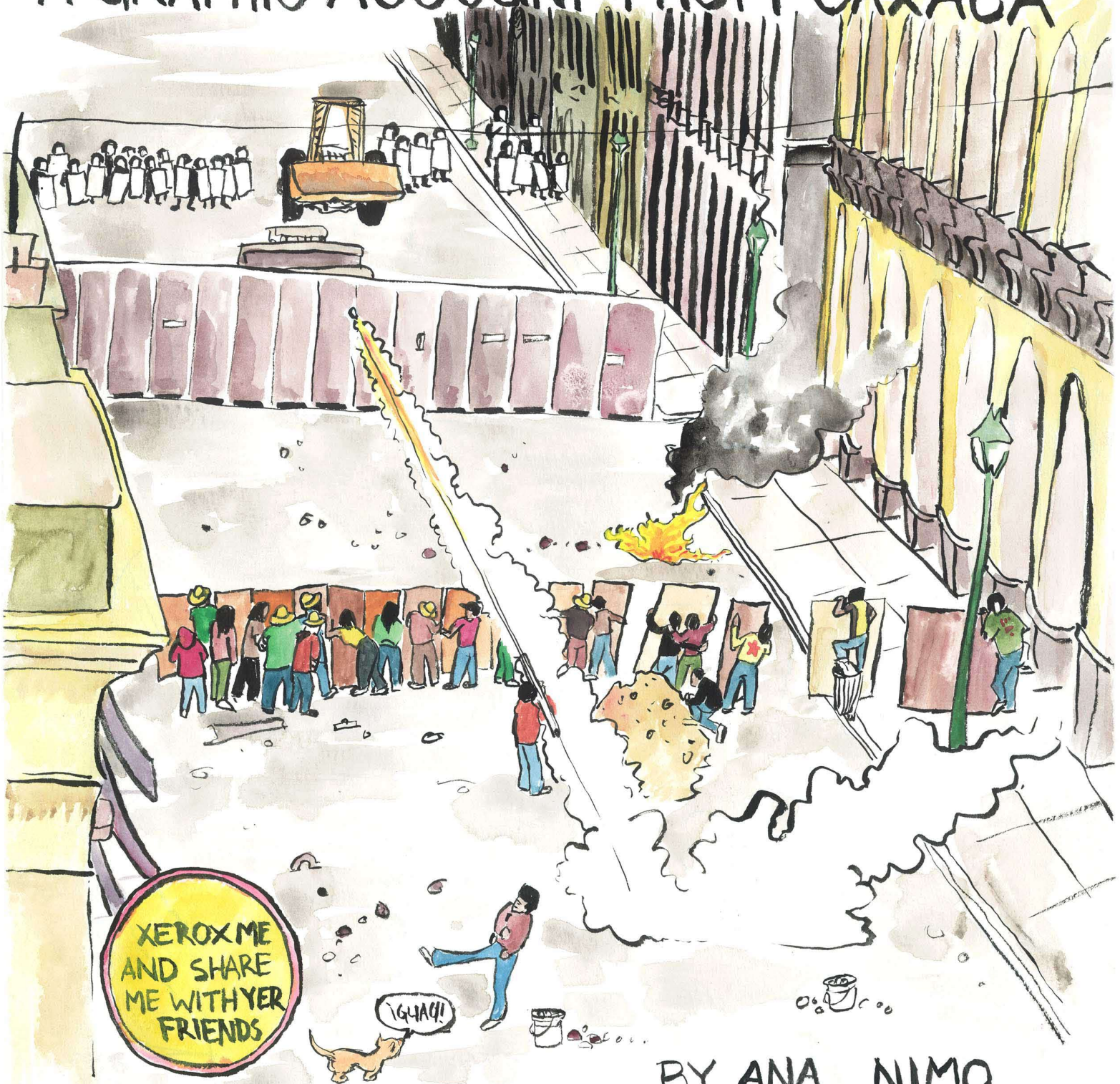


# ¡FUERA ULISES!

A GRAPHIC ACCOUNT FROM OAXACA



BY ANA NIMO

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO ANARCHISTS AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIANS STRUGGLING FOR JUSTICE AND EQUALITY EVERYWHERE, BUT ESPECIALLY TO THE ANARCHIST POLITICAL PRISONERS IN OAXACA, INCLUDING;

DAVID VENEGAS REYES (EL ALEBRIFE)

SILVIA GABRIELA HERNANDEZ SALINAS (CHIVIS DIVIS)

OSCAR

JUANA MORALES PÉREZ AND THE INDIGENOUS PRISONERS OF SAN ISIDRO ALOAPAM AND CIPO.



FEEL FREE TO COPY THIS BOOK AND SHARE IT WITH YOUR FRIENDS AND COMMUNITY. IF YOU'D LIKE TO, SELL THE COPIES TO PAY FOR REPRODUCTION COSTS AND/OR RAISE MONEY FOR AN APPROPRIATE CAUSE.

