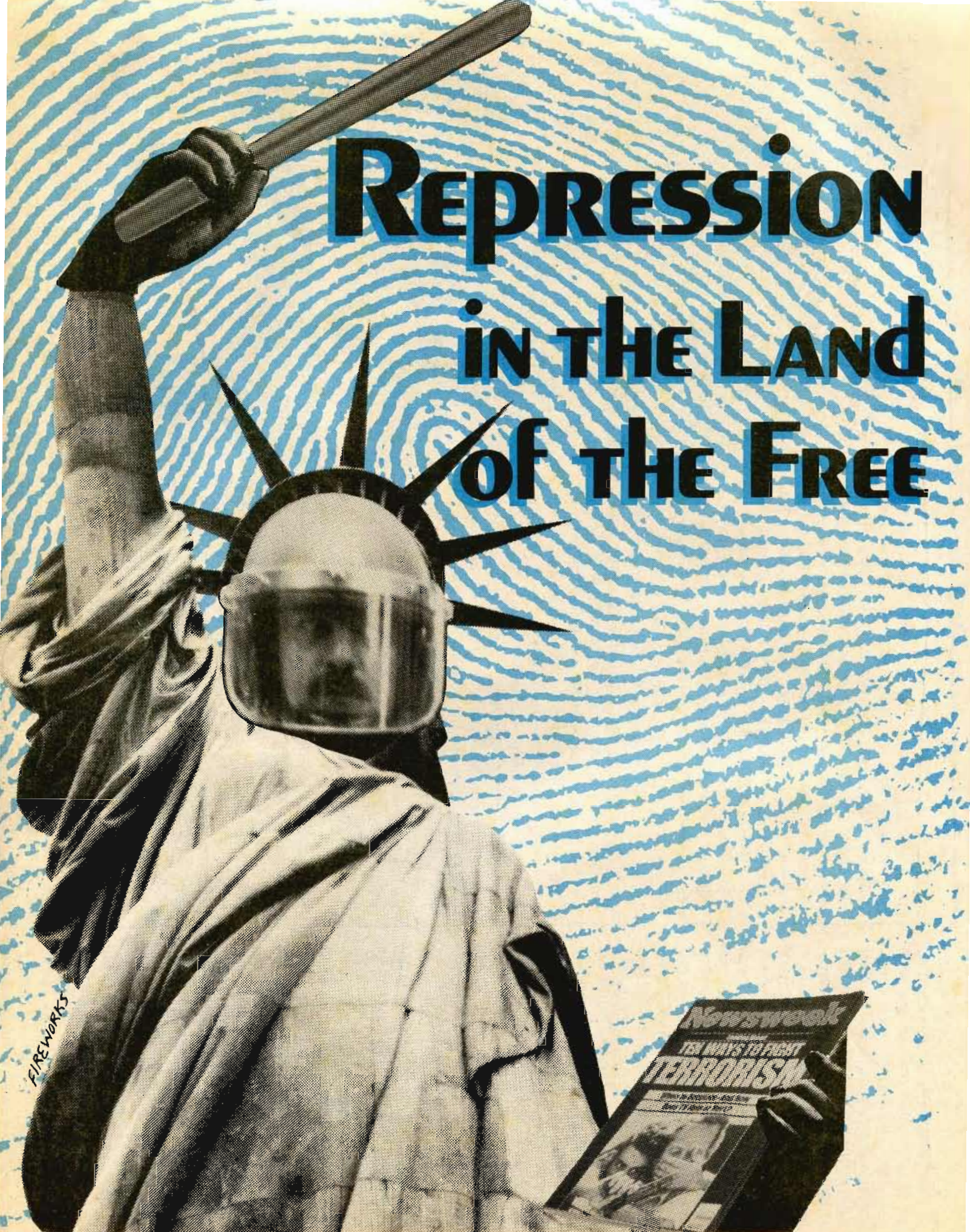


REPRESSION in the Land of the FREE



HARLEM, NEW YORK: Eleanor Bumpurs, a 66-year-old Black grandmother, is shot to death by heavily armed police sent to evict her from her apartment. When Steven Sullivan, the officer responsible for her murder, is indicted, 10,000 police stage a march through the streets chanting, "If Bernhard Goetz is a hero, Sullivan is a saint." A short time later all charges against Sullivan are dropped.

