

Inside: Focus on Puerto Rico

BREAKTHROUGH

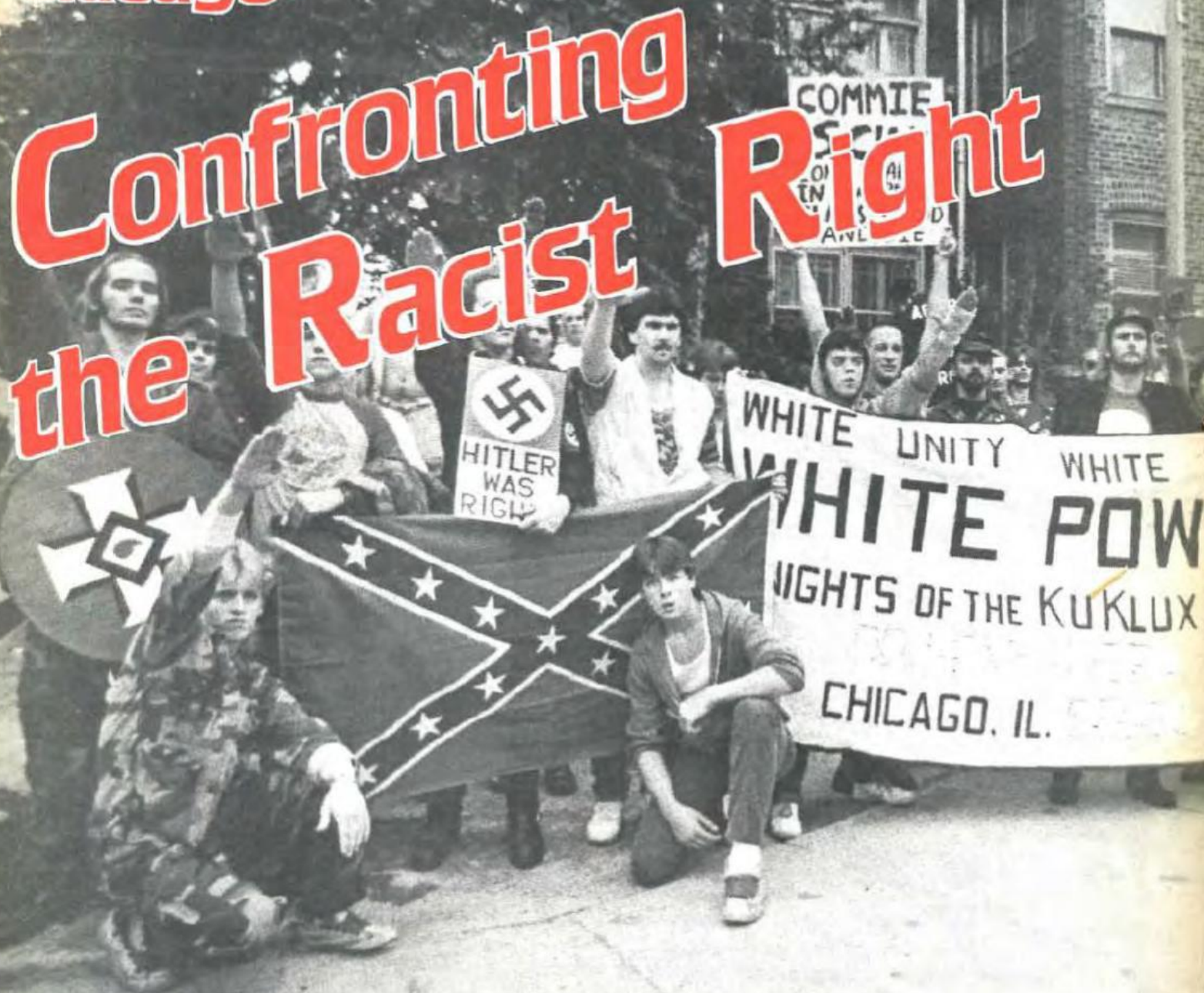
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Chicago:



Confronting
the Racist Right

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We dedicate this issue to the memory of Comrade President Samora Machel of Mozambique. His vision and leadership in the fight against colonialism and for the liberation of all of southern Africa has inspired an entire generation of people worldwide who are fighting for freedom.

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August 30, 1986: 6,000 people march through the streets of San Juan on the first anniversary of the arrest of the Puerto Rico Independence 16. The demonstrators demand the freedom of all the political prisoners and Prisoners of War. The lead banner reads: Yankee Go Home!

October 27, 1986: Two bombs explode at military bases in Puerto Rico. Eight others are discovered and defused. The bombings are claimed as a joint action by the EPB-Macheteros, Voluntarios (OVRP) and the FARP, in response to the planned logging of El Yunque rain forest and the proposed training of the contras in Puerto Rico. Governor Hernandez Colon is forced to admit that Puerto Rico would not be a good contra training site.

Puerto Rico is *the* U.S. colony in the Caribbean, a Latin American nation invaded and occupied by military force since 1898. The U.S. counts on it to be a dependable fortress—a linchpin for its war plans in Central America. But Puerto Ricans, led by an increasingly effective armed clandestine movement, are proving a major obstacle to U.S. plans.

The Puerto Rican people are showing once again their determination to be free. Grassroots organizations are now springing up all over the island. In Adjuntas, the Taller De Arte Y Cultura is organizing communities to defend the culture and the land. They were partially responsible for stopping the proposed stripmining of the island's interior. In Cabo Rojo, Puerto Ricans are organizing to prevent a Voice of America transmitter from being erected. Near Ponce, a toxic waste dump has been stopped. All of these popular struggles have developed in response to U.S.

actions designed to turn Puerto Rico into a military-industrial wasteland.

The Puerto Rican revolution exposes the true nature of our government and society, naming the United States for what it is—a colonial empire even within its own borders. Puerto Rico is not some struggle on far distant shores; it is a fight against U.S. colonial control and it happens right here in our own country. One-half of the Puerto Rican nation has been forced to migrate to the U.S. They know that life within the barrios is not the embodiment of the

American dream. Despite overwhelming pressure, they have refused to assimilate—who after all has ever heard of a Puerto Rican—American? Instead Puerto Ricans here have retained their national identity and brought their war for Puerto Rican independence into the heart of our own cities.

The U.S. will never give up Puerto Rico without a fight. Why should it? Thirteen percent of Puerto Rican land is under direct control of the U.S. military. Roosevelt Roads-Vieques is one of the largest military bases in the hemisphere. From there, the U.S. can practice war maneuvers and bombing raids at will. The invasion of Grenada was rehearsed in Puerto Rico. A plane can fly from Puerto Rico to El Salvador or Nicaragua and back on one fueling, never having to touch down on "foreign" soil. Not sur-

"Puerto Rico has a vital defense role in the Caribbean and is irreplaceable to the United States. Whoever controls the Caribbean controls access to the United States."

—U.S. Admiral William O'Connor

New York Times, October 20, 1986

prisingly, many speculate that the next invasion of Central America will be rehearsed and launched from Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico's military importance is matched by its economic value to U.S. imperialism. Puerto Rico is the third largest importer of U.S. goods in the hemisphere, and seventh largest in the world. Average wages for Puerto Rican workers are 51% of those in the U.S. Rule 936 allows U.S. corporations to pay no taxes on profits in Puerto Rico. No wonder the *Wall Street Journal* dubbed Puerto Rico "Profit Island." But as Rafael Cancel Miranda says, "Profit Island for them. Hell for us." Puerto Ricans continue to suffer from 45% unemployment; the sterilization rate for Puerto Rican women is the highest in the world; 75% of the people are dependent on food stamps. This is life in the colony.

It's been ten years since the North American left rallied to the call for an end to colonialism in Puerto Rico during the bicentennial. Since that time, the Puerto Rican movement has reached a new level. It's past time for all of us—anti-intervention activists, anti-imperialists, solidarity workers—to make Puerto Rico a more conscious component of our work. To do this, we need to address openly the issues which have divided us in the past—the role of armed struggle, how we respond to repression, support for political prisoners and Prisoners of War. And we need to search for some common ground upon which to base a broad and serious Puerto Rico solidarity movement.

Now is a good time for the traditional opponents of Puerto Rican armed struggle to rethink their positions. Why should the anti-colonial struggle in Puerto Rico be judged by different standards than similar battles around the world? How can we support armed struggle in Chile or El Salvador but deny this strategic weapon to the Puerto Rican people? Armed struggle in Puerto Rico is not yet at

the level of popular war. But popular war never springs full-blown onto the stage of history. It develops from small to large, through a complex process of mass and armed activity. That process, with all its difficulties and dangers, is well underway in Puerto Rico.

The armed clandestine movement has repeatedly shown that it can meet the needs and articulate the demands of the people. When the bombs protesting contra training went off, they sparked a nationwide debate. The government was caught off guard, and eagerly awaited the expected condemnations of the actions. But there were none. Instead, the attacks proved to be an accurate reflection of the will of the Puerto Rican people. When the government later took polls, 98% of the people opposed the training. Contra training is now virtually dead in Puerto Rico.

There is growing mass support for the armed movement, both in Puerto Rico and among Puerto Ricans in the United States. In 1986, the Yankelovitch polling organization reported that 47% of all Puerto Ricans viewed the Macheteros not as criminals, but as patriots using extreme means. Similarly, in 1985, during the trial of the Four,* the *Chicago Tribune* ran a story titled "FALN SPLITS COMMUNITY," describing how much of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago—teachers, lawyers, church groups, workers, housewives—stood behind these so-called "terrorists."

We should learn a lesson from how the Puerto Rican movement itself has responded to "anti-terrorism" and to repression. Look at events since August 30, 1985. Early that morning, three hundred FBI and other counter-intelligence agents ransacked and invaded neighborhoods, offices and homes. Thirteen activists were arrested and charged with participating in the Macheteros' 7.5 million dollar expropriation of a Wells Fargo truck in Hartford, Connecticut. Puerto Ricans called the raid the "Second Invasion of Puerto Rico," comparing its execution to that of a military assault.

The U.S. hoped that the raids would disrupt and split the independence movement. They expected that different sectors would fear the repression and distance themselves from the armed clandestine movement. But they were wrong. They didn't count on the massive upsurge of support from the Puerto Rican people for those arrested. What had been a trend towards dialogue and unitary action within the independence movement has now accelerated. In speeches, rallies and conferences, leaders and activists have expressed support for the armed resistance and for the imprisoned patriots. Mass anti-repression campaigns led by the Comité Unitario Contra la Represión (CUCRE) and the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War have gained momentum among broad constituencies.

* Four Puerto Rican independentistas accused of being members of the FALN. Alejandrina Torres, Alberto Rodriguez and Edwin Cortés, Prisoners of War, were convicted of seditious conspiracy and sentenced to 35-year prison terms. The fourth, Jose Luis Rodriguez was convicted of conspiracy but was given a suspended sentence and released.

Support work for political prisoners and Prisoners of War has intensified. And the armed movement—which had been declared dead by the FBI—has continued its actions.

We should welcome these developments. But we have been bombarded for years with “anti-terrorist” disinformation about Puerto Rico—not just in the *New York Times*, but in most of the left press as well. We have been told that the Puerto Rican movement is adventurist, and that its armed actions in the United States are inappropriate and premature. But the facts tell a different story.

When 11 Puerto Ricans were captured in 1980 near Chicago, accused of membership in the FALN and charged with “seditious conspiracy,” the majority of the North American left refused to support them and predicted that they would be isolated. They were labelled as terrorists, and criticized for taking POW status and for refusing to contest their cases in U.S. courts. Six years later, the POWs have become rallying points for the whole independence movement. They are recognized as patriots who embody the aspirations and militancy of the Puerto Rican people. Their uncompromising stance has helped force the issue of Puerto Rico into the international arena. The same is true for William Morales, accused FALN member and now the object of an international campaign demanding that he not be extradited back to the U.S. from Mexico. *Nine* countries have offered him political asylum.

There are now over 30 Puerto Rican political prisoners and Prisoners of War imprisoned in the U.S. This doesn't include the nearly two dozen Puerto Ricans and other independence supporters who have gone to jail in recent years rather than collaborate with federal grand jury witchhunts. Among these courageous grand jury resisters are North American anti-imperialists Shelley Miller and Silvia Baraldini.

Although the government charges the Puerto Rican prisoners with political crimes, it continues to deny them political status. Their treatment and conditions are different from those normally given to “criminals.” In prison, they are routinely isolated, subjected to beatings and psychological torture and are frequently moved from prison to prison. Held in maximum security, many have their visits, literature and mail strictly curtailed. These are all components of what the government calls the “Denial System.” They are violations of basic human rights, designed to break the prisoners' spirit and will to resist.

We know from experiences around the world that powerful, broad movements can be built in support of political prisoners. The same can be true here. Already, the Puerto Rican movement has developed networks of support among religious, legal and human rights groups. The UN Decolonization Committee, church groups, the Puerto Rican Bar Association and human rights groups around the world have all denounced the incarceration of the POWs and demanded their release.

Can we do any less? In the months ahead the Puerto Rico Independence 16 will be coming to trial in Hartford. So will Jaime Delgado, Dora López-García, Oscar López-Rivera and New Afrikan political prisoner Kojo Boman

Sababu—all charged with conspiracy in Chicago. What is needed is a firm commitment to defend *all* who fight for Puerto Rican independence. There has to be broad mobilization around these trials, as well as immediate response whenever the prisoners' rights are violated. It is our responsibility to guarantee their health and well-being and to make sure that their conditions conform to international standards.

Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation. Its historic leaders—Betances, Albizu Campos, Corretjer—are considered heroes throughout Latin America. Its people have a history of unbroken resistance to U.S. imperialism, and have contributed through the years to revolutionary theory and practice. Yet progressive North Americans, often unaware of its colonial status, have failed to give Puerto Rico's independence its proper importance. More often than not, Puerto Ricans are asked to fit their struggle somewhere near the bottom of the North American priority list.

As the U.S. war against Central America intensifies, Puerto Rico is thrust even more into the center of imperialist strategy. With the steady development of the independence movement, we now have an opportunity to change the history of intermittent and inconsistent solidarity. Che Guevara once said that Puerto Rico is a true test for anti-imperialists. This is as true today as it was 20 years ago. We know that colonialism—whether in Namibia or Puerto Rico—is a crime against humanity. Yet our government continues to rule Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans are fighting to end this crime. Isn't it time we do the same?

¡QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!

WELCOME HOME, SHELLEY MILLER!

Breakthrough would like to take this opportunity to welcome our comrade, sister and friend, Shelley Miller, back into our midst. Shelley is a leader of the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and has just finished serving two years in Alderson federal prison. She became an example to all of us when, along with her co-defendant Silvia Baraldini, she refused to collaborate with the federal grand jury investigating the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. Instead, she chose to fight. She followed the standard set by Puerto Ricans who have declared it better to go to jail than to inform and betray your principles. Shelley showed the government that there are North Americans who are willing to take this position too. Welcome home Shelley. We missed you!

DEFEND THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

Once again, the U.S. and Israel are beating the drums of war in the Middle East. In 1986, Israeli jets pounded Palestinian camps 18 times. These bombings, supposedly in retaliation for attacks against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, actually served as a warning that Israel would not allow the PLO to reestablish a base in Lebanon. Palestinian school children on the West Bank, demonstrating against the occupation, are shot dead by Israeli soldiers. At the same time, we learn that the U.S. and Israel, with characteristic hypocrisy, have been funneling arms to Iran, prolonging the Iran-Iraq war and syphoning the profits to Nicaraguan contras.

Buried beneath the onslaught of screaming headlines denouncing "terrorism" is the continuing war being waged against the people of Palestine. Thirty-eight years after their dispossession by the state of Israel, the Palestinians continue to fight for their right to return to their land. It is the Palestinian struggle which forms the most serious obstacle to the plans of Israel and the U.S. for continued hegemony over the entire Middle East and its oil wealth.

The backdrop to the current round of escalations is one of continuous repression and brutality: Southern Lebanon continues to be occupied by Israeli armed forces; the "iron fist" policy has translated into ongoing military attacks, bombing raids and incursions against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. Israel's policy of repression on the West Bank and Gaza Strip continues to escalate. The homes of Palestinians suspected of sympathy with the PLO are dynamited; Palestinian institutions, such as universities, labor unions and cultural associations are shut down or physically attacked by the army; Palestinian leaders are forced into exile. Israeli prison camps hold thousands of Palestinians, and reports of torture and maltreatment have become so persistent that they are no longer credibly denied by the government. The West Bank is an armed camp, occupied by a virulently racist-fascist movement of Zionist settlers. In their campaign to make permanent the occupation of these lands, they are conducting a reign of terror with government support.

The last year has seen a marked escalation of U.S.-orchestrated attempts to revive the imperialist settlement initiated at Camp David in 1977. Key to this process has been the attempt to arrange a "peace agreement" between King Hussein of Jordan and Israel. Hussein has proposed a federation between Jordan and Palestine under his control. This scheme masquerades as the "most reasonable solution that the Palestinians can achieve at this time." Its true intent is to bury once and for all the just aspirations of the Palestinian nation. In the regional context, its goal is to preserve the subservience of Arab governments to the U.S.

and Israel. Reactionary heads of Arab states, like King Hassan of Morocco and Mubarak of Egypt, have embraced the terms of this plan by increasing their own contacts with Israel and trying to persuade the Palestinians to do the same.

The bombing of Libya and the escalation of political attacks against Syria are seen more clearly in light of these maneuvers. Libya and Syria have been thorns in the side of the U.S. and Israel for refusing to knuckle under to U.S. plans for dominating the region. These assaults are attempts to weaken their stance through intimidation and violence.

In the face of these systematic and coordinated attacks, the Palestinian people have maintained and increased their determination to liberate their country from Zionist domination. Belying Western claims that the PLO is isolated, a poll conducted in September by the English language newspaper *Al-Fajr* revealed that 78% of all Palestinians on the West Bank support the establishment of a democratic state in all of Palestine. Sixty-one percent believe that armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine, and 88% feel that armed attacks on Zionist settlers are justified. Clearly, years of occupation and bloody repression—at the hands of Israel and reactionary Arab regimes alike—have not broken the Palestinian people's resistance and opposition to defeatist solutions.

Within the Palestinian movement itself, this period has brought forth important political struggles. Last year, Yasir Arafat effectively split the PLO with his acceptance of the "Amman Accord," an agreement to participate in negotiations under Jordanian sponsorship. On the left, groups constituting the National Salvation Front, and others such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) have demanded that the PLO leadership reject the "Amman Accord." They demand a reaffirmation of the official position of the PLO: continuation of the armed struggle with the ultimate goal of creating a democratic secular state in all of Palestine. In addition, they insist on a process for democratizing the leadership bodies of the PLO to make a truly representative organization. This powerful opposition, combined with the demands of Israel and Jordan for even more Palestinian concessions, have effectively shelved the "Amman Accord" for the time being.

The resistance to Israeli occupation has stiffened in all sectors of society on the West Bank. On a mass level, university students, workers, artists and writers, and others have confronted the Zionist authorities and racist settler gangs. Attacks on Israeli security forces and armed settlements have increased. Collaborators like Zafir Al Masri, the puppet mayor of Nablus, have been assassinated.

After decades of the most brutal occupation and forcible dispossession from their land, the Palestinians maintain their steadfastness. Speaking at the 10th anniversary celebration of the Day of the Land*, Dr. George Habash, General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), addressed the determination of the Palestinian people to return to their land:

In order to preserve their land and retrieve it from the occupation, the Palestinian people have no choice but stubborn, protracted struggle by all means, especially armed struggle. This is the way forward—not running after the mirage of settlements that will only result in damaging the revolution, the PLO, the people and the cause. To those pessimists who are whispering about defeat and surrender, we say: Learn from the Day of the Land....The land, in this context, is not a geographical dimension. This is only for those who want to reduce the Arab-Zionist conflict to a border dispute. The land is the pillar of the Palestinian national identity....It is the foundation for building our

* On March 30, 1976, the Day of the Land, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians living in the territory occupied in 1948 rose up to protest further Zionist expansionist plans.

independent Palestinian state....

