

**From Existential Crises, To Organized
Self-Defense: Only When We Protect
Our Communities, Can We
Recover Part Of What We've Lost**



August 2023 - Documents from
the VII Congreso Nacional

Final Congressional Report-Informe Central
La Urgencia del Momento Histórico
Requiere Lo Que Aún No Se Ha
Logrado Construir

Accepted by the VII Congreso Nacional, July 14 - August 26, 2023.



*Published April 2024
La Verdad Publications
Unión del Barrio, VII Congreso Nacional
July 14 - August 26, 2023
<comitecentral@uniondelbarrio.org>*

The Informe Central Unión de Barrio VII Congreso Nacional



Final Congressional Report

**La Urgencia del Momento Histórico Requiere Construir Lo Que
Aún No Se Ha Logrado Construir: From Existential Crises, To
Organized Self-Defense. Only When We Protect Our
Communities, Can We Recover Part Of What We've Lost**

Table of Contents

The Informe Central

I.	Introduction.	04
II.	Who Is La Raza In 2024.	06
III.	External Crises & Settler Colonialism.	15
IV.	Internal Crises & Self-Loathing.	32
V.	Unite Or Perish.	46
VI.	Conclusions.	47
	References	51

	<i>Information about Unión del Barrio.</i>	53
--	---	--------------------



I. Introduction.

Unión del Barrio convenes a *Congreso Nacional* every four years. Each *Congreso Nacional* is the culmination of a period of debate, reflection, analysis, and *renacimiento*. We gather our best thinking, recall our most successful struggles, and assess our most serious contradictions with the goal of improving our practices to build a revolutionary party for Raza liberation. The primary objectives are to review and revise, as necessary, our organization's central principles and documents: our Constitution, Political Program, and the medium to long-term objectives of Unión del Barrio. The *Congreso Nacional* concludes with the election of a new Secretaria/o General and Comité Central.

This Congressional Report represents hundreds of hours of internal debate undertaken over a period of nine months, thereby giving shape to the collective will of Unión del Barrio and reaffirming the basis of our ideological and practical unity. This document now serves as a political guide for the work of Unión del Barrio from 2024 to 2027/28. Since the *VII Congreso Nacional* closed in August 2023, we have continued to suffer pandemics, wars, economic exploitation, environmental collapse, political repression, fascist attacks, femicides, cultural disintegration, generalized narco-violence, etc. We have to add to this terrible list the ongoing Palestinian holocaust and California floods. This is the context of our current moment. During our four decades of consistent, organized struggle, there has never been a more dire condition for our gente. We have no choice but to consider how to best and most efficiently reassess our circumstances and redeploy our limited political resources to address these generalized crises, while expanding the reach and effectiveness of UdB. To be clear, the primary purpose of this document is to gather and organize our best ideas and plans, use them to guide our organizational practice, and help us address the urgent questions of our time.

This is also, in part, an ideological piece directed at those sectors of our people who can be engaged ideologically to hopefully win them to barrio-centered, working-class forms of organized Raza liberation struggle. We seek to share our ideas with other Raza liberation groups with whom we may potentially ally ourselves, including community organizations, indigenous groups, leftist organizations within the U.S., and the liberation struggles throughout Nuestra America. Furthermore, this document also intends to



challenge the influence of petty-bourgeois “latinx” intellectuals, social media “influencers,” non-profit agencies, and other cultural celebrities who appropriate radical liberation-centered language and symbols, while also refusing to support - and often openly reject - barrio-centered working-class struggle in defense of our peoples.

This Congressional Report should be read as a political framework prioritizing our barrio-based, working-class struggle, and as such, it should be our best, most forward-looking analysis. This document is new, but it builds on the ideas presented in earlier ideological writings, particularly the [10 lessons of Trumpism](#), the [50th anniversary of MEChA](#), and the [LGBTQ+ comradeship](#) documents. This document also includes excerpts drawn from an analysis developed and submitted to the Comité Central by a co-founder of Unión del Barrio, Juan Tecpatl Parrino.¹

As we study this Congressional Report, we should be careful not to idealize the combative nature of our communities because the condition of being poor, marginalized, exploited, and repressed does not automatically transform a people into a force for revolutionary change. In fact, at this stage of our struggle, it is immediately apparent how working-class Raza here and throughout Nuestra América are increasingly drawn to reactionary positions such as religious fanaticism, grotesque consumerism, and even fascist ideologies. A revolutionary consciousness is the only factor that transforms exploited working-class Raza into a force for liberation, and revolutionary consciousness only emerges from an organized revolutionary struggle.

For decades, *Concientización, Organización, Acción y Liberación* has been the key historical phrase of Unión del Barrio - we must build our organization into a vehicle for Raza working-class consciousness and liberatory action. Our struggle is to articulate and build up a Raza working-class consciousness throughout our barrios, and to do this, we must make the analysis contained within this document understandable and urgent to our communities.

¹ The document submitted to the CC by compa Parrino is titled *On Promoting Raza-Based Militant Mass Movement & Preparing For The Growing Peril Of Extreme-Conservatism, Fascism, And Paramilitary Upsurge*. This document will be published separately in the near future.



II. Who Is La Raza In 2024.

We begin this analysis by defining what we - as Unión del Barrio - mean by “working-class Raza within the United States” in 2024. The following list is a brief demographic description of who we are:

- We are, in absolute majoritarian terms, indigenous peoples, linked to each other historically, geographically, and culturally from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego; *Abya Yala - Nuestra América*.
- Over 80% of *La Raza* is Mexican, Puerto Rican, Salvadoran, Cuban, Dominican, and Guatemalan.
- We are, by far, the largest non-European population in the United States.
- We are overwhelmingly working-class, and U.S. domestic economic life is entirely dependent on our labor. This is to say, without *La Raza's* domestic labor power, the U.S. economy would collapse.
- We are the absolute majority populations in California and Texas, the two largest states in the U.S. by population and economic power.
- We are the majority population in New Mexico and will soon be (if not already) the majority population in Arizona, Nevada, Florida, Colorado, New Jersey, New York, and Illinois.
- We are the most marginalized, exploited, and repressed population in each of the previously listed U.S. states.
- Through the lens of all representatives of the U.S. political and economic system - from MAGA fascists to “woke” liberals - we represent the most significant domestic threat to the status quo.

Historically and into the present, it has been the reactionaries, fascists, exploiters, and opportunists who take for themselves the privilege of inventing new words to define who we are. Years ago, state and federal government institutions, law enforcement, and the decennial census declared us *Hispanics* or *Latinos*. “Woke” liberals invent terms like *latinx*, *latine*, *latino/a/x/e*, or *BIPOC*, because they seek to reform the existing system to be more “diverse and inclusive.” When MAGA fascists attack our communities, they openly call us illegals, “animals,” “rapists,” “cultural poison,” invaders, and criminals. To be clear, none of these identities originate from within our communities, yet



together, they are the names most often assigned to us in the mass media, in classrooms, in political spaces, and in U.S. culture in general.

As conscious people, we must decide what we call ourselves and what we stand for, on our own terms. Most importantly for Unión del Barrio (UdB), we must define who we are and decide what we call ourselves when we engage our people in working-class liberation struggle - *una unión de los pueblos de Abya Yala/Anahuac-Nuestra América; una unión obrera, consciente, y organizada que lucha por su liberación*. As Unión del Barrio, we use *La Raza* as an anti-colonial, working-class, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, transnational, gender/race-neutral term to identify all people within the United States and its colonies who are of Indigenous and Latin American heritage. *La Raza* is a sociocultural and political term describing the broadest possible collective identity that is organically comprehensible to working-class sectors across North, Central, and South America, and the Caribbean.

More precisely, when we refer to *La Raza* who live in the U.S., we are talking about 79 million people who make up the following sectors of the population:

- 65.2 million people who were identified as “Hispanic or Latino” in the 2020 U.S. Census, including the officially recognized 5% (3.1 million) undercount of this sector of the population.²
- 4 million people from Latin America who are undocumented while living in the U.S. and were not included in the 2020 census.³
- 3.3 million people in Puerto Rico who are excluded from Census totals for the “Hispanic or Latino” population.
- 2.3 million people who in the 2020 Census self-identified as “American Indian & Alaskan Native alone, not Hispanic or Latino.”
- 1.2 million people of Jamaican heritage who the U.S. Census excluded from being counted as “Hispanic or Latino” because Jamaica's primary language is English, not Spanish.

² “Hispanic or Latino” is used by the U.S. Census-Office of Management and Budget to identify “a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race. People who identify as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race.” The U.S. Census counts as part of the U.S. “Hispanic or Latino” population an estimated 845,000 people who identify as “Spanish” Europeans. UdB excludes Spanish Europeans in our definition of *La Raza*.

³ 4 million is a low, conservative estimate of the 2020 Census undercount of undocumented *Raza* living in the U.S.



- 1.1 million people* of Haitian heritage who the U.S. Census excluded from being counted as “Hispanic or Latino” because the primary language of Haiti is French, not Spanish.
- 684,000 people* of Brazilian heritage who the U.S. Census excludes from being counted as “Hispanic or Latino” because the primary language of Brazil is Portuguese, not Spanish.
- 420,000 people* from the “Antilles” who the U.S. Census excluded from being counted as “Hispanic or Latino” because the primary language of their country of origin is not Spanish.
- 388,000 people* from Belize and of “West Indian” heritage who the U.S. Census excluded from being counted as “Hispanic or Latino” because the primary language of their country of origin is not Spanish.
- 231,649 people* of Guyanese heritage who the U.S. Census excluded from being counted as “Hispanic or Latino” because the primary language of Guyana is English, not Spanish.

When considering 2020 counts issued by the U.S. Census Bureau (USCB), we need to keep in mind that the USCB employs five official “top-line” racial categories used in all census data to cover the entire U.S. population: White, Black or African American, Asian, American Indian and Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders. These five racial categories are embedded in a long history of racial formation, used for generations to racially segregate, repress, and legislate issues in the United States.

On the other hand, the U.S. Census Bureau uses only one *ethnicity* - “Hispanic or Latino” - when counting the national population. This ethnicity typically includes the phrase “regardless of race,” and it is intended to mark an ethnic identity that is more contingent on European colonial linkages than geographic, linguistic, or cultural connections. For instance, when the Census Bureau counts the U.S. demographics according to racial identification, it adds the phrase “not Hispanic or Latino” to each of its five “top line” racial categories (see Table 1).

As a consequence of this categorization, each decennial census marks the vast majority of *La Raza* as an ethnicity with limited historical or legal standing in the deeply racialized ordering of U.S. political, economic, and cultural structures. Instead of being assigned a racial category rooted in these



lands, native history, and native culture, the “Hispanic or Latino” ethnicity is broadly regarded (and dismissed) as peripheral to U.S. colonial history and culture, better understood as the residual population of various foreign European colonialisms (primarily Spanish, but also Portuguese, French, etc.). To put it plainly, the decennial census ensures that La Raza in the U.S. is *racially nullified*. There are too many consequences of our collective racial nullification to cover them here, although this reactionary census categorization is definitely a contributing factor as to why our communities are so consistently erased from U.S. culture and politics - specifically, why we don't exist in mainstream mass media, higher education, political representation, etc.

Table 1: Race & Ethnicity in the U.S., 2020 Census

Race & Ethnicity	Total Population of 332 million	% of Total Population
“White alone, <i>not Hispanic or Latino</i> ”	188.6 million people	56.8%
La Raza⁴	78.7 million people	23.7%
“Hispanic or Latino”	65.2 million people	19.6%
“Black or African American alone, <i>not Hispanic or Latino</i> ”	41.2 million people	12.4%
“Asian alone, <i>not Hispanic or Latino</i> ”	19.1 million people	5.7%
“Two or More Races, <i>not Hispanic or Latino</i> ”	13.5 million people	4.1%
“American Indian and Alaska Native alone, <i>not Hispanic or Latino</i> ”	2.3 million people	0.7%
“Some Other Race alone, <i>not Hispanic or Latino</i> ”	1.8 million people	0.5%
“Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, <i>not Hispanic or Latino</i> ”	614k people	0.2%

The massive size of our population starkly contrasts the generalized exploitation, marginalization, and mass-based contempt we suffer every day, and our consistent erasure throughout U.S. political, economic, and cultural life. Despite being almost entirely excluded from the political and cultural landscape, *La Raza does exist*, and our numbers are overwhelming.

⁴ The total population and the percentage for *la Raza* is based on the UdB definition of our population - this includes the numbers for “Hispanic or Latino” and “American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN).”