TUCSON, ARIZONA: In a coordinated sweep, the INS arrests 60 Salvadoran refugees and indicts 16 sanctuary workers for conspiracy to harbor fugitives. INS agents have been spying on church meetings to gather information.

NEW YORK, NY: Federal marshalls attack members of the Ohio 7 while they attempt to read a statement in court. The 7 are on trial for political bombings in solidarity with the people of Central America and Azania (South Africa). Three of them are beaten and repeatedly shot with stun guns, the 1985 equivalent of the cattle prod.

PHILADELPHIA: Police drop a bomb on MOVE headquarters, killing 11 Black people, four of them children, and burning down three city blocks.

Although they may seem disconnected, these incidents are all part of a coordinated government strategy. This isn't paranoia. Only by understanding the full scope of what the government is

up to can we ever hope to combat repression.

Today's state repression has its roots in the 60s, a time when the entire world was in revolutionary turmoil and conflict. National liberation struggles were winning independence and freedom in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In Europe, young people, students and workers were in the streets. And in the U.S. the rulers were paying the price for domestic colonialism, white supremacy and war. The Black rebellions in the central cities, combined with the massive protests against the Vietnam War, proved to be a nightmare the government vowed would never happen again. The state responded with COINTELPRO—the FBI program of assassinations, infiltration and disruption which devastated the Black liberation movement.

The draft was ended, the Vietnamese won the war, the antiwar movement receded. But amid Watergate and FBI scandals, the ruling class grew more determined to nip any future movement in the bud. Joining with their counterparts in Britain, who were busy confronting the Irish national liberation movement, U.S. counterinsurgency planners developed the strategy we see unfolding today.

A key theorist of the new state repression was Frank Kitson, who commanded British forces in Northern Ireland. In his book, *Low Intensity Opera-*

tions, Kitson declared that insurgency was a permanent condition and that counterinsurgency had to be permanent as well. He argued that repression should operate at the earliest stages of protest. This is when the government should infiltrate the movement in order to gather intelligence, spread disinformation and isolate the most radical elements from the broader movement. We can see this strategy at work today in the U.S.

The New State Repression



The myth of U.S. "democracy" has a powerful hold over our minds. Living here in the heart of the most violent imperialist power in the world, we are taught to believe in the fairness of the Constitution and the courts. We are told that the government penalizes only those who deserve it. We are spoonfed the notion that armed resistance to imperialism—especially here in the United States—is terrorist and criminal.

The goal of repression isn't to stop all dissent. The government needs dissent to foster the illusion of freedom—so long as protest remains within prescribed boundaries. Repression aims to keep the movement harnessed as a loyal opposition, while the state has a free hand to attack revolutionaries and militant resisters.

Look at how the state is moving against the New Afrikan (Black), Puerto Rican, Mexican and Native American national liberation movements.

These are the

"disruptive elements" who have always been in the forefront of revolutionary change. With millions of Black and other Third World people sinking further below the "poverty line," a wave of police terror is being unleashed against Third World communities to keep the colonized in line.

In this situation, the 80s version of COINTELPRO is taking place. The state is attempting to surgically remove any revolutionary organizations which arise to challenge its colonial control. Armed clandestine formations like the Black Liberation Army (BLA) and the Puerto Rican Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) are viewed as particularly threatening. In recent years the North American armed clandestine movement has attacked numerous government and military targets, including the U.S. Capitol after the invasion of Grenada. This movement has also become a focus of counterinsurgency.

FBI operations, phony conspiracy indictments and grand juries have targeted all these struggles. Prisoners of War from these movements have been singled out for brutal treatment in U.S. prisons. By Spring of 1985, over 100 people had been imprisoned as part of the government counterinsurgency effort.