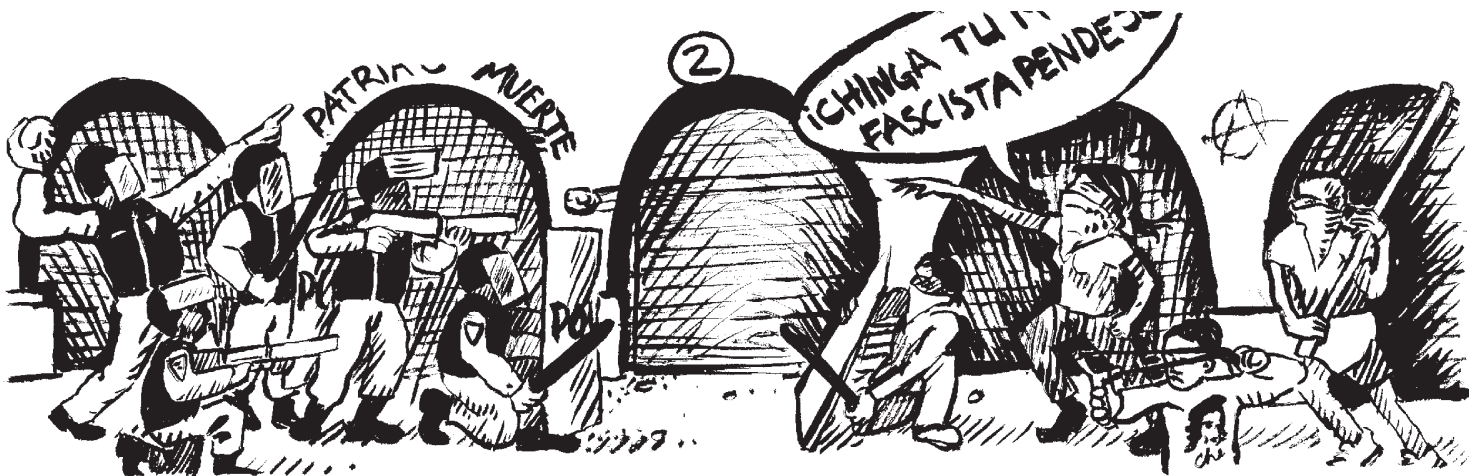
I WAS IN SANTA MARIA YAVICHE, IN THE SIERRA NORTE OF OAXACA WHEN I HEARD ABOUT THE POLICE ATTACK ON THE TEACHER'S STRIKE IN THE CAPITOL.



I HAD BEEN IN YAVICHE FOR THE PAST THREE WEEKS, WORKING IN THE FIELDS, LEARNING ABOUT THE COMMUNITY, AND HELPING THE CHILDREN MAKE A "MANTA" (A MURAL-SIZED BANNER,) MEMORIALIZING AN ATTACK ON THEIR VILLAGE SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE.



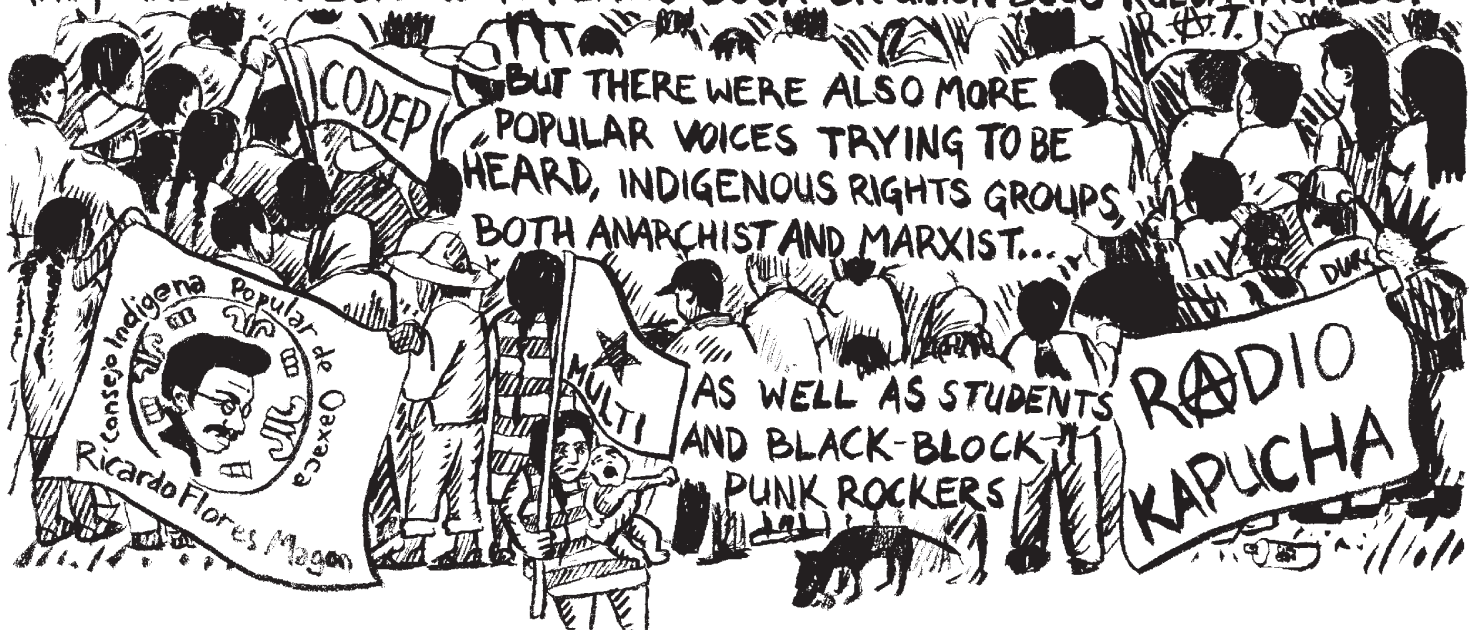
WHEN I HEARD ABOUT THE CURRENT POLICE ATTACK ON THE RADIO, I TOOK THE NEXT BUS TO THE CAPITOL, AND FOUND THAT THE TEACHERS, WITH THE HELP OF STUDENTS, WORKERS, AND OTHER ALLIES, HAD REGAINED THE ZOCALO, OR TOWN SQUARE, AND WERE BUSY MAKING BARRICADES AND PAINTING SLOGANS AROUND THE PERIMETER. THEY HAD OCCUPIED THE ZOCALO FOR THE PREVIOUS MONTH AS PART OF A 'PLANTON,' OR SIT-IN, A TACTIC IN THEIR ANNUAL STRIKE FOR BETTER PAY AND FUNDING FOR SCHOOLS. IN PAST YEARS THEY HAD COMPROMISED WITH THE GOVERNMENT, BUT THIS YEAR WAS AN ELECTION YEAR. ULISES RUIZ ORTIZ (URO), THE GOVERNOR OF OAXACA, BROKE OFF NEGOTIATIONS ONE MONTH INTO THE STRIKE AND GAVE ORDERS TO EVICT THE PLANTON.



