity Today

Unfortunately, most of these organizations did not survive to the present. With increased global integration and in the face of increasingly powerful racist, neo-liberal right-wing movements around the world, organizing that addresses issues that connect across borders, builds Black/Brown unity and action, and works from the foundational goal of winning the masses to socialism is needed more than ever.

While there are other international solidarity movements — for example with Central America, with Palestine — our closest relation has been ignored. Under conservative governments headed

by the long-standing PRI, (Institutional Revolutionary Party, founded in 1946) and their corrupt leaders were all too willing to sacrifice Mexico's natural and labor resources to U.S. domination in exchange for personal gain. But since the election of Andrés Manuel López-Obrador, there's a new sheriff in town, one who has used his six years in office to engage in a "4th Transformation," one that finally delivers on the promises of the previous three Mexican revolutions that promised land and freedom to poor and working people.

Besides instituting new social programs that have lifted the living standards of Mexico's working classes, building new universities and hospitals, investing in Mexico's infrastructure especially in marginalized regions and communities, and claiming sovereignty over natural resources, social movements that both support and criticize the Morena government are flourishing.

These progressive developments give us new opportunity and greater urgency in building ties with the Mexican people.

Today's Imperative: Cross-border solidarity work

No country in the world will influence the movement for social transformation in the US more than México. Right now, border issues give definition to the stark choice faced by the people of the US: does the US remain a bastion of white supremacy and growing economic and racial inequality?

Will it use military superiority to keep its knee on Mexico's neck? Will it criminalize and deport Mexicans from the southwest that was once their homeland?

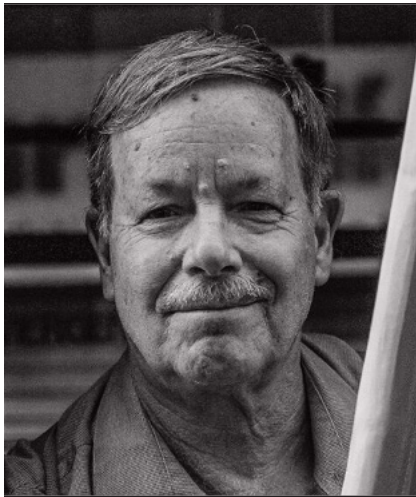
The next few years will be critical for México, which will elect a new president in 2024. Progressive victories can be undercut when political, economic and military pressure from the US is applied - as it always is - to leaders who defy US dictates.

We must protect Mexico from US meddling, and support all progressive movements with and not with Morena. The role of the US left is to create as much breathing room as possible for Mexican movements to determine their own futures; we do so by challenging the US government to back off its threats, and to end 200 years of its Monroe Doctrine "big brother" policies that proclaim the US "right" to arrange the affairs of other nations to benefit US capital.

Since our founding in 2019, we are excited and honored to stand in solidarity with the peoples of México!
Forward together! ■

Solidarity with the 4th Transformation: Pedro Gellert Critiques US Media

Mexico Solidarity Project Bulletin Interview



Pedro Gellert is a core member of the Mexico Solidarity Project and a long-time organizer for international solidarity, including with Cuba and Palestine. As a Morena rank-and-file activist in Mexico City, he explained in this November 2023 interview with the Mexico Solidarity Bulletin why creating a new website to counter the disinformation about Mexico in the English language press is a critical solidarity task. (mexicosolidarity.com)

MSP: How does the US media portray AMLO and what's going on in Mexico?

Gellert: US mainstream media are overwhelmingly in attack mode against President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the National Regeneration Movement (Morena), and the Fourth Transformation (4T), as López Obrador (AMLO) calls his project to radically transform Mexican society, and which identifies this project as a renewed effort to carry out the agenda of the three previous revolutions in Mexican history.

How do they get away with falsifying, distorting, or omitting facts? US media takes advantage of North Americans' ignorance about Mexico. For example, they talk about the murder of journalists without mentioning that the

culprits are local public officials from the PRI or PAN — neoliberal parties governing before 2018 — colluding with the cartels.