The government is also working overtime to contain the growing movement against U.S. intervention in Central America. The goal is to penetrate the most militant sectors and to draw a dividing line between polite protest and serious resistance. When the movement steps beyond that line—through direct action, material aid campaigns for Nicaragua or the FMLN/FDR, sanctuary for Central American refugees, Plowshares actions at military facilities—the government cracks down with indictments and jail.

Let's take a look at how all this is being done in the "land of the free."



Philadelphia, May 1985 — POLICE TERROR AGAINST THE BLACK NATION

STOP THE WITCHHUNTS

In Ireland, South Africa and Israel, being jailed for no crime other than one's political beliefs is known as political internment. It's used to take organizers off the streets and put them in jail. The same thing is happening in the U.S. — and it's known as the GRAND JURIES.

The grand juries are targeting the Puerto Rican, New Afrikan (Black), Mexican and white anti-imperialist movements. Since 1976, nearly 50 political activists from these struggles have been jailed for the "crime" of refusing to talk to federal grand juries. In the last year alone, 25 people have been interned.

Many people think of the grand jury as an impartial body that reviews evidence to determine if criminal indictments should be issued. But the political grand jury is nothing less than forced interrogation. You cannot have a lawyer present. The government is not required to inform you of the nature of the investigation, or whether you yourself are under investigation. There are no limits to the scope of their questions, which you are required to answer under threat of contempt. Through the grand jury, the state attempts to achieve the following: crush the clandestine movement by using the threat of jail to find someone who will inform; intimidate, harass and criminalize leaders and supporters of public anti-imperialist organizations; and gather information on the growing movements against U.S. intervention and militarism.

Seeing that the threat of civil contempt (which carries a maximum charge of 18 months or the remaining life of the grand jury) wasn't working, the U.S. decided to use the charge of criminal contempt against many of those who refused to comply with subpoenas. This charge carries no determinate sentence, and although defendants are given a jury trial, their guilt is a foregone conclusion. To date at least ten people in the U.S. and Puerto Rico have been convicted of criminal contempt.

There is only one answer to this. Non-collaboration. By refusing to talk, we refuse to cooperate with these witchhunts. We help make it impossible for them to gather detailed, close-in information on the movement. We make ourselves and others stronger by showing that we won't be intimidated by the threat of jail and we build a movement with courage and integrity.



September 15, 1984: Demonstrators march in Battle Creek, MI, to denounce police brutality and grand jury inquisitions against the Black community. Over 200 people, including a 6-year-old child, were subpoenaed to a grand jury aimed at destroying the New Afrikan organizations leading a campaign against police terror.

The Land of the Free?



Unleashing the FBI: The U.S. secret police are again on the attack, armed with an annual budget of \$1 billion, state-of-the-art computers and electronic surveillance equipment. Under Executive Order No. 12333, the FBI and the CIA are now legally allowed to infiltrate and spy on any domestic group they deem a threat. The FBI is also operating internationally: recently it was revealed that the FBI has been training the Salvadoran police force and has taken over the investigation into the killings of four Marines in a guerrilla attack in San Salvador.

The use of informers is at the heart of the strategy to contain today's growing movement. Files obtained under the Freedom of Information Act revealed that the U.S. Navy and the Department of Energy had coordinated spying on meetings to plan demonstrations at Concord Naval Weapons Station and Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. The FBI, along with the U.S. Marshalls Service and the Marine Corps have been monitoring the anti-nuke movement. Predating Reagan's embargo, the FBI has also been working hard to scare people away from visiting and supporting Nicaragua. Of the 100,000 U.S. citizens who have visited revolutionary Nicaragua, over 1,000 have been visited in their homes by FBI agents who claim to be investigating threats to "national security." Right-wing Senators and New Right organizations are launching a coordinated campaign against CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), portraying this mass-based organization as a

"terrorist" front group for Salvadoran communists.

