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AUGUST 21ST AT SAN QUENTIN



**STOP WHITE SUPREMACIST ATTACKS
ON BLACK PRISONERS!**

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- THE MEANING OF MIAMI: "SAVING" WOMEN AND CHILDREN FOR IMPERIALISM
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EDITORIAL STATEMENT**INTRODUCING
BREAKTHROUGH NO.3-4****PFOC NATIONAL COMMITTEE**

Excerpted from the opening report to the August PNC meeting of PFOC.

**THE NEO-COLONIAL
CARTER ADMINISTRATION
IS REACTIONARY NOT LIBERAL**

The instatement of Jimmy Carter as president reflected the development of a new ruling class strategy to deal with the crisis of US imperialism. In order for us to advance anti-imperialist struggle, we must understand this strategy and the new sets of contradictions and potentials it opens up for revolutionary movement.

Carter's new strategy has to be understood in the context of the defensive position of US imperialism which exists on a world-wide scale at this time. To maintain its position, the US ruling class must develop a new offensive strategy to contain escalating contradictions within the borders of the US brought about by victorious national liberation struggles, especially in Viet Nam and Africa. In particular, the ruling class needs to increase its repression of national liberation struggle within the borders of the US at the same time it moves to strengthen white supremacy and male supremacy as the main supportive structures for imperialist power within the oppressor nation white working class. Neo-colonialism, populism and liberalism serve as the chief covers for the achievement of these Carter Administration goals.

**NEO-COLONIALISM AND INCREASED
ATTACKS ON NATIONAL LIBERATION**

As a strategy, neo-colonialism is based on the necessity of blunting the contradictions between oppressor and oppressed nations by enlisting members of oppressed nations to "front" for imperialism. One of the clearest examples of this strategy is Andrew Young's appointment to the UN, where on an international level he is campaigning for white supremacy and US imperialism. He is leading the US effort to develop relationships with similar "front men" in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Young has a double-barreled role; on the one hand he projects himself to African nations as a representative of the New South *lie* that is based on the myth that discrimination no longer exists in the South; that "racial tension" is gone; and that Black people have furthered their goals through peaceful civil rights struggle. On the other side, Young, as token international diplomat, tries to sell a neo-colonial policy for Africa to Black people within the borders of the US. Young's work has had an important impact and effectiveness, but it has also backfired particularly since it has exposed Carter's strategies to sectors of Black people. It has also produced the backlash of the Cracker Conservative Caucus in Congress whose

outspoken efforts to get Young removed from his position are clearly white supremacist and target Young as a Black person.

There have also been increasing efforts to develop neo-colonial forces among Native Americans and among Chicano and Mexican peoples through the appointment of Leonel Castillo as head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and by creating a special position within the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a Native American.

Carter's human rights campaign has been built upon a bogus concern for the oppressed, but covers for continued support to the most repressive fascist dictatorships in Chile, Iran and in the Philippines. It targets Soviet "human rights" violations as part of the propaganda basis for escalating arms build-up, particularly through the neutron bomb. While the human rights campaign has been an effective vehicle for building Carter's cover, it has also gotten turned around on him. Carter's cynicism has been exposed throughout the world and has also been used by groups in this country who demand that Carter do something about the denial of human rights within the US.

In attacking national liberation struggle within the US, Carter has used the Nixon-appointed Supreme Court to do much of his dirty work, and he has also been supported by the increasingly repressive role of the legislature. The reinstatement of the death penalty, anti-affirmative action and seniority rulings, anti-busing rulings and anti-abortion/pro-sterilization rulings are key attacks on oppressed nations within the US. Carter's up front sponsorship of anti-immigrant legislation and the repressive revamping of the welfare program along with his statements about inequality being a fact of life, place him squarely in the lead of the attacks on the oppressed nations.

POPULISM, TOKENISM AND ATTACKS ON WOMEN

Carter's double-edged approach to the oppressed nations has gone hand-in-hand with a specific strategy aimed at the op-

pressor nation working class. His phony populism attempts to blunt contradictions between the US ruling class and the white working class at a time when the crisis of imperialism is in fact having an increasing impact on the white working class. Carter's populist appeal is based on white supremacist, male supremacist concepts and styles which center around wholesome family life and an emphasis on religious, moral values.

The real significance of this image becomes clear in the Carter Administration's approach to white working class women. Since Carter came into office the anti-abortion/pro-sterilization rulings have been handed down and supported by Carter; a totally repressive welfare program is being instituted which will increase the super-exploitation of massive numbers of women on welfare through forced work at minimum wages. It will almost inevitably force other women (particularly oppressed nation women) off welfare when they can't find jobs. Anti-gay campaigns, legislation and court rulings have been picking up speed across the country, backed up by Carter's approach to the white nuclear family. These material assaults, accompanied by ideological, media assaults, all aim at maintaining white working class women's central role in the family for raising children, enforcing the double shift, and increasing women's super-exploitation in the labor force. All this is a direct attack against women and the gains of the women's movement.

Carter's policy of tokenism is not confined to oppressed nations. He is also trying to get white women to speak for white and male supremacy and to consolidate a brand of feminism which clearly serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. "Women's Liberation" is OK as long as it is consistent with white bourgeois America; as long as Rosalynn Carter can serve as a model of womanhood.

International Women's Year (IWY) is a clear example of the effort to contain the women's movement under the guise of state sponsorship for building women's liberation. An International Women's Year convention will take place in Houston, Texas

THE TWO FACES OF NEO-COLONIALISM



Smiling Jimmy Carter, Andrew Young
Grim Rhodesian soldier



credit: Afrique-Asie

this November. At preparatory conferences in each state, it has become clear that there is a well-planned effort to use the IWY convention as a mass base for reactionary mobilizations. The struggle in most states has centered around whether delegates to the convention will support abortion, the ERA and gay rights, or denounce them. In several states reactionary delegations have been elected. The IWY convention is sharpening the lines between a reactionary bourgeois movement of women and a potentially anti-imperialist women's movement. It offers an important opportunity to *both* expose the attacks on women which Carter's brand of "feminism" contains and the ways in which this is linked to smashing

national liberation. The IWY convention also provides an important arena to demonstrate that an anti-imperialist politics is the only basis for building a true women's liberation movement within the oppressor nation.

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS' RESPONSE TO CARTER'S STRATEGY

Overall, there has been a strengthening and growing of national movements, especially on the part of Blacks and Native Americans in this last period. This is in spite of the fact that neo-colonialist policies clearly affect these movements, especially

by encouraging and supporting opportunist/revisionist leadership within the oppressed nations. But response from Black people has been growing and organized as the large African Liberation Day mobilizations show. There has been growing movement in response to white supremacist violence and police repression in Black communities. The work of the International Treaty Council to bring Native demands for sovereignty to a world forum has been developing along with increasing support for political prisoners such as Skyhorse and Mohawk, Leonard Peltier, Sid Welsh, and the case of Yvonne Wanrow. Among Chicanos and Mexicanos response to the anti-immigrant attacks has been rising. Among Puerto Rican people the recent actions of the FALN have dramatically confronted Carter's continuation of neo-col-

onialism in Puerto Rico.

