

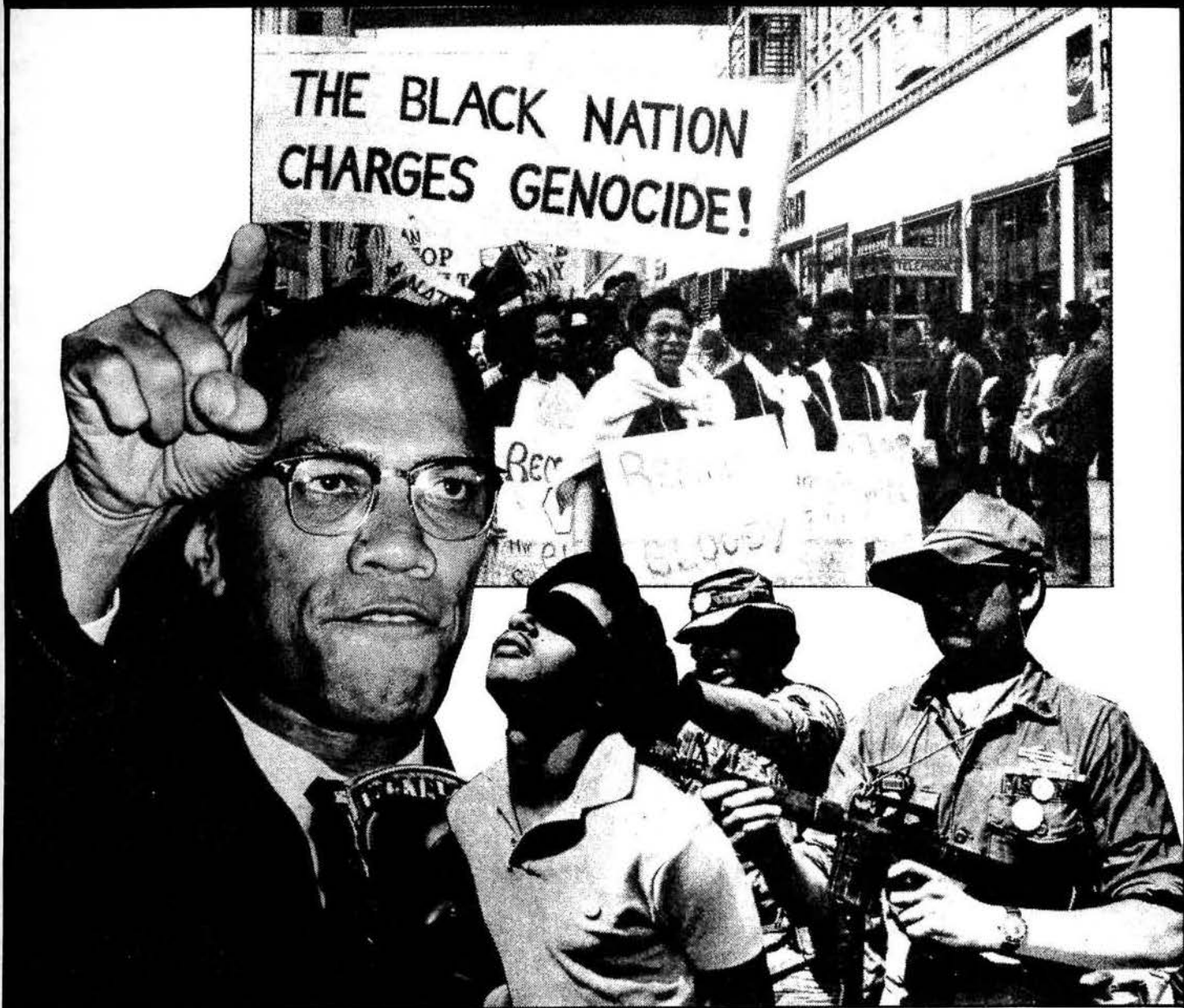
BREAKTHROUGH

POLITICAL JOURNAL OF PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Vol. IV No. 1

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**SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE
FOR BLACK PEOPLE'S HUMAN RIGHTS!
INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NEW AFRIKAN NATION!**

published by the John Brown Book Club

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EDITORIAL

The Black Nation's Struggle for Land and Independence

— PFOC Statement

Since our formation, Prairie Fire has been in struggle to build revolutionary solidarity with the Black Liberation Movement among white people. During the past period we've deepened our understanding of the central relationship between the colonized Black Nation and US imperialism, and the key role which Black liberation will play in imperialism's ultimate destruction. Through struggle with Black revolutionary nationalist forces we've come to redefine our stand on the revolutionary goals and strategies of Black nationalism. We now believe that only through winning independence, self-rule and freeing their land base in the South will Black people be able to achieve human rights and liberation.

In the past, PFOC drew a sharp line against "multinational" politics which upheld integrationism or assimilation of Black people into the "multinational working class" movement. However, we held a liberal concept of self-determination which supported the *right* of the Black Nation to independence but left other options open as possible paths to liberation. Last year we moved to take a position that independence is the only possible resolution to the colonial contradiction, the only basis on which the Black Nation could exercise its right to self-determination. But we still failed to support the Black Nation's historic and legitimate right to land in the South. The Black Nation cannot achieve genuine self-determination, independence or liberation without control over land. We now believe that white anti-imperialists must put forward clear support for the Black Nation's struggle for national independence and land in order to build revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in the oppressor nation.

US imperialism is based on the division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. The

development of US/European imperialism was made possible by the centuries-long plunder of Africa and the enslavement and trade of African people. As a white settler colony, the US built its immense wealth and power on the backs of slaves producing cotton in the South and on the conquest of Native lands and peoples. Slavery, genocide and colonialism were the basis for the subsequent annexation of northern Mexico and the worldwide growth of the US empire.

For over 400 years, Black people have been denied the most basic of human rights—the right of a people to self-determination, self-rule and land. Against the dehumanization of slavery and colonialism, African people of many nations and tribes built a new common culture, a national identity and a national resistance to genocide and oppression. All Black people in the US are part of this New Afrikan Nation which first developed in the South, where Black people lived in the majority and worked the land long before this country was called the USA. It was here that the wars for freedom were first fought by the maroon societies, by Nat Turner, by Denmark Vesey and many others. It was in the South that Black people began to build independent societies and institutions during Reconstruction. And it was in the South that Reconstruction was defeated and reparations for centuries of slavery were denied to the millions of ex-slaves. Through the use of illegitimate laws, federal power and the mass terrorist mobilizations of the white population, the Black Nation was denied its right to self-determination and forced into the colonial relationship that continues till this day.

The struggle to free the New Afrikan Nation began with the courageous resistance of African people to being stolen from Africa. It was continued on the

slaveships, in countless rebellions against slavery and in the determined resistance to KKK terror and lynch-mob violence. The Black Nation's struggle to end its colonial subjugation exploded across the US during the '60s with demands for Black power and Black self-determination. Malcolm X declared: "Land is the basis of all independence. . . A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation." In 1968 the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) made claim to the five states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana and since then many Black nationalist forces have defined this land as the national territory of New Afrika. PFOC supports the struggle to free New Afrika because the claim to this land is rooted in the historic reality of Black people's relationship to the South, because it is due Black people as partial reparations for centuries of slavery and superexploitation and because it is strategically viable to liberate this land mass as the territory of New Afrika.

National liberation movements reclaiming their land, labor and resources are leading in the destruction of US-led imperialism. We believe that the New Afrikan Nation will win independence and land through a protracted war of national liberation and that this struggle will be a decisive blow against the entire imperialist system. The Black national liberation struggle also poses the sharpest challenge to the interests of the oppressor nation population in the system of white supremacy. White people's power

and privilege under imperialism is derived from conquest and control over land and the colonization of whole peoples. The Black Nation's attack on the territorial integrity of the US and the demand for independence threatens the foundations of white domination. The failure of the white left as a whole to politically and materially support the goals of independence and land are rooted in its stake in the status quo of white supremacy.

In this period of intensifying crisis for imperialism, it is critical that the white left take up active support for the revolutionary demands of independence and land for the Black Nation. Imperialism is faced with a political time bomb in the power of the Black Nation, particularly because of its strategic location in the South and in the industrial and urban centers of the North, Midwest and the West Coast. At this time it is accelerating its strategy of genocide in order to contain this revolutionary potential. Masses of white people are also mobilizing to take part in a "populist" fascist movement aimed at suppressing Black and other colonized peoples. As white anti-imperialists we must organize within the oppressor nation to stop fascist mobilization and white terror attacks, to oppose genocide and to support true human rights for the Black Nation. Through the leadership of revolutionary Black nationalists, we must begin to build solidarity with the struggle to liberate New Afrika as the only means of ending the colonial subjugation of the Black Nation.



'LAW AND ORDER'

Blueprint for Fascism

Black youths murdered in cold blood by white killer cops who never get convicted of anything; Black demonstrators attacked by white terrorist Klanners in full hooded regalia on the streets in Alabama; Black men set up to be legally lynched by white people "democratically" voting genocide into law in the form of the death penalty; Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano/Mejicano, Native American people gunned down, framed, locked down for life by the police, the FBI, the INS, the BIA . . . Law and Order, amerikkan style.

Beneath the barrage of Carter's human rights propaganda is imperialism's real program of genocide and heightened repression, designed to eliminate the threat which Black and other Third World peoples pose to the future of the US colonial order. Despite its effort to tidy up its democratic, freedom-loving image, the US is right now consolidating a fascist, police state apparatus to assure control over internally colonized people. And white people across the country are mobilizing to support this genocidal program under the popular rallying cries of "reverse discrimination," "tax revolt," and "law and order." They are mobilizing in the name of white people's "democratic rights" to education, property and security.

The oppressor nation as a whole, including the white working class, is becoming part of the development of US fascism. At this stage, there has been little done by the white left to counter these developments because the left, by and large, only targets the state and the "far right" as the agents of fascism. The left refuses to see that the US state depends on the mobilization of the oppressor nation population to build a police state which can systematically repress colonized peoples. It refuses to see that the current call of rights for whites is part of this fascist buildup, rooted in the history of the US where white people's right to land, property and individual freedom has been assured only by violently denying colonized nations *their* human rights to life, liberty, self-

determination and land. The left refuses to acknowledge the fact that genocide is really happening now, because Black people aren't yet being herded by the millions into the gas chambers.

But Black nationalist forces are clear about what's happening and they are not waiting till Black people are eliminated to charge the US with genocide. (Genocide is defined by the UN as "inflicting on a national, racial, ethnical, or religious group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.") They're insisting that imperialism's program of genocide can only be stopped by Black people winning their national independence on land that is rightfully theirs.

Through the Black Human Rights Coalition, a wide range of Black forces are uniting to build a movement which demands their basic human rights to self-determination, an end to genocide, freedom for all political prisoners and prisoners of war, and economic, political and cultural survival. They are raising these demands before the international community at the UN.

Nor are Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mejicano nationalists waiting until martial law is formally declared to identify the growth of police terror, INS terror and BIA terror as part of a buildup of a fascist police state apparatus. They too are bringing their demands for democratic and human rights to the UN to expose to the world what's really happening in the US.

The lines are being drawn between those who support the fight for genuine human rights and freedom — being led by the national liberation movements — and those who support fascism and genocide as the means of crushing national liberation movements. White people, white leftists have to understand that these are the issues if we are to make any contribution to fighting imperialism. We must begin to confront the spread of white supremacy and fascist commitment among the white population and must build

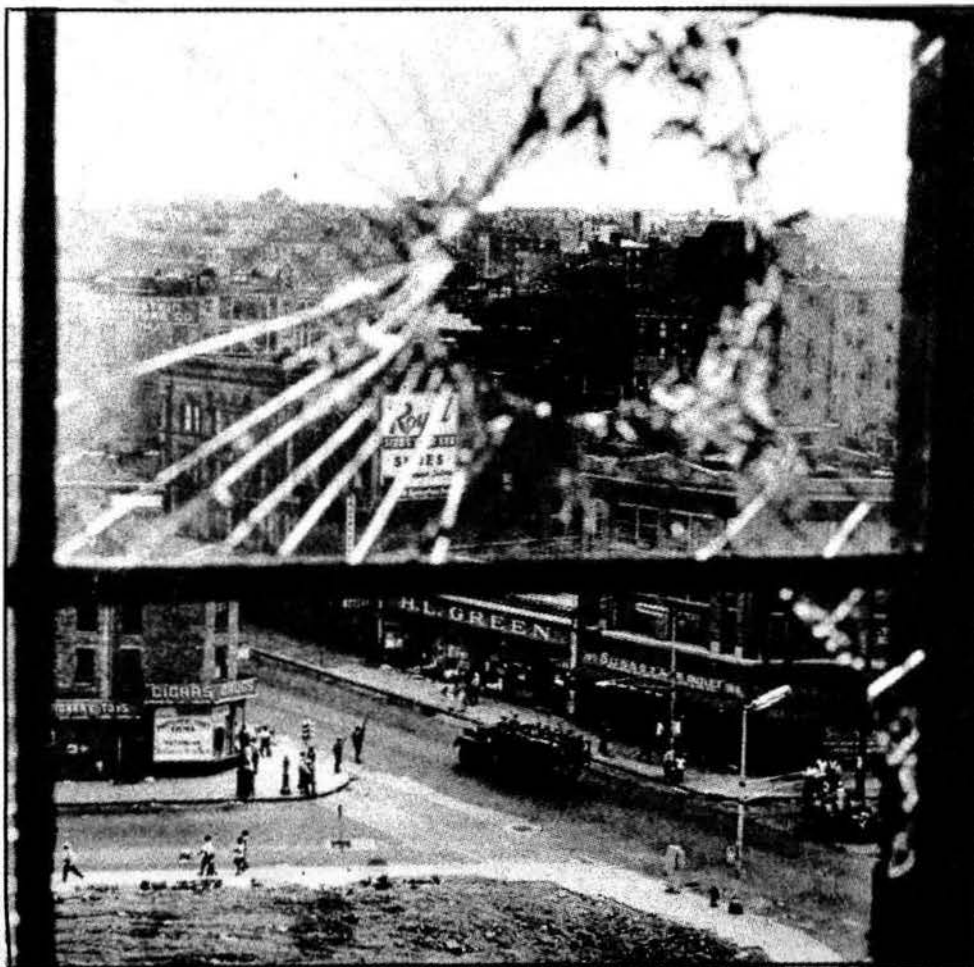
clear support for the human rights of Third World peoples.

* * *

Law and Order has always been a code phrase for organized terror against colonized peoples throughout US history. But in the past decade the law and order movement has taken on a new significance as imperialism increasingly requires genocide to eliminate the revolutionary threat of Black liberation and other Third World liberation movements inside the US.

The growth of the Black Liberation Movement in the 60s challenged imperialism's control inside the US to an unprecedented extent. While the US was fighting a losing war in Viet Nam, millions of Black people were mobilizing to fight for Black power and Black self-determination. The Black Liberation Movement galvanized other Third World peoples in the US into sharper revolutionary movement against imperialism. It pushed sectors of white people to question the nature of US democracy and to give some level of support to Black liberation. These revolutionary upheavals in its home base made it much more difficult for the US to carry out a full scale war in Viet Nam.

The defeat of the US in Viet Nam sent the US and the imperialist system as a whole into crisis. The Trilateral Commission was created in 1973 by the imperialist nations of the US, Western Europe and Japan to coordinate the development of a strategy to maintain imperialism's international and internal stability in the face of rising national liberation movements. One of the principal concerns of the Trilateral members has been the issue of "governability" — the capacity to effectively control (govern) the populations of their countries within the framework of the bourgeois-democratic system of government. In a book-length study entitled *The Crisis of Democracy*, written in 1975, the Trilateral Commission analyzes the internal factors in the 60s which contributed to imperialist crisis. It argues that an "excess of democracy" was the principal cause behind internal instability in the US. According to the Commission, these excesses were primarily caused by the demands of previously "marginal" groups (Third World people) who began to actively struggle for their democratic rights. The Commission also is concerned that white people collaborated with these "excesses" through the development of a pervasive anti-authoritarian, anti-materialistic tendency which in-

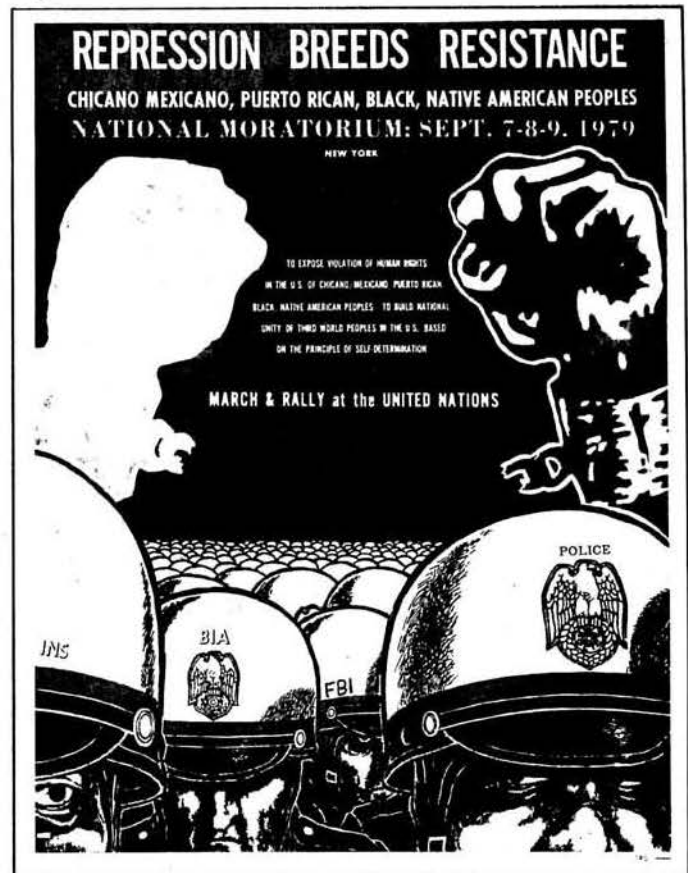


Newark, 1967. The urban insurrections of the 1960's threatened the internal order of the US empire with the rising power of the Black Liberation Movement.

volved many sectors of white society including students, women and the military. These political ideas among whites resulted in widespread public support for such things as welfare spending and in public disapproval of defense expenditures. The Commission's argument is that this political climate could lead to "the disintegration of civil order and the breakdown of social discipline (p.2)." In order to prevent the destruction of democracy, democracy must be "moderated." The Commission thus justifies the development towards a fascist state in the name of preserving democracy.