A FRIEND EXPLAINED TO ME HOW THE POLICE CAME IN WITH BILLY CLUBS AND TEAR GAS AT FOUR IN THE MORNING, ATTACKING THE SLEEPING TEACHERS AND THEIR FAMILIES. BUT THE TEACHERS FOUGHT BACK WITH ROCKS AND STICKS, AND AS THE CITY AWOKE MANY WORKERS AND STUDENTS JOINED IN THE FRAY. BY NOON, THE POLICE, DANGEROUSLY OUTNUMBERED, WERE FORCED TO RETREAT.



MANY GROUPS JUMPED ON THE ATTACK AS A POLITICAL VEHICLE, AND THE PEOPLE'S POPULAR ASSEMBLY OF OAXACA (APPO) WAS FORMED AS AN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION. MANY OF THE LOUDEST VOICES IN THE APPO WERE OLD-HAT POLITICIANS AND UNION BOSSES, FOLKS WHO WOULD WORK UNDER ANY BANNER FOR POLITICAL GAIN, LIKE SPOKESPERSON FLAVIO SOSA OR UNION BOSS RUEDA PACHECO.



BUT THERE WERE ALSO MORE POPULAR VOICES TRYING TO BE HEARD, INDIGENOUS RIGHTS GROUPS BOTH ANARCHIST AND MARXIST...

AS WELL AS STUDENTS AND BLACK-BLOCK PUNK ROCKERS



APPO MEETINGS WERE CHAOTIC, WITH CAREER POLITICIANS MANIPULATING THE DIALOGUE AND BLOCKING POPULAR INITIATIVES SUCH AS CREATING REGIONAL AND NEIGHBORHOOD ASSEMBLIES, BLOCKING HIGHWAYS, AND OCCUPYING FACTORIES AND LANDS. IT SEEMED LIKE THE ONLY THING THEY COULD AGREE ON WAS DEMANDING THE GOVERNOR STEP DOWN.

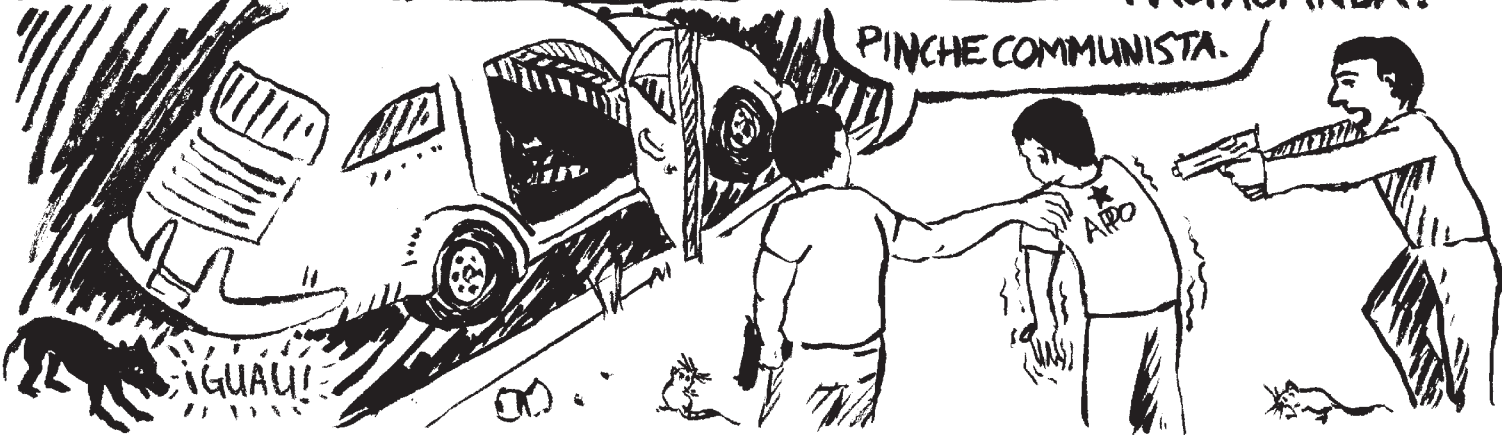


THERE WERE A NUMBER OF ACTIONS WHICH WERE CARRIED OUT DESPITE THE POLITICOS' BEST EFFORTS TO BLOCK THEM. MANY GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS WERE OCCUPIED, ANARCHIST YOUTH TURNED A FORMER JAIL INTO A SOCIAL CENTER, AND A WOMEN'S PROTEST OUTSIDE A T.V. STATION TURNED INTO A FULL-ON OCCUPATION.

OF COURSE, THE POLITICOS DIDN'T MISS MANY OPPORTUNITIES. AFTER HAVING ORIGINALLY DENOUNCED THE OCCUPATION OF CANAL 9, THEY SAW IT'S POTENTIAL AND POPULAR SUPPORT.



QUICKLY COOPTING IT, THE WOMEN'S "CANAL CACEROLA" (CHANNEL COOKING POT) BECAME "CANAL APPO" AND THE APPO THEN HAD A BROADER VOICE FOR THEIR PROPAGANDA.



IN THE FACE OF BROAD POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE RESISTANCE, THE GOVERNMENT WAS SLOW TO REACT. BUT WHEN THEY REGROUPED, THEY ATTACKED VICIOUSLY. OFF-DUTY POLICE AND GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS FORMED PARAMILITARY UNITS TO DO DRIVE-BY'S ON THE OCCUPIED BUILDINGS, SHOOTING INTO THE CROWDS OUTSIDE AND ABDUCTING RESISTANCE LEADERS NEAR THEIR HOMES.