There has also been spontaneous movement among oppressed nation peoples. The response to the New York blackout gave notice that neo-colonialism and the "New South" image can not go too far, and that inequality is *not* a fact of life that Black and Hispanic peoples are prepared to swallow. The mass uprising in New York has succeeded in pushing traditionally conservative Black forces like the Urban League to take a stand against the Carter administration and its broken promises. The Puerto Rican Day uprising in Humboldt Park, Chicago, the massive mobilization of Mexicanos on the border and the International Hotel struggle in San Francisco are also examples of mass response to national oppression. All these responses have forced the



Police car overturned as Chicago Police riot at Humboldt Park during Puerto Rican Day celebration.

Carter administration to drop more and more of its liberal cover and come out more blatantly against oppressed nation peoples.

MOVEMENT RESPONSE

The most determined resistance to the attacks on women have been aimed at the anti-gay campaigns. Mass mobilizations on Gay Freedom Day indicate a large base of resistance to these attacks. On the other hand, there is also a developing anti-gay base among white women linked to anti-abortion, anti-busing and anti-ERA stances. The response within the women's movement to anti-abortion actions has been clear but so far not massive. However, the preparations for IWY are gaining momentum and are focusing on these key issues.

In the past six months there has been a

definite resurgence of the student movement especially in connection to anti-apartheid work and related to opposition to the Bakke decision. The actions which students in California have begun to take in support of struggle in South Africa are very significant and indicate a great potential for anti-imperialist student movement in the next period.

Among white workers there are many contradictory tendencies. While there is a base of support for gay rights, against apartheid, against arms escalation and against the death penalty, there is also a growing Klan/Nazi-organized white supremacist upsurge as evidenced in support for the Bakke decision, anti-busing movements, anti-gay attacks, attacks on prisoners, etc. At this point white and male



credit: Lesbian Tide

The California state International Women's Year convention, June 1977. The IWY convention in Houston in November is sharpening the lines between a reactionary bourgeois movement of women and a potentially anti-imperialist women's movement.

supremacist mobilization is dominant and most powerful.

The White Left:

PFOC's struggle against opportunism and for revolutionary anti-imperialist politics has had an impact on the white left. The break up of the WUO and the exposure of the Guardian's line in particular have sharpened the line struggle on the left and pushed people to take a clearer political stand. The balance of power is still definitely on the side of opportunism, but there is an important shifting of forces which was not true a year ago.

On the basis of our political line and our analysis of the Carter strategy, we think that this is a crucial time to be organizing around anti-imperialist politics. Given the escalating contradictions, there is an increasing potential to unite broader numbers of people around revolutionary politics, to advance party-building and develop more of a base within the white working class. We can identify the greatest potential for movement among women, lesbians and gay men; among students; and among white working class people who are directly touched by the struggles of these contradictions such as in affirmative action struggles and education struggles.

* * * * *

Since the above report was made at our National Committee meeting in August, events have developed further. The conservative Urban League has protested Carter's inaction and unconcern with the needs of Blacks. Even Vernon Jordan protested and demanded changes. The Black Congressional Caucus also made criticisms. These protests take the form of complaints that Carter is reneging on his promises and campaign obligations to his Black supporters. But in fact they are a very unusual show of concern propelled by the rising anger and increasing restiveness within the US Black oppressed nation Colony.

Steve Biko, a leader in the South African Black oppressed nation Colony has been assassinated by his white settler nation jailers. Carter's neo-colonial African policy is just as responsible as is Vorster's old colonialism African policy. They are big and

small imperialists and colonialists united under the flag of genocide: murdering one by one as well as by thousands and hundreds of thousands. All the same, they will be defeated and wiped out by the forces of liberation and social revolution.

Within the US the KKK has announced that it is going to intervene in the International Women's Year convention being organized by the US government and by Administration-oriented women. The KKK will try to push the official defenders of male supremacy and women's "domestic nature" still further to the right. It will also openly bind male supremacy to its old Lynch mob brand of white supremacy.

The Supreme Court recently refused to even hear the case of a Washington State teacher who was fired for refusing to swear he wasn't gay.

In the midst of all these shifting events, opportunists ranging from the right wing "liberal" supporters of Carter to the discredited former leaders of the Weather Underground, are trying to get together to promote new combinations of revisionists, opportunists, and fake revolution in general.

A "leading" actor in this mock revolution is the Guardian. The Guardian, not having much success with its opportunist 29 points for party building, turned to a heavy attack upon us, PFOC. It called us insignificant. The Guardian hoped to unite opportunists by attacking us. Its method was to set up a straw target, falsifying our politics, turning Lenin into an economist and a revisionist, and refusing to print any of our material in reply. The Guardian's polemics consist mainly of slightly disguised red-baiting of revolutionary anti-imperialist politics.

The Guardian has over-reached itself. It is self-exposed as a crude organ of white and male supremacy.

The material in this issue, BREAKTHROUGH double issue numbers 3 and 4, will serve to deepen the meaning of this struggle by demonstrating the centrality of national and women's liberation struggles. This is our primary answer to the new wave of attacks upon our politics and our organization and our leading comrades.

—PFOC National Collective

CHIMURENGA!

**'WE ARE
OUR OWN
LIBERATORS'**



An Interview with ZANU Representative Leonard Mudavanhu

The national liberation struggles in Southern Africa are among the most advanced forces of the world revolutionary struggle today. The defeat of imperialism in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Azania (South Africa) will be a world-historic turning point since the time of the victory of Viet Nam. The Africa solidarity movement in the United States is spearheaded by Black revolutionary nationalists. The sharpening of the contradictions in Southern Africa has sparked significant developments in the white oppressor nation as well: for the first time since the Viet Nam anti-war movement, masses of white people are beginning to move in solidarity with oppressed nations.

In the following article, *BREAKTHROUGH* interviews Leonard Mudavanhu, a representative of the Zim-

babwe African National Union (ZANU), the moving force in the creation of the Patriotic Front that is leading the Zimbabwe people to victory. Mr. Mudavanhu analyzes the political and military situation of the Patriotic Front, and the role of Zimbabwe women in the struggle. He goes on to expose the neo-colonial strategies of the Carter administration, and finally discusses the importance of the growing student movement in solidarity with the Southern African struggle.

A co-founder of ZAPU and ZANU, Leonard Mudavanhu has been involved in the liberation movement of the Zimbabwe people for many years. Today he is ZANU's Director of Publicity for the Western Hemisphere (North and South America and the Caribbean).

BREAKTHROUGH: People here in the US read about the diplomatic moves of the US and British, but almost never about the armed struggle of the Patriotic Front. Can you tell us what is the condition of the armed struggle and would you explain the relationship between the diplomatic victories and the armed struggle?

ZANU: A war is raging in Zimbabwe. It is intensified to the extent that it is becoming a very big threat to the imperialist governments of the United States and Britain. On the diplomatic front, the Patriotic Front has won tremendous victories both in the United Nations and in the international arena as a whole.