In order to "moderate democracy," the Trilateral Report calls for the "non-involvement" and "marginalization" of certain sectors of the population. Underneath the rhetoric about preserving democracy, we can see that because imperialism is in crisis it has to make adjustments for its shrinking economic base. In this situation Third World peoples in the US constitute a surplus population — a dangerous revolutionary threat to imperialism within its borders. In practice, the Trilateral plan for "marginalization" is a program of genocide designed to severely limit Third World people's access to material goods, to deny them the means of survival and growth and to violently suppress any resistance to this program. This program has been carried out by pushing more Third World people out of the job market into permanent unemployment, by drastically attacking social services, health care and education for Third World peoples, and by instituting population control programs which sterilize colonized women. "Marginalization" is being accomplished through the relocation of entire Third World communities through so-called urban redevelopment. Third World people are being literally burned out and driven out of the major cities across the US because they pose too great a threat to imperialist operations living in the central urban areas. The terrorization of Third World communities by police occupying armies, the imprisonment of ever-increasing numbers of Black men and the institution of stricter laws and prison sentences are all part of implementing this program of genocide.

In order for imperialism to successfully carry out this massive program, it needs the support and participation of the white population. This is why the Trilateral strategy also involves reversing all "anti-authoritarian" tendencies among white people. In the years since the US defeat in Viet Nam, domestic Trilateralism has built on the fears which white people have that national liberation poses a fundamental threat to their material position. By



Poster from the National Moratorium Against Police Repression, which organized a march on the United Nations in September 1979 to charge the US with violating the human rights of Chicano/Mejicano, Puerto Rican, Black and Native American peoples.

targeting Third World people as *the* threat to the "democratic system," Trilateralism provides a framework for popular mass movements to defend white privilege under the slogan of "democratic rights." Bakke's attack on Third World people's right to educational survival is popularly supported as an issue of "reverse discrimination" and affirmative action is held to be antithetical to US democracy's ideals of equality. The "tax revolt" attacks the financial base for social services, which are key to economic survival for many Black and other Third World people, in the name of individual rights to property. And in the name of their right to live near their jobs in safe, crime-free (Third World people-free) neighborhoods, white people are reclaiming their control over the central cities and driving Third World people out of their homes. As Richard Dhoruba Moore puts it: "Racism in the guise of bourgeois rights have seized a hold of the white populace (*The Black Scholar*, March-April 1979)."

These are the terms on which white people are being drawn into active participation in genocide and

the building of fascism. When Third World people try to survive these attacks, when they try to resist systematic genocide, they are denounced as criminals who are threatening law and order.

* * *

The law and order movement is a powerful vehicle for white supremacist mobilization because it bases its fight to preserve the existing economic and political order on the need to stop "crimes" against individuals. In the narrow context of individual attacks on property or people, white people can appear as the victims of actions which abuse *their* rights. This sense of personal victimization gives the law and order movement its moral, self-justifying fervor. This approach totally obscures the oppressive conditions which produce "crime" under imperialism.

The law and order movement began to gather momentum in the late 60s when Black rebellions and the Black Liberation Movement confronted white America with demands that the existing colonial economic and power relations had to change. The Black Liberation Movement defined the political roots behind Black riots and behind all forms of Black "crime" as massive unemployment, poverty wages, rat-infested housing, white supremacist education, police terror and the denial of self-determination. Sectors of white people began to be influenced by this analysis, but many white communities across the country responded by arming themselves to the teeth and demanding that the government take up the enforcement of law and order.

While the FBI organized a covert program, COINTELPRO, to make war against the Black movement and its leadership, Congress publicly formed the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) in 1968 to make a "war on crime." By presenting its program as an effort to "protect and enhance the very rights 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' that are the foundations of this society (LEAA bicentennial book)," the LEAA redefined the issues in a form that could effectively organize white people against Black people while preserving the trappings of democracy. Within this "democratic" framework, the LEAA began to centralize and develop the military capacity of police armies in Third World communities through extensive police training, weaponry development and technological innovation. At the same time, LEAA began to develop "community involvement" programs to mobilize white people, primarily, to become active accomplices with this genocidal police apparatus.

Towards this end the LEAA initiated its National Neighborhood Watch Program in 1971. These programs, which are spreading rapidly today, have been calculatedly developed to forge a sense of "neighborhood identity" on a grassroots, block-by-block basis. They bring together mainly white communities to build a collective definition of their interests and a common commitment to defend them. "Working together, you get the criminals off your block and out of your area" is how the San Francisco "SAFE" project puts it. On this basis white people are organized to defend their property and their territory. A police state mentality is developed in which spying on other people and collaborating with the police become everyday occurrences. The fight against crime also becomes a key vehicle for reclaiming the cities from Third World peoples. In order to make a Third World neighborhood "safe" for white people to live in, the "criminal elements" — Third World people — have to be identified, harassed and ultimately driven away.

Neighborhood Watch programs are being amplified by projects like the San Francisco "Secret Witness" program. Flyers can be found all over town urging people to become a secret witness and qualify for a reward by phoning in anonymous tips which can lead to the arrest of a "criminal." Secret witnesses never have to identify themselves or take any responsibility for the information they give. They just have to be good spies and help pin a crime on someone.

These are the types of programs that create the necessary mass base for fascism. Gradually more and more people become accomplices to the police, come to support the police role, come to accept armed guards on the buses, in the schools, at baseball games as the norm.

One of the most significant victories of the LEAA "grassroots" community concern approach has been the development of a working relationship between the women's anti-rape, anti-violence movement and the police. The fact that a movement with a progressive thrust (stopping the brutalization of women) is now generating calls for more police protection, stricter laws and longer prison sentences, provides the LEAA with a dangerous liberal cover. The anti-rape movement has been exclusively concerned with rape and violence against women and has ignored the repressive role of the police and the violence which they daily commit against Third World people, as well as the particular genocidal use of the rape charge against Black men. Anti-rape centers funded by the LEAA have paved the way for the growing involve-



HOW CAN CAKE AND COFFEE HELP STOP CRIME?

Effective as an invitation to drop by for cake and coffee is often the best way to bring neighbors together for a Neighborhood Watch meeting.

Neighborhood Watch has been very successful throughout the nation in reducing crime. In Pomerville, Maine, in the past four years, it helped cut residential burglaries 44%.

Why does Neighborhood Watch work? It offers people a chance to get together regularly to discuss crime problems, exchange home security tips, and develop a neighborhood spirit.

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ica for over 100 years. To provide information to help deter crime in homes and neighborhoods is one way we're helping insure continued the most of their insurance premiums... just one of many ways we're working to keep insurance affordable. Join with us to fight against crime. Write for a free Neighborhood Watch booklet today.

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COFFEE WILL BE PROVIDED

AGENDA

WHAT CRIMES ARE BEING COMMITTED IN OUR NEIGHBORHOOD
TECHNIQUES FOR DESCRIBING & IDENTIFYING SUSPECTS
WHISTLE ALERT PROGRAM
HOW TO ORGANIZE A S.A.F.E. BLOCK
BASIC STREET FIGHTING TACTICS

SEVERAL ATTEMPTED ASSAULTS HAVE BEEN PREVENTED BY ALERT RESIDENTS CHASING, CATCHING, AND HOLDING SUSPECTS UNTIL POLICE HAVE ARRIVED

775-7167
Secret Witness Program

HOW TO BE A SECRET WITNESS

TARGET CRIME REWARDS: You will be paid a reward if the information you give results in the arrest and prosecution of a criminal in a publicized target crime.

SPECIAL REWARDS, ANY CRIME: If you can give information that leads to the arrest and prosecution of a criminal in any serious San Francisco crime, our panel will consider offering you a special reward.

We do not want to know your identity, absolute anonymity is ensured. Our monitors are private citizens and the line is not tapped. You will not be identified when collecting the reward.

3 steps to
BLOW THE WHISTLE ON CRIME

1. Buy a whistle.
At local stores or street corners. Use it.

2. Call the police.
553-0123. And report every incident you see.

3. Call Supervisor Britt.
558-2145. So he can follow up for you.

White people are mobilizing through these programs to attack colonized people in the name of "crime fighting" and maintaining "safe neighborhoods."

ment of women in the law and order movement as a whole. For example, the St. Louis Women's Crusade, which has LEAA funding, has 3,000 members. Among other activities, its staffs a desk in the local courthouse to "advise and comfort victims and witnesses" and it sponsors workshops on "juvenile justice and the criminal mind."

Another deadly prong of the LEAA strategy has been to try and organize support for its police state programs within Third World communities. In particular the effort has been made to turn Black people against each other by defining Black "crime" as the greatest threat to Black people at this time. This approach diverts attention from the real causes of Black "crime" in the ever-deteriorating economic and political conditions for Black people. It also eliminates the key role which the colonial state plays in actively promoting crime in Black communities, particularly through the enormous drug industry. The goal of this effort is to get sectors of Black and other Third World communities to support increased police presence and activity in their communities, to support stricter laws and longer prison sentences, and to divide Third World communities.

While these programs have an impact on Third World peoples, the law and order movement is over-

whelmingly a white movement because of the different material relations which Third World people actually have to the state and the imperialist system. While Third World communities have risen in furious protest against escalating police terror, white support for the police has given these agents of law and order the green light to carry out genocide against Third World peoples.

The list of police murders of Third World people is a horrifying indictment of their genocidal function. Clifford Glover, ten-year-old Black youth shot in the back in Brooklyn, 1973; Barlow Benavidez, Chicano/Mejicano youth shot in Oakland, 1976; Eula Love, Black woman shot by police in a dispute over a gas bill, Los Angeles, 1978; Arthur Miller, Black community leader choked to death by twenty police in Brooklyn, 1978; Melvin Black, Black youth shot in Oakland, 1979. The list goes on and on. And yet few of the killer cops have ever been brought to trial and none has ever been convicted of murder.

Third World communities have identified this as a situation of open warfare against their peoples. But white communities have mainly justified police terror as necessary to fight crime, necessary for police self-defense, necessary to preserve law and order. The

media has played an active role in building a sympathetic identification between the public and the police through TV shows and news stories. This propaganda depicts the police as heroes fighting to protect all people who become the victims of senseless, unpredictable violence. The media has also increasingly played up the "crime fighting" efforts of white citizens in a way that promotes the growth of vigilante actions.

When Black and other colonized people righteously defend themselves against police terror, the white supremacist response reaches a fever pitch. In New York, the Police Benevolent Association, backed by CITIBANK, has recently launched a campaign to outfit cops with bullet-proof vests. The campaign aims at increasing public sympathy for the police, fanning a pervasive, racist fear of crime and violence and involving more people in anti-crime activities. The campaign has gone so far as to place donation cans in McDonald's restaurants and to solicit contributions from kids in New York schools for this armor against Third World peoples. It has been accompanied by proclamations on the part of New York City Mayor Koch that he is going to campaign for the

death penalty despite what he calls the "Black and Hispanic" vote.

In a Maryland suburb, the case of a fifteen-year-old Black youth, Terence Johnson, who was charged with killing two cops who were brutalizing him in a police station, became a cause célèbre among the local police, the Klan and their white supporters. They organized hard to convict Terence of first-degree murder and when the jury, which had four Black members, handed down a manslaughter conviction, the judge gave him the maximum sentence possible — twenty-five years. Local cops responded to the verdict by staging a one-day walkout.

Random police murders and "extra-legal" terror are being backed up and sanctioned by the legal expansion of the state's entire repressive apparatus. Laws are being established, with the support of the white population, calling for longer prison sentences, the treatment of youthful offenders as adults and the death penalty.

In the last few years the death penalty has been reinstituted in new forms in forty states and has been expanded to include many more crimes, particularly "racially motivated" crimes and crimes against the



Police and their supporters in suburban Washington, D.C. at the sentencing of 15-year-old Terence Johnson. Johnson was convicted of manslaughter for defending himself against police brutality.



The imperialist press has helped to whitewash the Klan's terrorist activity against the Black Nation, as in this photo of two Klan members "exchanging wedding rings in a rain-soaked Alabama cornfield."

state's repressive agents — police and prison guards.

White support for genocide has been most openly mobilized in electoral campaigns to reinstitute and expand the death penalty. In California, where the expansion of the death penalty was approved by seventy-one percent of the voters, the initiative process proved an effective means of organizing more white support for legal genocide while providing the state with a clear "democratic" authorization for escalating repression. The chief targets of the death penalty are Black people, despite the state's rhetoric that the death penalty falls equally on people of all colors and despite the limelighted executions of three white men, designed to give substance to this rhetoric. The fact that over half of all persons on death row are Black and that fifty-four percent of all people executed in the US since 1930 have been Black show that the death penalty is nothing less than legal lynching — a form of genocide against the Black Nation which is openly sanctioned by the state and the majority of the white population.

The "democratically" approved death penalty is meant to terrorize Black people into acceptance of colonialism and oppression. It is designed to physically eliminate Black resistance, particularly within the prisons, which has not been crushed through any other means. The Pontiac Brothers, Imani Harris, the

Reidsville Brothers and Graham and Allen are all Black prisoners who are facing execution because of charges related to rebellions by prisoners. These cases, especially that of the Pontiac Brothers (see death penalty article, page 34), are designed not only to heighten white supremacist fear and reaction but to test out the level of public support for state mass murder.

The legalization of the death penalty also serves to create a political climate which will tolerate and encourage all forms of extra-legal violence and genocide against Black and other Third World people. Throughout US history — from the pioneers to the Texas Rangers to the Ku Klux Klan — the white population has taken the "law" into its own hands to fight for colonial control and white privilege. The KKK was formed after the Civil War as a massive white movement in the south specifically to smash Black Reconstruction and assure the continuation of the white supremacist order, at a time when neither the defeated Southern ruling class nor the Northern state was in a position to enforce the violent subjugation of the Black Nation. However, then as now, the state backed to the hilt the KKK's activities. The KKK played an indispensable role in terrorizing Black people and enforcing law and order in ways in which the state could not openly operate.

It is not surprising that KKK membership has grown by leaps and bounds in the past period. After being forced to lay low by the rise of a militant Black Liberation Movement in the 60s, the KKK has been successfully reorganizing in the 70s not only in the South but in Northern and Western cities as well. Now it has regained enough strength to be upfront with its white power proclamations, its demonstrations and its violent confrontations with Black people. At Greensboro, N.C., the Klan went a step further. In murdering four white men as well as one Black man in broad daylight, it served notice that whites who express opposition to the Klan's anti-Black activity will also be targeted.

While the state may publicly condemn the Klan and will even arrest Klanners marching across Alabama, the true relationship between the state and the Klan is overall one of political collaboration and interlocking membership. The exposures of joint FBI/Klan activity in the 60s, the fact that many of the local police in the south are "blue by day and white by night," as the United League puts it, and the recent New York state supreme court ruling that it is legal for prison guards to be Klan members, all make clear the level of connection between the state and the Klan.

At this stage, the Klan's politics and programs are having an impact beyond the specific demonstrations it organizes against Black people or through the constituencies it mobilizes directly. Significantly enough, the Klan is using the same democratic rhetoric as Bakke, the tax revolt and the foes of busing to argue for its right to march, its right to publicize its genocidal slogans and its right to exist. Extensive media coverage of the Klan depicting Klan members as just ordinary folk, showing pictures of Klansmen with babies and playing up Klan protests about their democratic right to exist and operate are all designed to incorporate the Klan into the legitimate spectrum of US politics. Recently a police sergeant in Long Island went as far as to describe a wave of cross-burnings by white youth as a "fad like Duncan yoyos." This public image of the Klan supports the growth of ad hoc white supremacist vigilante groups which are springing up around the country, like the ones that have been terrorizing Black people in Boston. It also pushes a broader range of white people, who might still disapprove of Klan activities, towards more open white supremacist politics. Outfront Klan demands for white power and keeping Black people in their place help to legitimize more "moderate" white demands for a legal death penalty, law and order, and an end to "reverse discrimination."

