

Inside: Philippines After Marcos

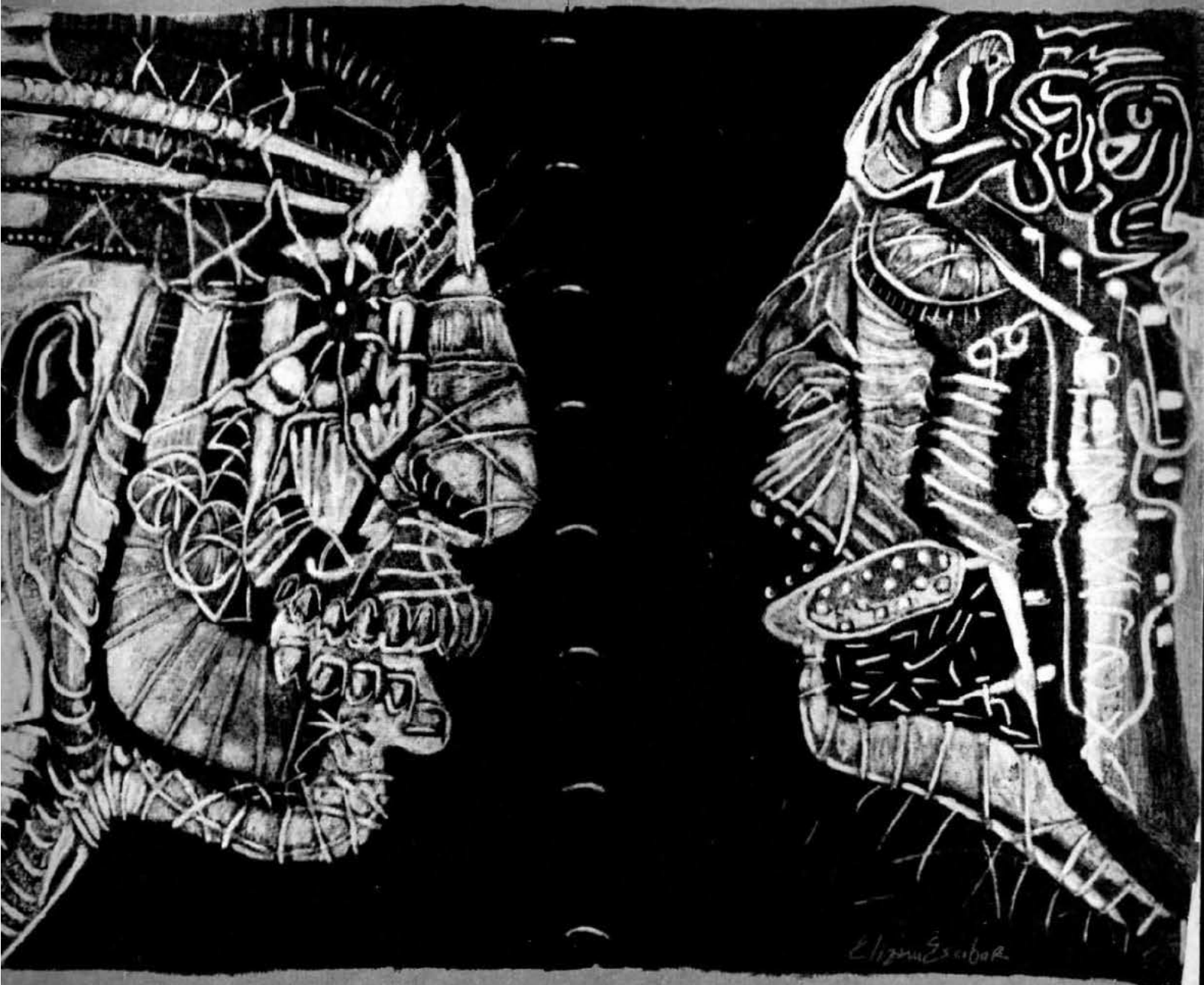
# BREAKTHROUGH

POLITICAL JOURNAL OF PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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**WHEN DEMOCRACY TURNS TO TORTURE**

Human Rights Violations Against POWs and Political Prisoners in the U.S.

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*COVER ARTWORK by Elizam Escobar, Puerto Rican POW. The painting is from a national art show of Escobar's work entitled "Art as an Act of Liberation." The exhibit is currently touring the U.S. Escobar, convicted of seditious conspiracy for fighting for Puerto Rican independence, is in federal prison in Oxford, Wisconsin.*

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## EDITORIAL

# Azania

## A Constant State of Emergency

The people of Azania are in open rebellion. They have shattered forever the mental shackles of colonialism. The South African regime is responding with genocidal warfare. This continues despite the so-called ending of the state of emergency. Over 1500 Blacks have been killed in the current crisis. South Africa's war machine staged a coup in Lesotho, raided Botswana and entrenched its illegal occupation of Namibia. In flagrant violation of international treaties, it continues to direct and arm the MNR bandits in Mozambique. With only meek token protest, the media of the Western world goes along with South African press censorship, strengthening the state of siege and providing cover for the apartheid regime to get away with murder.

The U.S. is the principal ally of the settler colonial/white supremacist regime in Pretoria. U.S. banks and corporations reap huge profits from apartheid, while the

U.S.-Israel connection insures a steady supply of nuclear and military technology. South Africa is a bulwark for imperialist strategy in Southern and Central Africa—and this relationship is firmer than ever. In February 1986, the world's bankers showed their true colors by refusing to seriously pressure South Africa on its enormous debt. While throwing verbal bricks at apartheid, the Reagan Administration is stepping up its support for South African aggression. Over the last five years, South African sabotage has been responsible for \$10 billion worth of economic destruction to Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho. This is more than the total foreign aid received by those nations in the same time period. Now the U.S. is publicly embracing the South African-controlled contras of UNITA in order to tighten the noose around the People's Republic of Angola. UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, Number One African Mercenary



Uitenhage: funeral procession for some of the hundreds of Azanians killed by South African police.

for the CIA/apartheid axis, will be openly financed by the U.S. to the tune of \$27 million a year. Actions speak louder than words.

The Reagan Administration's new-found repugnance for apartheid is as hollow as its "support for democracy" in the Philippines. The U.S. recognizes that the South African racists can no longer control the Black majority, and that revolutionary forces are gaining ground. So we are treated to the spectacle of George Bush declaring his abhorrence for apartheid on Martin Luther King Day. The Administration calls for the release of Nelson Mandela, negotiations and restraint. *Foreign Affairs* prints an obituary for the policy of constructive engagement. The U.S. is groping for a new approach, with the transparent goal of defusing the revolutionary crisis, finding a "moderate" alternative and perpetuating the dominance of Western capital.

Remember that the U.S. is no newcomer to this game. Centuries of practice against the colonized New Afrikan (Black) Nation here has provided a wealth of lessons. During the 60s, for example, the U.S. was able to combine repression and reform in order to defeat the revolutionary Black nationalist movement. "War on Poverty" was declared, "civil rights" were granted, Jim Crow legal apartheid received a death blow. Black reformers were put forward as authentic leaders while Black revolutionaries were hunted down, killed and imprisoned. The drive for real Black power and self-determination was contained as conditions for the great majority of the Black population got worse and the underlying structures of colonialism and white supremacy were strengthened. This is why Chokwe Lumumba, Chairman of the New Afrikan People's Organization and a veteran of the Black struggle in the 60s, has said:

Civil rights is the same thing that now, some people say, is all that is needed in Azania. I hear folks say that it is not a struggle to control the nation, to surface an Azanian nation, but merely a struggle for democratic rights within the South African government. There can be no democratic rights where there is no economic control and no political control of the nation by the people.

Let the U.S. preach all it wants about "civil rights" and "non-violence." The people of Azania are not fighting and dying for a place at the same table with the slaveholders. Their battle cries are *Amandla!* (Power), and *Izwe Lethu!* (The Land is Ours). After decades of peaceful protest, they have created liberation movements—the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—to wage armed struggle for their freedom and dignity. They have built dynamic organizations like AZAPO and UDF in the townships, as well as powerful labor confederations to uphold their demands. They will settle for nothing less than the overturning of all the institutions of colonialism and the creation of an independent nation based on the rule of the majority.

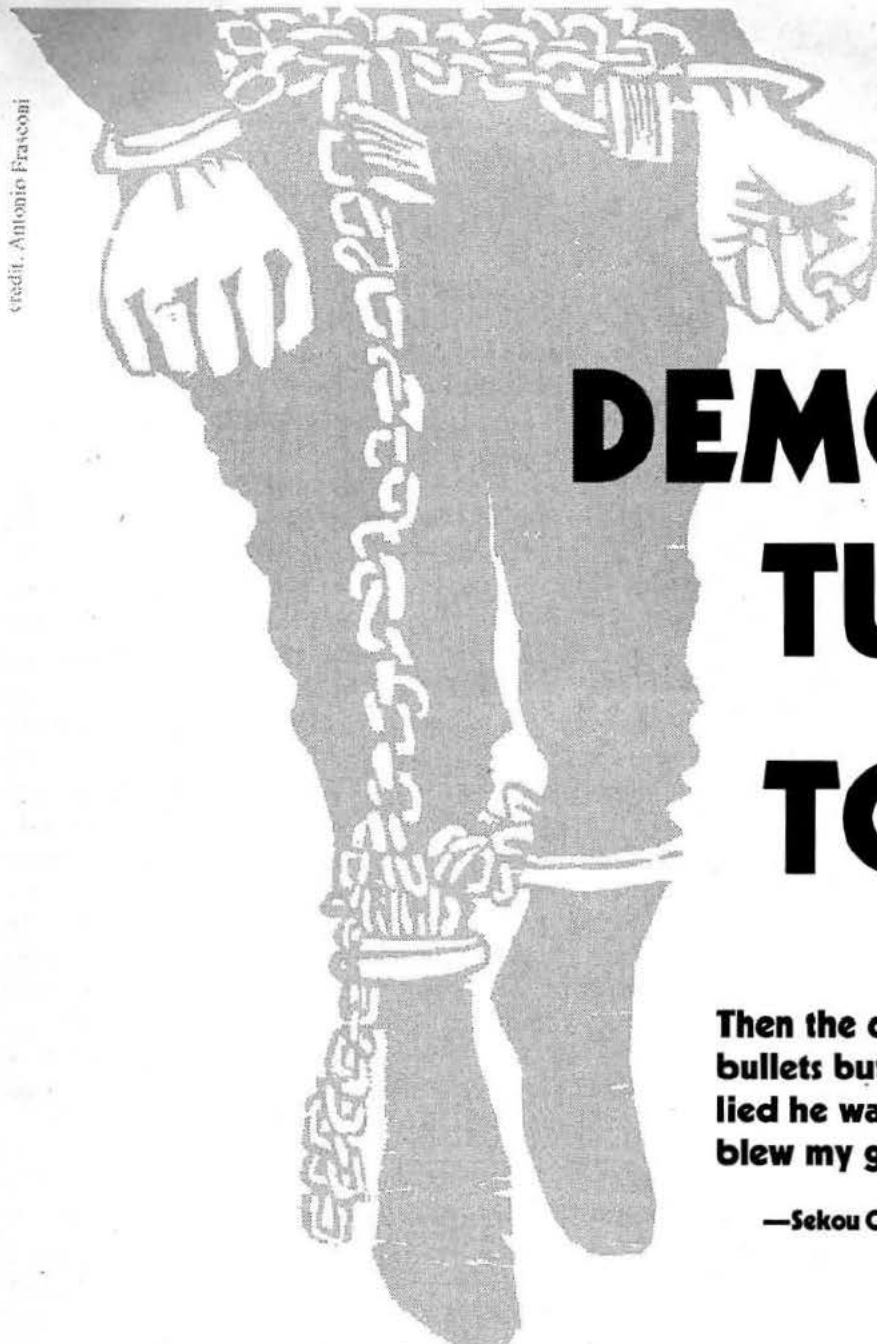
Not all the casualties in this war of national liberation will be Black. The war will be taken to the centers of white

power and privilege. The white settler population is the backbone of South Africa's political, economic and military rule. It cannot escape the consequences of revolution in South Africa.

There will be many more funerals in Azania this year. The cost will be terrible for the people as the white supremacist system fights for survival. There is a pressing need to defend the Azanian revolution. This means political and material support for the liberation movements. We cannot oppose apartheid without concretely aiding those who are spearheading the resistance. We can't effectively counter the lies about "terrorism" if we fail to project the vision of those who are creating the new Azania.

The Azanian Revolution includes different forces, recognized by the international community and deeply rooted inside the country, who have not yet achieved unity. This is a source of much confusion in the solidarity movement here. We should be wary of organizations who scorn the principle of self-determination and declare one or another movement "legitimate" while denouncing the others. This practice has even reached the point of some anti-apartheid groups denying public forums to representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement. These actions are justified on the grounds that these movements are insignificant. Yet from Sharpeville, to the work of Steve Biko and the Soweto rebellions, the Africanist or Black Consciousness trend has played a powerful role in mobilizing popular struggle. This continues today. Today thousands of members and supporters of these organizations are now imprisoned in South Africa's dungeons. While it is appropriate for anti-apartheid activists to align themselves with particular organizations inside Azania, only the Azanian people will decide who are their leaders.

For the anti-apartheid movement, the state of emergency continues. 1985 saw significant gains for the anti-apartheid movement here. Students on campuses across the country challenged their universities' support for South Africa. Some cities were forced into partial divestment. Thousands of people broke the law—some in pre-arranged arrests, others in surprise direct actions against South African consulates, South African Airways offices and U.S. corporate investors in South Africa. But this year there has been, until recently, a significant lull. Now there are some encouraging signs. Students around the country are stepping up campaigns for divestment, defying campus authorities. At U.C. Berkeley students barricaded the Chancellor's office with a shanty town and militantly resisted police attacks. With township uprisings and army killings increasing, we need to be in the streets. We need to break through the press ban and challenge the lie that "South Africa is reforming" or that "Reagan hates apartheid." From the South African consulates to the University campuses, to the State Department, it's up to us to impose "people's sanctions." We can deliver a telling blow here at home against the U.S./South African axis of white supremacy. ■



# WHEN DEMOCRACY TURNS TO TORTURE

**Then the cop told me he took out all the bullets but one or two, and every time I lied he was going to pull the trigger until he blew my god damned head off.**

**—Sekou Odinga, New Afrikan POW, NYC, October 1981**

Here in America the reality of torture seems far removed. We live in the age of the death squads, of countless massacres, of tens of thousands of women, men and children disappeared into clandestine prisons and unmarked graves. While we know that torture happens every day in U.S.-backed dictatorships from Central America to the Philippines and South Africa, most progressive people are completely unaware that selective acts of torture are being carried out by the government against revolutionaries imprisoned inside this country. The idea that this could be happening goes against the grain. From day one, we have been taught that there is no better, more democratically-balanced legal system than ours. Even as the Reagan administration continues its rightwing attack on human and political rights, the myth remains pervasive that Congress and the Constitution will shield the left from violent repression. Even as the U.S. sponsorship of torture in El Salvador and Guatemala is exposed for the whole world

to see, people refuse to believe that it can happen here.

On December 9, 1975, in the year that the U.S. war against Vietnam finally ended, with over one million dead, the United Nations adopted by unanimous vote the *Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*. Article 1 of the document states:

Torture means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted by or at the instigations of a public official on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him [her] or a third person information or confession, punishing him [her] or a third person for an act he has committed or is suspected of having committed or intimidating him [her] or any other persons. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in, or incidental to, lawful sanctions to the extent consistent with the *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*.





"I'm a contra, too." —  
Ronald Reagan, March  
1986. Contra forces a San-  
dinista supporter to dig his  
own grave and then exe-  
cutes him.

These rules include prohibitions against the use of corporal punishment, placing in a dark cell, and all cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments for disciplinary offenses.

Now a growing body of evidence has come to light which shows that the U.S. government has begun to conduct deliberate acts of torture against New Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Native American, Mexican and white revolutionaries within this country. The stories presented here bear stark witness to this fact. Taken together, they are an opening indictment of the United States for the crime of torture inside its own borders.

Obviously, torture is not happening in the U.S. on the immense, ghastly scale of El Salvador, Chile, Guatemala, Mexico or Azania/South Africa. In those countries mass terror and torture are the *only* way military or fascist regimes can maintain domination over the majority of the people. While the U.S. government cynically protests what it refers to as "human rights abuses" in its client states, the facts tell a different story. Refugees fleeing death squads in Central America are turned back at the Mexican border. The Sanctuary movement is attacked by the FBI. And the 1985 foreign aid bill passed by Congress lifted the ten-year ban on the U.S. training of foreign police forces which routinely carry out torture.\*

It is neither necessary nor desirable for the U.S. to wage such a war of torture here in its citadel of democracy. This is not to say that widespread torture has never been practiced. Remember: this "perfect union," with "liberty and justice for all," was founded in the terror of slavery and genocide. Africans who resisted bondage were routinely tortured, their heads placed on wooden pikes for all to see. Native Americans were infected with diseases, scalped and slaughtered by white settlers who craved their land.

Today we tend to forget this legacy. The moral legitimacy of the U.S. rests on the belief that bourgeois democ-

racy—the rule of law, the right to protest and organize for change, the notion that the U.S. has great respect for human rights—works for everyone. Even as the government makes an official holiday of Martin Luther King's birthday, it's no secret that the "land of the free" has never existed for colonized nations within the U.S. The system of white supremacy is as entrenched as ever. Yet the perception of America as a great democracy makes torture difficult to justify and politically costly to carry out at home. Accordingly, torture is being reintroduced in a highly selective fashion, hidden from general view and justified as part of the "war against terrorism."