The U.S. left is particularly challenged in building support for the Palestinian struggle. Zionist ideology is a potent force, not only in U.S. society at large, but also within much of the trade union, peace and anti-nuclear movements. An indication of this strength is the double standard that is used in judging South Africa and Israel. There is widespread condemnation of South Africa when the apartheid government demolishes shantytowns or opens fire on unarmed demonstrators. Yet, when Israel does the same thing to Palestinians, the silence is deafening. In coalition after coalition, heated controversy arises over any condemnation of U.S.-Israeli terror. Too often, the price of "broadening" the movement is liquidating support for the Palestinians. Undoubtedly, as Reagan's "anti-terrorist" hysteria escalates, pressure to retreat from defense of the Palestinian struggle will increase. Faced with this, we need to expose and confront the U.S.-Israeli reign of terror in the Middle East. As the U.S. and Israel prepare their next military offensive against the Palestinian resistance, we need to achieve a higher level of clarity and unity in defense of the Palestinian Revolution. ■



Business as usual in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip

CONTRAGATE

"Despite earlier White House denials, President Reagan may have approved the first shipment of U.S. arms to Iran while ill or under sedation, a condition that may have left him unable to recall his action later, Attorney General Edwin Meese told the House Intelligence Committee yesterday, according to a committee member." (San Francisco Chronicle, December 20, 1986)

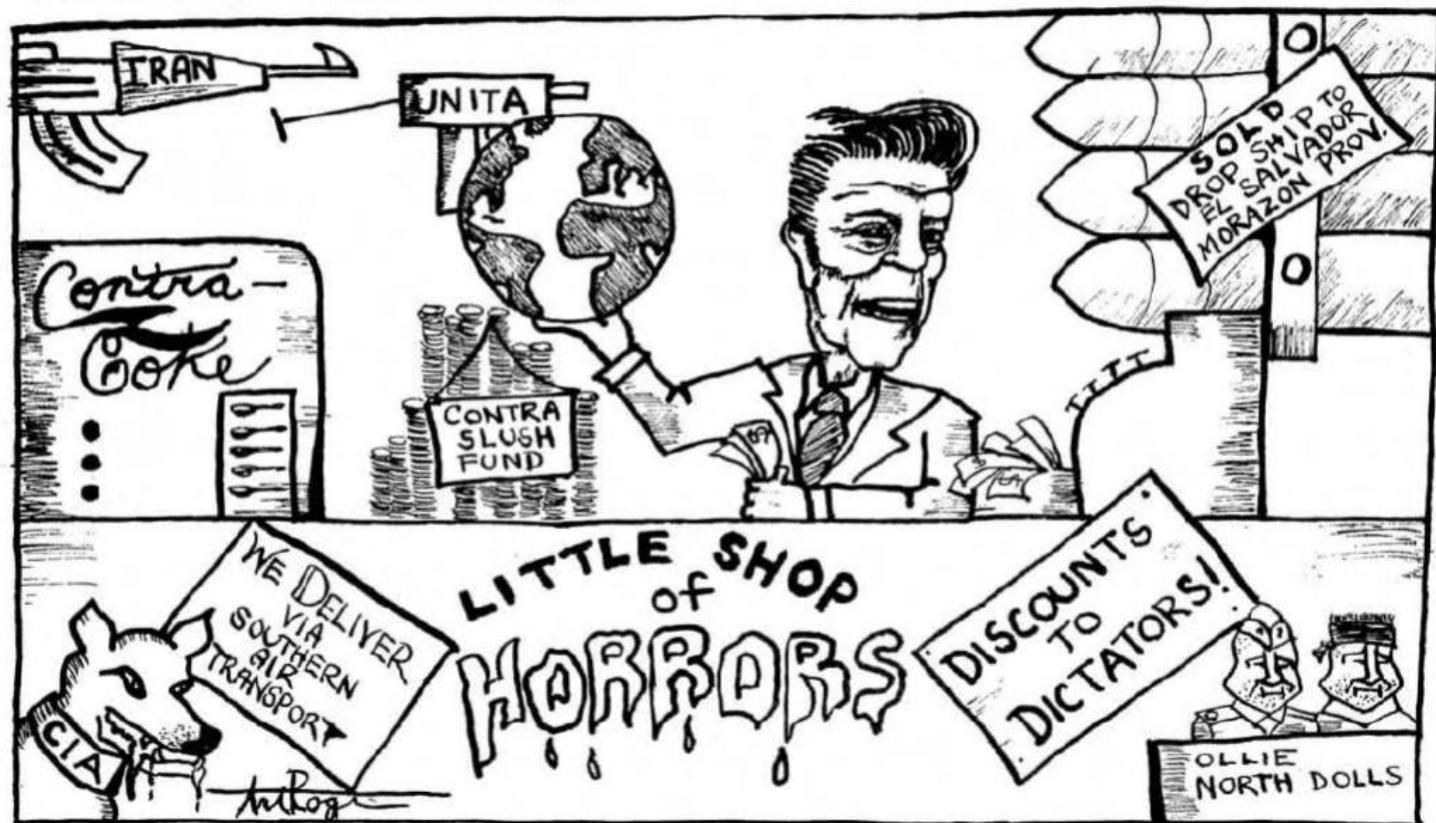
Sedated, asleep or awake, Ronald Reagan is still a war criminal. The real meaning of Contragate is U.S.-sponsored terrorism on a world scale. Contragate is 13,000 Nicaraguans killed by the contras. It is thousands of Angolans slaughtered by South African-backed UNITA. It is hundreds of thousands of Iranian and Iraqi dead in a war fueled on both sides by U.S. arms and CIA intelligence. Contragate exposes the Reagan doctrine of global counter-insurgency wars in all its corruption.

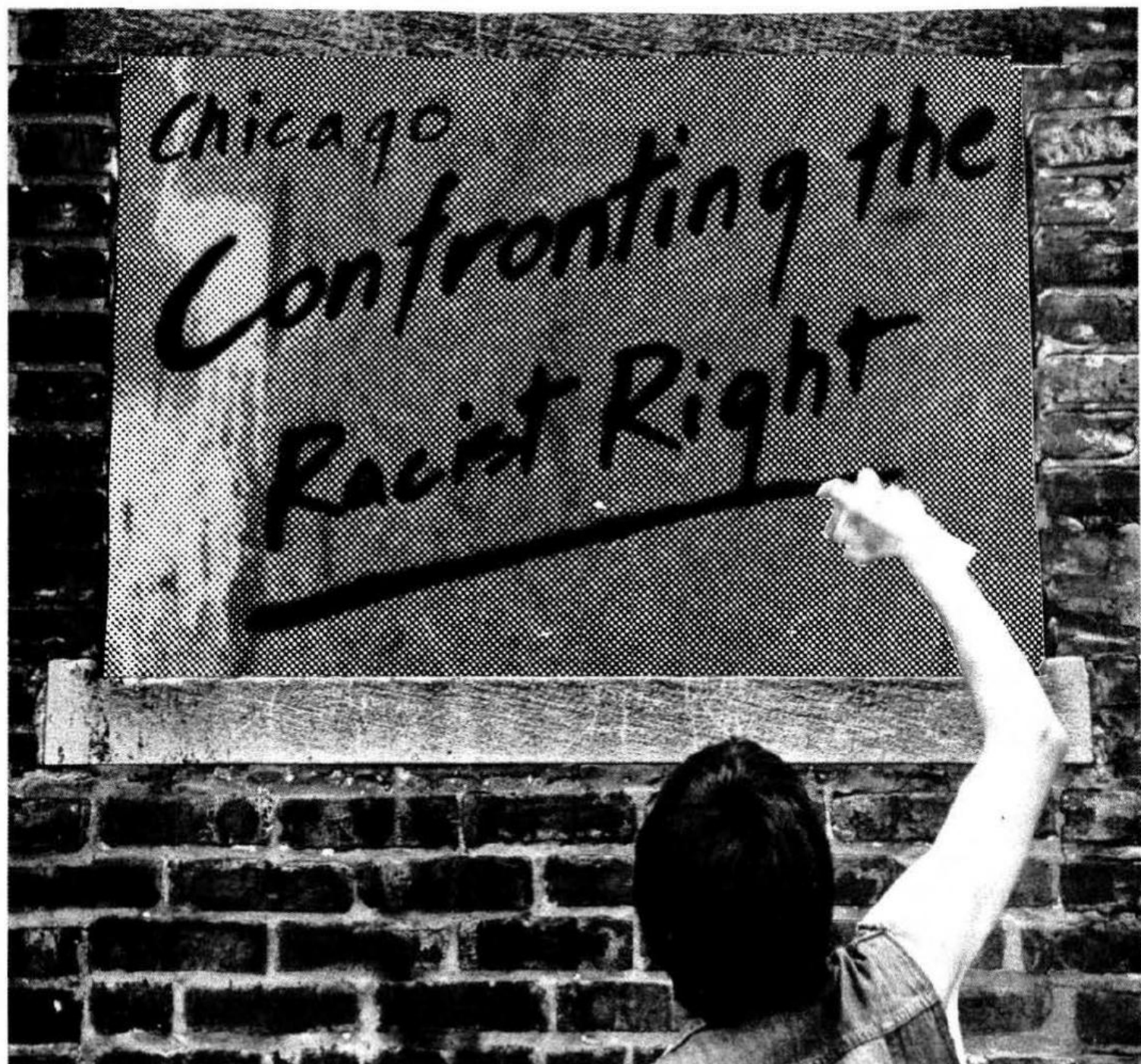
The revelations penetrate to the very heart of U.S. policy in the Third World. The lesson is that imperialists will do whatever they please to get what they want. This time they just got caught. In particular, Reagan's war against the people of Central America has been maintained at any cost. With an Orwellian capacity for "newspeak," Reagan has tried to transform the popular image of Iran—a former "terrorist state"—into that of a potential ally and has diverted funds from sales of arms to real terrorists—the contras. At the same time, it turns out that the "arms for drugs" charges continually leveled at the Sandinistas are official U.S. policy when it comes to the contras. New aspects of the CIA/contra/Columbian cocaine connections are coming to light every day. Where was Nancy to "Just Say No?"

Congress and the media have chosen to focus on how much Reagan knew and when he forgot it. They aren't questioning the right of the U.S. to impose its will on the people of Nicaragua—just the way it was done. The U.S./Duarte war against the people of El Salvador is not in doubt at all. Israel, which has functioned as arms supplier to repressive regimes from Chile to Guatemala and South Africa, is portrayed simply as a loyal ally, not as a terrorist state itself.

But despite Republican and Democratic attempts at "damage control," Contragate presents an opening to take the offensive against the war in Central America. The display in Washington gives us an opportunity to seriously polarize public opinion in this country. By all rights, Reagan's hard-fought policy, "My Contras: Right or Wrong," should be the target of mass outrage. The secret arms supplies to the contras, the U.S. role in escalating the border war with Nicaragua, the U.S. bombing of El Salvador and the terrorist acts of mercenary armies around the world should become more than just interesting sidelights on the evening news. Masses of people should be questioning what the U.S. is up to in Central America. In the same way that the Pentagon Papers revealed the rotten core of the war in Vietnam, Contragate can open the minds of millions of people.

We should use the moment not just to oppose contra aid but to increase support for the Sandinista revolution and the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador. Our task is to take the disillusionment that is in the air and turn it into active opposition to the warmakers in the months ahead. ■





Uptown: its gritty streets and broken-down apartment blocks are crowded with Midwest America's urban poor. Here live thousands of Black people, poor whites who came north escaping ravaged Appalachia, Latin Americans, Southeast Asian refugees and Native Americans jammed in tense confrontation. Uptown, along with other Chicago neighborhoods, is no rainbow melting pot. It is becoming a battleground.

The Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan operate freely here, working with street gangs like the Uptown Rebels and Gaylords. A year ago, a Black man was beaten to death and a white supremacist gang member was charged with his murder. Uptown is part of the violent world of Chicago street politics, at the hub of the declining industrial and agricultural Midwest.

Chicago is one of the three most segregated cities in the country. Racist ward bosses on the city council, led by Ed Vrdolyak, are working overtime to defeat the Black mayor, Harold Washington, in the upcoming spring 1987 election. Twice this past summer, violent white mobs gathered at KKK rallies in Marquette Park. Black families who move into largely white neighborhoods have their homes firebombed. Swastikas get painted on synagogues, crosses get burned on lawns.

During the past year and a half, the racist right has made dramatic gains in Chicago. Expanding beyond its traditional base in the all-white areas southwest of the city center, the racist and fascist movement has come to "mixed" inner-city neighborhoods like Uptown, Lakeview and Lincoln Park to march, organize and attack.

On September 20, 1986, over 200 activists, mobilized by the Coalition to Stamp Out Racist Graffiti, rallied in Uptown to challenge the growing Klan/Nazi threat in and around Chicago. The immediate targets of the mobilization were two large paintings of hooded Klansmen surrounded by swastikas and gang graffiti. As uniformed police lined the streets, militant demonstrators representing anti-imperialist, anti-intervention and peace organizations, direct action affinity groups and members of Chicago's progressive punk community began a spirited picket. Chants of "No War, No KKK, No Fascist USA!" rose from the

crowd and security teams from the Coalition took up positions to defend the demonstration. A previous mobilization had been attacked by neo-Nazis and the Klan.

Fifteen minutes after the start of the demonstration, a knot of 40 racists began marching towards the demonstrators along the other side of the street. Chanting, "White Power! White Victory!" their heavy wooden shields were painted with Klan, Nazi and Aryan Nations emblems. The leader of "Romantic Violence," a fascist skinhead gang with a history of attacks on the progressive punk community, held up a sign reading, "Commie scum, come

THE NEW KLAN/NAZI ALLIANCE

The growing Klan/Nazi front emerging in Chicago represents the new public face of a movement which is spreading racist terror across the U.S. In its public, visible form it calls itself the **Aryan Nations, 5th Era Klan** or simply **Identity**. In its para-military form, it is known as the **Order, Bruder Schweigen (Silent Brotherhood)**, or **White American Bastion**.

Reagan's election, symbolizing the power of the New Right/Fundamentalist movement, legitimized "official" white supremacy in the American mainstream. As the status quo moved further to the right, the network of organizations (there are literally dozens of groups) which comprise the racist right also developed. Traditional KKK ideology, calling for a return to the days of segregation, merged with neo-Nazi theories and was transformed into the basis for a developing fascist movement. The goals of this movement are genocidal. Its strategy combines terrorist warfare and mass mobilization to ultimately exterminate the Black Nation, all Third World peoples, Jews, communists and gay people. It is estimated that

Klan, neo-Nazi and Aryan Nations hard-core membership is at least 10,000, with many more sympathizers. While the media coverage dwells on the Aryan Nations compound in remote Idaho, the fascist network is active in virtually every corner of the country.

The fascist movement talks of seizing political power either in the entire U.S. or in a smaller "white state" to be located in the Northwest which would be purged of "non-Aryans." Open talk of how to develop the firepower necessary to reach these goals has lessened in the face of recent arrests, but the ideological attacks on what is labeled the "Jewish-dominated" economy and government have only intensified.

The clearest manifestation of the threat posed by these developments was the emergence in 1984-85 of the Order. This paramilitary alliance, drawn from Klan, Nazi and survivalist groups across the country, was responsible for the assassination of Allan Berg, a Denver-based Jewish talkshow host, several bombings and the theft of \$2 million (most still unrecovered), before many of its original members were arrested. The White Patriot Party, headed by Glen Miller in North Carolina, has thousands of followers and recruits active duty soldiers from Fort

Bragg and Camp Lejeune. Strong evidence suggests that this group used \$50,000 stolen by the Order to purchase rockets, weapons and explosives stolen by servicemen from Fort Bragg.

The FBI claimed in mid-1985 to have stopped the Order. (Ten members were convicted in December, 1985 of murder and conspiracy.) But the October, 1986 bombing of the home of an anti-racist activist in Idaho, and the successful bank robbery by Order members in Rossville, Illinois, during the height of fascist mobilizations in Chicago, make it clear that the military underground is active.

Although the racist movement is still split into many different organizations, the last period has seen its historic weakness of dis-



Credit: Breakthrough

The new paramilitary Klan, Lincoln Park June 29, 1986.

march in this working-class hood and die." When Coalition security formed a protective line around the demonstration, police moved in, declaring that anyone not in the moving picket would be immediately arrested.

The demonstration began marching towards the site of the first racist graffiti. As a painting team prepared to go to work, cops seized the rollers and other equipment. Tension mounted. People in the neighborhood stood watching from vacant lots, porches and windows. Demonstrators and the outnumbered fascists marched for blocks through the community. With police filling the street, the confrontation end-

unity replaced by a dangerous unity of practice. One key factor in this process is the widely shared belief in "Christian Identity." Identity defines the peoples of Northern Europe as the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. These Europeans, plus the white inhabitants of the United States, are the real chosen of God. The dominant trend in Identity believes that Jews are the children of Satan. In this "religion" Jesus was not a Jew, but a white Aryan; and all people of color are "pre-Adamic bestial mud people."

Identity serves several functions. It provides a "spiritual" basis of unity for racist groups with varying analyses and it serves as a point of attraction for religious fundamentalists to come into contact with the racist movement. Its anti-semitism has aided the process of bringing neo-Nazis and traditional Ku Klux Klan organizations together. Major racist leaders who are also Identity ministers include Richard Butler and Robert Miles of the Aryan Nations, and Thom Robb, "national chaplain" of the KKK from Arkansas. All of these people have been instrumental in bringing the support and guidance of the national fascist movement to bear on Chicago.

The Klan/Nazi alliance is exploiting the dissatisfactions that many white people are feeling during the current economic crisis. Fascist ideology glorifies the "oppressed white worker," targeting "Jewish bankers and monopoly capitalists who control the government" as the enemy.

Tom Metzger, leader of the California White American Resistance is one of the movement's top strategists. Metzger attended Midwest planning meetings where the Chicago strategy was devised. Praising the white workers of the militant Local P-9, who waged a long strike against the Hormel Meat Company in Minnesota in 1986, Metzger wrote: "Any white person who purchases Hormel Meat products, knowing what this multi-national corporation is doing to its white workers, is a traitor. White workers and farmers of the world must unite to kick the ass of the ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government) of the U.S. ruling class once and for all."

This countrywide network of fascists is the force rejuvenating Chicago's local racists, providing direction, publicity, and quite possibly financial support.

ed in a standoff outside a community church. The streets of Uptown were being split right down the middle.

"CHICAGO WILL BE THE RACIST CAPITAL OF THE WORLD" -KKK

Eight days earlier, on September 12th, national and local leaders of the paramilitary Aryan Nations alliance convened a meeting in the Chicago suburb of Elmhurst, drawing about 100 followers. During the same week, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (one of the founding organizations in the Coalition To Stamp Out Racist Graffiti) received a letter from a local leader of the KKK:

In regards to your planned stamp out racist graffiti day, scheduled September 20, 1986 at Wilson and Clifton 12:00 pm. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are writing an official protest to this activity and calling it a strike against the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and an official assault against our cause....We are tired of your groups getting all the rights and us none so we are going to fight for them if necessary. Chicago is going to be the Racist Capital of the World and you can't stop us so give up commies it is not going to work. America will be a white country again....

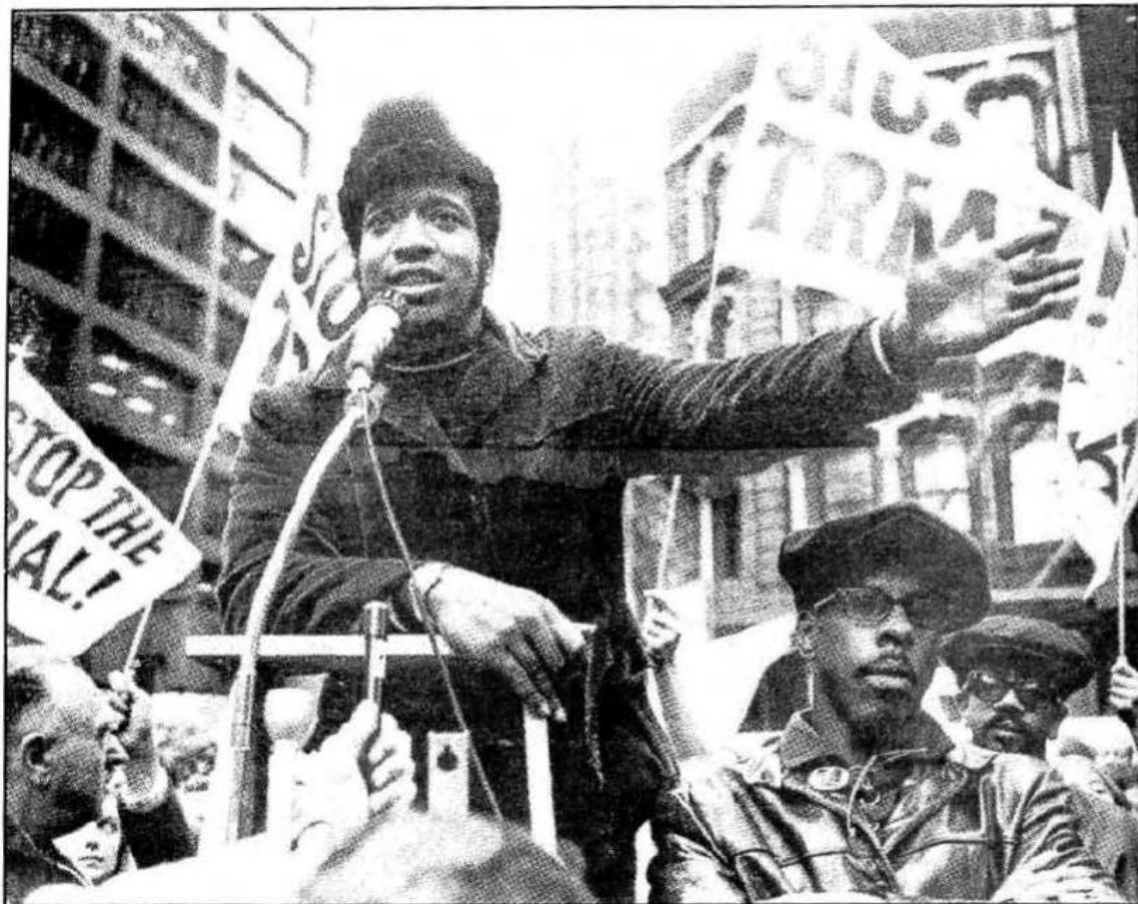
Your True Enemy Always,

Jack Quinn—Illinois Nighthawk—Chief of Security

This letter epitomizes the decision by a revitalized alliance of Klan and neo-Nazi organizations to make Chicago a national center of fascist organizing. If the fascists succeed in this campaign, they will not only gain legitimacy throughout the region, but their actions will encourage similar efforts in other cities. After years of relatively secret work in Chicago, the past year has brought a mounting campaign of violence against Black people. Mass rallies and counter-mobilizations against the gay community and the Free South Africa movement have also taken place. Police report a 58% increase in racial attacks for the first six months of 1986 over the same period in 1985. These attacks often go unreported by the news media. Police and politicians routinely dismiss them as "isolated incidents."