All these developments spell the rise of an American brand of white supremacist fascism — a brand that can remarkably still masquerade as the model of human rights and freedom. As long as the white left defines fascism as the state and the right wing against the multinational working class, as long as it isolates the rise of the Klan from the growth of popular support for Bakke, anti-busing and the death penalty, it will not be able to take up the struggle against the fascist build-up. Recently the white left has begun to oppose Klan activity as "an attack on the multinational working class." By obscuring the genocidal role which the Klan plays against Black people, the left is trying to coopt anti-Klan struggle for their own ends. It is Black organizations which are leading the struggle now, as they have historically, against the Klan. For years now the United League has been organizing thousands of Black people across the South to resist Klan terror. Black prisoners have been courageously exposing and confronting Klan activity within the camps. In order to really aid in the struggle against the Klan, against genocide and fascism, white people must support the politics and leadership of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mexicano forces who are defining the fight for human rights and liberation.

The National Black Human Rights Coalition is taking up the effort begun in the 50s and continued by Malcolm X, to bring the centuries-long violations of Black human rights before the UN. In this way, the NBHRC is exposing to the world that the US — which hasn't even signed the UN's Declaration of Human Rights — is fundamentally opposed to human rights for Black people. By detailing the innumerable human rights violations that the US is guilty of, from genocide to the denial of the right to self-determination, the Coalition is identifying the illegitimacy of US state authority over the Black Nation. According to Chokwe Lumumba, Midwest Coordinator of the NBHRC: "The heart of the violation is the denial of the right to our Afrikan nationality. We are taught that we are Americans but we are not treated as Americans. The truth is that we are not treated as Americans because we are not Americans. We are an Afrikan people. A population which has been colonized and misused by white America (quoted in *The New Afrikan*, February 1979, p. 5)."

These are the terms on which white people must take up the fight against human rights violations, the fight against law and order, Bakke and the tax revolt. Not only do we have to confront the state's genocidal program for Black people but we have to expose how the growing call among white people for more police

protection, the death penalty, and rights for whites contributes to human rights violations. We have to struggle for the understanding that as a people brutally colonized for centuries by the US, the Black Nation has the right to self-determination, national independence and land.

Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mejicano forces are bringing before the United Nations testimony on the vicious repression against Third World peoples spearheaded by the police, the INS, the BIA, and the FBI. They are defining these repressive activities as part of the "blueprint for fascism" outlined by the Trilateral Commission. As stated in the call to the National People's Moratorium: "The US government has already outlined its plans for the near future. We have been given fair warning. Now is the time to organize and build to resist repression and defeat fascism before it defeats us."

We must build defense of the human rights of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano/Mejicano and Native American peoples by uncovering the reality of fascism in the US and by exposing the myth of democracy for all. We must show how the issue of white "democratic rights" is being used to obscure the genocidal violations of human rights going on every day.

As nationalist forces organize around demands for human rights and freedom, the issues will become sharper for white people. They must either move to support more open fascist repression in order to hang on to their threatened privileges, or they can join in solidarity with the national liberation movements that are leading the struggle for true human rights, freedom and an end to the imperialist system. Our work in this period is to win numbers of white people to an active interest in and deep commitment to these revolutionary goals.



Black Solidarity Day, New York, November 5, 1979. Thousands of Black people march on the United Nations to demand human rights based on self-determination and to charge the US government with human rights violations.

ASSATA

On November 2, 1979, Black Liberation Army fighter Assata Shakur broke the chains of six years captivity as a prisoner of war, in a courageous action carried out by the BLA. Assata's escape from Clinton Correctional Institute is a great victory for the Black National Liberation Movement.

PFOC extends our revolutionary solidarity with the liberation of Comrade Assata. Reprinted below are the BLA Communique on Assata's liberation and a statement which Assata wrote, shortly before her escape, for the November 5th National Black Human Rights Coalition mobilization at the United Nations. It was read before the 5,000 Black people who marched and rallied to demand their right to self-determination and an end to human rights violations.



**TO: THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE BLACK MOVEMENT
SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE — (JOANNE CHESIMARD)**

FROM: COORDINATING COMMITTEE, B.L.A.

**SUBJECT: FREEING OF SISTER ASSATA SHAKUR ON
2 NOVEMBER 79.**

The existence of Black Political Prisoners and scores of B.L.A. Prisoners of Domestic War in the united states is the result of brutal suppression of Black People's National and Human Rights. Recent history of the Black Movement in the u.s. is cold testimony to this political and social repression carried forward under the auspices of "criminal Law Enforcement."

Comrade-Sister Assata Shakur was freed from racist captivity in anticipation of Black Solidarity Day, November 5th, and in order to express to the world the need to Free All Black Political Prisoners in the u.s. The Freedom of Black Political Prisoners is of fundamental importance to the protection of Black Human Rights in general. The brutal and callous Treatment by prison administrators of our captured comrades cannot be allowed to continue unnoticed by the Black Community.

In freeing Comrade-Sister Assata we have made it clear that such treatment and the "criminal" guilt or innocence of a Black freedom fighter is irrelevant when measured by our people's history of struggle against racist u.s. domination.

**SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK HUMAN
RIGHTS!
FREE ALL B.L.A. POLITICAL PRISONERS!
DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN!**

**COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
B.L.A.**

SMC 11-2

dated: 8 Nov. 79 — confirmed

IS FREE!



Statement from Assata Shakur

UHURU SISTERS AND BROTHERS, REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS,

November 1979 and crosses burn the face of Amerika. November 1979 and hundreds of Ku Klux Klan march all over the country carrying clubs and chains and machine guns. 1979 and Black families are fire bombed. 1979 — and over forty per cent of Black youth are unemployed. 1979 and a white policeman shoots a handcuffed Black man in the head and is acquitted. 1979 — and five policemen shoot a Puerto Rican man armed only with a pair of scissors twenty-four times. 1979 — and Philadelphia, the fourth largest city in the country, is sued by the Justice

Department for systematically condoning and encouraging widespread police brutality, especially against Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

We are on the threshold of the 80s entering into a new decade and we have got to take a look and see what Amerika has in store for us. This country is on the decline. The sun is setting on the Amerikan Empire because of Liberation movements around the world. The softness of cheap labor and stolen raw materials are rapidly drying up. Amerika is a vampire, experiencing a blood shortage for the first time. The national trade deficit is about thirty billion dollars a year. The Joint Economics Committee of Congress announced in August that the standard of

living of the average Amerikan would be drastically reduced in the 1980s. Blacks and Hispanics, the report said, would be hit the hardest. Now what, I ask you, can be harder than drastic? Unemployment, according to the report, would remain at seven percent or higher. The Committee came to the conclusion that the labor force had to be dramatically reduced in order to minimize the problem. What does that mean — reduce the labor force dramatically? What does that mean? In a country that has had a history of using racism to perpetuate capitalism and oppression, who is going to be the scapegoat? In a country that has historically used Blacks, Hispanics, Orientals, and Native Americans as scapegoats, what do Black and Third World people have to look forward to in the 80s? And what does all this have to do with political prisoners and the Prison Movement?

Every Black leader in this country with the potential of being a Black Messiah has gone to prison, even Black leaders without the potential of being the Black Messiah has gone to prison. Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and countless others who spoke out for Human Rights went to Prison. What does that tell us? Out of the 400,000 people in united states prisons, 300,000 are Black. 275,000 prison cells are being built or are in the planning stages and every state in this country is trying to implement or reinstate the death penalty. WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?

I've been in prison six-and-a-half years and I can feel what's coming in the air. Prisons are becoming more brutal and repressive. Behavior Modification Programs are booming. People are receiving longer sentences with fewer chances of being paroled. Thirteen-year-old children are being sentenced to life in prison. The government has stepped up its musical jail policy by shipping prisoners all over the country, away from their lawyers, from their families, and from their community. Sundiata Acoli has been transferred three times in the last two months. He's been transferred — first they transferred him from Trenton State Prison in New Jersey; and from Trenton he went to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; and from Lewisburg he went to Leavenworth, Kansas; and from Leavenworth he was just shipped to Marion, Illinois — and all this is under the Interstate Compact Agreement. Now, Sundiata has never been convicted of a federal crime, but Lewisburg and Leavenworth and Marion are Federal prisons. Under the Interstate Compact Agreement, it is possible for any prisoner to

be transferred anywhere in the united states and that prisoner has no say-so in the matter, his lawyer doesn't have any say-so in the matter, his family doesn't have any say so in the matter. But what will happen as more and more prisoners are transferred from prison to prison to prison? Soon their families won't be able to keep contact with them; they won't know where they are and that will make them easier and easier to kill and to brutalize.

Under the same Interstate Compact Agreement, I was shipped to Maximum Security Unit in Alderson, West Virginia, and I stayed there until that unit was closed and then I was shipped back to Clinton Institution for Women. Here at Clinton, two women have died in the last two months under suspicious circumstances. The prisons of Amerika are rapidly becoming replicas of Nazi or South Afrikan Koncentration Kamps; and with the reinstitution of the death penalty, prisons will shortly become extermination kamps. I know I'm not painting a pretty picture, but this is not a pretty world and we can't make it pretty by sticking our head in the sand. Amerika has been committing genocide against poor Black and Third World People for hundreds of years and in recent years, racism and repression, in this country, has been accelerated and if we don't wake up to what's going on, we might find ourselves victims to a second Holocaust.

We already know what we're fighting against, now we've got to determine and decide among ourselves, what we are fighting for. How can twenty-five or thirty million Black people in Amerika win our liberation, how can we win? Marcus Garvey — he had a dream and his dream was that we go back to Afrika. Martin Luther King had his dream and his dream was that we integrate into Amerikan society, and I don't think that dream was a reality. Amerikan society has told us time and time again that they don't want us. And now looking at Amerikan society, looking at its capitalist, racist system, I don't want to integrate into Amerika. Amerika is a dying country anyway. Malcolm X had his dream, and his dream was LAND. NATIONHOOD. And his dream has become my dream. When I would hear the words NATIONHOOD and LAND and I would listen to Malcolm's speeches before, I'd say, "Yeah" to myself, "but where?" And then they would talk about five states down South, but that — it didn't seem real I'd say, "Well shoot, we go move down

there and they'll drop a bomb on us." BUT, they're dropping bombs and killing us right now. And there's another side to that: once a people start struggling for land, start struggling for sovereignty — start struggling for *nationhood* — then the whole world can become part of that fight and can take up, and say, "Look what you're doing, you're killing those people, you're making genocide — those people want a homeland."

Amerika doesn't have any wind internationally, talking about we don't have a right to have our homeland. They oppressed us for four hundred years. They haven't let us live in Amerika. They haven't let us be citizens. They haven't let us have justice, equality. And we can prove it. So if they don't want to let us be free as Americans — then we'll be free as Afrikans. New Afrikans. In Vietnam, there was something like nineteen million Vietnamese in South Vietnam. And they kicked Amerika's ass — the Viet Cong WON! There are twenty-five million or thirty million Black people in Amerika. Are you saying that we can't win? I think we can. We are twenty-six million — thirty million people. We're the second largest aggregation of Blacks within the world. A nation that borders on the face of this globe. If we were a nation, we'd be the twenty-sixth largest nation, and there would be 145 nations in the world that would be smaller than Black Amerika. Of fifty-six nations in Afrika, only two would be bigger than Black Amerika — Egypt and Nigeria. We have the technology to start a nation and if we don't have it right now, we can soon begin to get that technology once we understand what our purpose is, our goal and our direction. There are seven thousand Black physicians in Amerika, four thousand lawyers, about four thousand Black people in law schools, three thousand dentists, tens of thousands of academicians and hundreds of thousands of public school teachers. We have the natural resources to build a nation. I have come through the struggle, and I've been in the struggle for a little while, and I'm tired of everybody else's dream — I want my own and nobody's going to tell me which way I have to go to be a free Black woman on this earth. We've got to stop having a minority mentality. White people might be the majority in Amerika, but we're the majority in the world. And when people start talking about well this isn't possible and that it's impossible for us to have a Black nation — well, in that case, was Israel impossi-

ble? Was South Vietnam impossible, South Korea? These nations came about as a result of a split; and if it's possible in Israel, it's possible here. And if the Palestine Liberation Organization can go up before the UN and talk about their right to land, then the Black Liberation Organization can go before the UN too. We cannot afford to depend on the White Left.

The White Left comprises a tiny portion of white Amerika and they're so factionalized to the point where they're just — almost totally ineffective. There's an old joke about you put two people on the White Left in a room and you sit 'em in front of a clock and they'll get into an argument about what time it is. That seems like a joke to a lot of people, but it's true. They are so factionalized 'til they argue about everything. And their arrogance, white supremacist arrogance, leads them to believe that THEY are the only ones in the world that have that right answer. THEY are the only ones that can lead the poor and oppressed people to liberation — and that's just not true. We couldn't depend on the White Left in the 30s, we couldn't depend on the White Left in the 50s, what in the world would make us think that we can depend on the White Left now? I'm not saying that we shouldn't work with White people on whatever level that we want to that suits our interest — but we can't just keep our heads in the sand and we can't build our movement depending on the White Left.

We've got to build our own movement and our struggle has got to be able to stand if the White Left pulls out and the White Liberals pull out and whatever — if we have to stand on our own two feet, by ourselves — that's how we've got to build our foundation, that's how we've got to build our movement.

We've got to build a strong Human Rights Movement. We've got to build a strong Prison Movement. We've got to build a strong Black Liberation Movement and we've got to struggle for liberation.

Free all political prisoners. Free Leonard Peltier, Sundiata Acoli, Ruchell Magee, Ben Chavis, George Merritt, Gary Tyler, Geronimo Pratt, Dessie Woods, the RNA-11, and the BLA-25. We must be free.

Assata Shakur
Political Prisoner
Clinton, New Jersey

PUERTO RICO: DE PIE Y EN GUERRA

Protect and Defend The Armed Clandestine Movement!

"A Nuestro Pueblo"

— reprinted from *El Nuevo Día*

Following is a translation of a statement by the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP) published in *El Nuevo Día*, San Juan, November 24, 1979, and signed by almost 100 organizations and more than 200 individuals: every major independence organization in Puerto Rico; all the Puerto Rican armed clandestine organizations in both Puerto Rico and the US; Puerto Rican and solidarity organizations in the United States; and all the Puerto Rican prisoners of war.



credit: Comité Nacional Pro Defensa de Vieques

For the last two years Vieques fishermen have confronted US and NATO naval forces with their small fishing boats.

Comrade **Angel Rodriguez Cristobal** was assassinated Sunday, November 11 in the Federal Penitentiary in Tallahassee, Florida. **Rodriguez Cristobal** was a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, a farmer, a husband and father of two children. **Angel** was forced to appear before the U.S. Federal Court in San Juan last September 26, charged with having trespassed on land that the Navy occupies with its arms in Vieques. He indicated his opposition to this foreign tribunal with such strength that he moved even the journalists present. He was sentenced to a maximum of six months in jail and a \$500.00 fine. Three days later came the added punishment of exile to the imperialist penitentiary where he was murdered.

The government of the U.S. is responsible for the assassination of **Angel Rodriguez Cristobal**—patriot, revolutionary, defender of Vieques and leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist League. The direct instruments of the murder are the Navy that perpetrated the arrest, Federal Judge Juan Torruella, who sent him to the place of his execution, and the yanki intelligence operatives who killed him.

The struggle of the people of Vieques to oust the U.S. Navy is the struggle of all Puerto Rico for its survival as a nation. North American imperialism is aware of this. It looks with fear at the growing rejection of its military presence. It watches how our people come to awareness of justice on the side of the people of Vieques and how the formation of new sup-

port committees is growing in the different towns of the island.

The assassination of **Angel** is another action in the wave of terrorism which the government is unleashing against the people of Vieques, its defenders and all the people of Puerto Rico. It leaves clearly uncovered the true face of the politics of human rights of the U.S. government when it comes to defending its interests. This assassination is another affirmation of the repressive politics that have held sway in Puerto Rico for decades and has recently increased.

The people of Vieques know well the terrorism practiced by the military, from the expropriation of their lands to the outrage on their women. The people in general, among the different sectors and classes, has suffered the excesses of an intervening power that stops for nothing: young men sent to die in foreign wars; workers persecuted, arrested and killed for defending their rights; workers' organizations destroyed; independentists persecuted and assassinated.

The memory returns of the victims of the massacres of Rio Piedras and Ponce; the murders of Elias Beauchamp and Hiram Rosado at police headquarters in San Juan; the disappearance of the body of Angel Esteban Anton-giorgi, the interminable list of accusations fabricated against independence organizations and militants; the murder of Julito Roldan in the Tombs prison in New York; the murder of the student Antonia Martinez; the bomb exploded in Mayagüez by one of the terrorist groups organized by the CIA and FBI that took the lives of Angel Charbonier and Eddie Ramos; the assassination of Santiago Mari Pesquera; the kidnapping, torture and murder of Juan Rafael Caballero; and the entrapment at Monte Maravilla where imperialism killed Arnaldo Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi.

The arrest of the Vieques 21, the trial, the jail sentences and now the murder of **Angel Rodriguez Cristobal** are part of the repressive politic of the U.S.



credit: Claridad (San Juan, Puerto Rico)

Angel Rodriguez Cristobal (left), pictured here with Puerto Rican POW Ismael Guadalupe at their arrest on Vieques May 19.

government. The people are aware of it but they are not intimidated. The people will resist the repression and deepen the struggle. They will not step back today.

