

BREAKTHROUGH

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**¡ESTA LUCHA VA A LLEGAR A LA GUERRA POPULAR!
FREE ALL PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR!
INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO!**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. EDITORIAL	
Revolutionary Internationalism: Basis for anti-imperialist movement in the oppressor nation working class	
—PFOC National Collective	p. 1
2. SELF-DETERMINATION AND AFRICAN LIBERATION IN THE u.s.a.	
—Reprint from <i>Soulbook</i>	p. 9
3. ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL VICTORY!	
Patriotic Front defeating US secret war	p. 17
4. THE STRUGGLE IS FOR SOVEREIGNTY	
Native Americans fight for land and to free political prisoners	p. 27
Interview with Sid Welsh	p. 28
Reprinted from "Crazy Horse Spirit," published by the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee	p. 33
5. DEFEND THE REARGUARD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT! DEFEAT US IMPERIALISM AT HOME!	
Speech by José López, National Coordinator, Movimiento de Liberación Nacional before the UN Committee on Decolonization; August 1, 1978	p. 36
6. SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE!	
The campaign to free Dessie Woods	p. 42
7. BUILD THE AFRICAN NATIONAL PRISON ORGANIZATION	
—Reprinted from <i>Burning Spear</i> , December 1978	p. 42
8. IRANIAN PEOPLE OUST SHAH'S REGIME	
US imperialism under seige	p. 53
This is Our Answer to the Barbaric Mass Murder of the Militant Iranian People; Police Guard Headquarters Smashed	
—Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas	p. 54
Iranian People Kicked Him Out of Iran; Don't Let the Shah in the US!	
—Reprinted from <i>Resistance</i> , January 1979	p. 56
9. CORRESPONDENCE	p. 59

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We dedicate this issue of Breakthrough to the revolutionary spirit of Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Puerto Rican freedom fighter, who died in Puerto Rico on March 6, 1979.

ON THE FRONT COVER: Two generations of Puerto Rican *independentista* prisoners of war: Oscar Collazo, jailed in 1950 after an attack on President Truman's residence; Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores, who with Andrés Figueroa Cordero attacked the US House of Representatives demanding independence for Puerto Rico on March 1, 1954; Pablo Marcano and Nydia Esther Cuevas, who seized the Chilean consulate in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on July 3, 1978 demanding freedom for the four Nationalists and independence for Puerto Rico; and William Morales, convicted on federal charges and now on trial by New York State as well, after being seriously injured in a bomb blast on July 13, 1978.

ON THE BACK COVER: Drawing by Ernie Peters, member of the American Indian Movement, from a poster supporting the Chumash people's struggle for Point Conception. The quote is from a statement made by Leonard Peltier to the Canadian courts at his extradition hearing in early 1976.

EDITORIAL

Revolutionary Internationalism: Basis for Revolutionary Movement in the Oppressor Nation Working Class

—PFOC National Collective

This is the era when national liberation movements at war with imperialism are leading the destruction of the most genocidal and exploitative system the world has ever known. Oppressed nations fighting for freedom and independence from colonialist and neo-colonialist domination define the goals for revolutionary anti-imperialism worldwide. Because imperialism is a single system built on the division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations, anti-imperialist movement within the US oppressor nation working class must be based on solidarity with the interests of the oppressed nations and on support for the leading strategies of national liberation, which are toppling the very foundations of imperialism.

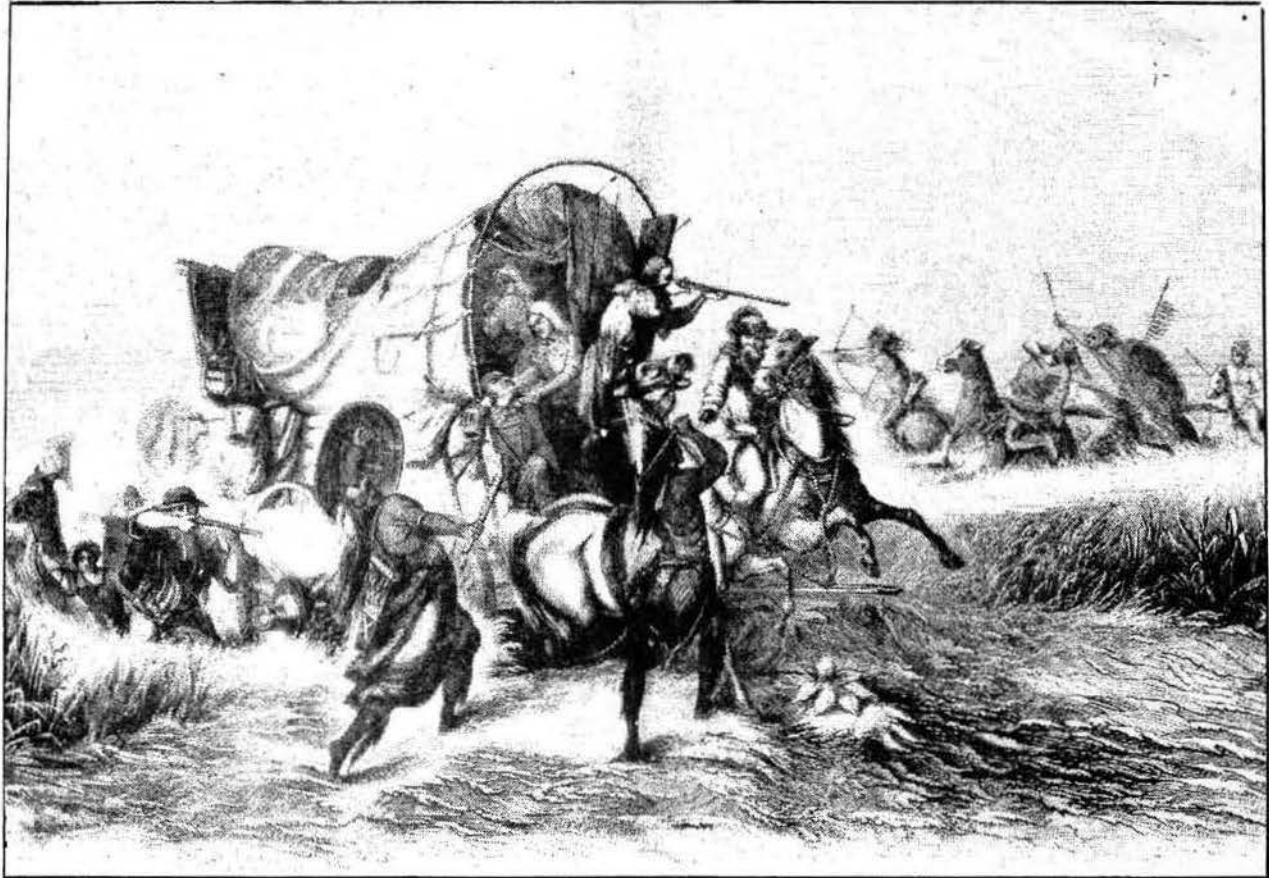
In contradiction to this view of anti-imperialist strategy and responsibility, dominant politics in the US white left define strategy for the oppressor nation working class on the basis of the material interests of the white working class in fighting its own exploitation. Under the guise of developing political strategy on a "materialist" basis, these lines provide a justification for subordinating the material interests of the oppressed and colonized nations of the world to the interests of a tiny sector of the world's people—the white working class. By focusing on the exploitation of the white working class, this politics tries to hide the material contradictions which have developed under imperialism between the interests of the white working class and the interests of oppressed nations. It falsifies the reality of white working class history in which material gains, better living conditions and more democratic freedoms, have been fought for and made possible only through colonial conquest, domination and plunder of nations within US borders and around the world. The real aim of this politics is to block the development of revolu-

tionary nationalist interests and leadership and to maintain the power and leadership of the white left and working class. It upholds the present relation between oppressor and oppressed nation peoples and backs off from the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism.

The terms on which white working class people have historically defined their material interests and identity—in opposition to the interests of the world's oppressed peoples—must be transformed in order to develop revolutionary consciousness and movement within the white working class. Internationalism—the commitment to fight in the interests of the world's people with the leadership of revolutionary national liberation movements—is the only basis for developing revolutionary anti-imperialist movement within the oppressor nation.

Over the past period, PFOC has been in deep struggle to overturn a politics which separated off the development of political movement within the oppressor nation working class from the leadership and strategies of national liberation. With the leadership of revolutionary nationalist forces and through struggles within the white left and solidarity movements we are trying to develop new understandings of the strategic responsibilities of oppressor nation revolutionaries.

Our analysis that revolutionary internationalism must be the basis for building anti-imperialist movement in the white working class is rooted in our understanding of US imperialist development. This article examines some key aspects of US history and the contradictions in white left interpretations of this history. We then try to draw out the concrete impact of an opportunist worldview on building anti-imperialist solidarity.



credit: Denver Public Library History Department

White settlers, seeking better lives for themselves and their families, stole Native lands, killed off the buffalo, and ruthlessly exterminated Native people, who have and continue to put up fierce resistance.

CONQUEST, SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM

Looking at US history from the viewpoint of African and Indian peoples fundamentally challenges both bourgeois and white left interpretations of this history. African revolutionaries have led in defining the basis of US and world capitalist development as the wholesale conquest and subsequent colonization of Native lands throughout the American continent and the massive kidnap and enslavement of African people. According to Joseph Waller, Chairman of the African People's Socialist Party (APSP): "The enslavement of African people, the theft of Native lands, the so-called underdevelopment of the Third World, *that* was the primitive accumulation of capital" (from a speech June 11, 1978). W. E. B. DuBois detailed this development:

Black labor became the foundation stone not only of the Southern social structure, but of northern manufacture and commerce, of the English factory system, of European commerce, of buying and selling on a world-wide scale. . . . (*Black Reconstruction*, p. 5)

The development of the white working class in this country is totally tied up with this history of slavery

and colonialism. The colonizers of the Americas were mainly white Europeans searching for a better life, for better living and working conditions in the "new world" for themselves and their families. It was not "false consciousness" about their material interests which led white settlers to murder Indians in order to steal Native lands, but a commitment to their own interests in acquiring land to farm, grow crops on, make profits from. It was not a lack of understanding about their interests which led poor white settlers to become slave catchers and overseers, but the privileges and power gained from cooperating with the system of white supremacy and Black slavery. White supremacist privilege was institutionalized into law by the emerging bourgeoisie precisely to tie white working class interests to bourgeois interests in enforcing African slavery, and to "exclude Afrikans from the nation that they were using [them] to build." (*Notes from an Afrikan P.O.W. Journal*, book two, p. 3) As Saladin Muhammad of the Afrikan Peoples Party puts it, the American revolution won "for the new national bourgeoisie control of its economy, and for the white working class secure jobs, participation in bourgeois democracy and a national identity as work-



credit: Margaret Bourke-White

The labor of Black people built the wealth of the US empire.

ers and farmers of a settler state . . ." ("US Imperialist State and the Black Nation," p. 6)

Throughout the 19th century, the white working class waged militant struggles against its own exploitation—for higher wages, better working conditions, unions. This is the side of white working class history left historians focus on. What they ignore is that the gains won through these struggles were tied to the expansion of empire to the Pacific, the annexation of half of Mexico, the colonization of Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines—which the white working class supported and fought for. In particular, the white working class has built its identity and its interests on the backs of Black people colonized within US borders. With the end of legalized slavery, the white working class supported the development of new forms of colonial domination. Labor unions promoted white labor and excluded Black labor. Segregated school systems, Jim Crow laws (apartheid), and organized terror and violence against Black people, typified by the KKK, were all aimed at maintaining the privilege and power of white people and keeping "free" Black people in colonial subjugation.

Up through the present, the white working class has consistently fought to preserve its interests and the institutions which help maintain those interests. It has mainly resisted the efforts of national libera-

tion inside and outside of US borders to wrest control of their land, labor and resources from imperialism's death-grip.

PLACING WHITE WORKING CLASS INTERESTS AT THE CENTER

The understanding that the US is a settler nation built upon colonialism and that the identity and interests of the white working class have historically been defined in opposition to the interests of colonized peoples, runs totally counter to dominant white left interpretations of US history. The white left has viewed US history through white-colored glasses, defining the waged labor of the white proletariat as the basis of capitalist wealth while ignoring the central role of conquest and slavery in producing that wealth; glorifying the legacy of anti-capitalist labor struggle while discounting the white supremacist terms which those struggles were waged on.

Building on this distorted history, most of the white left accepts imperialist-won borders and denies that Black, Native American or Chicano/Mejicano peoples are colonized nations forcibly held within US-proclaimed boundaries. Most of the white left insists that these nations are part of a white-majority, white-dominated "multi-national" working class. They argue that anti-colonial, revolutionary nation-



credit: Liberation Support Movement

Freedom fighters in Mozambique. The national liberation struggles are leading the defeat of imperialism and the struggle for socialism.

alist strategies sabotage the "unified interests" of the multi-national working class. Even those sectors of the white left that give lip-service to self-determination for oppressed nations within US borders still hold that working class unity is the priority and reject independence as an incorrect goal. While these political lines pretend to speak to the interests of *all* oppressed peoples within the US, they really place the interests of the white working class at the center, forcing political movement to occur on the terms and timetable of the white oppressor nation majority. White supremacy within the white working class is either ignored or defined as a product of false consciousness. Efforts to confront white supremacy are condemned as anti-working class and anti-Marxist.

The white left uses aspects of Western Marxist theory to legitimize the politics which place the oppressor nation working class at the center of revolutionary movement. Over the past century, national liberation movements have led in developing Marxism-Leninism to arrive at new understandings of imperialism and the relationship between class and national struggle. They have applied Marxism-Leninism as a revolutionary science to the concrete conditions of their nations to win national liberation

and socialist revolution. However, much of the US white left has chosen to ignore the revolutionary transformations of Marxism, clinging to aspects of Marxist theory which reflect Euro-centric, white supremacist assumptions. Within the US, Black revolutionary nationalists have led in challenging these assumptions and the ways they are used to justify opportunist politics.

Marx and Engels defined the proletariat of the industrialized capitalist nations as the agents of socialist revolution worldwide. They saw the industrialized proletariat as the only class whose interests were fundamentally opposed to the interests of capital, the only class that was capable of successfully organizing socialist revolution. From this standpoint they evaluated the importance of political movement among colonized peoples according to whether or not it advanced revolutionary movement within the working class of the capitalist nations. Accordingly the significance of the revolutionary uprisings against colonialism and slavery which occurred throughout the 19th century—such as those in Haiti, Puerto Rico and among Black slaves in the US—was largely ignored. When Marx and Engels wrote about the Civil War in the US they argued for the emancipation of

Black slaves from the standpoint of how emancipation would benefit the class struggle of the white proletariat. (See Carlos Moore's pamphlet, "Were Marx and Engels White Racists?" for detailed position on this issue.)

Contrary to this perspective on the central revolutionary importance of the proletariat of the capitalist nations, the history of the last century has shown that the oppressed and colonized nations of the world have been the main builders of revolution and socialism. Within the borders of the US as well, it has been colonized peoples who have led revolutionary movement against imperialism. Far from having led revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, the working classes of the oppressor nations, and in particular the US white working class, have for the most part resisted and fought against the revolutionary changes being brought about by national liberation.

Despite the victories of Viet Nam, Cuba, Mozambique, Angola; despite the explosive impact of Black, Puerto Rican, Native and Chicano/Mejicano movement within the US, the white left continues to apply Marxism-Leninism dogmatically to protect and promote white working class interests and to block anti-colonial struggle. It refuses to recognize that the center of world revolutionary movement lies with the oppressed nations, and myopically views all struggles from the standpoint of the oppressor nation working class. Tail-wagging-the-dog formulations are put forth, like the October League's (CP-ML) line that the "oppressed nationalities are the main strategic reserve or ally of the multi-national working class."

This line turns reality upside down. Anti-imperialist movement within the white working class has only developed in response to the revolutionary motion of national liberation. In the '60s, the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese and the Black Liberation Movement within US borders caused cracks in the alliance between the white working class and imperialism. Mass opposition to the Viet Nam war, and the more limited but significant support for the Black Liberation Movement among white people, represented a move towards anti-imperialism and solidarity.

However, imperialism was able to temporarily contain the contradictions exploding in its "home base." It launched a domestic war campaign—COINTELPRO—to wipe out the leadership of Black liberation and the liberation movements of other internally colonized peoples. By crushing revolutionary nationalist leadership it wiped out the political leadership for white anti-imperialist movement as

well. At the same time it stepped up the promotion of white supremacist solutions to the economic, social and political contradictions the white working class was facing. (See editorial, Fall, 1978 *Breakthrough* for fuller analysis.)

In the last few years, while national liberation movements within US borders have been struggling to rebuild after the devastating impact of COINTELPRO, the white working class has been building the fight to protect its own interests at the expense of Black and other colonized peoples. The so-called taxpayers' revolt fights the impact of inflation on property owners by cutting off critical survival services which mainly affect Black and other Third World people. The widespread campaign against "reverse discrimination" is an effort to reestablish the privileged position of white workers in relationship to colonized peoples—a position which was threatened by the liberation movements of the '60s. The escalation of white supremacist violence against Black people across the country represents white working class determination to insure their interests by sup-



These effigies are an example of the violence that has been directed against the Black struggle, to protect white power and privilege.

pressing Black people through outright terrorism. In California, last November, the expansion of the death penalty was overwhelmingly supported by California voters at the same time as anti-gay legislation was defeated. This sharply exposes how support for greater freedoms for white people can go hand-in-hand with support for greater genocide against Blacks.

Under these conditions, what can it mean to organize for revolution on the basis of the material interests of the white working class? A recent *Guardian* editorial entitled "Fighting Racism in All Its Forms" reveals the bankruptcy of this approach. The *Guardian* states:

First of all we must note that every democratic gain won by minority peoples throughout history has immediately and directly benefitted the white workers as well. The abolition of the poll tax in the South, for instance, brought voting rights to poor whites as well as Blacks. Open admission programs enabled poor whites as well as Blacks and other minorities to gain access to higher education. . . . Equality of workers in the workplace strengthens the bargaining position of all workers. . . .

Imperialism relies on the white working class to be motivated exclusively by their own self-interest and to be incapable of revolutionary internationalism. The *Guardian's* attempt to win white workers to fight against racism on the basis of how it will benefit them supports imperialism's framework. In order to entice white workers into an anti-racist stand, the *Guardian* liquidates the anti-colonial nature of the Black Liberation struggle and reduces it to a battle for democratic rights and integration. It whitewashes the entire history of the white working class by not dealing with the fact that the white working class did not support any of the listed struggles for Black rights. In this way, it avoids the struggle to change the real white working class relationship to colonized people and protects the status quo.

The development of revolutionary movement requires that the framework of self-interest which is promoted by imperialism and accepted by the white working class be totally overturned. The responsibility of the white left is to struggle for internationalist consciousness and commitment, not to compete on imperialism's terms for a better deal.

PROTECTING WHITE INTERESTS UNDER THE GUISE OF SOLIDARITY

The continuing growth and power of national liberation has forced sectors of the white left to acknowledge its revolutionary importance to some

extent. However, on the whole, white left strategies for solidarity with national liberation have collaborated with imperialism's efforts to control and coopt the revolutionary motion of national liberation. Solidarity is offered on white people's terms and on their timetable. The assumption behind most efforts to organize solidarity among white people is that the white working class can only be won to support national liberation on the basis of how those struggles will benefit them. PFOC's line that white working class women would be won to international solidarity by explaining the links between their oppression and the oppression of Third World women, was a variation on this opportunist theme. Such arguments are aimed at convincing white people that their privileges will not be upset by supporting national liberation, but that they'll only gain more.

The politics which the *Guardian* newspaper has taken into its work in building "solidarity" with Puerto Rico exemplify this approach and its impact on solidarity movement. Through its involvement in the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC), the *Guardian* has led around a politics which seek to define the Puerto Rican liberation struggle and the basis of solidarity itself, according to the material interests of the white working class. At the PRSC Conference held in February 1977, the March 1 Bloc, led by revolutionary Puerto Rican forces, exposed the opportunism of the *Guardian's* approach to Puerto Rican solidarity. In the March 1 documents they stated:

Silber argues (*Guardian*, November 24, 1976) that workers can be won to the international position of solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Ricans by showing them the ways that Puerto Rican independence will directly benefit them, sort of reaching the hearts and minds of the workers through their stomachs and pay envelopes.

This is an incorrect understanding of imperialism . . . can anyone seriously maintain that if the United States loses Puerto Rico, the fifth largest consumer of US goods, that the result will be higher wages and more jobs for US workers? (From March 1 documents as reprinted in *Urgent Tasks* No. 1)

In basing all support for Puerto Rican independence on what will benefit white workers, the *Guardian* line inevitably liquidates support for the revolutionary strategy for winning Puerto Rican independence: the waging of armed struggle against imperialism. The *Guardian* argues against an imperialist war on Puerto Rico on the grounds that it will be "the sons, husbands and fathers primarily of the American working class" who will be called upon to

die in such a war. It is the concern for white working class lives, *not* for the Puerto Rican lives which have been lost through a century of genocidal imperialist aggression, which is put forth as the motivation for solidarity.

Following this line of reasoning, the *Guardian* condemns as terrorism the armed struggle that revolutionary Puerto Rican forces are waging for independence. After all, how can support for a war of national liberation really be justified on the basis of the direct interests of the white working class? Genuine support for a war of national liberation means the willingness of white working class women and men to fight and die on the side of the Puerto Rican people and other colonized peoples if they are called upon to do so. It means being prepared to sacrifice immediate material interests to achieve revolutionary goals. And this is precisely what the *Guardian* and other opportunist forces who condemn armed struggle as terrorism are trying to avoid.

In speaking of the efforts of white leftists to liquidate the existence of the colonized Black nation within US borders, the Black Liberation Army (BLA) writes: "The current Marxist proletariat seek to channel black liberation into proletariat revolution because black liberation posed as a colonial question inherently entails armed struggle. . . . And this is the root of the problem. There is no place in the vision of the amerikkan proletariat revolution for violence."

A commitment to revolutionary armed struggle against the armed violence of the imperialist state can only develop on the basis of solidarity with the interests of colonized peoples who are the chief targets of imperialist violence. Building solidarity and revolutionary movement on the basis of current definitions of white working class interests is building a movement on sand. It will be swept away as soon as the real terms of revolutionary anti-imperialist solidarity become clear.

The liberation of colonized nations and the destruction of imperialism will mean the total redistribution of wealth, land, material resources and power. While the gains for humanity from these changes are immeasurable and socialist revolution will eliminate the material basis for all forms of exploitation, there is no immediate prospect of material gain for the white working class on the terms on which it is accustomed to defining such gains. We cannot organize white working class people to commit themselves to the protracted, difficult course of anti-imperialist struggle on the basis of false promises of greater material benefits if national liberation wins and imperialism is destroyed. Instead we have to transform the terms on which the white working class defines its interests and struggle for white people to unite with the interests of the oppressed nations of the world to destroy a system which is responsible for all forms of oppression, exploitation and genocide.



Demonstrators flying NLF flags in 1966 anti-war march show the potential for white people to act in solidarity with national liberation.

credit: Benedict J. Fernandez

We must build revolutionary solidarity with national liberation movements, the principal creators of a *new* system based on freedom, independence and socialism.

BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM

The '60s pointed to the potential for sectors of white working class people to make a break with imperialist strategy when led by the powerful force of national liberation. However, in the '60s the white left failed to consolidate a revolutionary politics which was accountable to the leadership and interests of national liberation. When the state launched its COINTELPRO war to wipe out Black Liberation and repress anti-imperialist movement, the white left moved to protect its own interests and abandoned politics and practice in solidarity with national liberation.