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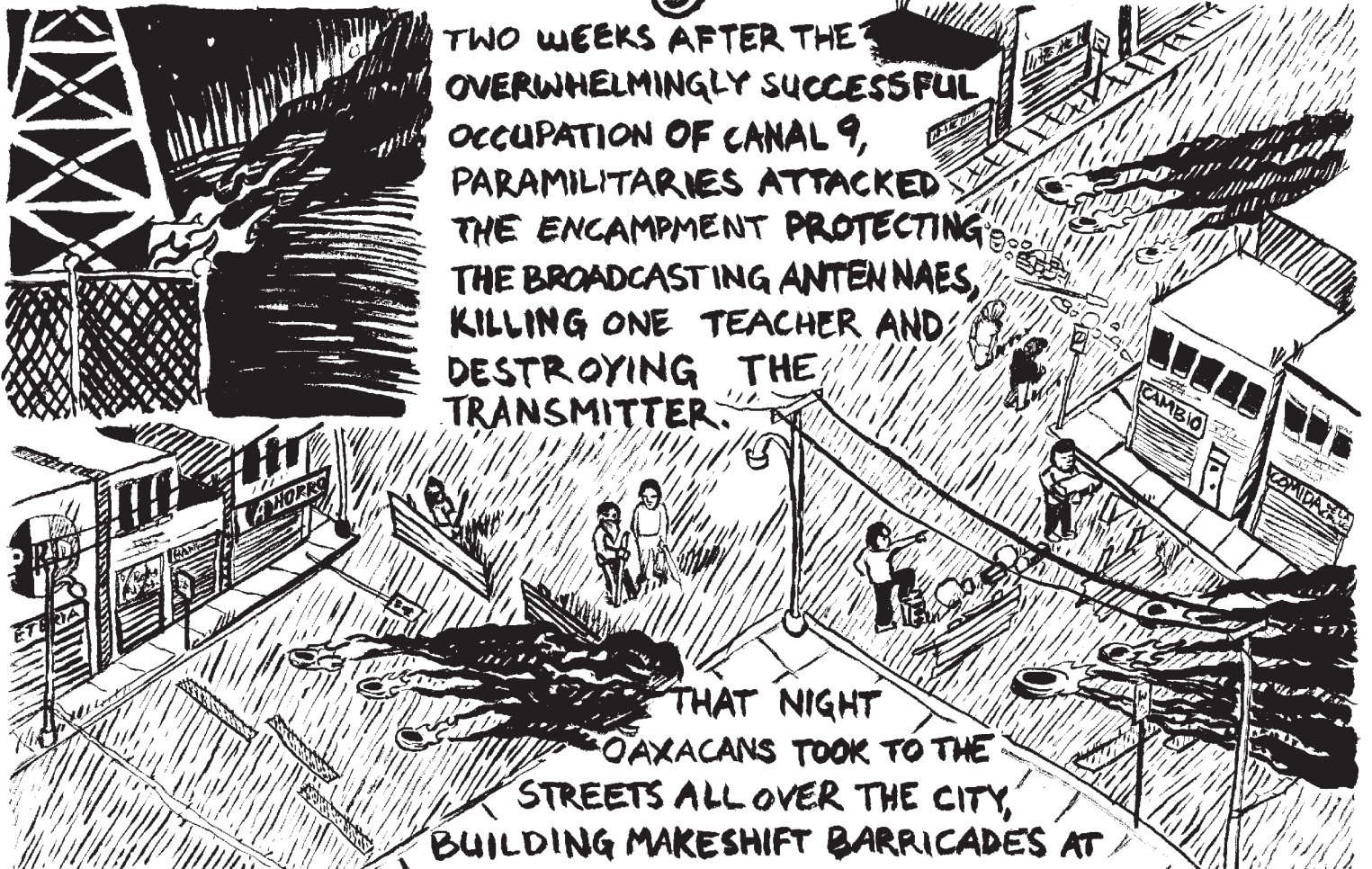
IN TRUEMEXICAN SPIRIT, EVERY OCCASION IS CAUSE FOR A FESTIVAL, AND THE OAXACAN INSURRECTION WAS NO DIFFERENT. BLOCKADING THE OFFICIAL, TOURIST-ORIENTED GUELAGUETZA (A TRADITIONAL GATHERING, SIMILAR IN SPIRIT TO A POW-WOW,) THE APPO ORGANIZED ONE OF THEIR OWN, THE "GUELAGUETZA POPULAR," WITH HOMEMADE FOOD, DRINK, MUSIC, DANCING, AND MAYBE EVEN A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL OR TWO.