Even low estimates place the total population of *Raza* in 2020 at approximately *79 million people*, which is 24% of the total U.S. population. Our actual numbers are likely much higher, but the data we use to define who we are talking about when we refer to *La Raza* represent a conservative accounting of the true size of our population. As noted in Table 1, the collective population of *La Raza* is larger than all other U.S. non-white groups combined, and our communities are the “[principal driver](#) of U.S. demographic growth.” The *Raza* population within the U.S., on its own, positions us as the third largest population among the 42 countries that make up Latin America and the Caribbean, only less populous than Brazil (with 214 million people) and Mexico (with 130 million people), and places us ahead of Colombia (with 51 million people). Furthermore, the U.S. *Raza* population represents at least 10% of the total population of approximately 652 million people who live in Latin America and the Caribbean.

However conceived, our current population accounts for, at minimum, a 23% increase from the 2010 U.S. Census, while the rest of the U.S. population grew only 4.3% during the same 10-year period. This rapid growth in population is based on U.S. newborns (not immigration); this is to say that newborns “[have driven the growth](#) of the U.S. Hispanic population, a trend that accelerated in the 2010s due to a decline in immigration... From 2010 to 2019, 9.3 million Hispanic babies were born in the U.S. .. By comparison, 3.5 million Hispanic immigrants came to the U.S. from 2010 to 2019... In the 1980s and 1990s, immigration drove Hispanic population growth in the U.S. due to more immigrants arriving than babies being born.” In [2019](#), 19.8 million of all *Raza* living in the U.S. were born outside the U.S., plus 1.9% million who were born in Puerto Rico, while 67.3% of “Hispanics” were born in the U.S. and are full citizens of the country.

<i>Table 2: La Raza in the U.S., 2020</i>			
<i>National Origin</i>	<i>Total Pop. of 79 million</i>	<i>% of U.S. Raza Population</i>	<i>National Origin Population</i>
1. México	41.0 million people	52.1%	130.3 million people
2. Puerto Rico	9.4 million people	12.0%	3.3 million people
3. El Salvador	2.7 million people	3.5%	6.5 million people



4. Cuba	2.5 million people	3.2%	11.3 million people
5. Indigenous Nations (U.S.)	2.3 million people	2.9%	---
6. República Dominicana	2.2 million people	2.8%	11.0 million people
7. Guatemala	2.0 million people	2.6%	17.1 million people
<i>The seven groups listed above represent 80% of the U.S. Raza population as of 2020.</i>			
8. Colombia	1.3 million people	1.7%	51.3 million people
9. Honduras	1.3 million people	1.6%	10.1 million people
10. Jamaica	1.2 million people	1.5%	3.0 million people
11. Haiti	1.1 million people	1.4%	11.5 million people
12. Ecuador	747k people	1.0%	17.9 million people
All Others (Each is >1% of total Raza pop.)	11.0 million people	14.0%	---

As noted in Table 2, by far, the vast majority of La Raza is Mexican. This is not a chauvinistic or “Mexican-centric” opinion - it is a quantifiable fact. 52.1% of Raza in the U.S. are of Mexican heritage - that amounts to 41 million Mexicans. In other words, the total Mexican population in the U.S. is identical in size to the entire U.S. African American population, further illustrating how the racial nullification of *la Raza* reinforces political and cultural norms that center debates regarding race and racial justice in the U.S. as *Black and White*, or presumptions that the *Black or African American* population is the largest non-white population in the U.S.

Furthermore, the racial nullification of *la Raza* does not work in our favor across key sociocultural, socio-economic indicators either. As noted in Table 3, “Hispanic or Latino” and “American Indian & Alaska Native” people are worse off in 13 of 18 key socio-economic categories, while “Black or African American” people are worse off in 5 of these categories. These indicators demonstrate how *la Raza* across the U.S. and on reservations are, at this moment, suffering on a scale and intensity that we find difficult to imagine, and that the country’s political elite consistently ignore - including the Black and Brown petty bourgeoisie who benefit from the status quo.



<i>Table 3: U.S. Demographics & Key Indicators, 2019-2021</i>						
	<i>"Hispanic or Latino"</i>	<i>"American Indian & Alaska Native"</i>	<i>"Black or African American"</i>	<i>"White"</i>	<i>"Asian"</i>	<i>U.S. National</i>
% of Total Population ⁵	19.6%	0.7%	12.4%	57%	5.7%	100%
Median Age ⁶	29.8	33	34.6	43.7	37.5	38
% Population Below 18	31%	18%	21%	16%	21%	22%
Female	49%	50%	52%	51%	52%	50%
Male	50%	50%	48%	49%	47%	50%
% of each Racial/Ethnic Group who Identify as LGBTQ+	6%	6%	5%	4%	5%	4.5%
% of LGBTQ+ People Who Identify w/ a Racial Group	20%	3%	11%	52%	5%	4.5%
Nonbinary Adults	0.3%	>0.1	0.2%	0.4%	>0.1	0.4%
% two- Parent Household	69%	58%	42%	79%	89%	71%
% Young Children not in School ⁷	59%	55%	50%	51%	48%	53%
% High School Pushout Rate ⁸	18%	26%	20%	11%	7%	14%
% Adults w/ Less than a High School Diploma ⁹	21%	16%	6%	6%	5%	8%
% B.A. or Higher ¹⁰	24%	14.5%	34%	43%	67%	36%
Median Household Income ¹¹	\$58k	\$54k	\$47k	\$103k	\$125k	\$84k
Median Weekly Earnings	\$758	_ ¹²	\$794	\$1,003	\$1,310	\$984
% Homeownership	45.7%	55.5%	46.3%	71.3%	53.4%	66.2%
% Unemployment ¹³	10.4%	11.7%	11.4%	7.3%	8.7%	8.1%

⁵ The total U.S. population in 2020 was 332,244,759, including the acknowledged USCB undercounts.

⁶ The "median age" is the age that divides a population in two parts of equal size.

⁷ 2016 to 2020. "The share of [children ages 3 to 4](#) not enrolled in school, including nursery school, preschool school or kindergarten, during the previous three months by race and ethnicity."

⁸ This percentage is calculated as the remainder of the "[Public High School Graduation Rates](#)" for all public high school students in 2018-2019. This is the rate of students who started high school, but did not receive a diploma within four years.

⁹ For people 25 and over, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [2020 Report](#). For AIAN see [HHS report](#).

¹⁰ For people 25 and over, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [2020 Report](#).

¹¹ For [2021](#). "Median annual income for families with their own children under age 18 living in the household, by race and ethnicity."

¹² U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [2020 Report](#) does not include AIAN people.

¹³ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [2020 Report](#).



% At or Below Poverty ¹⁴	17.6%	25.9%	21.7%	9.5%	10.2%	12.8%
Incarceration Rate ¹⁵	933	1462	2222	417	127	743
Juvenile Detention Rate ¹⁶	92	236	315	72	19	114
% No Health Insurance ¹⁷	28.7%	26.4%	13.5%	11%	6%	12.6%
% Did Not Get Needed Medical Care Due To Cost ¹⁸	8.0%	7.8%	7.2%	5.8%	2.6%	6.1%
Infant Mortality Rate ¹⁹	5	7	10	4	3	5
Adult Probability of Death from COVID-19 ²⁰	+5.0%	+0.3%	+2.8%	-7.4%	-1.9%	-0.3%
Leading Causes of Death in 2020/2021	1. COVID-19 2. Heart disease 3. Cancer	1. COVID-19 2. Heart disease 3. Cancer	1. Heart disease 2. Cancer 3. COVID-19	1. Heart disease 2. Cancer 3. COVID-19	1. Cancer 2. Heart disease 3. COVID-19	1. Heart disease 2. Cancer 3. COVID-19
Life Expectancy at Birth ²¹	79.9	69.5	73.2	78.1	84.6	77.1
U.S. Internal Buying Power ²²	\$1.9 Trillion		\$1.6 Trillion		\$1.3 Trillion	\$17.5 Trillion

Unión del Barrio insists that to be pro-Raza is not to be anti-Black. In our ideas and our practice, we have demonstrated consistent solidarity and uncompromising respect for the Black Liberation struggle. We will continue to emphasize the essential unity our movement must build and maintain with the Black Liberation struggle, as well as our solidarity with other anti-colonial liberation struggles throughout the world. Still, we must never turn away from the fact that discussions and policies that center on race and/or individual identity,

¹⁴ U.S. Census Bureau's poverty threshold in 2021 was \$21,811 for a family of two adults and one child.

¹⁵ The incarceration rate is the number of incarcerated people per 100k adults. These rates were calculated by first drawing data from the following sources: [Immigration and Customs Enforcement Detention; Prisoners in 2021 – Statistical Tables; Jail Inmates in 2020 – Statistical Tables.](#)

¹⁶ ["Persons under age 21 detained,](#) incarcerated, or placed in residential facilities by race and Hispanic origin." This 2019 detention rate is the number of incarcerated juveniles per 100k.

¹⁷ People whose age was between [18 to 64](#) and were uninsured at any point during 2021.

¹⁸ Adults aged 18 and over who did not get [needed medical care](#) due to elevated cost in 2021.

¹⁹ In [2020](#). The infant mortality rate is the number of infant deaths per 1000 live births. A lower infant mortality rate tends to track the overall socioeconomic well-being of a group.

²⁰ Calculated as a percentage of deaths from COVID-19 [reported to the CDC](#) through December 29, 2022. This percentage is drawn from the total percentage of deaths of people 40+ of age, minus the average percent of the racial/ethnic group population among all 40+ people. Over 97% of all reported U.S. deaths from COVID-19 were among people aged 40+.

²¹ "Life expectancy at birth," this is the average for both [2019 and 2020](#).

²² These numbers are for [2021](#). The total consumer expenditures of [Latin America & the Caribbean](#) as a whole is estimated to be \$3.9 trillion. At \$1.9 trillion, the United States ranks as the largest Latin American & Caribbean consumer market in the world, greater than Brazil (\$1.2 trillion), Mexico (\$823 billion), and Venezuela (\$434 billion).



or policies driven by “diversity, equity, and inclusion” (without any reference to colonialism, capitalism, and imperialism) will inevitably (and intentionally) exclude the interests of *Raza* communities. Instead, DEI themes tend to promote Black and Brown petty bourgeois interests that ultimately undermine principled *Raza* & *African* anti-colonial unity. Again, this is not a chauvinistic or “Mexican-centric” opinion - it is a quantifiable fact.

People in the U.S. who consider themselves “progressives” spend most of their time lamenting past and present racial transgressions and inequality, while comparatively very little of their time is spent critiquing colonialism, U.S. imperialism, and neoliberalism. This opportunist tendency contributes to the racial nullification of *la Raza* within traditional liberal “woke/social justice” frameworks, while powerful sectors of U.S. society openly treat us as enemies of the state through their anti-*Raza* electoral campaigns, border enforcement policies, and interventionist aggression throughout *Nuestra América*.

Clearly, it is impossible for our struggle to prioritize “racial reconciliation” over anti-colonial/anti-imperialist struggle. Instead, as *Unión del Barrio*, we must build and consolidate an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist movimiento de liberación. We must internalize how our wretched domestic status and our peoples’ generational migration patterns are directly tied to U.S. foreign policy throughout *Nuestra América*. Of course, we have never been immigrants on our own lands, but the tired stereotype of *Raza* migrating north because we are perpetually “seeking a better life” is all the more distorted now, in 2024. *Raza* migration patterns represent people fleeing from U.S. colonial/imperialist interventions throughout *Nuestra América*. 80% of U.S. *Raza* have their roots in one of the seven indigenous, Latin American, and Caribbean nations most directly and severely impacted by U.S. colonial, imperialist, and neoliberal interventions during the last 200 years (México, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Cuba, Indigenous Nations on reservations, República Dominicana, and Guatemala).

Consider the numbers of the U.S. “Hispanic” population over time since 1970:

- 1970: 9.6 million people
- 1980: 14.6 million
- 1990: 22 million
- 2000: 35.3 million



- 2010: 50.5 million
- 2020: 65.1 million (official count)

Precisely because the explosive growth of our population within the U.S. is directly tied to U.S. imperialist and neoliberal interventionism throughout Nuestra America, both Republicans and Democrats have identified our communities as representing the most serious internal threat to their privileged status quo.

Unión del Barrio acknowledges that working “IN DEFENSE OF LA RAZA” represents one of our most urgent tasks. Our first step is to develop and internalize political positions drawn from la Raza's demographic, historical, and political-economic facts. We must build an organization that embraces the legacy of the Mexican Revolution and builds upon the victories of the Chicano, Boricua, and American Indian Movements. When we struggle to defend *la Raza* within the current borders of the U.S., we must also study, follow, and defend national liberation struggles in México, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. We must advocate for *Raza* from the Dominican Republic and Guatemala. Most urgently, we must identify with and align our liberation struggle to become one with the Indigenous Nations of *Abya Yala*.