Over the past couple of years, the growth of Chimurenga—people's war in Zimbabwe, the rebuilding of the Black pro-independence movement within US borders, the development of the revolutionary

leadership of clandestine forces in Puerto Rico, and the escalation of Native struggles for sovereignty have pushed forward internationalist consciousness and movement in the white left. There are small but growing efforts across the country to build solidarity practice guided by the leadership and interests of national liberation.

At this stage, we as white revolutionaries must fight hard to build political line and practice which clearly makes support for the growth of national liberation the priority, taking political leadership from the revolutionary forces of national liberation and holding ourselves accountable to those forces. We have a serious, urgent responsibility to organize white working class people towards these goals. But we cannot sacrifice the goals in order to organize white people, as has happened so often in the past. If white leftists commit themselves to internationalism and undertake the difficult task of struggling with others for such a commitment, we believe we can lay a basis for building revolutionary solidarity and anti-imperialist movement in the oppressor nation. □

A Luta Continua
PFOC National Collective



The Black Liberation Movement is rebuilding within US borders. In September 1978, the Black United Front mobilized 3,000 Black people to march on New York City hall to protest genocidal attacks by the city, state and federal governments.

credit: Black Star

SELF-DETERMINATION AND AFRICAN LIBERATION IN THE u.s.a.

—Reprint from Soulbook

History is an important weapon of oppressed peoples in their struggles for independence. In developing revolutionary strategy, national liberation movements expose bourgeois, white supremacist distortions of their past; they uncover and teach the true history of their people's colonization and struggle for liberation.

We are reprinting the following excerpt from "Self-Determination and African National Liberation in the u.s.a.," by Willy Green, in our belief that this essay is a leading contribution to the history of African resistance to colonialism in the western hemisphere. The full essay first appeared in the publication *Soulbook*, which defines itself as follows:

Soulbook is a revolutionary Black Nationalist journal which has existed since 1964. It has consistently presented significant political, economical, and literary works of continental African, Asian, South and Central American as well as Caribbean revolutionary movements to Africans inside the imperialist state of the united states. Simultaneously, it has printed the works of the Africans in the u.s. to the anti-imperialist world.

Soulbook is a journal of the Afrikan Peoples-Party.

All legitimate anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces who wish to have Soulbook present their views of their struggle and condition are welcome to send in a manuscript. Since Soulbook has a long experience in translations, the manuscript may be in French, English or Spanish. The editorial address is: Soulbook, Box 61213, Los Angeles, CA 90059.

Annual subscriptions (four issues) are available at the same address. Rates are: by ordinary mail, \$3.50 inside u.s., \$5.00 outside u.s.; by airmail, \$6.50 inside, \$12.00 outside.

The Afrikan Peoples Party (APP) also produces a newspaper, *Black Star*, P.O. Box 25557, Philadelphia, PA 19140.

At an international meeting of the Pan African Secretariat¹ Guyana, 1971, delegates passed a resolution recognizing the colonial status of Black people in the u.s.a. That resolution called for the liberation of the Black and Indian nations held captives.

A similar resolution was passed the following year. That same year in 1972, CRAC² (Committee for the Removal of All Colonialism) was formed. CRAC stated part of its objectives as to "keep before governments and the public the issue of colonialism in the still remaining colonies of the world."

Particular attention was given to Caribbean nations as Cayenne (Guyane = "French" Guiana), Suriname, Belize, and the Amerindian people. Small nations are often ignored unless there is an explosion to bring them to the attention of the world. Territories held by the u.s.a. as Guam, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, & Virgin Islands were not ignored.

In an official public statement CRAC called for the "liberation of the largest remaining colony," Black America.^{2a}

That is how serious revolutionaries treat the question of Africans in the u.s.a.; they treat it as a colonial question, the continued domination by the slaveowners over the slaves after emancipation. That is how the question is posed to the public, to governments, to international bodies, and to liberation organizations.

The old call by the Nation of Islam of "separation from the white devils" and the call by the Republic of New Africa for "independence now" is correct. Daily, Blacks face the contempt of white america. Because white american society is both racist and capitalist, it is fascist. We can expect no other solution to the racial problems in america than the standard ones, lynch law and genocide. National

independence is the only decent solution to the problems of Blacks in u.s.a.

THE INDEPENDENT BLACK STRUGGLE

What is clear to us is that the 350 years of Black history in North America has been a history of the struggle for self-determination and freedom. This independent struggle waged by Blacks occurred at every period. Even before the boarding of the slave ships, we can see it. It occurred on the slave ships, throughout the entire slave era, during reconstruction and post-reconstruction, and on through both World Wars until the present.

This independent Black struggle was fought before white labor was transformed into a modern proletariat or before there was a modern bourgeois capitalist class in the u.s.a. Historically, it actually antedates the modern proletarian struggles in the u.s.a. that are a part of today's reality. No greater "proletarian" consciousness was exhibited than that of the slaves on those southern plantations. American capitalism was tied to those cotton and tobacco plantations.

The slaves ran the plantations. They worked the most modern machines of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Black slaves were the primary source of skilled and unskilled labor in the most advanced industry of the day.

The content of those struggles was generally expressed as Black (African) revolutionary nationalism. Writing in his biography of Henry Garnet, Brother Ofari is correct in stating that, "Black nationalism was as integral a thought in the middle of the 19th century as it is now."³

Then, Ofari plainly saw this Black nationalist consciousness in the life of Black people:

"In the south, slave rebellions and the maintenance of Africanism were prominent factors of Black national consciousness. In the North it was expressed in the early 19th century state and national Negro Conventions, the formation of Black churches, schools, and benevolent societies to protect the Black Community from attack by racist whites."⁴

Blacks recognized their national oppression. David Walker in his *Appeal* (1931) saw us as a "nation within a nation" and that the slaves must be free. Garnet's experience abroad taught him the value of Black self-determination. As repression of Blacks increased he found that others were also considering a Black nationalist solution to the problems of the Black man and woman. Here is how Garnet responded in 1854 to questions put to him about the

course of this independent Black struggle and where a Black nation could be established:

"I hope in the United States; especially if they reopen the slave trade. Then, if we do not establish a nationality in the South, I am mistaken in the spirit of my people."⁵

Garnet, as the mass of Black folk, could see the economic and class basis of their exploitation. Listen to his biographer again:

"Garnet and others saw that economic exploitation was a major factor facing Blacks. Although he did not analyze the system of capitalism from a 'scientific socialist position' (Marxism had not made any appreciable impact on American society in the antebellum period), he perceived that Black oppression was closely connected with the dominance of a wealthy landowning class."⁶

It was the daily fight of Blacks that drove men like Garnet to have a clearer view of their oppression. This Black nationalism so endemic to Black people was profoundly against the domination of the class of slaveowners, capitalists, and all exploiters. That is why we are still astounded by the impossible confusion of the new/and old Black adherents to Marxism. Brother Ofari, for example, has outdone himself with his "catholic" conversion. He concludes elsewhere:

"Nowhere in the world has 'revolutionary nationalism' solidified working class power, overthrown imperialism, or begun the process of building socialism. Without a struggle to transform national consciousness into class consciousness, 'revolutionary nationalism' is just one more illusion to blind blacks to the necessity of socialist internationalism."⁷

This line of reasoning parrots some "official" white marxist masters, who also never cease to label Black nationalism reactionary and who deny to Blacks the right of self-determination. Blacks understand well what kind of tutelage to expect from these "social scientists" and their "scientific analysis."

But what would the "black revolutionary nationalists" in Haiti have thought of this?⁸ Haiti is an example of how Black solidarity was able to overthrow slavery, defeat three imperialists, and embark upon building a collectivist economy. Upon the "revolutionary nationalism" of Haiti rested the hope of other freedom fighters in South America, the Caribbean, and the u.s.a. Men like Simon Bolivar rushed to Haiti for aid against their class and national oppressors.

Nor was there any lack of class consciousness within the new nation. The social nature of the Haitian revolution and the class struggle which intensified afterwards was the cause of Dessaline's death.



credit: Culver Pictures

Africans rose up in armed revolt against French colonialism, fought off British and Spanish intervention and established the independent Black republic of Haiti in 1804.

He saw the danger of a new landed Black and mulatto oligarchy and sided with the poor peasants. Speeches like the following were typical of Dessaline's class loyalties:

"We have waged this war for the others. Before taking up arms against Le Clerc, colored people born of white fathers, had absolutely no right of inheritance. How is it then possible that the sons of the settler we have thrown out of the country now claim their riches? Shall the Blacks whose fathers are in Africa then be entitled to nothing? Be careful you Blacks and mulattoes! We have fought against the whites. What we have won with our blood belongs to us all. And I shall see to it that it is divided with equity."⁹

Such arguments as Ofari's have always been used to throttle the Black liberation movement, not to advance it. Under the mis-used banner of "socialist internationalism" lies a long history of treachery and betrayal of Blacks. This usage of the slogan we strongly oppose. Aime Cesaire, when he was still a revolutionary marxist, made it clear that:

"... Marxism and communism must be harnessed into the service of Black people, and not Black people harnessed into the service of marxism and communism."¹⁰

But what is more important is to know that the independent struggle of Black people in the u.s.a. has

not been halted. At the basis of that struggle is the right to self-determination and freedom.

Thus, this struggle for self-determination of Black America is crucial because it is a struggle to determine the fate of *all* Black people in the u.s.a. It is a struggle of the entire Afro-american populace in the northern Black "ghettos" AND in our national territory in the southern Black belt. It is a struggle to extricate our nation and reclaim this source of super profits from the hand of the white imperialists. That is clear. Let us see briefly the main trend.

A LITTLE HISTORY

To be complete we would have to begin from antiquity and talk of the African experience. But for our purposes we pick up on the ravages of the slave trade in the 15th century as Africans were transported to the Caribbean and the Americas to be broken in. The slave ship logs are filled with countless entries of revolts aboard deck. The acts of defiance do not stop when land is reached. Those rebellions continued. Neither Spain, nor France, nor Holland, nor Portugal, nor England could suppress those strivings for freedom.

In Brazil the first Black Republic in the Americas was founded in 1630 at Palmares, in the province of Pernambuco. It lasted until 1697 when the combined

onslaught of several European powers finally overran Palmares. Even then every "quilombo" (village) fought back to a man and to a woman.

In Mexico the Spanish were forced to concede territory to their Black slaves for self-government. San Lorenzo de los Negros became a mini state in 1627.

Cuffy, a Black slave in the Dutch territory of Berbice in Guiana (now Guyana), led a successful revolution in 1763. The slavemasters were defeated and routed in battle. Slave society was completely overturned. Relying upon the memory of their African traditions and customs the slaves destroyed the plantation economy. They proceeded to build a collectivist economy and begin to manage government and civil affairs themselves. Though that Black Republic only lasted a year its revolutionary deeds is a landmark in the struggle for self-determination.

Throughout the Caribbean we see the same course of events in every territory. Whenever the slaves are able they flee the plantations, or take them over to manage them themselves. They set up their own organs of government and self-rule. There is no West Indian or African nation that cannot be proud of this legacy.

Then in 1804 the greatest revolutionary event in the 19th century erupted. Following a long period of revolutionary struggle, the Black slaves tore down the French flag and proclaimed the new nation of Haiti. For twelve years the slaves fought, unaided, not just the French, but defeated the military and diplomatic armies of Britain and Spain.

This was the first instance in modern times in which a major colonial and imperialist power was defeated. Haiti, an oppressed nation of slaves, did it. Only the Vietnamese were to repeat this, by defeating the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

In Haiti also the former Black slaves immediately began a program of collectivist reconstruction of their nation. We feel it is no accident that Haiti has been nearly bypassed in the history of revolutionary struggles and national liberation movements. Among english writers, only the Black marxist CLR James has treated that revolution with necessary seriousness in a long study.

In the u.s.a. the Black liberation movement showed its independent existence. The Spanish colony in Florida was not able to restrain the slaves from fleeing to freedom in the forests and establishing independent, self-governing settlements. The French could not stop them in the vast Louisiana territory. The American colonists had little more success in

restraining their slaves. Every turn confronted them with acts of defiance and rebellion.;

Then the American colonists themselves revolted against England. Slaves in large numbers went over to the British side seeing an opportunity to seize their independence and destroy their slavemasters. The British offered independence as a necessary condition to employing these courageous Black men in their armies.

Other slaves proposed to George Washington that they would fight with the American colonists against British colonialism if their freedom were guaranteed. At first Washington and the other slavemasters refused. Later they had no choice but to accept. Washington himself wrote that, "success will depend upon which side can arm the Negro faster." It was this decisive act of massive numbers of slaves fighting on the side of the colonists that helped save the "American Revolution."

Though Crispus Attucks was brave and outspoken and died at the head of a group of white American colonists defying the British, it was the thousands of Black slaves that wanted *their own* independence from both the British colonizers and the American slavers that was the important feature of the "American Revolutionary War."

The later betrayal of this drive for Black self-determination by the "bourgeoisie" and later by white labor was to recur over and over.

Following the War and the betrayals, the slaves still continued to organize themselves. In Virginia, under the leadership of Gabriel Prosser in 1800, they organized for the capture of Black state power. Gabriel's plan was to seize the capital, destroy the power of the slaveowners, and establish a new Black state. Only a natural calamity and later an act of betrayal prevented the plan from being put into action. This was one of the largest organized plans for freedom uncovered. It compares with the organization that Denmark Vesey headed in 1822.

Vesey was greatly influenced by the Haitian revolution and the continuous revolts that were taking place on the plantations in America. Like Gabriel, he fully intended to establish a new Black state after smashing the power of the slavemasters. Again an act of betrayal prevented success. Yet, the remarkable fact is that the ten to fifty thousand men and women estimated to be part of the organization gives only an inkling of what mass support existed for bold actions to gain freedom.

The revolt carried out by Nat Turner in 1831 electrified the African population in the u.s.a. and



Nat Turner led one of the countless rebellions planned and carried out by enslaved Africans to win freedom and independence, and to found self-governing Black communities.

shocked the slaveowners. What was his intention? Again, it was to end the domination of the slaveowners over the slaves and construct a Black Republic.

Underlying all of the hundreds of slave rebellions recorded between 1619 and 1860 was the quest for self-determination. Many of them had the direct intention to establish a Black republic or state. Some of the independent settlements in the forests existed as virtual small states.

It was these ceaseless acts that prevented unity between the northern capitalists and southern slavers during various periods as the Abolition movement and the underground railroad. Most of the abolitionists as well as the "conductors" of the Underground Railway were Blacks.

During these periods when "proletarian solidarity" was needed most the white working classes and emigrants from Europe were often in the forefront of anti-black resistance.¹¹ Whenever a temporary unity occurred, as during the Abolitionist movement, the break-up inevitably came on the issue of Black independent action and self-determination.

This still did not halt the drive towards Black

freedom. Prior to the Civil War Blacks had organized throughout the South and North in widespread secret underground organizations. One of them, the Knights of Tabor (Knights of Liberty) was poised to strike down the slaveocracy, abolish slavery and proclaim a sovereign nation.

Only the approaching conflict between the North and the South, one system based on free exploited labor, the other based on slave labor, held back the launching of a people's liberation war. The North, opposed to the *extension* of slave labor in new territories, appeared to be for the Black man. Thus these Black military units of the Knights of Liberty were dissolved and entire bands joined the Union armies.

Without question it was the support of Africans that finally defeated the Confederacy and gave victory to the Union. We are clear that it was Blacks fighting for *their* freedom that was the decisive element in the war.

(The 4,000,000 Black slaves in the South were absolutely essential to the South to carry on production while the "white army" fought. When these same slaves became part of the northern military force it



credit: New York Historical Society

White workers rioted against the draft, New York City, 1863, because they didn't want to fight in a war to end Black slavery. Black people were hunted down, Black homes and institutions serving Black people were burned to the ground by white mobs.

was disastrous. The south lost all of its productive laborers. This act alone did more to destroy the Confederacy than has been admitted. Though the situation is obviously not the same today, the implications of Africans withdrawing into a separate nation state of their own is still devastating to capitalism in the u.s.a.)

During reconstruction the northern bourgeoisie betrayed and abandoned the Blacks. White labor, which rioted against Blacks during the war, also opposed Blacks by forming anti-Black terrorist gangs as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils. Similar terrorist organizations, called Vigilantes, had already seen action on the west coast in California against Chinese labor.

The attitude of white labor is summed up in a popular burlesque song made popular during the Civil War. It was entitled: "Sambo's Right to be Killed."¹²

Thus the domination of the slaveowners was re-established. Even so, efforts such as the Port Royal experience¹³ and the example of groups of soldiers in Mississippi obtaining land collectively demonstrated that Blacks were still determined to fight against the plantation economy and the bourgeoisie. The betrayal of the bourgeoisie, the rise of white fascist

terrorism, and counter-revolutionary acts of white labor all combined to deal a blow to post-reconstruction liberation efforts by the Black freedmen.

Similar events occurred throughout the Populist Movement, the period of Booker T. Washington, Garvey, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union movement, formation of the IWW, CIO, Civil Rights Movement, and on to the present.¹⁴ During all this time the self-activity of the Black masses remained constant.

With 350 years of history on this continent the independent nature of Black people's struggle is clear. At every opportunity, whether it was fleeing to freedom in the swamps and forests, disrupting the plantation economy, revolting, or striking, the movement has been towards self-determination. □

Footnotes:

1. The Pan African Secretariat was formed after a Seminar of Panafricanists and Black Revolutionary Nationalists in Georgetown, Guyana 1970. The seminar was called by three Caribbean organizations, ASCRIA in Guyana, the Forum in St. Vincent, and the Afro-Caribbean Movement in Antigua. The PAS was the organization that initiated African Liberation

(footnotes continued on page 16)



"A revolutionary is a Black Nationalist. He wants a nation . . . if you are afraid of Black Nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love Black Nationalism.

Malcolm X

Born: May 19, 1925

Assassinated: February 21, 1965

Day in 1971 from its headquarters in Guyana. That call reached Africans from Peru to Belize to Australia.

2. CRAC was formed in 1972 following a serious meeting of revolutionaries from Cayenne, Guyana, Africa, and the u.s.a., and members of the Pan African Secretariat. Its duties were eventually taken over by the Caribbean Steering Committee of the Sixth Pan African Congress.

2a. With a population greater than 40 million (possibly as high as 60 million) Africans in the u.s.a. are the largest African nation outside Africa, and one of the largest nations in the world. Only the African population in Brazil is as large or larger. Their plight is also neglected because of the pretensions that Africans and Amerindians are fully assimilated into the minority Brazilian population.

Historically, the African nation in the u.s.a. coalesced at an earlier date than White America. The Civil War ended all importation of slaves into the u.s.a. From that period, the 1860's, we can date the stabilization, condensation, and birth of the nation. White America did not achieve this stabilization until after 1924 when the continuous flood was stopped and restricted by law.

We can say that whereas Black America is older as a nation, White America is older as a state, having come together in rudimentary form after 1776. What this African nation now needs is to take its rightful place in the world and community of nations, preserve its existence, and achieve maturity as an African state.

These historical questions have to be treated in a separate study. From the legal stand, it is necessary to read the legal briefs of Brother Imari Obadele, President of the Republic of New Africa.

3. Earl Ofari, *Let Your Motto Be Resistance*. Henry Highland Garnet, Beacon Press, 1972, p. x.

4. Ibid, p. 71.

5. Ibid, p. 86.

6. Ibid, p. 125.

7. Ofari, Earl, "Marxism-Leninism: the Key to Black Liberation," in *Black Scholar*, Vol. 4, No. 1, September 1972, pp. 35-40.

8. Again, what would the "revolutionary nationalists" of Viet Nam have thought of this! Was not the anti-French colonialist, anti-u.s. imperialist content of Vietnamese nationalism an essential ingredient to defeat the French and begin building socialism in the North and force the u.s.a. to depart in the South? Finally, no one has made any more master use of marxism than the Vietnamese, despite their nationalism.

9. René Depestre, "A New Identity for Haiti," *Tricontinental* No. 13. It is fashionable in chic ostensibly Marxist Black circles to denigrate the Haitian revolution. These diletantes in revolutionary thought have not seriously studied dialectically this grand revolution. To understand why the revolution's objectives have been significantly distorted it must be kept in mind the following quote by a Haitian revolutionary:

But in the conditions of that epoch (1804) in which growing international capitalism leaned upon the colonial slavery in Africa and the Americas (and thus determined the future of humanity) it was extremely difficult—if not impossible—for a small country controlled

by a revolutionary regime of Black anti-slavery revolutionaries surrounded by slave economies of the West Indies and the United States to develop an independent economy. The capitalist countries imposed upon us a sort of economic blockade, and refused us credit and technical equipment so vital to us after a dozen years of devastating war. Leaning upon the military chiefs and the enormous import-export commerce in foreign hands, they succeeded in making our country into a semi-colony, thus condemning the Haitian masses to misery. ("Haiti: A Black Revolution Will Repeat Itself," *Soulbook* 5, p. 78, Summer 1966, by Paul Lantimo. Translated from the Spanish text of a speech given in Havana, Cuba, 1965 at an anti-imperialist conference.

10. Aimé Césaire, lettre à Maurice Thorez, Secrétaire Générale du Parti Communiste Français, 24 October, 1956.

11. Karl Marx's friend Joseph Weydemeyer and other trade unionists were not exceptions. Weydemeyer formed the Arbeiterbund in 1853 which advocated Marxian socialism, but the organization never got a clear attitude on slavery. In April 1858 the new organ of the Arbeiterbund wrote, "... the question of the present moment is not abolition of slavery, but the prevention of its further extension and that Negro slavery was firmly rooted in America." (*Black Reconstruction*, DuBois, p. 24.)