Anti-Klan researchers and activists have worked to publicize the growing fascist danger. But most of the progressive movement continues to underestimate the threat. The view persists that the racists are an insignificant handful with little or no potential to draw mass support from white working class people in the urban North. Action in the streets to oppose the racist right is often viewed as "provocative," providing the racists with the publicity they desperately seek. But a close-up look at white supremacist organizing and violence in Chicago reveals how dangerously wrong this analysis is.

Today the economic and political realities of Chicago provide enhanced opportunities for the fascist right. Manufacturing industries are fleeing the region, forcing thousands of "blue collar" whites to accept lower wages or seek new occupations altogether. Unemployment is growing. Not since the Great Depression of the 1930s has a



Chicago Black Panther Party leader, Fred Hampton, assassinated by Chicago police on December 4, 1969.

A DIVIDED CITY

During the first decades of the 1900s, reduced cotton production in the South combined with the colonial terror of the Klan to force masses of New Afrikan (Black) people off the lands they owned or farmed. (The estimated national KKK membership in this period was 5 million.) In all, millions were driven from the territory of the oppressed Black Nation to become "internal refugees" in the cities of the North. With the need for workers in meatpacking and steel, and especially the labor demands of World War I, Black Chicago swelled in size.

The response of white Chicago was violent. For six days and nights in the

generation of young working-class whites faced a future in which many can expect to earn and own less than their parents. The farm region surrounding Chicago is also experiencing a long-term depression brought on by the monopolization of farming by banks and agribusiness. In rural areas, armed fascist groups like the Posse Comitatus are making inroads with a populist, anti-bank and anti-government organizing pitch. In March 1986, two candidates of the ultra-right-wing Lyndon LaRouche organization capitalized on this discontent, winning upset victories in the Illinois Democratic primary. Added to this reservoir of white dissatisfaction is the fact that Chicago has a Black mayor and a politically sophisticated Black community. Washington and his liberal political machine are favorite targets for the right. In the neighborhoods, on the street, the Klan organizes to "Support White Rights," and to "Defend the white workers" against the perceived threat of established Black political power in city hall. This plays well in segregated Marquette Park and Gage Park; and it also is beginning to find a receptive ear in sections of Uptown.

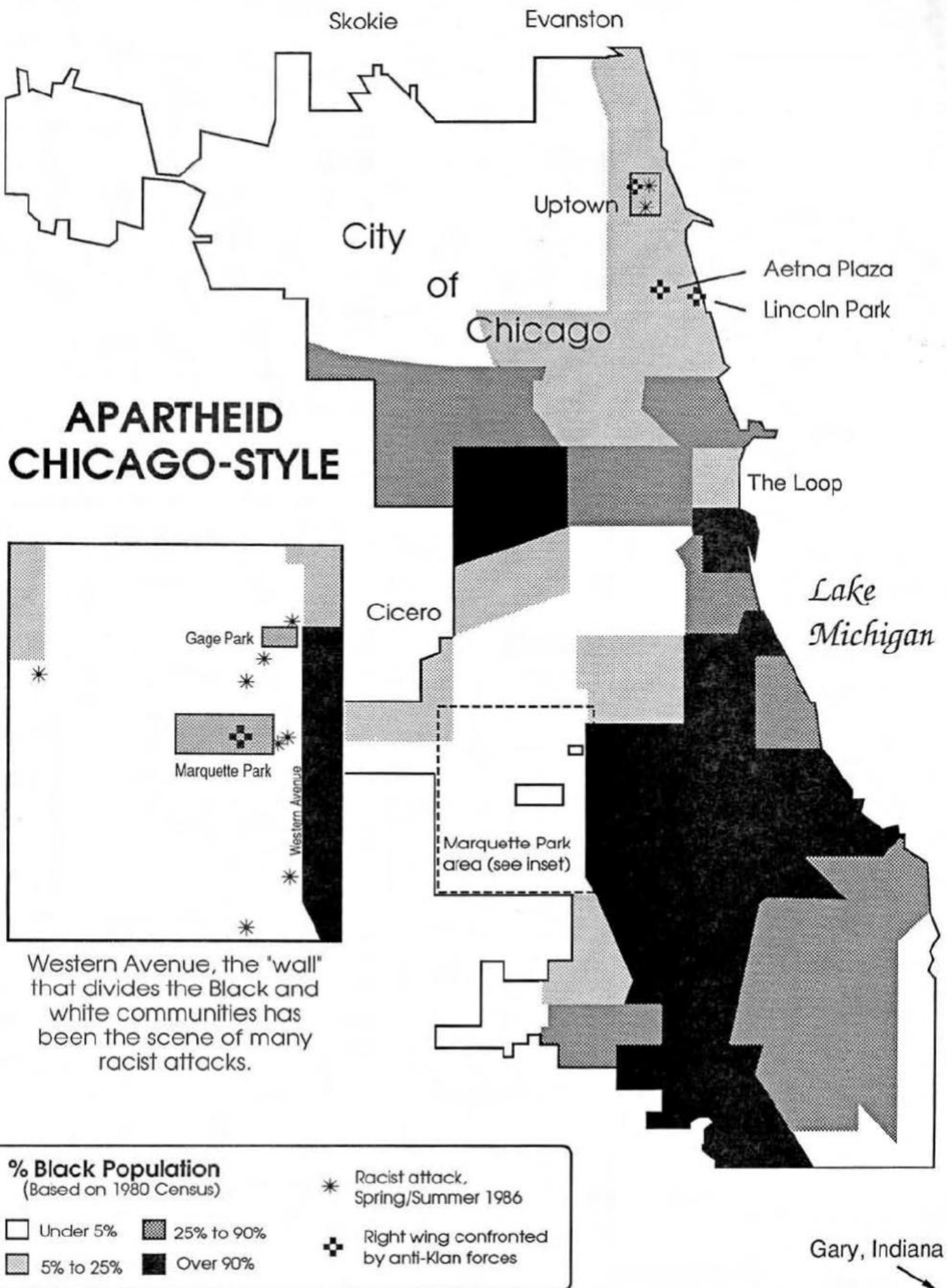
Yet the rise of the Klan in Chicago is not simply a reaction to Washington's election and to economic crisis in the Midwest. The lines of white power and privilege have been sharply drawn here for decades—in the communities, in the schools, in the factories and in politics. And, for the most part, white Chicago hasn't held back from violently defending their status against any effort by Black people to change the situation.

summer of 1919, Chicago experienced one of the worst outbreaks of white supremacist violence in American history. Black people were pulled off streetcars and beaten to death. Carloads of white men drove down residential streets with guns blazing; neighborhoods were put to the torch. The Black community, spearheaded by World War I veterans, fought back with whatever means were at hand. The resistance lasted 13 days and eventually the entire southside Black community was cordoned off by the National Guard. Official (low) estimates of the battle toll were 38 people killed, hundreds injured and over 1,000 homes destroyed.

Similar episodes of racist terror and Black resistance broke out in at least 25 cities in the summer and fall of 1919. This period came to be known as the "Red Summer"—red for the fire and blood coursing through the Black community.

Over generations, Chicago's Black community has survived and grown to become one of the most vital centers of Black political and cultural life in the country. The nationalist Garvey movement, Nation of Islam and Black Panther Party all grew from the grassroots to become powerful forces here.

Today, a Black community of well over one million people lives on the southside, many in some of the worst public housing projects in the country. Highrise apartment blocks with open elevator shafts and no running water force families to haul their water by hand up dozens of flights of stairs. All told, 150,000 people live in projects





Racist handwriting on the wall.

run by the Chicago Housing Authority and the majority of them are Black.

As the Black community expanded toward the west, the white neighborhoods on the southwest side resisted. As you head towards Western Avenue from the Lake, all people on the streets are Black. When you cross Western, it's predominantly white. For years, Black families that have purposely or inadvertently moved west of the "Wall" have been opposed by neighborhood committees, subjected to threats, vandalism, physical attacks and firebombings.

THE NEW KLAN: ATTACK AT AETNA PLAZA

Today, a new era of racists are in the midst of a full-scale push into Chicago. For the first time in recent memory, the Klan/Nazi alliance has welded together a street gang force that is ready for citywide violence on short notice. A September, 1985 attack by this Klan/Nazi street force on a peaceful anti-racist activity at Aetna Plaza in Lincoln Park signalled the beginnings of the Klan's year of action.

In September 1985, a year before the recent Uptown demonstration, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee called on the progressive community to join in the 2nd Annual Stamp Out Racist Graffiti Day. Thousands of leaflets were given out across northside neighborhoods and at movement events. Two days before the mobilization, a platoon of Klan/Nazis showed up to picket against the weekly anti-apartheid demonstration held in front of the South African consulate. On the next night, they showed up again to picket an anti-racist meeting attended by 300 people at the ornate Lakefront Belmont Hotel. After months without public activity, the Klan had suddenly taken to the

streets two days in a row.

At the appointed time, 60 anti-racists gathered in Aetna Plaza, a vest pocket grassy terrace on one corner of a busy three-way intersection. A car drove by flying a large Nazi flag. About 15 Klansmen and other fascists formed a line on the sidewalk right in the midst of the demonstration. Chanting, "White Power!" they paraded once around the

"What is important about white supremacy is not what white people say about Black people....What is important about white supremacy is what white people do to Black people, and not only to Black people but to oppressed nations around the world."

—Chokwe Lumumba, Chairman

New Afrikan People's Organization

plaza waving Nazi and American flags and carrying wooden KKK shields.

Demonstrators followed the racists, responding with "KKK out of our community!" The racists formed a circle, lunging with their flagpoles to force the demonstrators back. This went on long enough for someone to come back with several dozen hastily-purchased eggs which promptly flew into the fascists. Then punches started to fly. Three anti-racist demonstrators, bleeding from head cuts suffered from KKK shields, were hustled into a car for a trip to the hospital. A few racists were also bleeding. They fell back across the avenue through a horn-blowing traffic jam. While the racists were crossing the street, a Black man got out of his car, knocked a Klansman to the ground, then got back in his car to wait for the light to change.

On the other side of the street, a Klansman opened the trunk of his car and took out a heavy iron bar from his auto jack. Waving it over his head, he started coming back to attack someone. At this point, in their first and only appearance, the Chicago police arrived. They disarmed the Klansman and sent him on his way. No thought of an arrest for possession of a deadly weapon, assault, battery or mob action.

The confrontation at Aetna Plaza was a turning point in understanding what confronting the Klan in Chicago would mean. Throughout the winter and early spring, as the fascists continued their campaign, the anti-racist movement intensified its efforts to become a meaningful political force.

WINTER '85—SPRING '86: A CHRONOLOGY

November. National white supremacist leadership meeting at the Cahoctah, Michigan farm of Aryan Nations leader, Robert Miles, attended by Chicago American Nazi Party, KKK and skinhead gang, Romantic Violence.

Chicago rally by Civilian Military Assistance—a CIA-linked private mercenary group supplying arms to Nicaraguan contras—is addressed by Arthur Jones, Aryan Nations member and head of neo-Nazi America First Committee.

February. Anti-Klan organizers gather signatures on an Open Letter to the media, denouncing racist violence.

Anti-Klan meeting of 100 people in northside Lakeview district is scene of demonstration by 35 racists, dressed in camouflage and chanting "White Power, Free the Order"* and "2-4-6-8, who are we going to assassinate? YOU!" Inside, the group is addressed by Chokwe Lumumba, Chairman of the New Afrikan People's Organization, Dr. Conrad Worril, Chair of the National Black United Front, Sister Jean Hughes from the Eight Day Center for Justice, Marion Gray from Women Organized For Reproductive Choice and Chip Berlet from Midwest Research.

April. Klan appears in robes at city commission meeting in Zion, a suburb 50 miles north of Chicago.

May. Aryan Nations meeting at Miles' farm attended by Illinois Klan leader Ed Novak (aka Ed Melkonian) discusses how to build mass white supremacist movement in light of recent convictions of paramilitary "Order." Meeting plans two days of action—June 28th in Marquette Park and June 29th to protest Lesbian and Gay Freedom Day in Lincoln Park.

June 21st. One-hundred fifty demonstrators, led by the Coalition to Stamp Out Racist Graffiti, whitewash swastikas and paint "No KKK" on walls in Lakeview area. Neo-Nazis watch from across the street. Three anti-racists are arrested.

June 29th. Scores of anti-Klan activists confront KKK rally that calls for death penalty for lesbians and gays.

June 28. White Power Rally. In the most massive mobilization to date, more than a thousand screaming, chanting white youths jammed the steps of Maria High School in southwest Chicago. Some were shirtless, some wore "White Power" T-shirts emblazoned with swastikas. In one direction, hundreds of other white working class people filled the streets or climbed on the huge rock Lithuanian monument in the corner of the park. In the other direction, the streets were filled with line after line of police.

It was June 28th, and the Klan's white power rally had begun. In the center of the intersection stood a group of defiant, mostly young Black men led by two ministers. Surrounding them were city officials and ranks of cops, enveloped in turn by a mob of whites pressing in with crudely lettered, "N---er Go Home" signs. Giving the

finger and Nazi salutes, the mob threw rocks and stomped to the chant that filled the street: "Marquette Park! MARQUETTE PARK!"

Just before the Klan entered the park, they were confronted by a group of people from the International Committee Against Racism, a number of whom were arrested and later charged by the police with attempted murder. That night a Black family's home near Gage Park was struck by two firebombs.

Barely a week later, on July 5th, racist terror struck again. This time in the suburb of Zion, during a carnival, Fahim Ahmad, a sixteen-year-old Black youth, was murdered by a white man named Joey Isbell. According to investigators, Isbell had come to the carnival to attack a Black person, and was heard to scream, "Klan! Klan!" while shooting Fahim. The town mayor labelled this murder an isolated incident, but an outraged Black community denounced the all-white City Commission for covering up the months of racist organizing that preceded the murder.

THE RESPONSE OF THE LEFT

Marquette Park may be extreme, but it's not an aberration. Public outpost racism is making a comeback in this country. The system of white supremacy and domestic colonialism—in which whites maintain power and privilege over Black people—is built into the foundations of U.S. society. And it is being vigorously defended by all branches of the State during hard times. Thinly disguised racist movements are consolidating across the country, manipulating the issues of law and order, drugs, the death



Credit: Steve Dalber

* See "The New Klan/Nazi Alliance" p. 8.

VOICES FROM MARQUETTE PARK

Over the past twenty years, Marquette Park has come to symbolize violent white supremacy. In 1966, Martin Luther King campaigned against segregated housing in Chicago. While leading a peaceful march for open housing into all-white Marquette Park, King and the rest of the marchers were attacked by a bottle- and brick-throwing mob. King himself was hit on the head by a brick.

Throughout the 1970s, the Nazi party maintained a storefront headquarters across from the park. In July 1978, the park achieved national notoriety when the Nazis held a rally there after being denied a permit to march in Skokie, Illinois, a city where many Jewish survivors of Nazi concentration camps live.

For the white community, Marquette Park represents more than a patch of green in an increasingly bleak social landscape. It is a symbol of the "American Dream": owning your own home and raising a family in an attractive, stable, all-white neighborhood. Black people walk through this neighborhood at their own risk.

The park itself, with its lagoons, tennis courts and golf course, is one of the most beautiful in the city. This is because lavish improvements have gone into white Chicago parks, while the parks in Black and Latin American parts of town have been systematically starved of funds. Just weeks before the June Klan rally, Mayor Washington fired Ed Kelley as superintendent of Parks

and Recreation for the city, replacing him with a Black administrator. Kelley, one the city's most powerful and upfront racist politicians, ran the parks for the past 13 years as a personal patronage reserve.

The fascists in Marquette Park are transforming deep-rooted racism into action. People's fears that they will be forced either to sell their homes on a deflated market or else live in a neighborhood with Black people is the catalyst for a groundswell of anti-Black hysteria. On August 23, 1986, the fascists again rallied in the park. This time a small religious delegation of Black marchers was pitted against a mob of 500 whites. We talked with people from the neighborhood who were watching the rally.

"This is the last white park on the southwest side," a dapper elderly man explained in a Polish accent. "They can't come in here. If they come in here," he gestured to the surging crowd of white youth, "these kids beat 'em up."

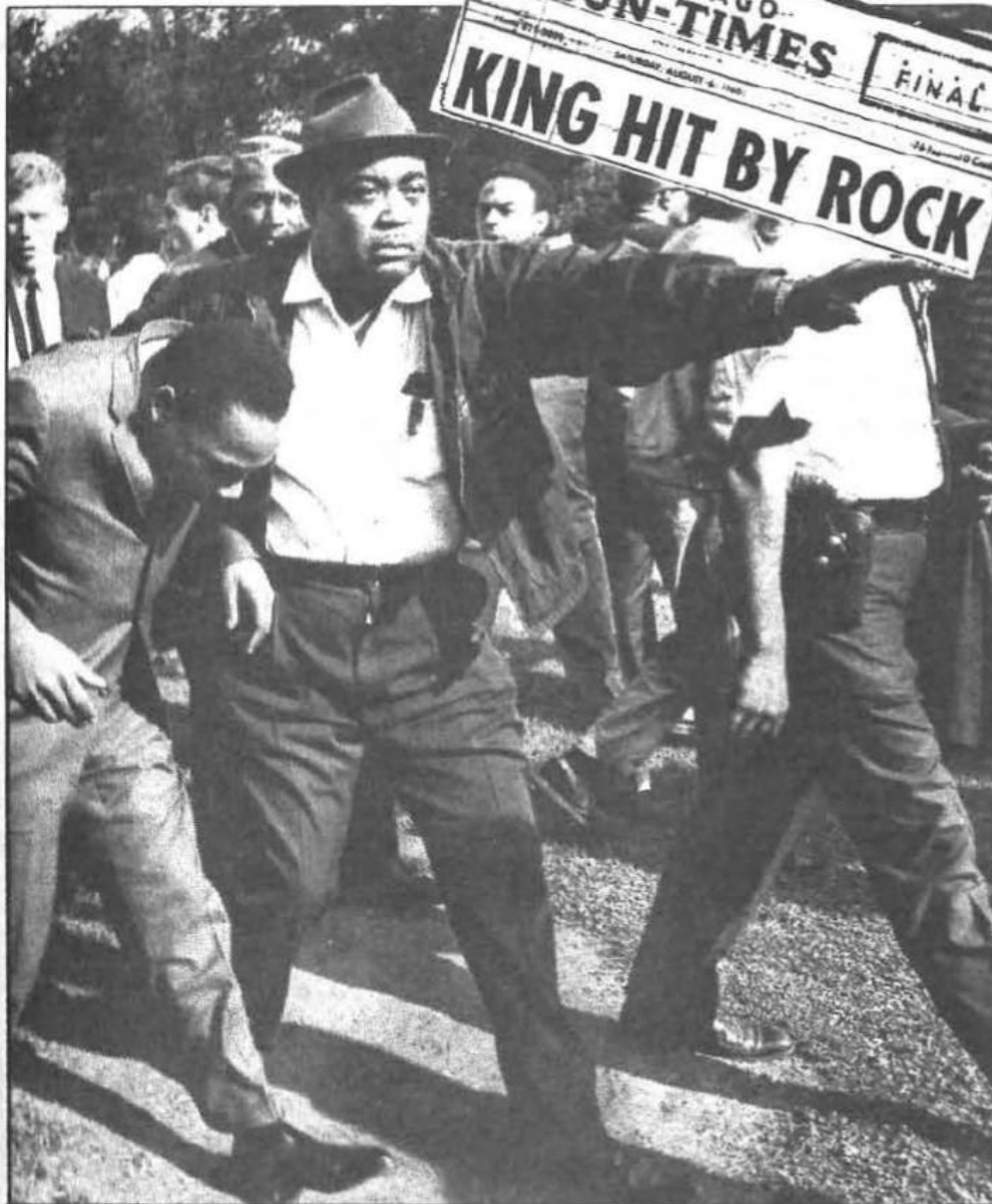
We asked a family—a mother in her forties; her older son in his twenties, his wife and three young children; her fifteen-year old son and thirteen-year old daughter—what difference it would make if Black people came into the park? "They're trying to push their way in," said the mother. "If they start coming in here, the park will get dirty, there'll be drugs in there, it won't be safe. We wouldn't be able to use our own park."