On the contrary, before their eyes are presented the tasks they have ahead. The struggle to oust the Navy from Vieques will be fortified by the warmth of the memory of **Angel Rodriguez Cristobal**.

Our whole people should mobilize to repudiate the murder of **Angel**, in solidarity with the comrades awaiting trial in Federal Court and demand the repatriation of **Ramon Antonio Alicea, Diego Ledee Bazan, Pedro Baiges Chapel, Ismael Guadalupe, Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano**.

In the face of Angel's death, let us confront the tasks of the moment!



Statement from the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña

Our comrade Angel Rodriguez Cristobal was assassinated yesterday, November 11, in the federal penitentiary at Tallahassee, Florida. Rodriguez Cristobal was a member of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau of the Puerto Rican Socialist League. Rodriguez Cristobal appeared before the federal court of the United States in San Juan last September 26 to respond to charges of hav-

ing penetrated on lands that the yanki Navy occupies with its arms in Vieques. He put forward his impugning of this foreign court with such gallantry that it moved even the journalists present. He was condemned to six months in prison and a \$500 fine. Immediately jailed, three days later he was expatriated to the imperialist penitentiary, where he was assassinated yesterday.

Attorney Michael Deutsch of Chicago, comrade Carlos Noya and I visited with our comrade on Saturday, November 10; he had completed nineteen days in solitary confinement and returned the day before to the barracks that he shared with more than sixty other compañeros. We spent Saturday with the comrade from 10:00 in the morning until 2:30 in the afternoon. He had lost color and weight because of his seclusion in solitary confinement, but he maintained the serenity, happiness and aplomb with which he confronted the imperialist tribunal.

The government of the United States is responsible for the assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, patriot, revolutionary, defender of Vieques and leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist League. Angel Rodriguez Cristobal enters into the pantheon of the immortals. Like Buena Ventura Quiñones in the 19th Century, his death defines a situation in the history of Puerto Rico. He is the first Puerto Rican to pay with his life as a prisoner of war in defense of Vieques. Together with his coffin we lower our flags, and renew our pledges of independence or death.

* * *

Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist League
Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General
November 12, 1979



Statement from the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

The Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) and the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War denounce the cowardly assassination of the Patriot Angel Rodriguez-Cristobal, member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, by the United States government. According to officials at the Federal Prison in Tallahassee, Florida, Angel Rodriguez-Cristobal was found hung on Sunday, November 11, 1979, at 12:06 am. Angel was a Prisoner of War, serving a six-month sentence for supporting the just struggle that is being waged by the People of Vieques, to rid their beloved island of the military presence of the US Navy.

It is the obligation of every Puerto Rican, and all freedom lovers, to condemn the systematic campaign

In the interview with the written press and radio and TV that followed the delivery of this document, I accused the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of having carried out the operation that cost the life of comrade Angel Rodriguez Cristobal. I sustained there and I sustain now that the CIA assassinated Angel Rodriguez Cristobal for being a prominent member of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, the only organization that has backed the revolutionary politico-military clandestine activity of the clandestine apparatus in Puerto Rico and the US. They have wanted to provoke, to make a provocation of the clandestine organizations, especially the FALN, Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional in the US, to provoke a reaction that would facilitate their penetration or the capture of some of their members. It is a provocation directed at the FALN with the precedent of Fraunces Tavern and the Anglers Club in hopes that the precipitation of a punitive action could occasion and provide them the conditions to destroy the FALN in the United States and the clandestine movement in Puerto Rico. They won't get away with it.

of repression and terror that the United States has unleashed to destroy the Puerto Rican nationality, and create from our beloved Puerto Rico, a state of the union.

This campaign, which focuses principally on the revolutionary independentista movement, was initiated with the assassination of the labor leader, Juan Rafael Caballero, followed by the Cerro Maravilla Massacre; and continues today with the death of the hero Angel Rodriguez-Cristobal.

How many more of our brothers will we permit the enemy to assassinate? It is time to denounce the criminality and human rights violations on the part of the United States government.

— Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

VIEQUES:

There's No Turning Back



On December 4, 1979, the armed clandestine movement ambushed this Navy bus in Puerto Rico, killing two sailors and wounding eight.

On December 3, 1979, three armed clandestine Puerto Rican independence organizations attacked a US Navy bus in Puerto Rico, killing two sailors and wounding eight others. A week earlier, a bomb planted by the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional) exploded in a Naval recruiting office in a crowded shopping center in Chicago. Following these attacks, Puerto Rican people burned US flags at military installations around the island. These actions were in retaliation for the brutal murder of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP) and Puerto Rican prisoner of war, in the US federal prison in Tallahassee, Florida; and in solidarity with the struggle of the people of Vieques to drive the US Navy off their island. Angel Cristobal was killed by US imperialism because of his militant participation in the struggle in Vieques; because he declared himself a prisoner of war and led three others to do the same; but most of all because he supported the actions and strategy of the armed clandestine movement and had organized for those political principles in Vieques. The actions in the few weeks after Angel's murder signal a move forward in the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico and also point out the role that the struggle on the island of Vieques will play in the independence

struggle. In fact, Vieques is the road to independence and socialism.

The island of Vieques is central to US imperialism's world control. Vieques' location in the Caribbean puts it at the crossroads of sea traffic lanes for North and South America, Europe and Africa. By holding Vieques as its naval center, the US has a strategic military advantage which is key to exerting its influence throughout the world. At the same time, Vieques is an indispensable training ground for US armed forces. Vieques is the only place in the world where the Navy can practice all of its different types of maneuvers, such as ship-to-shore bombing, amphibious landing, etc. Vieques is so well suited for these activities that the US rents the island for \$11,000 per hour to other NATO countries for target practice. The US cannot afford to lose Vieques. Because Vieques is so key to imperialist world control, the US will never give it back to the people of Puerto Rico until it is forced to.

At the same time, Puerto Rico's independence cannot be won while the Navy remains in Vieques. The Naval presence in Vieques is a constant threat to the people of Puerto Rico of what is in store for them. Everyday the island of Vieques shakes from the impact of detonating bombs. The native fishing industry which is the base of the economy, and the agriculture

have been destroyed. People's homes have been bulldozed until only 6,000 of its 70,000 original inhabitants still live there. This devastation is a small image of Puerto Rico's future if the US remains.

The US plan for the island of Puerto Rico is called the 2020 Project, to be completed in the year 2020. This plan involves building twelve super industrial parks around Puerto Rico as well as strip mining the central part of the island. This would render the island essentially uninhabitable. In order for the US to complete this project, it is necessary to completely destroy Puerto Rico's nationhood. Total devastation of the remaining economic base, destruction of the culture, increased repression all add up to a heightened level of genocidal attacks against the Puerto Rican people aimed at driving the three million Puerto Ricans who remain on the island to the US. It is the force of the US military, particularly the Navy which has become increasingly the most essential of the US armed forces, which backs up this threat and which will be the main agent making this devastation a reality. The independence movement, particularly the armed clandestine movement, cannot afford to retreat from the struggle any more than the US can. If the US loses Vieques, its ability to maintain world hegemony is critically diminished; if the US keeps Vieques, Puerto Rico faces destruction. The People's War to decide the outcome is growing. This is why Vieques is the road to independence and socialism.

In the last five years, Puerto Rico has seen the emergence of half a dozen armed clandestine independence organizations: the Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), the People's Revolutionary Commandos (CRP), Puerto Rican Popular Army (EPB) and the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP) in Puerto Rico; and the FALN in the US. From the birth of the FALN in 1974 up until the present, the armed clandestine movement has carried out actions (particularly bombings) against military and industrial targets here and on the island. They have issued communiques condemning US colonialism, and particularly demanding the freedom of the Nationalist Prisoners of War and an end to US controlled elections in Puerto Rico, and in solidarity with labor strikes on the island. In the last year, an increasing number of actions have targetted the Navy's role in Vieques and expressed solidarity with the mass militant activities of the people of Vieques.

The armed clandestine movement has put forward a strategy of people's war for independence and socialism. *The only force that can drive US imperialism out of Puerto Rico is the armed revolutionary activity of the Puerto Rican people as a*

whole. In order to build such a war, it is necessary to transform the day to day struggles of the people into a continuum of struggle against the enemy with a united goal of independence. Poverty, repression, military occupation and bombardment are the conditions which push the Puerto Rican people to wage a struggle for their human rights of peace and prosperity. The armed clandestine movement seeks to lead the people to the understanding that only independence and socialism can provide their human rights and to motivate them to liberate themselves by force.

In Vieques, a militant mass uprising has taken place over the last several years. The fishermen of Vieques, faced with the options of suffering continued naval bombardment of their island or waging a struggle to get rid of the Navy, began to take their little fishing boats out into the water during naval maneuvers and were able to halt the Navy. At the same time, the fishermen began legal battles in the colonial courts to get the Navy off their island. The People's Revolutionary Commandos liberated documents from the Navy two years ago which laid out plans for containing the struggle in Vieques up to and including plans to assassinate the President of the Vieques Fisherman's Association, Carlos Zenon. This action opened many eyes to the real nature of the enemy. In the following months, the armed clandestine movement bombed a number of Navy, Marine and Coast Guard targets in Vieques and on the main island. These actions forced people to question their methods of struggle against the Navy when it became clear that the actions which successfully hurt the Navy and threatened their position in Vieques were the armed actions of the clandestine movement and the most militant actions of the fishermen. The struggle in the courts produced no results, and the court suit was withdrawn.

At a time when the Navy presence in Vieques was most oppressive, the actions of the clandestine organizations were inspirational to the people, showing a way of struggle that could strike at the Navy successfully. In early 1979, one hundred people marched forty miles through mangrove swamps to occupy Camp García, surprising the military when they arose. The fishermen continued to confront the Naval destroyers with their boats, and demonstrations were held to prevent amphibious landings. It was at an amphibious landing on May 19, 1979 that twenty one people were arrested on Vieques. One of them was Angel Rodriguez Cristobal of the Central committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist League. At his trial, he declared himself a prisoner of war and demanded that he be treated under the Geneva Accords on the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Three other defendants



credit: Breakthrough

8,000 Puerto Ricans attended Angel Rodriguez Cristobal's funeral in his home town of Ciales.

followed his leadership, Ismael Guadalupe, Ramón Alicea and Diego Ledée. All four of them were exiled to US Federal prisons.

On November 11, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal was found hanged with a bedsheet in his cell, a bloody gash on his forehead. Angel's murder was a move of desperation by the US. US imperialism has never been able to capture and hold a member of the armed clandestine movement, so they needed to take the life of a leading independentista and socialist who was one of the most active supporters of the armed struggle. When William Morales, the only captured member of the FALN, escaped from Bellevue Prison Hospital in May of 1979, the US was angry and humiliated. His refusal, as a prisoner of war, to recognize the US court, and his daring escape told the US that its prisons could no longer hold back the liberation struggle. Likewise, the four Nationalists' refusal to recognize any US jurisdiction over them for twenty-five years until their release in September, demonstrated that the US could not break the spirit of the independence movement. Because Angel, like many of the people of Vieques, was able to meet US prison not with fear but with revolutionary pride, the US had to escalate its tactics, turning US prison camps into death camps.

Angel's funeral was held in his hometown, Ciales, a town of 3,000 people — yet 8,000 attended it. At great expense, many fishermen from Vieques flew to pay their respects to a man who struggled to build the situation in Vieques into a people's war. In the funeral procession, the crowd unanimously chanted "*Esta lucha va a llegar a la guerra popular*" (This struggle will lead to people's war). What little senti-

ment still existed in Vieques that the US was not the enemy was erased by Angel's murder.

Within the weeks following Angel's murder, three armed organizations ambushed a Navy bus, killing two sailors. After this happened, Puerto Rican people instead of being terrorized by Angel's death, went to military bases around the island and burned US flags. It becomes clear through the progression of events of the last year that the armed clandestine movement has seized the leadership of the independence struggle. Although not everyone in Puerto Rico supports the actions of the armed movement, there is mass agreement that armed struggle is a legitimate tactic for winning independence.

By their armed actions, the clandestine movement demonstrates a way of struggle which is far more effective against the enemy. Because these armed actions develop out of and are in solidarity with the people's struggles, masses of people are mobilized to make their tactics more militant, eventually joining the armed clandestine movement and building Puerto Rico's liberation army. Through this process, the Puerto Rican nation is drawn into revolutionary armed struggle.

It is the actions of the armed clandestine movement which define the political situation in Puerto Rico and force the Puerto Rican people to confront US imperialism. These armed actions challenge and defeat imperialism in a very real way. When the FARP took over a police station in Manatí, Puerto Rico, two years ago in solidarity with massive labor strikes that were happening then, they were able to seize arms and explosives and escape unharmed. This showed that small concrete victories could be won against the US.

During that same strike, workers committed over 600 acts of sabotage across the island. When more and more Puerto Ricans take small but successful actions like these, it will force the US out. The war in Puerto Rico will be a guerrilla war, one in which tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans strike at US imperialism and retreat into anonymity, wearing down the US ability to stay in Puerto Rico.

Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano are examples of Puerto Rican people who have taken up revolutionary struggle. On July 4, 1978, these two courageous Puerto Ricans seized the Chilean consulate in San Juan to protest July 4th celebrations in colonized Puerto Rico, calling for independence for Puerto Rico and freedom for the Nationalist Prisoners of War. Neither Nydia nor Pablo were members of any independence party, but they had been inspired by the militant water and electrical workers' strike of 1977. In an atmosphere of intense repression and surveillance due to US Independence Day, because they were not known to be independentistas, they were able to enter and take over the consulate, creating an incident which embarrassed the US before the eyes of the world. Now, Nydia and Pablo are being held as prisoners of war in US prisons. Nydia is serving a twelve-year sentence in Pleasanton, CA. Pablo is serving a twenty-two-year sentence in Lewisburg, PA.

Nydia and Pablo represent the highest aspirations of the Puerto Rican people. They represent the readiness of the people to follow the leadership of the armed clandestine movement and, risking their lives, strike a blow against imperialism. We need to support Nydia and Pablo and others like them, for it is thousands of actions like theirs, under the leadership of a national liberation front, that makes a people's war.

The actions of the FALN in the US also seek to motivate Puerto Ricans here to take up struggle in defense of their homeland. The struggle in the US is a rearguard to the struggle on the island, intended to hit imperialism in its home territory while the people's war in Puerto Rico forces the US off the island.

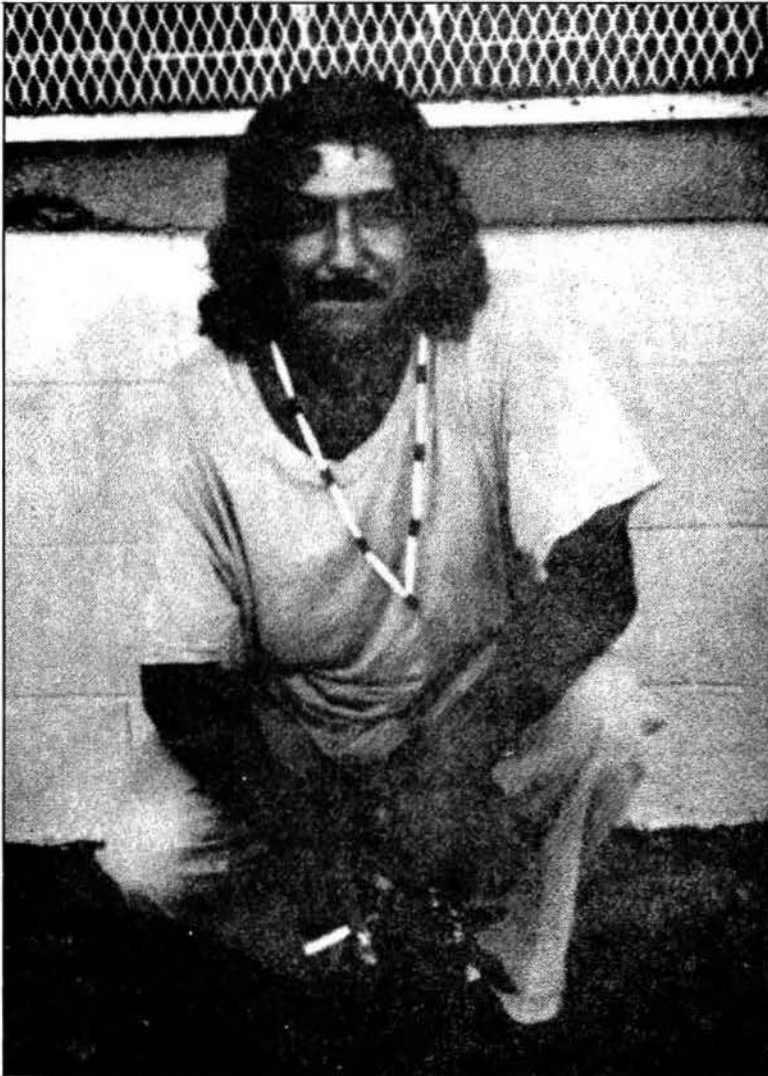
The explosion of a bomb at a Naval recruiting station in a shopping center in Chicago by the FALN signifies an escalation in the armed struggle. This was an act of retaliation for Angel's assassination. It was a statement to the US that if they would not respect the lives of Puerto Ricans, then the lives of Americans could not be respected. In the past, with the exception of the bombing of Fraunces Tavern in 1975, the armed clandestine movement has targetted empty buildings rather than people. Although the bomb blast in Chicago didn't kill anyone, it could have, and

it is necessary to understand and support acts of revolutionary violence in which "innocent" people are killed. When the FALN bombed Fraunces Tavern, four people were killed. This action was in retaliation for the murder of two independentistas in Puerto Rico by a CIA front group, ALPHA 66. Many people accused the FALN of being bloodthirsty terrorists, but it is necessary to understand that the United States and Puerto Rico are at war. For eighty-one years, US imperialism has inflicted the most vicious kinds of genocidal terror and violence on the people of Puerto Rico. When white people condemn the armed clandestine movement for taking retaliatory actions at the same level as those carried out by the US, we are really giving our approval to US imperialist terror in Puerto Rico. It is an attempt to bind the hands of the armed movement. What underlies the strategy of people's war is the idea that the US will only release Puerto Rico when the cost of keeping it exceeds its value to imperialism. The US government and oppressor nation live in a state of peace and prosperity. Only when that peace is shattered will the US be forced to abandon Puerto Rico. No amount of asking will cause the US to leave: they will leave only when it becomes impossible to stay. For hundreds of years, the US has been able to wage wars in other nations while the US territory and people suffer no deprivation. The US was able to commit massive genocide against the Vietnamese people in the 50s, 60s and 70s while the US oppressor nation enjoyed its highest standard of living ever.