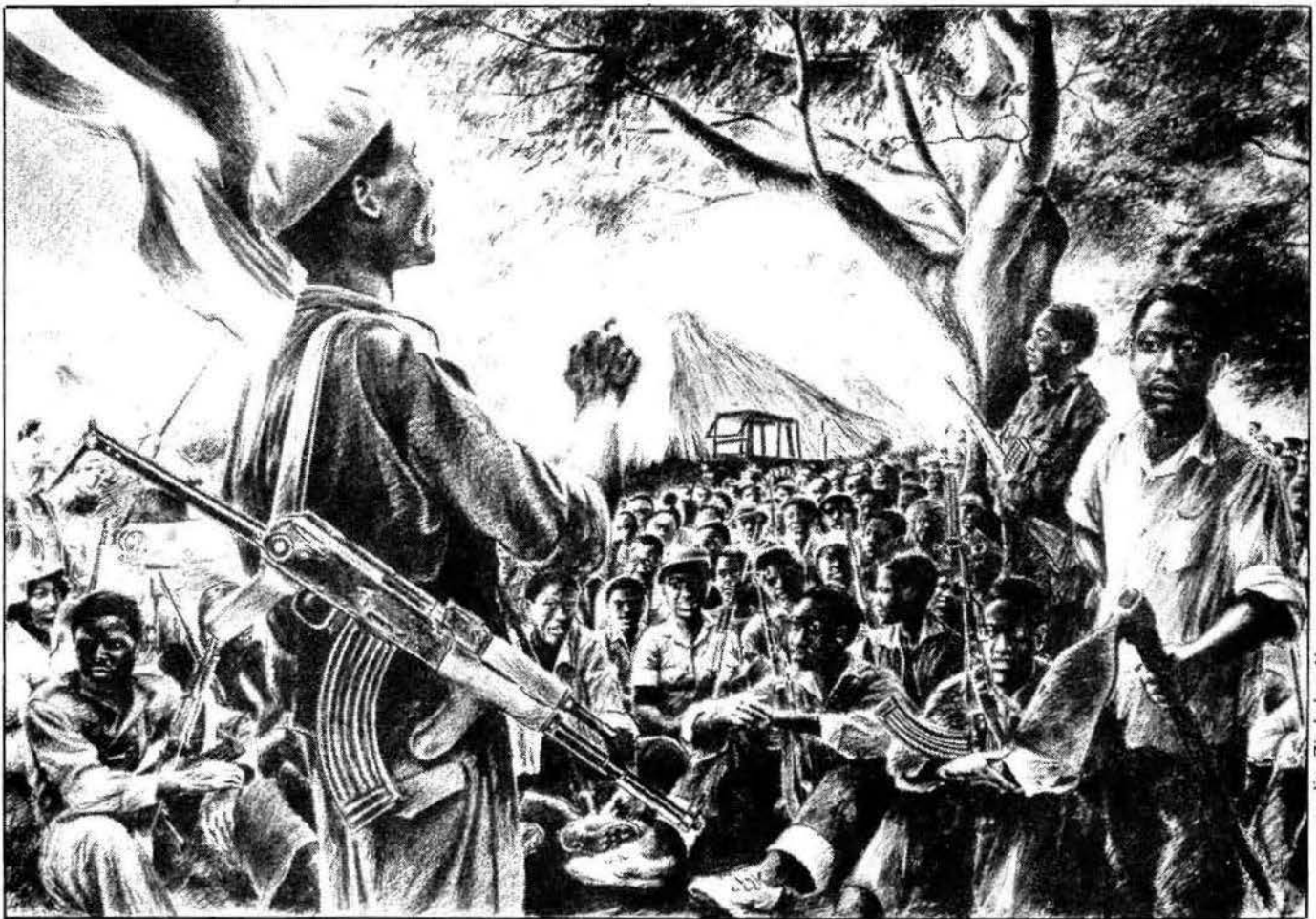
12. The most popular lines of the song were: "the right to be killed I'll divide with the nigger/and give him the largest half." The gist of the ballad was that every bullet stopped by a Black man saved the life of some white man. The song was so successful in getting white labor to accept Blacks in Union Army uniforms that Lincoln was prompted to say, "That song is good and will do well." (See J. A. Rogers, *Africa's Gift to America* p. 167.)

13. The Port Royal experience is one of the most infamous betrayals of the Black masses during Reconstruction. Port Royal is a town located on a South Carolina Sea Island. The town was occupied by Union troops during the early years of the Civil War. Many Union officers saw that they could win the allegiance of the slaves by temporarily satisfying the African's demands for land. With the support of the Treasury Department, slaves were given food, shelter, and land to cultivate. The Africans, after being able to manage the land by themselves, had to use armed resistance to keep their land after the Andrew Johnson presidential proclamation of 1865. The proclamation ordered that the land be sold for taxes (to the young rising finance capitalists of the North) and left the ex-slaves to work for new masters, in some cases for their old masters. (DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, particularly the chapters on "the General Strike" and "South Carolina")

14. An example of the vacillation of white labor and the recurrent problem of Black and White unity is evident in the statements of the white populist leader, Tom Watson. In 1892, he said of Blacks and Whites: "You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings, you are made to hate each other because on that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both." In 1910, he said of Blacks: "In the South we have to lynch him occasionally and flog him now and then to keep him from blaspheming the almighty by his conduct on account of his smell and color."

ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL VICTORY!

Patriotic Front Defeating US Secret War



credit: Zimbabwe News

There is a war raging in Zimbabwe. On one side are the Zimbabwean people led by the Patriotic Front, who are nearing victory in their fight for control of their land, their resources and their future. On the other side is US-led imperialism and the Rhodesian white settler state, trying desperately to preserve

imperialist interests against the political and military force of the Zimbabwean people's war of national liberation.

The US maintains a diplomatic commitment to a "peaceful road to majority rule" in Zimbabwe, but in reality it is waging an undeclared war against the

Patriotic Front and its leading component, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), in the effort to force neocolonialism on the Zimbabwean people.

In this article we want to focus on one important aspect of this US secret war—the recruitment, training and arming of white mercenaries. We see the US mercenary machine in the context of the overall US strategy for crushing revolution and national liberation in all of Southern Africa. Opposing mercenary recruitment is part of confronting the whole US strategy, and part of building solidarity with the people's war being led by the Patriotic Front.

PEOPLE'S WAR

The people's war has its historical roots in the invasion of Zimbabwe by the British in 1890. The first Chimurenga, as their war of resistance was called by the Zimbabweans, was defeated by the superior weaponry of the imperialists and a brutal colonial, white settler regime, called Rhodesia, was established. For many decades resistance to the colonial regime took peaceful forms. These movements, which did not challenge the basis of imperial power itself, were cruelly repressed by the white settler regime. The formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union in 1963 broke definitively with reformist politics, recognizing that only by defeating the armed power of the invaders would the Zimbabwean people regain control of their land and lives. ZANU committed itself to the liberation of their nation by the only means possible, the armed struggle. It rejected as useless, efforts to beg or pressure Britain or the white settlers into turning over power to the Zimbabweans and proclaimed as their slogan, "We are our own liberators by direct confrontation."

Our war, if we must restate our objectives, aims at the repossession of our stolen lands, so that the people can grow food to feed and clothe themselves; termination of the foreign stranglehold over our natural resources, so the people of Zimbabwe as a whole can exercise full sovereignty over them—thereby benefitting fully from their exploitation; abolition of all unjust laws; preservation of our culture; and the right of our people to determine their own destiny. None of these objectives are realized by the mere advent of the franchise for all. That is why we took to arms.

Zimbabwe News
Official Organ of ZANU

In 1966, after several years of preparations, ZANU launched the armed struggle, the second Chimurenga. By fighting at every step of the way against the

enemies of the Zimbabwean people, by not compromising their principles and by serving the people as they fight, the freedom fighters of ZANU have in a few short years transformed their war into a people's war waged in every corner of Zimbabwe and involving the masses of Zimbabwean peasants, workers, women and youth in the construction of the new society. In 1976 ZANU led the creation of the Patriotic Front, drawing the other major liberation organization, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), into a front based on commitment to carry out the armed struggle.

Today the people's forces control 85% of the country and are beginning to attack the last citadels of the Rhodesian regime—Salisbury and other large cities. In the completely liberated areas, ZANU has full responsibility for 2½ million Zimbabweans, half the rural population. Here the reconstruction of a free and democratic Zimbabwe is underway in the areas of agriculture, industry, education and health. These are the political and material changes unleashed by the Zimbabwe revolution.

THE US STRATEGY IN ZIMBABWE

The growing strength of Chimurenga has pushed the settler state to the verge of collapse. Strikes and desertion are grinding industrial production to a halt. The Rhodesian regime is being forced to spend more than a million dollars a day on the war. The launching of urban guerrilla warfare last year spread increasing panic among the white settler population; thousands of settlers are fleeing the country every month. Imperialist domination in Zimbabwe is in total crisis.

Because of its enormous economic, political and military stakes in Southern Africa, the US cannot afford a people's victory in Zimbabwe. The US strategy for Zimbabwe is based on destroying the revolutionary liberation forces which are committed to waging armed struggle for total independence, and on imposing a neocolonial government in which African puppets would front for imperialist interests. The success of neocolonialism depends on crushing the revolutionary armed struggle militarily and on undermining the revolutionary unity of the patriotic forces and their commitment to armed struggle.

The imperialist forces in Southern Africa have taken and are taking a heavy pounding from the liberation forces; and they clearly read the writing on the wall. But, true to their character, they will not surrender to the inevitable. They have decided to change only the colour of their faces, while retaining their imperialist bodies intact and unimpaired. But we can clearly see the

evil imperialist body, and we shall continue to pound it until we crush and destroy it completely.

From Patriotic Front Statement to the
Tripoli Conference of the Organization of
African Unity, February 1978

In a balancing act of trying to coopt the Zimbabwean people's support for Chimurenga while holding the loyalty of the white settlers, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith formed the "internal settlement" government, composed of himself and three African mis-leaders who have been successfully bribed to turn their backs on the Zimbabwean people and support the imperialists. The US has not officially recognized the internal settlement regime only because it knows this "solution" does not have enough popular support to contain the revolution. However, as the Patriotic Front nears victory, the US is offering more public support to the internal settlement government even while it continues its search for more effective neo-colonial alternatives. Smith's visit to the US last spring marked a major step towards open US recognition of his regime. Right now there are plans afoot to send a Congressional delegation to monitor Smith's sham elections scheduled for April. There are also moves in Congress, led by Senators Hayakawa of California and Helms of North Carolina, to legally lift the embargo against Rhodesia immediately following the fake elections.

Underlying these political maneuvers to "peacefully achieve majority rule" is the US undeclared war, aimed at terrorizing the Zimbabwean people and the forces of the Patriotic Front into abandoning the armed struggle for independence and accepting a neocolonial cooptation of their struggle. With the liberation army controlling most of the countryside, currently a main form of the imperialist war is bombing raids over the liberated territories and the refugee camps in Mozambique. Many of the helicopters and airplanes that carry out these attacks on the Zimbabwean people come to Rhodesia via South Africa, which gets them direct from US companies. In a recent press release, ZANU reported that the Rhodesian government received eleven Huey helicopters from the US immediately prior to Smith's US visit last fall. In violation of the UN embargo and even its own laws the US supplies two-thirds of the oil for the Rhodesian army and air forces, as well as most of its weapons, either directly or through South Africa, NATO and Israel.

But no matter how technologically advanced an army may be, it is still impossible to wage a war without troops. The stampede of white settlers from

Rhodesia has created a severe manpower crisis for the imperialist forces. Their solution at this stage is the mercenary army.

WHY A MERCENARY ARMY?

The US diplomatic strategy in Southern Africa rests on a pretense of non-involvement and a seeming commitment to the democratic aspirations of the oppressed peoples. A secret mercenary army, like illegal weapons shipments, doesn't interfere with US diplomatic proclamations about wanting a "fair solution in which ballots rather than bullets will decide fairly who gets power" (US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance). The secret war strategy is also an attempt to learn from the mistakes made in the Viet Nam war, and to prevent the huge upheavals which developed in the US during that war.

The US was devastatingly defeated on the battlefields of Viet Nam after sending 2½ million troops to fight against the Vietnamese. The State was unable to maintain the effective fighting capacity of its regular troops. Many Black and other Third World GIs led open revolts against the US war machine, understanding that the same system that was responsible for their oppression in the US was forcing them to inflict terror and genocide against the Vietnamese people. Others refused to fight and returned to the US to spread their heightened consciousness of the genocidal nature of the US imperialist system.

White GIs, confronted with the political and military superiority of the Vietnamese, had to face the reality that they were risking their lives in a losing, unjust war. Exposure to the revolutionary Vietnamese forces, the political influence of Black GIs and an awareness of the atrocities which the US was perpetrating against the Vietnamese in the name of democracy, wore away at their material and ideological commitment to US interests and domination in Viet Nam. These factors led to desertions and militant opposition to the war among some white GIs, as well as widespread apathy and drug addiction. Within the US, a massive anti-war movement supported draft resisters and demanded an end to US involvement.

The political and military victories of the Vietnamese, the crippling contradictions within the US armed forces, pressure from the mass-based anti-war movement, and the explosive impact of Black Liberation inside the US finally forced the US state to "vietnamize" the war (replace US troops with Vietnamese troops), end the draft and institute a volunteer army.

Imperialism has tried to learn from its overwhelming defeat in Viet Nam and the contradictions which



credit: Sundance

In the 1969 battle of Khe Sanh, Black GIs led the Alpha Company in refusing to fight against the Vietnamese.

escalated within the US during the war. Since Viet Nam the state has tried to avoid full-scale military involvement around the world and has placed its strategic emphasis on pushing neocolonialism through political maneuvering and secret military aid.

The contradictions of direct US military intervention are particularly sharp in relation to Africa. The US cannot risk sending the US volunteer army, which is now largely Black, to fight against African wars of liberation. The state clearly recognizes that Black troops would identify the common history of colonial oppression which they share with Africans on the continent of Africa, and would refuse to fight on the side of imperialism and white settler colonialism. The state also sees that direct military intervention against African liberation movements would heighten mass Black opposition to colonial domination within the US as well as on the continent.

THE US GOVERNMENT MERCENARY MACHINE

The US mercenary machine is the present solution to the contradictions posed by direct troop involvement in Africa. It is a secret army—secret to the US

population and the international community, though certainly not secret to the Zimbabwean people. A white army, it responds to the problem that white GIs lacked sufficient political commitment to imperialism during the Viet Nam war by recruiting and training on the basis of a high degree of commitment to white supremacy and imperialist domination. These racist mercenaries can be depended upon to wholeheartedly support US plans to smash the aspirations of the Zimbabwean people for independence and freedom, and to wreak unbelievable horrors on the African population without flinching.

During final sentencing of mercenaries captured in Angola by the MPLA and tried before an International Tribunal, People's Revolutionary Court established international definitions of mercenarism:

The convulsed history of the last twenty years is filled with mercenaries at the service of neocolonialist projects, packs of dogs of war, their muzzles dripping blood, engaged in aggression, in crimes against the peace and against mankind, decapitating or trying to decapitate revolutions, trample underfoot or trying to destroy the liberty of the peoples—in short, systematically involved in committing international crimes.

Thus anyone who, for personal gain, joins a group or force that proposes to oppose, by force of arms, the process of self-determination of another people or that, by the same means, seeks to impose on it a neocolonial situation is committing the crime of mercenarism.

Finally, mercenarism is considered a crime by the consensus of nations, as expressly set forth in Resolutions 2395 (XXIII), 2465 (XXIII), 2543 (XXIV) and 3103 (XXVIII) of the General Assembly of the United Nations and in the OAU declarations of Kinshasa, in 1967, and Addis Ababa, in 1971.

The allegation of the defense that the prisoners are not the only guilty parties is accepted. The governments of the countries whose citizens they are, that stimulated their recruitment, armed them, and paid them their salaries, are equally guilty. Governments that, persisting in racist philosophies and swayed by imperialist ravings, have acted against UN Resolution 2465 and once more set themselves against the peoples' peace [have] shown themselves to be unworthy of belonging to the community of civilized nations. . . .

The US has recruited worldwide, trained and armed mercenaries to fight against the Patriotic Front. These mercenaries serve at all levels of the Rhodesian army. Viet Nam veterans teach the Rhodesian army terrorist tactics originally developed in Viet Nam, including the use of concentration camps called

"protected villages," where hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans are now imprisoned. The mercenaries have carried out more than 150 raids into refugee camps in Mozambique, killing thousands of mothers, children and old people. Mercenaries also work as range patrols on private farms, provide training in sophisticated weaponry, and serve in vigilante squads. Many of them are paid "by the head." SWAT teams teach Rhodesian police counter-insurgency techniques.

US RECRUITMENT NETWORK

More than 14,000 mercenaries are currently fighting for US-led imperialism in Rhodesia. Many of the mercenary troops come from South Africa; others are recruited in Europe. Most mercenaries from the US, currently numbering more than 2,000, are recruited through the regular armed forces, police departments and campus ROTC programs. For example:

- Phoenix Associates, a CIA front organization, has been proven to recruit and train US mercenaries for the Rhodesian Army at the US Marine Base at Quantico, Virginia
- Larry Meyers, an unemployed Viet Nam veteran, was recruited to fight as a mercenary in Rhodesia by



Soldier of Fortune editor Lt. Col. Robert K. Brown (left) with Rhodesian soldier. *SOF* is part of the CIA and Special Forces mercenary recruitment program.

the Rhodesian Information Office in Washington, D.C. and ROTC Lt. Col. Monte Bullard at the University of California at Berkeley

- Mercenaries are recruited directly by the Chicago Unit of the US Army 12th Special Forces Reserves, which also sells teeshirts that say, "Rhodesia is Ready When You Are." Commanding Officer of the Chicago 12th Special Forces is Army Reserve Lt. Col. Robert K. Brown, founder and publisher of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine.

Soldier of Fortune: the Journal of Professional Adventurers is the most visible link in the US mercenary recruitment network. Its editorial board is made up of known CIA agents and US reserve officers, many with close ties to the Smith regime. The magazine is blatantly aimed at recruiting white men into US-led occupying armies to save "white civilization" from the freedom struggles of African and other oppressed peoples. Major Mike Williams, in a recent article on the Grey Scouts, a cavalry commando unit he organized in Rhodesia, refers to Zimbabwean freedom fighters as "gooks" and "terrs." He says of the "colored" troops under his command, "forty sets of white teeth and 80 rolling eyeballs surrounding me... these buggers can't be trusted; never turn your back on them."

Soldier of Fortune contains training articles on the latest urban and rural counterinsurgency equipment and tactics, and distributes government weaponry training manuals. There is a heavy emphasis on SWAT and other efforts to destroy the African liberation movement inside US borders. In addition to mercenary recruiting information, *SOF* pushes weapons, Nazi Party literature, Anglo bumper stickers and records of Hitler's speeches. Nearly 100,000 copies of *Soldier of Fortune* are distributed monthly throughout the US.

US mercenaries, whether recruited through *Soldier of Fortune*, ROTC, the Rhodesian Information Office or the regular armed forces, are not just adventurers or crazed fanatics. Systematically recruited, trained and armed, they are the US ground troops in disguise. Their job is the attempt to destroy the liberation forces in order to shove neocolonialism down the throats of the Zimbabwean people.

THE MERCENARY MACHINE AND THE WHITE WORKING CLASS

The recruitment of US mercenaries to fight in the Rhodesian army and in the domestic armed forces like SWAT is the continuation of a centuries-long history of mobilizing the white population of the US

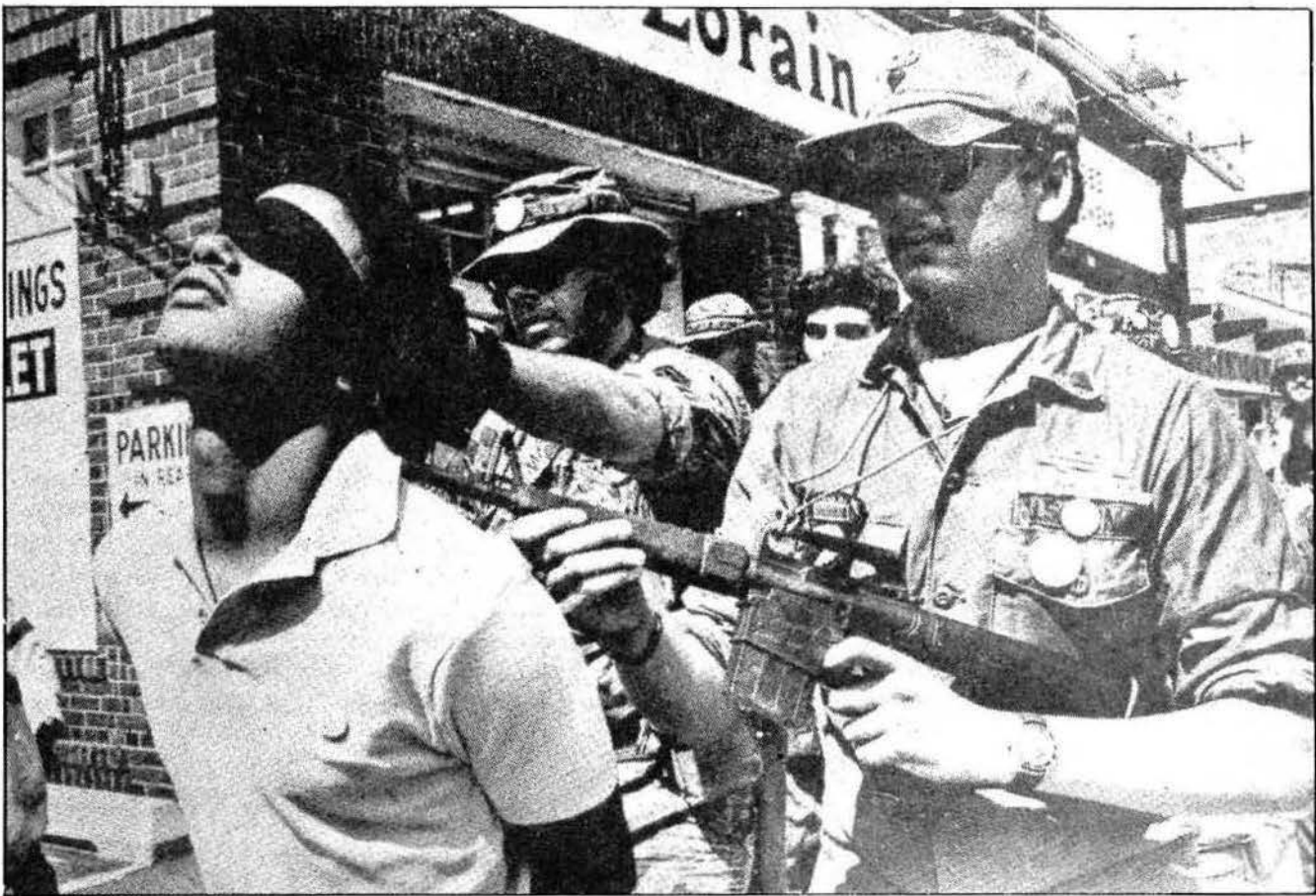
oppressor nation to fight for colonialism. The US, like Rhodesia, is a white settler state founded on land stolen from the indigenous peoples and built on enslaved African labor. Pioneers and cowboys were the ground troops for US imperialist expansion from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. The material advantages which the US white working class has are a result of imperialist plunder of land, labor and resources of colonized peoples. For this reason white working class people have historically helped establish and enforce colonial conquest through the use of arms.

Recruited primarily from the white working class, today's mercenaries are fighting to maintain the system of oppressor and oppressed nations and the privileges of white supremacy against the rising tide of African liberation. Behind the mercenaries who actually go and fight in Africa is a much larger base of support for their goals and activities in the oppressor nation as a whole, and within the white working class.

As wars of national liberation grow worldwide, the imperialists are redoubling their efforts to assure that this base of support grows as well. They know that a mercenary army will not provide sufficient troops forever and are developing plans to reinstitute the draft. However, they also recognize that mass resistance to the Viet Nam war revealed the potential for white working class people to oppose imperialist wars on a large-scale basis. Consequently they are escalating their offensive to build white working class commitment to fight for empire.

Soldier of Fortune, sensationalist newspaper lies about African guerrillas killing white nuns, and the recently released movie "Wild Geese" are specifically aimed at mobilizing white support for the US strategy in Southern Africa, including the mercenary invasion of Zimbabwe. In "Wild Geese" African liberation fighters are portrayed as rampaging savages, blood-thirsty white mercenaries are heroic idealists and the "good" neocolonial leader is so weak he has to be physically carried around by white mercenaries who call him "kaffir" (nigger).

Anti-African propaganda also serves to fan white people's hatred and fear of Black people within the US. This racist propaganda feeds campaigns like the anti-Black death penalty, reverse discrimination suits and support for increased police occupation forces against "crime in the streets." It encourages individual acts of colonial violence, and participation in armed vigilante groups like the KKK which are aimed at protecting white privilege and keeping Black people "in their place."



credit: Southern Exposure

Inside its borders, the US colonial police force and occupation troops terrorize Black communities.