III. External Crises & Settler Colonialism.

- The Pandemic; The Environment; The Economy; The Political Moment; Settler Colonialism

This is a world system built on the settler colonial genocide of indigenous peoples, the theft of native lands and resources, and the enslavement of African peoples. This is the system that is now teetering. To put it plainly, we are experiencing a global crisis rooted in colonial oppression, imperial decline, neoliberal decadence, and surveillance capitalism.

We experience settler colonialism through its modern political systems that do not solve problems for their citizens. Instead, these systems normalize and monetize perpetual crises. Pandemics, inflation, corruption, femicides, exploitation, mass homelessness, alienation, wars, fascism, coup d'états, deportations, mass detentions, family separations, school shootings, church



shootings, mass shootings, migra raids, police brutality, torrential rains/floods, environmental collapse, and the Palestinian genocide - no one crisis is ever resolved, nor are the root causes of any one of them rectified.

Instead, the crises are treated as business opportunities. The contemporary system of capitalism and imperialism rests on a pedestal of these crises. What we live under now is a system that incessantly manufactures crises, identifies with them, monetizes them, and ultimately depends on them to the degree that the system reproduces itself and seeks to expand its power through each particular crisis.

Global capitalism and imperialism embody these crises - *the global capitalist/imperialist system and the perpetual crises are one and the same*. Faced with the impending collapse of their system of internal governance, the global capitalist ruling class is divided over how best to rescue those parts of the system from which they have historically most benefited. One faction of this split promises its supporters a reformed type of capitalism/imperialism, while maintaining the fundamental characteristics of the existing political system. Another faction openly presents itself as a global insurgent fascist movement that demands a "return" to a more direct settler colonial form of capitalism/imperialism. The fascists insist that the "reformed" version of capitalism/imperialism is irredeemable, and they promise to "take the country back" from it by any means necessary, thereby embracing dictatorial imperial power. The liberal's only political principle is that they swear that they are more "democratic" than the fascists. This type of fracture among the ruling elites of global capitalism/imperialism is expressed differently in countries across the world.

Within the United States, it is what motivates the violent split between the traditional two-party system - on the one hand, the "woke" liberalism within the Democratic Party that promises an anti-racist, gender-neutral, even "decolonial" form of U.S. capitalism/imperialism. On the other hand, the MAGA fascism of the Republican Party seeks to impose a racially homogenous, Christian nationalist, hyper-masculine version of U.S. capitalism/imperialism. Neither of the two sides brings about fundamental change to the system; instead, they just compete with each other, looking for increasingly undemocratic methods to stay in power.

For decades, our movimiento understood how the two-party system did not favor us. The 1969 *Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* cited Corky Gonzalez when it explained that the two-party system was “two heads of the same animal feeding out of the same trough.” Unión del Barrio summed up this relationship with a slogan that for decades guided our critiques of the U.S. two-party system: “¡Ni Republicanos, Ni Demócratas – Solo El Pueblo Organizado Vencerá.” Our peoples are not responsible for, nor do we benefit from, this deranged two-party system. We must be clear that our communities are the targets of both of these factions, and we are subject to multiple ongoing external crises that are never resolved and will only worsen over time.

The Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic was the clearest example of this problem. 2020-2021 was a unique moment in history that was experienced across the globe, impacting all people - as a species - at pretty much the same time. Less than four years ago, many of us locked ourselves in our residences, practiced “social distancing,” worried about toilet paper, and complained about “zoom fatigue.” We lost social connections to each other and our communities. As Raza, we need to reflect on what actually happened in our barrios and provide a critical assessment of the sociocultural, medical, and economic significance of COVID-19.

COVID-19 “mortality rates” were used as the primary data point worldwide to compare the pandemic’s consequences across nations and among demographic groups within nations.²³ Using data updated through January 2023, we generated our own “U.S. Probability of Death from COVID-19.”

Our research places “Hispanic or Latino” adults as 5% more likely to have died from COVID-19 in 2021 than any racial-ethnic group in the United States, and nearly three times more likely to have died from COVID-19 than “White” adults. Furthermore, the CDC confirmed that the highest mortality rates in the

²³ Mortality Rates represent the number of confirmed deaths per 100 confirmed cases of infection. This is also known as the “[observed case-fatality ratio](#).” According to the CDC, numerous state governments in the U.S. refused to report the racial composition of their COVID-19 infections and deaths. Without accessing and analyzing those missing state-level data, we can only access the partial numbers provided by the CDC as these relate to “Leading Causes of Death” and “Demographic Trends.” Consequently, the actual COVID mortality rate among Raza likely even higher than we what have found in this analysis.



U.S. were among “American Indian - Alaskan Native” and “Hispanic” populations, with COVID-19 causing a *major drop* in life expectancy of “U.S. Hispanics.”

This is especially striking since, generally, before COVID-19, “Hispanics” had the highest life expectancy among U.S. racial/ethnic populations. The terrible significance of these indicators needs to be considered not just how they compare to other groups within the U.S., but also how, as of January 31, 2023, the official number of COVID-19 deaths in the U.S. was over [1.1 million people](#). This means that hundreds of thousands of our gente died not only because of having been infected with COVID-19, but because our communities did not have sufficiently organized advocates to ensure we received equitable treatment and equal access to medical resources (updated/accurate information, PPE, tests, vaccines) during this global health crisis.

During March 2021, the average U.S. mortality rate (the number of confirmed deaths per 100 confirmed cases of infection) was listed as 1.8% - just under two confirmed deaths per 100 confirmed infections. Yet, in the 128 counties in the United States where Raza represents more than 50% of the population, the average COVID-19 mortality rate was 2.4%.²⁴ 10% of the total U.S. population lives in one of these 128 Raza-majority counties, yet 13% of the total confirmed deaths from COVID-19 were reported in one of these 128 counties.²⁵

In California, there are 13 counties where Raza is more than 50% of the total population. In these counties, the average reported COVID-19 mortality rate was 1.4%. Although this is below the U.S. national average mortality rate of 1.8%, the systemic catastrophe in California was in the failure to slow the rate of infections across Raza communities. 46% (18.3 million) of the total population of California live in one of these 13 Raza-majority counties, while over 60% of the

²⁴ These 128 counties are in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, and Washington. These counties include over 19 million of our peoples, that is nearly 30% of the 65 million people who live in the U.S. who we broadly identify as “la Raza,” including indigenous nations and tribes - all victims of genocidal violence, theft, and slavery imposed on us by European colonialism, United States imperialism, and global neoliberalism.

²⁵ Approximately 32 million people live in these counties.



total infections and 63% of the total deaths in the entire state of California were suffered by residents of one of these Raza-majority counties.²⁶

In Texas, the ruling class has organized its 254 counties to serve as an anti-Raza reservation-apartheid system designed to keep Mexicans in Texas disunited and powerless. Of its 254 counties, Texas has 66 counties where la Raza represents more than 50% of the local population. Across these counties, the average reported COVID-19 mortality rate was 2.8% - one full point higher than the U.S. average 1.8% mortality rate.

Only 21% (5.9 million people) of the total population of Texas live in one of these 66 counties, while residents of one of these Raza-majority counties suffered 32% of the total deaths in the entire state of Texas.²⁷ What is even more obscene about the Texan pandemic is that the average COVID-19 mortality rate across 8 of the hardest-hit Raza-majority counties was 4.9%.²⁸ If these eight counties in Texas were a separate country, it would have been #7 among the top 10 highest COVID-19 mortality rates on earth, ranked between Ecuador and China. Clearly, anti-Raza colonialism is strong in Texas.

These horrendous statistics are incomplete, and we need more data for our Raza-centered analysis of COVID-19 in Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, New York, and South Dakota. We know that colonial borders and border walls will not protect anyone from future pandemics, and that the systemic failures of neoliberal governments transformed this pandemic into a colonial genocide. Throughout Nuestra América, COVID-19 infections and deaths mirror our subordinate position in terms of the acute crisis within this capitalist-imperialist system. In the final months of the pandemic, we continued to see how La Raza bore the brunt of COVID-19 infections and deaths, while our barrios were the last to receive vaccines and other medical and economic resources.

Even within the massive 2021 \$1.9 trillion COVID-19 package, few resources were directed toward attending to the desperate needs of our

²⁶ Los Angeles county is over 50% Raza, and it is the location of 33% (1.2 million) of the total California COVID-19 infections. By March 2021, across all 13 Raza-majority counties in California, there were 2.2 million confirmed cases of COVID-19, and 36,489 confirmed deaths.

²⁷ By March 2021, across all 66 Raza-majority counties in Texas, there were 670,471 confirmed cases of COVID-19 and 15,136 confirmed deaths.

²⁸ These 8 Texas counties are Brooks, Cameron, Cochran, Crosby, Garza, Hockley, Kenedy, and Lamb. Together, 481,393 people live in these counties, with Raza representing 67% of that population. As of March 2021, there were 44,447 confirmed cases of COVID, and 1,837 deaths.



communities. The COVID-19 pandemic exposed terrible inequalities in health services and hospitalization, loss of employment and salary, job protections, transportation systems, food security, childcare, access to academic resources, access to computers or digital communication networks, and necessary skills to operate these technologies. Even before COVID-19, our barrios were already severely neglected and repressed, but now, after COVID, we clearly remain devastated. Our inability to defend our barrios cost innumerable lives, and the residual effects on our collective mental health, our families, and our youth will likely never be fully understood. Any return “to normalcy” is a fallacy because it will take generations for our communities to recover.

What else did the pandemic teach us about ourselves and our place in the world? First, we learned that COVID-19 burned through Nuestra América on elevated levels the same way it burned through our communities within the United States. Raza workers in the U.S. and across Nuestra América bore the brunt of the pandemic. A disproportionately high number of our peoples suffered illness and death as a result of governmental ineptitude and neglect throughout Nuestra America. This reflects how we are victims of settler colonialism and more closely connected to Nuestra America than to the general U.S. population.

We also learned that our movimiento is very weak because we failed to effectively defend our barrios during the pandemic. We must recognize our movement's lack of institutional and organizational capacity when we most needed it to provide medical education, advocacy, and services to our barrios. Long before Obama/Trump/Biden, our communities were denied institutional support and resources in times of crises such as wildfires, floods, earthquakes, severe winters, and previous epidemics. But it was under trumpista fascism and COVID-19, operating under a scarcity of medical resources, that we saw the true face of the healthcare crisis among our peoples, and as a consequence, we will mourn our dead for generations.

Nonetheless, we must allow ourselves to recognize the militancy and organization that we were able to mobilize because they show how we can rally solidarity and humanity in the face of future health crises. Through these efforts, we were able to support many of our members and, in various instances, also their families who were impacted by COVID-19. Our Bases and CL Secretariados knew how to respond and provided unconditional support.

This included food deliveries, medicine, ongoing phone and Zoom calls/check-ins, transportation to and from hospitals, etc. During those trying times, our membership displayed a commendable level of care and connection to each other and our pueblo.

The Environment

We are in the first stage of an environmental disaster that has imperiled the earth and threatens all life on the planet. The United Nations' climate science *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* (IPCC) issued a report in 2021 stating “unequivocally” that humans have warmed our planet’s skies, waters, and lands. The IPCC added that “widespread and rapid changes” are already occurring in every inhabited region across the globe, and many of these environmental changes are irreversible in our lifetimes.²⁹

The unhinged consumption of fossil fuels and nature's resources has brought about drastic climate change, increasing the frequency of disastrous weather conditions. The survival of humankind is threatened, and the extinction of countless other species is accelerated by damage to the planet's ozone, deforestation, loss of freshwater, poisoning of the seas, and external pressures on our global food chain. We already find ourselves having to contend with the existential crises of food and water scarcity, a lack of arable land, increasing floods, energy shortages, and forced migrations from our gente in the South. Neoliberal governments are only capable of promoting the interests of transnational corporations, and these have proven eager to destroy the planet in their insatiable quest for profit. Neoliberal capitalists reap wealth in direct proportion to environmental degradation, and poor people suffer from increasingly frequent catastrophic losses.

If capitalist-imperialist nations immediately ceased their investment in military armament and prioritized repairing the earth, we - its inhabitants - might have a fighting chance at a better future. Instead, these governments double down on warfare and militarization. The environmental work of Unión del Barrio must address environmental degradation as a part of our struggle against colonialism, capitalism, and neoliberalism. Only a continental revolutionary

²⁹ Irfan, U. & Leber, R., August 9, 2021.

struggle can block the ongoing poisoning of the atmosphere, deforestation, contamination of the oceans, and the other causes of climate change we see today throughout Nuestra América and the globe.

To defend the environment, we should share the concept of “buen vivir” which seeks to recover the equilibrium with Mother Nature that our indigenous ancestors valued so highly. We need to build a socio-economic system where the accumulation of wealth is no longer the driving force of society but instead the prioritization of life, dignity, and justice. Locally, barrio-based food production and consumption, such as community gardens and other forms of tree/plant distribution and planting, can make our communities greener. Unión del Barrio can promote these alternative sources of food as well as collective transportation systems such as “riders unions.”