"Yeah, but that'll never happen," said the older son. He nodded toward the teenagers surging by. "These guys'll keep 'em out." If they came into the park, would they also come into their neighborhood? "Oh yes, that's what they want," said the mother. "They want to live in here because it's nicer than what they have over past West-ern.... You watch, buildings will get burned. They'll be boarded up, or vacant lots. There'll be drugs, graffiti, it won't be safe. It's a shame."

We asked if the Klan had much influence in the community. "They come into the park once or twice a year for a rally. That's it," said the mother. Are a lot of community people in the Klan? "Nah," said the older son, "We just want to keep the shines outta here. You don't have to be in the Klan for that. There's probably a few Klansmen on the street here," he continued, "But most of these guys live here. They don't have to be in the Klan." His wife started leaving with the stroller. He took his two children by the hands, then said after a pause, "But, in a way, you could say we're all Klan. We all want the same thing."



Credit: Breakthrough



"The people of Mississippi ought to come to Chicago to learn how to hate."—Martin Luther King, Marquette Park, 1966

penalty and affirmative action. In this climate, explicitly white supremacist organizing has become widespread. This is why the Ku Klux Klan, which organized millions of whites into its ranks during different periods of U.S. history, is emerging with a mass base again.

Calls to ignore the Klan are dead wrong. The truth is that the Klan *has been* ignored by much of the left and it's growing rapidly. It isn't the progressive movement which gives the Klan publicity, but the establishment media which runs story after story about them regardless of whether anti-racists are demonstrating or not. It's about time the media had to run something about people fighting back against the Klan. Why is it provocative to demonstrate open opposition to the racists when they march in the streets? What's really dangerous is silence and inaction. This is what gives the KKK free rein to organize and gather legitimacy. Black people struggling for freedom and self-determination have always confronted the Klan. But for many progressive

whites there is still the tendency to dismiss the racist right as an insignificant fringe group. Yet, as events in Chicago show, the Klan and other fascists are demonstrating a real ability to organize an active base in the white working class community.

The government claims that the police, courts and FBI will stop the violence of the Klan. This has never been true and it never will. At times, the State moves to contain the Klan, but the white supremacist movement has always performed a valuable function for the system. This is why the racists are tolerated and supported, if a bit uneasily. The FBI has constructed a mythology that they smashed the Klan in the 1960s. The truth is that in 1964-65, during the height of racist terror in the South, the FBI had informants in the top leadership of seven different Klan organizations and an additional 2,000 informers at the base. Gary Thomas Rowe, a longtime FBI informant, rode with the Klan hit squad that murdered white civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo and did nothing to prevent her murder. This collaboration didn't end in the 1960s. The Greensboro Massacre of 1979 would never have happened without Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent Bernard Buktovich, and police informant Ed Dawson, inciting, arming and planning the surprise attack. In Chicago, local police did nothing to stop Klan violence at Aetna Plaza; but during the Uptown

action, they brutally choked an anti-racist activist.

The last year of anti-racist work in Chicago is only a beginning, but the gains made and lessons learned are significant for the rest of the country. A new coalition has emerged to openly challenge the rise of the racist right. In the process, many white people have begun to see that confronting white supremacy and supporting Black liberation are central components of building a strong movement. At programs and rallies, Black revolutionary nationalists have argued that the struggle is not only against the Klan, but is a fight to support the Black nation's right to self-determination and independence. This has opened up many people's eyes.

After the Aetna Plaza experience, the need for self-defense became clear. Women led a struggle against male supremacist conceptions of security—conceptions based on individual strength, size and bravado. Security methods based on cooperation, communication and solid planning

were developed which enabled people to become stronger and more confident.

All this has happened in the face of liberal opposition and within a progressive movement which is not organized to fight fascist violence. While anti-Klan organizers have done community work and education for years, anti-racist organizations among white people are still few and far between. For the predominantly white anti-intervention and solidarity movements in Chicago, the whole issue of Black human rights is a tangential concern. Many of the various "multi-national communist parties" have devoted their energies to working with the Washington administration and the Rainbow Coalition. Tied to Washington's approach, they have tended to belittle the impact of Klan organizing and stood on the sidelines throughout the last year.

Mayor Washington has also made his position known. Before the June Klan rally in Marquette Park, his ally Marlene Carter (newly elected Black alderwoman from the redistricted 48th ward, which now includes part of Marquette Park) told people not to march against the Klan. Similarly, the Heart of Uptown Coalition, a community group with close ties to Washington, opposed the Uptown graffiti action. They had tolerated the racist graffiti for months. But the night before the demonstration, they

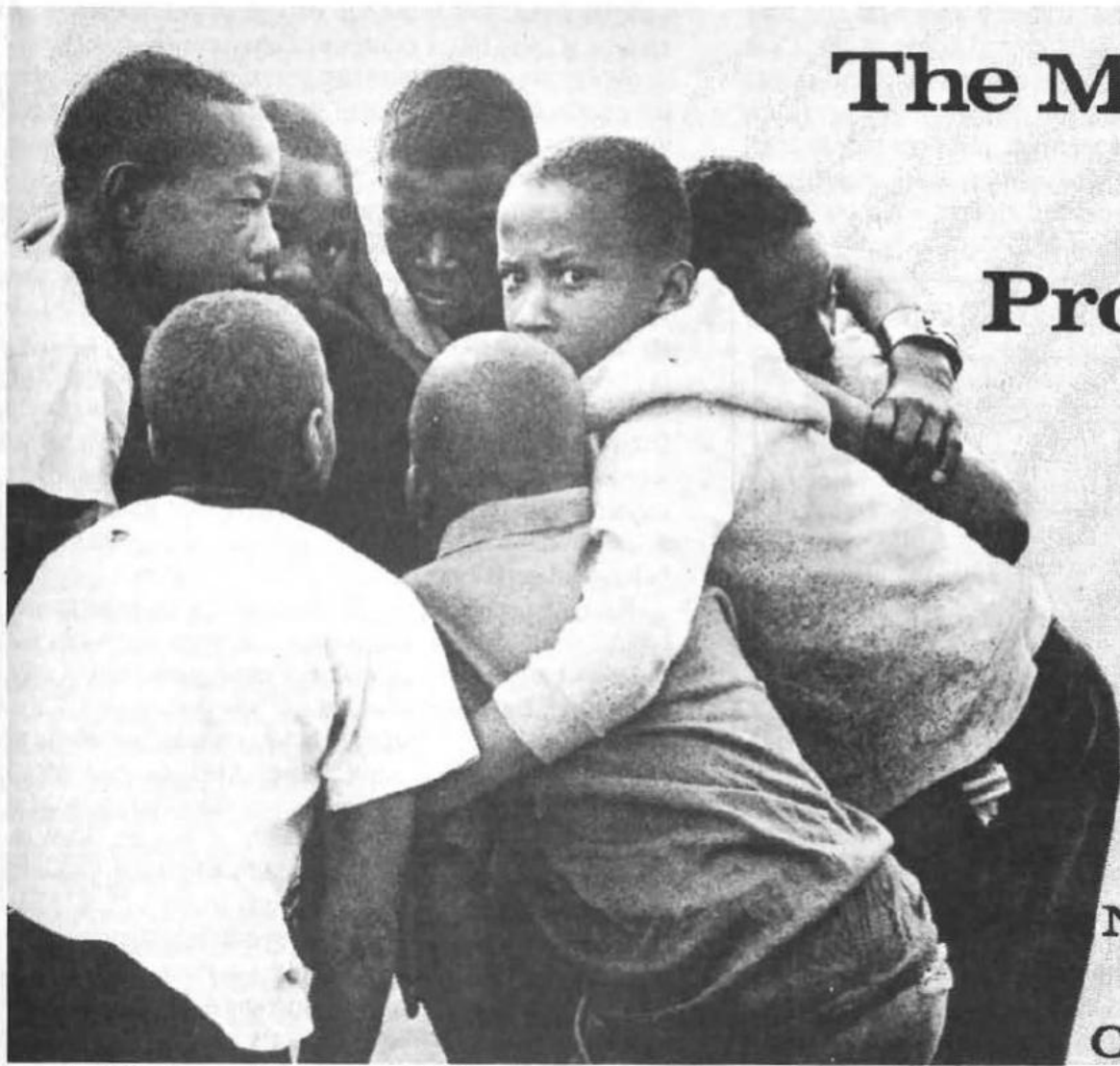
painted it over and urged people to cancel the march.

Despite the pressure, a new movement has grown. The initial shock at the reality of racist violence is being transformed into action and organizing. More people have decided that it is not enough to oppose the racists with words and that it is foolish to rely on the police to stop them.

Anti-racist organizers have understood that a broader resistance is necessary to beat back the fascist offensive. Organizing and outreach to independent activists in the Central America solidarity, peace and religious communities has been stepped up and many have responded. New people have come to demonstrations and joined the work. While tactical disagreements over the course of building the campaign persist, what is most important is that diverse groupings have come together to build a dynamic movement against the racist offensive in Chicago.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Klan/Nazi alliance will continue its work. They will attempt to utilize the 1987 mayoral contest as a springboard for massifying their anti-Black crusade. What is needed now is a continuation of the broad-based organizing and combative opposition which has brought the fight against white supremacy out into the open. By strengthening the anti-racist movement, we can declare "No Pasaran!" to the fascists. ■





The Myth of Black Progress

by the
**New Afrikan
People's
Organization**

In the following article, the New Afrikan Peoples Organization (NAPO) discusses the socio-economic conditions of New Afrikan (Black) people within the U.S.

NAPO grows out of the historic struggle of Black people for human rights and self-determination and has become a leading part of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. It upholds the right of New Afrikans to self-defense against racist terror. NAPO has deep roots in struggles for Black community control of education and for the full participation of New Afrikan women in the liberation struggle. NAPO supports New Afrikan Freedom Fighters and campaigns to win the freedom of political prisoners and Prisoners of War.

Its community-based Centers for Black Survival and the New Afrikan Scouts (NAPO's youth group) are organizing Black mass resistance. In the tradition of revolutionary nationalists like Malcolm X—who called for the establishment of an independent nation as the only guarantee of freedom—NAPO is committed to establishing a sovereign socialist Republic of New Afrika in the South. The lands of the Black Belt—the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina—are the national territory of New Afrika.

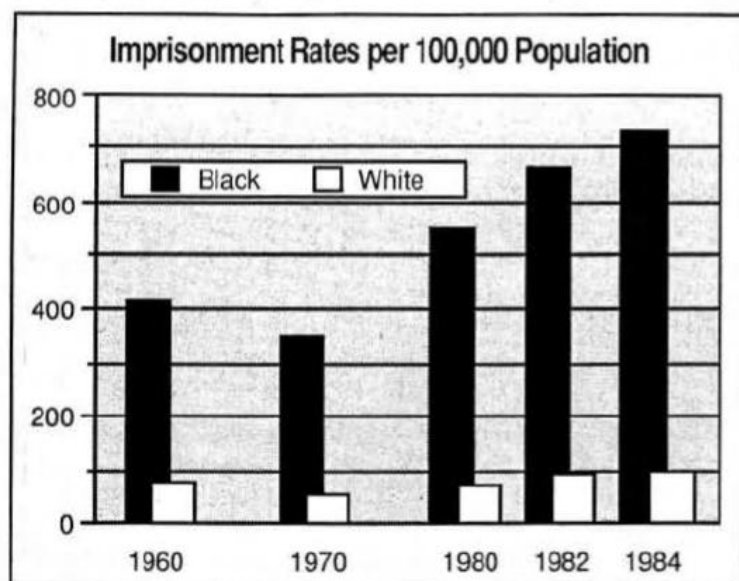
For more information, contact NAPO at P.O. Box 2348, New York, NY 10027, P.O. Box 5698, Los Angeles, CA 90056, P.O. Box 04252, Detroit, MI 48204, or P.O. Box 11464, Atlanta, GA 30310.

The government of the united states is known as a manufacturer of myths and distortion. This is especially true when dealing with the status and condition of New Afrikans (Black people) within its borders. One of the major contemporary myths that the united states government would have New Afrikans swallow is that the barriers barring our path to socio-economic prosperity have been substantially removed. While it may concede that youth unemployment rates and the phenomenon of female-headed households are lingering problems, the white american government would assure us these ills

are in no way related to its policies of discrimination/subjugation. It would have us believe that these last two problems can be resolved by a large dose of moral restraint on our part and the elimination of minimum wage constraints. While not perfect, the united states is the best thing going—so the saying goes. The nightmare of slavery, economic domination and socio-political oppression are all history now—mere entries in library card catalogues to remind us of how things *used* to be. Things are better now—so they say.

The strength of this myth is manifest in government

policy that seeks to eliminate "special treatment" of New Afrikans as contrary to the letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Acts. There are even negro collaborators and elitists who insist that the pressing of demands for the Black masses is divisive—it creates an unwarranted friction between New Afrikans and the well-meaning white population. Hard work and the assimilation of white american culture/values is their "solution."



Clearly, the New Afrikan Peoples Organization sees that the white united states government and its negro sycophants are collaborating to perpetuate our subjugation. The myth of equality and opportunity is used as a facade behind which genocidal maneuvers take place.

In spite of the propaganda to the contrary, empirical data tells us the plight of New Afrikans, dominated by the u.s., continues to be woeful. Recent statistical findings support the NAPO view that New Afrika exists as a super-exploited colonized nation. Colonialism is a system of subjugation whereby an oppressor nation directly controls the political, economic and socio-cultural affairs of an oppressed nation. This arrangement benefits the colonizer or oppressor nation that reaps superprofits from low wages paid to the colonized, from the raw materials it derives from the national territory of the colonized, and from the manufactured goods it sells to the colonized markets (which it solely controls). This condition of socio-economic subjugation is recognized by social scientists who do not purport to be revolutionary New Afrikan nationalists in their organizational or ideological affiliation. In spite of a lack of developed national consciousness, the investigation of one such social scientist reached the following insight:

To be sure, the pervasive color-caste system of the United States (1) has created a Black enclave so circumscribed and proscribed by customs and practices, often enforced by the legal system, that its inferiority to the greater society is assured, (2) has isolated that enclave and its economy almost completely from the major community and its economy, and (3) has made certain that the residents of the enclave will contribute maximally to the development and maintenance of, but not participate equitably in the

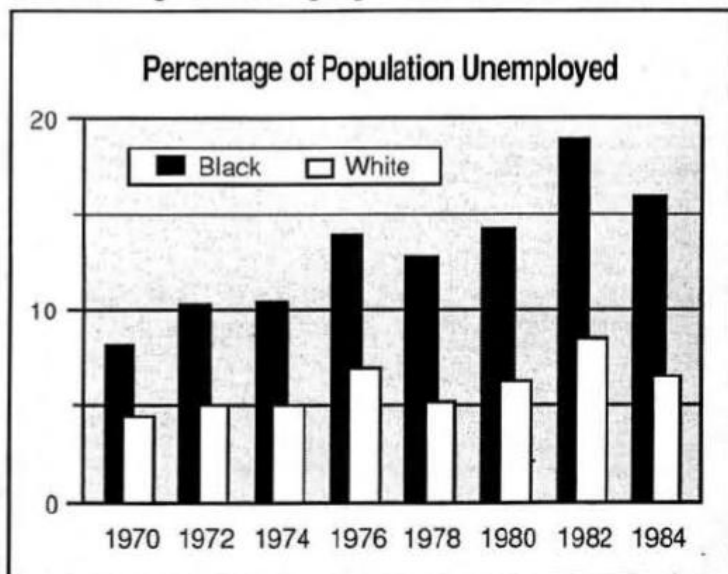
benefits from, the affluence of the larger economy and society. (Coles, Black Economic Development, p. 11)

While the white american government has a penchant for overlooking/disregarding the facts of a situation (even when they generate the data), New Afrikans cannot overlook these facts.

Socio-economic indicators show that nearly 40% of New Afrikans age 65 and above live below poverty level. Unemployment has been consistently above 10% since 1965 and is getting worse (it is much worse than this for specific sectors of our population) and overall New Afrikan poverty hovers at 35%. These facts prove the lie of the myth of Black equality and opportunity. They show that from cradle to the grave New Afrikans have no security in white america. Lower wages for comparable job and educational levels, higher living costs for lower quality accommodations and food items, red-lining and white-balling, all contribute to our super-exploitation.

Recently, u.s. census bureau findings indicate that the typical white american household has a net worth that is 12 times as great as the net worth of the typical New Afrikan household. Based on 1984 data, it was determined that the median (half above and half below) white household net worth was \$39,135 while New Afrikans had \$3,397 median net worth. These figures were derived by "totaling the value of reported assets, such as homes, bank accounts, stocks and bonds, then deducting total liabilities, such as mortgages, loans, and sums owed." (*L.A. Times*, July 19, 1986) What is useful about this approach is it allows us to take a look beyond the surface. Although the technique of examining annual income differences between whites and New Afrikans reveals that whites have an annual income almost twice that of New Afrikans—damning as it is—it doesn't reveal the depth of impoverishment that is the result of structural inequities ensnaring New Afrikans.

Quite often We superficially see a brother/sister with a house, nice car and claiming a "good" job, as having made it. These "affluent" Blacks are projected as the successful role models that are tangible proof that america's policies are working for Black people. However, if We look be-



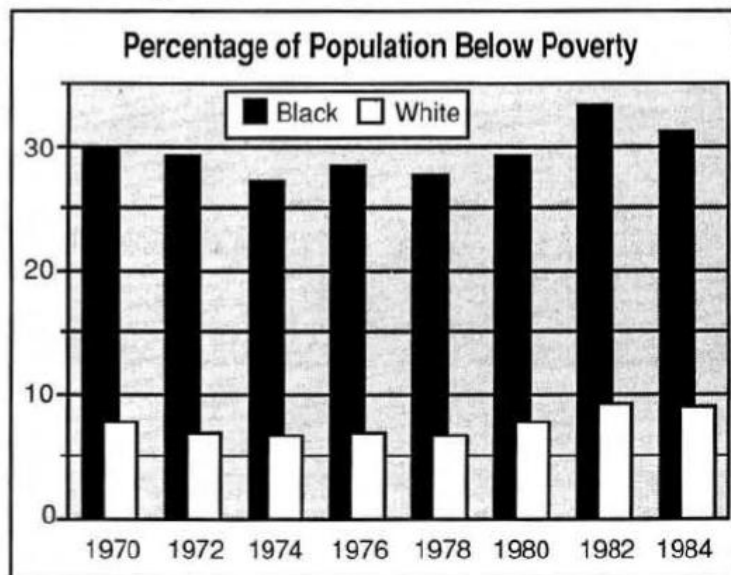
yond the designer labels and newest prize baubles, We see that life for New Afrikans in white america is most precarious. For most New Afrikans the trappings of accomplishment vanish in the wind if one misses a shift, becomes ill, or is laid off. As the recent wealth survey shows, one-third of New Afrikans have no assets at all or are in a chronic state of indebtedness. The substantial disparity that exists between white and New Afrikan net worth graphically reveals that there is a cushion of assets that whites have acquired. The absence of this cushion for New Afrikans points up one of the features of our colonialism—the historical super-exploitation of our nation. This super-exploitation, to a significant degree, is the basis upon which white wealth is derived and our impoverishment is perpetuated. Their cushion is based upon our deprivation.

History, which clearly indicts white america, has a function that is more important. It explains to us the origins of our present circumstance and indicates a methodology and objective for changing our situation for the better. It is evident that our predicament is a consequence of american policy, the impact of which is not confined to the time period of its enactment, but continues to negatively affect us today. A social scientist, Gordon Green, cites "low Black income over generations" as a factor that has retarded our accumulation of wealth. The underlying impact of past deprivation in combination with contemporary colonial policy mires us in the condition of socio-economic underdevelopment. It is, therefore, simplistic at best and more likely an evasion of reality to protest that "one shouldn't be blamed for historical injustices that white people living now didn't engage in." Or as other whites say, "my people didn't own slaves so why should I be forced to shoulder the burdens of Black oppression?" All sectors of white america benefited from our subjugation, whether slave owners or not. The exclusionary policies of their government further enabled the accumulation of material benefits for whites at our expense. These self-righteous pleas could have some validity if today's white privileges didn't rest on the legacy of New Afrikan subjugation, and/or if these inequities were being dealt with in a principled fashion—attempting to resolve the contradiction of New Afrikan national oppression. However, this is hardly the case.