The examples of torture documented below are part of a counterinsurgency strategy which has a dual purpose. To the embryonic armed clandestine revolutionary organizations it sends the message: "If you dare to fight the power of the state we will brutalize you and smash your movement." To a new generation of activists now building the anti-intervention, anti-apartheid and other mass movements, the warning is: "Keep your protests peaceful. Don't go too far in opposing what the government is doing. Distance yourself from revolutionaries and revolutionary ideas; if you don't, what is happening to them can happen to you."

In attempting to mold public opinion to a view that torture is acceptable, even necessary, the government relies heavily on its "war against terrorism." Much more than a mere media campaign, the war against terrorism is an act of psychological manipulation being carried out on a world scale. Precedents are being set when Secretary of State Schultz declares that anything done to those deemed terrorists is justified because "they are not human beings." Silence and lack of opposition to the torture of revolutionaries inside the U.S. is shortsighted. Torture conducted by the government is not the unfortunate excess of a few sadistic agents. It is *selective, conscious and systematic.*

\* Covert Action Information Bulletin, #25, Winter 1986.



## THE NEW CENTURIONS

The professionalization of the intelligence/police forces in the U.S. began under the FBI's infamous COINTEL-PRO program aimed at destroying the Black liberation struggle and other movements of colonized people for self-determination during the 1960s and 70s. COINTEL-PRO also raised the level of repression against the anti-war, anti-imperialist and women's movements. In the past few years, the existence of an elite force of FBI and local police "red squad" agents, called the Joint Terrorist Task Force (JTTF), has been revealed. This unit operates in many cities and has recently received multi-million dollar funding to expand its operations coast-to-coast. At present the FBI admits to having 500 agents in place to combat the left. Armed with state-of-the-art computers, surveillance gear and automatic weapons, the JTTF is at the nerve center of the government's repressive effort.

The JTTF operates even outside the U.S. After Puerto Rican POW William Guillermo Morales was liberated from prison in New York, he was recaptured in Mexico. There he was tortured with electro-shock under the supervision of agents of the JTTF. The Joint Terrorist Task Force is also responsible for the torture of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Sekou Odinga (see testimony, p. 7) and the 1981 execution of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata as he lay wounded on the street, attempting to surrender.

These attacks are consistent with a joint strategy developed by the U.S. government and its NATO allies in Europe. Most of us are unaware of the gravity and persistence of torture in Europe today. In 1976 the European Commission on Human Rights concluded that the British government and the authorities in Northern Ireland were responsible for torture and inhuman treatment of people



U.S. government agents brutally murdered Angel Rodriguez Cristobal in his prison cell on November 11, 1979. A leading member of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, LSP, Angel was jailed when he and 21 others were accused of "trespassing" for obstructing a U.S. military maneuver on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. Sentenced to six months, he was exiled to a U.S. federal prison in Florida. When his battered body was found, prison officials claimed he had hanged himself—a lie disproved by the four-inch wound on his forehead, and by the sounds of the beating heard by nearby prisoners during the night.

detained for interrogation by police. Under various laws designed to "prevent terrorism," hundreds of Irish people have been subjected to assault and hooding, and have been forced to stand spread-eagle against a wall for long periods of time. These actions, and the dehumanizing conditions in Irish prisons, led to the hunger strikes of 1981, which galvanized world opinion in favor of the struggle for Irish national liberation.

In Italy, there are thousands of political prisoners being held for their alleged participation in or support of armed revolutionary organizations. Reports of torture began to surface in 1982. Amnesty International cites instances of prolonged beatings of hooded detainees, forcing prisoners to drink large quantities of salt water, burning with cigarettes, twisting of feet and nipples and the use of electric shock.

West Germany, the strongest U.S. ally on the continent, has a fifteen-year record of torture against revolutionaries identified with the armed anti-imperialist resistance. Entire prisons have been built—complete with soundproof cells, constant light and closed-circuit t.v. surveillance—to psychologically isolate and destroy these prisoners. A number of imprisoned leaders—Ulrike Meinhoff, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe—have been murdered by the government, their deaths covered up as suicides. The situation in West Germany is so barbaric that at different points in the past decade, human rights organizations like the Bertrand Russell Tribunal and individuals such as Jean Paul Sartre have been moved to register protest against torture and the denial of human rights.

### FROM PUNISHMENT TO TORTURE: THE U.S. MODEL

In the United States a great deal of attention is being paid to the development of methods of torture which are subtle, difficult to demonstrate and easy for the government to deny. Psychological torture, isolation, the denial of medical care and sexual abuse fall into the "gray area," which blurs the line between legal forms of punishment and the violence of physical torture. Since the 1960s, the U.S. has been experimenting with techniques designed to break the body and spirit of revolutionaries and the prison population in general. These methods are called the *denial system*. They are the perfect creation for the torturers within Western American democracy.

In 1979, experts from Europe, Latin America and the U.S. gathered in Puerto Rico for a secret conference on terrorism. Government background papers prepared for the conference praised the "psychic consequences [of such] isolation," quoting the *London Sunday Times*:

The popularity of prolonged solitary as a component of interrogation provides its own grim testimonial. Under conditions less severe than those endured by Meinhoff and other members of the group [the West German Red Army Faction] prisoners have lost their minds, their nerves have been shattered forever; they have been driven to suicide.

For more than a decade, the U.S. has been constructing just such a denial system to dehumanize political prisoners and Prisoners of War. Imprisoned far from their families and supporters, more and more revolutionaries are in isolation. More and more are denied visiting and correspondence rights. Medical care is often denied and the need for high security is used as a cover for withholding urgent treatment (see box on Dr. Alan Berkman, p. 4).

The character and personality of revolutionary women have been studied by prison psychologists to determine how to break their resistance. At Davis Hall inside Alderson prison, Puerto Rican POW's Lucy Rodriguez and Haydeé Torres were held in soundproof cells, under 24 hour surveillance and subjected to strip, vaginal and rectal searches by male guards. A 1985 campaign against these conditions forced the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) to transfer the women to Pleasanton, California.

Alejandrina Torres and Susan Rosenberg are now being subjected to the BOP's latest experiment. They have been transferred to the MCC in Tuscon, Arizona, thousands of miles from family and supporters. There, the women's section—which holds only eight prisoners—has been transformed into a maximum security segregation unit. The two women are forced to wear different clothing than anyone else. None of the women are allowed out of the unit. Unlike the male prisoners, their meals, their work and their doctor are brought into the unit. Although there are showers right across the hall from their cells, they are being made to walk the gauntlet of the men's tier to showers on the other side. When showering they are forced to leave the doors open. The six other women are being held there for short periods of time and believe that Susan

and Alejandrina are the cause of the restrictive treatment. This contradiction is being manipulated by the guards to create a state of extreme hostility between the other prisoners and the two. Again using "security" as a smokescreen, the prison is engaging in psychological warfare to threaten the safety of these two revolutionary women. Similar isolation units for women are being set up at the federal prisons in Lexington, Kentucky and in Miami.

Just as the U.S. has made torture an instrument of official policy in El Salvador, this same government has begun to apply these techniques to their dirty war against the growth of resistance in the cities of America. Political prisoners and POWs are not helpless victims. They are examples of the tremendous capacity of human beings to resist the inhumanity of torture. Behind these few accounts are the voices of other women, men and children who have undergone or may yet undergo similar terrors. These painful stories confront us with a choice: to hide our heads, feeling powerless; or to begin to act.

By breaking down the walls of secrecy, we can expose the state to the outrage of many people. Against the futility this violence is designed to make us feel, we need to counterpose examples of human resistance. In Argentina, the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo refused to accept the "official story." Their determination helped to bring the government down. How many of us know about the mass movement in Mexico, which is demanding that the U.S.-backed PRI government of de la Madrid release the hundreds of disappeared political prisoners which it holds? On every continent the families of the tortured and disappeared are mobilizing people into the streets to stop these crimes against humanity. We here must do no less.







# TESTIMONIES

## SEKOU ODINGA

*I am a political being. I have been part of the Black Liberation movement, the movement to free Black people from the oppression and the injustices that they have suffered since first being brought here as Afrikan slaves. I am a descendent of those Afrikan slaves. ... I do not consider myself an American citizen. I am a New Afrikan. All the wealth that we produce is totally controlled by the big businessmen that run and control the United States of America. [They] would have you believe that I am a criminal, that we are all criminals. That just isn't so. I am a New Afrikan soldier, and we have an absolute right to fight for our freedom. ... We're fighting just like Afrikans are doing in South Afrika who are fighting against their oppression.*

Sekou has been at the forefront of the Black Liberation struggle for many years. First charged with conspiracy in the famous New York Black Panther 21 trial of 1968, he went underground to continue building the movement to free the Black Nation—New Afrika. In 1981, Sekou was captured by the Joint Terrorist Task Force, which executed fellow New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtyari Sundiata on the spot. Accused of membership in the Black Liberation Army, he was convicted of participating in the liberation of Prisoner of War Assata Shakur and other revolutionary actions. Sentenced to 40 years, he is imprisoned at Marion Federal Penitentiary. For more information, contact the New Afrikan Legal Network, c/o Malcolm X Center, 13206 Dexter Ave., Detroit, MI.

On October 23, 1981, about 12:30 p.m., after being captured in the back yard of a construction company, I was roughly handcuffed, put in a police car and taken to the 112th precinct in Queens, NY. On the way I was struck in the body and groin a few times by two of the four police that were in the car with me.

Upon arriving at the precinct I was taken out of the car surrounded by three of the police that were with me. While I was being walked up a flight of stairs another cop came running up behind me screaming something, and hit me in the head with a hand-carried walkie-talkie. I stumbled and fell from the impact of the blow and was grabbed and supported by two of the police that were with me, while the other one tried to calm down the cop that had hit me.

I was taken to the second floor and entered a long room with a number of desks and people working. There was a holding cell in the room but they took me to what appeared

to be behind this big main office to a large, almost empty room.

Here they roughly threw me on the floor and a couple of them started kicking me. After a minute or so one of them said search the so and so (called me a derogatory name, such as nigger, black bastard, s.o.b., etc.). So they began to go through my pockets with me still lying on the floor face down with my hands cuffed behind my back. After going through my pants pockets—all the time calling me nigger, etc.—they turned me over, laying me on my cuffed hands and began going through the pockets of my jacket and shirt.

After going through my wallet and other belongings for a couple of minutes, they turned their attention back to kicking and calling me names.

Then a couple of other police came into the room and after exchanging a few words they picked me up and took me to a small office off of this large room.

Once in this small office two police stood holding each of my arms while another stood in front of me and started hitting me. After hitting me a few times, mostly in the body, he began to ask me questions. Most of the questions dealt with what they called a robbery of a Brinks armored car that took place on October 20, 1981, in Rockland County and the whereabouts of Assata Shakur and Abdul Majid.\* Since I didn't know anything about what they were asking me, that's what I told them. Each time I would tell them that I don't know, the one that was questioning me would hit me. While this one cop was questioning and hitting me there was another standing to the side of him and every so often he would kick me in the groin when I wasn't looking at him. All the time I was kept handcuffed behind my back with two police holding me up so I didn't fall or move from the blows or kicks.

This went on for an hour or so and then some others came in and said that I was Sekou Odinga who they had wanted since 1969. The questioning continued for a short time longer by this group of p's with the same results, me getting hit or kicked for not knowing the answers to their questions. Then they went out and an older p came in and sat down at the desk and told me to take a seat at the side

\* Assata Shakur is a Black Liberation Army (BLA) leader who was captured with Sundiata Acoli and sentenced to life in prison for the death of a New Jersey state trooper. She was liberated from Alderson Prison by the BLA in November 1979. To this day, the FBI has not been able to find her.

Abdul Majeed, also in the BLA, is imprisoned in Clinton Correctional Facility in New York. He was convicted, along with Basheer Hameed, for the death of a New York City cop. At the time Sekou was interrogated, Abdul was underground.



Sekou Odinga

of it. I sat down and he began to talk about how he didn't want to see me get hurt and that they were going to stay on me until they got what they wanted, so I should just tell him what they wanted to know and he would see to it that no one hurt me.

Well this approach didn't last very long because another three p's came in along with the one who had been kicking me in the groin and the one who seemed to be in charge told two of them to pick me up out of the chair. They did this and the one who had been sitting at the desk got up and left the room.

Then the one who was giving the orders hit me and realized that I still had on a bulletproof vest. He shouted some profanity and ripped my shirt open and ripped the vest off of me. Then he hit me a number of times in the body, knocking me down. While I was down he and the other p who had been kicking me before started kicking me.

Then they got me up and the boss told me, "That was only a taste of what you are going to get if you lie to me." Then he started asking basically the same questions that the other p had been asking me and I gave him basically the same answers. But his response was a little different because one, I no longer had on the vest, which had been blunting the blows of the other p a little; and two, instead of hitting me once after each question, he would hit me four or five times in a row after each question.

This went on for a while—maybe an hour or two—all the time with my hands cuffed behind my back.

After a while someone came in and said that "the chief is here." Then one of them said maybe we better take him somewhere else. Someone else said that there was a men's room and they decided to take me there and continue the torture. When they took me in the men's room they started back doing the same thing. Then the kicker pulled out his gun and started messing with it.

He came over and said that he had "took out all the

bullets but one or two and that from now on every time you lie I am going the pull the trigger until I blow your god damned head off." I told him that I hadn't been lying and he punched me and looked at the boss as if to say continue. Then the boss started asking the same questions and I gave him the same answers. Each time I answered him the kicker would pull the trigger. After the fourth time they seemed to get mad and started punching and kicking me furiously. I fell down and one of them—I think it was the boss—said bring him over to the toilet. So they dragged me to one of the stalls with the toilets in them and the boss grabbed me by my head and held it over the toilet while I was on my knees. Then he asked me a question and when I told him I don't know the answers he pushed my head down in the toilet and flushed it. He did this a number of times, until someone came into the men's room and said something to him.

Then he told the other ones to take me back into the little office.

When we got in the office the kicker said something about being tired of messing with me and if I didn't tell them what they wanted to know they were going to throw me out the window and say I tried to escape.

Then one of the new p's walked up and stood next to me. He was holding a lighted cigar and when the boss asked me a question that I couldn't answer, he put the lighted cigar on my wrists behind my back. Being cuffed I couldn't move it very well. He did this four or five times.

After about 15 or 20 minutes they came and got me again. They took me back into the large room where there was a lot of p's and stood me in a corner and told me to face the wall. Then a number of the p's in the room came over and took turns punching and kicking me. Then the boss told one of them to take off my shoe. After removing one of my shoes the boss came over and stood on one of my feet while he began to ask me questions again. After each answer he would grind my foot with his shoe, pressing his weight down until he had tore the toe nail off. Then the kicker tried to kick me again in the groin but I seen it coming and twisted out of the way. The force of his kick was so hard that he threw himself off balance and fell. This seemed to enrage him and he picked up one of the chairs and threw it and hit me with it. He then picked it up and hit me with it again. I fell and he started kicking me. After that they picked me up and the boss started asking questions again. Well by now I was fed up and I told them that they weren't going to believe nothing I say anyhow, so I had no more to say to them. He kept asking me questions and I refused to answer any more and he would continue to punch me every time I didn't answer. But since he had been punching me every time I did answer it made no difference to me. The next time they knocked me down I refused to get up when he told me to. After kicking me while I was down, trying to make me get up and me refusing, just ignoring them, just trying to protect myself the best I could from the kick, he told the p's to pick me up.

He asked me something else. But again I refused to



# ALEJANDRINA TORRES

*Ladies and Gentlemen of the Jury: As I stand before you for the last time, let me once again reiterate that I am doing so as a Puerto Rican Prisoner of War, captured in the course of struggle for the liberation of my country—and also as a woman, a representative of the most victimized and oppressed sector of society. These two factors are an integral part of my reality and life experiences. ... What your government attempts to label as terrorism is really resistance. ... Resistance is our means of survival. ... What is most important in my life is that Puerto Rico will be free. Puerto Rico will be free and socialist if we, the Puerto Rican people, so desire."*

Together with her comrades, POWs Edwin Cortes and Alberto Rodriguez, Alejandrina was convicted of seditious conspiracy in 1985 and sentenced to 35 years. A fourth *independentista*, Jose Luis Rodriguez, received a twenty-year suspended sentence and five years probation. Today there are 39 Puerto Rican political prisoners and POWs in U.S. prisons. For more information, contact the Nat'l Cte. to Free Puerto Rican POWs, Box 476698, Chicago, IL 60647.

On July 11, 1984, at approximately 9:15 p.m., on the 12th floor of this institution, my visit with my daughter

## Odinga fr. p.8

answer. After that I think they decided they wasn't going to get nothing out of me or maybe they were getting tired because this had been going on all afternoon. Anyhow they attacked me real viciously and then took me and threw me in the cell.

A few minutes later they came and got me and said they were going to let the press see me so they could show the world what *they* do to revolutionaries.

They took me downstairs and officially booked me and then took me out where the press was so they could take pictures.

From there they took me to the Queens court on Queens Blvd. I was assigned a lawyer by the court and when he saw what condition I was in he asked the judge if he would postpone the case and send me to a doctor because I was in bad shape. The judge had me brought out in front of him and after seeing me he ordered that I be given medical attention.

This must have been around 7:00 or 8:00 p.m. I was left in the court holding cell for a while and then taken to the Brooklyn House of Detention. I finally got to see the jail doctors in BHD around 11:00 p.m. As soon as he seen me he ordered that I be taken to the hospital.

I finally arrived at Kings County Hospital around midnight under heavy armed guard. The N.Y.C. police stood



Alejandrina Torres

was terminated, whereupon the officer on duty (Officer Young) called for a female officer to conduct a strip search. At approximately 9:35 p.m., Officer Buzelli entered the Unit, escorted me to my cell-room and conducted the strip search. I complied with the strip search which comprised removal of all my garments, squatting three ►

around with their many different kinds of guns and intimidated everyone who looked like they wanted to help me. The doctor told me the next day that all those guns had him so nervous that couldn't do anything. He decided to keep me in the hospital and to take some more tests. I was taken up to the prison ward and cuffed to the bed by my ankles.