In 1981 the existence of a top secret, nationwide elite within the FBI, called the Joint Terrorist Task Force (JTTF), was revealed. The JTTF's key importance is the integration of the federal police (FBI) with the local, county and state police forces in "anti-terrorist" activity. The FBI gets augmentation of its 8,800 Special Agents; the locals get the "national security" shield of the FBI. Its computer data banks and field agents are charged with collating the most up to date information on the movement as a whole. They zero in on individuals and groups considered most dangerous by the government. Members of the JTTF supervised the beating and torture of Puerto Rican Prisoner of War William Morales in a Mexico City jail and of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Sekou Odinga in New York. They executed New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtyari Shabaka Sundiata as he lay wounded on the street.

Recently, in an incident reminiscent of "disappearances" in Latin America, the JTTF seized the three children of Thomas and Carol Manning, white anti-imperialists who are charged with political bombings against U.S. military and corporate targets. Their children—Jeremy, Tamara and Jonathan, ages eleven, five and three—were taken for interrogation after their parents were captured by the FBI. No one—neither their parents, relatives nor defense lawyers—was allowed to see or talk with them for two months until nationwide protests forced their release.

Enjoying the official protection of the media, the FBI has instructed news services to clear all reports on the JTTF with

FBI top brass in Washington before filing stories. How can this squad and the FBI as a whole operate like this? Because in the name of "anti-terrorism" all manner of violations of human rights are acceptable in the United States.

The Law as a Weapon: For repression to succeed in the long run, the public has to be convinced that it is a desirable and necessary alternative to the breakdown

The Denton legislation is merely the tip of the iceberg. The Supreme Court is more than ever in the hands of right-wing conservatives, as is the top echelon of the federal judiciary. Ruling after ruling from the courts routinely favors increased police and government power. Budget slashing at the same time results in the denial of legal services to the poor precisely when more Third World youth are being sent to prison for

In the name of "anti-terrorism"
all manner of violations of human rights
are acceptable in the United States.

of civilized order. Make the unthinkable acceptable AND legal. This is what is now happening in the U.S.

Senator Jeremiah Denton, head of the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security, has authored a bill giving the State Department authority to establish a list of "terrorist" organizations and countries. It would be a federal crime for any U.S. citizen to provide support for any group on the list. Obviously, this is aimed at political and material support for the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador, for Nicaragua and Cuba, for the Palestinian revolution, for the liberation movements in Azania ... the list could go on. Denton withdrew the original bill after it sparked protests but a new version is being worked up.

longer and longer terms. This is not often considered political repression, but the reality is that Black and Latino people are over 10 times more likely to be jailed than are whites.

Preventive detention, à la South Africa or Northern Ireland, is also here, arriving without much fanfare or notice. A recently passed law allows the government to hold without bail defendants who it deems a threat to public safety. No longer will the state have to prove that a defendant is a risk to flee prosecution. This has already been used against Plowshares activists in Kansas City, against white anti-imperialists charged with political bombings and in the case of the New York 8+ (Black activists charged with conspiracy to liberate a political prisoner and expropriate ar-

mored cars). The state is also making use of anonymous juries—telling prospective jurors that it is too dangerous to reveal their names and addresses, thus prejudicing them from the beginning. This tactic was used in the criminal contempt trial of five Puerto Rican and Mexican leaders and supporters of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN). Anonymous juries were also used in the conspiracy trial of the New Afrikan and white revolutionaries charged with the 1981 Brinks expropriation attempt.

From Dragnet to Hill Street Blues: From the beat cop to the SWAT team, the power and image of the police pervade American life. Now we have militarized police with all the hi-tech sophistication of modern armies. For millions of Black and other colonized Third World people in the U.S., cops are brutal and racist enemies who threaten them as part of official policy. In 1982 the Justice Department admitted that for every white person killed by the police 22 Black people are killed. Is this the result of a few bad apples on the force? Hardly. Police terror is systematic and protected by law. Out of the thousands of police murders of Third World people in the last five years, not one cop has ever been tried and convicted of first de-

gree murder.