Armed struggle within the US does not allow the government or the oppressor nation to ignore the situation. It is when the US finds itself war-torn, terrorized by the power of the Puerto Rican rearguard here, that we will leave Puerto Rico.

A certain parallel can be drawn to the anti-war movement of the 1960s. Mass anti-war activities took place because the vast majority of Americans were afraid that they or their loved ones would be sent to Viet Nam and killed there. These activities, in the context of the successful efforts of the Vietnamese, helped to force the US out of Southeast Asia. As the Puerto Rican rearguard makes war within the US itself, more and more people will be forced to face the consequences of the US colonial relationship to Puerto Rico.

The struggle to drive the Navy out of Vieques cannot be stopped. In the US we must build support for this struggle. This can only be done by supporting the leadership of the armed clandestine movement and defending the armed rearguard in the US. This is because revolutionary armed struggle is the only road to independence and socialism in Puerto Rico.



FREE LEONARD PELTIER!

On July 20, 1979, Native American Prisoners of War Leonard Peltier, Dallas Thundershield, and Bobby Garcia escaped from the Federal Penitentiary in Lompoc, CA. Outside the gates Dallas Thundershield was murdered by prison guards, while Bobby Garcia was quickly recaptured; and a fourth man, Roque Dueñas, was arrested and charged with aiding and abetting the escape. Peltier remained free, but was captured five days later. None of the guards were charged with Dallas Thundershield's murder.

At their trial in Los Angeles which ended in late December, Peltier attempted to present evidence of a government conspiracy to have him assassinated, which had left him no recourse but to escape to protect his life. (This conspiracy had previously been exposed by the sworn affidavits of Standing Deer, another Native prisoner who knew Peltier at Marion Federal Penitentiary, and told Peltier that government officials had attempted to recruit him into a plot against Peltier's life.) US District Judge Lawrence Lydick refused to allow any testimony on Peltier's reasons for escaping, thereby preventing Peltier from presenting any meaningful defense.

Meanwhile, outside the courthouse, Native people who gathered from throughout the country to hold vigils and spiritual ceremonies in support of their Brothers on trial were repeatedly threatened and harassed by local and federal agents. Demonstrations in support of the Native POW's were also held in numerous other cities.

After a five week trial, the jury found all three innocent of conspiracy and assault charges, but convicted Peltier and Garcia on escape and firearms charges. The jury could not reach a verdict on Roque Dueñas' charges of aiding and abetting the escape. He is being held in jail on \$250,000 bond waiting a new trial. Leonard Peltier and Bobby Garcia expect to be transferred to Marion's infamous isolation unit, where their lives will continue to be in jeopardy.

For more information or to contribute badly-needed money for the continuing defense efforts, contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 3936, Los Angeles, CA 90051, or call 213-665-9481.

**FREE ALL NATIVE POLITICAL PRISONERS
AND PRISONERS OF WAR!**

Statements from Leonard Peltier

August 6, 1979

I AM A PRISONER OF WAR:

The war was declared by the Oglala Lakota Nation after peaceful resistance to continuing violations of our treaty with the United States was met with armed oppression, the declaration in 1972 called for Lakota men and supporters to stand in their defense. As a Lakota man I was duty bound to respond, the continuing aggression against families in Pine Ridge reached a peak again in 1975 when armed government troops attacked our Spiritual Camp of mostly women and children, firing indiscriminately into our camp.

Of the four adult men in the camp, one was killed and three charged with murder; my co-defendants were found *NOT GUILTY* on the evidence of *SELF DEFENSE*: but I was denied that same evidence in my own defense. The judge, in fact, denied me the right to present any *DEFENSE* at all. It has become a fact of life for

Indians that because of our lawful status under treaties that we have no protection of the law under the Constitution, the laws of the United States and International Law. The prosecution of the law as applied is a farce, in effect unrestrained by personal legal rights. After denial of appeals against the violations of due process my case reached the Supreme Court. The last court to judge the fairness of the lower courts. . . and they would not consider or look at my case. As a native person I stand before your courts with no defensible legal status, in my own land.

Roque and Bobby are also Prisoners of War. I urge all my supporters to give any support they may need in our upcoming court battle.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse

Anna Mae Aquash

Joe Stuntz

Dallas Thundershield

GWARTH-EE-LASS

Leonard Peltier

"Leads-the-People"

Press Release

The Hole

Marion Federal Penitentiary

July 24, 1979

As a member and leader of the Lakota Nation and a prisoner of war, it is my duty, as it is with any captured warrior, to liberate myself from the POW camps of the United States. As long as there is life and breath in me, I will continue to struggle for the sovereignty of my people throughout the hemisphere. You must remember that freedom is not easy, that it requires great sacrifices, as Dallas Thundershield showed. We send our prayers to our fallen brother and warrior, murdered by the federal prison guards as he was surrendering July 20, 1979.

It is important for us to face the struggle ahead. The people of Nicaragua and Iran have

shown us the route that must be taken for the survival of our future generations. I am urging all brothers and sisters of the Indigenous Nations to start preparing themselves for the fight which has only begun to regain our sovereignty. We must learn from our friends the Cuban people in their successful liberation. They are our teachers. We must embrace them and accept what they can offer.

To the people who are struggling for our freedom, I embrace you and send you all my love and strength from one of America's most dreaded concentration camps. They can only hold my body. They will never hold my spirit.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse

Dallas Thundershield,

and Joe Stuntz

Gwarth-e-lass

Leonard Peltier, POW

July 29, 1979

FREE THE RNA-11!

FREE THE LAND!

1979 marks the eighth year of imprisonment for members of the Republic of New Afrika-11 (RNA-11). The RNA-11 are New Afrikan citizens. They are POWs, taken captive by the US state in 1971 because they were playing a leading role in mobilizing Black people in the South to understand the illegitimacy of the US state and the necessity to "Free the Land" as the only basis for ensuring the independence and true self-determination of the New Afrikan (Black) Nation. They root their political demands and practice in an historical analysis of Black people's colonial subjugation to the United States.

The struggle to free the RNA-11 is gaining support and growing stronger, both within the Black Liberation Movement and internationally. The case of the RNA-11 is being raised within US borders as a clear example of human rights violations of the Black Nation. Recently a delegation of international jurists visited three RNA-11 members held in Parchman Prison, Mississippi. After the visit, the jurists and their hosts, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, issued a report stating that without question many political prisoners are being held captive within the walls of US prisons, naming the RNA-11 as a case in point.

When leading Black organizations call for the immediate release of the RNA-11, Sundiata Acoli, Geronimo Pratt and countless others, based on the recognition that they are prisoners of war, this is not rhetoric. They are calling upon the international community as well as progressive white people in the US to acknowledge and act upon the understanding that the US state and white terror groups have been waging warfare against the Black struggle for self-determination for 400 years, and that Black freedom fighters who have resisted this genocidal assault are not criminals, but prisoners of war. White anti-imperialists must take this call seriously, and build support for these campaigns on the terms upon which revolutionary nationalists define them.

Although the RNA-11 have been fighting for their freedom for the last eight years, the white left has largely ignored their case. This is a result of a general failure to support the struggles of Black prisoners of war as well as the white left's denial of the Black Nations's right to independence on a land base. We think it is very important for white anti-imperialists to support the struggle to free the RNA-11. Mobilizing support for the RNA-11 means

mobilizing support for the Black Nation's struggle against genocide and for human rights, for their right to self-determination on their national territory, New Afrika. It means supporting prisoners of war and the struggle against state war strategies like COINTELPRO, aimed at the Black Nation, the Black Liberation Movement and its revolutionary nationalist leadership.

We urge our readers to study the articles below, and to support the campaign to free the RNA-11 both politically and materially. The two articles are reprinted from the February 1979 issue of *The New Afrikan*, the official organ of the Republic of New Afrika. For copies, subscriptions, or further information, write *The New Afrikan*, P.O. Box 1184, Manhattanville Station, Harlem, NY 10027.

UPDATE

Imari Obadele, former President of the RNA Provisional Government, has won his freedom and will be released on parole January 18 from Marion Federal Penitentiary after 5 1/2 years in prison.

Another of the RNA-11, Addis Ababba, was released in November 1979 to a halfway house, and the release of Karim Njabafundi is expected at any time. However, the US state continues its illegal attacks against the other prisoners of war. The US Attorney General's office, having lost legal ground as the result of a Freedom of Information Act suit fought by RNA Lawyers, is stubbornly withholding crucial material in an effort to maintain their cover-up of the government conspiracy against the RNA. Hekima Ana Kanyana and Offogga Ar-Rashid were recently taken from Mississippi prison into Federal custody after having completed their state sentences. Now they are fighting to get their twelve-year federal sentences reduced to five years and to get credit for time served for two of the five years.

RNA Freedom Fighters: A Continuing Episode of Human Rights Violations in Amerika

reprinted from the *New Afrikan*

A few months ago United States President Jimmy Carter declared that there were no political prisoners in America. His declaration was in response to a statement made by United States Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young.

At the moment Jimmy Carter countered Young's statement and elicited an apology from the kindly minister, five men who were cadre workers for the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, and who were among the group of RNA cadre who have come to be known as the RNA-11, were among thousands of New Afrikan (Black) political captives who were and who are now engaged in federal and state prisons across the United States.

Indeed, the Watergate era unveiling of the FBI Counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), the Nixon-led Huston Plan, and the CIA anti-Black domestic operations (Operation CHAOS) exposed the intense political motivation behind the incarceration of Black liberation fighters across America long before Carter's declaration and long before Young's acknowledgement. In fact, the political purpose and intent behind the incarceration of Black liberation fighters — like the RNA-11, like Assata Shakur, Sundiata Acoli, and Anthony Bottom, alleged members of the Black Liberation Army, like Geronimo Pratt of the Black Panther Party and like the Wilmington 10 and Reverend Ben Chavis of the Commission for Racial Justice — had been left bare with the uncovering of these anti-Black programs. So bare was the nefarious objective of these imprisonments that even the most cynical observer might pause to marvel at the apparent ease with which Carter was able to deliver his disclaimer of political imprisonment.

What Mr. Carter's disclaimer meant, however, was that despite his double-talk on the importance of human rights, Mr. Carter is firmly committed to actions of United States government illegality which were implemented with the express designs of destroying the Black Nationalist Movement in America, disrupting Black political organization, and neutraliz-

ing Black leadership. Perhaps even more importantly, Mr. Carter's disclaimer apparently reflects his confidence in the effectiveness of the current conspiracy to recover and/or justify United States lawlessness against the Black liberation movement, and to reconceal the bitter incarceration of the primary targets of this lawlessness.

The following is a summary of the RNA-11 episode. It is offered in an effort to combat the current conspiracy to hide and/or justify governmental lawlessness and political incarceration. This is a conspiracy in which the federal, state and local governments, the multinational and national corporate owners of the U.S. economy, key figures in the American educational system, and the mass media all play an important part.

The following summary is moreover offered as part of a growing concert of action to free the RNA-11, to free all other New Afrikan (Black) men and women taken prisoner in the U.S. war against the New Afrikan national liberation struggle, and to free our nation and our land. If you read the following summary, support the RNA-11 financially, by signing a petition and/or by physical assistance in the campaign to win their freedom, then you will also be making an important contribution toward realizing the above-stated objectives.

RNA-11 STORY IN BRIEF

Cadre of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, including the nation's second President, Imari Abubakari Obadele, arrived in numbers in Jackson, Mississippi, in March 1971. They had been preceded by three years of publicity correctly indicating that the Provisional Government was opening a campaign to convert Mississippi and four other Deep South states into an independent Black nation but incorrectly indicating — at least in the Jackson Daily News — that the means would be "unconstitutional." State Attorney General A. F. Summer declared shortly after the cadre's arrival

that, "There will be no independent nation set up in Mississippi." By early May 1971, Summer's personal intervention had led to the abrogation of a land purchase the RNA cadre had arranged with a Hinds County farmer for purposes of building the capitol. The RNA cadre turned its energies toward door-to-door work in Jackson, organizing for a Reparations Election — a prelude to the Independence Plebiscite. This work was proceeding as the morning of August 18, 1971, dawned, the first Neighborhood Reparations Captains having been elected at a meeting at Mt. Calvary Baptist Church in late June.

It was learned subsequently during the Federal trial at Biloxi, Mississippi, in August and September 1973, that the FBI in Milwaukee had installed a paid secret informer — one Thomas Spells — in the RNA Consulate in that city during the same 1971 period. Sometime during June, Spells, still in Milwaukee, became a close associate of a young man named Sylee who had committed a filling station robbery-murder in Michigan and fled to Milwaukee, also becoming associated with the RNA Consulate there. Two years later, during the Federal trial (but out of the presence of the jury) Informer Spells testified under oath that in 1971 he had told the FBI "again and again" of Sylee's fugitive-murderer status "but every time they checked he told me they couldn't find anything." (The FBI court file indicates that no RNA personnel knew of Sylee's fugitive status.)

Instead of arresting Sylee, the FBI permitted this fugitive to go to an RNA Convention in Jackson on July 16, 1971 in a car caravan with Informer Spells, instructing Informer Spells, however, to contact Jackson FBI Agent George Holder when he got there and to tell him that the fugitive had arrived. Spells did so. When Informer Spells and the others returned to Milwaukee, Fugitive Sylee remained behind to work with the cadre at the 1148 Lewis Street RNA Headquarters — a house in a residential area that had been publicly advertised as the official Residence of the President of the Republic of New Afrika. Shortly thereafter Agent Holder requested a fugitive warrant from Michigan and was advised on Monday morning, August 16, 1971, that the warrant had been issued. Meanwhile, Fugitive Sylee had been in Jackson a month, selling newspapers and doing organizing work on the streets every day.

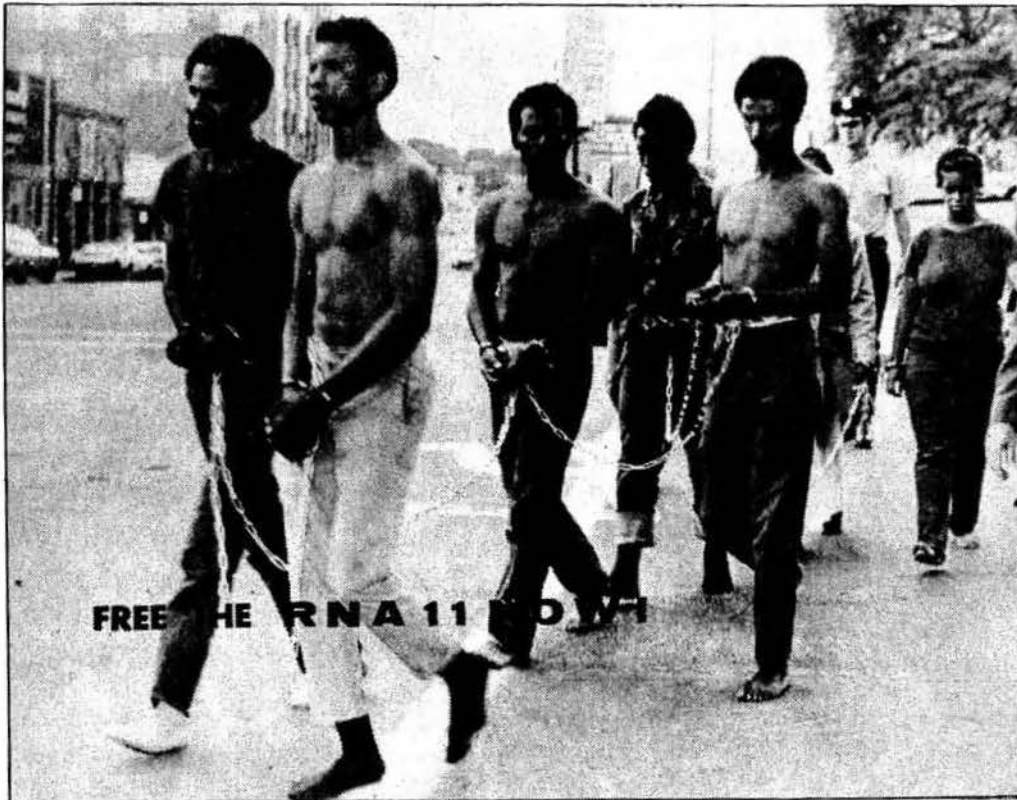
On the next day the Jackson FBI — then under command of Elmer Linberg, the same agent who later as chief of the FBI's criminal division in Los Angeles led the attack that ended in cremating the SLA in the Summer of 1974 — held a briefing of about 40 FBI

agents and policemen, all white. Linberg enunciated a plan for what he called a "raid" of the RNA Residence. Under this plan the house would quickly be surrounded by teams of FBI agents and policemen. The occupants would all be told by bullhorn to come out and given 75 seconds to do so, at the end of which, if no one had come out, the FBI would fire gas rockets into the back bedroom windows. The band of agents and policemen would go to the house armed with revolvers, shotguns, rifles and a tank.