The next morning when the doctor came and saw the cuffs he ordered them removed. I had been put in a six or seven bed room by myself and a guard was put outside my room looking through the large picture window 24 hours a day.

I was put on intravenous and my many wounds was given attention.

I was denied comb and toothbrush and bath. I had to get a court order to get these items. I was denied TV, newspapers, books, magazines, etc. for the first month that I was there. It was only after my attorney (Michael Warren) had met with the city administration that I was allowed to get some of this.

I was in this room 24 hours a day with disco music being pumped in for 17 hours. I asked that the music be turned off because it was very annoying and was told it couldn't be turned off or changed.

I was not allowed to talk to or come in contact with any other inmate at any time. I was kept totally isolated from October 24, 1981, until February 4, 1982, while I was in Kings County Hospital.

times (front and back view, and coughing), spreading legs apart and bending forward for a full visual exposure of both my cavities (rectal and vaginal). Upon completion of above and as I began putting my clothes on she told me to wait a minute and smilingly instructed me to spread my cheeks for her. I asked her if she hadn't seen enough of me whereupon she became intimidatingly bossy with her finger pointing and kept asking me if I was refusing an order. I told her I had complied with the strip search and there was nothing else of me for her to see. She continued this behavior pattern and insistence of if I was refusing an order. I told her again I had complied with the strip search, was not refusing an order, and added that what I was refusing was her continuous harassment. (All this happened behind closed doors.)

At that point she told me, "Okay, you're refusing an order," pulled the door open and shouted across the room to Officer Young to call the lieutenant. This outburst on her part caused the women in the Unit to congregate by my cell door to ask me what had happened. They remained close by and dispersed when Lt. Lewis arrived at the Unit. He immediately came into my cell-room and she told him I was refusing an order, and he questioned me about the refusal without asking what had happened. I explained everything that had happened and just told me that everyone has to go through a strip search (which I had already gone through), that he didn't like any more than I did when he had to conduct strip searches, and that I had to go through the same thing. I told him I had gone through one and he told me that everyone in this institution had to go through a thorough strip search. At this point I told him that what they were conducting against me was selective harassment, that strip searches were so thorough on everyone that they had an incident in this institution that was being investigated. He became annoyed and told me that I was refusing an order. He arrogantly told me that he was taking me to 11 (Segregation Unit). I told him not to threaten me with 11 because I had been placed in that hell for three months and knew what it was like. He then asked me if I wanted to go to 11. I responded that he was the one in charge and would make that decision regardless of what I thought....

Once all of the female officers were in the Unit (10:00 p.m.), Lt. Lewis walked inside my cell-room, handcuffed me in the back and escorted me to room 1201 (I don't have to tell you the size of that room). In that small area he placed four female officers (Guidry, Buzzelli, C. Lewis and Murray), himself and me. Inside that room he removed my handcuffs at which time I sat on a milk cart near the door. When I realized that he had locked the door with him inside the room I immediately questioned his presence there for I knew what was about to happen and I was going to comply with their orders. He didn't answer and ordered me to stand up. I did, and told him that he couldn't put me through a strip search with him there, that he had to leave. He then grabbed both my hands tightly and ordered the officers to strip search me. I told him that

he couldn't do that to me. He clenched my wrist tighter and began to subdue me. I couldn't exercise resistance against him because I was trying to avoid having to expose myself in front of him. I had the institutional smock on and nothing else underneath but my briefs. I let out a desperate scream, pleading with him not to do that to me. He wouldn't listen and the officers just stood there and said nothing.

In my fear and desperation I managed to get free one of my hands which was grabbed right away by an officer and thrust behind my back. I was handcuffed once again, brutally pushed to the floor by him and all the while I kept pleading with him to leave and telling him that he couldn't do that to me. I realized I was helpless and the man was intent on doing it. I then pleaded with the female officers not to let him do that to me, that I would do it. The four female officers just stood there and did not say a word; not even to exercise their privilege of authority; not even his wife. He was putting pressure on my neck with his legs. I was resting my body on my knees. I felt a blow on my rib cage and he forcefully pushed my face on the floor which caused tremendous pain. I felt my legs being spread forcefully, my panty lowered and the spread search consummated by his orders and in his presence with total disregard to my continuous pleas.

I do not know who did what with the exception of one of the female officers who did not participate and just witnessed everything that was happening in front of her. My female sensitivity had mixed feelings but then I realized they were all cops and he was their head honcho. He continued displaying his macho image and to prove to himself that he could do it, he removed me from room 1201 and took me to the 11th floor where I was locked up in the strip search room. Officer Wallace Williams was on duty in that floor. He left me there and later returned to take me back to the 12th floor. I told him I didn't want him to touch me or speak to me. He called Physician's Assistant Stapleton to come and check for fractured wrists or ankles. When the PA had left my handcuffs were removed and I was placed under lockdown status.

## MARION HELL IN A VERY SMALL SPACE

Marion Federal Prison, in southern Illinois, is the country's top maximum security prison. Like prisons throughout the country, the majority of its prisoners are Black, Mexican and other Third World men. The *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin* reports that the total number of prisoners in federal and state prisons has risen by 40 percent since 1980. The largest number of inmates are colonized Blacks/New Afrikans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. Within the U.S. population as a whole, 197 of every 100,000 people are in jail; yet among Black people, 567 of every 100,000 are imprisoned.



# STANDING DEER

Standing Deer (Robert Wilson) is a Native American political prisoner who is over 60 years old. He was placed in a "boxcar" cell at Marion after he refused to participate in a government murder plot against Native American political prisoner Leonard Peltier. In 1984, Standing Deer, Leonard Peltier and Albert Garza initiated a 43-day hunger strike in Marion, demanding their right to follow traditional religious and spiritual practices. Near death, they were transferred to the federal medical prison facility in Springfield, Illinois, where they ended their strike.

On October 11, 1985, Standing Deer was transferred to McAlester Prison in Oklahoma and sent to the "hole" for 180 days. While in the isolation of the hole, he is being denied his sacred right to practice Native religion, is not allowed visits or reading material, and is being forced to submit to random anal searches. People are urged to send letters of protest to Larry R. Meachum, Director, Oklahoma Dept. of Corrections, 3400 Martin Luther King Avenue, POB 11400, Oklahoma City, OK 73136. For more information, contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Cte., POB 7365, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

For me, existing in the Control Unit was the most nightmarish experience of my entire life. To wake up day after endless day in a tiny 6' x 8' sealed-tomb tiger-cage completely destroyed my will to live. I would have killed myself, but 24-hour-a-day deadlock solitary confinement produced so much apathy that even suicide required more interest than I could muster.

I spent the first four days in total darkness in the sound-proof sensory deprivation chamber known to the prisoners as "The Boxcars." Those four days seemed like weeks. It was like living in a bathtub with a roof over it. I lost all sense of time, and the only way I could keep track was by trying to remember how many times the door had been

opened to put a food tray in the food slot. Each time the door opened, the light produced stabbing pains in my head, and the guard's silhouette in bright red would be imprinted on the retina of my blinded eyes for several minutes after the cell would return to darkness.

On the third day I became disoriented and could no longer tell if I was standing up or sitting down nor laying on the sleeping slab. Before the fourth day was over, I didn't know whether I was awake or asleep. I began either dreaming with my eyes open or dreaming I was dreaming with my eyes open. I was obsessed with a dreamlike image of black blood oozing from a butcher's block.

I heard voices from my past, and entered into an experience where I would hallucinate whole periods from my life. I was on the brink of insanity. Even after they opened the outer door on the fifth day, I continued having headaches and constant nausea. Every time the door to the boxcars section would clang open or closed, my stomach would cramp with fear. The walls of the cage seemed to be crushing the life out of me, and it felt as if the fetid air was smothering me with every breath I took....

Imagine the worst you ever felt in your entire life. That's how I felt every single minute when I was in the Control Unit.

—December 2, 1979



Standing Deer

Marion is truly hell in a very small place. Behind its walls, political prisoners and other "troublemakers" who are deemed security risks face psychological and physical torture. Its "Long-Term Control Unit," opened in 1972, has since served as the model for similar maxi-maxi "prisons within prisons" around the country. Many political prisoners and POWs have served time here: Sekou Odinga, Herman Bell, Sundiata Acoli, Richard Thompson-El and Imari Obadele of the New Afrikan/Black liberation movement; Native Americans like Leonard Peltier and Standing Deer; Puerto Rican patriots and POWs like Rafael Cancel Miranda and Carlos Alberto Torres.

The prison has been on total lockdown since October 1983, when two guards were killed. After their deaths, every prisoner was beaten and all property confiscated.\* Approximately 350 prisoners were taken from their cells

and beaten by groups of six to twenty officers wearing jump suits, flak jackets, helmets and masks, and carrying three-foot clubs with steel beads on the ends.

At a 1980 conference called by the religious community to investigate Marion, Father Daniel Berrigan presented research into the origins of the control unit. Much of this material was uncovered by the prisoners themselves. Berrigan reported that in 1962, as the Black movement was growing more militant, a meeting was held in Washington between prison officials and social scientists. Dr. Edgar

\* *Public Report about a Violent Mass Assault Against Prisoners and Continuing Illegal Punishment and Torture of the Prison Population at the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois*, Marion Prisoner Project. For more information, contact the Cte. to End the Marion Lockdown, 407 S. Dearborn, Rm. 370, Chicago, IL 60613.



**ALAN  
BERKMAN**

Dr. Alan Berkman is a revolutionary anti-imperialist whose work over the past 20 years is known by many freedom-loving people. In 1971 he treated survivors of the Attica Rebellion. In 1973 he went to Wounded Knee. In 1974 Alan worked in the South with the Black community of Lowndes County, Alabama. In the late 1970s he practiced community medicine on New York's Puerto Rican Lower East Side. Alan has treated leaders and political prisoners like Lolita Lebron and Don Juan Antonio Corretjer from the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, New Afrikan POW Sekou Odinga, and representatives from the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, Azania/South Africa and the Congo.

Alan was arrested in May 1985 and charged with conspiracy to possess weapons, explosives and false ID. He is being held under preventive detention (denied the right to bail) in the segregation unit of Chester County Jail outside of Philadelphia. The government says he is a

"terrorist" and a security risk.

In November 1985, Alan discovered an enlarged gland under his right armpit and requested a biopsy. When the biopsy was finally done—after a month of delays—it showed that Alan has a form of lymphatic cancer called Hodgkin's disease. This cancer has a high cure ratio if it is detected early and given skilled treatment. Time and time again, the state raised security considerations to deny Alan proper and timely treatment. In the months since, Alan has undergone a number of serious operations under conditions which seem to have more to do with taking his life than saving it.

Shortly before abdominal surgery in December 1985, Alan testified at a hearing to obtain proper medical treatment:

*I would like to briefly sketch out my future for you, Judge Pollak. This week I will likely have exploratory abdominal surgery and have my spleen removed. I will probably be registered under a false name and my family will not be informed. The last thing I will see in the operating room will be a U.S. marshall. The first thing I will see in the recovery room will be a marshall. As I recover I will likely have my arms and legs shackled to the bed. ...*

*I do not relate this to evoke pity, for pity, particularly self-pity, is a very unrevolutionary emotion. I do not do it to separate myself from medical patients who have faced much more difficult physical problems with great dignity; nor from prisoners, who face more oppressive conditions with great courage. I respect and learn from these people. I do it because I think it's important that all people, and especially people with power, take responsibility for the real impact of their decision.*

Alan Berkman is no terrorist. He is part of our movement, and he is fighting for his life. Letters demanding that he be released on bail so he can receive adequate medical care should be sent to Judge Louis Pollak, U.S. District Courthouse, Sixth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, PA 19106. For more information, contact the Committee to Fight Repression, PO Box 1435, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025.

## Marion fr. p.11

Schein of MIT presented a report called "Man Against Man: Brainwashing." Schein said:

*I would like to have you think of brainwashing, not in terms of politics, ethics and morals, but in terms of the deliberate changing of human behavior and attitudes by a group of men who have relatively complete control over the environment in which the captive populace lives.*

Schein went on to outline some practical guidelines including: (1) physical removal of prisoners to areas sufficiently isolated to break or weaken close emotional ties; (2) systematic withholding of mail and building the conviction among prisoners that they have been abandoned or are totally isolated; (3) using techniques of character invalidation, e.g., humiliation, revilement and shouting, to induce feelings of fear, guilt and suggestibil-

ity; coupled with sleeplessness, an exacting prison regimen and periodic interrogations.

These methods received the blessing of the Director of Federal Prisons. Urging those penologists present at the meeting to get the work started, the director said:

*We have a tremendous opportunity here to carry on some of the experimenting to which the various panelists have alluded. We can manipulate our environment and culture. We can perhaps undertake some of the techniques Dr. Schein discussed. ... Do things on your own. Undertake a little experiment with what you can do with the Muslims. Do it as individuals. Do it as groups, and let us know the results.\**

Marion demonstrates the horrifying reality of such "experiments."

\* "Hell in a Very Small Place," National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, Peace Institute Press, 1980.



## CAROL MANNING

*I was born January 3, 1956 in Kezar Falls, Maine. My mother and father both worked in the woolen mills all their lives. I met Tom and we married. I was only 17 years old. In 1973, I had my first child Jeremy. Also at this time we moved to Portland, Maine and became involved in a prison reform organization named SCAR. I became involved in the Women's Movement and helped open a bookstore, Red Star North, which included a free-to-prisoners book program. During the time between 73-75, a few of us grew together politically. We became targets of the pigs and were forced underground to do our work. I have been active in the underground for 10 years. During these years underground I had two more children, Tamara, age 5, and Jonathan, age 3. For my children and the children of the world, now and in the future, I have a commitment to see that U.S. imperialism is defeated.*

The Mannings are members of the Ohio 7, white anti-imperialists charged by the government with conspiracy and ten armed actions against U.S. military facilities and



from left to right:  
Jeremy, Tamara  
and Jonathan Manning



recruiting offices, South African government offices, IBM, Union Carbide, Motorola, Honeywell and General Electric. These actions were claimed by the United Freedom Front in solidarity with the people of Azania and Central America. The other members of the Ohio 7 are Ray Levasseur, Pat Gros (whose case was severed from the current trial on a legal technicality), Jaan Lamaan, Barbara Curzi-Lamaan and Richard Williams. Tom Manning and Richard Williams also face charges in the death of a New Jersey state trooper.

During and immediately after several court appearances this past year, members of the Ohio 7 were beaten and stunned by authorities as punishment for waging a political defense. On March 4, 1986, after deliberating for more than three weeks, a jury delivered a partial verdict convicting the comrades on a variety of charges which

carry long jail sentences. When they were first captured in 1985, the FBI disappeared the Mannings' three children for almost three months. For more information, contact the Ohio 7 Defense Cte., Box 530 Cathedral Sta., New York, NY 10025.

Once they had Tom and I at the FBI office in Norfolk, I was asked if I would like to see my children. So they brought the children in to see me for about four to five minutes. My hands were handcuffed behind my back at this time. The children were all very upset, the two small children had a very scared look on their faces and Jeremy looked like he had been crying. I asked Jeremy what they were doing to them. He told me they were asking him a lot of questions about people he knew and places that he had lived.

All three of the children started crying and the FBI agents took them away. I never did see Jonathan and Tamara again until their release. As I was being put into a car, I saw Jeremy sitting in a car with an FBI agent watching us. It was obvious that this was a planned psychological action by the FBI, for Jeremy to see his parents all chained up and escorted by many agents with guns and

driven away.

In the months of May and June, every time Tom and I had to enter the courtroom we brought up that our children were being held hostage and were being interrogated by the FBI and New Jersey State Police. On May 13th, in New York City, I went to court for a detention hearing. We brought up the facts about the children. The Assistant U.S. Attorney Gallagher denied that there was any questioning of the children. He later that day told the press the only questioning he was aware of was after our arrest the children were questioned about their need of clothing. I suppose he believes we are going to believe this! We also had learned that Judge Flippen had given the FBI his O.K. for the interrogation of Jeremy concerning explosives, saying the general public safety was at risk. The interrogation took place on May 3rd. Tom and I were becoming

very frustrated because our attempts to get the children released were not working. The support on the outside was starting to build but very slowly.

So Tom decided he only had one way left to fight for the children's release and this was for him to go on a hunger strike. He went on this hunger strike on May 23rd.

Then on May 31 my sister was approved as a home for my children by the Pennsylvania Social Services. The Norfolk Social Services had said in the past that once this was done and they received the papers from Pennsylvania, they would hold a hearing and release the children. Well, once she was approved, they changed their story once again and said it would be at least another two to three weeks. They also added that none of the family members may get the children. That the children may go to a foster home. So on June 4th I also started a hunger strike. This government was getting away with a vicious crime against my children. They had held my children for six weeks at this time and it was clear they were not ready to release them to anyone!

The support on the outside was really building at this time also. There were demonstrations in New York City, Boston, Vermont, Chicago and San Francisco for the release of the children. Ramsey Clark and William Kunstler had made their feelings known through a joint statement (see below) and had made calls. With the help of many people, the pressure was building and a June 20th hearing was set up. I had been told that there were other political prisoners who were also considering joining the hunger strike at that time if they were not released.

On June 20th, after eight weeks of captivity, the children were released to my sister LaVerne Mayberry. LaVerne was given only physical custody and Norfolk Social Services have legal custody of the children until they decide on permanent custody.