By talking about corruption and human rights violations without mentioning that AMLO only took office in late 2018, they create the erroneous impression that AMLO's government does not represent anything new or progressive but is more of the same.

Some go further, painting the AMLO government as authoritarian and repressive, destroying the economy and seeking to eradicate Mexican democracy.

Financial Times, Feb. 27, 2023

What is the 4T project and what has it accomplished?

Gellert: At its core, the 4T is about reversing Mexico's trend



The “Full Rights for Immigrants Coalition” takes part in a rally to support political reform in Mexico, in Los Angeles.

of growing economic and social inequality, an inequality due to neoliberal policies that further enrich the wealthy while cutting programs that benefit the working class. As in the three previous Mexican revolutions, the 4T promises to lift workers and improve life for the most poor and marginalized.

AMLO won the presidency by making the fight against corruption his centerpiece. And he’s made good on that promise. He lives modestly himself and has clawed back ill-gotten gains from previous politicians. He’s used those dollars to implement social programs like increased benefits for elders, students, and people with disabilities. New hospitals and universities have been built. Economic development projects

“ At its core, the 4T is about reversing Mexico’s trend of growing economic and social inequality... As in the three previous Mexican revolutions, the 4T (4th Transformation) promises to lift workers and improve life for the poor and marginalized.”

have focused on the poorest region of the country, the South. The 4T is also about national sovereignty, including re-nationalizing the energy sector — ending the privatization free-for-all that is a hallmark of neoliberal policies.

A clue explaining the indignation of the US corporate media is that AMLO threatens to close the door to free access to Mexican

labor and natural resources by US companies. Unlike previous PRI presidents, the AMLO administration refuses to be a junior partner to US interests.

Do US progressives buy into the media's depiction of Mexico today?

Gellert: The US has had strong nationwide solidarity campaigns with Vietnam, South Africa, Central America, Cuba, Venezuela, and Palestine — but progressives have built almost no solidarity movement around Mexico despite Morena and the 4T's working class base and the need to learn from and defend it. Why?

First, AMLO and his government have not prioritized building solidarity with US civil society. Perhaps they're overwhelmed with their internal tasks. But this has contributed to the lack of information available to English-only speakers. Without access to factual information or hearing the views of the Mexican people themselves, some sectors of the US left simply mimic what they read or hear in the mainstream US media.

Others attack from the left, repeating criticisms of the AMLO government from the comfort of their computers. They ding him for making concessions to Washington, for not expropriating the national bourgeoisie, for not nationalizing multinational companies. That is, for not following their own recipes of what a revolutionary process should look like!

For example, some left commentators failed to understand

that friendly comments and photo ops by AMLO and Donald Trump were a necessary policy to maintain the best possible relations with Washington given the geopolitical reality of Mexico, or even as a normal part of diplomatic protocol. Instead, they interpreted them as support for a xenophobic, fascist president. Similarly, with temperatures rising about Biden's uncritical support for Israel, many progressives are disgusted that AMLO made positive statements about Mexico's relationship to the US. They don't know about or ignore Mexico's historical support for Palestine and its strong October statement to the UN.

Moreover, some see Zapatismo and national electoral projects as



AMLO greets supporters in Mexico City.

either/or, and support ONLY the Zapatistas. The image of down-trodden, hooded, indigenous revolutionaries rising up, guns in hand, and building people's power is appealing and romantic. But however admirable the Zapatista experience may be — and it does pose an important critique of capitalism and inspire people around the world — the struggle of the Mexican people today simply does not go through the EZLN or their vision of autonomous zones. It is waged in Mexican social movements, electoral politics, and 4T projects.

What difference would it make to people in the US if the 4T is defeated?

Gellert: For those who want an end to US imperialism, Mexico is the country most critical to that effort — it takes the lead among Latin American governments in challenging US political and economic domination. AMLO boycotted Biden's Summit of the Americas, citing the unilateral decision of the US to decide which countries were fit to be included (Cuba and Nicaragua were excluded). He openly proposed an end to the US-dominated Organization of American States and is pushing for an American economic bloc that excludes the US.