Not surprisingly, among the white population, cops are seen as protectors who are reasonable and fair. Most white people now want more cops and have been convinced of the rightwing propaganda that every Black youth is a potential criminal. Witness the avalanche of support for Bernhard Goetz when he shot four Black youths on a New York subway. This makes it even more important for progressive white people to take a stand against police and vigilante terror and in defense of human rights for colonized people.

Disinformation and the Media: We've all experienced disinformation. How many times have we participated in demonstrations only to see them distorted and/or ignored in the media? Yet our initial instinct is to believe what we hear and read. The media is supposed to be independent of the government, another of those great American "checks and balances."

What a joke! Despite the New Right attack on the "leftist" media, the truth is that the government uses the press and TV as its number one vehicle for creating consent and support. In 1975 the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, during its investigation of CIA dirty tricks, revealed a small part of the penetration by intelligence agencies

"Who blew up the oil tanks in Corinto?"

Who mined Nicaraguan ports?

Who bombed Sandino Airport?

Who published the CIA crime manual?

So who are the terrorists?"

**—Daniel Ortega
President of Nicaragua**

into the media. More than 200 wire services, newspapers and publishing companies were owned by the CIA world wide. Estimates of the amount of money devoted to CIA propaganda operations annually ranges in the billions of dollars. Recent examples of disinformation are: the story of the phantom MIG's in Nicaragua; the attempt by Reagan and *Reader's Digest* to paint the nuclear freeze movement as a KGB plot; the series of *New York Times* articles detailing "disintegration" of the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador and promoting divisions between the FMLN and FDR.

The "war against terrorism" is the ultimate disinformation cover story. Take a look at "Nightline" and count the number of interviews with right-wing "anti-terrorist" experts. "Terrorism" has become synonymous with liberation struggle around the world—from Central America to Palestine, from Puerto Rico to Azania.

A Special Seminar on Terrorism was held in Puerto Rico in 1978 and attended by leading representatives of the armed forces and intelligence agencies of the U.S., Britain, West Germany, Italy, Uruguay and Puerto Rico. It was argued that the media "should never be permitted to demonstrate the terrorist as a human being." The final report of the conference dismissed "idealism or truth in journalism" as "less than realistic and pandering to slogans" and urged the media to become full participants in the "anti-terrorist" crusade.

A classic example of this strategy at work was the FBI/media campaign to paint Thomas and Carol Manning of the Ohio 7 as crazed criminals. TV stations in the Northeast ran pictures of the Mannings' eldest son dressed as a cowboy with a toy gun in his hand. Underneath the picture, they captioned "When I grow up, I want to rob banks just like my father." The picture was taken from a Halloween party and was doctored to eliminate another child who was holding a banjo. In this way the media helps create the climate for inhumane treatment of the children as well as the parents.

Fighting Back



Repression is scary. It's meant to be. It's meant to limit us to polite disapproval as the U.S. escalates in Nicaragua and El Salvador. It's meant to up the ante so that it becomes more risky to take the streets and more dangerous to give sanctuary. To scare people away from supporting captured freedom fighters or defending grand jury resisters. To control our movement and destroy our spirit. As our opposition becomes more effective, government repression will surely grow worse. But this is a double-edged sword, because repression exposes the inhuman nature of the system. Today more people are standing up to say NO! to what the U.S. is doing around the world. In the process, they are beginning to confront the forces of the government. Last year in San Francisco, the police violently attacked a number of anti-intervention demonstrations. In Chicago, police singled out a gay man during a Pledge of Resistance action and beat him in the police station. Sometimes the police may act cooperatively, other times the riot squads are called out in force. But either way their goal is to control, divide and neutralize resistance.

Faced with repression, we can act on the time honored call that "An Injury to One is An Injury to All." Far from reacting piecemeal to each incident of repression, we can come together with a powerful and informed response. Our ability to sustain a fight for humanity and freedom depends on this.

BREAK THE CHAINS

Prison is very much a part of political struggle. This is true from El Salvador to Azania and, though the U.S. denies it, there are scores of political prisoners and Prisoners of War in this country.