The children came to visit me on June 24, 25 and 26. We had about five hours together in those three days. It was very hard for us all because we were all very emotional. I could see that my children had suffered so much over those eight weeks. Even from my littlest one Jonathan, he was expressing his unhappiness at the shelter. This is what they called the place they had to stay. It sounded as though the children had been separated somewhat by age and sex from what they told me of their daily routine and of the different forms of discipline—this place was a prison for children. There was no love and understanding, the one thing these children needed so bad at this most difficult time. I tried to ask Jeremy slowly what had happened to him and his brother and sister over these weeks. He was very upset and told me that he really didn't like to think about any of this. So I tried not to pressure him to answer anything, for this is what the FBI had been doing to him for eight weeks. Over the three days I was able to find out a few things.

One thing was for sure, the children had been put 14

through hell and the FBI had terrorized my children. Jeremy told me he had been questioned around five or six times and that he was very scared. If he could not answer a question they would ask the same question over and over to him. I told Jeremy that the FBI had said they had spent time just playing with them and asked him if this was true. His answer was NO, this was not true.

He told me he did not know what was happening from day to day—they never told him anything at the shelter. He did not even know what was happening to them the day they were released or to whom they were being released. He said he did not like the shelter at all and just wanted to leave. He also told me that all three of them were very unhappy and cried a lot. Jeremy is having a hard time adjusting to things, and emotionally is very confused. I am afraid there is a lot of feelings of guilt. I think that because he answered their questions he feels he has put his mother and father in trouble. I also feel that he was threatened and told not to tell anyone about what they did—what was said—so on!

This U.S. government has tortured my children mentally and made them suffer—in hopes they would gain something. That is what this government is all about—to gain whatever it is they want—no matter who they have to attack or kill in order to get it. My children are not the first in this country, nor are they the last. We must build against these attacks on our children. For the state sees our children as a way to help destroy revolutionary anti-imperialist resistance fighters.

We must show the people who the Real Terrorists Are!

### **Statement by Ramsey Clark and William Kunstler**

We are appalled at the action of the Virginia authorities in refusing to permit three young children of Thomas and Carol Manning to be cared for by their relatives during the incarceration of their parents. The only possible motive for not permitting the children to be united, during these trying times, with members of their family is to harass the Mannings by holding the children hostage so they can be interrogated by the FBI and the New Jersey State Police. This type of medieval torture is very similar to that employed against Kathy Boudin (and other political defendants in New York) when she was, among other things, not permitted to touch her infant son until a federal court struck down this inhuman prohibition.

We will do everything in our power to see to it that these children are freed from their status as pawns in the custody of the Commonwealth of Virginia and returned to homes where they can receive the loving care of devoted close relatives. It is perhaps an unfortunate sign of the times in which we live that a five-year-old girl and two boys, three and eleven, are held incommunicado by state officials in order to facilitate the prosecution of their parents. It brings to mind a similar use of young German children who were encouraged to inform on members of their families by the minions of the Third Reich.

June 1985 ■



# ★ EL SALVADOR FMLN VENCERA!

## Statements from the FMLN

*The U.S. is now spending \$1.5 million a day to finance the war in El Salvador. U.S.-supplied aircraft, flown by U.S.-trained pilots, have killed thousands of civilians in the most devastating bombing raids ever seen in the Western Hemisphere. U.S. "advisors" have brought the most sophisticated counterinsurgency tactics to the Salvadoran war. The February 1986 assault on Guazapa, where 245 civilians were killed or disappeared, was codenamed Operation Phoenix, a reminder of the U.S. terror campaign in Vietnam.*

*In the face of U.S./Duarte escalation, the FMLN has seized the initiative in the war. They demonstrated their growing power in 1985 by spreading the war throughout the country, attacking military communications and transport systems, sabotaging the war economy and demoralizing the*

*Salvadoran military. Meanwhile, the Duarte regime is facing the biggest upsurge of the mass movement since 1980. The FMLN/FDR continues to call for dialogue in hopes of reaching a political solution.*

*Breakthrough is excerpting two important documents from the FMLN. The Statement of Unity, issued last August, details the advances of the FMLN towards the goal of a single party and people's army. The other document is an in-depth analysis of the October 1985 capture of Ines Duarte Duran, President Duarte's daughter, and the negotiations that followed. With the release of Ms Duarte, they gained the freedom of 25 combatants from Duarte's prisons; and 101 disabled FMLN fighters were allowed to leave the zones of control to receive medical treatment.*

## Unity Statement

**The General Command defined the following as its principal resolutions:**

1. *Make progress in turning the FMLN into a single organization.*

Since 1979 and 1980, when the unity process was initiated, an arduous task has been carried out to achieve unity of "political-military" strategic and tactical thought, to correct our errors and weaknesses, with the objective of attaining even greater levels of unity.

We have attained such a level of unity in our political thought that substantial differences concerning our strategy no longer exist. We can assert that we have a single political line. We also have an historical analysis of the process to regulate the evolution of our process of war. Based on this, we can therefore assert that we have single military thought from the strategic and tactical viewpoint.

Within this context, we are about to take firm steps toward ideological unification, seeking to form our militants around a single strategic program for our struggle; and through the exchange of experience, we will try to establish a common set of principles in the political-ideological programs of our revolutionary schools. All this is quickly leading us toward party unity, until we

become a single organization....

The struggle for unity is the struggle to construct one thought in regard to the revolution. It is also the struggle to eradicate deviations such as hegemonism, arrogance, and lack of fraternity in our ranks which deter us from achieving a united revolutionary thought among the forces, given the fact that we represent the same class interests and seek to attain the same goals.

The riches found in our political, military, and international thought; in the people's organizational capacity; in the strengthening of our people's ideology, added to the most important factor—the lessons of unlimited heroism given by our people throughout these years and the efforts to fulfill the strategic need to defeat U.S. imperialism in a war on its own continent—have served to make us mature, united, and ready to adopt a single idea as a common goal. The best decision and the best idea is the one that helps us advance more and brings us closer to victory, and all of us have adopted that decision. We have turned every mistake into a lesson to gain maturity and ability, based on a serious spirit of self-criticism.

Currently, all the FMLN organizations, command posts, and party bases have fully assumed an appropriately constructive, mature, fraternal, and trusting attitude toward collective thought, unity of strategic thought, and frank discussions, and have rejected a frivolous and prag-

matic approach. This has allowed us to assert without a doubt that a decision to become more united and to advance toward victory has prevailed, with the people's interests overriding each organization's interests.

The enemy's propaganda is trying to depict us as immersed in acute contradictions, internal struggles, hegemonist disputes, ambitions, etc. However, facts prove otherwise, and no one doubts that the FMLN has achieved greater unity in every field during the last two years.

All the human misery and values intrinsic to bourgeois society concerning personal ambitions, struggle for power and other things the enemy mentions, have no role to play in our unitary process.

Our proletarian and revolutionary values have been strengthened, and we have proven it in practice. We will continue to do so, becoming more united until we become a single party and a single army. The only division that our enemy can expect from us is the division of labor, responsibilities and efforts to guarantee that our blows will become overwhelming and our advance will become more solid and unstoppable.

The ideal of becoming a single revolutionary party is our goal, and we are heading toward that goal in an irreversible and sure manner.

*2. Regarding military aspects: to defeat the current Yankee plans.*

We have decided to deepen the wearing down of all enemy operations and patrols, inflicting the highest possible number of casualties. Our goals are to inflict as many casualties as possible on the enemy's forces; to do our best to save and multiply our own forces; to increase the enemy's economic and political destabilization by mercilessly attacking its war economy and dismembering its local and national power until we totally prevent the implementation of its plans; and to expand and bring the war to the entire country, the capital city, and other major cities as well, by penetrating into the enemy's rearguard, by developing new local forces.

The war must reach everywhere. There must not be a safe place for the enemy troops or their leaders. We must cover all highways, all regions, all cities, all the villages, and all vital points until this country cannot be ruled by anyone but the people.

*3. Regarding political matters: to organize and mobilize the entire people against the Yankee-Christian Democrat counterinsurgency plan.*

In fulfilling the task of making each one of our fighters an organizer of the people, we must organize the masses everywhere, and through all means available, to fully implement our strategic plan of integrating the entire people into the war, fighting under all possible conditions.

No area in the territory where our forces are stationed or are passing through is to be left without organizing and raising the consciousness of the people.

We must keep the initiative in the political struggle against the people's enemies: Duarte and the Christian

Democrats; the Army's top command; and the current U.S. Administration.

The slogan ruling our actions is: "Let us develop the people's war."

To our organizational plan, we will add a policy of political and ideological education within our organization in order to reinforce our militants so that they can fulfill our new political and military guidelines and carry out the unification process of our forces.

We must strive to uphold the plan for unity and to correct both misguided behavior and ideological deviations.

*4. Regarding international matters: to strive to reinforce solidarity and unity among the peoples of the world against Ronald Reagan's warmongering policies, in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution and the struggle to defeat the interventionist escalation in El Salvador.*

To conclude, our command tells our people that we have reached a higher phase in the struggle, a phase of greater advances, seen in an overall deepening of the people's struggle in the political and military arenas.

- The enemy's plan is to reduce the war to small focus in one or two spots as far as possible from vital areas. Our plan is to bring the war to the entire country and as deeply as possible into the major cities.
- The enemy's plan is to do whatever it can to lower the people's support for our forces. Our plan is to integrate the entire population into the war.
- The enemy's plan is to stop the people's struggle for their rights and to separate them from the revolutionary struggle. Our plan is to turn the revolutionary armed struggle as well as all the other people's struggles into a single force, capable of not only defeating puppet Duarte, but also of defeating the Yankee invaders if they dare to invade us.

We call on our combatants, party cadres, and militants in general, to do their utmost to fulfill all the tasks outlined.

We call on the international community, on solidarity, and on the progressive forces to reinforce the international common front to defend the Nicaraguan revolution, to curb aggressive escalation against El Salvador, and to defeat the interventionist and military policies of the current U.S. Administration, which pose a threat to worldwide peace and social progress.

The FMLN, our people's vanguard, is prepared to show the world once again that no power in the world can subdue a people committed to attaining its liberty. Workers, peasants, the meek, and the exploited have the last word in this war of liberation, which is costing our people so much hunger and so many sacrifices. The Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation, people's vanguard, is and will always be with them.

**GENERAL COMMAND OF THE FMLN  
Morazan, El Salvador August 14th, 1985**



# On the Capture Of Ines Duarte

On October 24, 1985, a successful prisoner exchange took place in El Salvador. It was the result of more than six weeks of negotiations between the FMLN and the government of El Salvador, which started on September 10th with the capture of Ines Guadalupe Duarte by the FMLN's Pedro Pablo Castillo urban command.

The operation, named "Stop the Terror, Torture and Disappearances in Duarte's Jails," ended in an important victory for the FMLN: 25 political prisoners, among them top commanders of the FMLN, were released and 101 disabled FMLN combatants were evacuated out of the country to receive urgent medical treatment. On its part, the FMLN released Ms Duarte and her companion, as well as 24 Christian Democratic mayors and municipal officials who were being kept by the FMLN as prisoners of war.

The capture of Ms Duarte provided the Salvadoran government, and the Reagan administration, the opportunity to mount a propaganda campaign against the FMLN, portraying the operation as a "terrorist act" and President Duarte as the innocent victim. Now that the negotiations are over, it is important to put the entire incident in its proper perspective.

## THE SALVADOR GOVERNMENT'S VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

*"...the government of El Salvador continues committing grave and massive violations of human rights; and above all, [is] not applying the Geneva Conventions" (Resolution of the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, August 30, 1985).*

In the past five years almost 60,000 Salvadorans have been killed or disappeared by the Salvadoran government forces or its paramilitary death squads. During these five years Mr. Duarte has been either a member of the Governing Junta or, since June 1984, President of the country and, as such, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

According to figures compiled by Tutela Legal and published in *ECA*, a journal of the Central American University (May-June 1985), since Duarte assumed office in July 1984 to May 1, 1985, that is, during his first year as President, his government has been responsible for 1,556 assassinations of civilian non-combatants in indiscriminate attacks by the Army, Air Force and para-military death squads. As well, Duarte's government is responsible for 663 deaths, the majority of them civilians, as a result of military operations.

According to Socorro Juridico Cristiano, since June 1984 to February 1985, 342 political prisoners were sent to Mariona prison. Of these, there were 232 cases of torture with psychological effects and 342 cases of torture with grave physical effects (Socorro Juridico Cristiano, *Special Bulletin*, July 1, 1985). The Americas Watch seventh supplemental report on Human Rights in El Sal-

vador states that "...torture has not been eliminated in El Salvador, far from it" (*The Continuing Terror*, Americas Watch, September 1985). ...

The Salvadoran Armed Forces are also violating the regulations on warfare contemplated in the 1949 Geneva Conventions, to which the government of El Salvador is a signatory, by, among other things:

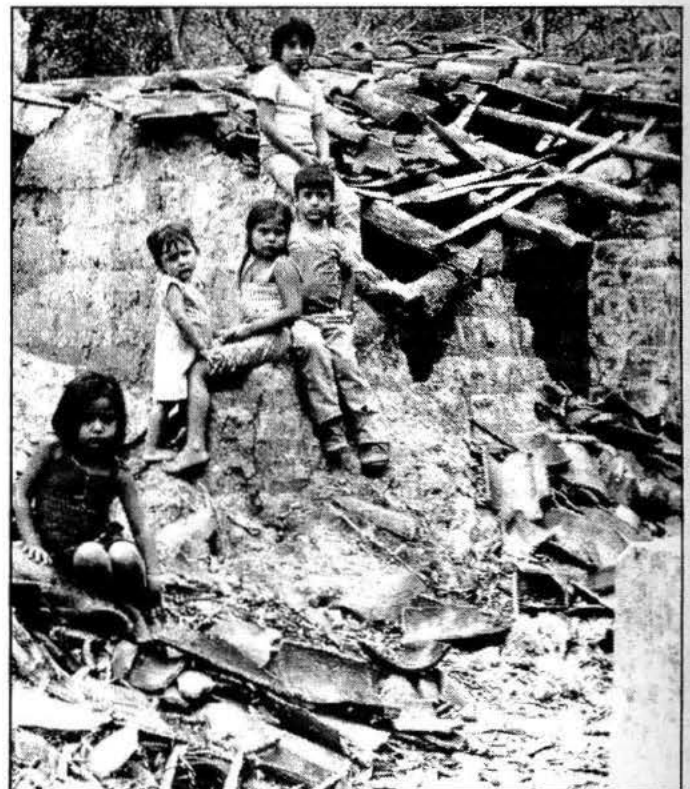
*The systematic bombing and shelling of the civilian population—*

According to the Salpress Documentation Center, in July and August of 1985 alone, there were respectively 63 and 71 attacks against civilian population centers (*Boletín Semanal Centroamericano*, No. 196-197, August 19-31, 1985). ...

*The lack of respect for medical and health personnel—*

Article 10, Protocol II states: "Under no circumstances shall any person be punished for having carried out medical activities compatible with medical ethics, regardless of the person benefitting therefrom."

- Dr. Eduardo Antonio Espinoza Fiallos was captured in San Salvador on April 12, 1985 by the National Guard and accused of "providing medical assistance to the FMLN." He was interrogated persistently for 14 days, and not allowed to sleep except for one night. He was severely tortured. He was hidden from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) twice when they came to visit the National Guard. After 15 days he was handed over to the ICRC and transferred to Mariona



The cost of U.S./Duarte terrorism: thousands of civilians killed or made homeless in the most devastating bombing raids ever seen in the Western hemisphere.

prison, as a political prisoner. Dr. Fiallos is one of the 26 prisoners released on October 24, 1985.

- On May 17, 1985, Dr. Miguel Angel Orellana and Mr. Cesar Valle, a former priest, were captured in Guazapa. Both of them were working at a clinic sponsored by the Christian Base Communities. The clinic in which they worked was destroyed. They were flown by helicopter to San Salvador where they were held in Mariona prison. Mr. Valle was released on October 24, 1985.

#### *The denial of POW status to FMLN combatants—*

On December 30, 1984, National Guardsmen captured Commander Janet Samour and Maximina Reyes in San Miguel. At first, the National Guard acknowledged having captured Samour, but later, the Army denied it. The FMLN, through third parties, offered an exchange of prisoners; the Army, in private, tacitly acknowledged having her and expressed interest in the exchange, but argued the moment was not right. Afterwards, they denied having her, and she still is disappeared. The FMLN has had reports that, at least until July, she was alive, in the Military Hospital and in very bad shape, having lost one of her arms and one leg as a result of the torture she received. Commander Samour is one of the nine people whose release was demanded by the FMLN in exchange for Ms Duarte's release, and whose whereabouts were not accounted for by the government.

This is only one example. The fact is the government of El Salvador continues its "no prisoners" policy. As the Americas Watch report states: "Orally and in writing, the Americas Watch has requested from the Armed Forces a list of prisoners of war, that is, combatants captured in battle or surrendered. To date, we have received no list." (*The Continuing Terror*, op. cit.)

It is within this framework that the FMLN made the decision to carry out the operation named "Stop the Terror, Torture and Disappearances in Duarte's Jails" to attain the release of, or a fair trial for, captured and disappeared compañeros. At the same time the FMLN was sending a message to the government, political parties, Armed Forces and the international community, that it will not abandon its compañeros. That it will make use of all its strength to discover their whereabouts and/or liberate them. It can no longer tolerate that, after a year in office, the Christian Democratic government continues to allow those military officers responsible for the killing, torturing and disappearances of thousands of Salvadorans to go unpunished; and that it will not tolerate the continuing state terrorism and the systematic violation of the Geneva Conventions by the Duarte government.

### **THE CAPTURE OF INES DUARTE, A LAST RESORT MEASURE**

It is important to stress that the decision to capture Ms Duarte, in order to negotiate the prisoner exchange, was

only taken after consideration of the following:

- the Salvadoran government never responded to the demands of the relatives of the disappeared.
- all legal efforts—habeas corpus, demands for a fair trial—have proved unsuccessful, even though 19 of the 22 prisoners exchanged on October 24 were being held "on weak legal ground" according to a senior member of the Salvadoran judiciary (*New York Times*, October 25, 1985).
- pressures put on the Salvadoran government by international human rights organizations to provide information and/or the release of those being held without legal charges also proved unsuccessful.