The success of the 4T's investment in the poor at the expense of the rich with positive economic consequences for the whole country is clear evidence that neo-liberal trickle-down economics only results in the growth of economic inequality. The US left would do well to learn how Mexico

continued on page 12

A Toda Madre

Orale ese! Orale esa! Orale Gentes! Do we walk softly/too softly through this world?

Our Brown hands/were torn from the soil/and inserted into the concrete/the asphalt/the hot wires.... and cold hearts of el urbano.

The lights are everywhere/but we cannot see. The heat envelops us/and yet we are frozen.

The sound never stops/yet we cannot hear.

**But you know what? We are a people of love/
a people motivated by the heart revealed by Che
– que nuestra revolucion es un gran abrazo por la gente.**

Yes, we walk softly but ever towards the earth/ever upwards/hasta al cielo/and ever flowing toward the sweet waters that cleanse our spirit.

**Can you see it? Can you feel it? A Toda Madre: un futuro so finely sculpted by the past/Un Nuevo Mundo shaped by abuel@s/
nurtured by children/un milagro created by endless Resistencia.**

**A world of infinite song/With a magical lyric that can unite us/that can give us new strength/that can reconnect us to a life/ stolen by empire/tortured by lies/disfigured by the myth of
The Great White/Omnipotent White/ All-Knowing White**

Pero, the Brown always flows/it moves/dancing arabesques/caresses so gently/so firme. And carries the mythical prayer/that we will endure/we will unleash the sound that echoes Aztlan: Hasta La Vida....Siempre.