BLACK LIBERATION AND DOMESTIC OCCUPATION TROOPS

Within the US, like in Zimbabwe, the state uses occupying armies to enforce colonial control over African people and suppress their fight for liberation. The police and the National Guard, supported by unofficial white supremacist armed forces like the KKK, function as US occupying armies in Black communities across the US. There are strong strategic and organizational connections between the mercenary machine in Rhodesia and the domestic armed forces.

A clear example is SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics), designed by the Los Angeles Police Department and the Camp Pendleton Marine Base after the Watts rebellion of 1967 as part of the COINTELPRO war strategy to crush the Black Liberation Movement. Based on counterinsurgency techniques developed for the Viet Nam war, it is seen as a paramilitary force for urban combat. In the words of a recent *Soldier of*

Fortune article: "to SWAT, every call-up is a live-action dress rehearsal for the time when the stakes are really big—an organized riot, a guerrilla raid, a full-blown insurrection." Each SWAT member received instruction in the history of guerrilla warfare, scouting and patrolling, camouflage and concealment, combat in built-up areas, chemical agents, first aid and ambushes.

Between 1970 and 1974, the FBI drilled officers from 450 police departments in basic SWAT techniques at Quantico Marine Base in Virginia, where many mercenaries destined for Rhodesia are also trained.

In 1969 a forty-man police team led by SWAT raided the Black Panther headquarters in L.A. In 1975, 100 agents from the FBI SWAT teams raided the Oglala Sioux Nation on Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. In 1976 San Quentin prison in California authorized the formation of a Correctional Emergency Response Team, a SWAT team composed of

prison guards. Last fall, the SWAT-trained St. Petersburg, Florida police gunned down an unarmed Black man in the streets, bringing out hundreds of African people to protest the police occupation of their community. Registered SWAT instructor for Southern Florida is Nick Ladas, *Soldier of Fortune* SWAT editor.

SWAT and the US mercenary machine in Rhodesia are different branches of the same army of imperialist domination. The defeat of mercenaries on the battlefields of Zimbabwe will also be a blow against terrorist police forces occupying Black communities across the US. Although imperialism has tried very hard to isolate African struggle within the US from the struggles of African peoples worldwide, revolutionary Black forces stress the deep interrelationship of African peoples and the importance of building solidarity between different fronts of the African liberation struggle against imperialism. Malcolm X said:

An African official told me, "When one combines the number of peoples of African descent in South, Central and North America, they total well over 80 million. One can easily understand the attempts to keep the African from ever uniting with the African-Americans." Unity between the Africans of the West and the Africans of the fatherland will well change the face of history.


THE BASIS OF SOLIDARITY

The people of Zimbabwe are fighting and winning a heroic war of liberation; freeing their country from racism, colonialism and imperialism, and making a major contribution to the final destruction of imperialism worldwide. It is the responsibility of white

anti-imperialists to counter the dominant terms on which the white working class defines its relationship to African and other colonized peoples; and to win broad numbers of white people to the understanding that independence for Zimbabwe is the only possible and just solution to the genocidal conditions of imperialism.

ZANU has defined Chimurenga as the only road to independence for Zimbabwe. Solidarity with the Zimbabwean struggle must build support for this revolutionary strategy. If support work is not firmly based on solidarity with the revolutionary armed struggle, then it inevitably ends up colluding with US neocolonial strategies, which are precisely directed at undermining the armed struggle. If it doesn't identify imperialism and colonialism as the enemies of the Zimbabwean people, then it ends up supporting reformist solutions which will not overthrow the root cause of oppression in Zimbabwe.

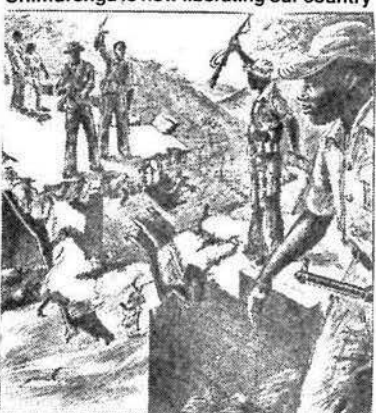
For example, anti-apartheid campaigns target the racist segregationist policies of the Rhodesian government (and the South African government). By calling for an end to apartheid and ignoring the struggle of the Zimbabwean people for independence from imperialism, they in essence support US neocolonial plans for "majority rule" instead of independence. The people of Zimbabwe are not fighting for the right to sit on park benches—they want their land, their resources and the future of their people. Anti-apartheid politics also set up the US, where legal apartheid has been abolished, as a model of freedom for African people, just like Carter and Andrew Young do, thereby denying the just struggle of African people inside the US for independence from colonial domination.



ZIMBABWE NEWS
Official Organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) — component of the Patriotic Front

LET US FIGHT AND REBUILD ZIMBABWE

Chimurenga is now liberating our country



The Struggle continues until final victory

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The Southern Africa Anti-Mercenary Coalition's guerrilla theater builds solidarity with the Patriotic Front by exposing secret US mercenary recruitment network (San Francisco demonstration, January 1979).

Another example is divestment campaigns, which target the role of individual corporations and universities in propping up the reactionary regimes in Southern Africa. While it is important to expose all levels of support for the Rhodesian regime, the way to stop capitalist exploitation of Zimbabwean resources—the way to implement total divestment—is to support the military defeat of the armed power of the imperialists. Divestment campaigns avoid the heart of the issue. The main enemy of the Zimbabwean people is US-led imperialism, not any individual corporation, college or city government.

These campaigns are based on organizing masses of people in the US on terms they can most easily agree with, instead of on the terms which are being defined by the liberation movements in Southern Africa. In the name of building a broad mass movement these campaigns do not direct the main blow at the US state; they fail to support people's war in Southern Africa and ignore the importance of building solidarity with Black Liberation within the US.

BUILDING CONCRETE SOLIDARITY WITH CHIMURENGA

In building solidarity with Zimbabwe, we must respond to the priorities and needs of the revolution as defined by ZANU and the Patriotic Front.

As increasingly more of the country is liberated, ZANU's responsibilities for feeding, educating and healing the Zimbabwean people in the liberated areas, as well as in the refugee camps in Mozambique, are multiplying. There is a desperate need for food, clothing, money and medical supplies. To meet these needs ZANU has organized an international campaign, the Zimbabwe Material Aid Campaign, to raise the necessary supplies and money, and to build political support for their struggles. Uniting with the revolutionary leadership of ZANU, organizations and individuals are coming together in the Campaign to raise concrete material aid for the Zimbabwean people as well as building broad political support for Chimurenga.

In conjunction with raising material aid, there is also an urgent necessity to expose to the public the real level of US military involvement in Zimbabwe and to oppose the continued recruitment of mercenaries. Several months ago, a Southern Africa Anti-Mercenary Coalition was formed in the San Francisco Bay Area to expose and confront US recruitment, training and arming of mercenaries. Formed in response to ZANU's leadership about the importance of the issue of mercenaries, the objective of the coalition is to use the campaign against the US mercenary machine as a means of building solidarity with Chim-

urenga and opposition to all forms of US involvement in Zimbabwe.

Exposing the secret war and its relationship to the US neocolonial plans for Zimbabwe is essential to building anti-imperialist movement capable of forestalling further escalations in the US war strategy and supporting the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. In this next critical period, solidarity demands our commitment to obstruct every vicious new maneuver of the imperialists, as the Zimbabwean people rapidly approach final victory.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

As the forces of ZANLA (the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) surround Rhodesian cities and increase their attacks on the urban areas, plans for a massive US-South African invasion force into Zimbabwe, euphemistically called an "evacuation plan," are being published in US and British newspapers. When ZANU Secretary General Edgar Tekere was asked, during his recent visit to the US, about US military escalation in Zimbabwe, he said: "We have to think a lot about the probably overt involvement of the US in our situation. Another Viet Nam? It would

not take us by surprise."

Despite the dangers of increased attacks by the US, the people of Zimbabwe know their victory is inevitable. Like the people of Viet Nam, they explain to us that there are no imperialist schemes which can conquer a people united in revolutionary determination to win their national liberation. In the words of ZANU President Robert Mugabe:

In order to resolve this bitter [colonialism] and rid themselves of untold suffering the people of Zimbabwe have accepted the historical burden demanding of them in its discharge the supreme sacrifice of their own lives. They have embarked on war as the most effective means of ridding their country of the scourge of settler-imperialism and regaining their lost sovereign status. The revolutionary task of waging armed struggle has been undertaken, the complete discharge of the burden will only follow when the task has been fully accomplished. . . .

The burden of history still remains undischarged, but the unfolding tasks being pursued in its discharge has resulted in the fatal wounding of the imperialist monster. The settler and puppet regime is collapsing. The people are winning. Victory is definitely in sight. *The burden will and must need be discharged!* □



Secretary General of ZANU, Edgar Tekere, speaking in Berkeley, November 1978.

THE STRUGGLE IS FOR SOVEREIGNTY

Native Americans Fight for Land and to Free Political Prisoners

Across the US, Native American peoples are waging fierce struggles for control over their land, their resources and their futures as sovereign nations. Native struggles today are rooted in the long history of Native resistance to the theft of their land and the genocide of their people by the US settler state.

Colonial conquest of Indian peoples is not only a tragic chapter in US history. The theft of Native lands continues to this day as the US government attempts to steal the last remaining land base of Native nations inside US borders. Rapidly losing its control of natural resources around the world, US imperialism has escalated its attempts to take over mineral and energy rich Indian lands. The US has "terminated" dozens of Indian tribes (declared unilaterally that they no longer exist) and tricked or forced thousands of Native people into selling their land for as little as 47¢ an acre. This land theft has gone hand in hand with genocidal attacks on Native lives and their identity as a people. Twenty-four percent of Native women were sterilized between 1971-75 and nearly one-third of Indian children are forcibly placed in non-Indian foster homes. By pushing Indian people off their lands and cutting them off from their traditional way of life, the US hopes to break their spiritual and cultural identity, and destroy their capacity to resist.

For Native Americans, the struggle for land is a struggle for survival as a sovereign people. The armed occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 marked the resurgent determination of Native peoples to fight for sovereign control over their lands.

Since Wounded Knee, the state has moved violently to smash Native movement. The FBI, the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) and the tribal police responded to the occupation of Wounded Knee with a full-scale invasion of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Since 1973, 200 Native people have been murdered on Pine Ridge.

American Indian Movement (AIM) activists and the warriors who have led their people in the struggles for land and sovereignty, have been particularly targeted for attack by the

state. Hundreds have been murdered, framed and jailed in a COINTELPRO-type plan to destroy the Native movement. Native Americans locked down across the country, like Leonard Peltier, are political prisoners, jailed because of their political beliefs and actions, their determination to fight for their people's land, their refusal to allow imperialism to destroy their nations. The Native movement sees the struggle to free Native political prisoners as an integral part of the struggle for sovereignty and self-determination. Mass campaigns which have been mounted around the Wounded Knee trials, Skyhorse and Mohawk and Leonard Peltier, among others, expose the illegal authority which the US government—its laws and courts—maintains over sovereign Native nations.

Despite the violence of the state's attacks, Native resistance has not been crushed but instead continues to grow. The Longest Walk, from Alcatraz Island to Washington, DC, in which thousands of Native people participated, reaffirmed the unity of Indian nations in their struggles for sovereignty.

Now in California, the Yurok and the Hoopa peoples on the Klamath River, the Chumash at Point Conception and the Legitimate Pit River Tribe are all fighting against imperialist efforts to steal their land, exploit their resources and destroy their nationhood. Participants in these land struggles together with AIM are forming a Confederacy of Traditional California Tribes to develop strategies and provide mutual support for the struggles of all Native peoples in California.

These just struggles which are being waged against tremendous obstacles demand concrete solidarity from white people, based on the understanding that the entire United States is built on stolen Native lands. From the landing of the first pilgrims through the present, the vast majority of white settlers have aided in the violent conquest of Native people and land. Today, the land speculators at Point Conception, the white fishermen on the Klamath River and the vigilante squads at Wounded Knee, are the modern-day counterparts of the pioneers and buffalo hunters of a hundred years ago, attempting to wipe out Native sovereignty for their own benefit.

As white people, we have a clear responsibility to oppose the continued practice of colonialism and genocide against Native nations and to politically and materially aid in the fullest ways we can Native efforts to win sovereignty, self-determination and the freedom of Native political prisoners.

Note: The retrial of Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian who defended her children from attack by a white intruder, is scheduled for April 16. Contact: Yvonne Wanrow Defense Committee, 1206 Smith Tower Bldg., Seattle, WA 98104.

Interview with Sid Welsh

To contribute to solidarity with Native struggles *Breakthrough* is printing an interview with Sid Welsh, an AIM activist and member of the Native American Defense Committee. In another blatant FBI frame-up, Sid is currently facing a second trial on false charges of possession of two blasting caps. The FBI has never produced these blasting caps; they claim to have accidentally lost or destroyed them. However, typically racist court proceedings ignored this lack of evidence, and Sid was convicted. He later won the right to a retrial.

Defense motions have forced the FBI to release some of its files on Sid. They reveal that he had been under FBI surveillance for over a year at the time of his arrest, and that the SF FBI office had received orders from DC to "promptly complete the necessary investigation and bring this matter to a logical conclusion"—just one month before Sid was busted.

It is important, at this time, to demand justice for Sid Welsh and build support for his case. In this interview Sid talks about his case and those of other Native American political prisoners in the context of the overall movement for Native sovereignty.

Breakthrough: Right now Native land struggles are really intensifying, especially here in California. Could you start by talking some about the importance of supporting these land struggles?

Sid Welsh: I think people have been avoiding this question, and I think it's about time it gets out—the only way for any changes to happen in this country at all is for treaties with the Indian people to be enforced and for all the land rights, all the resources—for all those things to be recognized, for people to make that a fact of life. Some of the rhetoric that maybe Indian peoples have said before like "We're the landlords of this land and we have come here to collect"—it is rhetoric, but the thing is that it's true. All Europeans have to realize that fact, and the sooner they realize that fact and pay up, and give up those dues, then the sooner we will see a stop to the crimes of the US government, like in South Africa or any other foreign areas where the struggle is concerned. You can't fight the US government when you're stepping on somebody else who already has the right to fight the US government. And it should be established that way. That pertains to all phases of the movement.

Because when you look at the Bakke decision and Proposition 13—all those things—you're fighting within the United States system, you're asked to vote. But



Sid Welsh, at a San Francisco rally to free Leonard Peltier.

you can't be a voter and be fighting for liberation at the same time. That's where an occupation like Wounded Knee should be used as an example, where it wasn't within their system. They weren't lobbying in the courts, *their* courts. They weren't trying to lobby people as congressmen or governors or anything like that, because they knew it was hopeless. The enemy's the enemy, and the sooner we realize it the better we will be.

We have to start forming around the Native American struggle *because* they have a land base, because they have a natural right to water and resources and all these things. The sooner that is done and the sooner it's recognized by people of all colors, the sooner the US government will lose its hold on the people. If more people would stop voting then maybe it would be a quicker road.

Because the American Indian Movement, as small as it is in number, has been very forceful and influential. An example is in California, where Governor Brown won't extradite Dennis Banks. And that's political power. That isn't saying that Dennis Banks has been adopted by the State of California or anything; but he is accepted and would be taken in anywhere across the country by Indian people, because we're in defiance of their unjust law and order codes.

credit: Breakthrough

So that's one example which we can follow; and Wounded Knee is another—which we should never lose sight of. We should follow the examples of traditional and sovereign nations and governments, who will not accept the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the US government, or the educational system or the philosophies that they put forth.

Nobody likes the fact that we are the landowners in this country. No matter who it is, I think nobody wants to accept that. They say, "Well, that's past." Nobody wants to accept that it isn't past, that it's still here, that we're going to gain that land back.

The US government, and the Europeans in general, are on a path to self-destruction. People have talked about prophecies in their own cultures, their own tribes and nations, and the signs are here. Nuclear energy is an example—it's going to be part of the disaster of things ahead. And a whole lot of things, like liquefied natural gas, all point to self-destruction.

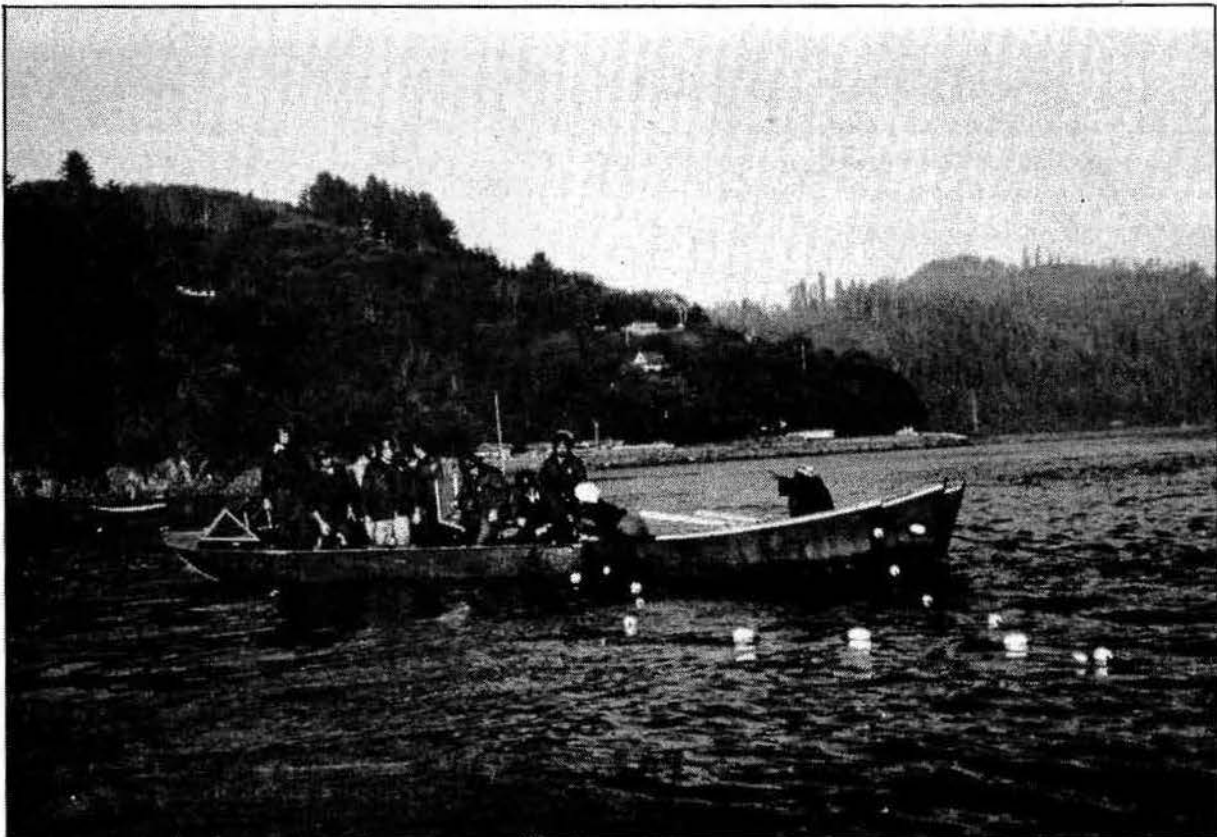
You know, you can't be supportive of Indian struggles and then be for nuclear energy, or be for coal. You can't be supportive of that because you know they're going to go to the reservations and get uranium, and they're gonna go to the reservations, which they already have done, to get coal. So it's

hard, but people have to make a definite stand against these policies. If you want to really help the movement, if you people want to really make change, then you're going to have to start identifying with Indian people.

Indian people have been gaining strength. People once thought the American Indian Movement was shattered. But more and more they're finding out that that's a myth. The example of that is Point Conception, Pit River and Klamath at this time, and organizations that have sprung up in this area, and throughout California. People thought repression or repressive acts against the Indian movement would work, but it didn't. It worked against the system.

BT: The Indian people from those three areas in California you just mentioned—Pit River, Point Conception and Klamath—have formed a confederacy in the last few months. What's the significance of this development?

SW: Raymond Lego, from Pit River, started the idea of forming a confederacy with traditional people from all the rancherias, or reservations, in the state of California. Then working together, he said, to form a power base from where we could develop some of the things that we wanted to do. The starting point



credit: Breakthrough

The Yurok and Hoopa peoples are resisting attempts by riot-equipped state and federal agents (in the left boat) to restrict their centuries-old traditional fishing rights on the Klamath river. These state attacks are part of an all-out effort to wipe out the Yurok and Hoopa nations.

would be to try to get together with Point Conception, the Chumash people. And then to start trading ideas and start trying to establish some ground with the Yurok people and Hoopas on the Klamath River, around the fishing rights thing.

So, the way to do that would be to organize conferences, and things of that sort, educational events for Indian people. So that's why we held the Pit River conference, and then the conferences at Point Conception and Klamath.

There's a lot of Indian people that aren't even aware of the Confederacy yet, from different rancherias throughout California. So we can't really say the Confederacy has been formed in California. It's not really that clear. But I think the cornerstone has been set for it. And probably throughout the remainder of the year, people will be getting to other organizations, to other conferences, and *tell* them about the Confederacy, that it's being formed.

There're a lot of issues in California that have to be brought to the surface. One of those is burial sites. There's more burial sites around this area than nobody knows what to do with. But a lot of AIM people are from out of the area, from different parts of the country. So even though they're concerned about burial sites, they really don't have a say about what to do about them. That would be something that the Confederacy within California could look into, and talk to people about, since they're from this area. AIM people can only point out and show, and offer experience in different areas, to help these people out here.

That's why the Confederacy is so important. Even the mention of the basis of the Confederacy within California, just that mention alone has been a big step, a major step among the Indian community. It's been a long time since anything like that has happened.

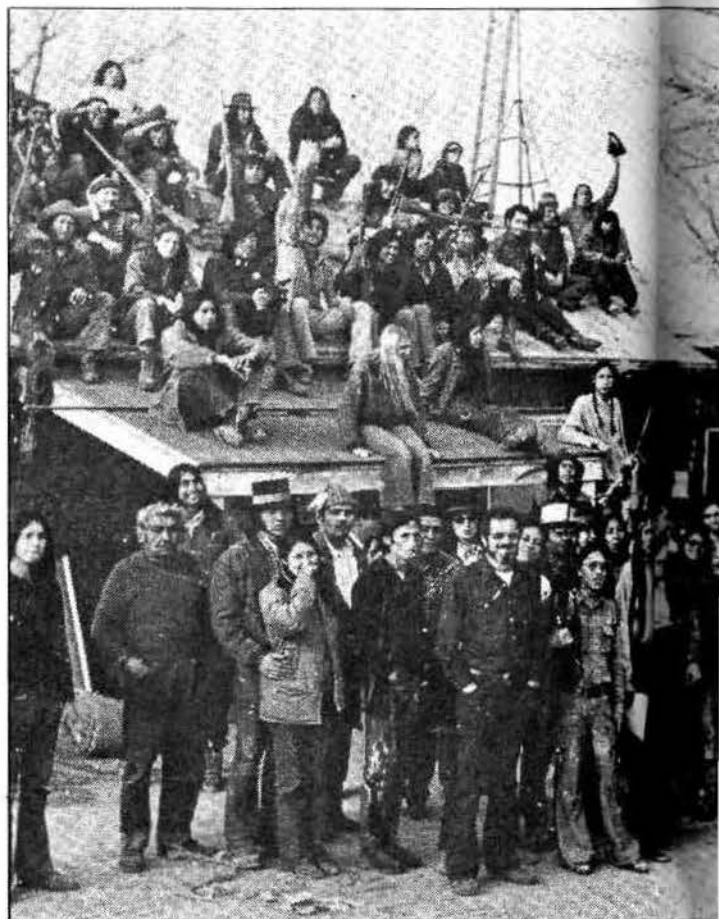
And it's coming just at a time when it's desperately needed. I think it's in a new era. It's going to be a major turning point. I don't know what's going to come out of it. It's going to be hard to survive these next twenty years, the way I see it. There might not be a mass killing of people in the next twenty years, but there might be a lot of killing, some people killed. If we don't take preventive measures now, then the whole thing—the US will run it, you know. They'll take control, and there'll be a police state at the end of twenty years. That's how it's going. That's what they say in South Dakota also. That's what they're talking about. They're looking at documents, plans

that the BIA has outlined for the next hundred years.