The FMLN's dramatic capture of Ines Duarte forced the Salvadoran passage out of the country for 101 injured FMLN fighters.

- several governments had requested, for humanitarian reasons, information of President Duarte concerning the whereabouts of several disappeared persons. This was also unsuccessful.
- the judicial system in El Salvador continues to be completely unsatisfactory, and
- the Salvadoran government has stopped the dialogue process with the FMLN, has not complied with agreements made regarding prisoner exchanges and the evacuation of wounded combatants and is committed to prolonging and intensifying the war.



Given this situation, the FMLN had no other alternative for securing the release of the unjustly held compañeros than to put direct pressure on President Duarte.

Nevertheless, the treatment given Ms Duarte, as well as the mayors, while in the hands of the FMLN, was in complete contrast to that which our compañeros received while being held in the government prisons. The prisoners of war held by the FMLN were never subjected to any physical or psychological mistreatment; they were all well-fed and were allowed to communicate with their relatives. The International Committee of the Red Cross was allowed to visit the mayors, to verify they were being well-treated (ICRC *Bulletin*, September 1985). Ms Duarte, according to Bishop Rivera y Damas, "warmly embraced" her captors before leaving them, and acknow-



government to release 25 political prisoners and to provide safe

ledged in an interview that her treatment was always "very humane and respectful" (*New York Times*, November 1985).

As stated by the FMLN, "[o]nly the regime's Air Force and artillery presented any danger for the prisoners held by the FMLN," (Communique of the FMLN General Command, October 24, 1985). This is why the FMLN demanded a halt to the government's military operations while the negotiations were taking place, and even had practice drills with the prisoners to protect them in case of a government air raid (*New York Times*, October 26, 1985).

## THE NEGOTIATIONS

The FMLN, as a matter of policy, always acknowledges the actions it carries out. The capture of Ms Duarte was not an exception. Since the beginning, President Duarte was informed in private by the Pedro Pablo Castillo Front that they were a unit of the FMLN. The FMLN refrained from publicly acknowledging the action—and asked Mr. Duarte not to disclose the fact—only to give Mr. Duarte better possibilities of rallying the necessary support from the Armed Forces, the political parties and the Reagan Administration to negotiate his daughter's release. This way the opposition from the most hard-line sectors could be less.

Events proved the FMLN right. It is clear that those who leaked the reports that the FMLN was responsible for the action were those sectors opposed to the negotiations. There is no doubt that these leaks endangered the negotiations, generating pressures that brought them almost to the point of collapse.

During the entire negotiation process the FMLN acted in a responsible way, not leaking information that could jeopardize the talks. In the last stages of the negotiations, the FMLN asked for direct talks with the government representatives, in order to avoid any misunderstanding. As reported in the press, the talks were "the most intense and concrete ever held between the two warring parties" and at all times remained "reasonable and respectful" (*New York Times*, October 27, 1985).

## THE CASE OF THE MAYORS

The release of 24 mayors and municipal officials held by the FMLN in exchange for the evacuation of 101 FMLN wounded combatants, although achieved in the same round of negotiations, were not captured for the same reasons as those pertaining to the detention of Ms Duarte.

### *Arrests of Mayors Do Not Violate the Geneva Convention*

This year the FMLN arrested 26 mayors who attempted to take charge in disputed or FMLN-controlled areas in the provinces of Morazan, Chalatenango, San Miguel, Cabañas and La Unión. Before being arrested, the mayors were warned not to try and assume their posts since the FMLN was not prepared to allow officials of the opposing party to attempt to establish their local power in areas under FMLN control or in dispute (FMLN Communiques of May 10 and September 1985).

The main reason the Christian Democratic government went ahead with this move is that it intended to create, through the local governments, repressive institutions such as military-intelligence networks and para-military groups. The government has debased the nature of the local governments by replacing their role of political representation with one where they would become a fundamental component in the military counterinsurgency strategy.

For this reason, the FMLN believes that the mayors who tried to assume their posts in areas under FMLN political and military control had agreed to be part of this governmental military strategy. Therefore, when they were captured the FMLN gave them prisoner of war status.

There are those, however, who think that the mayors cannot be considered as prisoners of war because they are not strictly combatants. This, however, does not mean that there no longer exists any justification for arresting them. According to the Geneva Conventions, the power occupying a territory can capture civilians. In such a case, they must be considered "civilian internees."

In fact, Article 64 of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilians during time of war stipulates that "The Occupying Power may ... subject the population of the occupied territory to provisions which are essential to enable the Occupying Power to fulfill its obligations ... to maintain the orderly government of the territory, and to ensure the security of the Occupying Power."

Article 65 adds that "The penal provisions enacted by the Occupying Power shall not come into force before they have been published and brought to the knowledge of the inhabitants."

Furthermore, Article 68 states that "Protected persons who commit an offense which is solely intended to harm the Occupying Power ... shall be liable to internment or simple imprisonment."

According to the elements contained in the Fourth Convention, it can be said that the FMLN, as a power exercising political and military control over a part of the national

territory, can decree indispensable provisions to safeguard orderly government in the area under control and to guarantee the security of its political cadre and military forces.

The penal provisions against the government mayors were published and made known before they attempted to assume their posts in FMLN-controlled zones.

Those who violated the provisions obviously did so in order to politically and militarily harm the orderly government and security of the FMLN; they were therefore rightly liable to internment.

The arrests of the mayors can in no way be compared to the arrests carried out by the government against hundreds of trade-union and student leaders, workers, teachers and members of parties belonging to the FDR. Although both the government and the FMLN practice the arrests because they consider the detainees as factors that destabilize their political power, the government considers as "destabilization" actions that are not considered as such by democratic governments. These actions include: being a political opponent, organizing trade unions, carrying out strikes, demanding salary increases, demanding increases in the university budget, etc. For this reason, the arrests carried out by the government violate human rights. On the other hand, the FMLN considers as destabilizing those actions which any democratic state can consider as such, including being part of the opposing power's military strategy to create intelligence networks and paramilitary organizations. For this reason, the arrests are permitted by the Geneva Conventions.



Demonstration led by the Mothers of the Disappeared commemorates the assassination of Archbishop Romero of El Salvador.



*The Government of El Salvador Is Obligated by the Geneva Conventions and Ayagualo Agreements to Allow the Medical Treatment of Wounded Combatants*

Article 7, Protocol II, states that "In all circumstances [all the wounded, sick and shipwrecked] shall be treated humanely and shall receive, to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, the medical care and attention required by their condition."

Given the precarious medical facilities in the areas under FMLN control, there are combatants who cannot receive the medical care "required by their condition," and thus must receive it somewhere else. The government of El Salvador is obligated to allow their evacuation. The FMLN, in compliance with this article, has released prisoners of war who needed medical treatment which the FMLN could not provide.

Furthermore, one of the private agreements reached in Ayagualo, on November 30, 1984, between the government and the FMLN/FDR stated that the Fronts would continue their policy of releasing prisoners of war, and the Salvadoran government would allow the evacuation of the FMLN wounded. The FMLN has complied with this agreement unilaterally and has released 39 prisoners of war this year. The government, in spite of specific requests to facilitate the evacuation of the wounded has never acted in accordance with this agreement.

The FMLN is aware that the evacuation of the wounded should not have become a subject of the negotiations. This is a right to which all combatants are entitled which should be granted upon request. Nevertheless, the FMLN saw the possibility of reaching an agreement in the framework of the negotiations for Ms Duarte's release and so proposed an exchange of the 24 mayors and municipal officials for the evacuation of our disabled combatants.

President Duarte opposed this arrangement until the last minute. The military and the U.S. Embassy opposed it as well. It was not until the Church and foreign governments intervened that the government agreed to the exchange.

## CONCLUSIONS

On October 29 the exchange finally took place. It was a complex operation, which involved, besides the FMLN and the government, the Salvadoran Catholic Church, the International Red Cross and the governments of Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Switzerland, Cuba, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Sweden, Costa Rica, Spain and Peru. This participation shows the extent of international recognition that our Fronts enjoy.

The scope of the exchange operation, with partial exchanges in almost all of the national territory, clearly shows the territorial expansion of our forces.

The incident also showed the weakness of President Duarte's position inside El Salvador after only one year in government. As reported by the *New York Times*: "[the incident] paralyzed the government and drew wide criticisms from among [Duarte's] political supporters, from

opponents and from senior military officers" (*New York Times*, October 31, 1983).

Duarte's Christian Democratic supporters complained that it was not until his daughter was seized, and the case of the mayors included in the bargaining, that the government began to seriously negotiate their release. Right-wing sectors virtually called for a coup in newspaper ads, and a group of military officers circulated a memorandum calling on the Army High Command to consider replacing him. It was only the pressure of the U.S. Embassy which defused the dissent in the military. A Salvadoran scholar summed it up when he said that the crisis had helped to lift the "smokescreen" of democracy in El Salvador.

"There may be a lot of talk about democracy here," he said. "But in days like this you see there are still very few players who count. On the one side is an audacious guerrilla force, on the other side the Army and the American Embassy. In the middle, there is a vulnerable President" (*New York Times*, November 10, 1985).

The incident also lifted another smokescreen: the assertion that human rights in El Salvador has improved. It unmasked the continuing torture that goes on in the government's prisons, the illegal detention of hundreds of political prisoners, the government's responsibility in the disappearance of thousands of Salvadorans, and the government's inability to prosecute those responsible for such violations. It also showed the government's unwillingness to comply with the Geneva Conventions and with the bilateral accords reached with the FMLN/FDR.

But most of all, the incident showed the need to reinstate the dialogue between the government and the FMLN/FDR. If President Duarte had not stopped the dialogue process, and had not violated the agreements previously reached, and had advanced in human rights issues and in the humanization of the war, the FMLN would not have been forced to exert direct pressure on him.

The incident also showed that negotiations are possible whenever there is political will on both sides. As a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace said, "There has, in effect, been a renewal of talks with a positive outcome. ... The question is, is there a basis for sustaining talks?" (*The Washington Times*, October 25, 1985)

The answer lies with Mr. Duarte. This month is the first anniversary of the Ayagualo meeting. There, both sides agreed to continue with the dialogue. Since then, the FMLN/FDR have presented four concrete proposals to hold a third meeting. All of them have been rejected by the Salvadoran government. President Duarte has been quoted as saying that, "An experience like this [the kidnapping of his daughter] makes you think about your values. It makes you reconsider a lot of things" (*New York Times*, October 30, 1985). Let us hope that this means reconsidering the need to continue the dialogue and open channels to achieve a comprehensive negotiated political solution which the Salvadoran people so much desire and need. ■



## Interview with the

The stories had been circulating for months. No longer could the U.S. hide the extent of corruption of the hated Marcos dictatorship nor the growth of the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. By forcing Marcos to agree to a "snap election," the Reagan administration hoped to save the situation.

It all came to a head on February 23, 1986. Millions of people were outraged by the blatant election fraud which declared Marcos the winner. Corazon Aquino was sworn in as President in a separate ceremony and elements of the military decided it was time to act. Although the U.S. had backed Marcos to the hilt, Reagan, Shultz, Habib and the others knew it was time for him to leave. Refusing to aid his last-ditch bid for power the U.S. jumped on the bandwagon and maneuvered behind the scenes. The one thing they wanted to avert was a projected people's general strike (huelga bayan) and the prospect of outright rebellion throughout the country.

If you believed the U.S. press, you would think that the ouster of one "sick old man," his well-heeled wife and their few cronies meant the restoration of full democracy. You would think a four-day revolution had achieved all this nonviolently with the tremendous help of the U.S. This, of course, belies the strength of people's power and denies the foundations built among the people through 20 years of organizing by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA) and the many and diverse mass organizations. It ignores the years of violence perpetrated on the Filipino people and the suffering so many have had to endure.

Now, moving in an extremely complicated and fluid situation, it is the revolutionary people's movement that must still

ensure that the fundamental aspirations of the Filipino workers and peasants are met. Questions abound. Will the Aquino administration redistribute land, nationalize industries, remove the U.S. bases, transform the local power structures inherited from twenty years of the dictatorship? What will happen with the crushing national debt, with the miserable conditions of the peasants and the urban poor? How will the necessary social transformation be carried out as the U.S. maneuvers to channel the revolution into a sanitized neocolonialism? What role will the generals play—Ramos, trained at West Point and a major architect of Marcos's counterinsurgency campaign; Enrile, a Marcos commander till a few short weeks ago?

To address these questions, Breakthrough is happy to present the following interview with representatives of the National Democratic Front (NDF), the national liberation organization of the Filipino people. Based in clandestinity, the NDF has put out a 15 point program for the true democratization and freedom of Philippine society. The interview takes us to the NPA liberated zones, which include the 20 percent of Filipino towns that are governed by popular power. It also gives us a perspective on the new situation since Corazon Aquino assumed the presidency.

Although the last few months have given us a crash course in the current Filipino reality, the background and history of the islands is not so well known. The Philippines is an archipelago of 7,000 islands with a population of 55 million. Today two out of three Filipinos are peasants. The average daily caloric intake is the second lowest in Asia.

The Filipino people possess a proud history of continuous resistance, having organized over 200 major revolts during three centuries of colonization. Spain occupied the islands





# After Marcos

## National Democratic Front of the Philippines

from the 1570s to 1898, when the U.S. moved in to wrest control from the tottering Spanish empire and from the revolutionary Filipino guerrilla resistance. Waging a savage war, the U.S. poured in 126,000 troops, with General Jacob Smith ordering his forces to shoot every Filipino man, woman or child over 10 years of age. Whole regions were turned into smoldering graveyards, and over seven percent of the population was wiped out. The U.S. kept its grip on the islands for half a century, until the Japanese imperialists took over in 1942.

After the Filipino resistance broke the back of the Japanese occupation, the U.S. reimposed its rule, finally granting sham "independence" in 1946. The Hukbalahap—the Huks—carried on the struggle against neocolonialism, until crushed by a CIA-led counterinsurgency in the 1950s. Over the last 15 years, a steady succession of U.S. presidents supported the Marcos dictatorship.

Today the Philippines is the keystone of U.S. war strategy in Asia. The giant Subic and Clark U.S. military bases are staging areas for counterinsurgency in much of the Third World. During Vietnam, for instance, the bases served as the launching pad for massive air attacks against North Vietnam, and as the logistical nerve center for the whole war theater. Subic and Clark are home base for a 16,000-man U.S. garrison, for 9,000 troops of the Seventh Fleet, and for a Rapid Deployment Force geared for intervention in the Middle East, East Africa and Asia. Congress recently approved a total of \$1.3 billion to upgrade the bases. According to the newly-exposed Nuclear Weapons Deployment Plan, the U.S. will soon have a total of 227 nuclear bombs and weapons stored in the Philippines.

*This interview was completed immediately after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship in March 1986.*

**BT:** What is your assessment of the dramatic events that led to Marcos' ouster and Cory Aquino's rise to power? How do you analyze the Aquino administration?

**NDF:** The so-called "rebellion" of Marcos' top military men was just that—dramatic; and suspiciously so. The Reagan administration's eleventh-hour abandonment of Marcos was a devious and slick effort to cultivate a substitute regime to protect their interests in the Philippines. But in toppling the Marcos regime, the Filipino people have weakened the hold of U.S. imperialism over the Philippines. Marcos' downfall now opens the space even better for the national democratic movement to vigorously advance the nationalist and democratic demands that it fought for during the 14 years of open fascist rule since 1972.

The militant mass movement that ousted Marcos scored a major victory. The workers' strikes, the teachers' protest movement, the peasants' campaigns, the militance of the students and youth, together with the eventual and spontaneous coming out of the urban middle class, all contributed to the million-strong collective action on February 22–25 that handed the Marcos regime death-dealing blows. The Aquino government in fact came to power through extra-parliamentary means, on the back of a militant people's movement.

Coming after 14 years of harsh dictatorial rule, the Aquino government is essentially an unstable coalition of sharply competing political factions and tendencies. Dominant among these is the bourgeois reformist wing which

had been disenfranchised by the Marcos dictatorship. Within this grouping we may distinguish between a strong anti-fascist section and a more conservative one; while anti-fascist, the bourgeois reformists nevertheless seek to preserve the semi-feudal, semi-colonial status of Philippine society. The most forceful expression of the anti-fascist strain is Cory Aquino herself. The breadth of the spontaneous "people's power" uprising during the last days of the Marcos dictatorship was due to an appreciable extent to Cory's integrity and honesty as a leader; thus did the masses rally behind her to rid themselves of the Marcos plague. The current dominance of the anti-fascist elements led by Aquino was exemplified by her firm decision to release all political prisoners, including alleged former heads of the Communist Party and the New People's Army, over the objections of the military.

The conservative section of the bourgeois reformists is represented by Vice-President Salvador Laurel, an ambitious ruling class politician noted for his subservience to U.S. imperialism and his strong anti-people stance. Other bourgeois reformists include Jaime Ongpin, Minister of Finance, and Jose Concepcion, Jr., the Minister of Trade, who are firm adherents of pro-imperialist economic policies. In terms of their stance toward the revolutionary movement, the bourgeois reformists prefer a policy of cooptation and sham reform to defuse and derail it, while retaining military repression as an important secondary thrust if peaceful cooptation fails.