Just recently, the Summit Conference of the OAU, the Organization of African Unity, endorsed the war footing of the Patriotic Front. As you know, for a long time we did not have the full endorsement of the OAU, although the organization as a whole has a charter which specifically says they shall support the liberation of Southern Africa. But until the summit conference we never really secured the full endorsement of the Organization of African Unity, specifically on the point of endorsing our war. Until then, the OAU had merely endorsed the *idea* of an African government to take over from the white government of Ian Smith. This diplomatic victory has been made possible by the victories the Patriotic Front has made.

Also the front line states of Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Botswana and Zambia had tried to persuade the OAU at our urging to support the war and nothing else. They had done that without success. But this time they succeeded, so the whole OAU is solidly organized behind the Patriotic Front's war footing. This is why the US and Britain are so worried. Now there seems no other way for us to achieve our victory except by fighting. They don't seem to find any avenue through which they can arrest a military victory on our part. So that's the reason they are trying everything at the eleventh hour to stop our war.

BT: Can you talk about the military situation of the Smith regime vs. the military situation of the Patriotic Front? What is happening on the battlefield?

ZANU: Smith has a very big army. The whole machinery of the Smith government is like war, it is a war government. It is not doing anything but making sure it gives itself another day, and this it can only do by further strengthening its armies. It is also militarily supported by South Africa, as you know.

As part of the old *detente* in 1974 and 75, some African countries wanted to assure the Americans and the British, South Africa and Rhodesia, that they would persuade the Africans in Zimbabwe to lay down their arms and accept a peaceful settlement. This we were told South Africa did; we do not believe so. We think South Africa is heavily entrenched in Rhodesia. We also know that economically, Rhodesia could not exist without South Africa. This is known to the outside world; it is known to the British, it is known to the United States, it is known internationally;—without South Africa, Rhodesia would have collapsed a long time ago.

In relation to the Patriotic Front forces: we want to liberate our people. Our forces are not necessarily just military forces; they are political cadre whose job is to educate the populace, whose job is to organize the masses. Our armies consist of regular trained forces, guerrilla forces, and the local forces, the masses, that are being organized.

BT: You've explained how the OAU has united around your struggle to diplomatically isolate the Smith regime. Could you talk about the type of cooperation between your movement, the liberation movement in South Africa, and the liberation movement in Namibia? How do you see the relationship of those three liberation movements?

ZANU: In South Africa, there are two movements, the PAC and the ANC. (PAC stands for Pan African Congress and ANC stands for African National Congress). These movements have been banned in South Africa and they are also engaged in guerrilla warfare. Then there is the student movement that has been doing a lot of work these days in South Africa, like the Soweto students. The world is full of information about what has been happening there—massacres, and so on.

In South Africa, the struggle has developed to encompass not just the guerrilla-type struggle, but

Rhodesian soldiers search for liberation fighters. Half the Rhodesian army are mercenaries, many recruited in the US.



also very internal class struggle. Inside, the students are taking a very important role, and the workers also are taking an important role in South Africa, as well as the guerrilla movement. So the political development inside South Africa is a little different.

The western world does not expect South Africa to be liberated in the sense of Namibia or Zimbabwe. We learned from Kissinger, who made the first attempt to give the impression that the western countries have changed their minds, that they wanted Africans to be free. Yet categorically, Kissinger said that South Africa was not a colonial country, and that the whites in South Africa constituted a specific tribe. This is important because it definitely creates a perpetual role for the existence of white settlers in South Africa. You know that South Africa has the colonial policy of bantustanism, separate development, apartheid; of different communities that do not share culturally, socially, politically, that are organized distinctively. If the settlers are seen as a white tribe, it is a way of perpetuating the role of colonialism in a subtle disguise. So to the western world South Africa is there to stay. All they want is for South Africa to soften its apartheid policies, to make apartheid more accommodative, to get rid of its most obvious hostile effects.

In Namibia, there is SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization). SWAPO is almost on the verge of victory also, and the imperialists are worried that they may not be able to come in and negotiate a settlement that would somewhat accommodate their interests and make the victory of the Namibian people less than complete. Now I want to talk about Zimbabwe, because not only am I from there, but I think that more than the other two areas I have mentioned, the war is more intensified there. World attention is focused on Zimbabwe now. It is due to the strategic location of Zimbabwe that the outcome is important. If Zimbabwe were truly free, (according to us and not according to the imperialists) then their idea of South Africa would have to shift. Because they want a Zimbabwe that is merely nominally ruled by Black people but that in essence is still not Zimbabwe at all. They want to create a buffer for South Africa. Zimbabwe is so close to South Africa (the peoples are so close culturally) that if Zimbabwe were free according to the Patriotic Front, it would create an enormous political, economic, and military problem for all the imperialist countries, not just for South Africa. So what they want to do is create a Zimbabwe which is just like another Kenya, something that does not satisfy the needs for independence and freedom of the Zimbabwe people. If you have a Mozambique

that is free, that is ruled by a Marxist-Leninist organization; if you have a Zimbabwe that is free and ruled by a Marxist-Leninist organization; if you have an Angola that is free, that is ruled by a Marxist-Leninist organization; and Namibia, all these countries surrounding South Africa; the future of South Africa will be in doubt.

The western world has enormous economic investments in Southern Africa. We learned from the revelations of the Campuses United Against Apartheid the extent of Western investment. The white settler countries are just taking care of the western countries' investments. Like Ian Smith said in 1965 when he declared UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence), he did not know why Britain and the United States were accusing him for declaring UDI, because all he did was to do his job, to make sure that the position of the western world was secure and safe.

“Now the only way imperialism can satisfy its aggressive policies, exploitation and so on, is through neo-colonialism.”

BT: So the Carter administration's strategy is to find a neo-colonial solution. Could you talk about specifically how they're trying to implement that, and about the role of Andrew Young?

ZANU: In 1974-75 the so-called Kissinger Plan came out with a detente for South Africa. This detente with South Africa tried to implement a “peaceful solution” for the Zimbabwe question by calling for a Victoria Falls Conference which was held during that period. And the Victoria Falls Conference was rejected utterly by the ZANU organization. ZANU refused to participate in it because it was a sell-out plan, it was a plan imposed from without by imperialists. It was not a plan which had at heart the interests of the African people of Zimbabwe. So we rejected it completely, and it foundered. After the Victoria Falls Conference and the detente with South Africa was defeated, the British and the Americans came up with another plan, which had the effect of calling a Geneva Conference which was held in October of 1976. The purpose for that conference was not dissimilar from the purpose of the Victoria Falls Conference—to try to sneak in a so-called “peaceful solution” which would realize more the interests of imperialism than the interests of the people of Zimbabwe. We rejected that plan also on the basis that it was an imposition from the outside and that it had nothing to do with what the people of Zimbabwe were fighting for. That, too, foundered. And now there is a new plan, a new Anglo-American plan, which is coordinated both by the United States and by Britain. This plan has the same old effect, that it is better to achieve independence peacefully than by fighting.