So, you know, it's not far fetched or anything, it's a reality; just take a close look around us, and you can see it.

BT: Why do you think the US government has come down as heavily as it has on the Indian movement, with all the murders and the fact that so many people are now in prison with incredible sentences?

SW: Well, I think whereas the general public is reluctant to or ignorant, or doesn't want to recognize



In 1973 the Oglala people, with support from the American Indian Movement, the Independent Oglala Nation and defended themselves

the Indian people as what you might call a staying power in this country, I think the US government recognizes that. That's why they're fighting us. They've pinpointed us, I think, probably as number one to disrupt and tear down. I think they recognize that more than the people in the movement themselves. If you just look at the documents that they have, you know, they're always putting us right up there among the terrorists. I mean, high-power terrorists. We're not terrorists. The terrorist in truth, is the United States government.

A lot of times we want to try to get away from some of the things that have happened, but I think it's important to include all the things that have already gone down, that have already been documented. Probably the best example is the Wounded Knee trials of Dennis Banks and Russell Means. Really it was the FBI that was on trial; they really were hurt by it. There were a lot of things that happened in that trial where the FBI was really exposed in a lot of ways. In fact the whole trial was dismissed because the judge himself said it was too



credit: Akwesasne Notes

erated the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. They declared the inst a full-scale FBI/BIA armed invasion.

much, too much for anybody to accept. Their misconduct was so outrageous and so blatant that he just had no alternative but to dismiss. In the course of events that followed, Russell, the last count that I know of, he had seven trials to go to. He won every trial, except for the one that he's in prison for now. And Dennis is forced into exile out here also.

And there's the case of Mike Sturdevant from the Menominee Warrior Society—last thing I knew he had six years. The Menominees had a major occupation in Wisconsin a few years ago. And people were killed

down there, also. The FBI used one of their main informants, Doug Durham. He was there arranging and helping to instigate, and agitate certain things and then entrap Indian people. That's how fraudulent those charges are against Mike Sturdevant.

And in my own trial, we've uncovered more evidence of misconduct by the US government. They're establishing themselves a record. They try to string you out for as long as they can, and hope you'll mess up, you know, and they'll bust you again. But on the other hand, it's been them who've been committing all those, what you might call illegalities, inside the courtroom, behind the scenes where they think nobody's watching. But we're aware of all those things. So, then, the case is building up, but it's against them, not me.

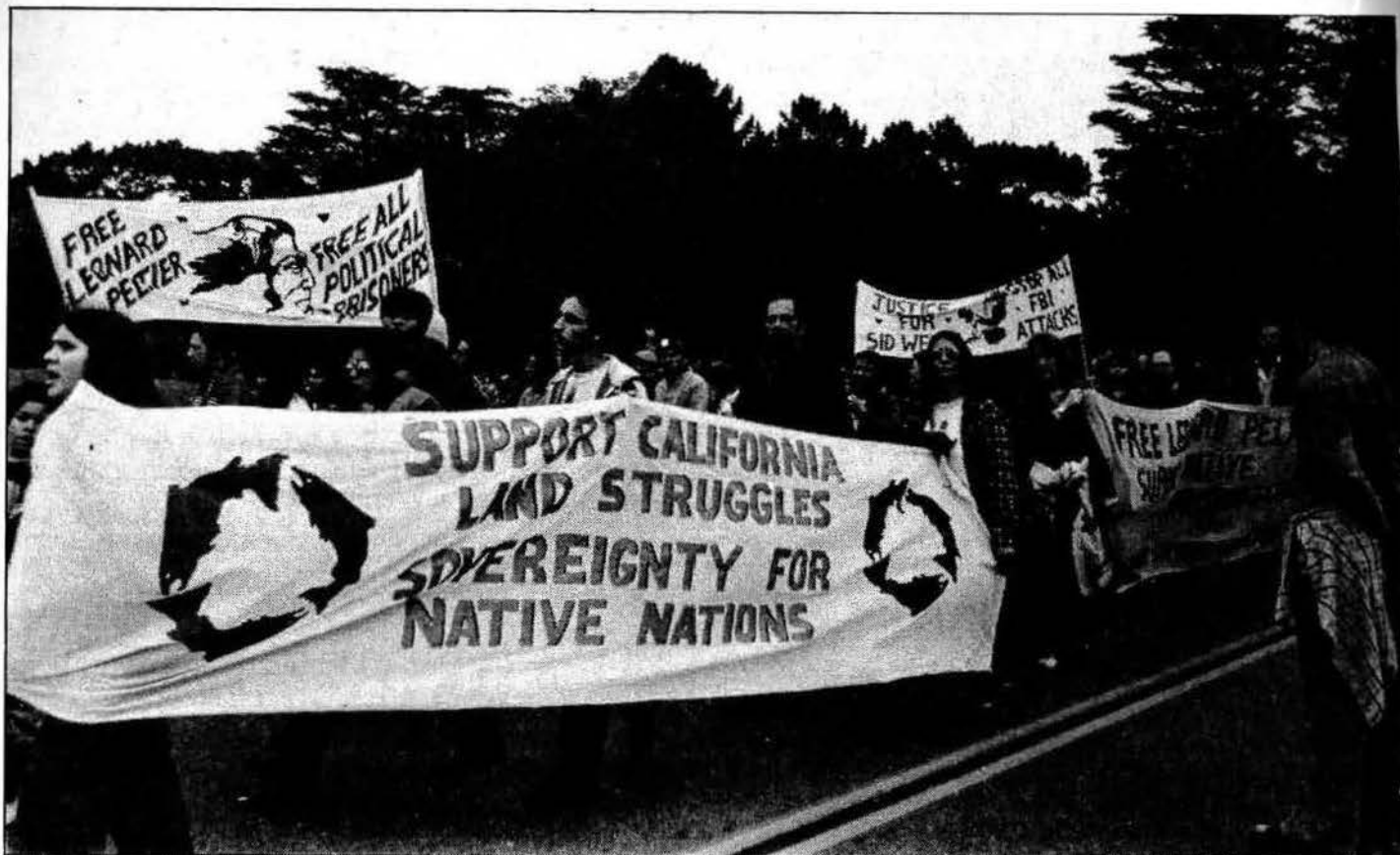
BT: You've gotten a lot of information from FBI files on you through your case. What kind of things have you learned?

SW: Well, back in August, September, October, November and December of '75 I was in the Bay Area. And we've found out now that I was under surveillance by the FBI. A good example of that is that I made a round trip down to Indio to go to court and my car was ransacked. While I was in court, the family was in a motel, and the car was outside the courtroom, and they ransacked my car. The same agent, the same police officer, in plain clothes, who had been in my car illegally on the night of my arrest, January 2, 1976.

From there we went to Parker, where I was immediately arrested at the motel. Me and my Indian friend were sitting there, outside the swimming pool. It had four or five foot walls. Nobody could see us. My family went to the restaurant to have breakfast, and me and my friend didn't go. And they arrested us, they said, for trespassing, while the others were inside the restaurant. We were thrown in jail with no charges. But I had a lawyer so I was able to get out.

Just prior to me going down there that time, we had been in the FBI office in San Francisco demonstrating for Skyhorse and Mohawk. That was just a week before I left, and that's when I got that harassment.

Leonard Peltier's case is the same kind of thing. You can see how Leonard was probably entrapped or kept under surveillance clear across the country from all their resident agencies in different cities and different towns. And they got cooperation from local police and informants and whatever, all the people that they have.



credit: Breakthrough

Native people and their supporters march in San Francisco February 11, 1979, demanding freedom for Leonard Peltier as part of a Day of International Solidarity with Native American Political Prisoners. Demonstrations also took place in several other US cities and in western Europe.

They got cooperation from the Canadian government, too. They might as well not even be called the Canadian government if they bow down to something like that, you know, to just hand over somebody on something that they know is illegal. And that's two countries working to suppress American Indian people. I think the reason for that is clear also. There are Canadian Indians over there who are fighting the same battle.

But in Leonard's case they just completely kept on with one outrageous move after another. Even the hearing that I went to, the appellate court hearing in St. Louis, it was brought to the attention of the appellate court and the appellate court recognized it, it was substantiated by the DA himself, that this was government misconduct. And everybody agreed, but they didn't agree on his appeal, the right to a new trial. Now how they can do that is—there is no case for how they can do that. It's clear that they just want to keep Leonard in jail.

And Leonard is going to have to stay in prison, while we're pulling together these meetings and conferences and interviews and radio shows and things like this. But hopefully, we'll get more people to act, with letters or whatever support they can give. That's

the whole purpose of all these activities. It's not to take anything from Leonard, it's to help the whole Indian movement, and to help Leonard at the same time.

That's how the Longest Walk came to be also, because of conditions that have been exposed in this country. Indian people have exchanged stories clear across the country, of conditions in their own areas. And one of the main purposes of the Longest Walk was support for Indian political prisoners. That was a major part of it.

It was on February 11th, 1977—just one year before the Walk began—that there was a major demonstration at Sacramento for Skyhorse, Mohawk and Leonard Peltier. And, to show that support works, Skyhorse and Mohawk are acquitted of those charges. But Leonard still remains behind because there probably wasn't enough support for him. So, February 11th *this* year, there's going to be a major demonstration in San Francisco; the Seattle Leonard Peltier Defense Committee will do one there; and hopefully Leonard Peltier and all defense committees will do one in their own areas on that day, February 11th. We're also going to use whatever contact we have internationally, to bring this to the whole world. This

will probably be helped some by the Native American political prisoner poster that we're going to have out, with dates and whatever documentation we can put together.

BT: How do you see the role of white people, non-Indian people doing support work? What is it that needs to be done?

SW: Well, you know, writing letters is probably the most important if you can. Petitions and talking with representatives. And using worldwide contacts. Looking for and establishing worldwide contacts and keeping them going, not for just prisoners like Dennis Banks or like Russell Means, but for everybody. I'm not criticizing people who work behind the Wilmington 10 or Dennis Banks or Russell. What I'm criticizing is the lack of people willing to do the same for

themselves or for their brothers, people who are less well known. Because if we free a hundred people, that is a major step. The ground has already been broken; now we have to follow through. The awareness is there and the concern is there, the sympathy's there and whatever support is needed is there. It's that we're lacking in our own knowledge about how to follow suit.

I talked to somebody about this not too long ago and they said, "Well, it's going to be hard for people to do that, cause we're going to have to give up certain things." I mean, you know, when we're worried about what we're going to have to give up out *here*. . . . People have given up their freedom already and have given up their lives already. We have to start looking at the part we're going to gain, the education we're going to gain from it, rather than what we're giving up. □

Excerpts from "Crazy Horse Spirit," —published by the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee

Leonard Peltier is a Native American political prisoner serving two federal life sentences on frame-up murder charges that he killed two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975. On March 5, the Supreme Court refused to hear Leonard's appeal. This was the last legal recourse Leonard had within the framework of the US judicial system.

In the face of the Supreme Court's callous refusal to even hear Leonard's appeal, the struggle to free Leonard Peltier continues. Solidarity with Leonard's freedom and with the entire Native struggle for sovereignty and self-determination must intensify. *Breakthrough* is reprinting two excerpts from the pamphlet "Crazy Horse Spirit," which was published in early 1978 by the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, to spread an understanding of the political issues behind his case.

Leonard was recently moved from the "management control unit" at Marion Federal Penitentiary to Lompoc Penitentiary in California. His address is: Leonard Peltier, #89637, Lompoc US Penitentiary, Box W, Lompoc, CA 93436. For more information, contact: Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, PO Box 1, Port Angeles, WA 98362; or Native American Defense Committee, 225 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.



credit: Native American Defense Committee

Leonard Peltier's struggles are rooted in the history of Native Americans, a history of violent attempts by the United States Government to destroy Native peoples as sovereign-independent Nations. First the Spanish, then the English colonist, then the United States Government has used force, terror, and genocide to subvert the destinies of these whole nations. Native peoples response has been continued resistance to the conquest of their lands and the destruction of their culture and traditional ways, a struggle for

sovereignty and self-determination.

Sovereignty is the absolute right of our Nations to govern ourselves, to live our lives as we desire, to live in accordance with our own culture and traditions and not to be disturbed in the use and occupation of our land by the United States or any other nation.

We are a natural part of the Creation and no man or government has the right to change that natural order. Self-determination is the right to progress and develop ourselves at our own pace—under our own direction and determination; to decide our own destiny, to decide what to do with our own land and life—our own true wealth.

To gain and keep control of our land and resources, the United States Government's program for Native people is one of genocide—the destruction and extermination of whole nations and peoples. Government "birth control" programs strive to decrease our population. Poverty and unemployment force us to sell or lease what little is left of our national lands and move to the cities. Our traditions, culture and languages are stifled by the United States styled and controlled tribal governments and by compulsory attendance for our children at government boarding schools. Because families are centers of resistance, they are undermined by placing children in white foster homes and schools. Strip mining destroys the land which is the basis of our societies. All these policies are part of conscious attempts by the government and corporations to destroy our people.

The struggle for survival intensified in 1973 when the Independent Oglala Nation was born with the support of the majority of the Lakota people, to oppose the disastrous policies of the United States puppet tribal government. The United States mobilized a military force which immediately besieged the new nation at the village of Wounded Knee. What followed was a civil war with armed hostilities precipitated by the United States.

The strife was again heightened on June 26th, 1975. After two and a half years of terrorism on their reservation, over 200 murders, and too many maimings to recount here, the Oglala Nation, in an attempt to restore peace for its people, asked the support of Leonard Peltier, Bob Robideau and others to live among them as a peace-keeping force. They were camped near the village of Oglala when, in the morning hours, FBI agents staged a surprise attack, spraying bullets into the encampment of men, women and children. The people returned the fire. Before the surrounding nation could protect the defenders, one of them and two agents were dead.

We know that when you seek to wipe out a whole people by any means, by murder, by massacre, by sterilization, by driving them out, in our limited dictionary, in the limited dictionary of natural people everywhere in the world, there is no word to describe it but genocide.

We are a natural people and should act, positively and quickly, to this threat. For even the smallest nation, when under attack by an oppressive aggressor, must with its members come together to best determine how to overcome its danger.

Millions of tax-payers' dollars have been spent by the U.S. government to "neutralize" Leonard Peltier in an attempt to destroy the strength, support and credibility of the Native American Struggle for Liberation . . . the American Indian Movement.

Leonard had been doing organizational work in Milwaukee along with Herb Powless in 1972 when he, like many others, joined The Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan to ask the U.S. government to HONOR THE TREATIES made between the U.S. government and Native Nations. Broken promises led to the Bureau of Indian Affairs building being occupied . . . to bring national focus to the abuses Native people must deal with.

Leonard is remembered by spiritual leaders Leonard Crow Dog and Phillip Deere as being a "leader" and active participant in ceremonies and prayer.

Upon returning to Milwaukee after the occupation he was framed, and physically beaten by Milwaukee police, working with the federal government and FBI. He jumped bail because he knew his "guilt" had already been determined and there was no justice possible.

Leonard continued to work to serve the people in various places, adding his strength wherever needed. In 1975 he was asked by leaders of the Oglala Nation, along with Bob Robideau and others, to help the people who were being terrorized daily . . . life was cheap on Pine Ridge at that time. On June 26th the encampment where Leonard and others, mostly women and children, old and young, were living was attacked by the FBI—leaving Native American Joe Stuntz and two FBI agents dead. But no one was arrested that day and, again, a nation-wide campaign of terror against Native people followed—leaving many victims in jails and dead.

Leonard, realizing in the U.S. his days were numbered and still much more work to be done, went to Canada to seek political asylum. In February of '76 he was arrested. The government knowingly used false affidavits to secure his extradition, breaking an



credit: Breakthrough

February 11, 1979. Indians and supporters gathered at Alcatraz before marching through San Francisco demanding freedom for native political prisoners.

International Treaty between the U.S. and Canada.

He went to trial in Fargo, N.D. where the judge did everything in his position of power to prejudice the jury and deny any kind of defense on Leonard's behalf. Again the government used threats to get "evidence" and when necessary manufactured "evidence"—of course, Leonard was found guilty.

Then he was brought to trial in Milwaukee where it was proved Leonard committed no crime, and was not the cop-killer the government had tried to "prove" in Fargo. In December his appeal for the FBI conviction was heard before the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis, Missouri, but before a

decision had been reached one of the judges, William Webster, resigned because he had been nominated by the President to be the new head of the FBI. Leonard's appeal was heard again on April 12th with two of the "old judges" and a new one. We are awaiting the decision.

Leonard is no "guiltier" than his co-defendants, Bob Robideau and Dino Butler, who were acquitted on grounds of self-defense—and Jimmy Eagle who had charges dropped for lack of evidence. Yet only women and children are left to be charged—

So Leonard continues to sacrifice and serve the people . . . for our children and future generations. □

Defend the Rearguard of the Revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Movement! Defeat US Imperialism at Home!

Breakthrough is reprinting the following speech by José López, made on behalf of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) before the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations last fall. The presentation by the MLN, a revolutionary Puerto Rican-Chicano/Mejicano organization, was made jointly by Don Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary-General of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña, with which the MLN has fraternal relations. The LSP is a public independence organization in Puerto Rico which supports the leadership of the growing revolutionary clandestine forces, and advances a strategy of protracted people's war for independence and socialism. In their testimony, the two organizations placed before the nations of the world a denunciation of the violent, illegitimate US military occupation and colonization of Puerto Rico. They defended the developing armed struggle for independence as it is now being undertaken by a number of clandestine *independentista* organizations, such as the Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo and the Ejército Popular Boricua—los Macheteros. These clandestine groups are advancing the consolidation of a political-military vanguard. Out of reach of repressive US and colonial agencies, they are pushing the development of a national liberation front in Puerto Rico that will lead the process of a protracted people's war against US imperialist domination of Puerto Rico as the only viable road to true liberation.

The LSP and the MLN also brought before the international tribunal the cases of the Puerto Rican prisoners of war—Puerto Rican freedom fighters who have been taken captive by the US for their actions (or based on accusations of actions) for Puerto Rican independence in the war imposed by the US. The Four Nationalists—Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores—have been in US prisons for a combined total of over a century for armed actions they took against the US Presidency and Congress in the 1950's to demand independence. They have consistently maintained that as prisoners of a war against colonialism, citizens of one nation held captive by another, colonizing, nation; they are not subject to the jurisdiction of US courts and prisons. They have demanded that they be treated in compliance with the Geneva Accords on prisoners of war.

As Don Juan Antonio Corretjer pointed out in his presentation, on the very day debate opened on independence for Puerto Rico in the Decolonization Committee, the US

Federal Court began the illegitimate trial of Nydia Esther Cuevas and Pablo Marcano. These two *independentistas* occupied the Chilean Consulate in San Juan, Puerto Rico on July 4, 1978 to demand independence, freedom for the Nationalists, and an end to the celebration of US Independence Day in colonized Puerto Rico. At the same time, at Riker's Island Jail in New York City, William Morales, who had been injured in a bomb explosion, was being tortured by the US government. The state's continuing refusal to provide adequate medical care for his injuries endangers his life. William Morales has been singled out for this harsh treatment because he is accused of membership in the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueñas (FALN), an underground independence organization operating in the US. Awaiting sentencing on a federal weapons conviction, he is also on trial on state charges. This new generation of prisoners of war represents a historical continuity with the Nationalist prisoners and with the ongoing resistance of the Puerto Rican people to US colonialism.

The international exposure of repressive, reactionary violence by the US and its colonial puppets in Puerto Rico, and the strong defense of clandestine revolutionary independence forces by the LSP and the MLN was a major step. The speech by José López also put the situation of Puerto Rican people in the US, and of Chicano/Mejicano people, before the UN. However, the actual resolution adopted by the Decolonization Committee for the first time gave an international validation to the status of a "freely associated republic" as an alternative to complete independence. The revolutionary forces maintain that the UN cannot define the decolonization process for Puerto Rico. Actually, the "free associated republic" is only a slight modification of the current colonial "commonwealth" status which would legitimize US control in a new form. Reformist sectors within the independence movement seek to use the resolution as the basis for making alliances with "autonomist" forces within the colonial parties. This alliance would defer independence to a distant stage, and so supports the neocolonial aims of the US.

As the MLN and the LSP repeatedly emphasize, the only road to independence for Puerto Rico is people's war, rooted in the growing capacity of the Puerto Rican working class and people to wage a protracted national liberation struggle. This

war is developing both on Puerto Rican soil and through the organization of a rearguard political-military front for independence within the US itself.

This is why it is so essential for white people in the US to understand and support the revolutionary politics of armed struggle for Puerto Rican independence, and to actively oppose all neocolonial solutions for Puerto Rico. As part of the nation which has made war on Puerto Rico for nearly a century, we have an urgent responsibility to fight for the complete independence of Puerto Rico from US imperialist domination. This can only be undertaken through the leadership of the revolutionary Puerto Rican tendency which is defining the terms for that struggle.

At this time, a new country-wide anti-imperialist solidarity organization is in the process of formation in response to a call from revolutionary Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mejicano forces. Its first priority is support for the revolutionary Puerto Rican national liberation struggle. This is an effort to make a decisive break with the opportunist politics which have dominated efforts at solidarity with Puerto Rican independence among white people. These politics have supported reformism and attempted to retard revolutionary developments in Puerto Rico, especially the armed struggle.

It's necessary to build a new form of solidarity, accountable to the needs and strategies of the revolutionary forces of the Puerto Rican independence movement. PFOC is one of a number of organizations participating in the effort to build a new solidarity organization based on these principles. A national working conference to educate people around developments in Puerto Rico, the cases of the POWs, and efforts to impede US plans; as well as to develop a national work plan for solidarity campaigns; is scheduled for the weekend of April 6-8 in Chicago. Information about the conference is available from: October 30th Committee in Solidarity with Puerto Rico, 1005 Market St.#207, San Francisco, CA 94103; Interim Committee in Solidarity with the Revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Struggle, c/o 2403 West North Avenue, Chicago, IL 60647; or Committee in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence, POB 343, Times Square Plaza, Brooklyn, NY 11217.

The full text of the presentation by José López, in English and Spanish, along with the speech of Don Juan Antonio Corretjer, is available from the MLN, c/o *Rebeldía*, Box 233, 2520 North Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614. Other materials from the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña and the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional can also be obtained from that address.



The Movimiento de Liberación Nacional's Position Before the UN Committee on Decolonization, August 1, 1978

Speech by Jose Lopez, National Coordinator, M.L.N.

Honorable Delegates:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you on behalf of our organization, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (M.L.N.), for giving us the opportunity to come before this august body to put forth the conditions of the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. and their relationship to the question on your agenda today—the colonial case of Puerto Rico. The M.L.N. is a Puerto Rican and Chicano-Mexicano organization founded in the United States about a year ago and which advances the principle of non-participation in the colonial electoral process, the need for clear and revolutionary politics in Puerto Rico, the need for the emergence of a National Liberation Front to build unity among independence forces, and the creation of an anti-imperialist movement in the U.S. The M.L.N. has mandated me to put into perspective before this honorable body the dismal, wretched, and oppressive conditions which the Puerto Rican people have to

daily live within the entrails of the monster, as the great apostle of Cuban freedom, José Martí, called the United States more than one hundred years ago; and how this situation has its *fons origo* in the very imperialist domination of our homeland.

The migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States is a unique chapter in the annals of U.S. immigration. There are several reasons for this: first, the Puerto Rican migration has to be understood in the context of an imperialist power's attempt to annihilate a subject people's national identity; second, it has to be understood as a plan to salvage and to prolong the colonial hegemony over those peoples—the Puerto Rican migration has served as a safety-valve for the island's chronic unemployment rate which runs as high as 45%; third, it has to be understood as a forced migration of a people in order to acquire their labor for U.S. monopoly capital (It should be noted that hundreds of thousands of



Puerto Rican youth unfurls nationalist flag during 1977 Puerto Rican Day parade and celebration in Chicago's Humboldt Park. Police attacked the parade, murdering two young Puerto Rican men—Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz. The attacks touched off days of militant protests and demonstrations.

Puerto Ricans, excluded from their lands due to an all out attempt, during the first three decades of U.S. domination over the island, to transfer it into a sugar emporium, had no alternative but to make the journey northwards during and after the Second World War to fill the jobs no one else wanted. This pattern has not ceased, particularly as far as the agricultural workers are concerned; today there are more than 50,000 Puerto Rican farm workers in the U.S. who live under semi-slavery conditions. Lured by offers to come to work in the farms of agri-business, upon arrival these workers are packed into concentration camps from which it is very difficult to leave.); and fourth, it has to be understood as a conscious colonialist plan to geographically transplant the colonized people from the colonial territory to the metropole without changing the imperialist relationships—Puerto Ricans are forced into the urban ghettos or rural camps of this country to share their miserable lot with other oppressed peoples, but not the fortunes of the colonizer.

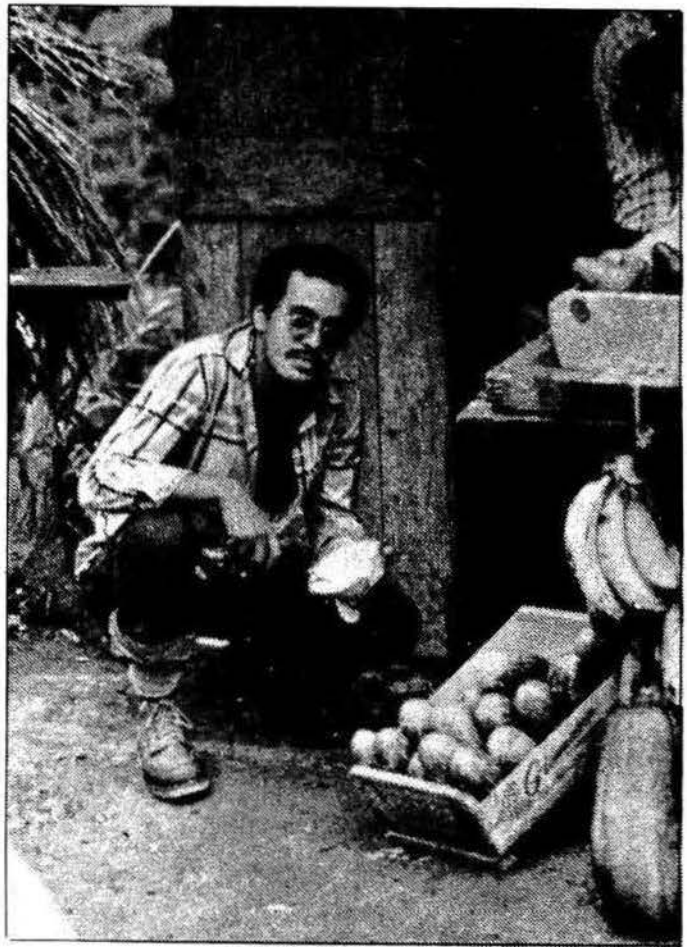
It is against the back-drop of these unique characteristics that the dynamics of the Puerto Rican situation in the U.S. has to be analyzed. According to a recent report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission entitled, *Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future*, Puerto Ricans here live under deplorable conditions. They are the poorest among the poor. They have the highest drop-out and illiteracy rates in the country; nearly 80% of all Puerto Rican youngsters drop out before finishing high school—in Chicago 72.9% of all Puerto Rican students who enter high school drop out or rather are pushed out before graduation. Therefore, Puerto Ricans have the lowest education level in this country. High infant mortality rate, high unemployment rate—Puerto Ricans are among the last to be hired and the first to be fired, high rates of mental illness, poor housing—a look at Bronx with nearly 300,000 Puerto Ricans suffices to give us a true picture of the housing situation among Puerto Ricans—all these are characteristics of the Puerto Rican reality in the United States; it is this situation which the advocates of statehood hope to impose on the whole of the Puerto Rican people. And, these, Honorable Delegates, are the conclusions of the U.S. government, not ours. For its agencies can only study our reality, we have to live it.

The marginalization process which Puerto Ricans are subjected to has moved them toward waging increasingly militant struggles. With only a few artificial options available, such as the electoral process—

which the Puerto Ricans have overwhelmingly rejected—they have been forced many times to take their struggles into the streets; the story is the same in Chicago, in Gary, in Philadelphia, in Newark, in Hartford, and in New York. More so as the colonial contradictions in Puerto Rico heighten and as the independentist struggle grows quantitatively, as well as qualitatively, the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. have begun to realize that their day to day struggles for social justice are intrinsically tied to the question of Puerto Rico's freedom. (It should be noted that the statehood party and the Popular Democratic Party had to spend thousands of dollars so as to gather a few supporters in the gallery of this chamber to hear and cheer their positions; a true reflection of how little support they enjoy among the two and a half million Puerto Ricans in this country.) The independentist movement has reached the level in this country where, since 1969, it has waged armed struggle; and the seventies has seen the mobilizing of thousands of Puerto Ricans to hundreds of mass activities throughout the country.

As Puerto Rico enters its final stage of struggle, and as repressive orders of the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. are rigorously executed in Puerto Rico by a fascist colonial regime, the repressive agencies in this country have also launched an all-out offensive against the whole of the Puerto Rican people. This offensive is launched on two levels. On the one hand, it is aimed at the independentist forces, since they are more visible due to a counter-intelligence program (COIN-TELPRO) which has been carried forth against that movement since 1961, and which recently has been escalated. (This program aims at infiltrating, dividing, disrupting, neutralizing, and finally destroying the patriotic sector of Puerto Rican society.)

This campaign has utilized the grand juries in this country on a scale hitherto unknown. Six grand juries have been convoked, thirteen people have been jailed serving up to eleven months in prison for the sole crime of wanting Puerto Rico free, hundreds of people have been subpoenaed, and thousands have been harassed by the F.B.I. At this very moment, a young Puerto Rican woman, Dylcia Pagan, who is two and a half months pregnant, is waiting to be incarcerated for refusing to collaborate with a grand jury which is engaging in a witch-hunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement in the Southern District of New York. This young woman is the wife of William Morales, a Puerto Rican who served as a member of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, an organization that attempted to ameliorate the unjust conditions which



credit: Nat'l Comm. to Free the Puerto Rican POWs

William Guillermo Morales, Puerto Rican *independentista*
and prisoner of war.

Puerto Ricans face and which we enumerated earlier. William was set up in a bomb explosion in an apartment in Queens. He was then accused of being a member of the F.A.L.N. (a clandestine Puerto Rican Independentist organization) two weeks before the killings of the Massacre at Maravilla in Puerto Rico. William lost his fingers and part of his face, and then was framed on a series of charges.

On the other hand, the repression is waged on a wholesale basis against entire Puerto Rican communities in this country. Racist police form a foreign occupying army in our *barrios*. During this past year, policemen across the land killed and maimed dozens of Puerto Rican youths; the case of Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz, two young men assassinated by being shot in the back by a Chicago policeman for the sole crime of being Puerto Ricans, suffices to give an idea of the magnitude of this problem. Our homes and community institutions are under constant surveillance and even our phones are tapped. Several times during the past two years Puerto Rican communities,

particularly in Chicago and New York, have been put under a state of seige—homes have been broken into, road-blocks have been set up, people have been harassed at work. All this under the pretext of investigating the bombings which have been set off over the past nine years by Puerto Rican underground organizations. Our people live under a constant state of fear.

The threat of death and incarceration are everyday realities for Puerto Ricans in this "land of the free and home of the brave." Of course, jails in this country are increasingly playing the role of internment camps. When the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, said that there were "hundreds, perhaps thousands of political prisoners" in this country, he meant that. It is interesting to note that nearly 70% of the 300,000 prisoners in the U.S. are Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicano/Mexicanos, and Native Americans; yet all these groups constitute less than 25% of the total population. Once jailed, third world people are subject to behavior modification programs; programs aimed at destroying the individual and his identity. For more than two and a half decades four Puerto Ricans, residents of the United States, have been held illegally in this country's jails and subjected to all sorts of inhumanities, including these behavior modification programs. Oscar Collazo, who has been in jail for nearly 28 years (thus, he is the oldest political prisoner in the western hemisphere), Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irvin Flores are Prisoners of War, and accordingly should have been treated in compliance with the Geneva Accord. Yet these patriots are treated worse than common criminals.

I should add that the repressive conditions which Puerto Ricans face in the U.S. are not limited to Puerto Ricans; even though at this time some federal agencies, such as the F.B.I. and grand jury, are concentrating their efforts on the Puerto Ricans; Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, and Native Americans have also been and continue to be targetted by the repressive agencies. Repression in this country has to be analyzed from a broader context than just the specific case of any of these groups. The increasing wave of repression not only by the "legal" agencies but also by extra-legal organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis, and the Minutemen, has its roots in the growing crisis of monopoly capital and its pillar, imperialism.

The victory of the Indochinese people over U.S. imperialism was a turning point for the future of imperialism. This is evident in the fact that in 1973,

David Rockefeller called together the Trilateral Commission. If one studies carefully the documents of this Commission, one is amazed at how well the world has been planned by monopoly capital. While the Trilateral Commission is concerned with maintaining imperialist hegemony over the so-called free world, in actuality it has concerned itself with both domestic and foreign affairs. In one of its documents, the *1980 Project*, it is stated that the purpose of the Commission is "to develop new ideas and institutions which can channel and control change in the international system." Thus, the authors of this document state: "It must therefore come to grips with strategies for modifying the behavior of all relevant factors in the international community—individuals, governments, agencies within the governments, elite groups, industrial firms, interest groups, mass societies, and other groups and organizations at the subnational and transnational level." One of the key questions addressed by the Trilateral Commission is the question of how to minimize conflict and maximize cooperation among the nations of the imperialist block, so as to insure the growth and survival of monopoly capital. The question of governability is thus at the core of the plans of the Commission.

According to another Commission report, *The Crisis of Democracy*, the central problem facing the capitalist countries is that of "excess of democracy." The contention of the masterminds behind these plans is that the solution to this problem is a "greater degree of moderation in democracy."

In *Crisis of Democracy*, Samuel Huntington contends that while all three areas (U.S., Japan, and Western Europe) confront similar "problems of democracy," none so acutely as the U.S. He maintains that during the sixties the U.S. saw an excessive shift to society and against government. Such an occurrence posed a major problem, since there was too little authority and Huntington's thesis is that true governability can exist only where there is a balance between "power and liberty, authority and democracy, government and society."

Huntington further points out that the greatest threat to governability comes from the "previously passive or unorganized groups in the population" (Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans). The solution to this problem of governability is to restore order and the prestige of the authority of the central government. In order to achieve this it is necessary to maintain "a measure of apathy and non-involvement of certain individuals and groups." Thus, the preservation of an orderly

governmental process is contingent upon the ability of forcing these "newly mobilized strata (Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans) to return to a measure of passivity and defeatism." How is this to be accomplished?

The answer is to be found in the growing repression against third world people in this country: jailings; police, F.B.I. and Grand Jury terrorism; assassinations, frame-ups; infiltrations; counter intelligence (COINTELPRO).

It is obvious that as colonialism enters its final stages in Puerto Rico, as a people's war becomes imminent, and as the possibility of bringing the war to the very entrails of the imperialist giant, an all-out effort must be made to control the Puerto Ricans and their immediate allies the Blacks, the Native Americans and the Chicano/Mexicanos. This is to be done at all costs. The imperialists are well aware of the danger that the anti-war movement in this country posed to its continued ability to wage war in Viet Nam. However, the struggle against the Viet Nam war cannot be measured with the struggle of Puerto Rico's national liberation in the U.S.; in that 2.5 million Puerto Ricans, living under the most wretched conditions, will serve as a standing revolutionary army within the very heart of U.S. monopoly capital.

If one adds to the Puerto Ricans the 25 million Chicano/Mexicanos and the 35 million Blacks, the

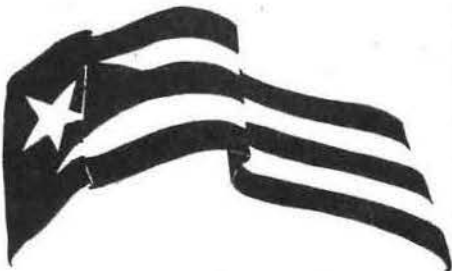
imperialists are aware of this threat and, thus, make an all-out attack upon the Puerto Rican communities, in particular, and upon third world communities generally.

Honorable Delegates, before you is a most important question. Your decision will affect not only the liberation process of 3.3 million Puerto Ricans on the island, but also that of 2.5 million exiled sons and daughters of our occupied paradise. If you resolve that the United States, as a colonial power in Puerto Rico, stop the practice of colonialism and return the powers of sovereignty and self-government to Puerto Rico, you will serve the cause of freedom, peace and justice well. Before you lies the mandate of the Puerto Rican people who proclaim the present status colonialist. It is a very difficult mandate, for in fulfilling it, you face the mightiest empire on the face of the earth.

Let me remind you, Honorable Delegates, that we, the Puerto Ricans living in the U.S., have accepted the challenge placed before us by history, to aid in the destruction of the greatest enemy of humanity—yankee imperialism—regardless of the price. We, as José Martí, have lived within the monster and know its insides; ours is, also, the slingshot of David. Thank you.

—José López

**TOWARD PEOPLE'S WAR
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM IN PUERTO RICO:
IN DEFENSE OF
ARMED STRUGGLE**



Documents and Communiques from the
Revolutionary Public Independence Movement
and the Armed Clandestine Movement

**INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM
FOR PUERTO RICO!
DEFEND THE ARMED CLANDESTINE MOVEMENT!**

This book contains statements from the revolutionary public independence movement, communiques from the armed clandestine movement and a chronology of pro-independence armed struggle in Puerto Rico and the US. It was produced by forces in solidarity with the leadership of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional. 94 pp. \$2.50 plus postage.

Order from:

- Interim Committee in Solidarity with the Revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Struggle, c/o 2403 W. North Ave., Chicago, IL 60647
- October 30 Committee in Solidarity with Puerto Rico, 1005 Market St. #207, San Francisco, CA 94103
- Committee in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence, POB 343, Times Sq. Plaza, Brooklyn, NY 11217

SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE!



The Campaign To Free Dessie Woods

Dessie Woods is a courageous black woman who fought back against the colonial violence of a white rape attack and is now in the state's hands—serving twenty-two years for having killed the would-be rapist with his own gun. For resisting a traditional form of violence used by white men, Dessie Woods is now being subjected to the most brutal forms of

violence by the US state and prison system. The case of Dessie Woods, like the cases of countless other black freedom fighters and prisoners of war locked down across the US, exposes the reign of terror which has always been necessary for imperialism to maintain the colonization and subjugation of African people living within current US borders. The struggle to free

Dessie Woods challenges the right of the US colonial state apparatus to try or imprison Dessie Woods or any other black person, and demands independence for African people as the only solution to colonial domination.

Under the slogan "FREE DESSIE WOODS! SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE!" the African Peoples Socialist Party and the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods (NCDDW), black nationalist organizations, are leading a campaign to free Dessie Woods in the context of building the struggle against the entire system of US domestic colonialism. On this basis they have called for white solidarity with Dessie Woods' struggle, pushing sectors of the white left and other progressive white forces to recognize and actively fight all the forms of terror which are brought to bear against black people to suppress their struggle for freedom and independence.

We hope this article will communicate some of the political lessons PFOC has learned through work in solidarity with Dessie Woods and will contribute to building the movement to Free Dessie Woods and Smash Colonial Violence.

FREE DESSIE WOODS

On June 16, 1975, Dessie Woods successfully defended herself and a friend, Cheryl Todd, against an armed rape attack by a white man named Ronnie Horne. Refusing to be raped, Dessie shot and killed Horne with two shots from his own unlicensed gun. For her action, Dessie Woods was sentenced to a twenty-two year prison term in Georgia's infamous Women's Institute of Corrections.

For the last three years, Dessie has been subjected to the most brutal treatment in prison. She has been drugged and beaten, held nude in freezing-cold isolation cells, denied visits from her children and supporters, and an attempt was made by prison guards to hang her, which she successfully resisted. In the latest assault, prison officials secretly transferred Dessie to the Georgia State Mental Institution right before the Christmas holiday 1978, where they tortured her with prolixin, a powerful mind-control drug. Dessie was released from the mental institution and sent back to the prison only after hundreds of supporters jammed the phone lines to protest in a campaign organized by the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods.

Despite these attempts to terrorize Dessie Woods, to break her spirit and discourage all efforts to give her support, Dessie remains strong in the knowledge that she struck a blow for the freedom of her people.

As long as Dessie Woods remains strong, the state will not stop its attempts to destroy her. The NCDDW has recognized the urgent necessity to free Dessie from the death-grip of the US state. Under the slogan "NO! NOT ONE MORE YEAR!" the NCDDW is intensifying all efforts to free Dessie Woods in 1979.

COLONIALISM IS BASED ON VIOLENCE

The NCDDW has led around the understanding that the fundamental issue in the case of Dessie Woods is the fight to end domestic colonial domination over black people. Since European invaders first set foot on the African continent, violently kidnapping and enslaving millions, African people around the world have been fighting to overthrow the genocidal and exploitative rule of oppressor nations. Colonizing nations have robbed Africans of control over their land, their labor, their lives, their very right to self-determination, in order to build imperialist wealth and power.

The wealth of US imperialism is based on the enslavement of African peoples; and the present US economic, social and political system depends on their continued colonization within current US borders. Throughout its history the US oppressor nation has only been able to suppress black resistance to this vicious exploitation and oppression through the most extreme and pervasive forms of armed violence. Today the armed might of the state is brought to bear against all black people on a daily basis through the occupying armies of the police in black communities, through the terrorist activity of the FBI, through the courts, the prisons, the whole criminal injustice system whose purpose is to destroy black resistance and maintain imperialist control. This is why one out of four black men go to prison during their lifetimes; why ninety percent of all women in prison are black; why fifty-eight percent of prisoners on death row are black. This is why black political movement for freedom and independence has been met with genocide by the state. The FBI's COINTELPRO of the late 1960s and early 1970s was a war strategy which targeted revolutionary black nationalist forces for total destruction in order to wipe out the revolutionary development of the Black Liberation Movement. This program continues today under different names.

The US ruling class and the state have always relied upon the white population to help enforce the subjugation of African peoples, promoting and sanctioning individual and organized forms of white supremacist violence. Without support from the white population, including the white working class, the

armed bodies of the state would not have been able to maintain control over the millions of Africans living in the US. The material power and privilege which white people have gained from the colonization of black people have provided them with the motivation to lynch, murder and rape black people to forcibly keep them in a colonized situation.

White rape of black women has been part of this arsenal of colonial violence since the earliest days of slavery. Ironiff of the APSP states:

Rape is a "political act." Whether it is consciously known or not by the white men who carry it out, it is a political act that is used against all colonized people. Contrary to popular belief, these attacks have not come about because of widely held notions that white men are unable to control their sexual desires, or because white men are deranged, which may have some validity. But rape attacks against black women by white men are not sexual acts, but are tactics of colonial terror to keep a whole people demoralized. (from "Dessie Woods Is All of Us," *Burning Spear*, November 1978, p. 7.)

This form of colonial terror was used on a full-scale basis by US GIs in Viet Nam. In Viet Nam as in the US, rape attacks on colonized women were promoted and backed by the US state. Significantly, no white man in the state of Georgia has ever been convicted of raping a black woman.

White rape of black women has historically gone hand-in-hand with the framing of black men for supposedly raping white women. Untold thousands of black men have been lynched, castrated or sent to the gas chamber on the pretext of having raped white women. From 1935 to 1975, 405 of the 455 men executed for rape were black. In 1978 Tommy Lee Hines was framed for the rape of five white women even though he has a mental age of six and was obviously incapable of planning or carrying out these acts.

Both these tactics are means of asserting the supremacy of white people over every aspect of black lives and terrorizing black people into submission to this power.

The criminal injustice system represents the state power behind these individual acts which can "legally" try, convict and torture black women, like Dessie Woods, who resist colonial rape attacks; which can try, convict and execute black men accused of raping white women. The struggle to free Dessie Woods demands not only her freedom, but an end to the underlying colonial relationship which is responsible for her imprisonment in the first place. As Joseph Waller, chairman of the APSP has said, at a national mobilization to free Dessie:

So, we are not here to talk about democratizing the US government. We are here to talk about smashing the



credit: Women of Viet Nam

Rape was a conscious policy of colonial terror in Viet Nam, as it has been in Africa and in colonized communities in the US.



credit: Breakthrough

Hundreds of Dessie Woods supporters marched in Plains, Georgia, on July 4, 1978, demanding freedom for Dessie Woods and an end to colonial violence.

illegitimate colonialist stranglehold this government has on our people. We are here to state that we are fighting to make it impossible for the government to try any African person, anywhere in this country, for anything at all. We are struggling for independence in our lifetime!

SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE

The campaign to free Dessie Woods is part of growing efforts among revolutionary black nationalist forces to expose and counter the armed repression which is fundamental to US imperialist control over black people and to fight for independence as the only resolution to the colonial contradiction. Rebuilding after the devastating effects of COINTEL-PRO, leading fronts of black movement inside and outside of prison walls are now fighting to free prisoners of war and political prisoners, to build national prison organization, to expose COINTEL-PRO and to demand black human rights before the UN. Thousands of black people are organizing in the South through the United League to stop terror and to demand land for blacks. In the past year, Black United Fronts have led mass demonstrations against police terror and white vigilante activity in New York and Philadelphia.

On July 4, 1978 more than a thousand people marched to FREE DESSIE WOODS and SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE in Plains, Georgia and in San

Francisco, California. These mobilizations, which were led by the NCDDW, targeted the contradiction between Carter's human rights charade and the violence which is directed against Dessie Woods and which is a daily occurrence in Carter's "New South" and in black communities and prisons across the country. The demonstrations exposed the hypocrisy of a US "independence" day when there is no independence for African and other colonized peoples within the US. Black nationalist organizations, Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mejicano revolutionary forces came together, supported by white solidarity forces, to demand Dessie Woods' freedom and freedom for all captive black freedom fighters such as Assata Shakur, Sundiata Acoli, Geronimo Pratt, the RNA-11 and Dhoruba Moore. The demonstrations indicated that support for anti-colonial politics is building across the country from a range of anti-imperialist forces, despite all the state's attempts to destroy such movement.