Next in terms of influence is the fascist military faction headed by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Fidel V. Ramos. They retain

direct control over the fascist machinery which is still intact and, except for highly visible and cosmetic changes in the officer corps, the Armed Forces remains the same repressive tool of the local ruling class and U.S. imperialism. In contrast to the bourgeois reformists, the fascists favor a continuation of the Marcos regime's mailed-fist policy toward the people's movement. Enrile was a major architect of martial law—a staged assassination attempt on his own person was a ruse designed to justify Marcos' declaration of martial law. Since then, Enrile was the Marcos regime's principal hatchet man, using his power and position to amass incredible wealth and control of various strategic industries. Gen. Ramos, on the other hand, is a cousin of Marcos and has been described as a "professional" soldier with West Point credentials. He was head of the Philippine Constabulary, the state police, which boasted a notorious record of assaults on the citizenry. One of the most infamous of these was the September 21, 1985, massacre in Escalante on the island of Negros, where peaceful demonstrators were gunned down, resulting in 27 deaths.

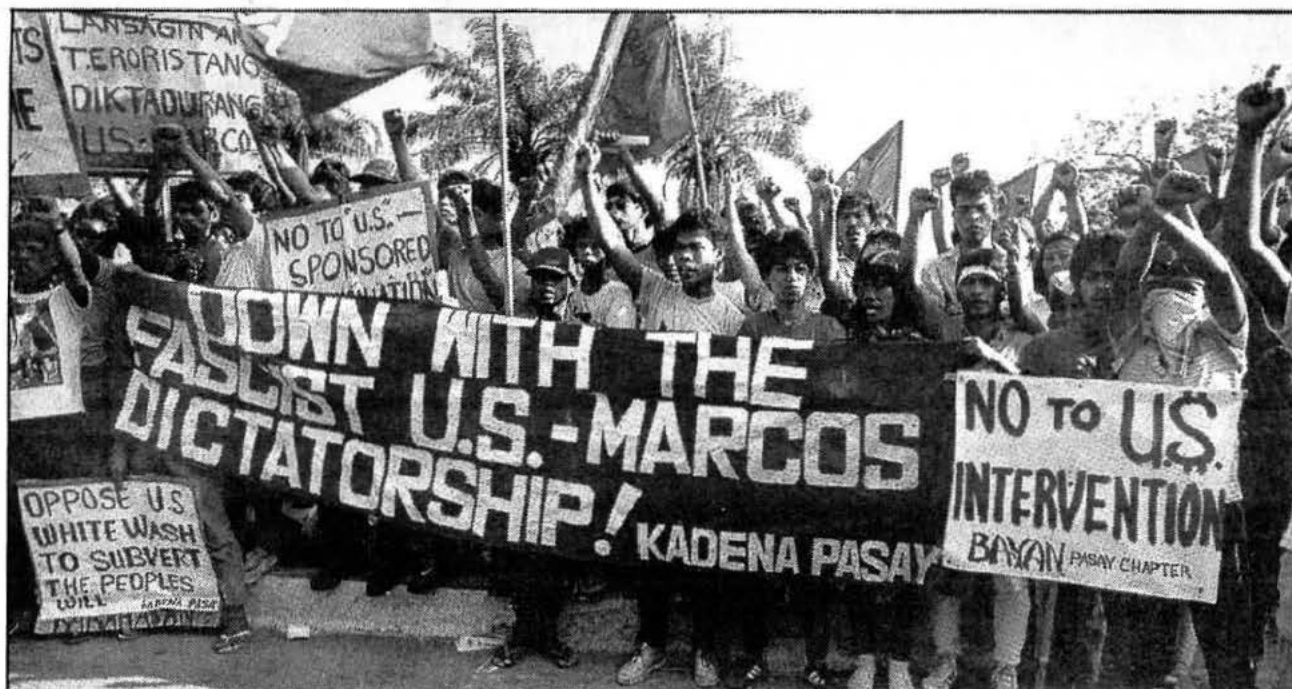
Perhaps the weakest tendency in the Aquino government is that formed by the liberal democrats. The liberal democrats are not only anti-fascist, which brings them into sharp conflict with the fascist faction, but they also tend toward nationalist policies aimed at sharply reducing U.S. political and economic influence—which will definitely place them at loggerheads with the bourgeois reformists. While individuals like Joker Arroyo, Aquino's executive secretary; Rene Saguisag, the presidential spokesperson; and Jovito Salonga, head of the Committee



credit: A. Lin Newmann

Millions of Filipinos still face desperate poverty in the post-Marcos era.





Militant street demonstrations led by the left helped create the conditions for Marcos' downfall. Above: a demonstration called by Bayan, shortly before Marcos fled the country.

on Good Government (which is in charge of trying to retrieve the wealth plundered by Marcos and his cronies) are all in highly visible positions, they are clearly outnumbered and eclipsed by the bourgeois reformists and the fascists. Their presence, however, lends the regime an image of being "progressive."

The conflicts within and among the factions and tendencies making up the governing coalition are likely to be destabilizing, especially as the overwhelming tasks of political and economic reconstruction get underway. Already, the traditional conflict over the spoils of political office has emerged among the bourgeois reformists. For the Enrile-Ramos faction, the overriding objective is to retain the military's influence in politics, to steer the government away from liberalization, and to regain the primacy of the fascist machinery as an instrument of governance. The explosive issues of the U.S. bases, the foreign debt, and the IMF austerity program will provide immediate points of strain between the liberal democrats on the one side, and the bourgeois reformists and fascists on the other.

These conflicts are, however, counterbalanced by the common interests of the various factions in the continued maintenance of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial system. The fascist military is trying to sell a new image of the Armed Forces as a "force for democracy" that was instrumental in the "Glorious February Revolution." The bourgeois reformists and liberal democrats are trying to convince the people that fundamental change can be brought about by electoral means, supplemented by non-violent civil disobedience. In short, the circumstances of the coming to power of the regime are now being distorted to create the myth that peaceful reform is the answer to the Philippines' basic problems. The instability and con-

licts in the governing coalition will be exacerbated by the continuing economic crisis, and the growing popularity of demands for fundamental solutions to the country's deep crises. The new regime has raised expectations of swift, widespread and thorough political and economic changes which it cannot possibly fulfill, given its essential character as a government of the ruling class. In the face of mounting dissatisfaction, the advance of the revolutionary mass movement in the cities and the armed struggle in the countryside, the government will find it increasingly difficult to maintain a policy of trying to coopt the revolutionary movement.

**BT:** What role did the U.S. play in removing Marcos? How do you think the U.S. will maneuver to safeguard its strategic interests in the Philippines and the region?

**NDF:** As the events of late February blew into a political firestorm, the United States was left frantically pulling all possible strings before finally deciding to pull the plug on one of its hardest and longstanding client dictators. Although the U.S. has historically intervened in and manipulated Philippine politics, the Filipino people, after the seemingly interminable years of agony under repression that finally blew up in the explosion of people's power, stymied the U.S.' machinations. Make no mistake—it was people's power, the massive demonstration of militancy and nationalism, that in the end ousted the hated dictator and dented U.S. imperialism's previously unhampered stranglehold on the Philippines.

However, the U.S.' close ties with the fascists in Aquino's government, namely Minister Enrile and General Ramos, will allow it to have a hand in reshaping military strategy in terms of counter-insurgency. The U.S.' primary strategic target remains the smashing of the revo-

lutionary people's movement, whose program of nationalist and democratic demands threatens its hegemony over Philippine society. Politically, the U.S. wants to entrench an urban-based, middle-class movement, whose function is to isolate the left. The U.S. wants to encourage the anti-communist elements within the Aquino government to effectively douse the militant, anti-imperialist and nationalist forces who for two decades have worked steadily to provide precisely that base of "people power" that must be credited for Marcos' downfall.

The main objective of U.S. imperialism continues to be the preservation of the Philippines as a semi-feudal society, thereby assuring the continuation of its strategic dominance in the region. Within the framework of the new order in the Philippines, the U.S. will continue to find ways of consolidating the fascist machinery without Marcos. Escalation of military aid, for instance, can only mean further repression of the people's desire for genuine democracy.

**BT:** Commentators from Newsweek to many left newspapers say that the left made a mistake in boycotting the elections. "Sitting on the sidelines," "missing the boat" are

phrases often heard. What do you think about these statements?

**NDF:** It was in the nature of the media hype over the recent events in the Philippines that the revolutionary left seemed isolated; this perception is a mistake, made both by bipartisan U.S. policy-makers and some U.S. leftists. The most visible and most hated manifestations of dictatorship, the tyrant Marcos himself, is no longer there. Therefore, the most deciding factor in galvanizing the masses towards revolution no longer exists. Yet the structural ills in Philippine society haven't vanished. Although indeed the left hardly made any waves in attention-grabbing Manila, one must take into account the real strength and capacity of the NPA and its broad support in the provinces outside the Metromanila area. In due time, U.S. imperialism's stellar role in the erstwhile U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will be fully exposed.

This is not to say that there are no serious problems for the left; the dynamics of the new situation pose real obstacles in the path of effective organizing. For example, the urban middle and upper classes are being won over to the idea that the Aquino government is going to solve everything—this will make it that much harder for such people



Subic Bay Naval Base (above) and Clark Air Force Base are the hub of U.S. military power in Southeast Asia.



to work with the left. Another problem is that of Cory Aquino's projection as a quasi-cult figure among the population at large, especially the 75 percent or so who have not yet been politicized. This means that the struggle of politicizing at the grassroots level can only further intensify.

Yet, ample opportunities have arisen for more effective organizing—the liberalized atmosphere of the new regime will allow for freer organizing among the poorer sectors in both urban and rural areas. The country's economic nightmare has by no means dissipated, Marcos' government bureaucracy remains intact, the old military bureaucracy is still in place—all of these factors will provide the basis for continuing the struggle against the semi-colonial, semi-feudal structure of the country.

**BT:** *Let's fill in some of the background. What are the roots of the economic and political crisis in the Philippines?*

**NDF:** In 1972, after serving the second and last term of the presidency, Ferdinand Marcos, to keep power, declared martial law and embarked on a one-man rule of Philippine society. In political terms, the structure of the so-called "New Society" is easy to understand: the old two-political party system became defunct, and the old Constitution itself was "renewed" to ensure Marcos' "legitimacy." The economic scene is more complex: cronyism wasted no time in rearing its grotesque head, and Marcos' relatives and minions quickly replaced the old oligarchy. This was alongside the practical *carte blanche* given to the IMF/World Bank to virtually dictate the path Philippine economic policy would take.

Basically, World Bank advice to the authoritarian martial law regime was one of pursuance of export-oriented policies: attracting transnationals to set up shop in "export-processing zones" where there were no import/export taxes, ridiculously cheap labor, and wage restraint (a euphemism for the banning of strikes and labor organizing). The results: a) a sharp decline in real wages and a rise in productivity—translating into fantastic profits for the transnational corporations; b) the country becoming extremely vulnerable to international trade conditions. And when the worldwide recession of 1979 hit, with export markets erecting protectionist barriers against the very products that the World Bank had "encouraged" the Philippines to specialize in, the incredible economic mess sent the entire country reeling, with severe effects still very visible today. With the Philippines groaning under a nightmarish \$25 billion foreign debt in 1983, Marcos had to declare the country insolvent, which had the IMF/World Bank scrambling for emergency measures to salvage the situation.

**BT:** *So what does all this mean in human terms? What did you see as visible manifestations of this crisis?*

**NDF:** Certainly the most visible thing is the physical degeneration of the cities—Manila, the capital, has now become a seething cauldron of over eight and a half mil-

lion people. I returned for the first time in five years, and was simply stunned by the difference: slums have grown quite considerably, and crime is the number one scourge in town—no one, not even the poorest of the poor, is safe from the depredations of criminals newly spawned by the sheer severity of economic conditions in the country today. Prostitution too, especially child prostitution, is yet another sad indicator of the depth of the Philippine crisis. There are about 400,000 prostitutes in the Philippines, many of them in the cities of Angeles and Olongapo, which service Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base, respectively. Manila has become, as "advertised" in Hustler magazine, the "sin capital of Asia."

**BT:** *The main obstacle to the neo-colonial strategy is the growth of the revolutionary movement. Could you tell us about it?*

**NDF:** When you refer to the Filipino people's resistance to the U.S.-sponsored Marcos dictatorship, as typified by the revolutionary mass movement that has exploded forward in the last 5 years, you are talking about a resistance of a wide variety of revolutionary mass organizations unified under the broad coalition that is the National Democratic Front.

The NDF came into being in April 1973, soon after the imposition of martial law in October 1972. The Preparatory Commission was composed of communists and other patriots, nationalists and democrats. Today it includes the Communist Party of the Philippines and its armed forces, the New People's Army; the Christians for National Liberation; *Kabataang Makabayan* (Patriotic Youth); *Makibaka* (Patriotic Movement of New Women); the tribal Cordillera People's Democratic Front; and other underground progressive organizations of various sectors in Philippine society who have also since joined the united front organization.

At the core of the rural resistance is the New People's Army, the military arm of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines. The NPA embarked on a protracted people's war starting in 1969. They have grown from 60 men and women bearing 35 rifles, operating out of one district of one province, to operating today in nearly all of the 73 provinces, running 61 guerrilla fronts. The NPA has, mainly through ambushes and raids, accumulated arms for 16,500 guerrillas; there is an equal number of part-time guerrillas who, as they say, are simply "waiting" for the influx of arms from more guerrilla actions. The first ten thousand "red fighters," as they call themselves, were built up over a whole decade. But within the last 3-4 years, the NPA was able to double and even triple its fighting strength, and this despite the intensive counter-insurgency campaigns of the regime.

In the cities, the legal mass opposition, what has come to be known as the "parliament of the streets," encompasses virtually every class and sector. Again, the NDF was instrumental in organizing and mobilizing the parliament of the streets towards intensifying and sustaining the massive demonstrations and rallies that swept the Philippines

after the Aquino assassination in 1983. NDF organizations in the cities include the Nationalist Health Organization, the Nationalist Teachers Organization, and even a businessmen's organization.

A significant fact is that by now, fully 80% of the adult population has participated in one form of protest or another, be it engaging in noise barrages or demonstrations or taking up arms. Fully 10 million of the 54 million Filipinos are now organized, directly or indirectly, and looking to the National Democratic Front for leadership. The NDF emerged as the broadest, strongest, and most consolidated nationwide organization in the underground opposing the Marcos government and aims to fundamentally reshape the Philippines into what it calls a "national democratic society."

**BT:** *You had a chance to go into a consolidated zone and live with the organizers and the people. What was it like?*

**NDF:** Let me put it this way: it was like acquiring a new set of eyes, where I had none before. It's one thing to know about the Philippine revolution from newsletters, communiques and the underground grapevine; it's entirely another thing to experience it firsthand, or to actually engage in it. The 10 hour bus ride from Manila to Bicol, with a couple of NPA comrades, was, literally and figuratively, a ride from night into day. It was dawn when we arrived in Albay province, and I woke up from a fitful sleep; looking out the window, I saw the perfect cone of Mayon Volcano, which I hadn't seen before, although I've lived in the Philippines practically all my life. It was a very emotional moment, fraught with symbolism—Mayon had just exploded the past summer; as had the Philippine revolution, in the fullest sense. Hiking up into the hills, my NPA guides indulged me by stopping frequently so I could gaze around, at the volcano and the seas of coconut trees, somehow so I could convince myself I was actually in a guerrilla zone! For the first time, I was seeing my country, the literal earth and substance of it, in the liberating context of our people's struggle for justice and freedom. This wasn't the only thing I found exhilarating, though—the sheer feeling of safety in the hills was so palpable; in contrast, I was always watchful when I was in the cities, for the ever-present criminals as well as the agents of the fascist regime.

Perhaps my feeling of security was because I was in a consolidated zone, which is the most advanced condition that can be attained in a guerrilla area. This means simply that a stable NPA headquarters exists in the area; it still shifts around, contingent on the strength of the enemy's campaign, but essentially it cannot be dislodged from the area. It is the enemy's military forces, on the contrary, who cannot stay after a campaign, for no other simple reason than that the sympathies of the peasant masses lie overwhelmingly with the NPA.

A striking example of this was when my NPA guides and I were hiking into the hills. We would often stop at "posts," that is, houses of peasants, to rest and be offered food and drink; at one of these posts, without being asked,

my NPA guides started helping the peasant family husk corn, as they listened to the "updates" of these peasants regarding enemy movements in the area. This kind of rapport goes well beyond mere sympathy for the movement; rare was the peasant family I met who didn't have a son or daughter, brother, sister, or other relative with the NPA forces in that area.

**BT:** *What did you see of the conditions of life of these peasants?*

**NDF:** The overall living standards of peasants even in the consolidated zone that I was in, in which revolutionary agrarian reform is undertaken, is characterized by difficulty and much hard struggling to simply survive in the face of the adverse economic conditions of the time. But those peasants whom I talked to expressed what they felt was the most beneficial aspect of revolutionary land reform—the sense of self-worth that had for a long time been eroding away under conditions of severe hardships; for example, the never-ending indebtedness to landlords, the unpayable land rents, etc. Now that the NPA has come in with its short-term program of eradicating usury, reducing land rents and reversing the harvest distribution ratio, peasants said that they felt that at last, they had some chance of making their work and production meaningful.

I guess actual living conditions haven't changed much over time, in the Philippine countryside—there is still generally very little electricity (up in the hills, none at all); peasants still live in simple, functional huts; animals like *carabaos* (water buffaloes) are still pretty much the major farm implements. However, with the revolutionary forces of the NPA around, as one peasant youth told me, something exciting is in the air, a feeling that the terrible conditions of yesteryear were going to change, and very soon. I guess what he was talking about was what Jose Maria Sison, the recently-freed leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines, spoke about in a poem: "In the forest throbs discreetly / A certainty... There is a new hymn in the wind; / There is a new magic in the dark green, / So say the peasant folks to friends."