Just as white america cannot evade their inheritance of super-exploitation, negro apologists/assimilationists provide little analysis and fewer solutions to our circumstance. Being with and like whites does not address the core of our plight. The intergenerational effects of social economic subjugation can't be wished or fictionalized away. We must be clear about the contributing factors to our continued colonial condition. It was not the living apart from whites that produced the negative effects on our people. Millions of Chinese and other Asians, Africans, Arabs and Latin Americans live without any day-to-day contact with whites without any detrimental impact. They can do so because they've attained enough control over their lives to determine priorities and policies that benefit the masses of their people. The primary inhibitors to their total self-determination is the continued existence of imperialism internationally and the

elitists/exploiters within their own midst. Integrating/assimilating into imperialism wasn't a solution for them. Why would it be for us? Rather than looking to integrate into imperialism's network, We must focus on the elimination of contemporary colonial relationships and the resolution of the underlying contradiction upon which these relationships thrive.

Life-robbing enforced servitude, prohibitions against land ownership, constricted economic opportunities and denial of the ability to set the socio-economic agenda of our own society was/is what is most harmful to New Afrikans.



While NAPO advocates morality, hard work, planning, egalitarianism and consistency, We know that these qualities must be put to use for the building of our own nation. These qualities, while necessary, will not enable us to participate in a society that is structurally based on our continued oppression. As one white supremacist, quoted by W.E.B. DuBois in *Black Reconstruction*, has noted:

Character, wealth, learning, good behavior, and all that makes up or constitutes good citizenship in the Black man is positively of no avail whatever. Merit cannot win this case.

What is most important to us is that We be able to determine our own socio-economic agenda, formulate our problems and seek our own solutions. That is why NAPO understands and advocates nationhood—the political, territorial, cultural and economic independence/separation from white imperialist america—as the foundation upon which the realization of our collective well-being is based. Close proximity to, or being like, whites is not the solution to our ills. This is the fallacy of the integrationists—of both the pro-imperialist and the "pro-socialist" varieties. (Oddly enough these integrationists are dependent on using our nationalist sentiments and concerns in an effort to re-channel them to ultimately assimilationist ends.)

As human beings We have the right and the ability to govern ourselves and to develop our nation. No magic white touch is required to enable us to do so.

Although it is true that the Reagan regime is engaging in its unique brand of oppression of New Afrikans as it



Credit: NAPO

New Afrikan Nation Building Forum

attempts to impose a fascist agenda, the deprivation inflicted on us runs deeper than his slimy administration. His regime is simply one in a long line of u.s. administrations—ranging from reactionary to so-called liberal—that have at best evaded our demands for independence, or more characteristically, actively engaged in genocidal suppression of New Afrikans. The economic disparities discussed in the recently concluded study are not new. What is new is the technique used to reveal the pre-existing relationship. The wealth gap noted is more evidence of white america's inherent inability and antipathy toward resolving the contradiction of our national subjugation. Neither denial, apologies, depression nor cynicism will change the conclusion to be drawn from these findings. Instead of opting for collaboration or escapism, NAPO puts forward the solution that has also been the deepest felt aspiration of our people:

We believe that in order for the New Afrikan Nation in North America to achieve total human rights and self-determination it must wage a National Liberation struggle to win Land and Independence. Only through establishing a sovereign Republic of New Afrika can We achieve state power which will ensure our dignity, survival and development.

NAPO also understands that while We defeat colonialism and capitalist imperialism—our external enemies—We must vigilantly struggle to defeat the aims of internal enemies. Parasites within our nation, who wish to exploit the collective labor and resources of New Afrika, must be isolated and defeated. NAPO advocates a socialist People's Republic of New Afrika. As stated in our founding statement, "We advocate a non-exploitive socio-economic system, one that benefits the masses of our people in an independent

New Afrika."

The apologies and integrationist "solutions" do not face the reality of our colonized status. Again the statistical revelations of white america itself show the error of their analysis. The intergenerational effects of u.s. government policy clearly indicate why NAPO's demand for reparations has validity.

We believe the american empire, its government and institutions, owes the New Afrikans reparations for the atrocities and damages suffered by our people due to slavery, colonialism and genocide. Under international law, We are entitled to repayment for the loss of life, forced labor and economic exploitation, psychological trauma, and many other atrocities that have retarded our national development. The american empire has benefitted from this exploitation and oppression and must compensate our Nation for these damages and crimes.

(NAPO—What We Believe, point #9)

We will always be on a treadmill to nowhere if We don't address the question of material compensation for the systematic material deprivation imposed upon us. For most New Afrikans the mere physical separation from whites poses little

discomfort or displeasure. On the contrary, the contact with whites has proven, for the most part, to be detrimental. The slave raids, KKK terror, physical and psychological abuse have been and continue to be characteristic of that contact.

For those sympathetic whites who see the situation clearly your support is welcome. "But such exceptions exist in spite of, not because of, the grotesque system of justice that has been built up in this country.... However it would be a hopeless commandant who relied for his victories on the few soldiers in the enemy camp who sympathize with his cause. A competent general pins his faith on the superior striking power he commands and on the justness of his cause, which he must pursue uncompromisingly to the bitter end." (Nelson Mandela, quoted in Benson, *Nelson Mandela: The Man and the Movement*, p. 121)

While New Afrikan independence forces seek anti-imperialist solidarity from progressive North Americans, We realize that We are our own liberators and must rely on the New Afrikan masses principally for our victory. We will not run from the monumental struggle against u.s. colonial oppression and imperialism that confronts us. We choose to join that struggle—We are confident that We will win!

FREE THE LAND!

Free Mutulu Shakur!

Free Watani Tyehimba!

Free Sekou Odinga!

Free Sundiata Acoli!

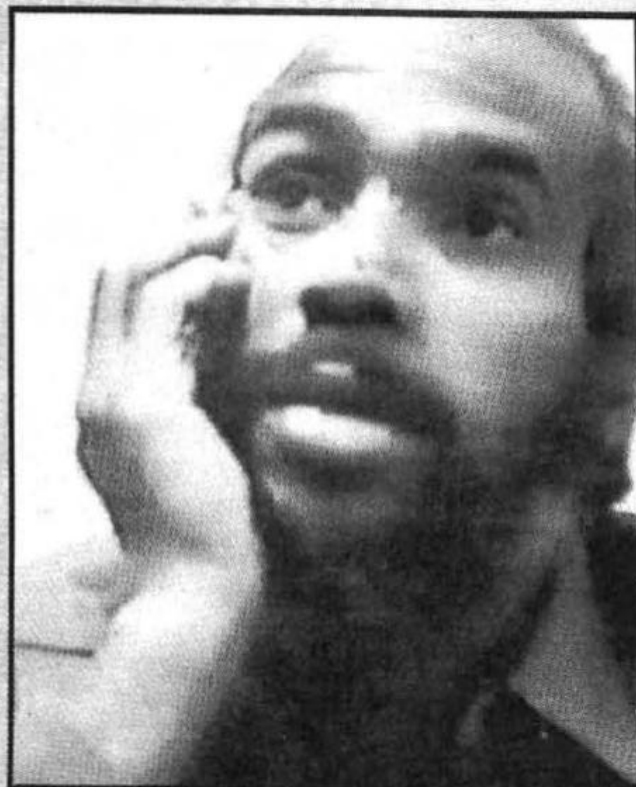
**Free Our New Afrikan Freedom Fighters
and Political Prisoners!**

KUWASI BALAGOON

1946- 1986

your honor
since i've been convicted of murder
and have taken the time to digest
just what it means
after noting what it means to my family
and how it affects people who read the newspapers
and all
i see now, that i've made an awful mistake!
and didn't approach this matter of a trial
in a respectful, deliberate or thoughtful manner
didn't take advantage of the best legal advice
and based my actions on irrelevant matters
which i can see now in a much more sober mind
had nothing to do with this case
i must have been legally insane thinking about:
the twenty five murders of children in Atlanta since Wayne Williams capture
the recent murder of a man in boston by police
the two recent murders of two in Chicago by police
the shooting of the five year old little boy in suburban calif
the lynchings in Alabama
the mob murder of a transit worker in Brooklyn
the murders of fourteen women in Boston
feeling that this is evidence of something
and that there must be a lesson in all this—i thought murder was legal.

—Kuwasi Balagoon



Kuwasi Balagoon, New Afrikan revolutionary and Prisoner of War, died in a New York state prison hospital of pneumocystis carinii pneumonia on December 13, 1986.

Kuwasi was a freedom fighter. From countering racist attacks in the military when he was 17, to blocking evictions as a tenant organizer, to working with the Black Panther Party and later as a soldier in the Black Liberation Army (BLA)—Kuwasi fought for the rights, dignity and independence of New Afrikan people. For over 20 years he dedicated himself to building a strong Black liberation movement. He influenced many through his commitment, and unyielding opposition to the U.S. state.

Kuwasi eluded police and went underground in 1968 after his indictment in the New York Panther 21 frame-up trial. He spent 10 years in prison because of his revolutionary activities, and managed to escape twice. His final stay in prison began when he was arrested in December, 1981 and charged with participating in the BLA's October 21 Brinks expropriation attempt in Nyack, New York.

Whether on the streets or in prison, Kuwasi was loved by those who knew him—for his strong character, care and concern for others, especially the children, and his ever-present sense of humor. Kuwasi's determination and courage, his love of life and freedom, remain an example to all who would dare to struggle for justice and a better world.

U.S. and Zaire Training

Breakthrough recently received by mail the following document which had been liberated from the National Intelligence Services of Zaire (Congo). A careful reading of this secret memo implicates the U.S. in establishing special counter-revolutionary guerrilla forces to attack and destabilize a number of independent African countries.

The creation and support of mercenary armies is an increasingly important element of U.S. foreign policy—as indicated by the revelations of National Security Council and CIA covert support for the Nicaraguan contras. In southern Africa, these armies are part of the U.S. and South Africa's strategy for maintaining political control in the region. The U.S. has long supported South African-backed UNITA in its efforts to overthrow the socialist government of Angola. In a major new development, UNITA troops based in Zaire/Congo have recently launched large-scale attacks into Angola's northern provinces.

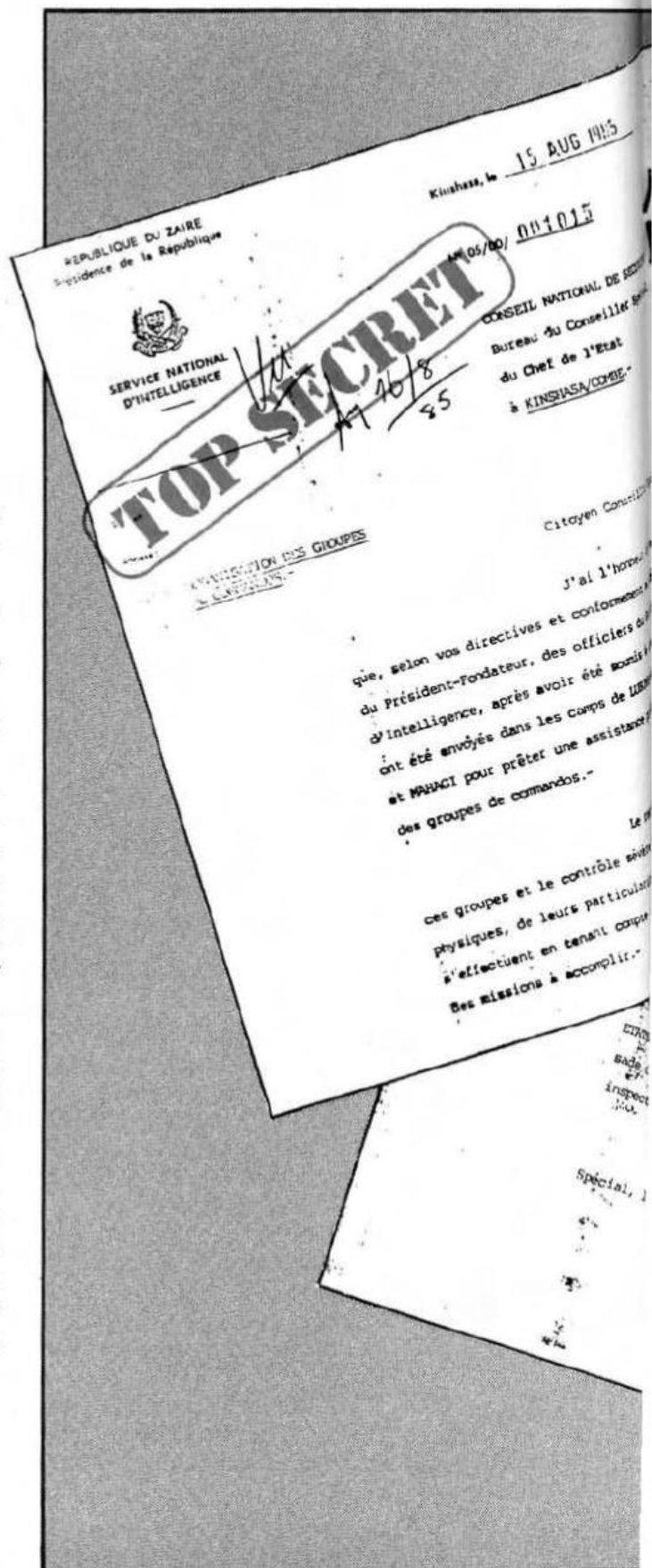
Now that this document has come to light, we can see a new aspect of U.S. intervention aimed at other African nations. Three of the countries on the U.S./Zairian hit list—Tanzania, Zambia, and Angola—are members of the frontline states which support the liberation movements fighting against racist South Africa. Uganda is also specifically mentioned in the plan. After years of instability following the reign of Idi Amin, it is currently rebuilding its society under the popular government of the National Resistance Movement, headed by Yoweri Museveni.

Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko has never acted independently of those who put him in power—the CIA. Under Mobutu, the country has been plundered and turned into a vast neocolonial base for Western interests. Zaire is the CIA's headquarters in Africa, and Congolese troops have served as an army of intervention in countries like Chad, Angola and the Central African Republic. In addition, the mineral-rich areas of the country are guarded by thousands of French, German, Israeli and U.S. troops. Without these foreign troops, Mobutu could not last long against the growing Congolese liberation movement which is led by the Parti Ouvrier et Paysan (P.O.P.)—formerly FLNC-MNC/L.

In December 1986, the People's Liberation Army, led by the P.O.P., attacked UNITA forces which were invading the Angolan province of Cabinda from base areas in Bas-Congo inside Zaire. On December 5th, the Congolese freedom fighters won a major battle against 10,000 of Mobutu's soldiers who were reinforced by a large contingent of NATO and Israeli troops sent to this area to back up UNITA. The war communique by the High Command of the People's Liberation Army said, in part:

We will stop UNITA, destroy UNITA in the Congo.
We will not permit the Congo to be the "Honduras" of Africa. We will not permit "contras" on our soil.

In the midst of Iran/Contragate, another U.S.-led "dirty war" is well underway in Africa. We need to expose it and stop it!



African Contras

Republic of Zaire
Presidency of the Republic
National Intelligence Service

Kinshasa, August 15, 1985

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
Bureau of the Special Counsel
of the Chief of State
in Kinshasa/Combe

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF COMMANDO GROUPS

Citizen Special Counsel:

I am pleased to inform you that following your directives and in conformity with decree #85-766 of the President-Founder, some officers of the National Intelligence Services, after having undergone special training, have been sent to camps in Lumumbashi, Kapanga, Kotakoli and Mahnagi to give practical assistance in the organization of commando groups.

The recruitment of candidates in these groups and the severe control over their psychological make-ups, their ethnic and linguistic particularities, is being carried out taking into strict account the specific character of the missions to be accomplished.

We propose to complete the indicated groups in the following manner:

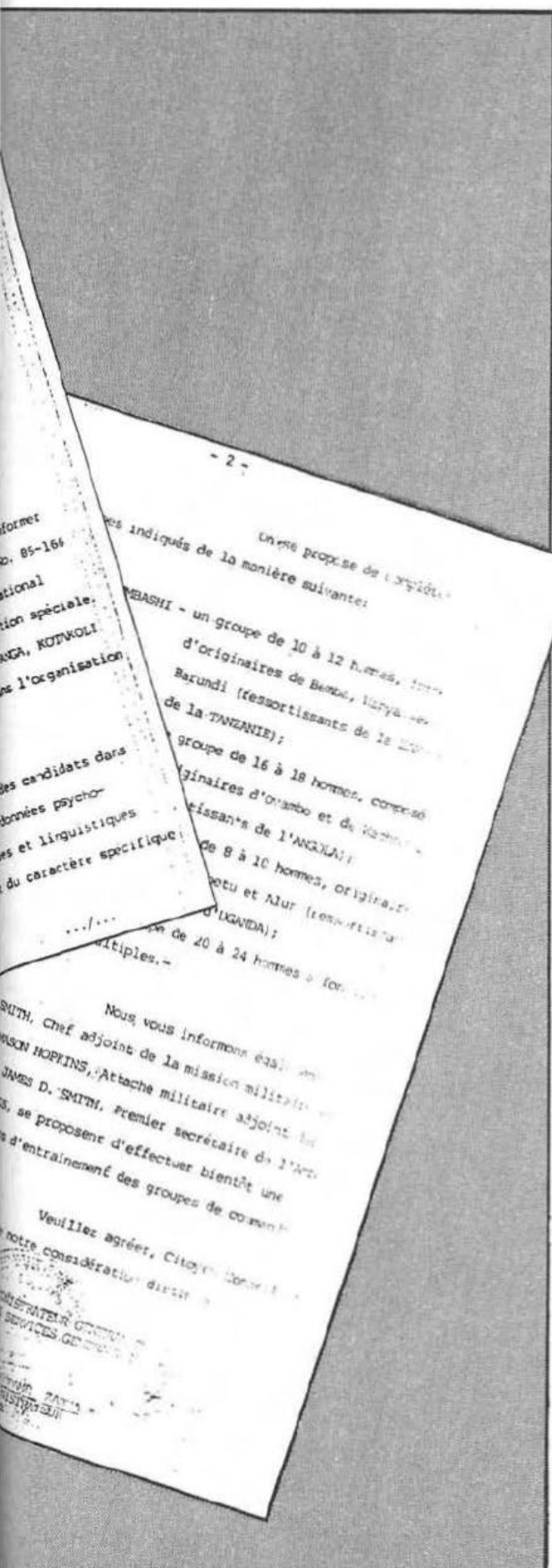
- Lumumbashi camp — a group of 10–12 men, formed from people originally from Bemba, Wanyamwesi and Barundi (from Zambia and Tanzania);
- Kapanga camp — a group of 16–18 men, composed of people originally from Ovambo and Wachokew (from Angola)
- Mahnagi camp — a group of 8–10 men originally from Morumbangu and Alur (coming from the Sudan and Uganda)
- Kotakoli camp — a group of 20–24 men with multiple functions

At the same time we are reporting to you that Mr. DOUGLAS D. SMITH, chief adjunct of the military mission of the U.S., Mr. MASON HOPKINS, military attaché adjunct of the U.S., and Mr. JAMES D. SMITH, First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy, plan to carry out an inspection of the commando training camps in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

For the Administrator General
of National Intelligence Services,
Chief of General Services
of the National Intelligence Services

Telinderame Zabua,
Administrator





***The US and Chile:
Crisis in the
Southern Cone***

Chile: the word alone evokes dramatic images: the stark terror of the Pinochet dictatorship which has killed 30,000 people, tortured, imprisoned and exiled close to one million more; President Salvador Allende in La Moneda Palace defending the Chilean people, gun in hand against the tanks and bombs of the Chilean Armed Forces. Around the world, Chile became the symbol of U.S. imperialist destruction of Latin America's dreams and hopes.

Here in the U.S., the September 11, 1973 coup which overthrew the Popular Unity government generated horror and anger. Coming in the wake of the most intense destruction the U.S. could inflict on the people of Vietnam, the coup in Chile intensified our hatred of the brutality of the U.S. system. Opposition to U.S. involvement brought thousands of people into the streets in angry protest. Within the left, the Chilean experience stimulated passionate debate on the possibility of achieving "the Peaceful Road to Socialism"—and the reasons for the Popular Unity government's failure. For many, Chile became an historical, political and emotional reference point.

Chile is once again in the headlines and on the evening news. From the northern desert to the Arctic South, Chileans have risen up, defying the dictatorship to chant "Y va a caer"—"He will fall!" and demanding a return to democracy. Masses of Chileans are taking to the streets, calling for an end to the Pinochet dictatorship. Youth in working class neighborhoods erect flaming barricades against the military, creating temporary "liberated zones." Bourgeois forces, organized into the Democratic Alliance, call for massive protest. Chilean workers risk their jobs and their lives, going out on strike to demand an improvement in working conditions. Clandestine military forces like the Milicias Populares, associated with the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), carry out armed actions. The Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (MRPF) has carried out a series of attacks against police stations and electrical towers.