We say to the Americans and to the British: that there *is* no peace in Zimbabwe, that there has *never* been peace in Zimbabwe, there has *never* been peace in Southern Africa. If they were so much interested in achieving a bloodless settlement, they could have done it three, four, five years ago, when the Africans were not armed, when they were not seriously fighting. As a matter of fact, the nationalist organizations that existed then talked about some kind of terrorism, some kind of physical exertion only maybe for the purpose of trying to coax out some reform, and the imperialists and their colonial agents there did not see fit to pressure South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia to give in so that they could avert a bloody war.

Now the Zimbabweans and the Southern Africans as a whole have learned there is no way they can achieve their independence short of an armed confrontation. We in Zimbabwe have done it, and we feel like any time we can actually win a military victory over our colonial enemy. It is only due to this that the imperialists are beginning to feel pinched, and we are aware that we have the upper hand. We do not just want military victory *per se*—military victory guarantees our freedom and independence and makes us learn in the process why we are dying, why we are fighting, what we actually want to achieve. If the imperialists want to avert this outright military victory, there is only one way, as far as we are concerned—that they can tell their client states in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia to surrender right now. We want the British and Americans to tell Ian Smith to surrender right now all political and military power before we actually force him to surrender ourselves. And this we are committed to do.

Now, the activities of Andrew Young. You know, Andrew Young is very strategic. He is Black; he is a person who participated in the civil rights movement in the US, and was thrown in jail for it. The mere fact that the Carter regime sees fit to send into the United Nations a Black person to take a visible role is something new. Earlier the US had so many problems in the U.N., none of the US proposals in the U.N. were carried out, because the whole world is kind of militated against US imperialism, especially the Third World countries. If the US suggested anything in the U.N. no one seriously listened to it. They had been forced to use the veto power, a most undemocratic method. The U.S. was revealed to be a very undemocratic element in the UN. It was even threatening to pull out of the UN.

So Andrew Young goes there to the United Nations, he is seen there by people who have just come out of jail—most African leaders who are in the U.N. have just come out of jail, for fighting for their freedom and independence. Andrew Young says, "Look here, friends, I know your problems very well, for I too have been to jail for the same kinds of reasons." Now I can tell you convincingly that the Carter administration is very different from the earlier administrations. No one could think that the US would ever have a Black person in the UN. It is a very convincing argument to some of the African and Third World leadership, and the purpose of it is very strategic.

And that is: the US knows that maybe it will never have another chance again like it did, sending troops into Viet Nam and Indochina. Now the only way imperialism can satisfy its aggressive policies, exploitation and so on, is through neo-colonialism. Andrew Young is a neo-colonialist figure. He serves the same interests that Muzorewa, Sithole, and all those neo-colonist African leaders serve; and that is to pretend they are articulating and representing the real needs of the Black people as a whole. But in essence they are there to protect the interests of imperialism. Andrew Young, no matter how high-sounding he may appear to be in talking about freedom, is only serving the interests of US imperialism. Andrew Young is *not* articulating the needs of the oppressed peoples of this country, and he can *never* articulate the needs of the Black people of Southern Africa. So what is he there for in the U.N.?

The whole world has its attention focussed on Africa. Africa is cardinal to the policy choices of world imperialism. What happens in Africa almost decides the future course of the world. And that is the reason why Andrew Young is very strategic. If he can convince the African countries in the OAU to change their minds, to decide that they can allow another show of a peaceful settlement, which will mean that they will have to pressure the Patriotic Front to disarm—then Andrew Young will really have served the purpose for which he was put in the United Nations.

The liberation movements have already told Andrew Young, and specifically Secretary General and head of ZANU, comrade Robert Mugabe told him in Mozambique, that there is no correlation between the activities of the civil rights movement in the US and the movements in Southern Africa. The Southern Africans are fighting for self-determination. They want to rule their own countries. Whereas, the objectives of the civil rights movement were not really that profound. The objective of the civil rights movement was for the Black people, the oppressed peoples here, to get their civil rights, to be treated like Americans, like anybody else. That was the specific objective of the civil rights movement—not to take over, not to be liberated in the sense of a people having a separate territory. We are fighting colonialism, and we want to rule ourselves. So we think that Andrew Young is really strategic, and he is being used as a neo-colonial agent, for the purpose of making us achieve less than our full independence and freedom.

BT: Can you tell us about the historic significance of the formation of the Patriotic Front, about the way past differences have been overcome, and about the way the Front has succeeded in isolating the puppets like Muzorewa and Sithole?

ZANU: I want to be very candid. Until last year, ZANU had singlehandedly fought the war alone. The Front was formed in August of last year for one purpose only: to have a coordinated position for the Geneva Conference. Chimurenga was created by ZANU, singlehandedly. We had wanted to create unity among the Zimbabwe people, through their various representative organizations, for a long time. In 1972-74, when that attempt to create detente with South Africa happened, we had asked these various so-called national liberation groups in Zimbabwe to join with us. They balked. I want to mention that that included ZAPU at the time. The only good thing about ZAPU was that we had tentatively agreed to form a joint military command—only on the military front. We did not come to the position where we could implement that, and it was frustrated also by the detente, which tried to dissolve both ZANU, ZAPU, and all the movements into the ANC. That was when we parted ways. ZAPU was in fact dissolved, only ZANU remained alone, because we refused to participate in that. That was when we got rid of the moderate elements in our party, including Sithole himself, because Sithole joined the ANC.

We in ZANU had suggested other ways to unite apart from the joint military command. We had suggested a United Front to unite everyone who wanted to unite with us against the enemy. Until after the detente, we did not succeed. This is when the Patriotic Front came in, to answer this desire for unity. The Patriotic Front is not full, being composed of only two organizations, that is ZANU and ZAPU. We want to widen it, we want to strengthen it, we want it to be comprehensive enough to include all the sentiments of the Black people of Zimbabwe. But only on one condition, that it be based on principled opposition to the enemy. The ZAPU comrades agreed to that. They agreed to unite on the basis of strengthening, broadening and intensifying Chimurenga.

Muzorewa and his group have consistently refused to recognize Chimurenga as the basis of unity of the Zimbabwe people. Sithole has of course already renounced the war, he has renounced the Patriotic Front, he does not think that Chimurenga is the best way of achieving our independence and freedom. And by so doing, both Muzorewa and Sithole have joined not just the imperialists, but Smith himself. Smith thinks that he has the solution already, through the "internal solution," which is a kind of reform by the colonial racist regime, to soften apartheid, to soften the harshest cruelties of colonialism. Muzorewa and Sithole have tacitly accepted that.



Robert Mugabe, Secretary General of ZANU, the Zimbabwe African National Union.

These are the objectives of the Patriotic Front:

- to liquidate colonialism, imperialism, capitalism and racism, hence to overthrow the racist minority regime;
- to create a national democratic independent state of the people of Zimbabwe;
- to create a socio-economic order that will eliminate all forms of capitalist exploitation of man by man, hence to create conditions for a full scale social revolution.
- to guarantee national peace, security, equal rights and happiness for all in a free Zimbabwe.