The Economy

The vast majority of our people are working class, and it is impossible for us to consider ourselves a serious pro-Raza organization without prioritizing and providing leadership on barrio-based working-class issues. Within the current borders of the U.S., la Raza's labor power is the economic pedestal upon which the economic wealth of every major city and state in this country depends. Our peoples are the absolute majority within the exploited labor pools of every one of the eight largest cities in the U.S. - New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Phoenix, Philadelphia, San Antonio, and San Diego. Even outside of these large cities, the few remaining heavy industries in this country, such as agriculture, construction, food service, and healthcare, depend on exploiting our collective labor power.

Never during the last 500 years have our peoples worked harder nor created more wealth than we do today. Yet, we aren't the beneficiaries of our vast labor power. In every one of these eight cities, our barrios are the poorest and most marginalized communities. Raza poverty and marginalization are economic metrics, but also impact our health, educational opportunities, and political power. Our collective political power remains insignificant while both political parties take turns repressing our barrios, exploiting our labor, ignoring our interests, and destabilizing leftist governments throughout Nuestra America. From our centuries-long struggle to overthrow European settler colonialism to



suffering the brunt of the decline of the neoliberal order, the system always expresses itself to our peoples as an anti-social economic model that only provides us with surplus exploitation, insecurity, inequality, and political instability. The current economic crisis loosely identified as “inflation” will inevitably intensify, and we should expect nothing short of large-scale economic violence in the form of mass unemployment, unaffordability/lack of access to energy for heating, transportation, healthy food, and affordable/dignified housing.

Homelessness is the clearest evidence of the anti-human values of capitalism. The terrible housing crisis is readily observable in cities throughout the U.S., where millions of Raza live in impossibly cramped housing, in their cars, or in tents. In this system, one person profits from the same housing scarcity that forces 200 people to live on the streets and in public spaces. It is important for us to understand that the commodification of our barrios, our culture, and our peoples has gone hand in hand with pushing out families from their homes. Gentrifiers and developers, *que son interesados*, will sweep up millions of tax dollars to create art galleries, retail spaces, and unaffordable housing so that outsiders are able to come to an area and continue the cycle of colonial violence that gentrification is intended to create. Liberal democrats lament the housing crisis by changing their words (calling people “unhoused” instead of homeless), but they do nothing to resolve the housing crisis because they profit from it. MAGA fascists denounce “woke” democrats for the homeless crisis while they also profit from it. In every large U.S. city, speculators and international investors make billions of dollars on the backs of millions of Raza who have no affordable place to live.

It would be incorrect to address the issue of homelessness without also addressing the rampant levels of mental health issues and addictions affecting Raza families and communities living in this declining empire. The drug economy and mental health crisis are two symptoms of colonialism/capitalism that should not be dismissed, but instead, these problems should be seen as consequences of the desperate conditions we are living under. Paired with a global pandemic, the collective health of working-class Raza continues to decline as access to dignified housing and healthcare is denied for the majority of our people. These conditions further destabilize families and entire communities as many look for a quick fix, distraction, and instant gratification



from the everyday burden of living under capitalism. Homelessness, chronic depression, drug overdoses, and generalized anxiety are *el pan de cada día* in most of our barrios. We are made to believe these social problems are primarily rooted in individual failures, and, in turn, we are dangerously blind to the collective suffering and systemic violence of colonialism-capitalism.

What can Unión del Barrio do to address our desperate political-economic situation? We must redouble our efforts to advance tenants' rights and support those in our communities who are already doing this work. We should discuss the possibility of Unión del Barrio organizing tenants' associations; this way, we can take action that favors tenants' rights and bring other *material* benefits to our barrios.

We can also do more to help organize Raza workers. Historically, only a few labor unions have truly sought to defend our working-class interests. We know this because there are too many instances of labor unions actually uniting with the ruling class in their attacks against Raza communities. To win the political power that better matches our vast demographic and labor power, we must build the capacity to independently articulate, promote, anticipate, and defend our class interests within existing labor unions as well as directly with working people in our communities. To this end, we should engage with and fulfill leading roles within organized labor, while also upholding the right to create minority unions, as we have done in the past with hotel workers in San Diego. Furthermore, when possible and necessary, we should work to organize our own independent labor unions aligned with the most militant labor struggles of Nuestra América.

Globally, we see the rise of what in the near future is an Asian capitalist dominance of the world economy led by China. Despite its anti-colonial, revolutionary history, this "new, decolonial" capitalist world economy also includes prominent roles for Brazil, Russia, India, and South Africa in its ranks - a.k.a. the [BRICS countries](#) who together represent a challenge to the U.S.-led global capitalist economic hegemony. While this rising capitalist order does represent an economic challenge to U.S. economic dominance, it does not point to a better future for Nuestra America. This "new" global economic order will be organized to further exploit surveillance and crisis capitalism. It will continue to devastate the environment, and our peoples are envisioned to continue our servile positions as cogs in the political-economic order of global



capitalism, through extractive capitalism and monetized forced mass migrations.

The Political Moment

We live under a two-party system - there are two dominant parties, but it is still a single political-economic system. In other words, the political and cultural polarization people complain about in the U.S. are two sides of the same coin. Of course, there are two different sides, but they represent one *ying* that depends on the other *yang* - the two sides co-constitute each other. In fact, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party do not operate as political organizations, but more as electoral cartels that take turns trafficking and profiting from capitalist-imperialist power.

This critique of the two-party system has little to do with democratic norms and stolen elections. Elections in the U.S. have always been stolen from colonized peoples, especially for la Raza. Gerrymandering, differentiations of electoral power, unlimited power of money in elections, and mass incarceration - these strategies are just the "legal" tip of the colonial iceberg of bipartisan electoral fraud. The undemocratic nature of the U.S. political system is not a quantitative problem related to more or fewer votes for one or another candidate or one party over the other. This is an existential problem of an empire in decline, where it does not matter if the losing candidate won the popular vote (the electoral college system was designed exactly for this contingency), nor is it perceived as a problem that the majority of eligible voters do not participate in the electoral process.

The central political struggle of la Raza is not to provide votes for either Democrat or Republican candidates, but instead to move past a putrid two-party system in order to defend ourselves to survive this generalized crisis of imploding empire. At whatever level it is possible, we must distance ourselves from any factions that form a part of this empire in decline. Too many people in our communities identify with the two-party madness more than they identify with their own liberation struggle. That is to say, today, far too many of our people are more deeply committed to this failing system of their own oppression than there are people who understand the urgent need for principled and organized liberation struggle. Therefore, it is incumbent on our



movimiento to lead our communities to understand, organize against, and resist both growing reactionary antagonism towards la Raza and the threat that U.S. imperialism and global capitalism represent across Nuestra América, and around the globe against the survival of our species on this planet.

Some people in our communities may say f--k it; let the *burro* and the *elefante* destroy each other. *Que se vayan todos a la fregada*. But this is an irresponsible line of thinking. Unión del Barrio recognizes that the violent split within the U.S. ruling class is a *chicote* that will continue to fall most heavily on the backs of our gente. We need to understand that the current rise and consolidation of U.S.-based fascism depends on intensified, bi-partisan anti-Raza politics - MAGA republicans and "woke" liberals are united against working-class Raza.

On one side, the Democratic Party is the organization of the neoconservative, neoliberal, technocratic sectors of the U.S. ruling class, supported by an unprincipled, multicultural aspiring petty bourgeoisie, and kept in power through a form of electoral "lesser of two evils," "peor es nada" pessimism of a majority of voters. It has proven time and again that it has no political principles other than a false promise to reform the status quo in order to sustain it. Consequently, the Democratic Party is incapable of progressive political leadership, much less undertaking a war of position - within the government or on the streets - against a resurgent MAGA movement with Trump as the front-runner for 2024.

Furthermore, during this period, democrats have openly embraced identifying themselves as a reactionary, genocidal party. They have been anxious to demonstrate their total unity with a proxy war in Ukraine and the Palestinian holocaust. Only after there were over 25,000 dead Palestinians did Biden say that the Zionist genocide in Gaza was "over the top," and he only said that due to democrat's fear of polls that track the loss of Arab, youth, and progressive votes.

Democrats stood by and watched the undermining of women's rights until they oversaw the final overturning of *Roe v. Wade* because they viewed it as a 2024 campaign wedge issue. The Democratic Party closed ranks to support "Genocide Joe" Biden for another term. They demand total loyalty for this senile, decrepit old man, despite the fact that [75% of democrats didn't want Biden](#) to run for a second term. Worse yet, the Democratic Party pushed



Trump to run because they felt he was the candidate Biden could more likely defeat to get reelected as president in 2024.

The Democratic Party is a clown car of organized duplicity and opportunism, with no political principles nor political consistency. Ideologically, it is bankrupt and demoralized, except remaining aggressively pro-capitalist/imperialist, and a consistent supporter of neoliberal individualism. Beyond the West Coast and the Northeast, it is a failure as a national electoral party. Ultimately, the Democratic Party has been, and remains, an anti-liberation organization with an anti-revolutionary ideology. We owe the Democratic Party nothing; a second Biden presidency would be more of the same wars, genocide, interventionism, and anti-Raza policies. The inept imperial opportunism of U.S. liberals is only as insidious as their ideological bankruptcy.

On the other side of the same despicable coin, the MAGA Republicans represent how one sector of the U.S. ruling class has officially discarded elections as the primary method of exerting political power. The Republican Party has for decades understood that demographic change in the U.S. rendered their electoral futures untenable. The MAGA movement has already reconfigured political power and irrevocably altered previous arrangements regarding the distribution of ruling class dominance in the U.S. On January 6, 2021, MAGA militants attacked the U.S. capital, and they now openly campaign with calls for direct political violence - political imprisonment, assassinations, etc. - to be used against their Democratic Party electoral opposition (who they have come to characterize as satanist lizard people and baby- blood- drinking pedophiles), and incidentally against the "radical left" and "Marxists."

MAGA continues as a fascist social-political movement, and "Dictator Don" is currently the front-runner to win the 2024 presidential election. MAGA continues as a "movement" because it has mobilized and continues to direct the political actions of a substantial sector of U.S.-based white nationalists. The MAGA movement demonstrates a capacity to mobilize significant numbers of adherents and dominate a range of political contests - elections, policy debates, cultural struggles, public street-level challenges, etc.

Why did the MAGA coup d'etat fail in January 2021? Obviously, it was not because the democrats stopped Trump, nor was it the so-called "resilience of the democratic system." Trump failed to stay in power because he did not



rally the sufficiently disciplined violence to secure the political critical mass necessary to pull off an *auto-golpe*. This lack of support was primarily a consequence of Trump's malignant narcissism that rendered him an incorrigible "loose cannon." Trump's egomania was appropriate to rally tens of thousands of hateful misfits, but it was not enough to marshal militant support from more serious people, for example, the hidden hand of many military and police elements who were already among the people involved in the planning and direction of the January 6th attack in Washington D.C.

The ideological fascists learned from their mistakes during the first administration and the failed coup on January 6, 2021. A second Trump presidency would represent a more organized, disciplined, radical, and vengeful government than the first. MAGA republicans defeated any Republican Party challenge to "Dictator Don," and are now aggressively seeking to reelect him. As the leader of this movement, Trump is openly demanding dictatorial power. When it comes to people on the street - in other words, political power as a function of the militancy and political conviction of actual people - MAGA does, in fact, represent a more powerful political force than support for "Genocide Joe." This tells us that there is no street-level counter-movement that is a direct challenge to MAGA - with or without a second Trump presidency.

In 2024, what is most important is that MAGA has destabilized and fractured ruling class power dynamics, exposing systemic contradictions and sharpening other contradictions within the U.S. military, intelligence agencies, and the Supreme Court. Thus, MAGA has destabilized previously existing political norms and "rights" and threatened to topple the system itself. Continued destructiveness among these sectors of the ruling class is inevitable, and elections will increasingly become flashpoints for political violence.