Although the bourgeois media whited out most coverage of the July 4 demonstrations, it was clear from the level of FBI and police harassment of the Plains demonstration that the state saw the mobilizations as a serious threat, as they have seen all the resurging activities of the black liberation movement. The state's repressive activities against the anti-colonial movement will continue to escalate as the



March led by United League in Tupelo, Mississippi calling for land for black people and an end to police/Klan terror.

power of black liberation grows. In this period, white anti-imperialists must take up the responsibilities for building solidarity with black liberation. We must struggle to change the terms on which the white working class and the white left have historically related to black movement for independence and freedom.

ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE AND THE WHITE LEFT

The stakes which all white people have in colonialism and white supremacy are reflected in the politics and practice of the white left. Forces like the Guardian, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (formerly the October League) and the Revolutionary Communist Party—to name a few—condemn black nationalism as reactionary and refuse to support the right of black people to lead and define their own struggle. They promote the ruling class position that reduces the black liberation struggle to a fight for equal rights within the framework of colonial domination. They deny the leading role of national liberation in the struggle against imperialism and assert their own right to lead the black struggle in the name of the “multi-national” working class. These forces make the interests of the white working class

their central priority and are opposed to the power and direction of black revolutionary movement because it fundamentally challenges the colonial relationship which they have an interest in maintaining.

In building practice on the basis of these politics the white left collaborates with the state’s efforts to wipe out black liberation and destroy African freedom fighters. The dangerous effects of these politics in the world is exemplified in the practice of the October League around Dessie Woods’ case. The APSP and the NCDDW have labeled the OL “Ideological Imperialists” and “Ku Klux Communists” and have led in exposing their politics in the course of fighting to free Dessie Woods.

When the first committee to free Dessie Woods and Cheryl Todd was organized in Atlanta in the fall of 1975, it was joined by members of the October League (now the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist), a white-dominated so-called “multi-national” communist organization. The OL mouths phrases about the “right of self-determination” of black people but its record is one of seeking hegemony over the black liberation movement in order to subordinate the black struggle to the multinational, white-dominated workers’ movement against capitalism. In the defense committee, they tried to win Dessie Woods and Cheryl Todd to their politics and to define the case

on their opportunist terms. When Dessie refused to go along with this white supremacist attempt to use her case for their own ends, the October League began to organize against her, saying that she hated white people and was a criminal. OL lawyers split the cases of Cheryl Todd and Dessie Woods, wrecking the original defense committee and seriously undermining the defense effort. *The OL helped the state railroad Dessie to prison.*

The viciousness and opportunism of the OL's politics were exposed and denounced by the APSP. The NCDDW was founded by the APSP as a black organization which could define a strategy to win Dessie Woods' freedom as part of the whole black national liberation struggle. The NCDDW placed the case of Dessie Woods in its true political context—as a case in point of colonial violence.

STRUGGLE WITHIN THE WHITE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

In their campaign to free Dessie Woods, the NCDDW has called upon the white left, the white women's movement and other progressive sectors of white people to overturn opportunist politics and to build principled solidarity with Dessie's case on the basis of anti-colonial politics and support for the leadership of the NCDDW in defining the strategy for winning her freedom.

The struggle which the NCDDW has made has had a particular impact on the white women's movement. A lot of the white support that has been built for Dessie Woods has come from white women who have come to understand that Dessie's case is not essentially a "rape case" but is a "case in point of colonial violence." The white women who have begun to work around Dessie Woods have had to make a break with the dominant white supremacist politics in the white women's movement which defines the issue in Dessie's case as "women's right to self-defense."

Responding to the experience of their own oppression, the white women's movement has identified rape as a tool of male supremacy aimed at enforcing the oppression of all women. On this basis the women's movement has given support to Yvonne Wanrow, Inez Garcia, Joan Little and Dessie Woods because they defended themselves or their children against a rape attack. But it has refused to deal with the reality that these are all colonized women defending themselves against the violence which is a means of maintaining the subjugation of their whole peoples.

This definition has persisted despite what Dessie

Woods herself has to say. In an interview conducted by the Washington, D.C. Rape Crisis Center, Dessie Woods said:

And because I am a black woman I am in prison; because I'm black. . . . it's not a thing between a woman defending herself against a man. It's because a black woman defended herself against a white man. This is a racial issue. See, the United States government says that black women do not have the right to self-defense.

Most sectors of the women's movement have rejected these terms. An incident which occurred at a feminist march against rape in Washington, D.C. In June 1978 reveals the limits which the white women's movement sets on support for Dessie. An APSP woman leader had been invited to speak at the march about Dessie's case. As reported in the *Burning Spear* (the APSP newspaper), the largely white crowd of 500 marchers began to heckle when she addressed the issue of colonial violence:

However, as she got further into the presentation and talked about colonialism being the cause of Dessie Woods being imprisoned, the crowd fell silent. The cheering stopped and the women began to whisper among themselves. When she said, "for more than 400 years African women in this country have been sexually assaulted and violently violated by North Americans." . . . persons started defiantly yelling, "All women! All women!"

If white women were to accept the fact that Dessie's case is about African women and their people and not about *all* women, they would have to support the fight against colonialism as central to advancing all struggles for liberation. However, the white women's movement, like other social movements in the US oppressor nation, has mainly focused on eliminating the oppression of white women—on bettering the position of white women, often at the expense of oppressed nation peoples. The politics of universal sisterhood mask this narrow concern with white women's interests by declaring that the oppression of all women is essentially the same. In this context, support is given to Third World women because they are women, not because they are part of a nation struggling for liberation.

By denying that a colonial contradiction exists and by separating black women off from their nation, the white women's movement has ended up perpetuating the practice of colonial violence. In the name of fighting rape, it has actively supported US law enforcement campaigns which use the allegation of rape to lock up black men and terrorize black communities. Feminist marches to "take back the

night" call for stepped up police occupation of black and other oppressed nation communities.

When white women fight for their rights on the backs of colonized people it has nothing to do with liberation; it is just another promotion of oppression and imperialism. The struggle for the liberation of women is an important part of the struggle against imperialism but it must develop in the context of solidarity with the struggles of national liberation to free their whole nations. In an article written about Assata Shakur, the Black Liberation Army (BLA) confronted this issue head-on:

White radical feminists should indeed support our sister Assata, not because she is female but because they support our peoples' right to determine our own destinies. . . . Surely, the same feminists did not support the Vietnamese peoples' struggle against US imperialism merely because women were involved. . . . Comparatively, black men, black women, black children male and female, are oppressed as a whole, as a people and not merely because half of them are female. To support Assata is not to support some bourgeois notion of radical feminism but to support the revolutionary ideal of black national self-determination. . . ."

THE DESSIE WOODS SUPPORT COALITION

The Bay Area Dessie Woods Support Coalition (DWSC), organized under the leadership of the NCDDW in June 1977, represents a serious effort to change the traditional relation of the white left to the Black Liberation Movement and to build solidarity with Dessie Woods on the basis of anti-colonial politics. PFOC has been active in the Coalition since its founding and the work of the Coalition has pushed us, as it has the other forces involved, towards a deeper understanding of colonialism and a fuller commitment to solidarity with the black movement for independence.

In organizing white people towards solidarity with Dessie's freedom, the Dessie Woods Support Coalition has had to struggle hard for an understanding of colonialism and about black people's right to define their own strategies and the terms for solidarity. Through this work, the obstacles to international solidarity, which have been identified in the preceding part of this article, have become clearer but also the possibility of positive movement and change has been demonstrated. Hundreds of white people participated in the July 4 mobilizations, pointing to the potential for white people to move to support anti-colonial politics when there is a clear political line, revolutionary nationalist leadership and a determination to actively engage the political struggle

within the movement.

Throughout its history, the DWSC has gone through much internal struggle, led by the NCDDW, to overturn opportunist lines and practice which have held back the work of solidarity. At every stage the coalition has been pushed to understand that solidarity cannot be defined on white people's terms or timetable but must respond to the leadership and strategies of the nationalist forces leading the work.

A key part of this struggle has been the challenge to provide material aid in a serious and consistent manner. The building of revolutionary movement requires a tremendous amount of resources—resources which colonized people can obtain only through great sacrifice. The white movement has traditionally used its own access to funds and resources as a weapon to control and direct the Black Liberation Movement. At the same time fundraising is often relegated to the bottom of the priority list and viewed as non-political mechanical work even though it is critical to the national liberation movements. The NCDDW has struggled for the importance of material aid in the Dessie Woods work, pushing the DWSC to overturn wrong views and practice and to make material aid a central component of all its work.

A wrong line on the relationship between national liberation and the liberation of women undermined the ability of the coalition to advance anti-colonial politics for a long time. PFOC helped to lead around this line, which tended to equalize the struggles of white women and colonized peoples. PFOC's line that white women and colonized women experienced "common yet qualitatively different" forms of oppression liquidated the colonial nature of black women's oppression and in this way worked against the politics which the NCDDW was leading around. (See *Breakthrough*, Fall 1978, "Another Look at IWY" for a fuller analysis of this line.) It resulted in efforts to win white women to support Dessie on an opportunist basis. An example of this was a plan to hold a "rape forum" which could "make the links" between rape as a tool of male supremacy against white women and rape as a weapon of colonial violence against black women. This program would have essentially defined Dessie's case as a special type of rape case, capitulating to the definitions of the white women's movement instead of struggling to win white women to understand the issue of colonial violence as central. When the NCDDW and the Burning Spear Support Committee (another black group working under the APSP's leadership) criticized this political conception, the DWSC was pushed to examine the whole political line behind the event.



Dessie Woods supporters march across Golden Gate Bridge into San Francisco to publicize the campaign to free Dessie Woods, February 15, 1979. (Read signs right to left).

The subsequent struggle to overturn the wrong line on women within the DWSC has been critical in furthering genuine support for anti-colonialist politics and the strategy of the NCDDW.

Work in the DWSC has heightened our understanding that the struggle for white people to build solidarity with the Black Liberation Movement and to take leadership from revolutionary nationalist forces is difficult and protracted. It has also shown that it is possible to build such solidarity and urgently necessary for white anti-imperialists to go out and fight for these politics among white people.

NO! NOT ONE MORE YEAR!

Comrades, I find it necessary to talk about the urgency in the struggle to free Dessie Woods. I find it necessary to express the urgency because we cannot and *will* not allow this courageous African woman to remain in the hands of the state one more year! We must free Dessie Woods from the death-grip of the state! . . . We must not become discouraged. . . . Surely if Dessie can remain strong under the harassments and attempts being made on her very life, we can continue to struggle for the freedom of Dessie Woods.

Damesha Blackearth, Chairwoman

National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods

The struggle to smash colonial violence will not be over until African people win their independence and liberation from US imperialism. But the freedom of African freedom fighters like Dessie Woods cannot wait until then.

The state is continuing its attack against Dessie, trying to break her and the movement that is building to win her freedom. The Federal Court in Macon, Georgia has just denied her writ of habeas corpus appeal. At the same time, she has been subjected to stepped-up druggings and torture in prison. Dessie Woods is on Death Row. The state is trying to kill her like it did George Jackson, Chagina in Atmore-Holman, Khatari Gauden in San Quentin. The NCDDW slogan "No! Not One More Year!" defines the urgency of getting Dessie out of the state's hands. The state must be forced to stop its druggings and torture. It must be forced to free Dessie Woods.

White people cannot stand on the side lines while another courageous black freedom fighter is murdered inside the state's concentration camps. We must support the strategy of the NCDDW and help build a movement which can win Dessie Woods' freedom and in this way aid in the struggle to smash colonial violence and all forms of US colonial domination. □

BUILD THE AFRICAN NATIONAL PRISON ORGANIZATION

Prisons are a main weapon used by US imperialism to maintain colonial control over black people and suppress their struggle for liberation. Black revolutionary nationalist forces inside and outside of prison walls are leading the development of the revolutionary prison movement to confront this genocidal institution.

One of the recent and significant developments has been the African National Prison Organization (ANPO), led by the African Peoples Socialist Party (APSP). ANPO has been organizing in the Black community and inside prisons, with the aim of building a mass movement among black people which clearly targets the role of the state and the criminal justice system as a weapon of colonial rule and genocide. Committees to Build ANPO have been forming in several cities across the country, and they plan to convene together, over Labor Day weekend, in a National Conference to Build the African National Prison Organization, in Louisville, Kentucky.

Part of the strategy for building ANPO has been the formation of a North American solidarity organization, the ANPO Solidarity Committee. The ANPO Solidarity Committee has been working under the leadership of the APSP to support the building of ANPO by raising material aid, and by organizing white people to the politics put forward by ANPO.

In solidarity with the building of ANPO, we are reprinting an article about ANPO from the December 1978 issue of the *Burning Spear*, the newspaper of the APSP.

The Committees to Build ANPO can be reached at: APSP, P.O. Box 11298, Louisville, KY 40211; APSP, P.O. Box 1448, San Francisco, CA 94101; APSP, P.O. Box 92084, Atlanta GA 30314; APSP, P.O. Box 12792, St. Petersburg, FL 33733. For North Americans interested in aiding the support work, contact ANPO Solidarity Committee, 625 Post Street, #523, San Francisco, CA 94109. The new address of the *Burning Spear* is P.O. Box 11097, Louisville, KY 40211.

▲ BLACK PEOPLE ▲
A NATION BEHIND BARS



SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE!

BUILD THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
PRISON ORGANIZATION (ANPO)
ATTEND THE NOV. 18-19 MASS MEETING

IN SAN FRANCISCO AT THE NEW COLLEGE OF LAW
777 VALENCIA ST. 8:30 AM 'TIL 5:00PM

credit: Miranda

PRISON CONFERENCE A SUCCESS

—Reprint from *Burning Spear*
December 1978

San Francisco—African people from six cities in California came together here November 18 and 19 to a mass meeting to build the California Organizing Committee to Build the African National Prison Organization (ANPO).

The conference, the first of a series of meetings planned by the African People's Socialist Party (APSP) which initiated the building of ANPO, was attended by blacks from San Jose, Los Angeles, East Palo Alto, Oakland, and Stockton.

The conference was "designed to deal with the attack on the black community through the use of prisons, and to build a strong, mass prison organization capable of fighting back and protecting black prisoners and the black community," according to

ANPO Newsletter No. 2 announcing the meeting.

Approximately 55 people, many of them former prisoners, attended the meeting, joined the Organizing Committee and resolved to do work to bring more people into ANPO and in support of black prisoners.

The APSP, which took on the building of ANPO after an attempt by African independence forces to do so didn't materialize, plans to have statewide proto-types organized first, which would call a mass meeting with the goal of involving as many people as possible at the community level. At the mass meeting, the "organizing committee" would be built, which would then organize to attend a national meeting where ANPO would officially be formalized. Similar meetings are in the process of being organized in Florida, Georgia and Kentucky.

The November 18 and 19 meeting was the culmination of about six months work led by the San Francisco unit of the APSP, and supported by the Bay Area Burning Spear Support Committee (BSSC), ANPO Organizing Committee and other concerned progressives.

In the call made by the Organizing Committee, the relationship of prisons to the black community was spoken to and thus the dire need for ANPO. It read in part:

"Prisons are a real part of our everyday lives. We don't have to look behind the walls to see that our sisters, brothers, husbands, boyfriends and friends are locked down. We can look around our daily lives and know that we who are outside the walls are also prisoners.

"As black people we have always been prisoners here in the U.S., from the time the first European stole us from our country and our history. We knew we were chained and bound, and we have always struggled to break the chains of imprisonment. We have struggled on the plantations, by running away, to killing the slavemaster, even when we knew that the penalty for our defiance was death. But we understood then, as we know now, ANYTHING beats the living death we were and still are experiencing."

The call explained how the U.S. is suffering from a political and economic crisis, which it is trying to solve at the expense of African, as well as other subject and colonized people.

The response to the Call, although not what the organizers had worked for, in terms of numbers of people, was nonetheless a good one. The 55 people who showed were long time prison activists, ex-prisoners, members of other nationalist groups, trade unionists, preachers, students (including law stu-

dents), workers, and friends and families with loved-ones in prisons.

The conference was held in the chapel of the New College of Law which was very colorfully decorated with huge banners reading: "Build the African National Prison Organization—By Any Means Necessary," "Free the African National Freedom Fighters—Assata Shakur, Sundiata Acoli, Graham and Allen, RNA-11," "Free Dessie Woods—Put the State on Trial," "Free Imani, Smash the Death Penalty," and "Long Live African Internationalism."

Bomani Mandika, a former prisoner and a member of the Burning Spear Support Committee opened up the conference.

Mandika also read solidarity statements. The statement sent by the Interim Committee to Build ANPO in MCU at San Quentin prison read in part:

"We the black prisoners who are confined in the Political Prisoners Unit (aka Management Control Unit (MCU) aka Max B) inside the walls of this koncentration kamp at San Quentin send our total love, solidarity and eventual victory to those of you out there who have recognized our need both inside



credit: Oak Publications

For African people colonized within US borders, police terror is a part of everyday life.

and out to unite in order that we may rid our people of this cunning and decadent system.

"We vehemently support the efforts that are being made by the African National Prison Organization (ANPO) in developing a unity of purpose between the different segments of our people throughout the country and it's our desire to assist you, our counterparts out there in the larger koncentration kamp as best as these limited conditions permit."

A solidarity message was also received from Sundiata Acoli, who is presently serving life plus 30 years for the frame-up charge of killing a New Jersey state trooper. His statement read:

"It's an extreme pleasure to send my/our whole hearted endorsement of and solidarity with the ANPO November 18 and 19 mass meeting—in particular since it emphasizes fighting back and winning! We hope that all of you at the mass meeting are committed to building ANPO with that type capabilities. Towards that end we send our warmest solidarity to the ANPO mass meeting and to all the captive freedom fighters out there—Geronimo, Graham and Allen, Kalima, Ruchell, Spain and Hugo, Skyhorse and Mohawk, Russell Means, Yvonne Wanrow and countless others not mentioned. Build to Win!"



Supporters of the African National Prison Organization expose California's death penalty initiative as legal lynching of Black people. San Francisco demonstration the day before the November 1978 elections.

The two-day conference continued with the film, "Bush Mama," about an African woman led to revolutionary conclusions and activity when her husband was arrested for a crime he did not commit. Culture was provided by two consistently patriotic cultural workers in the area, Jesse Foster, and Blackberri.

A California APSP leader received a warm enthusiastic response from the conference participants with her sharp analytical presentation on the colonial relationship our whole people have with prisons in the U.S. She admonished the audience on the impossibility of sitting back any longer.

A lively panel discussion on the various aspects of the effect of prison on our lives was well received.

On the second day of the conference workshops were held on the following subjects:

The transition from jail to prison; the use of the death penalty against black people; Women in Prison; Community organizing; Political prisoners and prisoners of war; and prison as colonial violence.

While the time factor did not allow the conference time to pull together effective resolutions dealing with the role of colonialism and the U.S. government in the terroristic use of prisons against our people, some relatively good decisions were made to guide the work during the four-month interim before the next meeting, which the participants plan to make a much broader meeting, expanding the representation beyond the six cities which were present.

The San Francisco group was made temporary administrative coordinators, responsible for organizing and coordinating the next meeting and establishing a working program from the materials, information, and decisions which flowed from the November 18-19 conference.

In addition, the conference participants agreed to work for the recall of Proposition 7, the death penalty initiative that recently broadened the application of the death penalty; they agreed to form a black woman's caucus to investigate and address the special problems of African women in prison; agreed to compile a list of black political prisoners and prisoners of war; and to work for the total abolition of the U.S. prison system.

Work still has to be done to help prisoners in the state get organized, and to escalate supportive struggle in defense of their right to life and liberty.

The California Organizing Committee to Build ANPO is in desperate need of funds and solidarity. To provide either write: ANPO, 611 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA 94117. □

IRANIAN PEOPLE OUST SHAH'S REGIME

US Imperialism Under Siege

Massive uprisings of the Iranian people throughout year have forced the end of the fascist rule of the US-backed Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The government of Bakhtiar, the Shah's hand-picked replacement lasted less than a month. Led by the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas (OIPFG), the Organization of Mojahedeen and radicalized airforce cadets and technicians, armed uprisings during February 9-11 defeated the army in Tehran, the backbone of US domination in Iran. In three days, every military post and police station was conquered in Tehran and the parliament, radio and television stations were taken over by the armed masses. Political prisoners were freed and 300,000 to 600,000 weapons were distributed among the people. This insurrection was followed by similar occurrences in other cities.

These are major victories for the Iranian people and serious blows to the US strategy and interests in Iran and therefore in the Middle East as a whole. From 1953, when the CIA overthrew a nationalist government in Iran and reinstated the Shah to power, Iran has been a principal agent of US imperialist interests in the area. The enormous oil resources of Iran and the Middle East plus its strategic geographic position as a bridge between the continents of Africa, Asia and Europe make the area extremely important to the US economically, politically and militarily. Heavily supported by US military equipment, mercenaries and money, Iran functioned as a military gendarme for the entire region, enabling the US to maintain its interests without the appearance of direct intervention. Iranian oil and the Shah's military machinery also played an important role in supporting imperialist interest in Israel and South Africa. It has been a top priority for the US to keep control in Iran.

While the CIA was reporting that there was no significant threat to the Shah's regime last summer, the Iranian struggle was getting ready to explode. The rapid escalation of mass demonstrations, strikes and armed struggle, caught the US totally off-guard. Now, faced with the overthrow of its close ally the Shah, the US is scrambling to cut its losses in Iran. At this stage, its plan is to build relations with the liberal

reformist Bazargan government in order to maintain its interests and ward off the total threat which the revolutionary Iranian forces represent to imperialism.

The Bazargan government does not at all represent the depth of the Iranian revolution: the workers' councils, strikers' committees, student committees, etc., which have all built the revolution. While the Bazargan government is calling for the people to return the arms seized from the army, revolutionary organizations like the Fedaii are calling for the formation of a People's Army as the only way of safeguarding the victories already achieved and expanding them to win full independence and democracy. The US knows that the success of these revolutionary goals would spell the end of US imperialist domination in Iran.

As the Iranian revolutionary movement continues to grow, we can expect imperialism to resort to other kinds of maneuvers to protect its interests, including direct military intervention. At this stage the imperialists are trying to develop a mass base of support within the US for such measures by whipping up panic and anti-Iranian hysteria through dire predictions of a serious energy crisis caused by the cut-off of Iranian oil. The US government is also attempting to repress the militant mobilizations of the Iranian students, which expose the truth about the Shah's genocidal regime and the extent of US involvement in Iran. Moves to deport Iranian students are part of this program of attack.

In the light of these attacks and the racist, anti-Iranian propaganda being churned out by the imperialist media, it is especially important for progressive people in the US to stand in solidarity with the revolutionary Iranian struggle and to demand an end to all US intervention in Iran. We should mobilize opposition to giving the Shah or any member of his family refuge in the US and build support for the courageous actions of the Iranian students, like the mass demonstrations in front of the Shah's sister's house in Beverly Hills, California.

In solidarity with the Iranian revolution, *Breakthrough* is reprinting sections of a statement by the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas, one of the leading revolu-

tionary organizations in Iran, concerning the conditions in the fall of 1978. This statement was originally reprinted in *Struggle*, the newspaper of the Iranian Students Association.

We are also reprinting sections of an analysis by *Resistance*, the newspaper of another group of the Iranian Students Association, concerning the situation in Iran right after the Shah's ouster. Although the situation in Iran has changed a lot since both these articles were written, we think that they provide important overall understandings of the struggle in Iran as it has developed over the past period.

**VICTORY TO THE IRANIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY!**

STOP ALL US INTERVENTION IN IRAN!