This is the minimum program of ZANU, this is the condition upon which we can unite with anyone who is committed to the attainment of freedom and independence for the Zimbabwe people. Beyond that, it is up to each individual organization whether they are satisfied with that program, or they can go beyond that.

We in ZANU have a maximum program. The minimum program is the program of the United Front, it is the only minimum basis upon which all Zimbabweans can unite, regardless of their class position or orientation, simply by being Zimbabweans committed to independence and freedom. The maximum program is ours alone, until we perhaps can form another alliance on the basis of a higher level of unity. So we are prepared to unite with anyone, but only on the basis of a commitment to Chimurenga.

BT: What is the role being played by the women of Zimbabwe in the national liberation struggle, and how is this participation affecting their conditions as African women?

ZANU: The stage of our war right now is a comprehensive stage; a stage which requires the participation of *all* Zimbabweans, regardless of their special classes, or station, or conditions, as long as they want to see their country free. And with the freedom of their country comes also the kind of freedoms that affect different strata of our population, women included.

Women in Zimbabwe are participating in the revolution in the fullest extent. They are in the war, they are in the military, they are engaged in practically all levels of struggle. They fight in the front, in ZIPA. [Ed: Zimbabwe People's Army] ZANU itself has a special detachment for women; it has also a special office that deals specifically with women's affairs.

People might want to ask: what are women's affairs? I think it goes without saying that as women, especially as Third World women in Zimbabwe, women that have grown under the draconian conditions set up by the colonial system, Zimbabwe women have tremendous problems. Zimbabwe women have tremendous problems apart from the problems that they have as women internationally speaking.

The system of colonialism has set up or encouraged very backward and traditional conditions which are *very* exploitative and oppressive to women as such. Like the system of lobola itself: a special system of marriage which requires that women leave their parents when they get married and go to the groom's home permanently. And in the process of marriage the men have got to pay a certain sum of money or material in kind—cattle or what have you—in exchange for the women. This particular thing is especially oppressive to the women because once someone has paid so much to the parents of the woman, depending on the political perspective of that person, they might consider the mere fact that they paid some money for the woman as a reason for considering her as merchandise that they can actually dispose of her as they want. Women are fighting against this. They don't want it! It is a backward system, it is a backward tradition. The overall revolutionary struggle, the Chimurenga, has taken up this struggle and included it as one of the issues that has to be defeated—in order to liberate our women, in order to make women free, in order for them to be considered on the same basis as the men.

On the national level, ZANU has women in the Central Committee, the National Committee, and women are represented on all levels of struggle. All the special women's detachments are headed by women. Women are considered as equal in the revolution as a whole.

BT: You discussed the fact that colonialism deepened the traditional oppression of women. Could you explain further how the colonialists also developed new forms of women's oppression as part of their attack on the Zimbabwe people.

ZANU: As I've said, the revolution wants to get rid of these very useless traditional practices like the

one I've already mentioned, the system of lobola. Colonialism divides the women from the menfolk, and vice versa. The colonial system is furthering and deepening these divisions and these systems, for it is well known that colonialism depends on dividing the people and intensifying the backward traditional practices which our people are trying to run away from and trying to destroy.

The system has such practices, like jobs are reserved mostly for men, and men have to leave their families and their wives and their children at home on a small piece of land which is insufficient. Then the families use that small piece of land to try to augment the meager wages that their men get in the cities. Often women complain of the quarters that are provided for the men in the cities. When the women decide to visit they are not allowed because the system prepares these "dormitories" as part of labor camps which are meant only for one worker, and not for his family.

So the women are left alone to care for the children. And the salaries from the husbands are not enough. And more often, sometimes the women are forced to do certain kinds of acts which are demoralizing, dehumanizing, like even prostitution. Women feel that in order to raise their children, their families, not being able to depend on the salaries of their husbands, they are forced to do something, since they cannot even see their husbands in a year or six months. They have to be supplementing this by either selling themselves as labor to some people for maybe a few shillings, a few dollars or by selling themselves outright, their bodies, as women—into prostitution, and many other horrible acts.

This is due to the fact that colonialism has to intensify that kind of thing in order to make the African woman and the African man totally dependent. So that African women and men cannot really have a decent life as human beings; so that they will not be able to sever themselves from some of the most draconian acts of exploitation meted out by the government.

BT: How do you see the connections between the struggle of Black people in the US and the struggle in Southern Africa? What is the meaning of ZANU defining itself as a Pan-Africanist party?

ZANU: I don't want to say that ZANU is a Pan-Africanist party *per se*. But ZANU is intricately involved in the OAU, which considers itself to be Pan Africanist. When Zimbabwe gets free we will automatically seek membership. ZANU may differ from some members of the OAU in that it believes in Marxism-Leninism, although it is not a communist party.

I would like to read something my party has said on that very thing. This is the official position of my party, a statement that was laid out by the late chairman of ZANU, the assassinated chairman of ZANU, Comrade Herbert Chitepo. He says, in explaining the nature of the struggle we are fighting: "It is clear that the struggle between the Africans and the white regime in Zimbabwe is basically economic, that is, a struggle of the peasants and workers against the landowners and the capitalist exploiting class. It is true that the conflict is racial, that the capitalist class of employers belong to the white race. But it is incidental that the exploited workers and peasants are Black. This is why the struggle of the Africans in Zimbabwe is a component part of the struggle of the working class against capitalism and bourgeois exploitation. ZANU considers its fight to be part and parcel of the struggle of all exploited workers and peasants in the world. The struggle promotes solidarity with all movements which seek the elimination of imperialist exploitation in the world."

This is basically the way we look at the situation. We are not fighting an isolated struggle in Zimbabwe. Our struggle is a world-wide struggle, an anti-imperialist struggle that is taking place throughout the world. We are not isolated. We may only be isolated insofar as we do not have enough resources to fully explain our situation. But we feel now that the world is beginning to understand our struggle. It is the same struggle that is being fought here in the US—anti-imperialism.

The exploitation of the Black people, the minorities, the oppressed peoples in this country, white and black, are fighting the same struggle that we are fighting, the same struggle that was fought in Vietnam and Indochina, the same struggle that is being fought in the Middle East, the same struggle that is being fought in Panama and Latin America. We are not isolated at all. We have the most support. The imperialists do not have support, *they* are fighting an isolated struggle. They only have the advantage of the news media they have, the resources they have, the confusion they create. But our struggle is a world wide anti-imperialist struggle, and we want the world to see us that way.

BT: One of the misconceptions that is broadcast everywhere by the imperialists is the view that a victory for Africans in Zimbabwe would mean bloodbath and extermination for all whites. Could you speak specifically to this lie?

ZANU: When we win, we will guarantee the right of any white Rhodesians to stay, but only on the condition that they will be Zimbabweans, and not whites. We are specifically opposed to the Anglo-American plan which tries to create a dual Black/white situation in Zimbabwe, which is only a perpetuation of the privileged role of the whites. We are opposed to that racist arrangement. The liberation forces are the only ones with a plan that would guarantee the right of all to share in a future prosperous Zimbabwe, with special privileges for none.