We understood the fascist nature of the MAGA movement because it had, from the beginning, placed our communities in its crosshairs.³⁰ MAGA

³⁰ The Trump administration had been in office for only four months when we published our May-July 2017 4-part analysis on what was coming, and sadly, most of our analysis was on point. We strongly recommend everyone revisit this early analysis because it aligns with this current assessment, and it is evidence that our ideological positions are far from marginal or exaggerated, but have proven to be accurate and useful for understanding what comes next: "The Self-Defense of La Raza is Now One of the Front Lines of Anti-Fascist Struggle"

- [PART ONE](#): We Owe Nothing To The Democratic Party: Let The Dead Donkey Die
- [PART TWO](#): Republicans Hate Everyone & Everything: Beware The Walking Dead Elephant
- [PART THREE](#): Our Struggles Transcend The Two Party System



fascists made attacking Raza the cornerstone of their political platform with their consistent and disciplined hatred and repression of la Raza on every possible level. As an organization, from 2016 to 2020, we did what we could to raise the alarm about the threats MAGA fascism posed to our communities.³¹ More importantly, we shifted Unión del Barrio to a self-defense footing, and consequently, we did our best to engage in the active self-defense of our communities from relentless trumpian attacks. These actions and experiences were rooted in our political principles centered on collective struggle and community organization. Our principles and historical memory continue to provide us with enough clarity to recognize the urgency of building and expanding Unión del Barrio beyond what it has been in the past. As Unión del Barrio, we share our ideas regarding the urgent need for barrio-level self-defense, which includes preparing ourselves for intensified domestic aggression and political violence directed against our communities. But community-level self-defense will not be enough.

This is not to suggest that the Biden administration represents a progressive force in any way. Unión del Barrio never subscribed to that myth.³² There are no progressives in the U.S. political system, just MAGA fascists and “woke” liberals - two sides of the same coin. What is happening in the U.S. unfolds while global fascism is in motion, with imperial war and conflict in Russia-Ukraine and Western Europe, and the ongoing Palestinian genocide. Yet, one objective unites all factions of *the Western hemisphere's global capitalist/imperialist system* - *la Raza* has been identified as the primary internal threat to

-
- [PART FOUR: Touch One, Touch All](#)
 - [10 Lessons of Trumpism.](#)

³¹ Here are a few links of UdB articles published during the trump years:

- [05/26/2016 - “¡Fuera Trump! UdB Report On The May 27th Action In San Diego”](#)
- [05/26/2016 - “Mobilize & Defend Chicano Park”](#)
- [08/31/2016 - “Trumpism Is An Imminent Threat! ¡La Amenaza Trumpista Es Real!”](#)
- [11/09/2016 - “Trumpism 2016: The Unmasking Of An Empire In Crisis”](#)
- [02/28/2017 - “During February of 2017, Trumpistas Sent Our Communities A Clear Message Of What They Have In Mind For Us”](#)
- [05-07/2017 - “The Self-Defense of La Raza is Now One of the Front Lines of Anti-Fascist Struggle: Part I-IV”](#)
- [09/07/2017 - “TOUCH ONE, TOUCH ALL: Community Level Self-Defense Beyond DACA!”](#)
- [11/15/2018 - “Unión del Barrio Calls On Border Communities To Protect The Physical Integrity Of Our Central American Sisters And Brothers”](#)
- [04/24/2019 - “The Only Solution To The Refugee Crisis Is Revolution!”](#)
- [03/15/2020 - “The Coronavirus Has Unmasked The Sick Brutality Of Capitalism – Only Principled Global Solidarity Will Be Sufficient To Contend With This Pandemic”](#)

³² See [“Hindsight 2008: ‘What Does The Election Of Barack Obama To The Presidency Of The Empire Mean For La Raza?’”](#)

the future of U.S. capitalist imperialism, and all factions share the murderous goal of further repressing la Raza here, within the current borders of the United States and, as much as possible, throughout Nuestra América. Attacking us and our communities and overthrowing any progressive changes in Nuestra America is one of the last semblances of political unity among the U.S. ruling class.

Consider how the trumpian movement exploited the 2018-2024 caravans/mass migrations from Centroamérica as electoral-media events, and how these always coincided with some internal Trump campaign to rally his base. Within the 2024 primary presidential campaigns, we witnessed the opportunism of Florida Republican Governor Ron DeSantis, who built his political campaign around being more anti-Raza than Trump by rallying the most reactionary white nationalist sectors in his attempt to win the Republican Party nomination for the White House in 2024. As governor of Florida, DeSantis enacted SB1718, a law that makes it a crime for people to advocate for Raza sin papeles, criminalizing Raza from working in Florida by requiring all employers to use E-Verify, a system conceived under the Clinton Administration to automate the verification of "authorized" workers in the United States.

In a publicity stunt to advance his campaign, De Santis deployed a strategy of kidnapping and expelling hundreds of Raza who recently arrived in the U.S. This open display of anti-Raza attacks forms part of a Washington consensus within U.S. immigration policy, which combines immigration law and foreign policy objectives, and intends to manufacture political unity around managing migration patterns. Deploying a multi-pronged parallel strategy of prevention through surveillance with the use of CBP1 App; militarized deterrence with the construction of higher border walls and the deployment of the military personnel to the border (including expansion of the Border Patrol); as well as fueling mass deportations with ongoing ICE led arrests, mass detentions of migrants in for-profit facilities - all form the foundation upon which a whole economy has fueled a "National Security" surveillance state with its crosshairs directed against imposing a high degree of suffering on la Raza. All with a price tag of \$28 billion, approved by the bi-partisan MAGA republican and "woke" democratic Washington consensus.

Forever cowards and opportunists, democrats continue to copy many of the border enforcement policies of the Trump administration, and in



February/March 2024, democrats offered MAGA republicans a “compromise” border enforcement plan that gave them everything they have been demanding, beyond even what Trump had implemented during his first presidency. This “compromise” bill added an additional \$20 billion for a more militarized Southern border, 1500 additional Border Patrol agents, and increased ICE detention center capacity (up from 40k to 50k beds). “Genocide Joe” even pleaded with “Dictator Don” to unite on this issue, when he begged Trump, [“Join me, or I’ll join you... Let’s do it together!”](#)

The internal bi-partisan unity when it comes to “border enforcement” and interventionist policies throughout Nuestra América is the clearest evidence of our condition as victims of European settler colonialism. Every day, we see both parties, Republican and Democrat, express their support for further militarizing the U.S./Mexico border while simultaneously looking to overthrow any leftist struggle anywhere in Nuestra América. We must disrupt the Latin American ruling-class criminal syndicate that has monopolized political power within the U.S. and extends its influence through U.S. policies in Nuestra América. Only when we split their reactionary monopoly, can we break the use of Raza migration as a political weapon to attack our communities over and over again. The political continuity between “border enforcement” and ongoing economic, military, and ideological partnerships with Latin American fascists - as well as the bi-partisan support for Israeli settler colonialism - exposes the true nature of this system.

Unión del Barrio will build and expand our ideological principle of *Raza Internationalism*. Since our founding in 1981, Unión del Barrio has expressed our support for all oppressed peoples’ *right to resist*. As an organization, we reject and denounce all forms of state terrorism because terrorist acts are not revolutionary acts. Moreover, we unapologetically uphold the right of the colonized people to engage in anti-colonial armed struggle for liberation.

Today, we continue to express our solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle against Israeli state terror and settler colonialism. We reject the false notion that Israel is defending itself. A colonizer settler state can never legitimately claim self-defense while on stolen land. We denounce U.S. imperialism as represented by the MAGA republicans and the “woke” democrats because both parties are complicit in the ongoing Palestinian genocide. We salute our Jewish comrades who have bravely taken the



righteous position of opposing the racist ideology known as Zionism and the Israeli genocide perpetrated against the Palestinian people. Unión del Barrio stands with the people of Palestine and with their righteous struggle for self-determination and the right to return to their illegally occupied lands. Mexicans and Palestinians are similarly besieged by apartheid walls constructed by the same Israeli companies: Elbit Systems, Elta North America, Kiewit Corporation, and Magal Security Systems. We unite with the vast majority of people across the world who demand an end to the Palestinian genocide and support their struggle for self-determination.

IV. Internal Crises & Self-Loathing.

- In Defense of "La Raza"- A Movimiento for Cultura, Identidad, & Barrio Self-Defense

As an organization, we have been unable to assert ourselves in the face of any one of these crises, much less all of them at once. We remain too weak to defend our communities at the current moment. Unless we do things differently, we will be powerless to protect ourselves when our circumstances inevitably worsen. This is not an alarmist, exaggerated assessment. We have arrived at this understanding by closely studying the political landscape since the closing of the *VI Congreso Nacional* in December 2017, and by drawing from our 43-year history of organized political struggle and analysis. When we fail to adequately attend to existing barrio-based issues, we are also incapable of acknowledging new crises, and ultimately, we fail to resolve any issues. *Quien mucho abarca, poco aprieta.*

Despite our lack of movement capacity, we did our best to defend our barrios during the years of Trumpism and COVID-19. As an organization, from 2016 to 2023, we did what we could to raise the alarm about the threats MAGA fascism posed to our communities.³³ We shifted Unión del Barrio to a

³³ Here are a few links of UdB articles published during the trump years:

- 05/26/2016 - "[¡Fuera Trump! UdB Report On The May 27th Action In San Diego](#)"
- 05/26/2016 - "[Mobilize & Defend Chicano Park](#)"
- 08/31/2016 - "[Trumpism Is An Imminent Threat! ¡La Amenaza Trumpista Es Real!](#)"
- 11/09/2016 - "[Trumpism 2016: The Unmasking Of An Empire In Crisis](#)"
- 02/28/2017 - "[During February of 2017, Trumpistas Sent Our Communities A Clear Message Of What They Have In Mind For Us](#)"
- 05-07/2017 - "[The Self-Defense of La Raza is Now One of the Front Lines of Anti-Fascist Struggle: Part I-IV](#)"
- 09/07/2017 - "[TOUCH ONE, TOUCH ALL: Community Level Self-Defense Beyond DACA!](#)"



self-defense footing, and consequently, we engaged in the active self-defense of our communities from relentless trumpian attacks. We organized *Comités de Resistencia*, *Escuela Aztlan*, and the *Patrullajes Comunitarios*. We continued our work with Raza educators, prisoners, and workers. We played a strong role in expanding ethnic studies and confirmed that even a watered-down, non-ideological version of ethnic studies is understood as a threat when it comes from Raza communities. We continue to see how any form of institutional education that addresses colonialism and liberation struggle is blocked in the crib, as has been the case with the Zionist anti-Ethnic Studies attacks in California.

These actions and experiences were rooted in our political principles centered on collective struggle and community organization, and these continue to provide us with enough clarity to recognize the urgency of building and expanding Unión del Barrio beyond what it has been in the past. Our political power is necessarily rooted in struggles that extend beyond the frame of ruling-class values and ruling-class political parties. The daily community-based work of Unión del Barrio is guided by our collective histories of challenging colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism through a Raza-liberation lens.

Despite our best organizational efforts, to this day, la Raza remains a marginalized, largely leaderless sector of society. Even liberal hispanic/latinx democrats feel the sting of their political irrelevance. With regard to our communities, democrats continue to follow a “peor es nada” strategy, generally ignoring us in 2024. We know that going into the 2024 elections, the Democratic Party will continue to be useless. They are incapable of mounting an effective challenge to MAGA fascism, instead committing themselves to winning over anti-Trump Republicans by moving the Democratic Party more to the right. Within dominant forms of institutional power, no one with any real influence advocates for la Raza.

A semblance of community leadership occasionally comes from the nonprofit sector. Nonprofits will likely continue to play a role in influencing the

-
- 11/15/2018 - [“Unión del Barrio Calls On Border Communities To Protect The Physical Integrity Of Our Central American Sisters And Brothers”](#)
 - 04/24/2019 - [“The Only Solution To The Refugee Crisis Is Revolution!”](#)
 - 03/15/2020 - [“The Coronavirus Has Unmasked The Sick Brutality Of Capitalism – Only Principled Global Solidarity Will Be Sufficient To Contend With This Pandemic”](#)



political struggles of our communities. Some of these institutions do important work, but most are run according to a charity mindset, with agendas set for them by externally funded grants. Nonprofit institutions strip away political militants from unpaid community organizing, offering them jobs to expand a growing sector of professional activists who conduct political campaigns while prohibiting radical politics. Too often, nonprofits are motivated by external grants and funding cycles, and, intentionally or not, generally serve to disarm Raza communities from establishing organic political militancy and independent leadership. And then there are the notoriously dishonest nonprofits, run by some of the most opportunistic individuals anyone could imagine, who parasitically latch on to community struggles only long enough to claim leadership of those movements during press conferences and on grant applications.

The movimiento, in general, must break its dependence on nonprofits, and these types of organizations should not assume dominant political positions within our communities. Honest people who work in nonprofits should support organic community-based leadership - an organizing model known as "accompaniment." Well-meaning people and "allies" can be helpful, but they will never be able to replace organic community leadership. Sincere nonprofits should "stay in their lane" by being transparent about their funding, goals, limitations, and long-term interests when engaging with barrio gente. On the other hand, cash-grabbing nonprofit opportunists need to be exposed and denounced.