NO REFUGE TO THE PAHLAVIS IN THE US!

DEFEND THE IRANIAN STUDENTS!

Struggle is available from Box 268, College Park, MD 20740;

Resistance is available from Box 3575, Chicago, IL 60690.



This Is Our Answer to the Barbaric Mass Murder of the Militant Iranian People; Police Guard Headquarters Smashed —Organization of the Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas

MILITANT PEOPLE OF IRAN!

On the morning of Wednesday (September 6, 1978), an operational unit of our organization (Organization of the Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas) attacked one of the police commando bases (Police Guard Brigade) at Eshrat Abad (Tehran—*Struggle*) with bombs and machine guns; and after inflicting a blow at this center of repression and setting it on fire and destroying a number of the regime's mercenaries who have had an active role in the suppression and machine gunning of the struggling people, returned to their bases.

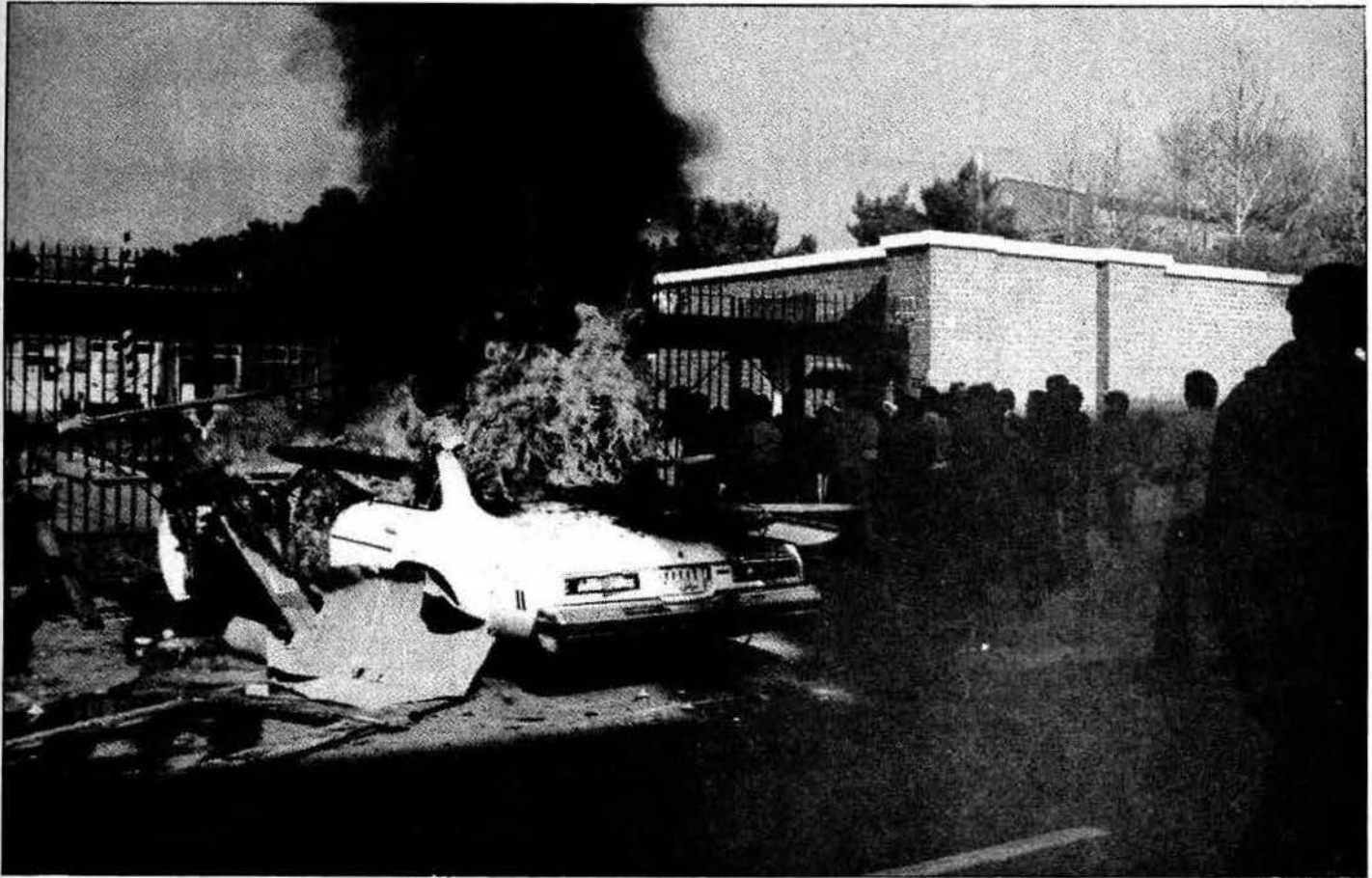
The operation was planned so that the ordinary people would not be harmed. The Police Guard, as one of the suppressive forces of the regime in the cities, has a fundamental role in the mass murders of the demonstrators. And during the last few months, hundreds of our militant people have been martyred at the hands of the Police Guard mercenaries.

The Organization of the Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas, with its armed operations, expresses its unwavering belief in the overthrow of the dictatorial regime of the Shah and its imperialist supporters through armed struggle; and as the armed revolutionary vanguard of the toiling masses, announces its defense and support of the struggles of the people.

It has been close to a year that the anger and hatred of years of dictatorship and repression, the many pains and privations of the toiling masses, the

shames and disgrace of 2500 years of monarchy, and the memory of thousands of people's martyrs, is being heard in the cries of millions of our people. The will, and the united demands of the masses, is inflicting severe blows to all the symbols of the criminal regime of the Shah. The toiling masses have raised the red flag of its martyrs and are marching, determined, towards liberation and breaking of all chains of oppressions and injustices. The era of disgrace, fear and silence has come to an end; and the conspiracies, deceptions and shameless lies of the regime are revealed; and the flatterers and those who serve the regime like slaves conceal themselves in a burrow from fear of the masses; and the real friends and the enemies of the people present their maskless faces, and are put to the people's judgment.

The criminal regime of the Shah, after tens of years of mass murdering of the people, and specially after the barbaric crimes that it has committed against the people during the past few months—such as what we witnessed in the recent days during the mass murder of 400 people in the fire at the Rex Cinema in Abadan—is now pretending to be concerned and talks of reconciliation between it and the people. But our people, with their struggles and slogans, answer all these deceptions of the regime. Today our people, in the streets, are shouting: "Till the overthrow of the regime, the struggle will continue," "Death to this fascist government," "Armed battle is the way to the liberation of the people," "Freedom or death . . . ,"



Mass attack on gates of US embassy in Tehran, January 1979.

credit: *Time*

"Soldiers, you are innocent, your commander is a murderer." . . .

The fascist regime of the Shah, after years of dictatorial rule and oppression in our country, after years of empty propaganda and deceptions about its programs, and finally after years of repressing the struggles and protests of the toiling masses and the revolutionary forces, is now facing the struggles of the people on a scale larger than ever. The people who have learned from years of torture and executions, know the real nature of their enemies better than and more than any other time. And they have come to realize that in our country there can either be the rule of the criminal Shah and the local dependent and foreign capitalists, and the masses be deprived of all their social rights; or that the people, through a bloody struggle would overcome their enemies, and destroy the Shah's regime and bring about the people's rule.

There is no third way in our country today, and those who propound anything less than the destruction of the Shah's regime are only deceitful elements

who want to divert the struggle of the people from its principal path, that is the overthrowing of the Shah's regime and its American masters. The savage repression and the continuous bloodying of the demonstrations makes another issue more and more clear for our people each passing day. With the appearance of tanks, army machine guns, and repressive police guards at the scene of the street demonstrations, our people realize that the destruction of the regime, and freedom for the people is possible only through destruction of the army and the police as the principal backbone of the regime. And if those who struggle for the liberation of the people want to remain loyal to their goals, they have no way other than engaging in armed struggle. And this is why the people are shouting: "Armed battle is the road to the liberation of the people." . . .

Today, it is not only us that has this belief, there are also thousands of our toiling people who face American and Israeli machine gun fires who have the same belief. They also believe that it is only through armed struggle that the puppet regime of the Shah

can be overthrown. . . . By saying that "... as long as I am here, as long as all the patriots are here, as long as we have country's armed forces, we will not let this to happen," [the Shah] clearly shows the reality that our people can get their freedom only when the Shah and the dependent capitalists and their imperialist supporters are overthrown. The people know well the above "patriots" (read it traitors) and their claimed patriotism, and are well aware of the role played by the Shah's anti-people army which is armed with the most sophisticated American and British weapons, and is directed by thousands of American military advisors.

The patriotism of the Shah's regime is in its being a puppet, and dependent on imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialism. This can be clearly seen from the many existing economical and military treaties. The Shah's regime dependency is such that when Carter visited Iran in January of 1978, he said: "... we don't know of any other country that is so close to us, and have mutual military security programs." The peoples of the world are sufficiently aware of the murderous role of the U.S. imperialism in their suppressions, killings, and plunders. The memory of the crimes of U.S. imperialism in Indo-China and Viet Nam is still very much alive, and today we see the

continuation of the same role in every corner of the world. From suppression of the heroic people of Palestine by Israel and the Arab reaction, to the support given to the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and total support of the anti-people and dictatorial regimes all over the world. However these criminals of the century see themselves closer to the Shah's regime than any other regime, even Israel and South Africa. And they say that: "We don't know of any other country that is so close to us." In fact Carter, as the representative of U.S. imperialism knows no other country that is plundered as much as Iran is today. And that all its economical, political, and military resources be to such an extent in the service of the American aims; and that there is no one to such an extent traitorous and dedicated puppet as the Shah is to the U.S. . . .

The traitor regime of the Shah, in order to guard the interests of its foreign masters, and with their help, is engaged in its daily effort of equipping its anti-people armed forces with sophisticated weaponry, the armed forces which has no duty other than the repression of the struggle of our people, and the peoples of the region. For this reason, the toiling masses of our people, in order to overthrow the Shah's regime, have no choice other than destroying



Demonstrations like this one in Tehran in September 1978 led to the overthrow of the fascist Shah's US-backed regime.

credit: *Struggle*

the principal base of the regime, that is its anti-people armed forces. And this is possible only through a people's armed war of liberation, similar to what our people are shouting today: "Armed battle is the way to the liberation of the people." ...

Today, more than ever, the militants should stay conscious and prevent any deviation in the people's movement. The people's victory is dependent on their unity with the revolutionary armed organizations, and rejection of every kind of compromise and capitulation in the face of the regime.

**VICTORY TO
THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
OF THE PEOPLES OF IRAN!
LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE
AND THE REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLAS!
DEATH TO THE DICTATOR SHAH
AND ITS IMPERIALIST SUPPORTERS!
VICTORY TO ARMED STRUGGLE,
WHICH OPENS THE PATH
FOR STRUGGLE OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE!**

Iranian People Kicked Him out of Iran; Don't Let the Shah in the US!

—Reprint from Resistance, January 1979

Today, Iranian people are celebrating a tremendous and joyous victory: A 37-year reign of terror under the rule of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and over 50 years of horrendous bloodshed and oppression at the hands of the Pahlavi Dynasty has been forcefully ended.

Victory against these cruel and corrupt rulers has inspired new courage and militant hope among oppressed peoples all over the world who are engaged in similar battles against similar servants and puppets of imperialism like Marcos of the Philippines and Somoza of Nicaragua.

Yet while this momentous victory is being celebrated, and the murderous Pahlavis have been kicked out of Iran, brutal killings of our people are continuing—at the hands of the Bakhtiar government.

January 15 in Kermanshah, western Iran, according to phone calls from that area, as many as 1,000 people were slaughtered by the Imperial Army. In Shiraz, people attacked SAVAK headquarters to destroy it and many were killed. Hundreds of thousands are continuing the struggle. A U.S. Army officer working for the U.S. military mission in Iran was killed on January 16.

Any attempt to "restore order" at this time can only come from the U.S. and its supporters in the new government. Such "order" means putting a stop to the struggle for independence from the U.S. This is the policy of Bakhtiar—and it will be defeated.

At the very moment of the Shah's panic stricken escape from the fury of Iranian people, the same

policies of violent repression and slaughter are being continued under this so-called "new" government.

Since the Shah is gone, where is this tyranny coming from? The answer is already clear to our people: the Bakhtiar Government came to power not by the will of our people but by the desperate decisions of the U.S. officials and military advisers.

Unable to control Iran any longer through their instrument of 37 years, the U.S. now seeks to maintain control of Iran through anyone else who can continue to control the Iranian Army against our struggle for independence.

There is no independence as long as the U.S. controls our political, economic and social life. Bakhtiar and all others who cooperate and reconcile with the United States will be ousted by our people through continuing struggles. It is inevitable that this struggle must continue.

The international media is presenting a false picture of Iran today. Iranian people are rid of the Shah, but they are NOT free. U.S. control continues; U.S. interference can be seen in every maneuver and deal negotiated with the Bakhtiar Government.

Facing the furious hatred of 35 million Iranians against the Shah, the Carter Administration has been forced to get him out of the way. They have no intention of granting the demands of Iranian people for an independent and democratic country. By removing the Shah, they have retreated in front of the powerful and uncompromising fight of our people. Now, they desperately seek to hold on to Iran through a massive attack on the movement.



Iranian students battle Los Angeles police outside the Beverly Hills estate of the Shah's sister, militantly protesting refuge for the Shah or his family in the US.

credit: SF Chronicle

The people's most fundamental demands for democracy and independence cannot be met by ANY U.S. backed and U.S. sponsored rulers. As long as the U.S. advisers and all their agents remain in Iran, our people must continue their struggle.

The U.S. is preparing its forces for military intervention. This is one reason for the recent attack against Iranian students in the U.S. from Carter's Administration. The other reason is that Carter is afraid of the political opposition that will erupt in this country against the Shah being brought here.

Now the Carter Administration is making the United States a haven for the Shah's regime. He knows that the Iranian people demand the death of the Shah and that Iranian people in the U.S., along with the American people, will see that the Shah is sent back to Iran where he must face the punishment he deserves at the hands of our people. Their verdict has already been heard by millions of people throughout the world: **DEATH TO THE SHAH!**

This verdict cannot be obstructed by Carter, any more than he could obstruct the movement of our

people to kick the Shah out of his Palace.

WHY SHOULD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TOLERATE THESE KILLERS HERE ANY MORE THAN THE IRANIAN PEOPLE WOULD TOLERATE THEM FOR ONE MORE MINUTE IN IRAN?...

This struggle against U.S. domination of Iran is intensifying very rapidly. THIS is the reason why the Shah was removed so quickly at this time. The U.S. is trying to stop the momentum of the movement by removing the Shah in a desperate hope that the people will cease fighting and will not carry the struggle through to final victory and real independence and democracy.

But Carter knows very well that this cannot succeed in stopping the movement. Our people have not given thousands of lives just to find themselves ruled by a government that maintains the reactionary Imperial Army, maintains U.S. bases in Iran, maintains SAVAK (under whatever name), and continues the drastic slaughter of our people.

The U.S. Government has declared that its stakes in Iran are "enormous" and that they are determined to maintain their control of our country, "at all costs."

The Iranian people have declared with their lives in front of the entire world that they are equally determined to be free of this domination forever, no matter how long it takes.

This is now a new period in the Iranian revolution. Carter knows it. That is why he wants to silence the voice of the Iranian revolution outside Iran—all progressive Iranian students and their thousands of supporters, both Iranian AND American.

The Shah cannot and must not be allowed to come here and find protection from the Iranian people.

Bringing the Shah to the U.S. is an attack on the American people. Direct military intervention in Iran is an attack on the American people. **IRANIAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST STAND UNITED AGAINST THESE ATTACKS AND DECLARE THAT OUR COMMON INTERESTS ARE IN THE VICTORY OF INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY IN IRAN.**

**NO REFUGE FOR THE PAHLAVIS!
DOWN WITH MONARCHY!
DOWN WITH BAKHTIAR!**

**STOP U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION IN IRAN—
U.S. GET OUT NOW!**

**U.S. ADVISERS, CIA AGENTS GET OUT OF IRAN!
INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY FOR IRAN!**

BREAKTHROUGH

CORRESPONDENCE

The goal of the *Breakthrough* correspondence section is to encourage discussion of political issues and the perspectives presented by the journal. We would like readers to share their views with us, and will print your letters anonymously if necessary for security reasons.

Dear *Breakthrough*,

That's the way it goes! Night before last I wrote to you letting you know that we did not get *Breakthrough*—and last night we did get it! Plus the fly about the LA Five! Guess your letter of a few weeks back did bring some positive results (yes, they read that letter). So, brother, this letter is to let you know that we did get the material.

Last night I stayed up until late reading *Breakthrough*, and about the LA Five. That issue of *Breakthrough*, camarada, reminds me of the saying (a very valid saying, by the way) of "ONE STRUGGLE, MANY FRONTS." Anyone reading that issue will come to the same realization—that ours is but one struggle with many fronts. And I do think, too, that

within the struggle for national liberation, for the destruction of imperialism, all other struggles have a place. As the struggle for national liberation advances, so will all other people's struggles.

It would be even an absurdity for some sectors to expect freedom from oppression without destroying the oppressive system that oppresses all of us. It's like expecting to cure some of the symptoms without curing the sickness that caused those symptoms. As long as the sickness is there, we can use band-aids on some of its ill effects, but there won't be no permanent cure until we get rid of the sickness, of the roots that brought the ill effects (the various types of oppression against various sectors of the body of the population).

SUBSCRIBE!

We want to build the circulation and distribution of *Breakthrough*. We want to deepen the political basis of our relationship with subscribers and with people who are interested in helping to distribute the journal. We would like to develop a network of bookstores, libraries, organizations and individuals that will carry *Breakthrough*. Please get in touch if you can help.

PLEASE SEND ME

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Isolating ourselves over from the others would only put one ill effect against the other and all of us would pay for that mistake by strengthening and prolonging the cancer that's eating up the whole body. All of us have to concentrate on fighting the sickness, because that's the only way that we will find the way to cure all its ill effects. And the sickness is imperialism, the exploitation of men/women by that very small minority of Rockefellers and company.

And, yes, *compañero*, at this moment in history the national liberation forces are the leading forces in the struggle against oppression, against imperialism, so it stands to reason that by supporting actively that force which is leading the anti-imperialist struggle, all anti-oppression movements would strengthen themselves—by strengthening those in the forefront (the National Liberation Movements). It's simple logic, my brother. Unfortunately, sometimes our own confusions keep us from seeing the obvious. This issue of *Breakthrough* brings that simple logic into focus.

En la lucha,
Rafael Cancel Miranda

Dear *Breakthrough*,

... And as far as our Sister Dessie is concerned, I'm sorry to hear that such terror is being inflicted upon her, that they're not showing consideration on the habeas corpus that was filed on errors in her case, that they are attempting to kill her and that they're using drugs to try to destroy her both mentally and

physically. Brother, my concepts are that the supporting organizations are doing all in their powers in means of supporting our Sister, but yet and still we aren't receiving enough attention, and she's being killed more and more every day. Brother, the terrorizing of the Sister has got to be stop. And the only way that this can be done is that the officials be pressed, which will cause them to back off of the Sister. And the only way that's going to happen is that the so called law enforcer recognize her support and more attentions are showed towards her present existence, in means of looking into her case and the actions the state has inflicted upon her in means of destroying the Sister. Brother, I would like to say that I hope the support for Dessie is successful in accomplishment during the National Week to Free Dessie Woods. ...

A prisoner

Dear *Breakthrough*,

What you're doing is really good and important; keep it up. One criticism: I'm doing Southern Africa work at Boston University and most of the struggles you're going through are way more advanced than anything we're going through. Many students have no experience at all: it's like starting over. I'd like to see more concrete analysis of actual international struggles in the oppressor nation. What's the best way to reach people? etc. What's been tried and what lessons learned in other places, etc. Anyway, keep it up. □

SUBSCRIBE!

☐ Please enter my subscription to *Breakthrough* beginning with issue _____. Subscriptions are \$6.00 regular, \$15.00 institutional, free to prisoners, for 4 issues.

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WHO WE ARE

Since the first issue of *Breakthrough* in spring 1977, the description of "Who We Are" has gone through many changes which reflect the continual struggle to strengthen PFOC's commitment to revolutionary internationalism and the defeat of imperialism. This current "Who We Are" defines our basic politics at this stage of struggle.

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee is a communist organization of women and men based in the US oppressor nation. We are united around revolutionary anti-imperialist politics which define the principal characteristic of the imperialist system as the division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. Within the borders of the United States as around the world, it is the movements of oppressed nations for independence and freedom—the national liberation movements—which are leading the development of revolutionary movement and the worldwide defeat of imperialism.

We believe that the US oppressor nation working class can only participate in the development of revolutionary anti-imperialist movement on the basis of internationalism—through fighting in solidarity with national liberation and by taking leadership from the politics and strategies of these movements. We see our central responsibility, at this stage, as building—within the white working class—international solidarity and support for the self-determination of colonized nations inside and outside of US borders.

Based on the immense wealth gained from the plunder of land, labor and resources of colonized people, the US ruling class has institutionalized privilege and power for white people through the system of white supremacy. This gives the oppressor nation working class a material stake in imperialism, and has meant that historically the dominant aspect of its relationship to empire has been collaboration instead of opposition. We must continually struggle against all forms of white working class consciousness and activity which place the interests of the oppressor nation working class against the interests of oppressed nations, so that we can build international solidarity and anti-imperialist class struggle in the oppressor nation.

Within the context of building revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in the oppressor nation, we are committed to exposing and defeating opportunist political lines in the white left which deny the leading role of national liberation and the existence of oppressed nations within current US borders. These politics collude with imperialism's attacks on national liberation and hold back the development of revolutionary consciousness and practice within the white working class.

National liberation movements worldwide have led in making the struggle for the liberation of women a central part of anti-imperialist revolution. Within the US oppressor nation as well, we believe that the fight for women's liberation and against male supremacy is an essential part of building revolutionary movement. We see the oppression of lesbians and gay men as rooted in the system of male supremacy and support the struggle for lesbian and gay liberation. However, we think that women's and gay liberation must be built within the context of the overall movement for international solidarity and anti-imperialism and that the white supremacist politics which now dominate the women's and gay movements must be confronted and overturned.

We know that imperialism can only maintain itself on the basis of armed force and violence. There can be no victory over imperialism without armed struggle. Oppressor nation revolutionaries must commit themselves to armed struggle in solidarity with the wars of national liberation which are raging around the world.

As communists in the oppressor nation, we must organize white working class people around revolutionary anti-imperialist politics, and develop strategies for building international solidarity and socialist revolution guided by the strategies of national liberation. Communist organization must be built in order to carry out these political objectives. We struggle to apply the principles of dialectical and historical materialism to develop correct line and strategy and use criticism-self-criticism to evaluate and correct our politics and practice.

At this stage, the struggle to unite a core of white people around anti-imperialist, internationalist politics and practice is a priority. We see our journal, *Breakthrough*, as making a contribution to this struggle.

In carrying out these responsibilities, we are committed to struggling against all forms of white supremacy, opportunism, male supremacy and arrogance among ourselves. We are accountable to the national liberation movements for what we do.

Land and Sovereignty for Native Nations

"When colonial white society invades and occupies our territories, these are not called criminal acts. But when the native people stand up and resist, those acts are considered criminal. But these are not crimes. These are political acts in which our people stand for their rights of self-determination, self-dignity, and self-respect against the cruel and oppressive might of another nation."

Leonard Peltier



Free All
Native Political Prisoners