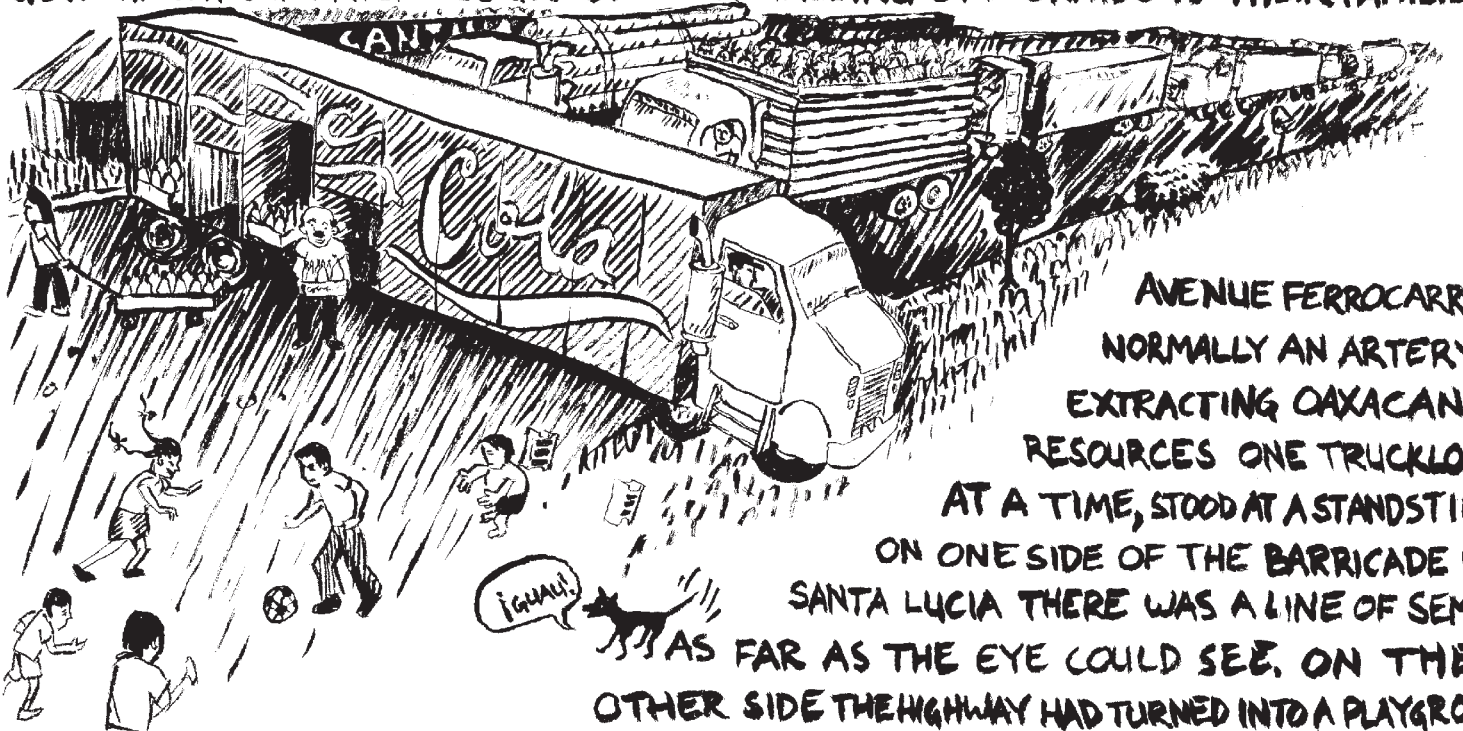
BUT AS THE PEOPLE PARTIED, THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUED ITS COUNTERATTACK...

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TWO WEEKS AFTER THE OVERWHELMINGLY SUCCESSFUL OCCUPATION OF CANAL 9, PARAMILITARIES ATTACKED THE ENCAMPMENT PROTECTING THE BROADCASTING ANTENNAES, KILLING ONE TEACHER AND DESTROYING THE TRANSMITTER.



THAT NIGHT OAXACANS TOOK TO THE STREETS ALL OVER THE CITY, BUILDING MAKESHIFT BARRICADES AT ALL THE MAJOR INTERSECTIONS. THE BARRICADES CONTINUED INTO THE MORNING AND THE WHOLE CITY WAS SHUT DOWN. THERE WAS TENSION IN THE AIR, BUT THERE WAS ALSO RELEASE. AS THE PEOPLE COMMANDEERED COKE TRUCKS TO REINFORCE THE BARRICADES, THEY REDISTRIBUTED THEIR CONTENTS. EVEN GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS COULD BE SEEN HAULING OFF CRATES TO THEIR FAMILIES.



AVENUE FERROCARRIL, NORMALLY AN ARTERY EXTRACTING OAXACAN RESOURCES ONE TRUCKLOAD AT A TIME, STOOD AT A STANDSTILL ON ONE SIDE OF THE BARRICADE IN SANTA LUCIA THERE WAS A LINE OF SEMI'S AS FAR AS THE EYE COULD SEE. ON THE OTHER SIDE THE HIGHWAY HAD TURNED INTO A PLAYGROUND

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SEVEN MORE RADIO STATIONS WERE OCCUPIED TO MAKE UP FOR THE LOSS OFF CANAL 9. BUT THE SHUTDOWN SCARED THE APPO POLITICOS, WHOSE



LIVELIHOODS WERE AS TIED TO PRIVATE PROPERTY AS THOSE OF THE EXISTING REGIME. AND BY LATE AFTERNOON, AT WHAT WAS ARGUABLY THE MOVEMENT'S STRONGEST POINT, THEY ORDERED THE



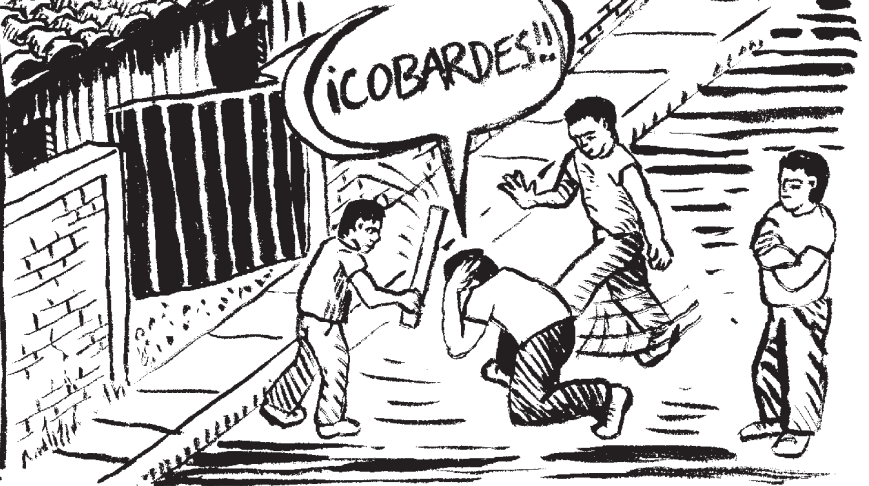
PEOPLE TO LIFT THE BARRICADES, ALLOWING THEM TO BE MAINTAINED ONLY FROM THE HOURS OF 10PM TO 6AM.