At 6:30 a.m. teams of the briefed FBI agents and policemen were in place at both the RNA office on Lynch Street — where Brother Imari, Sister Aisha, and Brothers Spade and Tawwab were — and the Lewis Street Residence, where the record shows that for most of the "raid," the agents/police thought Imari was. In this house were Brother Hekima and his wife Tamu, who had been there less than 48 hours and were planning to leave that morning to continue their vacation; Brother Offogga and his wife Njeri; Brother Addis Ababa, who had just arrived (from Detroit) with Hekima and Tamu (who came from Milwaukee); Brother Chuma; and Brother Karim, who was 15 years old. The Fugitive Sylee was not there, having been expelled from the Residence eight hours earlier for erratic behavior.

At this house Linberg promptly executed his 75-second plan, despite, according to their subsequent testimony, no sign of any resistance from the house. General shooting erupted from within and without the house, immediately subsequent to the firing of the gas rockets into the back bedrooms. Police Lieutenant William Skinner fell mortally wounded and was removed by an ambulance on the scene, while a police armored attack-vehicle (known as Thompson's tank) pulled up and poured tear gas and shotgun fire into the house. About 15 minutes later as shooting continued, the seven persons in the house, having sought refuge in a tunnel under the house, called out that they were coming out. The agents and police did not know about the tunnel. The seven emerged in single file from under the house, were spread on the ground, kicked (even the pregnant Njeri), and questioned at gunpoint about who had fired weapons, who was firing the "automatic" and who was still in the house.

At the Lynch Street office, Imari immediately walked out and challenged the police when they drew up in front with a light flashing and guns drawn. There was no shooting but all four persons there were ordered out, arrested and laid spread-eagled in the street, while the police/FBI invaded the office and



searched it. They testified later that they moved on the office only after word was received that Fugitive Sylee was not at Lewis Street. The Lynch Street office was 50 feet from the front entrance to the Jackson State campus.

All eleven persons were charged by the state with murder, waging war against the state of Mississippi, and various gun charges, and held in maximum security at Parchman. The seven from the Lewis Street house were also arraigned on federal charges of assault. At a habeas corpus hearing in October, Sister Njeri was released by the state to her lawyer because she was four months pregnant and released weeks later by the United States on \$10,000 bond. The other six from the Lewis Street house, including Tamu, were held without bail. The three at the office with Imari were also freed of all charges but that of receiving a stolen gun, found in the office, and released. But when state and federal indictments came down several weeks later, Imari, who was under \$50,000 state bond for murder and the seven at the house were indicted for murder and for federal conspiracy and assault — PLUS Tawwab, who police and FBI had apparently come to believe was in charge of the Jackson RNA security forces. But Tawwab, at liberty then, remains at liberty.

The Mississippi State convictions of Karim, Hekima and Offogga were appealed but to no avail.

The Mississippi Supreme Court upheld the convictions and the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case. Addis Ababa, on the other hand served the required portion of his 10-year sentence and was released from state custody. He was taken into federal custody in December of 1976, however, along with Imari Obadele and Njeri Quddus. The three were incarcerated by the United States government when their appeals of the federal convictions in Biloxi, Mississippi, failed. Chuma was already in federal prison; now he has completed a five-year sentence. Njeri has also now completed her federal sentence.

Njeri, Addis, and Imari, along with Hekima, Tamu, Offogga and Chuma, had appealed the federal convictions on the basis of 18 different errors committed by trial judge Walter Nixon. The Court of Appeals led by a Texas District Judge named Brewster (who was joined by then-Justice, now-Attorney General Griffin Bell) was totally insensitive to the petition of the RNA political convicts. In a bitterly anti-Black liberation and anti-RNA opinion, Brewster summarily rejected the claim of errors made by the RNA-11 defendants on every point except one.

The Court of Appeals (Fifth Circuit) reversed Tamu Sana's conviction because she was out of the country at the time the alleged conspiracy to assault federal

officers started and because, according to the Justice, she was not an acknowledged RNA citizen.

The other RNA-11 members were acknowledged RNA citizens and as such their convictions were upheld. Their convictions for conspiring to assault FBI agents who launched a pre-dawn sneak attack on them was upheld, as was the conviction for conspiring to possess an alleged automatic weapon, which was proven not to be automatic, when the FBI agent failed miserably in his attempt to fire it automatically at trial. The appeal to the United States Supreme Court contesting the federal convictions was also unsuccessful. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the RNA-11 federal convictions.

The state convictions have been appealed, with the Mississippi Supreme Court having upheld the first conviction — Hekima's and Offogga's convictions. Arguments in the federal case were made before the Fifth Circuit in October 1974. In the federal appeal, trial error was claimed on, among other things, lack of "Article Three" jurisdiction; prosecutorial misconduct; assumption of a prosecutorial role by the judge; jury discrimination; illegal search and seizure; and failure of the U.S. to produce possibly exculpatory FBI reports, along with failure of the judge to grant an evidentiary hearing on the motion to dismiss because of bad faith prosecution and U.S. misconduct. This motion was filed six months BEFORE public release of the first information on Hoover's COINTELPRO and before the defense had any specific knowledge of the official program.

Subsequent to release of COINTELPRO information, President Imari requested the U.S. Justice Department by letter to reveal all targeted groups and to join in motions for new trial and/or full discovery, but to no avail.

In separate publicity-sensationalized jury trials in 1972, Brothers Hekima, Offogga, and Karim were found guilty of murder-one and sentenced to life. Brother Addis got two concurrent ten-year terms for an assault plea. Tamu was released after ten months; Chuma — who testimony indicated had merely taken the women into the tunnel during the assault — after 13 months. They posted \$10,000 federal bonds. Imari was released from state custody in February 1973, after filing a motion to dismiss on grounds Mississippi had no jurisdiction to try the Chief of State of a separate, though subjugated, nation, and from federal custody on \$25,000 bail in April 1972, after nearly 20 months.

All seven in the house plus Imari were ordered, a month later, to stand federal trial — though Karim

was severed later as a juvenile on a defense motion. The federal conspiracy charge, which went against all seven, included the allegation of conspiracy to possess a machine-gun (actually a commercial AR-180 semi-automatic rifle), while Offogga alone was charged with actually possessing it. Trial Judge Walter Nixon — on his own motion — moved the trial to the Southern Division of the state's Southern District (where Jackson is located), to Biloxi, the Division with the least Blacks, to cure the effects, he said, of publicity in the Jackson area by facilitating selection of a jury. (He did not say that jury selection in Jackson was impossible.) Defense lawyers later cited this as one of some 18 errors.

Sisters Tamu and Njeri and Brother Chuma were found guilty of conspiracy, their only federal charge. The women were given three years and released on \$5,000 bail; Chuma was held in lieu of \$15,000 bail. The others were found guilty of the three federal charges (Offogga, four — despite the fact that the chief of the FBI's Washington crime lab's arms section COULD NOT make the weapon fire automatically during a defense-demanded demonstration before judge and jury on the Gulf Coast); they were sentenced to an effective 12 years.

One of the many pre-trial motions brought before the Nixon District Court, prior to the federal trials, was a motion which asserted that the prosecution of the RNA-11 was brought in bad faith and as part of a conspiracy to deprive RNA citizens of civil rights. The trial judge, Walter Nixon, refused to grant a hearing on this motion and the Court of Appeals upheld his decision. The prosecutor denied that the United States had any documents suggesting such a conspiracy or any relevant documents showing U.S. surveillance of the Provisional Government of the RNA. In fact, the United States FBI chief denied that the RNA had been a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO conspiracy to destroy the Black movement in America when asked to release data on FBI COINTELPRO activities directed toward the RNA. The FBI continued to deny that the RNA was a target of COINTELPRO until March of 1977, after the RNA-11 federal appellate process had been exhausted. In March, the FBI director, Clarence Kelley, released 10 pages of heavily censored information describing FBI efforts to scuttle the Provisional Government prior to the August 18, 1971 attack. Since that time (March of 1977) over 3,000 pages of COINTELPRO anti-RNA information has been disclosed. Moreover, several hundred pages of information showing efforts of various state and local

police to destroy the RNA's provisional government has been uncovered. The uncovered information is heavily censored, but even in its censored state, discloses a clear conspiracy to find or fabricate some legal reason to jail leaders and workers of the RNA in order to obstruct the Provisional Government's political impact.

Along with the search for reason to incarcerate RNA cadre for political purposes, the FBI exerted itself through illegal means to defame the workers of the Provisional Government, to block the efforts of Imari Obadele to lawfully post bond, and to get many other persons fired from their jobs or evicted from their places of residence. The FBI also illegally broke into the home of Imari Obadele in a manner similar to that employed in the Watergate case and the Ellsberg case in California.

Equipped with this recently disclosed information which lends detail to the FBI conspiracy, RNA-11 lawyers organized by the Task Force for COINTELPRO Litigation and Research (an anti-COINTELPRO organization) are preparing to file additional legal challenges to RNA-11 convictions. RNA-11 lawyers in Mississippi, led by Attorney Lewis Myers of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, are also challenging the incarceration of Hekima Ana, Offogga Quddus and Karim Njabafundi in

Mississippi. The challenge to the state incarceration is based on the illegality of FBI and police actions and based on extraordinary transfer of the three RNA-11 members from state custody to Federal custody and then back to state custody again.

All three had been released from state custody along with numerous other prisoners on a special prisoner release program. Their release to federal custody signaled the end of their sentence in the state penal institution. However, when the racist Mississippi media proceeded to broadcast their release from state sentence, the white public objected and the three were returned to Parchman prison in Mississippi.

The RNA-11 story goes on, but the entire story is much too long to detail here. It is in fact the story of one among many gross human rights violations in America, which have been precipitated by agents of the United States Government.

The National RNA-11 Committee has its office in New York. The address is P.O. Box 1184, New York, NY 10027. Information on the RNA-11 is available at this address. Speakers are also available. The committee seeks your financial and active physical support. Please write the committee today. Start a local RNA-11 Committee and fill the streets with posters and leaflets calling for RNA-11 support.



FREE THE LAND!

The revolutionary struggle to free New Afrika is rooted in Black people's history of living, working and fighting on this land for centuries.

Editorial: The New Afrikan View Denial of Self-Determination

reprinted from the *New Afrikan*

Today the current administration of the United States talks much about protecting the Human Rights of persons in distant parts of the world. The administration appears to be particularly concerned about the Human Rights of Jews in Russia and caucasians in many other places. James Carter the president of the United States has been consistent although cautiously selective in issuing statements of concern about alleged Human Rights violations around the globe. Mr. Carter has, for instance, sharply criticized President Idi Amin of Uganda for alleged Human Rights violations, but has failed to voice any displeasure with regards to the atrocities daily perpetuated by the apartheid regime against Afrikans in Azania (South Africa). Essentially James Carter has proved to be a poor spokesman for Human Rights since his statements have been racially selective and motivated by ulterior political motives.

Even more disappointing than his international conduct on Human Rights questions has been the sordid position of Mr. Carter in relationship to the New Afrikan population colonized within the American borders.

New Afrikans are Black persons in America who are descendants of Afrikan slaves brought to America by slave traders during, after, and prior to the inception of the United States as a government. As president of the United States, James Carter has adopted a 200-years-old policy of denying the Black population in America their rightful citizenship and nationality as New Afrikans. In 1865, 1866 and 1867 the United States government under the direction of Andrew Johnson crushed New Afrikan free communities established in the South Carolina sea isles, and elsewhere in New Afrika — Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. (This area is considered to be the nation of New Afrika by New Afrikan revolutionaries and other independence fighters.) Johnson crushed these communities with military might when the Black ex-slaves who occupied them refused to release the land, on which these communities laid peacefully, to the old white plantation owners in accordance with Andrew Johnson's so

called conciliation policy. The New Afrikan ex-slaves were not american citizens (the 14th amendment which purported to offer United States citizenship to the ex-slaves was not passed until 1866. The ex-slaves never did and never have accepted the 14th amendment citizenship provision or the similar provision of the 1866 civil rights bill). The New Afrikans who occupied the communities in question were legally freed people however, under United States laws and international law. As far as international law was concerned, of course, these men and women should never have been enslaved. As human beings they were entitled to their liberty and their enslavement was an initial act of international lawlessness on behalf of the United States government and its european predecessor.

Moreover the New Afrikans were free men under the United States law at the time the New Afrikan community was suppressed by Andrew Johnson. The Confiscation Acts, Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th amendment (passed 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1865, respectively) had all become United States law. Each of these laws afforded legal recognition of the freedom of at least a portion of the Black population. The 13th amendment in fact abolished slavery under the United States constitution and purportedly freed all New Afrikans not theretofore free.

As free men and women and non-citizens of the United States, the New Afrikans were not lawfully subject to presidential orders of Johnson or any other United States president. However, as a free people the New Afrikan population was entitled so self-determination. The presidential order was a violation of self-determination of New Afrikans because the president of the United States at that particular time had no proper jurisdiction over the land which the New Afrikans occupied. The order was a violation of the self-determination of New Afrikans who were in those territories at that time because as previously mentioned no law, either United States law or international law, had been passed at that time making New Afrikan citizens or property, subject to the United States. Yet United States laws had been passed, and

international law had always held that New Afrikans were free men and free women.

The United States, as already mentioned, also had no proper jurisdiction over the land that the New Afrikan occupied. This land was not properly United States land but was properly New Afrikan land because New Afrikans had lived on this land for long periods of time, and New Afrikans had built upon this land. New Afrikans had in fact constructed institutions and civilizations upon this land and they had been constructed with the blood, sweat and tears of their forefathers and of themselves.

New Afrikans were also properly entitled to this land as reparations. They were entitled to reparations from the United States government because they had slaved for the United States citizens and for the United States government, and had in fact as slaves made the United States a very powerful country economically. New Afrikans were entitled to reparations because they had given labor to the United States and to american citizens without being justly compensated for that labor. In fact, it should be noted that during the course of the civil war between 1861 and 1865 many military generals of the United States and other leadership men in the United States army had promised New Afrikans the land which they had built new communities on. They had promised this land to New Afrikans because New Afrikans had helped liberate the land from the white plantation owners. The truth of the matter was the New Afrikans occupied the land and once it was taken from the plantation owners, the northern generals and northern military were in no position of strength to take the land from New Afrikans. These generals actually in many instances wrote out documents which indicated that New Afrikans would control the land as so-called colonies of the United States and that after the war was over the United States congress would be the only body with any type of authority to determine that New Afrikans would not have the land. The generals indicated by word that New Afrikans would be granted the land by the congressional authority. Although congress never did grant land in substantial measure to the New Afrikan population the New Afrikan population was still entitled to the land they occupied by virtue of the fact they had lived on the land, worked, and built upon it, and had in fact fought to defend it and fought to take it from the plantation owners who had wrongfully subjected them and who had wrongfully taken the riches of the land to themselves to the detriment of the New Afrikan population.

Andrew Johnson was therefore without any rightful authority to order the New Afrikans to remove themselves from their land. His order was a violation of the self-determination rights of the New Afrikan population and a violation of territorial integrity of land which by virtue of international law rightfully belonged to the nation of New Afrika. The course of violating New Afrikan self-determination rights which was set by Andrew Johnson has been followed for many years by american presidents.

The predecessor of James Carter, Richard Nixon, was a man who was ruthless in the violation of the self-determination rights of the New Afrikan population. The Nixon administration and various agencies of the United States government were utilized to destroy the Black liberation movement and the Black independence movement, that is the New Afrikan independence movement in North America. These agencies, the FBI, CIA, the IRS, and Army Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, and a number of others, employed various different secret programs to destroy the Black movement in America. Richard Nixon was one of the original planners of the Huston Plan, a plan which was set to destroy the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and various other Black liberation forces. It can be seen therefore, that presidents beginning with Andrew Johnson and ending with Richard Nixon, the predecessor of James Carter, have waged war on the self-determination and independence rights of the New Afrikan population. Self-determination is one of the most fundamental principles of Human Rights. These have not been respected prior to the administration of James Carter, and these are not being respected now by the James Carter administration.

Many other rights of New Afrikans in the United States have been violated. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights requires that everyone have a right to equal employment, a right to be properly nourished, to have proper health care, that everyone has a right to be free from arbitrary attacks upon their person, and to be free from cruel and unusual punishment. These rights have been consistently violated by the United States of America.