One of the most significant developments in the recent period has been the emergence of the Movimiento Democrático Popular (MDP). The MDP brings together the Communist Party, the MIR, sectors of the Socialist Party and various other left organizations. Developing at a critical moment, the MDP has become a catalyst for the Chilean people. The MDP calls for an end to the dictatorship, the return of exiles and an end to torture. Going beyond these demands, the MDP also calls for a dismantling of the repressive apparatus, an end to the economic policies which have caused misery for the majority of the Chilean people and a dignified and just salary for Chilean workers. Thus the MDP challenges both the continued dictatorship as well as bourgeois alternatives which would eliminate the dictatorship while retaining its economic policies.

Following the assassination attempt on General Pinochet carried out on September 7th by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, the military dictatorship has reimposed a state of siege. Opposition newspapers were closed and kidnappings and murder of known leftists stepped up. On

September 8, Jose Carrasco, an opposition journalist and public spokesperson for the MIR, was taken from his house and murdered. Father Maroto, another spokesperson of the MIR, was arrested along with many others. Currently five Chileans are jailed, accused of having participated in the assassination attempt. One of the five, Victor Diaz, is the son of the disappeared leader of the Chilean Communist Party.

Thirteen years of military dictatorship is a long time. Thirteen years of torture, imprisonment, exile, poverty. Thirteen years in which to gain absolute control of the media, suspend all political parties, raise a generation according to fascist beliefs and practices, privatize the health, education and social service system. But it has not been enough to destroy the consciousness and aspirations of Chilean workers and peasants forged through years of struggle, repression and advances. Nor can the Pinochet dictatorship make people forget the three years of Popular Unity government (1970-73) during which time workers seized their factories, peasants expropriated farm land and every child received a liter of milk a day. Embedded in the hearts of the Chilean people is the experience of political power, organizational strength and collective hope. Despite the arsenal of weapons at their disposal, the dictatorship has never been able to make the Chilean people accept poverty, hunger and misery.

The 1973 coup was engineered in Washington and carried out in Chile, with the wholehearted backing of the Chilean bourgeoisie. U.S. warships hovered off the coast of Valparaiso, ready to move if the Chilean armed forces needed their help. Following the coup, repression was both massive and selective. The U.S. clearly understood that the example of Chile—of a nation defying U.S. control of its economy and political life—was dangerous and had to be crushed. Repression had three targets. First was the Popular Unity government itself. Tied to this was the destruction of the political parties, trade unions and organizations which represented the people. Finally, U.S. strategists understood the need to eradicate the working class consciousness which had given birth and substance to these organizations and the Popular Unity government. Troops stormed into working class neighborhoods, factories and peasant cooperatives, rounding up known or suspected leftists. Thousands were shot outright; tortured bodies were scattered in the streets of Santiago or thrown into the Rio Mapocho.

The new system, based on the army and police, did not arise in a vacuum. From Argentina, to Uruguay and Brazil, counterrevolution stalked the Latin American continent. The entire Southern Cone became a mass grave in which bloody dictatorships tried to bury the left and popular movements.

In the years following the coup, the major left organizations—the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the other parties who made up the Popular Unity government, along with the MIR—were severely repressed. Most of their leadership and hundreds of members were killed, imprisoned or sent into exile. Successive



Central Committees of several left parties were wiped out. Despite these devastating blows, the Pinochet government was unable to destroy the left. Organizing clandestinely under very difficult conditions, the left not only survived but was able to adapt to a new and very challenging situation.

Repression in Chile was neither capricious nor the product of evil minds. It was the essential ingredient which permitted U.S. imperialism, in alliance with the Chilean bourgeoisie, to regain political and economic control, to safeguard the capitalist system and to impose a drastically different economic model in Chile.

"SHOCK TREATMENT": THE ECONOMIC MODEL

This economic model, "shock treatment," was designed by economists schooled in the thinking of Milton Friedman and M. Harberger, from the University of Chicago School of Economics. These economists, who came to be known as "Los Chicago Boys," radically restructured the Chilean economy in order to meet the needs of U.S. imperialism. To understand this economic model, it is necessary to know what it replaced.

Since the 1930s, the Chilean state had heavily intervened in the economy in favor of national industry. Using

revenue generated by the developing nitrate industry, the Chilean state built up the infrastructure, allowing for greater circulation of goods and labor. Using high tariffs and government subsidies to protect domestic production, successive Chilean governments consciously fostered the development of a national industry. This industry produced light and durable consumer goods for the internal market.

The fostering of economic development, beginning with the nitrate industry in the north, had another effect. It resulted in the development of a working class whose organization, consciousness and combativity, unlike that in many parts of Latin America, was marked by the influence of communist ideology and vision.

The 1973 coup gave U.S. economists an opportunity not only to overturn the nationalizations, factory seizures and land reforms of the Allende government, but to return Chile to a more nearly classical model of dependence as well. Believing that "only the strongest should survive," they opposed state subsidies for industry, claiming that this external and artificial support held back Chilean development by shoring up ailing industry. They also argued that tariffs should be lowered and exports increased. As a result, national industry collapsed in the face of cheaper imports and the withdrawal of state support. Whole lines of industry, such as appliances and textiles, went under, throwing thousands of workers out of their jobs and alienating that sector of the bourgeoisie which had produced for the internal market. At the same time, Milton Friedman argued that Chile had to orient its economy toward the world market, producing those goods which command the highest prices abroad. As a result, Chile now produces grapes, apples and wines to adorn the tables of the U.S. and Europe. At home these same products are priced beyond the reach of most Chileans.

In order to finance this "economic miracle," U.S. and international banks lavishly lent Chilean financial interests millions of dollars. (These were the years when high oil prices swelled the coffers of international finance with "petrodollars.") Rather than being used to develop productive industry, however, this money went straight into the pockets of the bourgeoisie who used it to import luxury items and speculate in real estate and other markets. While factory after factory closed, while the rate of unemployment rose to 30% and while the number of barefoot children begging in the streets increased, fancy malls and modern discos were built in the wealthy neighborhoods of Santiago.

By the early 1980s the bubble burst. The world price of copper, which still accounted for about one-third of Chile's foreign export earnings, plummeted. The national debt soared to \$21 billion, the largest per capita debt in Latin America. The Chilean peso, which had been artificially fixed at 39 to the dollar, was devalued and now hovers at around 200 to the dollar.

On the face of it, such an economic model appears almost foolish. Why would anyone seriously pursue an economic policy which destroys industry and the market of a country, results in massive unemployment and starvation

and contracts a debt that cannot possibly be paid? However, such is common practice for U.S. economic policy around the world. This policy is based on a complete disregard for the Chilean people, their needs and their survival. U.S. economic policy was designed to firmly reintegrate Chile into the U.S.-dominated world order, to weaken and destroy that sector of the bourgeoisie which had maintained some level of independence and to extract the maximum profit possible from the Chilean workers and peasants.

This dynamic can be clearly seen in the "debt trap" in which many Latin American countries find themselves. The International Monetary Fund (a consortium of the world's largest banks, dominated by the U.S.) skillfully manipulates the granting of loans for development. This debt is designed to encourage dependency. The "debtor nation" pays exorbitant rates of interest on its debt, ensuring that capital continually flows out of these countries into the U.S. and making impossible the development of an economic infrastructure which would make repayment of the loan itself possible. As entire national economies go into hock, their bourgeoisies, under instructions from the IMF, impose sharp austerity measures on an already impoverished working class and peasantry.

"Y VA A CAER"

The political measures adopted by the Chilean dictatorship have dovetailed with these economic policies. Knowing that the social results of such policies would be devastating and that the Chilean people would resist, the dictatorship moved to tighten control over Chilean society. Beyond the brutal terror against the left and popular organizations mentioned above, Pinochet suspended all other political parties indefinitely. Military officers were appointed rectors of the universities, while whole academic departments, principally liberal arts, were closed down. Education was privatized and funding for primary and secondary schooling was turned over to the municipalities which, in poor neighborhoods, lacked any source of revenue. Strikes lasting more than 60 days were declared illegal. Trade union leaders were appointed by the regime. In 1980 Pinochet called for a vote on the new constitution, which was approved in a sham election. According to this constitution, the military dictatorship will rule until elections in 1989. At that time, the military junta will name a single candidate to run for the country's presidency. That "president" will serve eight years (until 1997).

Prior to the 1989 elections, Pinochet will serve as Chile's legal president. The new constitution effectively consolidated Pinochet's personal power and weakened that of other members of the Junta. It removed any lingering hopes bourgeois opposition forces may have retained about Pinochet's intentions and reinforced their own desire for a share of the spoils. This realization, coupled with the economic crisis of the 80s, fueled growing bourgeois opposition to Pinochet.

Beginning in 1983, opposition to Pinochet became massive and highly visible. The left had always opposed the dictatorship. Now forces like the Christian Democrats, who had originally supported the coup, called for people to protest the Junta. A series of very large demonstrations, National Days of Protest, followed. Eleven political parties, ranging from the traditional right parties such as the National Party and Movement for National Union, to the Christian Democrats and social democratic parties such as the Radical Party and the Briones sector of the Socialist Party, joined together to issue the National Accord in August 1985. Its major points are: (1) to immediately draw up an electoral register (as a prelude to elections); (2) legalization of political parties; (3) return of exiles; and (4) restoration of full civil liberties.

The Christian Democrats, who are the major force in the coalition which signed the National Accord, continue to be a large party capable of mobilizing many people. Lightly repressed by the dictatorship, their party structure and influence has remained relatively intact. While they enjoy close contacts with the U.S. State Department and are presenting themselves as a successor to Pinochet, their ability to offer the Chilean people either a real political or economic alternative is nonexistent.

The Christian Democrats realize that their price for



INTERVIEW WITH PAULINA WEBER

Member of the Movimiento Democrático Popular

Paulina Weber is a lawyer, a member of the M.D.P. and on the National Executive Council of the Movement for the Emancipation of Women in Chile. This organization coordinates 20 women's organizations, most of which are based in the poblaciones, the poorest neighborhoods of Chile. She returned to Chile three years ago after 10 years in exile in Europe. The interview was conducted in Chicago in October 1986.

"Basically the state of siege means a license to kill. Following the declaration of the state of siege, we began to witness scenes similar to those we had lived through on September 11th (1973). On September 7th (1986), the state of siege was declared. On September 8th, bodies of *compañeros* began to appear in the streets not far from downtown Santiago. People had been kidnapped, violently taken from their houses in the night, and shot. Not with one bullet. Each body had at least 20 bullets. You only need one bullet to kill a human being. These murders were in no way concealed because they were intended to be a warning. And, in reality, all of us relived the feelings and experiences of September 11. This feeling that something terrible had begun, that we were faced with a very violent situation, we could see its beginning, but we had no idea where it would end. All of us went home believing that it was likely we would all be dead tomorrow. We thought that tonight anyone of us, arbitrarily, could be kidnapped and murdered.

"But things did not turn out that way. Pinochet did try to carry out a second coup in Chile. However, this time the people's reaction was totally different. It has taken us years to recuperate forces. This time it only took us a few days for people to go back into the streets. For example, over 3,000 people attended Pepe Carrasco's funeral. Three days after the state of siege was declared we were functioning at full force and planning our future work.

"In Chile, as in the exterior, there was a lot of speculation regarding the assassination attempt. At first we were not sure what to make of it—was it a show mounted by the dictator? However, as the days passed, we overcame our initial consternation and realized that the assassination attempt demonstrated several important factors. The dictatorship lacked the strength which we had previously attributed to it. If Pinochet didn't kill more people following the attempt, it was because he couldn't, not because he didn't want to. He couldn't because of the strength of the resistance in Chile and because of international pressure. The dictatorship has unleashed a campaign of repression.

Four *compañeros* were killed. The dictatorship is hoping to paralyze us with terror. Many people have been kidnapped. Most of them were not killed. Nonetheless, it was a very difficult experience. There is complete censorship of the media. It is forbidden to report on the assassination attempt. This was the climate in the days following the attempt. However, we can also see how the attitude of the people and their capacity to act has changed. The resistance in Chile is very strong. After 13 years of dictatorship the Chilean people are not a defeated people. We are a people confronting the dictatorship in a thousand ways. As you know, all the social organizations, trade unions and political parties are organized and functioning. All function illegally, but they all function.

"Pinochet is preparing to govern ten years more. All the measures he has taken are directed towards this end. He has forced into retirement 13 generals who weren't even anti-Pinochet, but who had indicated their willingness to dialogue with the Christian Democrats, to discuss modifications in the 1980 Constitution.

"Pinochet is consolidating his power within the armed forces. Based on the upcoming loans and the Pope's visit, Pinochet will begin a period of artificial "unfreezing." [Ed. note: The World Bank approved new loans to Chile in November. In a slap on the wrist for human rights violations, the U.S. abstained from the vote on the loans.] He will lift the state of siege and enter into discussion with the opposition in order to divide it. However, we have progressed a lot. The opposition has remained more united. The M.D.P. participates in joint mobilizations with the Democratic Alliance, with the Christian Democrats. In Chile about 90% of the people oppose the Pinochet dictatorship. Naturally, the percentage of those who are active is much less. Our perspective, that of the M.D.P., is that we won't get rid of Pinochet through negotiations. He is not willing to negotiate his own downfall. Neither the army nor the financial clans favor a democratic opening in Chile. They know that if any breach occurs, if the Chilean people are allowed to express their discontent at the economic situation, at the regime of death, then immediately a flood of opposition will overpower them. They are not willing to cede an inch. We believe that there may be a cosmetic change. Pinochet may be replaced, but the military regime will continue.

"We believe that only the mobilization of the people will save Chile. Only through struggle, unity and the increasing radicalization of the people will we achieve the defeat of the dictatorship."

political power must be an acceptance of the established economic model, with some modifications to include previously marginalized sectors of the bourgeoisie. According to U.S. Ambassador to Chile, Harry G. Barnes, representatives of the Christian Democrats are "currently engaged in discussions with business leaders, promoters of the present model. The Christian Democrats recognize that the Chilean tradition of government intervention into the economy is now a policy of the past and that they can learn from the economic model of the last decade." Gabriel Valdes, president of the Christian Democrats, has stated, "Chile is suffering a severe economic and political crisis. The years ahead will not be easy ones, the workers must tighten their belts and not expect an increased standard of living."

Such statements do not sit well with the base sectors of the Christian Democrats, let alone the left. The years of extreme exploitation and repression have introduced changes in the class structure of Chile. The extreme monopolization of the Pinochet years has not only impoverished the working class, but has proletarianized the middle class which has long been a base of the Christian Democrats. Thus, the scope of what can be considered the popular movement has expanded. This changing class reality is reflected in ongoing struggles within the Christian Democrats, as well as within society at large. While the leadership promises to respect the 1980 Constitution, meets with the State Department and condemns the use of violence, the left wing of the Christian Democrats, based in trade unions, student organizations and working class neighborhoods, calls for massive protests, more radical action and unity.

LAST TANGO IN SANTIAGO?

As opposition to Pinochet intensifies and broadens, the U.S. too has begun to voice criticisms of the Pinochet dictatorship. In July 1985, Harry Barnes, who had just been appointed Ambassador, arrived in Santiago and immediately met with opposition leaders. In December, Elliot Abrams, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, endorsed the Accords as "a useful departure point for further progress and orderly transition to democracy in Chile." And in the summer of 1986, much to the anger of firm supporters of Pinochet like Jesse Helms, Ambassador Barnes attended the funeral of Rodrigo Rojas, a Chilean youth holding American citizenship who, following a mass demonstration, had been captured by the military and burned to death.

What lies behind this hypocritical concern for Chilean democracy—by the very forces which destroyed it in 1973—is a frank appraisal of the growing weakness and isolation of Pinochet, the strength of the bourgeois opposition and the resurgence of the left. These moves reflect a wide-reaching debate in U.S. ruling circles. The fall of Marcos in the Philippines and its aftermath have sharpened struggle over whether it is sufficient to replace Pinochet with another strongman or whether a new alignment of forces is necessary. What binds the two poles of this debate together is unity that a subservient, capitalist Chile must be preserved. What drives them apart is struggle over how far it ultimately will be necessary to go towards democratizing Chile in order to realize their shared goal. The rising opposition to Pinochet is creating cracks in the military junta. While the military remains the paramount power institution in the country with virtually no potential for genuine reform, they may be forced to accept a degree of democratization, including Pinochet's removal. Although they will not voluntarily surrender real power to



anyone else, they may accept a transition from totalitarianism to "authoritarian democracy."

The U.S. intends to recapture the initiative in Chile. While general sentiment is building that Pinochet must go, the precise timing of this is unclear. Pinochet has served U.S. interests well. Under him, Chile has been firmly returned to the U.S. economic orbit and the radical left was dealt a serious blow. The U.S.'s sudden distaste for Pinochet's excesses comes from the realization that Pinochet's intransigence, once so welcome, today serves to radicalize the masses of Chilean workers and peasants.

The U.S. cannot tolerate another Cuba or Nicaragua in Latin America. Determined to prevent this, the U.S. is maneuvering to ensure that "free elections" take place in 1989 and that the military government end. At the same time, the U.S. must unify and strengthen the bourgeois opposition so that it will be capable of being both a stable alternative to the dictatorship, as well as have a broader appeal to the impoverished and radicalized workers and peasants. As in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, the bourgeois opposition is offered as a replacement to torture, disappearances and poverty. Claiming to reunify the nation against both the extreme right and left, the newly elected governments in those countries also promised an end to class struggle and a utopia of social peace.

While a relatively smooth transition from military

dictatorship through elections to so-called democracy has been possible in these countries—primarily because the years of repression severely weakened the left to the point where they were unable to challenge this deception—the strength of the left in Chile makes this impossible.

The United States realizes that it will be impossible to ignore the left in the new balance of forces. The Chilean left has survived the thirteen years of dictatorship, despite the full force of imperialist repression and the barbarity of the Chilean armed forces. Moreover it has reemerged with deepened roots among the workers and is more committed to developing unity within itself. Although the left has gone through numerous splits and desertions, the fact is that the left in Chile has demonstrated an increased capacity to challenge not just continued military rule, but the vacillation and class nature of the bourgeois opposition. It has produced organizations and cadres who are willing to sacrifice their lives in order to bring social justice and democracy to Chile. As clearly demonstrated in the recent assassination attempt on Pinochet, the left has developed a highly sophisticated clandestine network and military capacity, able to expose and sharpen contradictions with the military dictatorship, as well as whatever government might replace it. Most importantly, only the revolutionary left can offer a political and economic program which truly meets the needs of the masses of Chilean people. ■





***"The People Can't Hear You
If You Don't Make A Noise."***

Interview with Puerto Rican Patriot: RAFAEL CANCEL MIRANDA

On March 1, 1954, four Puerto Rican Nationalists staged an armed attack on the U.S. House of Representatives to protest the U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico. At the time, the U.S. was orchestrating an elaborate sleight-of-hand, telling the world that Puerto Rico had miraculously been transformed into a "commonwealth," freely associated with the United States. It was in this climate that the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico decided to act. Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero and Irvin Flores entered the Congressional chambers firing weapons and shouting, "¡Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" The world learned that the Puerto Rican nation had not relinquished its sovereignty and was still prepared to fight for independence.

The Nationalists were sentenced to 81-year prison terms. But in 1979, after a broad international campaign, the U.S. was forced to grant their unconditional release,

and that of Oscar Collazo, imprisoned since 1950 for the armed attack on then-President Truman's residence at Blair House. Returning to Puerto Rico, the Nationalists were welcomed as national heroes by more than 100,000 people lining the streets to greet them. Since then, they have continued their active participation in the independence movement.

Breakthrough is honored to present the following interview with Rafael Cancel Miranda. Rafael has been outspoken in his defense of a new generation of Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, and in his support for the Puerto Rican armed clandestine movement. He has played a key role in the growing efforts towards unity within the Puerto Rican independence movement. The interview was conducted in San Francisco in August 1986, during Rafael's recent U.S. tour in support of Puerto Rican P.O.W. Guillermo Morales.

Breakthrough: When we talk to people about Puerto Rico, the question we often hear is: "If Puerto Ricans really want independence, why do they vote for commonwealth or statehood?" How do you respond to this?

Rafael Cancel Miranda: We have been a colony of the United States from 1898. Since that time, they've been conquering the Puerto Rican life. They control Puerto Rico, our economic structure. They control our socio-political life and they control—in a big way too—the mind of the Puerto Rican people. Because they control the mass means of communication, the papers, the TV, they control the education system. It has been hard for us Puerto Ricans as a whole not to lose our identity, not to lose our purpose in life. We are a closed society, almost like a prison. A closed society. I'm trying to explain why so many Puerto Rican people might think the way you say.

Now, in Puerto Rico there are colonial parties. One talks about statehood, the other talks about the colony in disguise, it's called commonwealth, because when you bring down what commonwealth is, you see it's just a colony with a different name. Many people vote for the statehood party. Many other people vote for this Commonwealth Party. They are not voting for statehood. They are not voting for commonwealth. Because they really don't know, many of them, what statehood is. And they don't know really what this thing of a commonwealth is. They are voting for survival within this colonial structure.