In fact, it is the Anglo-American plan that is calculated to create bloodshed. We think that *central* to the Anglo-American plan is an idea of creating a situation of perpetual political trouble in our country, as well as wanting to create a buffer zone for South Africa. We think that the Anglo-American plan is envisioning a civil war in Zimbabwe, whereby the moderate Africans would be aided by some racist whites who want to stay there. Already there are so many hints that Smith's military hierarchies are talking about Smith being expendable. But they would be there to stay, although perhaps under nominal leadership of Black generals who are already serving in Ian Smith's forces.

Neither Muzorewa nor Sithole have armed detachments like the Patriotic Front. This means that if they were to partake in a negotiated peaceful settlement, that they would *have* to inherit that army and that racist colonial police force that was created for the purpose of suppressing and creating havoc for the Black people. That would create a civil war, because then Muzorewa and Sithole would have the old colonial force under their command. So we oppose the Anglo-American plan on the grounds that it anticipates a civil war, as well as because it perpetuates the colonial arrangement that we have decided to fight to destroy.

I would like to speak to one further misconception spread by the imperialists, one which Andrew Young in particular has been very clear in articulating. And that is, that the multinational corporations create jobs for Africans, that if imperialist investments were withdrawn, the consequences would be too hard for the African people. This argument is absurd. It is squelched by the concrete facts that Africans are not allowed to unionize, have no promotion chances, and in fact are relegated by law completely to Black jobs. These very multi-national corporations which are supposed to help reform the apartheid regimes are the same corporations which derive a profit rate more than double their home market profits—precisely from the super-exploitation of African workers.



"The whole world has its attention focussed on Africa. Africa is cardinal to the policy choices of world imperialism. What happens in Africa almost decides the future of the world."

Further, do multi-national businesses undermine apartheid? No. Southern Africa provides a haven and super-profits for these corporations. It is statistically documented that an increased volume of investments is accompanied by the increased ferocity of apartheid. Witness the recent Soweto massacre, where just a few months ago, the Anglo-American-propelled government of South Africa killed upward of 2000 unarmed Africans. Both Rhodesia and South Africa adopted draconian and scorched-earth policies against the African populations in order to keep them down by force and in their present social places of providers and breeding centers of cheap labor, so vital for imperialism.

The lies which say that "the Africans are not ready for independence," that "The Africans are used to a hierarchical traditional society," that "the Africans have accepted the white man to be their guardian"—these are the same arguments that the imperialists have used for centuries and centuries to keep the African people down. The Anglo-American imperialists still look at the Africans in this way. This is precisely why we are fighting.

BT: Here we would like to make a brief comment about the movement that arose last spring on California campuses to protest the apartheid and racist practices of the settler states, and to demand withdrawal of the considerable University of California investments in those areas. We see this as very positive and encouraging. At the same time we think that to realize its very great potential, this movement must go on to support self-determination and national liberation for the Black African majority nations.

Could you state once again your views as to why the national and human rights of the Southern African nations cannot be met by anything less than total power over their own land, resources and destiny?

ZANU: I personally am working very closely with the Campuses United Against Apartheid, and attended their conference in Santa Cruz last spring. At that time there was confusion or disagreement as to the nature of the struggle in Southern Africa. However, all groups united to support materially the struggles taking place in Southern Africa. This is as important to us as the decision of the OAU, not only to support us materially, but also morally. We are doing the fighting alone, and we do not want our friends to send in personnel to help us fight. But we want help. This help is both material help and moral help. The fact that our friends see us as fighting a just war is important.

Now I have talked many times in the arena organized by the CUAA, and I have thanked them many times for the material commitment they have pledged. However, I have said that they should know that we are fighting a war of national liberation, that our objective is to achieve self-determination. Our friends should understand that.

We are beginning to get a good reception for this idea from the CUAA. This is very important, because we want friends more than just material support. Our most important objective is to find arenas where we can explain our political situation. Because it is possible for us to find a rich donor who can give us support. The Anglo-American plan, for instance, has already pledged more than a billion and a half dollars if we accept their "peaceful" plan. What we are looking for is the ability to educate the outside world as to the nature of our struggle, and to seek friends and to correct certain misconceptions about our struggle, such as the misconception that we are merely fighting against apartheid and not for self-determination. So we look forward to working with CUAA and other groups, on the basis that they understand that we are fighting for self-determination. We want to be our own people, we want to be able to have the chance of fighting our own petit-bourgeoisie and begin a fight for socialism.

I have spoken to many student groups, and I am convinced that the movement is not only growing, but that many people are changing their original reformist position of wanting to see that Blacks are also accommodated. They are now beginning to understand our account of it, that we long ago have decided not to bother ourselves about mere reforms which will be carried out by the present colonial government. Apartheid or not apartheid, this is not the question. There is no such thing as a civil, humane colonial government. We are committed to fighting until we have overthrown these governments, until we have established a victorious government based on self-determination. For this we will fight to the bitterest end.

For further information about the struggle in Zimbabwe and specific solidarity needs, write 1286 Guerrero St., Apt. 7, San Francisco, CA. 94110. In specific, ZANU has issued a call for the collection of money and materials for medical supplies for the liberation struggle.

FREE SKYHORSE AND MOHAWK!

Statement from Prison by Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk

Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk are two Native American men now on trial in Los Angeles, facing life in prison for a murder they didn't commit. The frame-up of these two members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) is part of the US government's strategy of genocide and attacks against the Native American nations and their struggle for sovereignty.

On October 10, 1974, a Los Angeles cab driver was killed. The three people who

were arrested at the scene of the crime, with bloody clothing and the cabbie's possessions, were given immunity in return for testifying that the murder had been committed by Skyhorse and Mohawk.

HISTORY OF THE CASE

In its early stages, Skyhorse and Mohawk's defense was sabotaged by FBI

continued on p.18



Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk as their trial begins in Los Angeles. They are now leading a hunger strike against attacks on prisoners.

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informers in AIM. The two have been harassed constantly since being jailed in 1974. In February of this year, they were seriously beaten in Ventura County Jail. An inmate of L.A. County Jail has filed an affidavit testifying that he was offered a deal by the state for a light sentence, if he would invent a story that Paul Skyhorse had threatened to "butcher him like the cab driver" unless he submitted to homosexual rape by Skyhorse. In the course of the long trial, the judge has acted in alliance with the prosecution to prop up the state's weak case.

Through such frame-ups, military occupation, FBI attacks, forced sterilization of Native American women and other forms of repression and genocide, US imperialism

is trying to set back the struggle of Native American nations to regain control of their lands, resources and destinies. In the face of these attacks, there is a pressing need for solidarity with the struggle of Skyhorse and Mohawk and with the Native American struggle for self-determination and sovereignty.