**BT:** *How was the NPA able to achieve this kind of land reform at this stage?*

**NDF:** Through the sheer toil of organizing the peasant masses, knowing that inevitably the peasant masses would see the benefits to themselves of revolutionary agrarian reform. The actual mechanics of this radical land reform are simple enough. Let's look at the Bicol area (in southern Luzon), which is primarily a coconut-growing area. First, the peasant tenant, with the full backing and encouragement of NPA forces in the area, demands that the landlord reverse the traditional coconut ratio—of every three coconuts, two go to the landlord, one to the peasant. Under revolutionary agrarian reform, the peasant keeps two of every three coconuts. If the landlord refuses this humane arrangement, the NPA encourages the peasant to keep 50 percent of the crop and to divide the other 50 percent the usual, inequitable way. Naturally, the landlord notices the





A fighter in the  
New People's Army.

vast reduction in the number of coconuts he gets, and he usually agrees to the new system in time. Even under the NPA's system, he still makes a profit. Recalcitrant and hardheaded landlords are dealt with the same way criminals are—military justice, in the context of the conduct of the ongoing people's war. These kinds of landlords usually turn out to be the most oppressive and vile ones anyway, so the "cleaning out" of the area is justified.

After the cooperative landlord accedes to the revolutionary ration, revolutionary taxation is instituted; everyone, from the peasants up, pays taxes to the NPA. In the new system of tax classification, there are three kinds of peasants: the very poor, who don't own the implements of farming; the middle peasants (the majority), who own farm implements; and the "rich" peasants, who are able to hire migrant labor. The poorest peasants pay, if they can, five percent of their net haul of coconuts; the middle peasants, six to eight percent; the rich peasants, ten percent. All landowners are taxed ten percent of their earnings from *copra*, or dessicated coconut, the final product of the whole cycle.

**BT:** You were in Negros province. In 1985 there was a lot of coverage about a massacre carried out by the military against a demonstration of farmers. What's going on there?

**NDF:** The massacre of 27 unarmed peasant men, women and children in a peaceful demonstration was only the violent tip of the iceberg, or I should say, volcano, that is Negros Province today. This manifestation of the fascist regime's brutality occurred in the small town of Escalante; reports had it that the people were lying prone on the

ground when the military opened fire on them—autopsies of those killed showed bullet entry wounds in their backs. The outrage of the people knew no bounds. One of the most interesting things I heard was that when Attorney Raul Gonzalez, former president of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines, rushed down to Negros to offer the free legal services of his group to the wounded demonstrators and to families of those massacred, one injured youth told him, "We don't need a lawyer. We will handle this in our own way."—an obvious reference to justice from the people themselves, and from the people's armed force, the NPA.

Negros is an island with a monocrop economy, so when the world market in sugar bottomed out in the late 70s and early 80s, sugar production stagnated, to ultimately reach its crisis of today. Mills stopped turning, planting stopped, sugar workers and *sacadas* (seasonal sugar workers) were rendered jobless, penniless and starving. In the whole of Negros, 400,000 sugar workers and their families are facing a severe economic crisis, manifested in outright starvation that is rapidly becoming very widespread. It is interesting to note that this crisis is almost directly a result of what the board of directors of Coca-Cola, Inc., decided on in the late 70s: changing from sugar to corn syrup for their soda sweeteners, and then to Nutrasweet.

**BT:** You referred to the NPA earlier. What is happening with regards to the armed struggle in Negros?

**NDF:** The critical economic situation in Negros in the last half-decade made the peasants aware that something radical had to be done to avert disaster. One response was organizing the sugar workers and setting up legitimate

unions. The reaction of the Marcos regime was vicious—the whole province was intensively militarized; a particularly heinous tactic was the institutionalizing of the Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF). Under this program, the military would recruit a town's bullies and criminals (the lumpen proletariat), arm them and with minimal training, set them loose on terrified townspeople and villagers in the guise of "defending" them against NPA members, saboteurs and whatnot. The CHDF proved to be most abusive, violence-prone, and criminal. They would torture union organizers, accusing them of subversive activities; they would steal the farmers' livestock and food and either consume it themselves or sell it elsewhere. It was under such harsh conditions that the NPA began rapidly growing in Negros.

By all accounts, it is in Negros Province that the NPA's organizing has been the most rapid in the Philippines in the past several years. Negros is obviously an area that seems most ripe for an escalation in the people's armed struggle. The most spectacular raid that the NPA has ever carried out—probably the most spectacular attack in Philippine history—happened in Negros in the summer of 1985. Within one hour, NPA regulars raided the Vosayas Maritime Academy, seizing 528 high-powered firearms, without firing a single shot or killing anyone. It shocked the military and stunned the entire nation. The success of this raid was an embarrassment to the regime, because it explicitly showed the support of the people for the NPA—how else could the raid have been such an extraordinary success? But this also set the stage for a really vicious response on the part of the military. The violence of the Escalante massacre showed its desperation and vile nature; the regime could not come up with any reasonable justification for the atrocity. As a result, it is believed that about 300 people in the Escalante area immediately joined the NPA.

My stay in Negros last summer wasn't very pleasant in terms of being constantly on the lookout for military criminals such as the CHDF and others. Neither was it pleasant in terms of being with the Negrenses themselves. Starvation was very real, severe malnutrition among children very common. In one hacienda, the people would have thin coffee for breakfast, would chew sugarcane for lunch, and the coffee again for supper. Aside from the sheer deprivation of not eating the staple, rice, the people considered their forced eating of sugarcane simply humiliating; especially when they had guests around—Filipinos are traditionally quite hospitable, but when people can't even offer rice to their guests, the degradation is almost impossible to bear.

In Hacienda Camili, the people there were forced to scrape a nearby riverbed for sand and gravel to sell to a building contractor—and they'd be lucky if he'd drop by once a week to even consider buying the sand and gravel for a pittance. It was also here that the people told me they'd started planting vegetable plots on the riverbank, on the edges of the canefields, even when the landowner had denied them this. When the vegetables had grown

some, the landowner called on the Philippine Constabulary soldiers to rip up these vegetable patches. It came as no surprise to me to learn that many men of Hacienda Camili decided to join the ranks of the NPA up in the hills.

The stories of torture that I heard appalled me no end. A teenager showed me his hands. All his fingernails had been ripped out during torture by the military; they had used pliers. But he was the fortunate one in his family, the whole bunch of whom had been accused of being NPA sympathizers—he was the only one left alive. His mother and sisters had been raped in front of everyone, and his father and brothers tortured and then killed. It's incidents like this, like Escalante, and many others, that compel the people of Negros to transcend such brutality and suffering, and to participate in the people's struggle.

**BT:** *What is the importance of building a stronger Philippines solidarity movement here in the U.S.?*

**NDF:** The Filipino people's revolutionary movement is at a point in history where it can no longer be crushed—the struggle is going to be protracted, but victory is inevitable. Continuing U.S. interference in Philippine affairs, the massive military aid that is expected to pour in now that "democracy" has ostensibly been restored under a new regime, will simply enhance the repressive and inequitable conditions that the Filipino masses have suffered for so long now, and that have not simply disappeared overnight. Direct U.S. military intervention will, of course, prolong the misery of the Filipino people. This is precisely where international public opinion, and the revolutionary movement right here in the U.S. can help, towards hastening the triumph of genuine democracy in the Philippines.

The support network here is still budding, and a lot of hard work is cut out for us. A tremendous amount of outreach has to be done to inform and mobilize the various sectors here. We consider it vital to be able to reach those in the U.S. who have a history of opposing not just U.S. imperialist intervention but the whole monopoly capitalist structure of American society. With their active and principled support, it will be possible to neutralize the threat of massive U.S. military intervention in the Philippines.

*Editor's note: the following are available from the Philippine Resource Center, PO Box 40090, Berkeley, CA 94704.*

## **The 12 Point Program of the National Democratic Front**

### **Philippine Society and Revolution**

The classic strategic overview of the Philippine revolution by Amado Guerrero, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (1971).

### **Sourcebook on the Filipino Women and their Struggle**

A compilation of articles, statements and profiles of Filipino women activists and organizations.

### **Sourcebook on Alternatives to Marcos**

Political programs of the different opposition groups.

### **Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines**

A book on the World Bank's control over the economy. By Walden Bello and Elaine Elinson. \$6.95



# *¡Los Yankis Quieren Fuego!*

## **Puerto Rico:**

When 300 FBI agents, outfitted in assault gear, descended on Puerto Rico the night of August 30, 1985, they triggered an angry response among the island's people that is having far-reaching consequences. With helicopters hovering overhead, the agents raided 38 homes and offices, seizing thousands of papers, destroying other property, and arresting 11 independentistas. The prisoners were hooded and shackled, and quickly removed to the U.S. in military aircraft. With the arrests of two other people the same night in Mexico and the United States, the government claimed it had smashed the *Macheteros*. This is the powerful armed clandestine independence formation that has carried out many effective and punishing actions against U.S. colonialism, from the ambush of a Navy bus at Sabana Seca, to the destruction of \$45 million worth of U.S. aircraft at Base Muniz, to the \$7 million expropriation of a Wells Fargo truck in Hartford, Connecticut.

While U.S. authorities were congratulating themselves for this blow against "terrorism," the Puerto Rican nation responded with outrage and action. The independence movement, displaying a unitary spirit unprecedented in recent decades, condemned the raids and stepped forward to defend the 13 captured activists and all Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war. Other sectors of the nation, including the leadership of the Catholic Church, denounced the FBI's actions as an insult to the dignity and integrity of Puerto Rico. Most telling was the fact that the FBI had not even notified the governor or local police prior to executing the raids—a deep insult to the colonial puppet government which underscored the fiction of their vaunted "autonomy."

## **Statement from the Hartford 13**

First of all, we want to express our revolutionary gratitude for the solidarity and active support you have built for us. But your support is not for us alone. It is for our people's right to freedom. It is support for the right of our people to fight for that freedom with any means within our grasp, and according to the dictates of our conscience.

Our enemies are powerful—armed with far-reaching repressive means, propaganda tools, and vast economic resources. But their motives—exploitation and oppression—are weak. They shout democracy to the four winds. They speak of justice and preach it all over the globe. And they talk about freedom and broadcast it to the farthest reaches of the earth. But yankee "democracy" is nothing

Since these arrests, the activity of the armed clandestine movement in Puerto Rico has not diminished. Most recently, a new organization, the Puerto Rican National Revolutionary Front (FRN-PR), claimed responsibility for a series of bombings in Puerto Rico on Three Kings Day, January 6, 1986. Their targets were U.S. Post Offices and Selective Service Registration Centers. The FRN-PR is the sixth armed clandestine formation to emerge in the Puerto Rican independence struggle. They stated in a communique: "While the gringos are imprisoning dozens of Puerto Rican patriots, and are trying to intimidate us through terrorist invasions by 300 agents, we answer them with more blows. This coming year they will feel more fire."

Breakthrough extends its unconditional support to the 13 arrested activists who are now facing trial in Hartford for the Wells Fargo expropriation. In November 1985 they issued a joint statement, which is reprinted below.

We are also reprinting an essay by Julio Rosado on the lessons for the Puerto Rican independence movement of the arrest of the 13. Julio is Eastern Regional Coordinator of the *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueño* (MLN), a revolutionary public independence organization in the U.S. Julio is also one of the MLN Five, grand jury resisters jailed in April 1984 for refusing to collaborate with a federal grand jury investigating the Puerto Rican struggle. He is now incarcerated in the federal prison in Raybrook, New York, and is scheduled for release in April 1986. The following first appeared in the January 1986 issue of *Liber-tad*, the monthly publication of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

but demagoguery, yankee "justice" is nothing but the law they usurped in order to serve the interests of the multimillionaires and economic consortiums that make up imperialism's social and economic system. And its "freedom" is nothing more than the imperialists' pretext for looting, oppressing, and invading other countries throughout the world.

We have seen them attack nearly every Latin America country. Now we see them invade Central America in the name of "democracy," "justice" and "freedom," as well as support the racist and bloody South African regime. And we feel, in our own flesh, yet another attack on the Puerto Rican nation.

Our people cannot match their economic, military and propagandistic might. But we possess the most powerful weapon of all, one that is capable, in time, of uniting popular sectors in our country and around the world. The

# A Paper for Discussion and Reflection

## THE LESSONS OF AUGUST 30

Julio Rosado, Eastern Regional Coordinator,  
Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, MLN-PR

The arrests of August 30 have provoked accusations, declarations, debates, calls for "unity," solidarity messages, indignation and sadness. So much emotion and so many contradictions tend to obscure the reality of the events and to confuse any political criteria—both key elements for the precise judgement that is needed right now.

That is why these events merit analysis from a global, political viewpoint instead of a narrow one focused at the center of the events themselves. In the first place, this is not the first time there have been numerous raids and arrests. With the addition of these 13 comrades, we now have 39 political prisoners and POWs. In each case there have been raids and mistreatment. What distinguishes the case of these 13 is that it took place in Puerto Rico and that the U.S. Army intervened to transport them to Roosevelt Roads. Now, yankee federal intervention in Puerto Rico without consultation with local puppets is nothing new. They have acted many times and this is just

another indication of our colonial status.

Most important is the response of the independence movement to the arrests. In the past such a response was reserved and confused because of fear of repression; now they shout their support for the *compañeros* and—in growing and surprising numbers—support the armed struggle. That has been the expression of our people from August 30 to Lares, on September 23.

The arrests of the 13 *compañeros* of course offers us an opportunity to measure the changes that have taken place in the independence movement since the beginning of the new stage of armed struggle with the first actions of the FALN [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional] in 1974. Remember that only a few months after the actions of October 1974, some preponderant voices in the mass independence movement fiercely condemned the FALN and tried to cast doubt on their legitimacy—to such an extent that the colonial parties and the CIA's newspaper reporters did not even have to take on the defense of North American



Puerto Rico, April 30, 1985: 300 FBI agents arrest 13 *independentistas*, rushing them aboard U.S. military aircraft and expatriating them to prisons in the U.S.

### Hartford 13 fr. p.31

reason: because it is our legitimate right to forge our own destiny and our inalienable right to freedom.

Thirteen of us have been captured for believing in these rights but no jail on earth can make us change our chosen path. Likewise, many courageous patriots have been incarcerated within the very belly of the beast. We are all soldiers of the same cause: the cause of independence for our homeland.

We are and shall be united in this effort. Some comrades, the Prisoners of War, are paving the way for the

future. Others, Political Prisoners, are sharpening the immediate contradictions. The comrades who have adopted the position of Political Prisoners firmly support those with Prisoner of War status, and recognize their heroism and capacity for courage and sacrifice. Unity, for all, is indispensable. Our fight for independence and against yankee colonialism is the struggle of all our country's social sectors. We revolutionaries have to seek support from all of them. Different forms and methods of struggle should not, *can not* oppose each other. Each individual chooses the one he believes in. All together, until victory is won!



interests until much later. Now, at the Grito de Lares, September 23, 1985, the clamor of support for the new prisoners and for the armed struggle equalled the often-repeated clamor for "unity."

But, even more important, the same persons who used to call the clandestine forces "adventurists" are now crying that it is "treason" to condemn and deny the armed struggle and are now applauding the fact that the "majority of our independence militants support the armed struggle." This change in appearance is indicative of the long struggle that has taken place within our movement.

Here, then, is the real lesson in the occurrences of August 30.

In the face of yankee atrocities against the clandestine independence movement, whose purpose was precisely to disarm our struggle and force it into strict legality, the independence movement responded with a voice of support for the *compañeros*—and even more important—for the armed struggle: weapons, explosives, military actions, the transformation of our popular militance into a genuine Puerto Rican army of volunteers combined into an armed force of national liberation.

We can learn a great deal from this lesson, those of us who are concerned to take the next steps toward a real national liberation movement. And it is important that we come to the appropriate conclusions, because they will produce fewer errors and because we could easily come to erroneous conclusions that would reverse our march forward.

The independence movement's cries for "unity" and for the "armed struggle" do not—by themselves—liquidate the fundamental contradiction within the movement. This historical contradiction is the one delineated by the great revolutionary master Juan Antonio Corretjer, who said in his classic work, *The Struggle for the Independence of Puerto Rico*, that throughout our struggle two forces march in parallel, one of them autonomist and reformist, the other revolutionary and radical. Both are independence forces. But what makes one or the other predominant and hegemonic in the struggle at a given moment in our history, is the actual dialectic of our independence movement. This is where repressive attacks by the enemy have played, and will play, an important role until the final steps.

The struggle of colonies for their independence has never been resolved peacefully. On the contrary, it has required, and will require, tremendous contributions of audacious and dedicated leadership. But the victory of true independence has required even more: direction by a revolutionary political-military party led by men and women with a panoramic, global vision of great intelligence and fortitude, flexibility and determination.

These are the qualities—audacity, sacrifice, vision, intelligence and fortitude—that separate revolutionary leaders from reformists. In our Puerto Rican struggle, they separate the revolutionaries from the autonomists and we know that it is the direction that sets the path of the masses

at each moment.

The arrests of August 30 actually force us to think about the direction that our movement can take. Now, if we concluded that the arrests mark the end of the armed struggle, that they close a chapter on an erroneous armed tendency, then the only thing left to conclude is that we should build a mass party within the permitted legal



On November 6, 1985, the OVRP (Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution), an armed clandestine organization in Puerto Rico, carried out an armed attack that seriously wounded Maj. Michael Snyder, the deputy head of U.S. military recruiting in Puerto Rico. This action was part of a broader campaign to stop the conscription of Puerto Rican youth into the U.S. military. Young Puerto Ricans, facing 75% unemployment, often have little alternative to becoming enlistees in the invasion force the U.S. is readying for Central America. The OVRP has been directing the placement of anti-recruitment posters in the high schools with the message: Be All That You Can Be: Become a Combatant for Independence.

framework—that is, the legal framework provided by the empire—if we can.