THE BARRICADES BECAME A FOCAL POINT FOR NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZING. SMALL ASSEMBLIES FORMED OUTSIDE THE APPO, ATTEMPTING TO RESOLVE LOCAL ISSUES, CRIME RATES DROPPED AT NIGHT AS INTERSECTIONS ONCE NOTORIOUS FOR DRUG TRAFFIC AND PROSTITUTION WERE NOW WATCHED OVER BY TEACHERS AND THEIR ALLIES. THOSE THAT COULDN'T STAY HELPED IN OTHER WAYS, BRINGING COFFEE AND FOOD. BUT AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF STRUGGLE THE PEOPLE WERE TIRED, THE APPO WAS SPLINTERING, AND THE ATTACKS AND KIDNAPPINGS CONTINUED.



THE APPO POLITICOS, IN AN ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN THEIR POWER, BLOCKED THE BARRICADE ASSEMBLIES' ACCESS TO MEETINGS AND BANNED THEM FROM



CONCEALING THEIR IDENTITIES WITH SKIMASKS AND BANDANNA'S AT APPO EVENTS AND AT THE BARRICADES.

ONE BY ONE, THE MOST INFLUENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE BARRICADES WERE IDENTIFIED AND TARGETED FOR ATTACKS OR THREATS OUTSIDE OF THEIR HOMES.

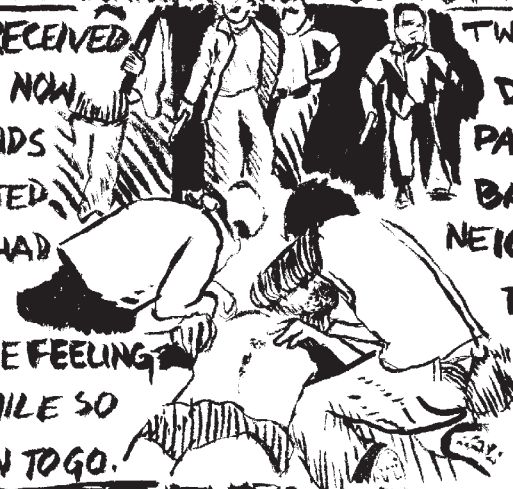




AGITADORES INTERNACIONALES DE ALTA PELIGROSIDAD:...

IT WAS BROADCAST ON TV NEWS AND RIGHT-WING RADIO THAT INTERNATIONALS PARTICIPATING IN THE MOVEMENT WERE THREATENING THE SECURITY OF THE HOMELAND. THE LOCATIONS WHERE THEY WERE ACTIVE AND WHERE THEY LIVED WERE REPORTED. PARAMILITARIES AND POLICE BEGAN SHOWING UP AS PEOPLE WERE SETTING UP THE BARRICADES AND FIRING INTO THE CROWDS. AFTER ONE ATTACK WE RECOVERED 17 SHELLS FROM A .22 AND 8 FROM A 9MM. THE PFP (MEXICO'S FEDERAL POLICE) WERE ARRIVING AT THE AIRPORT BY THE 1000'S. EVERYONE WAS TENSE.

A COUPLE OF DAYS LATER, I RECEIVED A PERSONAL DEATH THREAT. I NOW FACED A HARD DECISION, FRIENDS INSISTED I LEAVE, BUT I WANTED TO CONTINUE THE WORK I HAD BEEN DOING. IN THE END, I DEPARTED, THE WHOLE WHILE FEELING GUILTY ABOUT LEAVING WHILE SO MANY DIDN'T HAVE THE OPTION TO GO.



TWO WEEKS LATER, DURING ANOTHER DAYLONG SHUTDOWN OF THE CITY, PARAMILITARIES ATTACKED THE BARRICADES IN MY FORMER NEIGHBORHOOD. IN THE GUNFIGHT THAT FOLLOWED, US JOURNALIST AND ACTIVIST BRADWILL WAS KILLED ALONGSIDE ESTEBAN ZURITA LÓPEZ AND TEACHER EMILIO ALONSO FABIAN

THE NEXT DAY, THE PFP ATTACKED THE OCCUPIED COLLEGE.