BREAKTHROUGH is reprinting a message from Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk about their continuing resistance and the importance of solidarity. For further information and to make badly needed financial contributions, please contact:

Skyhorse/Mohawk Offense/Defense
P.O. Box 30036 Terminal Annex
Los Angeles, CA 90030

STATEMENT BY PAUL SKYHORSE AND RICHARD MOHAWK

Our relations in struggle,

Of one mind, we extend you our most profound thanks. Your continuing support, interest and concern are very vital to our effort. It is so crucially important to make a strong show of support. Without your participation we would face the danger of the oppressor having no regards whatever for our rights. As it is, we are grudgingly provided with only a minimal token of what are our rights anyway. We are in a position where a rejected judge has made up his racist mind to adopt a position with the prosecution. The only possible method of exercising any control over the situation is to focus as much attention on his racism as possible. It is that same attitude of bias and vindictiveness, which the judge is projecting towards us, which is responsible for the genocide committed upon our people. We must always and ever remind the authorities that we will no longer tolerate such treatment. Our ancestors gave us the sacred gift of their lives so that the power and force that is the strength of our people, our way of life, will continue to exist. We must never forget that and we must see it as our duty to expose their hateful ways.

Be aware that we will accept no compromise. For those who have wondered at recent developments, understand that nothing what-so-ever will in any way affect the nature of our commitment. Within the recent negotiation that took place, our position entirely was that the only negotiable factor was immediate freedom. **Under no circumstances did we intend to plead guilty for something we have not done.** Should we be granted immediate freedom, we will say that we have no contest. Of course, we have no contest with anyone who does not want to deprive us of our freedom. But bear in mind this, as we all are ever mindful of, that once we have achieved our freedom, the real struggle to bring about the true liberation of all people begins. We will not be stopped. We will not be intimidated. We will not fail.

Victory will be ours, and all of the suffering, all of the humiliations, all of the indignities that we have experienced will benefit us in restructuring a way of life that will be best for all our relations. We thank you for your enlightened support and urge you to take more aggressive action in bringing about harmony in this Sacred Creation.

Peace After the Struggle!
Paul Skyhorse Richard Mohawk

THE MEANING OF MIAMI

"Saving" Women and Children for Imperialism

INTRODUCTION

by PFOC Women's Commission

Over the last six months, a wave of attacks against lesbians and gay men has been spreading ominously across the country. Although Anita Bryant's campaign to "save our children" has received the most notice and publicity, her campaign and organization are just the popular front for a state-sponsored ruling class attack on homosexuality.

From Supreme Court anti-sodomy rulings and legislative bans on gay adoptions and gay marriages to persecution of lesbian mothers and gay schoolworkers, the state is moving in on the freedom and right to be gay in this society. In the White House, Jimmy Carter expounds on the sanctity of the family and pushes morality and religion, signaling the official new ideological explanation for this offensive.

These attacks have been met by mass mobilizations of hundreds of thousands of people—a surge of activity among lesbians and gay men which indicates that gay people and their supporters are not about to accept this reasoning, or go back into the closet. But despite the breadth of the attacks and the response, the dominant white male leadership of the gay movement has not tried to analyse the roots of the current offensive. Instead they have put out a limited civil rights definition of the issues, which cannot really advance an understanding of or strategy for the gay liberation

movement.

True to its anti-gay, male supremacist history, much of the white left has kept silent on the whole issue, pretending that nothing of political significance is occurring. Those sections of the white left that have taken a position, merely defend gay people's civil rights.

It is impossible to make any sense of this wave of attacks against gay people unless a materialist analysis of lesbian and gay oppression under imperialism is made. In applying such an analysis to an understanding of US imperialism, we believe that we can only understand the anti-gay attack as part of an overall Carter ruling class strategy to keep the imperialist system functioning. By enforcing the role of white supremacy and male supremacy within the oppressor nation working class through a re-entrenchment of white women's role in the white nuclear family, Carter aims to maintain a base within the white working class to smash support for the national liberation, women's liberation and anti-imperialist class struggles.

THE CARTER STRATEGY

Imperialism is reeling from the victories of national liberation: its political and economic crisis is deepening and its social institutions are weakening. Oppressed nations, inside and outside the imperialist borders of the United States are leading

centers of revolutionary struggle. Carter's strategy has to be based first and foremost on smashing national liberation struggle. To do this he has developed a two-faced strategy. With one hand he establishes a neo-colonial policy using members of oppressed nations to front for imperialism. With the other hand he promotes genocidal attacks aimed at totally repressing the possibility of revolutionary struggle.

His approach to the oppressor nation working class must be different. At a time when the white working class is also experiencing the effects of economic and political crisis, the ruling class must strengthen those institutions and material structures which tie the white working class to the imperialist system: the institutions of white and male supremacy. White working class women, who benefit the least from the privileges of white supremacy, are a potential leading anti-imperialist force within the oppressor nation. Firmly enforcing their oppressive social and economic roles is essential to Carter's new strategy.

NEO-COLONIALISM AND GENOCIDE

One of the clearest examples of Carter's neo-colonialism is his assignment of Andrew Young as UN ambassador. Spouting "human rights" and morality, Carter sends Young to Africa to negotiate with neo-colonialist forces there. "I believe in neo-colonialism" says Young, "when it is moving in the right direction." It is moving in the "right" direction, because Carter is also sponsoring attacks which range from the utterly hypocritical and terribly effective media campaign against Uganda President Idi Amin, to military intervention to save Mobutu's tottering US-owned regime in Zaire, to probably sponsoring the assassination of progressive Congo President Marien Ngouabi.

Genocide and terror is the other face of neo-colonialism. On the one hand, Jimmy Carter allows a Black woman prisoner to nursemaid his daughter Amy, and on the other hand the death penalty is reinstated by the Supreme Court and the state of California. Leonel Javier Castillo, a

Chicano billed as a "fiscal conservative committed to human rights" is appointed head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, while restrictive legislation and all-out attacks against undocumented workers are launched.

Scattered Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed people are appointed to token positions in the government, while affirmative action is under direct attack through the Bakke decision and the Supreme Court ruling in favor of seniority systems which discriminate against people of oppressed nations. Amy Carter is sent to an integrated school, but the Supreme Court rules that a federal court must prove intentional segregation before proceeding with desegregation.

All of these attacks have been accompanied by increasing police brutality in Third World communities, and the state-promoted growth of white supremacist organizations in the prisons and in white communities.

In this program of genocide and repression, the women of oppressed nations are hit in specifically brutal ways. Carter talks about the sanctity of the "family" while supporting the new anti-abortion law which will step up forced sterilizations—genocidal attacks against their families and futures.

Carter's new re-vamped welfare program particularly hits Third World women with children, forcing them into superexploited "workfare" jobs or cutting them off welfare all together.

TARGETING WHITE WOMEN

Within the oppressor nation working class, white women are being targeted. Women's double shift of work is essential to imperialism. In the white nuclear family, women produce and rear future generations of the white working class. Within the labor force, white working class women are superexploited and form an important sector of the reserve army of labor. Over the past decade, increasing numbers of white women have been entering the labor force. In this situation it becomes essential to strengthen the nuclear family because it is an institution designed to maintain women's double shift.

Over the past ten years, the women's movement has caused enormous changes in women's consciousness of their own oppression. It has built resistance to that oppression and caused tremendous change, particularly in women's relationship to the white nuclear family structure. Women have challenged many aspects of the double shift, causing growing divorce rates and an ever-increasing number of women heads of households.