James Carter has not attempted to eliminate any of these forms of Human Rights violations by the United States government in the United States. He has ignored them and he has denied them and he has in many different instances aided and abetted them. James Carter therefore is not a legitimate spokesman for Human Rights. Mr. Carter is indeed an imposter who poses as a friend and champion of Human



credit: Breakthrough

Ahmed Obafemi, representative of the Republic of New Afrika, speaking in San Francisco, November 1979.

Rights but is in fact one of the most serious violators of Human Rights of Afrikan people in the world. He is also the ally of many other governments and many other individuals who are engaged in violation of the Afrikan people in the world. He received Ian Smith in the United States White House not long ago. Ian Smith is the leader of the racist Rhodesian government, the illegal and illegitimate government. James Carter has also refused to make strong statements to condemn the South Afrikan regime which controls the Azania people. Indeed it should be understood that not only does James Carter support illegal governments, but in fact James Carter himself, four (4) years ago was the governor of an illegal government. The governors of the states of Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, and various other states in the southeastern portion of what is now called the United States are governors of illegal governments. These governments are illegal because they are state governments which are lineal descendants of the KKK and know-nothing parties,

and various white terrorist organizations who seized power immediately after the reconstruction period following the civil war.

Given the hypocritical nature of James Carter's Human Rights Proclamation and given the fact that James Carter is one of the most grievous Human Rights violators in the world, it is proper that Afrikans across this country are now organizing to take Mr. Carter and the United States government to the United Nations. The upcoming demonstration of New Afrikan People at the United Nations in the fall of 1979, and the Genocide convention which will be held by New Afrikans in 1980 and the various other organizing efforts of the New Afrikan population in the coming future will disrobe Mr. Carter and it will show him in his true form. History will show clearly that neither Mr. Carter nor the United States government have ever had any serious commitment to Human Rights of New Afrikan people on the North American continent or Afrikan people anywhere else on the globe.

FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS!

The Pontiac Brothers are thirty-one Black and Latin men charged with participating in the July 1978 uprising at Pontiac State Prison in Illinois. Seventeen of the Brothers — all Black — are charged with the killing of a white guard and two white prisoners who were found dead after the uprising. These seventeen face the electric chair if convicted. The other fourteen face life sentences. The state's effort to commit legal mass murder against the Pontiac Brothers is a brutal escalation of its program of genocide against the Black Nation.

Support for the Pontiac 31 is critically needed. The seventeen Brothers facing the death penalty have recently won a legal victory in getting their trial moved to Cook County, the only county in Illinois with a substantial Black

population where there is any possibility of winning public support or of finding sympathetic jurors. However, the trials of the other fourteen have been moved to Bloomington, Illinois — a bastion of white supremacy and reaction.

Breakthrough is reprinting a leading analysis by the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization (NAPO) about the case of the Pontiac Brothers and its relation to the struggle for Black national independence. This article was first printed in *The FUSE*, the newsletter of NAPO — Nos. 10 & 11 (Sept. 79). For more information on the Pontiac Brothers and to obtain copies of *The FUSE*, write Concerned Families and Friends of Prisoners c/o NAPO, P.O. Box 6020, Chicago, IL 60680.



The People Are the Best Judges!

reprinted from *The FUSE*

With one year of struggle behind us, and a long period of intense struggle ahead, NAPO believes that those of us sincerely committed to the struggle to **FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS** and to the larger struggle of which theirs is a part, must understand the necessity for taking the struggle to the masses of our people, because they are the best judges, and the only legitimate ones.

As We take the struggle to the people — whether around such questions as change of venue, counsel of choice, quashing the indictments, the nature of the frame-up and the facts of how the Brothers were hand-picked during the so-called “investigation” — no matter what the particular issue at any particular time, NAPO's position and approach to the work is based on the following:

(1) NAPO understands the struggle to **FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS** as part of the larger struggle to free **ALL** our people. All black people inside present u.s. borders are members of a colonized nation, which We call **NEW AFRIKA**.

The New Afrikan nation was formed in the 17th

century as a result of the kidnapping and enslavement of our ancestors. The experience of “*chattel slavery*” caused the peoples of the many nations and tribes forcibly taken from the African Continent to share a common history, and to acquire a common destiny. Our roots were and are in Africa, but We are a **NEW African people**, and We are still struggling to regain our Independence.

NAPO recognizes the Pontiac Brothers as members of our nation, and their struggle is a part of our nation's struggle against genocide, national oppression, the continued colonial domination of New Afrika, and for its Independence. Therefore, the call to **FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS** should be made alongside such calls as **THE BLACK NATION CHARGES GENOCIDE, FREE THE LAND, and INDEPENDENCE FOR NEW AFRIKA IN OUR LIFETIME**.

(2) Insofar as the Pontiac Rebellion and the struggle to free the Brothers is viewed by many largely within the context of the “*prison struggle*” or the “*prison movement*,” NAPO puts forth the



Members of the Pontiac 31.

understanding that — vis-a-vis our people, our colonial status and our struggle for Independence — prisons are a part of the entire “*justice system*” in the u.s., which functions as a colonial institution with the purpose of helping to maintain the subjugation of our nation.

U.S. prisons and the “*justice system*” of which they are a part serve to aid in the repression of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and as instruments of genocide against our people. Thus, all struggles, all movement by our people taking place inside and around u.s. prisons are in reality struggles which are part of our New Afrikan Independence Movement. Thus, when We say FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS We also say SUPPORT AND JOIN THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT — IN THE PRISONS AND ON THE STREETS!

(3) NAPO views the Pontiac Rebellion as a spontaneous — though justified — act which took place within the context of our people’s historical resistance to national oppression and genocide.

On July 22, 1978, in keeping with the character of rebellions, the men at Pontiac stood up in reaction to intolerable conditions. They exposed the colonial state as being responsible for those conditions, and called into question the entire “*justice system*” and the legitimacy of the u.s. imperialist state.

But, since that day, everyone involved in the struggle have come to understand that it won’t suffice to call upon the state to improve prison conditions, or to

“*administer justice*” to our Brothers. The conditions which led to the Rebellion exemplify a contradiction between oppressed and oppressor which can only be resolved by the oppressed themselves; the “*administration of justice*” can be done only by the masses of New Afrikan people, because they are the best judges and most wise and righteous.

(4) Since July 22, the struggle which began with the spontaneous Rebellion has acquired conscious purpose and direction. The political consciousness of the Pontiac Brothers, their families, friends and supporters has risen to higher levels. The Pontiac Brothers are recognized as POLITICAL PRISONERS. Their families and friends now represent an organized force in the black community which is committed not only to the freedom of the Brothers, but also to smashing the death penalty as a means of genocide against black people; to the freedom of all Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War; and toward contributing in this way to the healing of the national black family through the achievement of national Independence.

THE PEOPLE ARE THE BEST JUDGES!

PUT THE STATE ON TRIAL!

FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS!

**FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
AND PRISONERS OF WAR!**

**VICTORY FOR THE NEW AFRIKAN
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT!**

The People are the Best Judges, Part II

“... The will to fight has been sublimated into acceptable channels and beaten into legalistic modes. Everyone is using everyone else as an excuse for their failure to respond to the political realities of our times. It is not only a disgusting display of political self-delusion, but a dangerous miscalculation of the danger black people are objectively placed in.”

— R. Dhoruba Moore & Kahli Abney

In the last issue of *The FUSE*, We put forth our belief that the struggle to FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS must be taken to the masses of our people, because they are the best judges.

We put forth that belief with the understanding that not only will the people be called upon to judge the evidence of the state's attempt to frame our Brothers and thereby commit another act of genocide upon our nation. The people will also be called upon to judge all individuals and organizations who stand on the sidelines while this struggle unfolds, as well as those participating in the struggle, whose efforts will serve to aid — or hinder — its success.

We also put forth our general perspective on the struggle to FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS. We now want to address ourselves to the more limited perspective regarding the approach to practice in the courtroom — as seen by NAPO.

We feel it necessary to address ourselves to this area because far too much energy has been spent over the past year in internal struggles with lawyers. In view of the interest of the Brothers, We make it clear that what follows is NAPO's position — a position which We feel is being put forth very mildly, covering limited aspects of the contradiction. We hope that it will in some way contribute to the creation of an atmosphere that will prevent our having to address ourselves to the subject again, in a stronger and much more detailed manner.

* * *

Contrary to the attitudes and actions of some of our Brothers and Sisters, We realize that the case of the Pontiac Brothers is not a “normal criminal case.”

Even those who can't embrace the four points We put forth, can recognize that thirty-one men are facing trial: seventeen are facing the death penalty; fourteen are facing additional prison sentences, some of which could result in imprisonment for life.

While some of us seem unable or unwilling to, the state recognizes the political motivations which guide their attempt to railroad, kill and imprison the Pontiac 31.

It's hard to understand how We can say the conditions existing at Pontiac had nothing to do with the Rebellion, when, on the days and weeks following it everyone from natives of the town of Pontiac to the governor blamed the Rebellion on the conditions, and wondered why it hadn't happened earlier! As late as November '78, Charles Rowe held that enforcement of excessive and arbitrary discipline upon prisoners — and not lax discipline or “control of the prison by gangs” — was a major cause of the Rebellion. It was relatively late in the game, after the state began to get its act together, that they claimed “conspiracy” and their focus on “gangs” — a focus away from themselves and the frame-up they were staging.

The political motivations of the state can also be seen from the skillfully orchestrated media campaign, where it touched on *the families of prisoners and black guards, as well as the black and Puerto Rican communities!*

The state's political motivations embrace the effort to create anti-gang hysteria in the black community, and anti-black hysteria in the white community, to create acceptance of this huge number of indictments and of the mass use of the death penalty against black people in particular, and other non-white people in general. Also, the use of the prosecution of the Brothers can be recognized by even the blind, deaf and dumb as an impetus in the political careers of the governor, the prosecutors and judges.

And again, the objective reality of the status of black people in amerikkka is no different in 1979 than it was in 1679, 1779, 1879 — or 1969, when the u.s. and state governments targeted “gangs” just as heavily as they targeted other organizations in their program to disrupt the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, and suppress the masses of our people in the escalating drive toward self-determination.

The historical pattern will tend to repeat itself, because the contradiction remains the same: black people are a colonized nation; as conditions worsen for the oppressor nation, the colony will be used as a “scapegoat,” as the Pontiac Brothers exemplify.

The state has nothing to lose — but everything to gain — by attempting to treat the Pontiac 31 as a “normal criminal case.” They have already shown that they will do anything in their power to achieve convictions:

- They’ve coerced and manipulated witnesses; manufactured evidence and harassed the families and supporters of the Brothers;
- They’ve trampled on the “rights” of the Brothers and interfered in various ways with the preparation of the legal defense;
- The decision to have separate indictments and at least two trial locations were clearly deliberate and designed to divide legal and political support, as well as hopefully divide the Brothers;
- The use of the media to shape the public attitude, “prepare the juries” and influence the public pressure that will be placed on the juries and judges to convict;
- The attempt to rush all the cases to trial before adequate legal preparations are made and, very importantly, before mass political support can be built;
- The attempt to rush the trials is also aimed to help prevent the already shaky witnesses from changing their minds upon losing their fear of the state once the strength of the defense and public support for the Brothers is seen.

It’s our belief that the perspective and strategy for the courtroom must be based on the overall political realities faced by the Brothers and black folks in the u.s. generally.

We believe the state must be confronted at every step and exposed while the reality of the frame-up and the reasons for it must be put forward without compromise.

It’s absolutely necessary that all of us work now to build the consciousness among the public which will combat the lie of the state on each point. We must see to it that as many prospective jurors as possible enter the courtrooms with at least a minimal understanding of why it was necessary for the state to blame the Rebellion on “gangs” and how they “found” witnesses to put forth their concocted cases. Unless such an aggressive and politically-grounded approach is taken now, the juries will take the easy and anticipated way out and return “guilty” verdicts.

It’s clear that the “evidence” against the Brothers is fabricated and weak. But it can only be solidified into “not guilty” verdicts (or dismissals of indictments) if the juries understand (or public pressure on the judges for dismissal of indictments are based on)

credit: Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition



November 3, 1979 Chicago demonstration which supported the demand to quash the indictments against the thirty-one Pontiac Brothers.

the motives compelling the state to seek out scapegoats.

NAPO believes that it will be necessary to expose every incident of the state’s lawlessness in the investigation, before the grand jury, during the pre-trial stage and during the trials themselves. Each exposure should be explained as part of a pattern designed to frame the Brothers and achieve the political goals of the state.

Putting the state on trial, in this context, means making them answer for each act of lawlessness, each tactic designed to railroad the Brothers. Compromises mean that each side gets something. If the Brothers can’t get dismissed indictments or acquittals, compromises are worthless. We should fight for everything their law says we got coming, whether we expect them to give it up or not. Everything they deny is another exposure of the true nature of the case, it weakens them, and adds to our ability to win.

All of us should realize that there are no neutral words, gestures, glances or acts in the courtroom. The state, the court which serves it, and all those who serve the court, are part of the attempt to kill and imprison thirty-one of our Brothers. This understanding will surely be reflected in the attitudes of the Brothers, their families and supporters, and should also be reflected by their lawyers.

From One Generation to the Next,
BTW!
FTL!

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN GUYANA

by the Editors of *Soulbook*

The following article was written by the editors of *Soulbook* to educate *Breakthrough* readers about the situation in Guyana and to build solidarity with the struggle of the Working Peoples Alliance and other progressive forces in that country. Subscriptions to *Soulbook* (four issues) are available from Box 61213, Los Angeles, CA 90059. Rates are: by ordinary mail, \$3.50 inside u.s., \$4.00 outside u.s.; by airmail, \$6.50 inside, \$12.00 outside.

Recently the U.S. newspapers have been writing a plethora of ink about the "instability of the Caribbean" and the threat of a Communist "takeover" in the Caribbean. Presidential, congressional and state dept. expressions of concern over "Cuban Communist Infiltration of the region" have, in the recent months, been the order of the day.

Additionally, the Auschwitzesque "Jonestown" mass murders of November 1978 catapulted the Republic of Guyana into the most sordid prominence imaginable.



A slave revolt in Guyana in 1763 led to the establishment of an independent African republic for a time. This drawing depicts a slave revolt in San Domingo in the same period.

Certainly the March 13, 1979 armed takeover of the Government of Grenada by the progressive anti-imperialist New Jewel Movement struck fear in the ruling circles of the U.S. who traditionally think of the Caribbean Isles as mere tourist stopovers in an "American" lake. However it is imperative that as true revolutionaries we look beyond the racism and chauvinism propagated by the U.S. imperialist controlled mass media concerning the Caribbean and examine the dynamics of struggle created by and maintained by the Caribbean peoples themselves — regardless of tales of "outside agitators," Madison Avenue created banana boat myths and deranged feudal pseudo-religious ministers carrying out the final "solution" to the Black problem in the "jungle."

In light of the trauma and horror of the "Jonestown" massacre, and the lack of serious progressive North American political scrutiny having been brought to bear on that catastrophe, it is only fitting that the recent "winds of change in the Caribbean" should also have hit the political shores of Guyana, and in turn we should turn our analytical spotlight on the dynamics of the Guyanese struggle to achieve full national liberation and socialism.

In the last few months, a progressive Catholic priest has been stabbed to death by Guyanese government henchmen at a midday anti-Guyana government demonstration; seven opposition leaders, including the world famous Pan Africanist scholar Walter Rodney, have been accused of having burned down a Government building, and there have been several weeks of massive strikes in every vital industry in the country.

To know these facts and to understand the dynamics and history of the struggle in Guyana and



the Caribbean is to perceive why the U.S. imperialist state's "advisor" Mr. Brzezinski has made the Caribbean basin — from Nicaragua through Grenada — "concentric circles of potential trouble which could be taken advantage of."

Nevertheless, the history of Guyana clearly shows a heroic pattern of the masses of Amerindian, African and East Indian oppressed struggling against the circle of actual trouble of European aggression, slavery, indentured servitude and colonialism. In 1763 the organized struggle for national liberation of Guyana began in the massive slave revolt, in which rebelling slaves fought for and temporarily established an African Government independent of the colonial/slavemaster state.

After the abolition of chattel slavery in 1831 the determination of the planter controlled state persisted in imposing a form of neo-slavery on the newly freed African slaves; and thus the planters intensified the plantation economy by instituting the system of indentured servitude thereby subjugating the East Indian peasants to the exigencies of the plantation system. This not only institutionalized the oppression of the East Indian masses it also deprived the land hungry African freed persons of the land which they had so long tilled for the appropriation by the plantation slavemasters and the British imperial system. Therefore the British imperial interests were maintained effectively into World War II by continuing this suffering of the Blacks from Africa, the East Indians from India and the Amerindians of

IndoAmerica by playing one of these great peoples off against the others and thus manifesting how the Majesty's government has perfected the colonial strategy of divide and rule.

However, as in many parts of the Third World, World War II proved to many Guyanese that no longer should the "Wretched of the Earth" fight for the freedom of Europe and Europeans, but the struggle for freedom was truly the struggle for the liberation of the Colonies of imperialist Europeans and North America.

So after WWII the Peoples Progressive Party was formed by the principal freedom activists of Guyana, who were representative of the largest ethnic groups, Africans and East Indians: Chedi Jagan, Forbes Burnham, and Sidney King (presently known as Eusi Kwayana), and many others.