See, if they vote for one of the colonial parties, one of the politicians will help them to get a little apartment in the housing project, to give them a little job in the government.

The biggest employer in Puerto Rico is the colonial government. It's got hundreds of thousands of employees. And there is more than 30% unemployment in Puerto Rico, in some towns more than 50%, and among young people more than 50%. And in Puerto Rico, more than 60% of our people have been forced to live on food stamps. This gives the government total control over the people.

Not all Puerto Ricans participate in the electoral process, not all independence believers participate in the electoral process. Myself, I never participate in this electoral process in the colony because I consider it a phony game. Because we are a colony and a militarily occupied country. They control the mass means of communication, the educational system, they control our socio-political life. How could there be a free election, a free vote in a situation like that?

So we Nationalists don't believe in the electoral process within the colony. Because we don't have the power to really elect our officials. Because it doesn't matter who is the governor of Puerto Rico or the legislator or senator. The one who really decides about Puerto Rico is the congress of the United States, and the president of the United States. And even a small federal agency from the United States has more power than the whole colonial government in Puerto Rico. So it is a little game of deceiving people. You cannot judge anything by an election in Puerto Rico.

Also, in Puerto Rico, to be an *independentista* means persecution, means prison, means that it's going to be hard for you to get employment. If you are a teacher, and a good teacher, and you don't belong to a colonial party, they will put you aside and give the job to a less qualified teacher.



So you can understand too why there are so many that might be *independentista* inside but don't let on because they know the kind of pressure that we get in Puerto Rico for being *independentista*.

That's why everywhere I go I say the extraordinary thing about my people, the Puerto Rican people, is that, after more than 88 years of complete domination by the United States, there are thousands upon thousands of us who have not lost our identity, who know who we are, and who keep fighting for a free country. That is the extraordinary thing. After all this pressure upon us, there are thousands of Puerto Ricans, generation after generation, fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico in many different ways.

BT: Why is control over Puerto Rico so important to the United States?

Rafael: Many people ask this question. Why does the U.S. care so much about this small island? Why don't they clean their nose around the world, free Puerto Rico, and get rid of all that trouble they have with the non-aligned countries and the UN. That way they won't have any more crazy Puerto Ricans shooting up their Congress or going to the Federal house, they won't have any more FALN or Macheteros. Why don't they solve all that by freeing Puerto Rico? Because every year the big companies take more than 5 billion dollars in profit out of Puerto Rico. Wall Street used to call Puerto Rico "Profit Island." "Profit Island" for them, hell for us.

We used to be an agricultural country before the U.S. invaded us. Now they have killed our agriculture. So we wouldn't be able to compete with California or Florida. We were once able to produce for ourselves. Because of colonialism, we have become a forced market for the U.S. We've talked about the 5 billion dollars they've taken from Puerto Rico—not 5 million, 5 billion—from our work and our sweat. And in all of Latin America, we are the third largest market for the U.S. So they reap millions more.

Then they use us as a military base. More than 10% of our land is military bases. Do you know how much they would have to pay to any other country to use 10% of their land? It would be millions upon millions of dollars. Now they get it free!

They have created a social crisis in Puerto Rico. And then they say, "You should be so grateful for what we are giving to you." It's like a thief that goes to your home and takes away all the money you have. And then to show you how nice he is, he gives you a few dollars back. It's just a pacifier, a little money that they send us back from the big money they steal from us. And we're supposed to be thankful!

BT: In recent years, there has been a dramatic growth in the strength of the armed clandestine movement in Puerto Rico. How do you assess the impact of these revolutionary organizations on the overall struggle?

Rafael: When I was in prison I was very happy to read in the paper that in Puerto Rico there were growing up some clandestine movements—MAPA, MIRA, CAL.* And then in the later years, I was very happy to learn about the FALN, a clandestine movement of Puerto Rican people living within the United States. And then in Puerto Rico, we got the Voluntarios and Los Macheteros, and they have had an effect on the Puerto Rican people.

The clandestine movement creates a reaction of confidence in the people that you can fight Superman. You know, in Puerto Rico, in their propaganda, they are Superman and we are the little men and women there. So when something like Base Muniz** happens, the people get confident that you could fight them. Today in Puerto Rico, the word "Macheteros" has the same charisma as saying Albizu Campos*** which in Puerto Rico was the most charismatic name in the struggle. And when I tell you the people react this way about the Macheteros, I'm not talking about independence people. I'm talking now of the people in the street, the people in the grocery store, the people in the barber shop, the people in the neighborhood.

In a way, the clandestine movement is proving to the people that you can fight them. They are not invulnerable. They can be hit. The Vietnamese people proved that clearly. The Cuban people too. So the clandestine movement is creating confidence in people that you can fight. So, in a way, it's a psychological advance in the struggle. And we know how important the psychological is in this type of struggle. Because as long as people think they can't win, they don't fight. The clandestine movement helps all the other movements. Because when you create a certain confidence in the people, others come. They might not come into the clandestine movement at the moment, or the armed struggle movement, but they come into other types of movements.

We have different types of independence movements in Puerto Rico. Some use the electoral process, others do mass organizing without getting into elections, others work in the international arena. But all the people know that it doesn't matter what means you are using today. Sooner or later we're going to end up in armed struggle. Because the imperialists are not going to give you your independence and your rights and end all that exploitation by smiles and

* Armed clandestine Puerto Rican independence organizations that carried out bombings against U.S. military and corporate targets in the 1960s and early 1970s.

** The military air base in Puerto Rico where, in January 1981, the Macheteros attacked and destroyed nine U.S. warplanes. The planes, valued at \$45 million, were destined for El Salvador.

*** One of the great patriotic leaders in Puerto Rican history. For nearly four decades, as president of the Nationalist Party, he led an uncompromising anti-imperialist movement against the U.S. presence in Puerto Rico. Jailed many times, he died in 1965 as a result of his severe mistreatment while in U.S. custody.

flowers and because all of a sudden they become generous. You have to pressure them into respecting you. We wish it were not that way, but that's the only way you can reconquer your rights, your independence.

I know that some organizations of the left have a tendency to tell other *compañeros* and *compañeras*, "Don't do this because then repression will come to you." Maybe repression has never come to them! For Puerto Ricans, the clandestine movement has been an answer to repression. In other words, repression came first. I always say the first act of U.S. repression was invasion. North American troops did not go to Puerto Rico throwing flowers. They were throwing bullets and cannons, and killing people. That was the first act of repression. Anything after that that we do is an answer to that invasion and that repression. There has been repression of my people even before any sign of armed struggle. Take the massacre of Ponce, on March 24, 1937. A peaceful demonstration of the people. And they cold-bloodedly massacred twenty-one Puerto Ricans. Repression from the enemy not only comes as an answer to armed struggle. It comes when you are being effective. Even if you don't have any weapons and you are being effective in reaching the people's minds, in organizing the people. If you are bringing the truth to the people and they see that you are effective, you're going to go to jail.

The clandestine movement is there because it's a need, an historical need, an immediate need. Otherwise, we'll be exterminated. The enemy has to know that you have some force that they fear. That's why the FALN makes them nervous here in the United States. Because they know that if they commit some kind of cruel thing against the people, they might have to pay. If there is no clandestine movement that they're afraid of, then they don't care about our legal battles, they don't care how long we talk, how beautiful we talk. Okay—bark all you want, as long as you don't bite! That's the importance that I see to the clandestine movement and how the people see it too. "Do we have something to bite them, not only to bark?"

BT: It is now a little over one year since the FBI swept through Puerto Rico, arresting 16 *independentistas* and charging them with participation in the expropriation of a Wells Fargo truck in Hartford. What has been the response of the independence movement to this arrest?

Rafael: The FBI invaded my country on August 30, 1985. Three hundred of them—FBI, United States Marshals, and the Special Forces they prepared for the Olympics. They invaded us to repress the independence movement. They tried to put out of circulation certain *independentistas*. They meant to terrorize my people. So that people get paranoid when they go to sleep, thinking that maybe they will come in the night and jump on them and their children. They create that mentality. They even took people from the Puerto Rican Independence Party who participate in the electoral process. They broke into homes in the wee hours of the morning. To terrorize people.

But what happened? They don't know our people. The independence movement increased and became stronger after August 30th. It was the opposite of what they expected. People became more militant, because people then saw their faces. Up to that time they used Puerto Ricans against Puerto Ricans, the colonial police against the independence fighters. But this time they showed their faces. Because they came straight from the United States. People saw their faces. And that was a mistake. Because when a North American agent goes to a barrio in Puerto Rico and arrests Puerto Ricans, he's gonna have to get the hell out of there quick. The people, without knowing about independence or nothing, they see this foreigner, this stranger hurting the people and they fight him.

Every activity that we have done since August 30th has been stronger. So this type of repression makes the people stronger and more united.

BT: You have been on a nationwide tour raising support for Puerto Rican Prisoner of War Guillermo Morales.* How is it that William's case has become so important for the entire independence movement.

Rafael: It used to be that the people in Puerto Rico did not know much about Guillermo Morales. But when he escaped, he became a mythical figure for Puerto Ricans, even for those who are not *independentista*. He became a hero. His actions reflected upon the people too, because when someone does something you admire, it reflects upon yourself. You identify yourself with that person. But at that time it was still not a campaign.

Why today is Guillermo Morales an issue? First, because Guillermo Morales is a fighter for the freedom of his people. Second, because of the campaign of the people, for no extradition to the United States, and for political asylum. Different groups have put work in, so Guillermo Morales has become a household word. In every town in Puerto Rico, there is a picture of Guillermo Morales. He is known as a Prisoner of War, as an *independentista*. It is the product of the work of the MLN, and the PSP too, the Nationalist Party, the National Committee to Free the POWs, the CUCRE. And people like yourselves. It is the product of well-organized work. In other words, it doesn't matter how great Guillermo Morales is if he cannot get to the people. The people can't hear you if you don't make a noise.

BT: Puerto Rico sits directly across the Caribbean from Nicaragua, yet to many activists here it might as well be on a different planet. How would you explain the interconnection between the Puerto Rican independence movement and the revolutionary struggles in Central America?

* An accused leader of the FALN who was first captured in New York City in 1978 following a bomb explosion which caused him grave injuries, including the loss of most of his fingers. In 1979, Morales escaped from a high security medical facility. In 1983 he was recaptured in Mexico and is now resisting extradition to the U.S.



Lolita Lebron and Rafael Cancel Miranda following their 1954 attack on Congress.

Rafael: Fidel said that the more countries in Latin America which become free, the closer we will be to freedom for Puerto Rico. We'll become a stronger Latin America. When Somoza was in Nicaragua, there we had an enemy. The Sandinistas came and now we have an ally. When Batista was in Cuba, we had an enemy, because he was a puppet of the U.S. When the revolutionaries came to power in Cuba, we gained a lot of strength. So whatever happens in Latin America will affect us in Puerto Rico. Right now, Nicaragua is the battleground of all of Latin America. If the imperialists win there, it's a setback. Not only for the people of Nicaragua, but for the whole of Latin America and the Caribbean. If the revolutionary Sandinistas are able to defeat the imperialists in Nicaragua, that advances the whole Latin American struggle, including

Puerto Rico.

A victory for Puerto Rico will also make the imperialists less powerful. Che Guevara once said, like Albizu Campos had said before, that the real anti-imperialists will be known by their attitude towards Puerto Rico. Because Puerto Rico is the sore spot, the sensitive core of the U.S.

As long as Puerto Rico is a fortress of the United States, an economic fortress, a political fortress, it will always be a danger to Central America. Puerto Rico has been used as a springboard to attack countries around the Caribbean. From Puerto Rico, they invaded Santo Domingo in 1965. In Puerto Rico, they trained the troops that later attacked Grenada. In Puerto Rico, they train contra commanders to send to Nicaragua. They use Puerto Ricans as part of the imperialist army, to attack other countries. The National Guard in Puerto Rico is being prepared for Nicaragua. This is a public secret. They have been sent to Panama to train, to Spain, to Honduras for a while, on a so-called "cultural mission."

They use Puerto Rico for economic penetration too, in the Caribbean countries. Right now, they're using us in what they call the Cuenca del Caribe [Caribbean Basin Plan] to bring a tighter control over the economy of those countries by the U.S. and by the multinationals. So you see Puerto Rico is not only a military danger to all our countries, but also an economic instrument of penetration.

So, for Latin America and Central America, it is a vital interest that Puerto Rico be a free country. And that it stop being a military and economic fortress for the U.S.

BT: You served many years in the infamous Marion Prison. Today, there is a growing campaign to shut down the control units at Marion and other prisons around the country. Could you tell us about your experiences at Marion?

Rafael: I got to Marion in early 1971 and came out in 1979. I started noticing that they were sending political activists to Marion and to the control unit within Marion. I noticed, for example, that they sent Leonard Peltier there, who is a fighter for the freedom and the rights of the Native American people. I noticed that they sent Herman Bell there, from the Black Liberation Army. And other brothers from the Black Liberation Army, including Gabriel Torres. I even met there some white Americans from the anti-imperialist movement. So I started noticing that Marion was becoming the prison for the prisoners who fight for prisoners' rights in other prisons. As a punishment they were sent there. Because Marion was complete control. So the maximum prison in the United States, with the tightest control over us, was becoming the prison for the political



Political prisoners and POWs at Marion Prison, 1977. Front row: Armando Miramon, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Leonard Peltier. Back row: Herman Bell, Stephen Kessler, James "Buffalo" Parker, Shahid Muhammad Faris.

prisoners and the political activists within prison.

When they placed me in the Control Unit, for 18 months, I saw that they used drugs, they used Valium, Thorazine, Prolixin on the prisoners. They used to have a goon squad. This goon squad, their job was to beat prisoners. How they used to beat us. I was beaten myself. They broke my teeth, dug some other teeth inside my gums. For a year I suffered gum pain. And my jaw still is broken inside. They used to gas us all. You were in your cell, in the little cell, that was solitary confinement. When they want to beat you for some reason or other, they gas you out.

They used to keep me in the control unit, for example, locked up 24 hours a day. Later on they let us walk around for 30 minutes in front of the cell in the corridor. Later they made a cage, a wire cage. And when they wanted to take you out to get some sun, they'd take you from the cell and put you inside the wire cage in the little yard, so that you get sun through the holes of the wire cage, right there. That's your recreation. For 30 minutes. They take you out of your cell to put you in a wire cage, and that's your recreation. You want sun? Yeah, you can have sun, in a wire cage. That happened in Marion.

At Marion, when they could not break me after beating me or gassing me, they tried to hurt me through my family. My wife came, for example, on the 25th anniversary of our marriage. Our children saved some money and sent my wife to visit me at this stinkhole. This was in 1976. Twenty-two years after 1954. They were still trying to give me

hell. They took my wife and stripped her of her clothes: "You want to see your husband, you have to let yourself be stripped." That day the visiting room was crowded with visitors. There were Mafia prisoners there and many others. They only did this to my wife. They took her to a room and strip-searched her. My wife never had a traffic ticket in her life. But they did that to her. To be able to hurt me.

I saw many people in the control unit going insane. The only two times I cried in prison—it was in the control unit. It was not because of what I was going through, suffering or whatever; it was not because of this. In the prison population, I met many of the guys who later on were in the control unit with me. Twice I heard two of them—I could not see them, but I could hear them talking in their cells. I knew how they used to talk in population and how they were talking now, I knew they were losing their minds. And it hurt me so badly that I cried. Because I was frustrated, I could do nothing about it. I knew that they were going to go out of there crazy.

Many brothers there went insane because of the sensory deprivation. I saw many of them crying for the Valium and Prolixin and Thorazine. They got hooked on that. I saw all that happening at Marion. And they tell me that Marion is worse today. I'm not talking about a prison in Russia or a prison in Cuba, like they say. I'm talking about a prison a few miles away from here in Marion, Illinois.

36 BT: You were sentenced to 81 years in prison after the

attack on Congress. You ended up serving 25 years in federal prisons throughout the United States. How did you make it through all those years?

Rafael: My answer is: When you find out, please tell me. I don't know. This is truthful. I was able to survive, and to survive without losing my senses. It was tough, away from my family, my *compañeros*. We don't have some super strength. I was just another human being. Not with my wife, my children, or freedom or independence.

It took me about three years to really control my environment at Alcatraz. I used to walk like a lion trapped in a cage, walking back and forth. It was hard.

I remember after years, I thought, either it breaks me, or I break it. In Alcatraz, I started studying all these books of psychology, I knew I had some hard time coming. I hated every day in there. I can tell you. It was against my nature.

It helped me that I considered myself part of the whole of my people. I didn't consider myself as the center of the world. The people are more important to me. I'm not talking about something I read in a book: "the people." It's you, it's my friend. I'm fighting for them, for my own children. To know that I was in prison because I was fighting for the future. I was not there fighting for something for my little self—a little extra money, or a little flashy car, or a little flashy clothes, or expensive watches. All the things people get trying to impress other people. I want none of that. So that gave me pride in myself. You need pride, a lot of pride, to be able to survive. I don't mean the pride in thinking you are better than someone else, but pride in your own humanity.

Also, friends helped me in prison. I met many nice people in prison. And I met some mean ones. But we've got quite a few mean ones outside of prison. They were just people. It helped me to have human relationships, when I was alone from my Puerto Rican comrades, like in Alcatraz. It helped me do my time.

For fifteen years, Lolita, Irvin, Andres and myself—Oscar, he was four years before us—it was quiet. There was no campaign, nothing. Every now and then, someone might ask, "What ever happened to the Nationalists?" Nothing. Only my wife, my father, and my children. In Alcatraz, I didn't even see a newspaper for six years. They didn't allow the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and you know that's not a revolutionary newspaper.

I know the difference between those 15 years and then when people started campaigning for us. You don't know how good it feels. Even a little card, a Christmas card, even if you don't believe in Santa Claus. Because we give energy to one another. We give strength to one another. Myself, I'm just part of that whole stream, the people. When a letter gets there through the bars, it's the human touch, coming to you with love, someone who cares. Not that we are soft, but we care, especially to hear from a revolutionary: "Right on! Keep on! We're here with you."

They want you to think that you are alone in the world. It is up to us out there to let them know that they are not that alone. That will help anyone that goes to prison to resist. And we owe it to them. For they are not there just for cutting classes. No, they are there for being a part of us. Every time one of us goes to prison, all of us goes to prison. Because we are like one body. ■



San Juan, Puerto Rico August 30, 1986

Credit: Breakthrough

FROM THE CLANDESTINE MOVEMENT

The Following Communiques Were Received by Mail:

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE'S ARMY-MACHETEROS

October 27, 1986

On the night of October 27, the Puerto Rican People's Army-Macheteros (EPB-Macheteros), together with brigades of the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP), and the Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), attacked a whole series of enemy military targets throughout the length and breadth of our occupied homeland and within the very belly of the monster—the USA.

This is the response of the revolutionary movement to the North American imperialists and their repressive military and governmental agencies for the attacks and abuses they have committed against the patriotic Puerto Rican movement and for the displacement, robbery and pillage to which they subject our beloved people every day.

We have already said in our message to the people, distributed last August 30, that when the time came, the Puerto Rican People's Army-Macheteros would respond to the wave of repression unleashed by the FBI terrorists since August 30, 1986.

The yankees actually thought that the death of our unforgettable Comandante Juan Antonio Corretjer and with the arrest, kidnapping and prison exile of teachers, union activists, lawyers and patriotic workers on August 30 of last year, they were going to frighten and disband the revolutionary, patriotic movement in Puerto Rico.

After the arrests, the US used the commercial press, radio and television to mount a vicious campaign of defamation and lies against the arrested people and against the Puerto Rican People's Army-Macheteros, trying to confuse the people and make them believe that the arrest of those patriots had destroyed the revolutionary movement.

While they were doing this, their government agencies continued with preparations to intensify the repression they impose on us every day. We have taken note of all those plans. The most dramatic is the plan to destroy the Yunque forest preserve, the mountain that constitutes a living symbol of our nationhood and our strength. We warn them: our people unanimously repudiate this inconceivable attack. We will not let them cut one single tree and if they do so, it will be at the risk of their own lives. **Our sacred commitment is to defend and protect our people. Every abuse by the yankees will encounter the response it deserves.** No matter how much they attack, arrest, torture or assassinate, they will never be able to silence our voices. Our forces remain intact and our struggle will end only when our people have taken the reins of destiny into their own hands and construct a system that guarantees true social justice for all. Every lie, every abuse, every repressive act will meet with the reply of our will and our arms.

The people in struggle will know how to move toward liberty. We are committed to the defense of our people at every level and we know how to protect them and ourselves from the enemy, because, in the final analysis; We are with the people because we are the people!