This is an easy conclusion; after all, there are 39 prisoners. They represent some of the best cadres of independence. The clandestine organizations show signs of weakness. The armed actions have diminished. The prison sentences are extremely long. It seems to be impossible to construct an army of *borinqueños* that can really move against the innumerable repressive forces: intelligence agencies, police, army, political and judicial power in the hands of the enemy. It seems to be a crass mistake to talk about the armed struggle.

On the other hand, in the face of this array of powers, it seems easy to struggle if all we do is remain within imperial legitimacy and struggle inside the framework of protest and opposition—mass organizations and electoral fronts. Running from repression, we can move away from the first (the armed struggle) and find refuge in the second (the mass party). But in the end, this will produce another flight in the other direction (from the party to clandestinity) when a certain level of effectiveness causes the imperialists to repress the mass organization as well.

But when that time comes, when the numerical prepon-

derance of clandestine militants call for armed struggle, where will they find leadership cells that are experienced and tested through years of clandestine struggle to offer their experience and direction? Nowhere!

No, *compañeros*, the lesson of August 30 is that we have to strengthen and support the armed struggle. In fact, unity in the independence movement is really based not in theoretical relationships, but in the practical relationship of public organizations to the clandestine structures. It would be beautiful to see unity. The union of all the forms of struggle being carried out to the left of the PIP: absolute non-collaboration with the empire, the strengthening of international linkages, the union of internal forces, the expanded and broadened political direction of the masses, the mobilization of all our forces and all our *jibaro* fury to put a definitive end to colonialism, once and for all.

So, if 13 *compañeros* were imprisoned on August 30, the clandestine organizations show that they are still intact. Surely they will be trying to resolve the historical problem of how to broaden their base of support in the masses in order to take new steps.

And what do you say, Puerto Ricans? ■

## FREE MUTULU SHAKUR!

### Statement by the New Afrikan People's Organization

Mutulu Shakur is a New Afrikan (Black) revolutionary and patriot dedicated to the liberation of the New Afrikan nation. On Tuesday, February 11, 1986, Dr. Shakur was captured in Los Angeles by an LAPD, New York Police and FBI terrorist task force intent on destroying the Black Liberation Movement. Already the lies and disinformation of the American government's propaganda machine are being spread, trying to criminalize Dr. Shakur's revolutionary activity and portray him as a terrorist. These are the facts about Dr. Shakur.

Dr. Shakur was born August 8, 1951, and has been active in the New Afrikan Liberation Movement since he was 15 years old. In 1968, he became a Founding Member of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. His life has been dedicated to national liberation and self-determination for the New Afrikan nation inside the borders of the u.s.

Dr. Shakur's life has been full of sacrifices made for the benefit of the nation. His political activism is extensive. In 1969, along with other New Afrikan Security Forces, he placed his life on the line to defend over 200 Black men and women from a violent police attack on the church of Aretha Franklin's father, the New Bethel Baptist Church in Detroit, Michigan. In 1970-71 he organized support for local struggles in Cairo, Illinois and Wilmington, North Carolina. In the 1970s, he organized political rallies, material aid and legal support for New Afrikan political prisoners nationwide, including the Panther 21, Geronimo Pratt, the RNA-11, As-sata Shakur, Sundiata Acoli and the Wilmington 10. In 1974, Dr. Shakur coordinated the National Task Force for Cointelpro Litigation and Research, which investigated the u.s.

government's conspiracy against the Black Liberation Movement. He also organized mass memorials for our "shining Black Prince," Malcolm X, in 1977 and 1978, that drew thousands of participants. As a Pan-Afrikanist and internationalist, Dr. Shakur organized a material aid campaign for the liberation movement in Zimbabwe. His efforts on this endeavor won him an invitation from ZANU, the elected governing party, to their elections held after independence was won in 1980.

Dr. Shakur was also a health worker in the community. In the early 1970s he worked at the Lincoln Detox Community Hospital in Harlem to combat drug addiction. Recognizing the need for alternatives to the substandard health care routinely given to Black people he became a licensed Doctor of Chinese Medicine and acupuncture. He later organized BAAANA, the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America, which treated over 75 people weekly and successfully rehabilitated a number of the community's drug addicts.

In addition to all of the above activities and accomplishments, Dr. Shakur is a husband and dedicated father of five children and has worked consistently under considerable stress to nurture and protect the Black family. It should be clear that based on his history, Dr. Shakur is a freedom-loving man who is strong enough to struggle for the liberation of his nation. He is a lover of his people and struggles for our self-determination. He is a *Freedom Fighter*, not a terrorist. Don't let the FBI criminalize Dr. Shakur and the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Contact the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, c/o Box 2348, NY, NY 10027. **Support New Afrikan Freedom Fighters!!!**



# Write Through the Walls

*The U.S. government says that there are no political prisoners or POWs in this country. Yet the partial list below shows this claim is a complete lie. We urge you to write them and to send literature. These women and men represent the best of the movement. Make their struggle your struggle. "The Real Dragon" sponsors a continuing book drive to political prisoners and POWs. For more information or to send contributions write: PO Box 3294, Berkeley, CA 94703-9901.*

## **Puerto Rican Prisoners of War**

Edwin Cortés #92153-024  
Alberto Rodríguez #92150-024  
Ricardo Jimenez #88967-024  
PO Box 1000  
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Elizam Escobar #88969-024  
FCI  
Box 1000  
Oxford, WI 53952

Oscar López Rivera #87651-024  
Federal Prison  
PO Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048

Adolfo Matos #88968-024  
Unit J, 3901 Klein Blvd  
Lompoc, CA 93436 93436

William Guillermo Morales  
Apto Postal 20-853  
Col San Angel  
Mexico 20 DF, MEXICO

Dylcia Pagán #88971-024  
Lucy Rodríguez #88973-024  
Haydeé Torres #88462-024  
Carmen Valentín #88974-024  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th St  
Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

Alicia Rodríguez #N07157  
PO Box C  
Dwight, IL 60420

Luis Rosa #N02743  
PO Box 711  
Menard, IL 62259

Alejandrina Torres #92152-024  
MCC  
8901 S Wilmont  
Tucson, AZ 85706

Carlos Alberto Torres #88976-024  
FCI  
902 Renfro  
Talladega, AL 35160

## **Puerto Rican Political Prisoners**

Steven Guerra #1588-053  
FCI La Tuna  
Anthony, TX 88021

Félix Rosa #N11373  
Box 7711  
Centralia, IL 62801

Andrés Rosado #19794-053  
PO Box 1000  
Allenwood Prison  
Montgomery, PA 17752

Julio Rosado #19793-053  
FCI  
PO Box 900  
Raybrook, NY 12977

Julio Veras y Delgadillo  
c/o John Doe #300799 069  
FCI  
Petersburg, VA 23803

Luz Mariá Berrios Berrios  
Ivonne Meléndez Carrión #03170-069  
Elias Samuel Castro #03169-069  
Hilton Fernández Diamante #03168-069  
Orlando Claudio González #03173-069  
Isaac Camacho Negrón #03174-069  
Luis Alfredo Colón Osorio #03172-069  
Filiberto Ojeda Ríos #03167-069  
Angel Diaz Ruiz #03175-069  
Juan Enrique Segarra #15357-077  
MCC, 150 Park Row  
New York, NY 10007



## **New Afrikan/Black Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners**

Sundiata Acoli  
s/n Clark Squire #39794-066  
Sekou Odinga  
s/n Nathaniel Burns #05228-054  
Richard Thompson-El  
PO Box 1000  
Marion, IL 62959

Ashanti  
s/n Michael Alston #28403  
PO Box 100  
Somers, CT 06071

Kalima Aswad  
s/n Robert Duren #B24120  
CMC San Luis Obispo, CA 93409

Kuwasi Balagoon #83-A-6216  
Jalil Abdul Muntaqin  
s/n Anthony Bottom #77-A-4283  
Auburn Corr. Facility  
135 State St  
Auburn, NY 13024-9000

Herman Bell #79-C262  
Jah s/n Teddy Heath #75-A-132  
Attica Corr. Facility  
PO Box 149  
Attica, NY 14011

Mark Cook #20025-148K  
3901 Klein Boulevard  
Lompoc, CA 93436

Cecilio Chui Ferguson  
FCI, PO Box 1000  
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Larry Guy  
Jackson State Prison  
PO Box E  
Jackson, MI 49204

Basheer Hameed  
s/n James York #82-A-6313  
Mohaman Geuka Koti #80-A-808  
Great Meadows Corr. Facility  
Box 51  
Comstock, NY 12821

Johnny Imani Harris #2-372  
Holman Unit 37  
Atmore, AL 36503

Robert Seth Hayes #74-A-2280  
Richard Dhoruba Moore #72-A-0639  
Albert Nuh Washington #77-A-1528  
Greenhaven Prison  
Drawer B  
Stormville, NY 12582

Carol Hill  
Mutulu Shakur  
MCC, 150 Park Row  
New York, NY 10007

Haki Malik Abdullah  
s/n Michael Green #C-56123  
Ruchell Cinque Magee #A92051  
Hugo Pinell #A88401  
Folsom Prison  
Represa, CA 95671

Chris King  
Walpole State Prison  
PO Box 2000  
S. Walpole, MA 02071

Richard Mafundi Lake #79972  
100 Warrior Lane #2-62B  
Bessimer, AL 35023

Abdul Majid #83-A483  
s/n Anthony Laborde  
Clinton Corr. Facility  
PO Box B  
Dannemora, NY 12929

Geronimo Pratt #B-40319  
Charles Scott #C-19320  
San Quentin Prison  
Tamal, CA 94976

Awali Stoneham  
PO Box B-98168  
Soledad, CA 93960

### **Mexicano Political Prisoners**

María Cueto #15884-053  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th St.  
Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

Ricardo Romero #16208-053  
PO Box 1000  
Safford, AZ 85546

### **Native American Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners**

Standing Deer #83947  
s/n Robert Hugh Wilson  
E Block  
McAlester State Prison  
PO Box 97  
McAlester, OK 94502-0097

Rita Silk Nauni  
Box 11492  
Mable Bassett Corr. Inst.  
Oklahoma City, OK 73136

Leonard Peltier #89637-132  
Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048

### **North American Political Prisoners**

Silvia Baraldini #05125-024  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th St.  
Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

Dr. Alan Berkman  
c/o Resistance Law Office  
120 Duane St  
New York, NY 10007

Tim Blunk #09429-050  
Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048

Kathy Boudin # 84-G-171  
Judith Clark #83-G-313  
247 Harris Road  
Bedford Hills, NY 10507

Marilyn Buck  
Linda Evans #19973-054  
MCC, 150 Park Row  
New York, NY 10007

David Gilbert #83-A-6158  
Auburn Corr. Facility  
Auburn, NY 13024-9000

Shelly Miller #16205-053  
WFCI Box A  
Alderson, WV 24910

Richard Picariello #05812  
Walpole State Prison  
Box 2000  
S. Walpole, MA 02071

Susan Rosenberg #03684-016  
MCC, 8901 S. Wilmont  
Tucson, AZ 85706

Laura Whitehorn #220-858  
Montgomery Co. Detention Ctr.  
1307 Seven Locks Road  
Rockville, MD 20852

### **Ohio 7**

Barbara Curzi  
Pat Gros  
Jaan Lamaan  
Ray Levasseur  
Carol Manning  
Thomas Manning  
Richard Williams  
MCC New York  
50 Park Row  
New York, NY 10007

### **Plowshares Prisoners**

Liz McAlister #01263-052  
Sr. Anne Montgomery #03827-018  
Christin Schmidt #03826-018  
WFCI Box A  
Alderson, WV 24910

Pat Herngren #03824-018  
Todd Kaplan #03828-018  
Jim Perkins #03825-018  
Vern Rossman #01266-052  
Pembroke Station  
Danbury, CT 06810

Fr. Paul Kabat  
Fr. Carl Kabat  
Larry Cloud Morgan  
Helen Woodson  
c/o Gaudete Center  
634 Spruce St.  
Madison, WI 53715

Tim Lietzke #03830-018  
FCI  
Petersburg, VA 23804

Paul Magno #03829-018  
Karl Smith #01268-052  
Allenwood Prison  
Box 1000  
Montgomery, PA 17752

Patrick O'Neill #03831-018  
FPC Box 150160  
Lakewood Station  
Atlanta, GA 30315

### **Vancouver 4**

Gerry Hannah  
Matsqui Medium Institution  
Box 4000  
Abbotsford, BC, CANADA V2S4P3

Ann Hansen  
Prison for Women  
Box 515  
Kingston, ONT, CANADA K7L4W7

Doug Stewart  
Kent Prison  
Box 2000  
Agassiz, BC CANADA V0M 1A0

Brent Taylor  
Millhaven Maximum Institution  
Box 280  
Bath, ONT, CANADA K0H1G0

### **Irish Political Prisoners**

Jim Barr  
Philadelphia Detention Center  
8201 State Rd.  
Philadelphia, PA 19136

Joseph P. Doherty #07792-054  
MCC  
150 Park Row  
New York, NY 10007

William Quinn  
SF County Jail #2, 7th Flr  
850 Bryant Street  
San Francisco, CA 94102





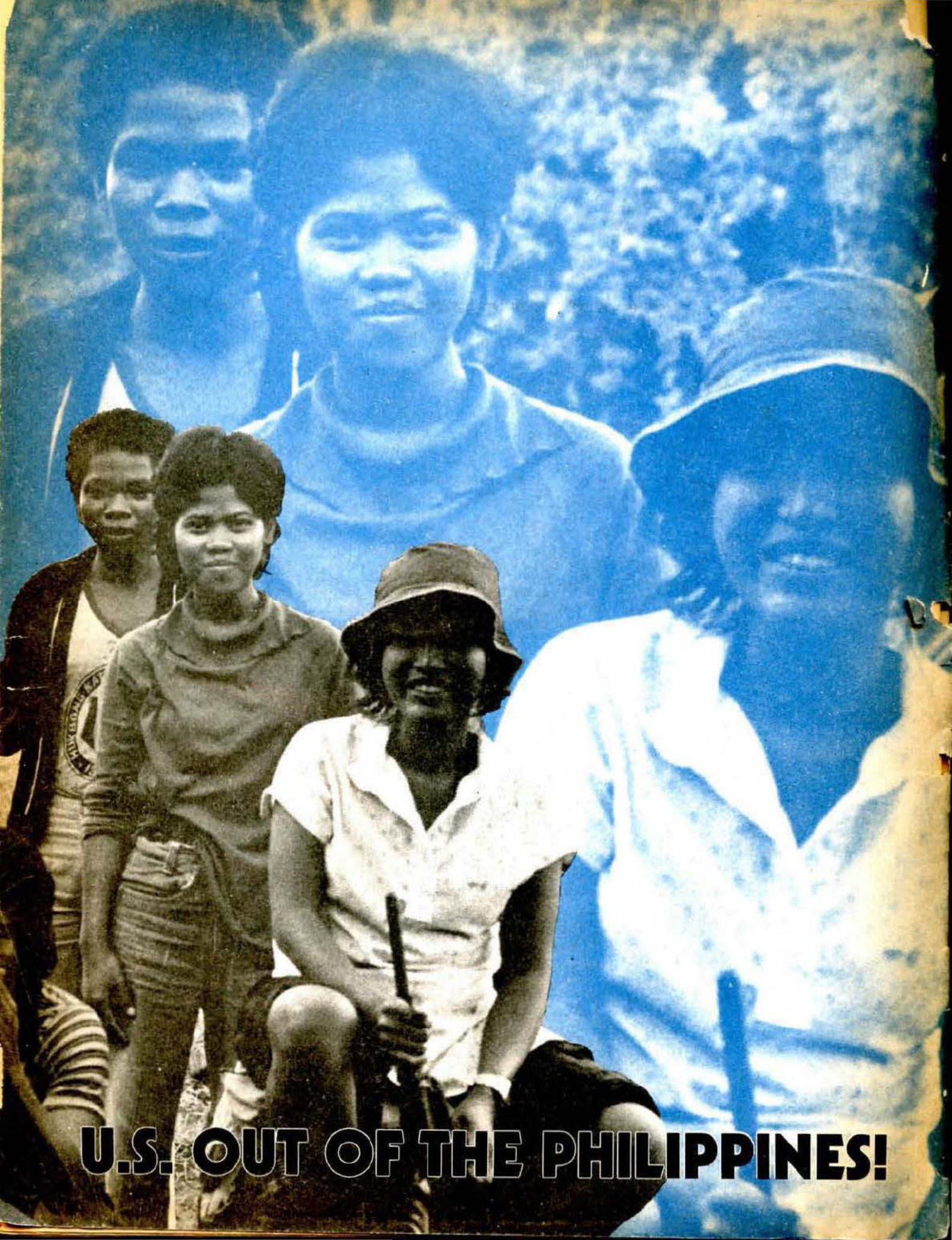
credit: Big Mountain News

## Sovereignty for Native Nations!

In July 1986, the U.S. government intends to complete the forcible removal of over 10,000 Dineh (Navajo) and Hopi people from their ancestral homes on Big Mountain in Arizona. This will be the largest forced evacuation of civilians since the internment of Japanese during World War II. The U.S. has deemed it necessary so that giant energy companies like Peabody Coal can plunder the high quality coal and uranium found on the Dineh/Hopi sacred lands. Already faced with the removal of their livestock, fencing off of their land and destruction of precious water wells, traditional elders of both the Hopi and Dineh continue to stay on. They have declared the Big Mountain Independent Dineh Nation, vowing to resist this genocidal attack on their sovereignty. **U.S. Out of Big Mountain! Support the Big Mountain Resistance!**

For more information, contact Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Cte., 124 N. San Francisco #B, Flagstaff, AZ 86001; International Indian Treaty Council, 1259 Folsom, San Francisco, CA 94103; or Big Mountain Support Group, 1412 Cypress St., Berkeley, CA 94703.





**U.S. OUT OF THE PHILIPPINES!**