This critique is especially relevant within the networks of "immigration advocates." The "immigration crisis" at the U.S./Mexico border must urgently be recast in anti-colonial and anti-imperialist terms because it is now and will continue to be the focal point of future fascist movements. We state clearly that there is NO SUCH THING as a progressive action or reform within any aspect of the so-called "immigration debate" as it is currently framed. At best, current frameworks cast our communities as perpetual victims or incidental beneficiaries of anything that falls under "immigration reform." Past, present, and future border crises ("dreamers," caravans, unaccompanied children, family separations, asylum petitions/seekers, racist laws) are a direct consequence of U.S. imperialist interventions throughout Nuestra América. This

point is fundamental to any honest assessment of what is happening at the U.S./Mexico border.

Aside from nonprofit institutions, the two-party system, social media algorithms, and/or the corporate media provide us no say regarding who they designate as our political leadership. Our struggles and perspectives have never been allowed to enter the national debate. Even after massacres such as in El Paso, Gilroy, and Uvalde, we are perpetually a second thought, a passing concern, or a charitable liberal lament. No one saved us while these things happened, and no one asked us what we thought about them after they happened. Sometimes, the corporate media chooses a random entertainer, a sports figure, or a business owner to speak on our behalf, who then have nothing useful to say because they are not political leaders. More often, when regional/national political "leaders" are identified, they are selected from a small pool of reactionary hispanics based in South Florida.

This is especially true within the current debates around police terror. A 2021 report issued by the Raza Database Project³⁴ documented the killing of 32,542 people while in police custody since 2000. This report noted that "Hispanic/Latino, Indigenous, Asian and Pacific Islander people are not counted in a uniform base." Raza Database Project Director Roberto "Cintli" Rodriguez arrived at two vital conclusions: 1. The deaths of "Latinos" and Indigenous people at the hands of police were undercounted in widely reported national databases by 25% to 33%. 2. National media narratives virtually ignored the killings of "Hispanics" by law enforcement, even in Southern California, home to the largest Raza population in the United States.

Barrio-based Raza have always suffered first-hand brutality of law enforcement, and we are well aware of its role in suppressing militancy, and in targeting our young people. In her book *500 Years of Chicano History*, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez noted, "The first Texas Rangers were formed in the 1820s to help Anglos planning to take Tejas from Mexico. Since then, they have beaten, tortured, and killed thousands of Mexicanos, especially workers. They have acted as a terrorist force to maintain gringo control in areas where we form the majority." The Texas Rangers provided the model upon which the Border Patrol

³⁴ UnidosUS. May 27, 2021.

was based, expanding to other parts of the country, including Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah.

That the mainstream media, government, elected officials, and the general public are oblivious to law enforcement violence directed against Raza is rooted in many factors. Three essential reasons are: 1. As noted previously, the U.S. operates within a racial paradigm that is essentially Black and White, while Raza is racially nullified. 2. The U.S. sees la Raza as “unbelonging.” It does not matter that we are descended from the Western Hemisphere's original inhabitants. Nor is it significant that our ancestors were here before this country existed in any European form. We are seen as being foreign... transient... illegal... and parasitic. 3. Viable leftist Raza organizations have been silenced and marginalized by institutional powers. We were proven incapable of mounting an effective self-defense of our own communities, even while we actively defended other communities from attacks. This contradiction can be seen operating across the spectrum of the identity-centered “intersectional” activist networks.

For example, in the context of the 2020-2021 “Black Lives Matter” struggles, significant numbers of Raza progressives correctly joined the protests, and we expressed our solidarity with the Black-led resistance against police terror. Yet, when Raza communities suffer violent attacks, our “trauma” is never allowed to enter into the national public sphere to any comparable level, even in areas where Raza is the majority population. We can't think of a single instance of national anger or broad-based solidarity with Raza communities that was comparable to the mass outcry after the murder of George Floyd - not even after the explicitly anti-Raza massacres in El Paso, Gilroy, or Uvalde. Of course, “Black Lives Matter” was given more attention by the mainstream media and corporations (Nike, NFL, etc.) because it never had a revolutionary/liberation-based agenda. *BLM* was primarily a hashtag and a call to stop killing Black people, but it was not part of a broader liberation movement. For Raza, the system recognizes our links to liberation struggle, oftentimes even more than our people even realize it, primarily because of the historical land question and the tremendous legacy of liberation struggles throughout Nuestra América.

This assessment is not anti-Black - it is exposing the system as anti-Raza. Furthermore, our analysis is fundamentally self-critical because we have failed



at the most basic task of projecting our own political priorities in defense of our own communities. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of moments we could have used the national spotlight to help resist relentless anti-Raza attacks. In hindsight, what we learned during the apex of the “Black Lives Matter” struggle was that Raza lives just don’t matter. Even among our own people, reactionary attacks have become “el pan de cada día.”

Another factor contributing to our weakness as pro-Raza forces is our dependence on social media. Social media is not equal to political power in the real world. Unión del Barrio has a substantial online footprint, but we acknowledge that it does not translate into real political power on the streets of our barrios. At best, the online struggle can sometimes be a momentary representation of political power. People who argue that more and better digital media is a priority over more organizational capacity on the streets of our barrios must be challenged. If we demand more social media content for our movement because we think we can use it to build movimiento organizations or strong communities, we will inevitably fail.

Furthermore, too much of what is considered “social justice work” today is based primarily on consuming digital content. Digital media distributed on capitalist social media platforms without being linked to real work in real working-class communities is performative. Algorithms privilege this type of performative content. This type of online content typically reproduces neoliberal values, is susceptible to malicious disinformation/ distraction campaigns (such as “call-out” culture), is subject to increasingly powerful surveillance technologies, and is overwhelmingly corrosive to organized, principled, collective political struggle.

This last point is especially important to note with the recent attention being given to “artificial intelligence” (A.I.). We must recognize the deployment of A.I. as a strategy to maximize profits, increase “efficiency,” and perfect “predictive technologies” for replacing humans in all forms of human-centered activities. We must also recognize A.I. as a security concern and prepare to protect ourselves from it being used to sabotage our movement, members, and communicative endeavors. Furthermore, we have evidence that when A.I.-driven algorithms work independently without our direct interventions, digital media platforms consistently “throttle” (suppress/ slow down) the



circulation of our unpaid political content. Of course, there is always the inevitability that our online accounts will be shut down entirely.

What we know as social media is a digital expression of colonialism and conquest. Where social media dominates political communication and consciousness, it also undermines working-class consciousness and liberatory culture. Algorithms are designed to center individualistic identities and neoliberal values over collective identities that have proven over time to be the only way we can muster collective power to challenge our oppression. This category of digital colonialism and conquest undermines our collective strength while it also nourishes the MAGA fascist movement - look at digital QAnon conspiracies as a social media-dependent cult and a useful example of how this new form of digital colonialism and psycho-social conquest works against our movements while inviting people to identify with the collective madness of this declining empire.

Digital colonialism and psycho-social conquest involve the neoliberal inversion of political struggle – the privileging of individual identities and emotional needs as a primary principle of political unity (as opposed to a practical necessity). Online activism becomes a way to demonstrate how engaged an individual online activist can be relative to the digital world they help create, even to the point of becoming alienated from the real world their families and communities still inhabit. This type of alienation insists that political collectives privilege the needs of each individual social media activist, and not the reverse that presumes individual activists will identify with, find acceptance within, and be accountable to existing collectives rooted in their own communities.

This phenomenon happens to both MAGA believers as well as “liberal-woke” online activists. Within the activist circles, we often see how we digital-dependent activists can literally see kids in cages, barrios decimated by COVID-19, massacres of working-class Raza, flooding of our barrios, and *golpes de estado* in Nuestra América, but still insist that everyone prioritize hollow land acknowledgments, collective responsibility of individual identities, “intersectional solidarity,” DEI checklists, indulgent “self-care,” etc.³⁵ Digital colonialism and psycho-social conquest young people, identity politics, and

³⁵ See [MECHA analysis from 2019](#).



neoliberal political culture have disarmed a generation of otherwise vocal advocates that our working-class communities desperately need.

Raza Cultura & Identity

Pandemic-related isolation and the breakdown of social interaction aggravated the most severe aspects of self-loathing internalized colonialism for Raza working-class people. We see these consequences across our barrios - alienation, desconfianza, irrational negativity, and general demoralization. This has deeply impacted broad sectors of barrio youth, with a wave of educational k-12 crises ranging from a collapse of educational outcomes to severe mental health issues among barrio youth. The promise that technological tools would keep education going during the pandemic was a total failure, and we should learn that community organizing that depends on these same technologies will also be a total failure.

Of course, this is not to say that all our problems relating to Raza consciencia and political culture began during COVID. Even before the rise of digital technologies and MAGA, reactionary tendencies were strong in our communities. These tendencies are deeply rooted in religious dogma, especially among hispanic working-class evangelicals who represent the most right-wing sector in our barrios. Throughout Southern California, MAGA has entrenched itself among these right-wing religious gente. This trend will continue in 2024 because the authoritarian impulse behind MAGA fascism and its language of power impresses too many people in our communities, especially Raza men and barrio youth. At the same time, the self-loathing irrelevance of liberal "latinx/latine" democrats and so-called progressive intellectuals is fertile ground for a cultural "choque" that only accelerates the growth of hispanic-centered MAGA tendencies.

The fact that MAGA trumpism did, in fact, make inroads among Raza working-class people is a function of ideological accessibility versus ideological acceptance. The trojan horse of religious fanaticism brought MAGA into our barrios, and it is what inevitably occupies the void left by the absence of pro-Raza working-class ideology and barrio-based leadership. Hispanic trumpistas have their own online forums and spread their MAGA poison through existing religious networks. For many brown MAGA followers, Trump was sent by god to defend their little piece of nothing. They use their religious fanaticism to



rationalize their self-hate, racism, classism, homo/transphobia, pro-migra, pro-police, pro-imperialist, pro-zionist, and anti-socialist inclinations. This false consciousness is supported by the media-saturated digital colonialism we live in, and it has only accelerated since the pandemic.

A clear example of the connection between religious fanaticism and MAGA is the debate over Roe v. Wade and its overturning by the Supreme Court in 2022. The original legal argument supporting Roe v. Wade was based on fundamental privacy rights. Of course, it was never intended to include how it impacted Raza women. Ultimately, Roe v. Wade needs to be understood as a solution to white women's conditions and desires, and mujeres were never intended to benefit or gain from it other than increased policing of bodies as human commodities to support greater profit margins. Raza women have been kept down since colonization through enslavement, breeding, sterilization, human trafficking, and femicides. By removing access to abortion and reproductive healthcare rights, all sectors of the ruling class maintain a continuous flow of low-wage labor. This is why we must take a working-class position that intrinsically supports the physical and mental health of mujeres; the right to total healthcare access, including abortion, thereby affirming the right of mujeres to bodily autonomy and the right to choose if they have children.

In Defense of "La Raza"

Regrettably, we can't expect any substantive advocacy from our gente in higher education either. During the trump years, Raza working-class communities desperately needed Raza academics to rally any form of unified action to defend us from MAGA fascism and to help us navigate the COVID-19 pandemic. Under trumpism, Raza academics and intellectuals, generally, did not provide the urgently needed analysis or research to help us defend ourselves, much less the barrio-centered advocacy. As a consequence, the terrible anti-Raza cruelty of the Trump years went unchallenged, and our priorities were disregarded within our barrios, as well as in higher ed.

Our communities could not count on the active support of our intellectual class, nor did Raza intellectuals support the work of the few militant community organizations who were defending our barrios, including Unión del Barrio. During the Trump years, higher ed became more isolated from working-class barrios, even denying Raza students the opportunity to learn both

from the classroom and the community, who, in turn, might have used their academic skills to defend our communities from the attacks coming from MAGA fascism and COVID-19.

A new elite class of DEI administrators, careerist academicians, and a growing number of campus-based student resource centers purged working-class, community-centered politics from campus agendas, hoping to de-radicalize Raza students. Instead, many academics stood by as Raza students became increasingly self-loathing and alienated from their own histories and communities. For instance, in 2019 - the 50th anniversary of MEChA and the year we experienced the most brutal attacks against la Raza in generations - a severely weakened national [MEChA voted to drop "Chicano de Aztlán" from its name](#), effectively dissolving this historic student movement organization. In April of 2024, the UCLA group formally known as MEChA publicly denounced its own organizational history, embraced an aggressively anti-Mexican platform, and trashed the broader history of the Chicano Movement in order to justify their liberal "woke" version of diversity and inclusion.

This absurd gentrification of Raza academic life came down within the context of the Trump years, where the most prominent object of analysis among hispanics in higher education was which tokenized/ indecipherable neoliberal identifiers could claim to be more intersectional and inclusive - "Latinx," "Latine," "POC," "WOC," "BIPOC," "IBPOC," "QTBIPOC," etc., without actually having to engage with real barrio gente. These debates raged on college campuses across the U.S., while working-class Raza were terrorized by the daily attacks of MAGA fascism in neighborhoods, detention centers, schools, industries, across the U.S.-Mexico border, and across Nuestra América.