**No to Repression! No to Exploitation!
They will not cut a single tree of our Yunque!
Long Live the Heroes and Martyrs of October 30, 1950!
Every Puerto Rican a Machetero!**



COMMUNIQUE FROM THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE'S ARMY-MACHETEROS

November 4, 1986

At dawn today, a commando of our organization placed an explosive in one of the air conditioning ducts at the headquarters of the yankee "National Guard," located at Puerto de Tierra (near San Juan). We showed the foolishness of the security measures that have been established there and in other US government agencies in our homeland. We acted to let them know that no matter how vigilant their security, the combatants of the PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE'S ARMY-MACHETEROS have access to more sites than the government and the FBI can imagine.

This explosive can be dismantled without complications if they do so BEFORE 12:00 Midnight, the time when it is set to explode.

The police should not be afraid; neither this bomb nor any of the bombs our commandos placed last Monday were designed as "booby traps." The day we do that, they will not be able to dismantle them. Our aim is not to cause unnecessary injury or death, not even to the police. Our enemy is U.S. imperialism, which deceives us and exploits everyone—including those Puerto Rican policemen, sons of workers and of our soil.

The only occasion on which action by the PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE'S ARMY-MACHETEROS has resulted in the death of a policeman was in the case of agent Julio Roman Rodriguez, on August 25, 1978 in Naguabo. This was not done as an "act of revenge" for the murders committed by the agents of the Intelligence Division at Cerro Maravilla. The death of that policeman occurred in a gun battle where **he fired first** against our combatants, and they were forced to repel his attack. Our nation sees it clearly: our principal enemy is U.S. imperialism, but our combatants must defend themselves in any situation where they are attacked.

On the other hand, we wish to emphasize the accuracy of our action of last Monday. Less than 24 hours after the explosions, officials of imperialism publicly declared that trees would not be cut in El Yunque and the Nicaraguan "Contras" would not be trained on our soil. **However, our only guarantee that they will not carry out these or other atrocities will be the organization, the will, and the arms of the Puerto Rican working people.**

We want to say to Rafael Ocasio Figueroa, the worker who was unfortunately wounded lightly as a result of the explosion at the U.S. Armed Forces recruiting center in Fajardo, that our organization is very sorry for the injuries he received. Our actions are always directed against the oppressors of our people and we try to take measures to avoid hurting our brothers. The PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE'S ARMY-MACHETEROS is ready to compensate our compatriot Rafael Ocasio Figueroa for the damages sustained by himself and his vehicle, if he will let us know his address through the commercial press.

**No to "Contra" training in Puerto Rico!
They will not cut a single tree in our Yunque!
We are with the people because we are the people!**

EVERY PUERTO RICAN A MACHETERO!



On the Chicago Indictments

Statement from Prairie Fire Organizing Committee

On August 23rd, 1986 the *Los Angeles Times* and *San Francisco Examiner* published stories attacking Prairie Fire Organizing Committee for alleged "terrorist" activity. The source for these attacks was the FBI, whose track record for witchhunts is well known. We are writing this statement to set the record straight.

The origin of the FBI story goes back to July 3rd of 1986. In yet another attack on the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, three well known and respected independentistas from the Chicago area—Jaime Delgado, Viola Salgado and Dora Garcia-Lopez—were arrested and charged with conspiracy, along with Puerto Rican Prisoner of War Oscar Lopez-Rivera and New Afrikan political prisoner Kojo Bomani Sababu. Since that time, charges against Viola have been dropped. The government alleged that they planned to free Oscar Lopez from the U.S. prison in Leavenworth, Kansas and that they transported explosives across state lines. The FBI reported that it was looking for six North Americans who they claim were also involved. Two of them—Claude Marks and Donna Willmot—were indicted. Four others—Diana Block, Robert McBride, Karen Shain and Joan Sokolower—were named as material witnesses. Over a month later, the FBI claimed to have discovered explosives in a Los Angeles storage facility which it alleged was used by the group of North Americans.

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee stands in solidarity with the arrested Puerto Rican patriots and with the North Americans charged in the indictment. We put no credence in FBI allegations. Furthermore, we believe that fighting for Puerto Rican independence and for the freedom of Puerto Rican POWs is no crime.

The FBI has called the six North Americans "members of PFOC." This is a lie. We are honored to have known the North Americans named in the indictment. They are sisters and brothers with long histories in the anti-imperialist movement. They deserve the full support of all progressive and revolutionary activists. But, as the FBI knows full well, they are not members of Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. None of them has even been affiliated with us for many years. The FBI also called Prairie Fire an "underground terrorist group." This is another lie. PFOC is

a public anti-imperialist organization. Once again the FBI propaganda machine is hard at work, as it was during the days of COINTELPRO in the 1960s. The purpose is to scare away support for the indicted comrades, intimidate public activists and attack the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The real crime in this case is the colonization of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation, not a part of the United States. Under U.S. colonialism, the island has become a staging ground for the U.S. war in Central America. Its environment is being destroyed by strip mining and pollution from the petrochemical industry. Millions of Puerto Ricans are forced to emigrate to the U.S. in order to escape unemployment and poverty. Over 40% of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age have been sterilized. This is why the Puerto Rican independence movement is growing, despite every attempt by the United States to destroy it. And this is why North Americans will continue to support it.

A year and a half ago, hundreds of FBI agents invaded Puerto Rico, arresting and terrorizing activists and their families in a case that has come to be known as the Puerto Rico Independence 16. The arrest and indictments in Chicago are the latest attempt to brand as "terrorist" the internationally-recognized anti-colonial movement of the Puerto Rican people.

But many people are no longer fooled by Reagan's "war on terrorism." We have learned to distrust a government that orchestrates the murder of civilians in Nicaragua, bombs *campesinos* in El Salvador, infiltrates the Sanctuary movement and then proclaims itself the defender of liberty. We are used to hearing the FBI and CIA call those who ally themselves with the cause of liberation "terrorists," while murderers and drug pushers like the contras are called "freedom fighters."

Repression is aimed at separating us from each other. But we will continue, along with thousands of others, to resist the crimes of U.S. imperialism, at home and abroad.

**Drop the indictments in Chicago!
Free All Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and POWs!**

Shut Down the



Lexington Control Unit!

personal property limited to five books and ten photographs...lawyers photographed before their visits. These are the permanent conditions facing these revolutionaries and the other women political prisoners and Prisoners of War who will soon be assigned to Lexington.

Marion federal penitentiary in Illinois is the recent prototype—not only for Lexington, but for the notorious political prisons in West Germany as well. The purpose of these units is to attempt to crush the will and resistance of the prisoners through sensory deprivation and isolation. Prisoners are humiliated and degraded through lack of privacy, strip searches, and sexual attacks.

This program of torture is labelled the "denial system." It has frequently been directed against the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, most brutally against Alejandrina Torres. Since her capture in 1983, she has been an almost constant target. First she was placed in the men's wing of the Federal MCC in Chicago, with no privacy from male prisoners or guards. Twice she was beaten

and sexually assaulted by guards in that prison. On the eve of their transfer to Lexington from the US federal prison in Tucson, Arizona, both Alejandrina and Susan were subjected to forced vaginal and rectal searches by male guards.

In the face of these brutal violations of human rights, these women remain remarkably strong. But the attacks must stop! A similar isolation unit at the federal prison for women at Alderson, West Virginia was successfully closed by a massive public campaign. The recent transfer of Silvia to Lexington signals the government's intention to make this a prison for women political prisoners. The federal system has a big stake in the Lexington facility, but this torture center must be shut down!

Torture in America has reached a dangerous new stage. In November, 1986, Puerto Rican Prisoner of War Alejandrina Torres and North American revolutionary Susan Rosenberg became the first inmates in the new women's control unit at the Federal Prison in Lexington, Kentucky, a state-of-the-art center for psychological torture. In January, 1987, North American revolutionary Silvia Baraldini was also transferred to Lexington, without an administrative hearing or prior notice.

Imagine being isolated from all other prisoners...in closed-front cells with stark white walls and ceilings...illuminated by bright lights...under constant surveillance by video cameras...strip-searched any time you leave your cell for recreation...visits restricted to immediate family...

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Send a letter or telegram to the Warden to protest the treatment of Alejandrina, Susan and Silvia and demand their transfer to general population: Warden, P.O. Box 2000, Lexington, Kentucky 40512. Send a copy to Norman Carlson, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, 320 1st St. N.W., Washington, DC. 20534.
2. Demand that all Control Units be closed.
3. Demand an end to the selective harassment of Political Prisoners and POWs.
4. Write to Alejandrina, Susan and Silvia.

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War
P.O. Box 476698, Chicago, Illinois 60647

"I Have Chosen New Afrikan Independence Over the Cowering Existence of the Slave."

—A Statement to the Grand Jury by Watani Tyehimba

Watani Tyehimba is a founding member of the New Afrikan People's Organization and a longtime activist in the Los Angeles Black community. On August 21, 1986, Watani refused to collaborate with a federal grand jury investigating the Black liberation movement. He is incarcerated for a minimum of 18 months. Following is Watani's statement before the grand jury.

"I can retain neither respect nor affection for a Government which has been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend its immorality."

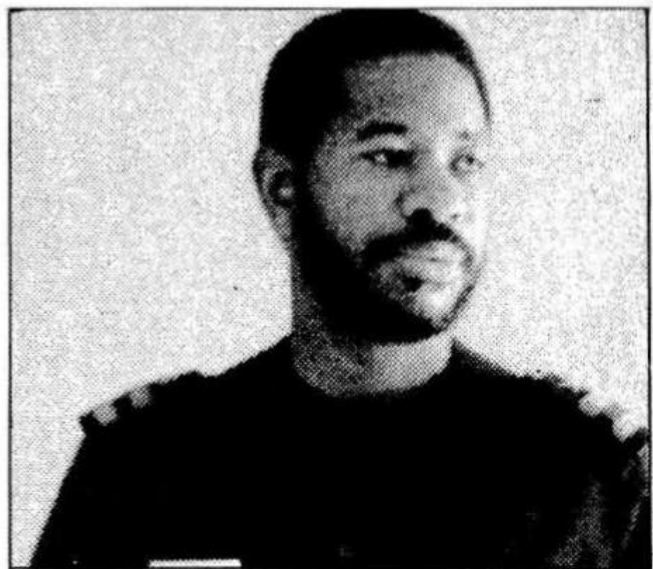
—Mohandas K. Gandhi

The "Grand Jury" has historically been used as a tool for subjugating Black people, who are the victims of United States oppression. From a tool of the slave catchers to a mechanism of political repression and imprisonment—the Grand Jury has been used to thwart New Afrikan aspirations for freedom and self rule. By using the facade of legality the U.S. has consistently tried to make it appear that wanting freedom, a better life, and the basic rights of human beings is criminal. Of course this is a lie. However, truth has never been the goal of the U.S. when dealing with New Afrikans. The U.S. government seeks continued domination, intimidation, and exploitation of its Black colony.

While I am guilty of nothing, experience has proven to me, as well as other New Afrikans, that innocence and moral justification is not enough when you're in the U.S. This government seeks nothing less than total submission and self denial in the face of its racist terror. *This I refuse to give.* I will not cooperate in the violation of my humanity, nor will I be used as a pawn by an immoral power. My spiritual, political, and moral convictions mandate that I not participate in any way with this inquisition.

Although I am the target of repression in this instance, the questions raised by this circumstance are deeper than my personal situation. This is not simply a question of my personal relationship to the "Grand Jury process," but whether or not I (and others who struggle for New Afrikan Independence) will cooperate with an illegitimate force that seeks to crush the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the New Afrikan People's Organization.

Recent history is full of examples of the murderous intent of the U.S. government. Government orchestrated assassinations, campaigns of slander, government forgery, illegal spying, and countless other abuses are enough to convince me that cooperating



Credit: NAFPO

with this repressive apparatus jeopardizes countless numbers of people. My personal and political beliefs will not allow me to put others in such a vulnerable position.

The U.S. oppressor nation wants to tell the victims of injustice how we are to struggle and what our goals should be. This hypocritical posture only means that we will forever be plagued by a white racist colonizer, whose interests are not ours. We must make our own decisions and control our own lives. There are no substitutes for independence and genuine self rule. The many threats, bribes, and escape mechanisms used to control us will prove to be ineffective when we make our decisions with our liberation foremost in mind. *I have chosen New Afrikan Independence over the cowering existence of the slave.* I will not betray the memories of all those who have struggled before me, and I will not endanger those who struggle now. I will not collaborate with the Grand Jury.

The words of Nelson Mandela reflect my sentiments: *"More powerful than my fear of the dreadful conditions to which I might be subjected is my hatred for the dreadful conditions to which my people are subjected outside prison throughout this country."*

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

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

Ricardo Jimenez 88967-024
Alberio Rodriguez 92150-024
Edwin Cortes 92153-024
PO Box 1000
Lewisburg PA 17837

Carlos Alberto Torres 88976-024
902 Renfroe
Talladega AL 35160

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HSU Lexington
Box 2000
Lexington KY 40512

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Box 711
Menard IL 60434

Elizam Escobar 88969-024
PO Box 1500
El Reno OK 73036

Alicia Rodriguez NO7157
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Dwight IL 60420

Oscar Lopez Rivera 87651-024
71 Van Buren
Chicago IL 60605

Adolfo Matos 88968-024
PO Box 1000
Lompoc CA 93436

Haydee Torres 88462-024
Lucy Rodriguez 88973-024
Dylcia Pagan 88971-024
Carmen Valentin 88974-024
5701 8th Street
Camp Parks
Dublin CA 94566

Puerto Rican Political Prisoners

Filiberto Ojeda Rios 03167-069
Juan Enrique Segarra Palmer 15357-077
150 Park Row
New York NY 10007

Julio Veras y Degadillo 00799-069-E-3
PO Box 1000
Petersburg VA 23803

New Afrikan/Black Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners

Kalima Aswad B24120
s/n Robert Duren
PO box 8108 Dorm 13-H
San Luis Obispo CA 93409-0001

Mutulu Shakur 83205-012
150 Park Row
New York NY 10007

Albert Nuh Washington 77-A-1528
Jalil A. Muntaqin 77-A-4283
s/n Anthony Bottom
Adbul Majid 83-A-483
s/n Anthony LaBorde
Robert Seth Hayes 74-A-2280
Drawer B
Stormville NY 12582

Basheer Hameed 82-A-6313
s/n James York
Richard D. Moore
Mohaman Koti 80-A-808
PO Box B
Dannemora NY 12929

Herman Bell 79-A-262
Box 51
Comstock, NY 12821

Jah s/n Teddy Heath 75-A-0139
PO Box 149
Attica NY 14100

Geronimo Pratt B40319
Tamal CA 94974

Chris King
PO Box 2000
South Walpole MA 02071

Cecilio Chui Ferguson
FCI
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Lewisburg PA 17837

Watani Tychimba
PO Box 7 Terminal Island
San Pedro CA 90731

Sundiata Acoli 39794-066
s/n Clark Squire
Sekou Odinga 05228-054
s/n Nathaniel Burns
Richard Thompson-El
James "Blood" Miller #00124-054
PO Box 1000
Marion IL 62959

Mondo Langa
s/n David Rice
PO Box 22500
Lincoln NE 68502-0500

Johnny Imani Harris 2-373s
Sekou Kambui
s/n William Turk
Holman Prison Unit
Atmore AL 36503

Richard Mafundi Lake 79972
100 Warrior Lane
Bessemer AL 35023

Kojo Bomani Sababu
s/n Grailing Brown
71 W. Van Buren
Chicago IL 60605

Mark Cook 20025-148(H)
3901 Klein Blvd.
Lompoc CA 93436

Awali Stoneham B-98168
Soledad CA 93960

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

Isma-El Rahim #67-A-112
s/n Alfred Monroe
Maliki Shakur Latine #81-A-4469
135 State Street
Auburn NY 13024-9000

Ed Poindexter
Minnesota Corr. Fac.
Stillwater MN 55082

Thomas Warner M 3049
Drawer R
Huntington PA 16652

Martin Rutrell #042600
UCI 68-2018 Box 221
Raiford FL 320283

Sababu Na Huru #07350-016
s/n William Stoner
PO Box 1000
Milan MI 48160

Rikke Green #84244
PO Box 97
McAlester OK 74501

Masai Ehehosi #105464
PO Box 429
Lawrenceville VA 23803

Move Prisoners

Debbie Sims Africa #6307
Consusuella Dotson Africa
Ramona Johnson Africa
Alberta Wicker Africa
Sue Savino Africa
Janine Phillips Africa
Merle Austin Africa
Janet Holloway Africa
PO Box 180
Muncy PA 17756

Charles Sims Africa #M4972
Delbert Orr Africa #M4985
Carlos Perez Africa
Drawer K
Dallas, PA 18612

William Phillips Africa #4986
Edward Goodman Africa #4974
PO Box 200
Camp Hill, PA 17011

Michael Hill Africa
Drawer R
Huntington, PA 16652

Mumia Abu Jamal
8215 Torresdale Rd.
Philadelphia, PA 19135

Native American Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners

Leonard Peltier 89637-132
PO Box 1000
Leavenworth KS 66048

Standing Deer 83947
s/n Robert Hugh Wilson
E. Block Box 97
McAlester OK 74501

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

David Sohappy, Sr. #12864-086
PO Box 1000
Sandstone MN 55072

Irish Prisoners

Jim Barr
Philadelphia Detention Center
8201 State Road
Philadelphia PA 19136

Joseph Doherty 07792-0545
Gabriel Megahey 04679-054
PO Box 1000
Otisville, NY 10969

North American Political Prisoners

Marilyn Buck
Laura Whitehorn 22432-037
150 Park Row
New York NY 10007

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

Linda Evans #F-11337/5-11-47
2800 Gravier
New Orleans, LA 70119

David Gilbert 83-A-6158
135 State Street
Auburn NY 13024-9000

Alan Berkman 85-10404
8215 Torresdale Road
Philadelphia PA 19135

Susan Rosenberg 03684-016
Silvia Baraldini 05125-054
HSU Lexington
Box 2000
Lexington KY 40511

Timothy Blunk 09429-050
PO Box 1000
Marion IL 62959

Richard Picariello 05812
PO Box 2000
South Walpole MA 02071

Ohio 7

Thomas Manning 202873-SH
Richard Williams 79372-SH
Box CN-861
Trenton NJ 08625

Barbara Curzi-Laaman
Patricia Gros
Jaan Laaman
Raymond Levasseur
Carol Manning
150 Park Row
New York NY 10007

Ploughshares/Disarmament Prisoners

Bill Boston
John Heid
Roger Ludwig
Frank Panopolous
Sheila Parks
Leo Schiff
Suzanne Schmidt
George Veasey
PO Box 8249
Cranston RI 02920

Larry Cloud-Morgan 03232-045
PO Box 33
Terre Haute IN 47807

Fr. Carl Kabat 03230-045 FCI
PO Box 1000
Milan MI 48160

Richard Miller 15249-077
c/o Kindred Community
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Des Moines, IA 50314

Jeff Leys
PO Box 128
Winnebago WI 54985

Helen Woodson 03231-045
c/o Hastings-Dixon
PO Box 1024
Hayward WI 54943

Fr. Paul Kabat 03229-045
PO Box 1000
Sandstone MN 55072

Jean Gump #03789-045
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Alderson VA 27910

Larry Morlan #03788-045
PO Box 1085
Oxford WI 53952

Kenneth Rippentoe #03791-045
PO Box 1000
Marion IL 62959

John Volpe #03787-045F
PO Box 1000
Duluth MN 55814

Darla Bradley #03790-045
Mail Box #99
3150 Horton Road
Fort Worth TX 76119

Vancouver 4

Gerry Hannah
Matsqui Medium Institution
Box 4000
Abbotsford, BC, CANADA V254P3

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

It is difficult for us to keep up with transfers and releases for all the prisoners listed. Please mail corrections and updates to the Real Dragon Project.



Bill Wahpehpa

December 23, 1937- January 2, 1987



Bill Wahpehpa, a leader in the American Indian Movement, died January 2, 1987 of heart failure in Oakland, California. Many of us knew Bill and we feel a great loss on learning of his death.

Bill was active in the Indian movement for 20 years. As Director of Information for the International Indian Treaty Council, he brought the struggle of indigenous people of the western hemisphere to the world. He was a builder, creating bridges of unity between national liberation movements. Bill also devoted tremendous effort to education. He founded the AIM for Freedom Survival School in Oakland, California, in order to give Indian youth an education in an environment that would build their pride and strength as Native Americans.

Bill approached political struggle with joy and humor. He taught respect—for each other, for other nations, and for the planet on which we live. He never let us forget that we are standing on stolen Indian land.

Bill taught us about Indian culture because he thought it important that we, who live in a white American culture so alienated from nature, understand and respect the earth that sustains us. To Bill, being an anti-imperialist extended from ending the exploitation of people to putting a stop to the rape of the planet.

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee extends our condolences to Bill's family and to the entire Indian Movement.

U.S. Imperialism

Mission: IMPOSSIBLE

Vietnam 1965



Nicaragua
1986