Who are these brothers and sisters? Labelled as terrorists and criminals, they are often locked away for life. They are from the Black liberation movement and the Puerto Rican independence movement. They are Mexicano activists and

Native American fighters. They are representatives of North American armed clandestine organizations. They are Plowshares activists. All of them have taken their stand against this most oppressive of systems.

The U.S. knows that political prisoners can be an example for all of us. They know that their courage and spirit can break through the fear of jail. This can't be allowed, so the U.S. and its NATO allies have perfected what they call the "denial" system to break the spirit of the prisoners and to isolate them from all support.

Denial means just that. Political prisoners are routinely held in solitary confinement. Richard Williams of the Ohio 7 has been put in a special cell, never seeing any other prisoner. Puerto Rican POW's Lucy Rodriguez and Haydee Torres were also placed in specially constructed isolation cells at Alderson Prison. Once convicted, political prisoners are moved from prison to prison, preventing friendships or political relationships from developing. Mail, visits, phone calls are strictly monitored and curtailed. All this is supposed to serve notice upon these activists that they should give in to their imprisonment.

But it isn't working. Upon capture, 15 Puerto Ricans have declared themselves Prisoners of War. They base their stance on International Law codified in UN resolutions against colonialism and the Geneva Accords which state that any person involved in an anti-colonial struggle must be treated as a POW upon capture. Although the U.S. calls them criminals, it has charged them with the political crime of seditious conspiracy — opposing by force the authority of the U.S. government in order to obtain the independence of Puerto Rico. New Afrikan/Black revolutionaries also claimed POW status as part of their fight for self-determination and independence. Captured North American freedom fighters have stood defiant in court and in prison. Pointing to the Nuremberg principles, they maintain that it is the obligation of all people to resist by any means necessary the genocidal policies of their own government.

This is a time when many people are getting arrested for the first time in civil disobedience and direct action around Central America and South Africa. There have been many discussions of jail solidarity — standing with all those who have been arrested. But for this concept to have full meaning, it needs to include the building of campaigns in support of political prisoners. We can deny the government their strategy by demanding that political prisoners not be isolated but instead be housed in groups. We can write to the prisoners, support them and learn from them. And we must insist on full human rights and freedom for our sisters and brothers behind bars.



Clockwise, from top left: Maria Cueto, Mexicano Political Prisoner; Silvia Baraldini, North American anti-imperialist Political Prisoner; Carmen Valentin and Haydee Torres, Puerto Rican Prisoners of Wars.

Don't talk to the FBI. You don't have to. There is no law requiring any of us to talk to an FBI agent. Every bit of information given to the FBI becomes part of their intelligence gathering on the movement.

Some people think we can outsmart the FBI, turn their questions around and get information from them. Experience has shown that this is dangerous: our questions and answers often provide insights for the FBI to go on. Likewise, the FBI will try to catch us up if we make statements that they can prove are false. When this happens they can threaten us with perjury charges. When you talk to the FBI, even if you "don't say much," they have established a very important fact—that you are indeed a person who talks to the FBI. The likelihood of their return with more questions or a call to a grand jury is greatly increased. The best thing to do is **REFUSE TO TALK!**

Don't let the FBI inside your house. Legally they can only enter your home if they have a search or arrest warrant. If they say they have a warrant, demand to see it and demand to see their I.D. If they want to ask a few questions, show you pictures of people, ask about who uses your phone, etc. say "No, I have nothing to talk to you about." Tell them that your lawyer will get in touch with them. The FBI will try to intimidate you if sweet talking fails or vice versa. This is why we must be clear and firm in our refusal to cooperate.

The government and FBI want to use their fear tactics, lies and spies to put us on the defensive. Now is the time to build a real wall of resistance.

DON'T TALK TO THE FBI



The International Network Against the New State Repression has come together to expose and resist the ever-growing attacks by the U.S. government against progressive and revolutionary movements. We are a network of New Afrikan (Black), Puerto Rican, Mexican and white anti-imperialist organizations and individuals. If you would like to know more about our work, to share information about repression in your area or to discuss the ideas in this broadside, please write us at the addresss below.

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