When latinx/latine is used as a collective identity it is best understood by comparing it to how "Hispanic" and "Latino" nomenclatures were put into use in the 1980s/90s. This historical assessment requires awareness of the underlying values informing the adoption of "Hispanic" and "Latino" during those periods. Indeed, "Hispanic," "Latino/a," "Latinx," and most recently, "Latine" are pan-Latin American identifiers rooted in institutional white, U.S. colonial and imperialist power. Furthermore, these institutional identifiers do not "bring together communities of color;" instead, they reproduce the political, cultural, and class balkanization of U.S.-based Raza communities.



Within North American identity politics in 2024, "latinx/latine" are primarily used in U.S.-based academic institutions and non-profit organizations, while the vast majority of our working-class people have never heard of these identifiers.³⁶ Throughout the Southwest of the U.S., the "latinx/latine" panethnicity is often used by institutions to undermine a Mexican and Chicana/o sense of self, and minimize/disqualify Chicana/o and Mexican historical and demographic significance with the intention of keeping our communities politically and economically marginalized. In other words, these identities are typically adopted by institutions in order to declare themselves inclusive while, in practice, they maintain our apartheid status. Simultaneously, the "latinx/latine" panethnicity is used to inflate the demographic significance of right-wing Latin Americans, especially those connected to South Florida.

The political bankruptcy of these frameworks is most obvious when liberals celebrate the Biden administration for assembling the most "diverse" cabinet in U.S. history, making the existing power structures more inclusive and welcoming to imperialists of all colors, genders, and identities, while those people continue to direct the work of the most violent colonial/imperialist government in human history. Diverse & inclusive genocide is still genocide, and being "Latinx-Latine-BIPOC" in 2024 is the functional equivalent to being a "hispanic" in the 1980s/90s - a white-washed, self-loathing institutional identifier that does nothing to address the roots of colonial/ imperial oppression and systems of capitalist power. As we summed up in the 2019 *La Verdad* article titled [Unión del Barrio & The Struggle For LGBTQ+ Comradeship](#), our opposition to these terms is fundamentally based on their reactionary colonial-imperialist roots, *not* because of our position on LGBTQ+ rights.³⁷ We reject "latinx/latine" related neoliberal identifiers not because of homophobic and transphobic presumptions, but because these have proven to be nothing more than the post-modern, anti-Mexican expression of the 1990s "hispanic- vendido."

This assessment is similarly relevant to other forms of "inclusive" language polemics. With each new version of these neoliberal talking points, the greater the distance between the identitarian activists and the urgent needs of our barrios and anti-colonial/anti-imperialist struggles throughout Nuestra América.

³⁶ See "Latinx Used by Just 3% of U.S. Hispanics. About One-in-Four Have Heard of It," Noe-Bustamante, et al, August 11, 2020.

³⁷ See Point IV of the Unión del Barrio Political Program, "The Struggle For LGBTQ+ Comradeship."



"Identity politics" serve to further alienate working-class Raza from higher education during a period in history when we desperately need barrio-based intellectual leadership and research.

Furthermore, we defend our organizational use of *la Raza* as a viable barrio-based identity. Non-institutional Latin American and indigenous identities shaped in the 1960s demonstrate closer links to Latin American anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggles. 1960s working-class, community-centered liberation organizations within the U.S. and across *Nuestra América* began identifying themselves using similarly derived liberation-minded terms. In particular, the politics of *la Raza* took shape within the context of the 1960s-70s Native, Chicano, and Puerto Rican liberation movements. Examples of this are the popularization of "Native," "Chicana/o," and "Boricua" during that period of elevated liberation-focused struggle across our barrios and on reservations.

Militants from these movements most often embraced the use of *la Raza* as the preferred pan-Latin American indigenous identity. They rightly argued that the use of "Hispanic" erased their people's histories and cultural roots that predate European colonialism. Their movements rejected the notion that their shared point of origin inevitably rested on legacies of genocide, enslavement, dispossession, and European colonial oppression. Instead, the liberation politics of *la Raza* embodied a shared anti-colonial experience, native pride, transnational solidarity, and contemporaneous anti-imperialist struggle.

Furthermore, various existing community-centered organizations use *la Raza* to acknowledge the indigeneity of Latin American people and cultures while capturing the manifest racial diversity of *Nuestra América*. *La Raza* recognizes and celebrates the shared indigenous ancestry of all *Nuestra Americas*, and the concept includes Raza from African and Asian heritage. People who use the *la Raza* in its political form also acknowledge people of European heritage, but in no way do they celebrate colonial oppression. In contrast to performative land acknowledgments that mark all "non-native" people as colonizers, *la Raza* builds on a history of solidarity, cultural resilience, and political/territorial sovereignty with unbroken, living, organic links to Native cultures, values, and aspirations.

Critics of the term *la Raza* claim that it is racist because of its literal English translation into "the race." We must trace how these criticisms are rooted in right-wing, anti-communist misrepresentations of "*la Raza*" that seek to



suppress any potential U.S. manifestations of Latin American transnational solidarity, struggles for self-determination, national liberation, and socialism.

Ultimately, as a movement, we might consider embracing class-based identities from liberation struggles throughout Nuestra América that uphold working-class Raza and expose bourgeois "latinx/latine" sell-outs for what they are: Cuba - gusanos; Venezuela - escuálidos; Chile - momias; Aztlan - hispanic vendidos. South Florida, Miami in particular, is the continental capital of the Latin American right-wing ruling class. Under the most conservative assessment, the Latin American ruling class represents less than 1% of the region's population, but they control 90% of the wealth, resources, and political power throughout Nuestra América. This reactionary political class has historically been dominated by Cuban exiles, but it is backed up by fascists from Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala, Venezuela, and other countries.

As such, South Florida is also the continental capital/ HQ of Latin American coup d'états, death squads, international drug/human/arms trafficking networks, and a right-wing Spanish-language media cartel that dominates transnational political communication across Latin America. Miami is the cultural and political capital of Latin American classism, deprived consumerism, corruption, misogyny, racism, and militant fidelity to U.S. imperialism. The dominant political forces based in Miami represent a homicidal, transnational right-wing mafia, willing to slash and burn any threat to their power, and they are fascistically anti-communist.

The Miami-based criminal syndicate is the only group that benefits - economically and politically - from the normalized disappearances, beheadings, femicides, mass graves, political assassinations, mass migration, dystopian inequality, etc., that exist today throughout Latin America. The political-economic power of this reactionary criminal syndicate flows northward into Florida from state terror, arms/drug trafficking, and death squads in their home countries. Conversely, political and military protection and tutelage flow southward from Washington D.C. throughout Latin America. In fact, specialized methods of extreme violence perfected in U.S. training centers are the tools used to conduct the everyday Latin American politics that are the source of northbound migration flows. The Latin American ruling class owns, reproduces, and profits from the madness of the status quo in México, Centroamérica, el Caribe, and Sudamérica.



Within the borders of the U.S., this homicidal political class is the dominant political force within the “hispanic” politics of both the Democratic and Republican Parties, and it directs U.S. policies throughout Latin America. Furthermore, we are sure that the role of the right-wing criminal syndicates from Latin America within the MAGA movement has not been completely revealed. We see too many parallels between how the January 6th attack in Washington unfolded, and what took place in Venezuela in 2002 during the right-wing march on Miraflores and the murders that took place on Puente Llaguno, the 2019 repression of protests in Chile, the 2019-2020 Bolivian coup, the 2022 Peruvian coup, and the failed 2023 coup in Brazil. It is not lost on us that the leader of the “Proud Boys” is an FBI asset of Cuban heritage. Furthermore, central to the mass psychosis of the MAGA movement election fraud accusations under the slogan of “stop the steal,” is an active media campaign that seeks to link Raza liberation struggle to a fantastic international conspiracy involving Hugo Chavez, voting machines, the Latin American left, and the “liberal ‘woke’ democrats.” Again, there are no coincidences in these fascist delusions.³⁸

This Latin American right-wing criminal syndicate depends on U.S. imperialism as a whole - MAGA, republicans, and democrats alike - but also on an international reactionary ruling class with different fronts on the move in different parts of the world. A basic tracking of international right-wing activities suggests that MAGA-inspired (and democrat-financed) fascism is one facet of a global ruling class insurgency that is intent on defending its position by any means necessary. This global fascist cabal includes Bolsonaro in Brazil, Duterte in the Philippines, Modi in India, Netanyahu in Israel, every Arab monarchy and military dictatorship, Honduran and Guatemalan narco governments, Bolivian, Nicaraguan, and Venezuelan golpistas, powerful sectors of the Mexican narco-state, and of course reactionary Miami Cubans. It is not a coincidence that there is unwavering “bi-partisan” support for the most reactionary politics in Nuestra América, including from AOC and Bernie Sanders.

³⁸ The 2020 Trump campaign strategy in Florida was primarily directed at right-wing Cubans and Venezuelans and is more evidence of these links.



V. Unite Or Perish.

The worst is yet to come, and we must prepare ourselves for intensified fascist violence. The radical right-wing is advancing an agenda of collective psychosis, spreading political violence in every direction. Because the system is collapsing, it is externalizing its most homicidal colonial-imperial tendencies on a global scale.

As weather patterns change and Nuestra America is subject to terrible floods or scarcity of water, we can expect nothing but more repression and death. As the U.S. continues to impose puppet governments that only increase corruption, cut public services, and expand narco-violence, we can expect nothing but more repression and death. As more pandemics emerge, we can expect nothing but more repression and death. Just consider for a minute those future pandemics are inevitable. Then imagine for a minute how bad our communities will have it with a more deadly pandemic, say a virus two or three times as lethal/infectious as COVID-19. Needless to say, under these circumstances, la Raza will remain a central target and the primary victim.

We need to look outward for solutions - particularly for self-defense. Our movimiento must recognize that we are our own liberators and our only advocates. What we experienced during MAGA/COVID-19 this time around was a test run, and we can be sure that the worst is yet to come. We must get organized or perish.

Nuestra América

Disciplined political organization within the current borders of the U.S. and principled political unity across Nuestra América are imperative. We must formalize our political links with liberation forces throughout Nuestra America. There must be substantial barrio-based work to raise conciencia and support real international solidarity and ideological unity across Nuestra América – work that would otherwise prioritize stopping the U.S. puppet coup-plotters of Venezuela, ending the blockade against Cuba, overturning the colonial domination of Puerto Rico, exposing the imperialist manipulation of Central America, and blocking the capitalist devastation of our planet. To support the struggles of Indigenous Raza, we should prioritize unity with the American Indian



Movement (AIM), and always uphold the fundamental right for self-determination of Indigenous peoples as central to our political programs.

The only honest assessment of the “immigration debate” and the “crisis at the border” must begin with the recognition that our ancestors did not cross any oceans, we identify ourselves as natives to Nuestra America, thereby rendering our “immigrant” status null and void. The only viable solutions to the so-called immigration crisis - caravans, unaccompanied minors, asylum seekers, etc. - begin first by insisting that the U.S. government cut off all aid and halt imperialist interventions throughout Nuestra América. Next, we must insist on absolute compliance with the principle of self-determination for all nations to select their own political and economic systems. Within our barrios, we must aggressively pursue a mass-based, working-class, political education campaign with regard to Indigenous and Latin American history and politics based on anti-imperialism and socialism. We must recover and redeploy what we understand to be progressive and of the “left” by re-centering liberation ideas and class-based liberation struggle.

VI. Conclusions.

Militant Raza working-class unity is our only viable defense here and throughout Nuestra America. We are our own liberators. We need to conduct an ongoing anti-colonial, anti-imperialist liberation struggle. We must break the political monopoly of the South Florida criminal syndicate. The political power of this sector does not correspond to their economic power or demographic status. We must learn from our historical left, seeing southern struggles “as our norte.” The leftist knowledge and culture of Nuestra América is what we have to internalize, and we should draw from these legacies to nourish our struggles in the north. We need to measure our liberation with the liberation of the peoples and nations of Nuestra America. The future of our people within the U.S. is inextricably linked to the advances we make to the South.

Raza liberation forces need to refocus, prioritize, and re-center community-based struggle to make it the heart and soul of every political action while pushing back against the dominant role of esoteric/neoliberal academic, 501c3, administrative/ institutional political rhetoric and values. Our movement must establish the means to identify our own regional/national



political leadership. Academics, non-profits, and student services directors need to actively support independent, community-based organizations; if not, they need to be told to back away from claiming they represent “community-engaged” institutions unless they are willing to publicly privilege the community ahead of their personal economic and professional goals.