By 1950 the masses of both African and East Indian, under the banner of the PPP, were thundering down the path of National liberation, demanding independence with a radical break from the British colonial and imperial system. However the unified mass momentum of the PPP was to be temporarily derailed by the institutionalized divide and rule strategy of the British and the reactionary cold war political interests of the U.S. Imperialist State. The U.S., especially on account of the McCarthy atmosphere of the 1950s, and even more so upon the birth of the Cuban Revolution, demanded that its imperial interests take hegemony in the British Colonies in the western hemisphere. Since Guyana was on the South American Continent and adjacent to the south east

border of Venezuela, the danger—in light of the Cuban Revolution—of a pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban regime in Guyana would have been a “threat” to U.S. oil interests in Venezuela because the Guyanese regime would be in a geographical position to give direct support to the then Venezuelan armed revolutionaries carrying out armed struggle for the liberation of Venezuela, in concert with the Anti-U.S. Imperialist Cuban Revolution.

Because of the lack of an effective strategy inside Guyana to break the British legacy of Black/East Indian competition and division and also because of the above international factors the Guyanese Independence movement split along these major ethnic group lines: Jagan and East Indian Community maintaining control of the PPP, and Burnham and King (Kwayana) and the Black community forming and maintaining the PNC (Peoples National Congress).

Consequently, with the PPP maintaining its international ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba, the U.S.—for reasons of the Cold War and its determination to isolate the Cuban Revolution—opted for an all-out drive to stop Jagan and the PPP from seizing state power in “British” Guiana.

Outside of this backdrop of big power political gamesmanship, but directly affected by this, was the intense competition for state power between the Black petit-bourgeoisie, represented principally by Forbes Burnham, and on the other hand the East Indian petit-bourgeoisie with Chedi Jagan at the helm.

Meanwhile the mass of Black and East Indian peasants and workers were dialectically forced to respond to this situation of international and domestic power politics from their respective positions of inequalities forced upon them by British Imperialism and Colonialism: the contradictions surface in the form of gross communal conflicts and riots that created, temporarily, serious and thorough rifts between toiling Africans and East Indians. Thus, by 1962 British troops were flown in to occupy Guyanese villages much like the British are presently militarily occupying North Ireland.

Patriotic Black and East Indian forces realized that there had been a momentary setback in the mass struggle to achieve true socialism in Guyana; they also realized that they must achieve Independence as quickly as possible so to eradicate the colonial contradiction first and foremost. Hence revolutionaries such as Eusi Kwayana began to organize the mass of Black workers and peasants into organizations that would hasten the drive for independence but would

maintain the basis for achievement of socialism and true anti-imperialism after the achievement of political independence. While building this anti-chauvinistic, pro-socialist base amongst the oppressed Black masses, progressive Black activists such as Kwayana and H. H. Nicholson, who established the African Society for Independent Africa (ASCRIA), were encouraging East Indian progressives to begin to organize the East Indian masses along anti-chauvinistic, pro-socialist lines.

In 1966 Independence was achieved with Burnham's PNC in power, in alliance with the minority Portuguese capitalist party, the United Force. Black progressives supported this drive for independence, but kept organizationally and ideologically at arms length from Burnham's political formation, the PNC.

In 1971 Forbes Burnham and the PNC, in alliance with ASCRIA, nationalized the Canadian Bauxite Company that had a stranglehold on the mining and marketing of Bauxite in Guyana. However the nationalization was carried out and implemented without a significant involvement of the working class in the Bauxite industry—that is to say, the workers supported the nationalization completely; however, the PNC excluded the working class from any role in making decisions in the newly nationalized company, and indeed used their control of the surplus value from the nationalized mines to institute an increased system of repression against the mineworkers to consolidate the Black Bourgeoisie's drive to become a National Bourgeoisie. In response, ASCRIA sided on the side of the predominately Black working class of the Bauxite mines, and in turn this produced an irreparable strain and eventual break in the Alliance between the bourgeois PNC and the decidedly working class and peasant oriented ASCRIANS.*

*It is important to note that there was, as a result of this conflict between ASCRIA and the PNC, an attack on Africans from the U.S. who were Revolutionary Black Nationalists and who were supporting, without intervening in Guyanese internal affairs, ASCRIA's pro-working class position. Two officials of *SOULBOOK* magazine, Mamadou Lumumba and Adewole Umoja were summarily and arbitrarily deported from Guyana on February 6, 1973. They had been teachers in the Guyana public school system, contributing to the development of Guyanese youth according to the guidelines of the Guyanese Ministry of Education. However, since they taught in and attended an ideological school sponsored by ASCRIA and privately associated with ASCRIANS at the same time ASCRIA led the seizures of Bookers lands by the East Indian and African peasants, they were considered “subversive” and hence undesirable.

credit: Caribbean Contact



Four of the Working Peoples Alliance members charged with arson by the Burnham government in August 1979. From left: Kwame Apata, Walter Rodney, Omowale and Rupert Roopnarine.

In 1973 ASCRIA had successfully begun to mobilize both East Indian and African land-hungry peasants in a number of spectacular seizures of vacant land previously owned by the British multinational corporation, Bookers. This marked a turning point in post-independence Guyanese politics: This was the first time since the pre-independence mass struggles of 1953 that there was a mass movement that involved the masses of both Black and East Indians; hence the years of Black-East Indian rivalry and hatred had begun to be reversed and the stage was set for a meaningful multi-racial vanguard political formation.

Thus the Working Peoples Alliance was formed by the African Society of Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA); RATOON, involving progressive Guyanese students, professors and other intellectuals such as Walter Rodney and the noted Guyanese economist Clive Thomas; and the Indian Peoples Revolutionary Association (IPRA), comprising progressive East Indian elements such as the former head of the PPP youth wing, Moses Bhagwan.

Since that time the unity in struggle of the Blacks and East Indians has increased and conversely the PNC regime's repression of the masses' organization, the WPA, has intensified.

Firstly, in 1974, upon Walter Rodney returning home from a teaching sojourn at the University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, he was refused a teaching position at the University of Guyana. Secondly, the

legendary figure of the WPA, Eusi Kwayana (along with Brindley Benn and Thelma Reece, the former being the vice premier in the Chedi Jagan pre-independence government)—who fought the British alongside Burnham and Jagan a quarter of a century ago—was imprisoned by the Burnham regime for violating an 1839 Publications Act which was passed by the British to protect the British governor in "British" Guiana from criticism. Only after forceful international and domestic outcry were all three set free.

In 1977 the Guyana Government called a referendum which — if passed — would give the government a right to change the constitution of the State so the PNC and Burnham could stay in power indefinitely without consulting the Guyanese electorate. Even the most impartial international observers of the Guyanese political scene admit that only 15% of the politically conscious electorate even bothered to vote. Nevertheless Burnham arrogantly and mendaciously announced that 71.45% of the electorate voted, with 97.7% of those voting in favor of the referendum.

"Jonestown" massacre, November 1978: with the presence of a white-controlled feudalistic organized pseudo-church with a mass of Black serfs dominating the Northeastern Guyana countryside of a selfproclaimed "socialist" state, we are faced with one of the most brutal enigmas of the 20th century. But if we take into consideration there was a most significant military arsenal and trained "hit men" in

Jonestown, the significance of the close relationship between "reverend jim" and Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister, must be construed in the context of the repressive regimes' arsenal of alternatives to sabotage the true progressive struggles in opposition to the PNC Burnham regime. Recently a Guyanese author hinted at this: "A University of Guyana researcher into our military balance . . . has estimated that there is one officially armed unit to every thirty-five inhabitants of Guyana—the regime is able to deal with almost any threat to security. . . ." When, therefore, it is suggested that the police and the army were too callous or cowardly to intervene in the shooting at Port Kaituma (when Congressman Ryan was assassinated) one must ask what were the general instructions of these forces in relation to Peoples Temple. Our information is that they had always been told that Jonestown was not within their jurisdiction. Jonestown developed as a "state within a state on the direct instructions of the PNC regime."

Thus it has been organizations such as the WPA that have called for an impartial international body to conduct a full scale inquiry into what occurred at Jonestown. Since the PNC Burnham regime is, along with the United States Government, so clearly implicated in the Peoples Temple tragedy it is impossible to protect the interests of those affected by this holocaust—Africans in the U.S. and the Guyanese people—by allowing the Burnham regime to continue

to issue self-serving statements in the guise of an "inquiry" into the "Jonestown" massacre.

This year the government dramatically escalated this pattern of repression. Seven members and supporters of the Working Peoples Alliance were arrested on trumped up charges of arson. This occurred on the first anniversary of the fraudulent referendum and on the heels of "socialist" Burnham having received an \$80 million loan from the International Monetary Fund in exchange for agreeing to hold down the wages of the Guyanese working class. When massive demonstrations occurred outside the court when the accused appeared, the Government brought in the House of Israel, a right wing cult-like paramilitary unit which is led by a renegade Black man from Cleveland, Ohio, named Rabbi Washington—who pretends he is a Black "political" fugitive from the U.S.—in order to break up the demonstration. However, in the process a member of the House of Israel stabbed and murdered a Catholic priest who was taking photographs for a local Catholic publication. In response to this Government-inspired repression the WPA got mass support from Guyanese all over the country. Blacks, East Indians, Amerindians, and Portugese turned out en masse to reject the government's accusations and to manifest support for the WPA defendants, who had been reduced to five since the charges were dropped on two of the seven.

Coalition for a Free Guyana

Press Release

August 23, 1979

New York City

Another executive member of the Working People's Alliance was arrested Wednesday, August 22 as the Guyana government's increasingly violent repression of opposition leaders, striking workers and demonstrators continues. Lawyer Moses Bhagwan was arrested and injured in a demonstration which resulted when the police denied the W.P.A. permission to hold a public meeting. Mr. Bhagwan had to be hospitalized overnight as a result of injuries incurred in the demonstration.

The mounting repressive violence of the P.N.C. regime through the use of its police and "Death Squad" comes in the wake of massive labor disputes and strikes involving over 20,000 of the country's

workers. The political and industrial crisis in the country escalated August 17th when four major trade unions went on strike in solidarity with the workers in the bauxite industry. The strike most certainly crippled the country's already buckling economy and intensified the confrontation between the dictatorial Burnham regime and the popular opposition forces that are demanding the resignation of the government.

Joining the opposition's call for an alternative government of national unity was one group of businessmen and professionals including author and poet A. J. Seymore.

Violence erupted in Georgetown August 16 when riot units using tear gas and the feared "Death

Squad" brandishing guns attacked a large crowd assembled for a meeting held by the Working People's Alliance. Supporters of the Marxist-oriented W.P.A., which had only recently declared itself a political party, countered by wrecking a small meeting organized one block away by the ruling People's National Congress. Later a police vehicle injured several people as it was deliberately driven back and forth into a crowd assembled outside the W.P.A. headquarters.

The violence continued the following day in the vicinity of the city's Magistrate Court. W.P.A. activists were picketing in support of Dr. Walter Rodney, Dr. Rupert Roopnaraine, and Dr. Omowale who are charged with setting fire to government buildings on July 11. Riot police and the "Death Squad" sent pickets scattering as they brutally beat some of the demonstrators senseless. Several people were hospitalized while dozens were bused ten miles outside the city and released. The W.P.A. has been on the offensive since the arrests of its members on the trumped-up charges of arson and possession of firearms. The P.N.C. has obviously grown desperate over the popular outpouring of national and international support for the W.P.A.

On August 14 two bombs were tossed into the yard of Cedrick Smith, a W.P.A. organizer at Linden, a bauxite town sixty miles from the capital.

Direct challenge to the 15-year rule of the P.N.C. has mounted since the referendum of 1978. Rapid deterioration of the economy and increased repression by the Burnham regime, have contributed to a rapidly mobilizing mass movement that is calling for a united patriotic front to replace the P.N.C. government. Burnham has been accused of infringing on democratic and human rights, of committing fraud in the 1978 referendum, of engineering corruption and political thuggery, of covering-up a close relationship that facilitated the mass murder and suicide by the People's Temple, and of ruling by an increasingly militaristic and repressive state.

The Guyana Mine Workers Union called the strike about the first of August over the refusal by the government owned bauxite corporation, Guymines, to pay merit increases in wages and salaries to workers in the bauxite industry. The industrial climate also chills over the government's failure to increase the minimum wage from \$11 to \$14 a day. The bauxite workers' determination to hold out increased as the government recently seized large quantities of food that were being donated and stored by GIMPEX, the trading agency of the main opposition

party in the legislative assembly (People's Progressive Party, PPP).

Some members of the 4,500 strong Clerical and Commercial Workers Union, whose president was arrested on August 18, have been pressured into returning to their jobs. However, a majority of the union membership have approved a resolution calling for a political solution to the crisis facing the country. And, despite the signing of a back-to-work agreement by the P.N.C.-controlled leadership of the G.M.W.U., there is as yet no sign that the bauxite workers are going back to their jobs.

Analysts are predicting a ruthless crackdown of all opposition forces; the increasing violence being used by police against the opposition and the workers is being interpreted as a possible preface to a state of emergency which would mean an even wider scope for the state repressive apparatus. Meanwhile, Burnham's embarrassment in the progressive international community is becoming obvious. His absence from the Lusaka Commonwealth Conference has sent ripples through his restless cabinet. Furthermore, in light of the presence in the country of foreign observers to the P.N.C. Party Congress which opened August 22, the regime will be forced to demonstrate by any means possible its ever-diminishing control over the intensifying crisis.

The contradiction in which the P.N.C. government finds itself — nationally and internationally — is clearly evident in a statement issued by a government spokesman on a New York radio program several days ago. In an invective against Dr. Walter Rodney and the W.P.A., Minister Nascimento accused the party of attempting to be the "Sandinistas of Guyana." Obviously the P.N.C. could not have been attempting to draw an analogy between Prime Minister Burnham and the deposed tyrant Somoza. In light of such pronouncements by an official of a government which claims recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua, other Caribbean and Latin American countries will have good cause to question just where the sentiments of the professed "socialist" government really lie.

On Wednesday, August 15, the entire P.N.C. cabinet met with Phillip Habib, former U.S. Undersecretary of State for the Caribbean who was recently pressed out of retirement by the State Department to help solve the crisis in the Caribbean. It is understood that the U.S. will pour more aid into the eastern Caribbean and Central American countries such as Grenada and Nicaragua to help avert a growing trend towards socialism in the Americas.

A RESPONSE TO THE AFRICAN PEOPLES SOCIALIST PARTY

- PFOC Statement

We want to make our position clear on the recent charges made by the APSP against PFOC. For the past year the APSP has been embarked upon a campaign of escalating slander against Prairie Fire that has attempted to portray us as agents of imperialism who are trying to control the Black Liberation Movement in general and the APSP in particular. The November 1979 issue of the *Burning Spear*, the APSP newspaper, states that it holds Prairie Fire responsible for the shooting attack on Bay Area attorney Faye Stender, and demands that we disband our organization. In their December issue they write: "...the APSP called for PFOC's disbandment following months of PFOC's intervention in the Black movement, and because its left phrasemongering provides a cover for black lumpen gangsterism which calls itself revolutionary and has already resulted in leftists, liberals, and black organizers being killed, threatened, or otherwise terrorized and injured." This latest accusation, that we are responsible for the Stender shooting, and by implication attacks on other forces, is totally untrue and the APSP knows this. It is a calculated lie by the APSP aimed at discrediting our political work and revolutionary integrity for the purpose of opportunist political gain.

As we have stated in the past, we believe that the APSP's conduct of this struggle is unprincipled and dangerous not only to us, but to all forces committed to building anti-imperialist movement in this country. Again, we emphasize: the publication of such deliberate lies is extremely dangerous because it creates conditions for COINTELPRO-type attacks not only on us but on the Black revolutionary movement.

During the past year, Prairie Fire has worked to clarify and strengthen our solidarity with the Black Nation's struggle for liberation by taking political/strategic leadership from Black revolutionary nationalist forces within the Black movement. As we state throughout this issue of *Breakthrough*, and are making concrete in our work, we believe that revolutionary anti-imperialist solidarity must be based on clear support for New Afrikan (Black) national independence and the struggle to free the land. The actual struggle at the bottom of the contradiction with the APSP is over what politics and forces give revolutionary leadership to Black people's struggle for liberation and to white forces in solidarity with the Black Liberation Movement. We believe that this contradiction will be resolved through struggle by the Black Liberation Movement. The lying and baiting charges put out by the APSP attempt to obscure and divert people's attention from these real political issues that the revolutionary left is faced with. By substituting accusations like: "agent of the state," "responsible for assaults on innocent people," and "criminal/terroristic," for principled struggle over goals and direction, the APSP is trying to cut off meaningful political struggle that could advance the anti-imperialist solidarity movement. The APSP is forced to escalate its lies at this time, because PFOC has not dissolved or been destroyed by this struggle over the past year. In fact, our unity and practice in solidarity with revolutionary nationalist forces within the Black Liberation Movement has been strengthened.

These attacks will not keep us from strengthening our efforts in solidarity with Black national liberation, or our commitment to building anti-imperialist movement in the oppressor nation that can politically and materially support the Black Nation's struggle for human rights and the liberation of New Afrika.

INDEPENDENCE & SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO

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William Morales is a member of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Movement. He was arrested in 1979 and held in the Federal House of Detention in New York City. He was released on May 12, 1980.

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