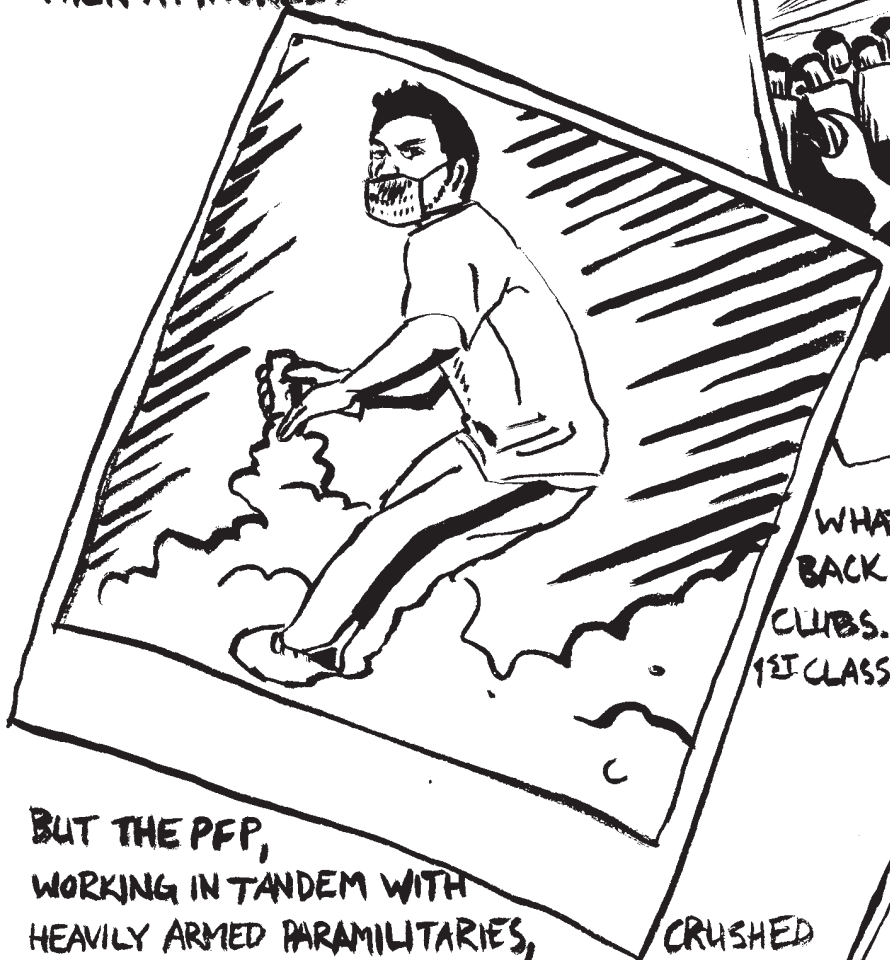
THE WHOLE COMMUNITY CAME TO THEIR DEFENSE, AND STREET BATTLES ENSUED FOR TWO DAYS BEFORE THE POLICE BRUTALLY TOOK CONTROL, ARRESTING HUNDREDS OF PROTESTERS AND WOUNDING DOZENS MORE.

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ON THE 25<sup>TH</sup> OF NOVEMBER, THERE WAS A LARGE DEMONSTRATION TO PROTEST THE ASSAULT ON THE UNIVERSITY. THE POLICE WAITED UNTIL THE PEOPLE WERE TIRED FROM THE LONG MARCH, THEN ATTACKED.



THE PEOPLE RESISTED IN WHATEVER WAY THEY COULD, FIGHTING BACK WITH ROCKS, BOTTLE ROCKETS, AND CLUBS. THEY ALSO SET FIRE TO HOTELS, THE 1<sup>ST</sup> CLASS BUS DEPOT, AND GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, ALL SEEN AS SYMBOLS OF OPPRESSION.



CRUSHED

BUT THE PFP, WORKING IN TANDEM WITH HEAVILY ARMED PARAMILITARIES, WHAT WAS LEFT OF THE PEOPLE'S OCCUPATION OF OAXACA. THE NEXT MORNING, GOVERNMENT GRAFFITI CLEAN-UP CREWS WERE STANDING BY TO ERASE THE WORDS OF THE MOVEMENT. AN INTERNATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION CONFIRMED 23 DEATHS, 30 DISAPPEARANCES, AND MORE THAN 1,000 ARRESTS DURING THE 5 1/2 MONTHS OF STRUGGLE. THIS NUMBER KEEPS RISING, WITH CONTINUED ATTACKS, ABDUCTIONS, AND POLITICAL ARRESTS. WHILE THE BLAST THAT WAS THE REBELLION IN OAXACA WAS CONTAINED ON NOVEMBER 25<sup>TH</sup>, THE PEOPLE HAVE NOT STOPPED STRUGGLING, AND THE FIRES SMOLDER ON.



THIS BOOK REPRESENTS MY INTERPRETATION OF THE EVENTS IN OAXACA FROM JUNE THRU NOVEMBER OF 2006. IT IS INFLUENCED BY MY PERSPECTIVE AS A VISITOR AND AN ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN. I'M SURE THAT THERE ARE AS MANY PERSPECTIVES AS THERE ARE VIEWERS, AND THAT A GOVERNMENT SUPPORTER, A MARXIST, OR A MEMBER OF THE APPO WOULD TELL THE STORY DIFFERENTLY. CERTAINLY, MANY OTHER VISITORS DID NOT SEE THINGS AS I DID, ONE TOURIST'S BLOG I READ STATED, "I HATE THE APPO, THEY DESTROYED MY BURGER KING!"

WHILE I BELIEVE MY CRITICISM OF THE APPO TO BE ACCURATE, I FEEL THAT ASSEMBLIES CAN BE AN EFFECTIVE FORM OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. I BELIEVE SOME OF THE APPO'S PITFALLS WERE; CHOOSING NOT TO USE CONSENSUS TO REACH DECISIONS; CHOOSING AN EFFECTIVELY HEIRARCHICAL STRUCTURE; BLOCKING BROADER PARTICIPATION BY DENYING ACCESS TO MEETINGS AND FAILING TO FORM REGIONAL ASSEMBLIES; AND DEMANDING CONTROL AND CONFORMITY IN THE RESISTANCE RATHER THAN ALLOWING FOR AUTONOMOUS ACTION AND A VARIETY OF TACTICS. AN ASSEMBLY FORM THAT AVOIDS THESE PROBLEMS HAS A BETTER CHANCE OF BEING AN EFFECTIVE AND EGALITARIAN VEHICLE FOR CHANGE.