When we serve the interests of our communities, then we should use social media as an instrument that we control, and not the other way around. Political action should leverage social media as an instrument through which local struggles can be reinforced and expanded, spread to other communities that are suffering the same attacks, or shared with people who are in solidarity with the struggle. The essential root of political power is people's power – the power to physically defend a community, and only viable community-based organizations can engage with real expressions of people's power.

Finally, we must build and support independent media outlets and break the informational and ideological stranglehold that dominates our communities. We should conduct our politics by centering on organizing with real people on the streets, decentering the type of organizing that focuses only on electoral outcomes or online recognition. That is not to say we exclude electoral struggles or online struggles - but our work on the streets is primary and will transcend those other forms. We must reconstruct our own indigenous, pro-Raza expressions of political power based on principles of participatory democracy built upon a foundation of working-class, street-level organizational capacity.

We need to promote identities of scale (Raza working-class within the U.S., national working-class struggle, international anti-imperialist working-class solidarity) - identities that emerge from struggle, “la Raza,” Chicanas, Chicanos, and when appropriate to identify the presence of people who do not identify with the a/o, we will include the appropriate non-gendered terms. We know that the heavy alienation and religiosity of our communities continue to propagate reactionary ideas, racism, homophobia, transphobia, etc. Educating and raising conciencia among our gente is the only viable solution to overcoming these reactionary tendencies. We need to place critical limits on identities sustained by social media not by attacking young activists, but instead by pointing out the unsubstantiated nature of social media identities and their inherent reactionary character. This includes a critique of what is NOT



the “left.” Our definition of the Raza working class is expansive and centered on that which is most capable of harnessing collective strengths in order to defend communities and wield political power. To be authentically inclusive, it is not enough to use the scripted language of individual identity politics; instead, it is necessary to communicate with people as a function of liberatory struggle.

We must continue to build our unity with the Black Power movement, but be absolutely clear that we do so as a demonstration of active, principled solidarity versus as an appropriation of white guilt. Online arguments that la Raza must surrender our “privilege” and “center Black voices” are the clearest examples of this kind of appropriation of white guilt. Our position as *la Raza* is not rooted in European colonialism - not now, not in the past, and not in the future. The ongoing priority given to political critiques of “anti-Black racism” within our communities as emblematic of a form of “white privilege,” instead of evidence of colonial horizontal violence, is a backward form of self-loathing that requires we turn our backs on our own indigenous roots. Colonial horizontal violence is real, and yes, of course, there are anti-Black tendencies among working-class Raza, just like there are anti-Raza tendencies among working-class Black people. Forget about neoliberal “allyship” and liberal tokenism - the best way to express our solidarity with the African liberation struggle is through organized revolutionary comradeship, principled political unity, and mutual self-defense.

Every one of us is more deeply connected to centuries of liberation struggle that is indigenous to these lands – a legacy that reaches back in time prior to the existence of any colonial/imperial universities, colleges, and high schools, prior to the establishment of the United States, or any settler-colonial nation-state. Acknowledging this, after a university and college experience, Raza students should return to our barrios to continue organizing and building better realities for our communities. Anything short of centering and prioritizing the self-defense of our communities is to cede space to the two-headed beast of “Dictator Don’s” MAGA fascism and “Genocide Joe’s” woke liberalism.

We must maintain absolute focus and intentionality to build on what is actually “social” in our struggle and in our humanity. We should reject the self-loathing poison fed to us every day through instruments of digital colonialism and psycho-social conquest. Only then can we stop being led by



never-ending existential crises and move to organized self-defense. Only when we protect our communities, can we recover part of what we've lost.



¡Concientización, Organización, Acción, Liberación!



References

- Bahrampour, T. (2022, March 10). *2020 Census undercounted Latinos, Blacks, and Native Americans, bureau estimates show*. Washington Post.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2022/03/10/2020-census-undercount-report/>
- BOP Statistics: Inmate Race* (2022). Federal Bureau of Prisons.
https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_race.jsp
- COE - Public High School Graduation Rates* (2021). National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/coi>
- CDC FastStats* (2022). Homepage. Retrieved January 29, 2022, from
<https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/default.htm>
- Flores, A. (2020, July 29). *How the U.S. Hispanic population is changing*. Pew Research Center.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/18/how-the-u-s-hispanic-population-is-changing/>
- Frey, W. H. (2021, July 12). *What the 2020 census will reveal about America: Stagnating growth, an aging population, and youthful diversity*. Brookings.
<https://www.brookings.edu/research/what-the-2020-census-will-reveal-about-america-stagnating-growth-an-aging-population-and-youthful-diversity/>
- Irfan, U., & Leber, R. (2021, August 9). *The devastating new UN report on climate change, explained*. Vox.
<https://www.vox.com/22613027/un-ipcc-climate-change-report-ar6-disaster>
- Martínez, E. S. (1991). *500 años del pueblo chicano = 500 years of Chicano history*. Southwest Organizing Project.
- Noe-Bustamante, L. (2020, May 31). *Key facts about U.S. Hispanics and their diverse heritage*. Pew Research Center.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/09/16/key-facts-about-u-s-hispanics/>
- Noe-Bustamante, L., Lopez, M. H., & Krogstad, J. M. (2020, July 10). *U.S. Hispanic population surpassed 60 million in 2019, but growth has slowed*. Pew Research Center.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/>
- Noe-Bustamante, L., Mora, L., & Lopez, M. H. (2020, August 11). *Latinx Used by Just 3% of U.S. Hispanics. About One-in-Four Have Heard of It*. Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/11/about-one-in-four-u-s-hispanics-have-heard-of-latinx-but-just-3-use-it/>
- Office of Minority Health (2019). *American Indian/Alaskan Native Profile*.
<https://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/omh/browse.aspx?lvl=3&lvlid=62>
- Prisoners in 2020 – Statistical Tables* (2021). Bureau of Justice Statistics.
<https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/prisoners-2020-statistical-tables>
- Sullivan, K. (2022, July 26). CNN Poll: 75% of Democratic voters want someone other than Biden in 2024 | CNN Politics. CNN.
<https://www.cnn.com/2022/07/26/politics/cnn-poll-biden-2024/index.html>
- UnidosUS. (2021, May 27). *Special Advance Fact Sheet: Deaths of People of Color By Law Enforcement Are Severely Under-Counted*.



<https://unidosus.org/publications/2164-special-advance-fact-sheet-deaths-of-people-of-color-by-law-enforcement-are-severely-under-counted/>

- US Census Bureau (2021, October 8). *2020 Census Statistics Highlight Local Population Changes and Nation's Racial and Ethnic Diversity*. Census.Gov. <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2021/population-changes-nations-diversity.html>
- US Census Bureau (2021a, October 8). *Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2019*. Census.Gov. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2020/demo/p60-271.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau (2021b, October 15). *2020 Census Illuminates Racial and Ethnic Composition of the Country*. Census.Gov. <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2021/08/improved-race-ethnicity-measures-reveal-united-states-population-much-more-multiracial.html>
- US Census Bureau (2021c, October 19). *Race and Ethnicity in the United States: 2010 Census and 2020 Census*. Census.Gov. <https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/interactive/race-and-ethnicity-in-the-united-state-2010-and-2020-census.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2022a, April 12). *Detailed Coverage Estimates for the 2020 Census Released Today*. Census.Gov. <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2022/03/who-was-undercounted-overcounted-in-2020-census.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau (2022b). *Population Clock*. <https://www.census.gov/popclock/>



Information about Unión del Barrio.

Join The Struggle To Defend Our Communities!

Join Unión del Barrio Now!

Today, our communities suffer under terrible conditions. The intensity of the hatred and political poison our people are forced to endure is unprecedented. Unión del Barrio is convinced that our future must be different.

Unión del Barrio is an independent political organization dedicated to struggling on behalf of *la Raza* who live within the current borders of the United States. We have set for ourselves the goal of building an organization capable of defending and promoting our people's rights and working-class interests. We support the struggles for freedom and self-determination of all our sisters and brothers across *Nuestra América*, and we unconditionally uphold the right of self-determination of indigenous people and all poor and oppressed people throughout the world.

Since 1981, Unión del Barrio has led campaigns to resist migra and police violence. We have organized the active self-defense of our communities and consistently advocated for the rights of *Raza* workers, *mujeres*, barrio youth, prisoners, and barrio residents. We have built independent *Raza*-led educational institutions and consistently demonstrated principled solidarity with liberation struggles around the world. We have done these things and more, without any type of government funding, because we only answer to *la Raza*. Now, more than ever, we need you to join Unión del Barrio to help build this movement for *Raza* self-defense and liberation!

¡Hasta La Victoria, Siempre - Venceremos!

Prospective members must agree with the UdB Political Program before applying for membership. New members should be ready to adhere to collective community-centered work and responsibilities. This includes being actively involved in organizational meetings, community projects, and activities. UdB requires members to be honest, committed, and politically principled. When members of UdB are found to be in violation of these ideals, any member of the community has the right to criticize the work of that member by sending a signed statement to the corresponding leadership body of UdB.

Contact *Unión del Barrio*:

P.O. Box 13036
San Diego, CA 92170

619/398-6648 - info@uniondelbarrio.org

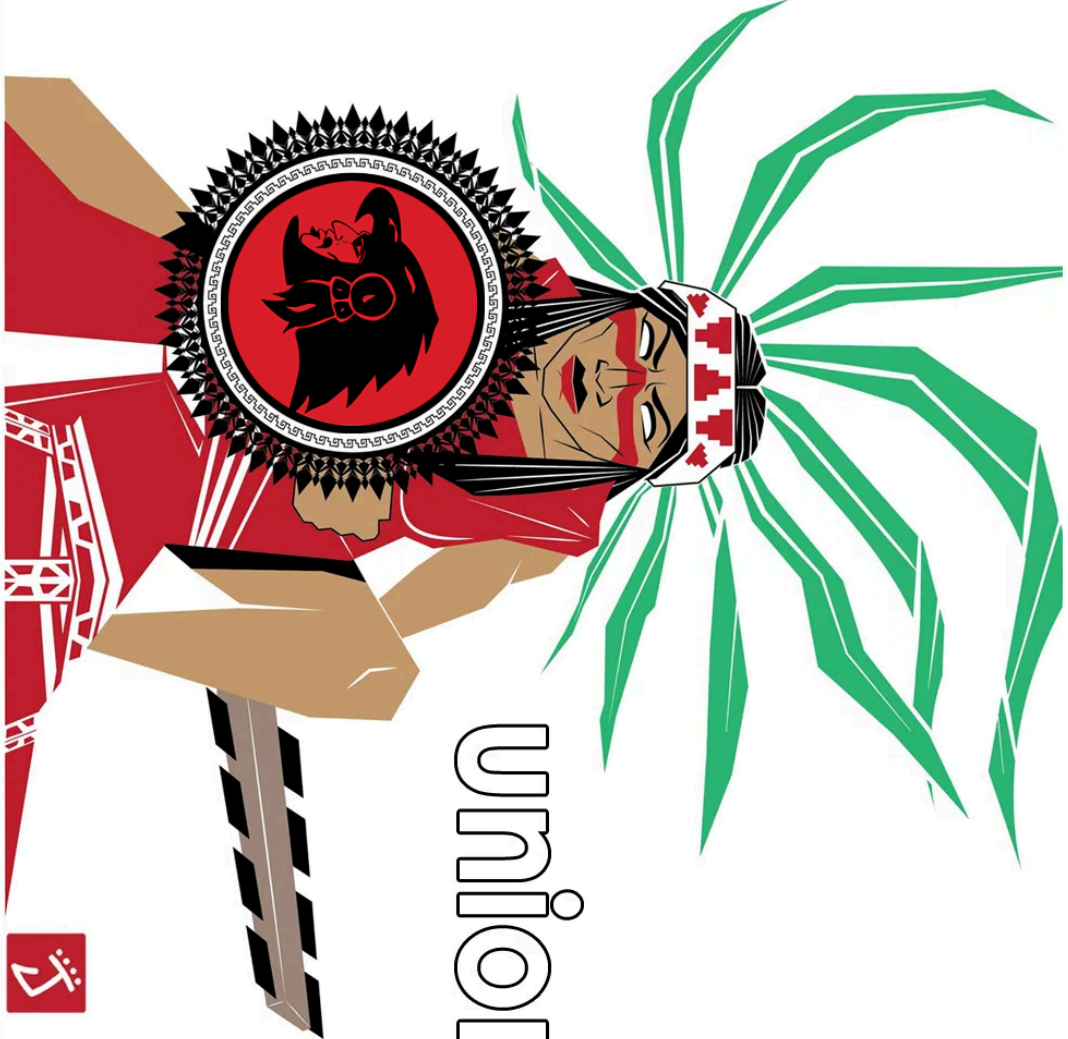
<https://uniondelbarrio.org/>

Donate to Unión del Barrio:



@UniondelBarrio





uniondelbarrio.org