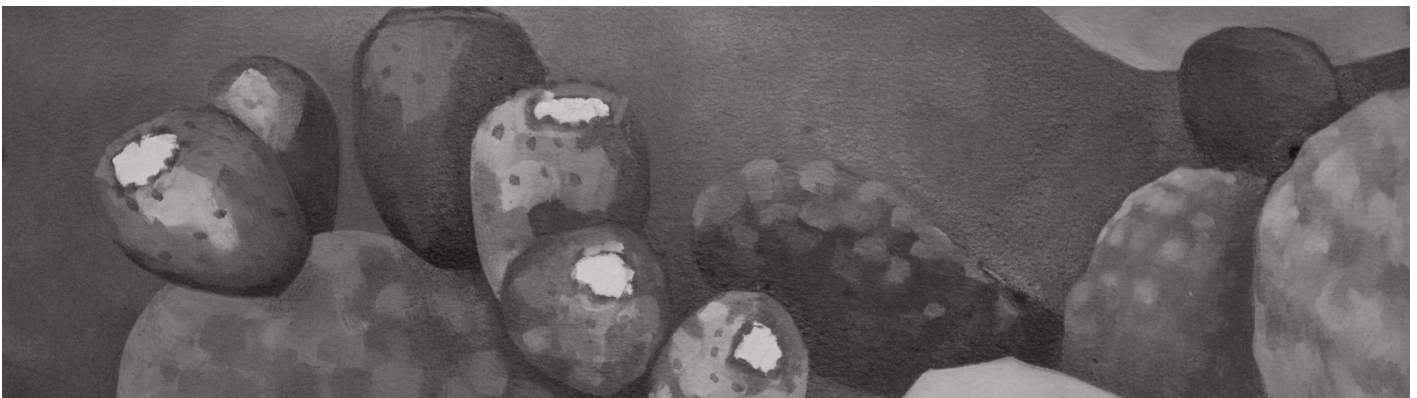
Bill Gallegos – January 15, 2022

Tengo Orgullo

Tengo orgullo de ser mejicano
En este paíz
It's true
I am proud to be Mexican
In this nation
Me siento orgulloso
En dos idiomas
I love my memories
When my mamá, tías y tíos
Cariñosamente referred to me
As mi'jo
And going to la tienda
To buy tortillas, chiles y leche
Oh yeah and eating pan dulce con chocolate
I loved my abuela y abuelo who worked
Hard en el campo, who
Loved their nietas y nietos
Tengo orgullo de ser mejicano
De la gente que trabaja
En las fábricas, campos y restaurantes
And being able to code-switch
Entre el español and English
Sí, tengo orgullo de ser
Mejicano en este paíz
En la tierra de mis antepasados
I am a descendent of ancient
Civilizations in this hemisphere
Long before there was "America"
I am the human face of
Stubborn names like San Francisco,
San José, El Paso, Santa Fe
Nogales, San Luís, Los Ángeles
I love eating huevos con chorizo
Mole de pollo, mariscos, tamales, enchiladas
Frijoles y arroz, por que soy mejicano

Tengo orgullo de ser mejicano
En este paíz
Con mariachis, corridos, cumbias
Tex-Mex, and even Salsa
That is who I am, that descendent
Of danza Azteca and the
Scent of copal
Tengo orgullo de ser mejicano
En este paíz
Hijo, nieto, hermano, sobrino, primo, vecino
De la gente mejicana
The people who have survived
And maintained traditions against
Pressure to evaporate
Soy de la gente who travel
In dreams that their ancestors
Exhaled with warm embraces
I live, breathe, walk, hear an inhale
Fiestas and celebraciones for
Independence, birthdays and graduations
Tengo orgullo de ser mejicano
En este paíz
I know that no
Human being is illegal
I am proud to be us
Mejicano y orgulloso
Because this is our home
Was, is and will be
So we tag, Con Safos, C/S
On this land
Because it is ours, too

© 2021 Joe Navarro



Detail from "Nopal" by Victoria Hamlin

accomplished this feat.

Mexico has 38 million people living in the US, and migration to the US is a constant. The policies being pursued by Mexico to diminish poverty and develop their internal economy will reduce the need for migration and make the “right to stay” a possibility.

And the gains of Mexican workers who finally have the right to organize independent unions can help reverse the “race to the bottom” created by “free” trade agreements.

What do we need to do to counter the US media’s dis-information?

Gellert: We need a permanent campaign to counter disinformation in the mainstream media and to tell the truth to the North American public about the 4T. The progressive sectors in the United States — labor unions, environmental, women’s and LGBTQ movements, immigrant rights activists, all those who fight for a more just society — are the natural allies of the 4T and Morena.

But it’s not only about media disinformation campaigns. Much more is at stake. When the US press attacks and belittles the 4T, it increases the risk of US intervention. We see the danger expressed on two levels.

First, we see growing aggressiveness of extreme right-wing Republican politicians who are calling for US military intervention in Mexico, using drugs as the excuse to fire up their racist base. And second, we see the US government’s open financing of

right-wing opposition groups in Mexico. For example, Washington just donated almost 50 million dollars to right-wing opposition leader and business magnate Claudio X. Gonzalez, through his associated groups, to wage a dirty war against the Morena.

How is the Mexico Solidarity Project proposing to meet this challenge?

Gellert: Six months ago, the Mexico Solidarity Project (MSP) brought together independent journalists in the US and Mexico to figure out how to create a counter-current in the English-speaking media. Others from Great Britain and Canada have joined as well.

The MSP already puts out this weekly bilingual Mexico Solidarity Bulletin, and it often includes a Media Rewind section debunking commentary from mainstream pundits. But we realized that a comprehensive media resource, a one-stop shop for fact-based news, progressive analysis, and translations of the best media from Mexican sources would be a huge step forward. The result: the new Mexico Solidarity Media website!

The defense of the 4T is of vital importance for the future of social struggles and transformation in both nations. We offer Mexico Solidarity Media as the go-to source for all those who want the information and analysis that will promote solidarity with México, right at their fingertips. ■

“ Six months ago, the Mexico Solidarity Project (MSP) brought together independent journalists in the U.S. and Mexico to figure out how to create a counter-current in the English-speaking media.”



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edited by
Bill Gallegos
Meizhu Lui
Carl Davidson

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Bruce Hobson

original art contributed by
Victoria Hamlin

designed by
Lucy Clarke

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