ORGANIZING AND ACTIVISM WITHIN OUR COMMUNITIES IS CRITICAL, HOWEVER I ALSO BELIEVE IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO REACH OUTSIDE OF THESE BOUNDARIES IN ATTEMPTS AT SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLE SUFFERING ELSEWHERE. SOME OF THE ACTIONS PEOPLE IN THE U.S. HAVE TAKEN IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE OAXACAN STRUGGLE HAVE BEEN; WRITING LETTERS TO LOCAL AND MEXICAN OFFICIALS TO PROTEST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES; SHOWING DOCUMENTARIES; TRANSLATING ARTICLES; HOLDING FUNDRAISERS; ORGANIZING SPEAKING TOURS, AIDING OAXACANS SEEKING TO ESCAPE POLITICAL PERSECUTION, HOLDING PROTESTS, OFFERING PHYSICAL, ECONDMIC, AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT TO GROUPS IN OAXACA, AND ATTACKING MEXICAN CONSULATES. I ENCOURAGE PEOPLE WHO ARE MOVED TO TAKE WHATEVER ACTIONS THEY ARE CAPABLE OF AND FEEL ARE EFFECTIVE.

CURRENT NEWS FROM OAXACA CAN BE FOUND AT; [revuelta.radiolibre.org](http://revuelta.radiolibre.org), [narconews.com](http://narconews.com), [vocal.sextaluna.org](http://vocal.sextaluna.org), [mexico.indymedia.org](http://mexico.indymedia.org), and [oaxacalibre.org](http://oaxacalibre.org)

THE COMITE DE LIBERACION 25 DE NOVIEMBRE PROVIDES LEGAL SUPPORT TO THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN OAXACA, MONEY CAN BE SENT TO THE PROOAX ACCOUNT WITH SCOTIABANK INVERLAT, SUCURSAL / BRANCH OAXACA, ACCOUNT # 22 772 63, INTERNATIONAL CODE ABA MBCMXXMM.

THE CONSEJO INDIGENA POPULAR DE OAXACA-RICARDO FLORES MAGÓN (CIPO-RFM) IS AN ANARCHIST/MAGONIST INDIGENOUS RIGHTS GROUP. THEIR WEBSITE IS [nodo50.org/cipo](http://nodo50.org/cipo)

VOCES OAXAQUEÑOS CONSTRUYENDO AUTONOMIA Y LIBERTAD (VOCAL) IS AN ANARCHIST GROUP FORMED TO GIVE ANTI-AUTHORITARIANS A VOICE IN OAXACA. SEND MAIL TO [vocal@riseup.net](mailto:vocal@riseup.net)

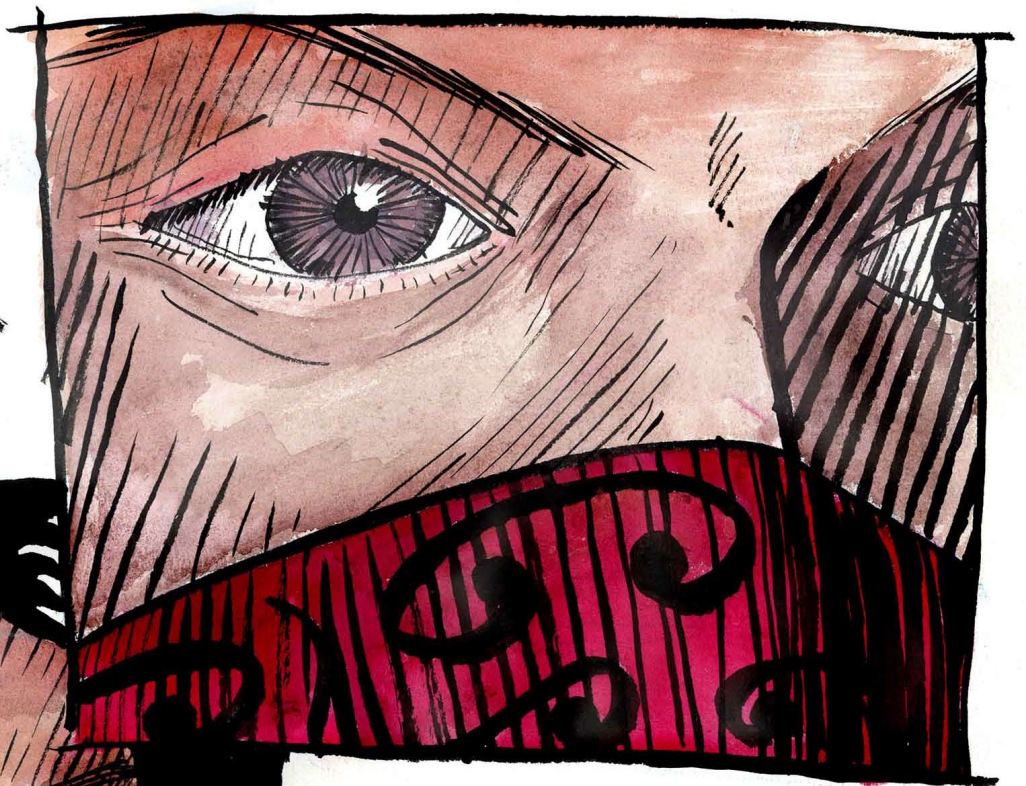
RADIO DISTURBIO IS AN ANARCHIST PIRATE RADIO STATION IN OAXACA, IT CAN BE LISTENED TO ONLINE AT <http://giss.tv:8000/radiodisturbio.ogg>

"¡SOMOS MAS, Y ESTAMOS DISPUESTOS A LUCHAR!"  
"WE ARE MORE, AND WE ARE READY TO STRUGGLE!"



AHORA LAS  
MUJERES  
NOS HEMOS  
LEVANTADO,

Y VAMOS  
A SEGUIR



HASTA  
EL FINAL...

"NOW US WOMEN HAVE RISEN UP, AND WE WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THE END..."  
-ANONYMOUS PARTICIPANT IN THE OCCUPATION OF CANAL 9