The growth of the lesbian movement has posed significant threat to the structure of the white nuclear family. Lesbians are living proof that women can live outside this central structure of male supremacy. Lesbian mothers have challenged the myth that women's childrearing function is inseparably connected to male domination.

Accompanying these changes is the fact that significant sectors of white women have been acting in solidarity with national liberation struggles. White working class women's oppression as women provides a special basis for them to understand the oppression of Third World women as part of a whole system of national oppression. While white working class women have a clear stake in white supremacy and its privileges, they also have an overriding interest in

changing those institutions which maintain male supremacy and white supremacy, such as the nuclear family. These two factors lay the basis for their leading anti-imperialist role within the white working class. Carter's attacks on white women aim at containing this role.

White working class women are being targeted to reinforce their central role in the white nuclear family. Women's role in producing and reproducing children, the future labor force, must be thoroughly controlled through male supremacist and white supremacist structures. Women's availability for increased super-exploitation in the labor force must be assured.

The abortion cutbacks just passed into law serve to force poor white women to have more children. The recent affirmative action setbacks push white working class women out of educational opportunities and jobs which might offer a basis for more independence and an alternative to marriage. Disability insurance for working women who become pregnant has just been signed out of law. Carter's new welfare "reform" package, which proposes to force women on welfare to work at very minimal wages, has no provisions for childcare or job training, and increases the super-ex-



Gay Freedom Day Parade, San Francisco, June 26, 1977. 250,000 supporters of gay liberation mobilize against stepped-up anti-gay attacks.

exploitation of larger numbers of women. Workfare programs have already started in a number of states.

Recent anti-gay legislative and court rulings can only be seen as another aspect of this strategy. Stealing the children of lesbian mothers and forbidding gay women and men the right to teach in the public schools are two more examples of the effort to reinforce the traditional white nuclear family structure.

These state sponsored attacks are accompanied by mass mobilizations "led" by white women, like Anita Bryant, fronting for white and male supremacy. The anti-ERA campaign, the Right to Life movement, and the anti-gay crusade are all attacks aimed at enforcing controlled sex roles. Anita Bryant leads a growing national campaign to preserve the sanctity of the white nuclear family, to glorify motherhood, and to ensure the proper male supremacist and white supremacist socialization of white children. By emphasizing "motherhood" as a sacred task to be carried out only within the "family" it encourages attacks on all women living outside the family structure, especially single mothers and lesbian mothers, like Jeanne Jullion in California, and Mary Jo Risher in Dallas, Texas. This is a part of a major effort to terrorize women into adherence to male supremacy. Recent court rulings supporting rapists make the message clear: stay at home or accept the brutal consequences.

Anita Bryant's mass base in the white working class is built on white and male supremacy. The privileges which white working class men gain from male supremacy—economic, physical, sexual, and psychological—are based in the enforcement of women's double shift in the nuclear family. White working class women's participation in white supremacy is reinforced in the white nuclear family because there male supremacy ties women to men. White women's more limited privileges, their security, and their ability to survive, are tied to their conformity with their role in the nuclear family. As the at-

tacks on women escalate, the choices become clearer and harder. White women can either fight for liberation against white supremacist, male supremacist roles in the face of increasing risks, or they can try to preserve their individual privilege and security by jumping on the white and male supremacist American bandwagon.

At the International Women's Year Convention in Houston this November, the struggle around these choices will assume new dramatic proportions. This state-sponsored convention pretends to support the development of women's rights. But in reality it is being made into a forum for mass mobilization of reaction. In several states, delegations of women have already been elected to go to the Houston Convention to organize against abortion rights, the E.R.A., and gay rights. These delegations are backed by the Klan, the Mormon Church, and Save Our Children, to name just a few. On the other side, the women's movement is making an intensive effort to mobilize to defeat these forces and the imperialist interests they represent. A new stage of struggle for a revolutionary women's liberation movement is at hand.

THE RESPONSE OF THE WHITE LEFT

The resurging movement of women in response to the new ruling class offensive has been entirely ignored by the white left. While Carter clearly recognizes white working class women as the key to keeping the white working class tied to and supporting white and male supremacy, just as clearly, the whole of the white left does not.

The roots of this are not hard to identify. The white left has refused to recognize the importance of white supremacist privilege in maintaining support for the imperialist system among the white working class. The white left has ignored the material basis of women's oppression in the double shift, and the institutionalization of women's oppression in male supremacy. They have not acknowledged its function as a major pillar of US imperialism, or the leading role of white working class women in revolutionary struggle in the oppressor nation. Conse-

quently, the white left does not link up male supremacy and women's oppression to white supremacy, and does not understand the role of male supremacy in reinforcing white supremacy, particularly in this period of imperialist crisis.

When the struggle against white and male supremacy are liquidated, the present attack on gays must be said either to have no real significance at all, or, as the Guardian has put forward, it must be a diversionary tactic used at a time "when the crisis requires deflection of the masses' attention from the real source of the problems".

This lack of a materialist analysis leads the Guardian to a totally wrong assessment of the nature of the anti-gay movement, isolating it as a phenomena of the "far-right" and of sectors of the middle class who are overwhelmed by anxiety about the current breakup of the social fabric and want to return to the "value system of an earlier age when 'nice girls' had no need for abortions and homosexuality was the great unmentionable."

This metaphysical psychological analysis liquidates the basis for understanding the mass nature of the anti-gay movement. It is rooted in the Guardian's position on the family. Their contention that the white working class family is a necessary unit of survival under imperialism actually supports Carter's strategy for re-entrenchment. As long as the Guardian continues to ignore all of the essential aspects of imperialism, as long as it refuses to confront white and male supremacy head-on, it will never be able to explain the attacks on gays, or to come up with a strategy for building an anti-imperialist response.

CONCLUSION

As masses of lesbians, gay men, and other women and men begin moving against these attacks, the lesbian and gay liberation movement is picking up both strength and support. The potential now exists as never before for building an anti-imperialist lesbian and gay liberation movement, and for developing firm solidarity with gay libera-

tion in both the women's movement and the general anti-imperialist movement.

Historically, leading sectors of the lesbian and gay movement have acted as a strong anti-imperialist force. Lesbians in particular have given strong leadership to both the women's movement and the general anti-imperialist movement, leading the development of commitment to women's solidarity and against women's ties to male supremacy.

A recent surge of articles about the gay movement are attempting to distort these realities by putting out an image of gay people that is thoroughly male, white and petit-bourgeois. In San Francisco, gay people depicted as having real power through gay enterprises, in electoral politics, in the culture and lifestyle of the city. It is undeniable that there are important sections of gay men who have "made it" based on their white and male privilege. This is particularly true in San Francisco, a gay center nationwide, where the effort to coopt gay liberation into white and male supremacist patterns has been most developed. But media focus on the petit-bourgeois sectors of the gay movement is an effort to mask what is really going on—increasing attacks and oppression of gay people.

In the past, the white left has accepted this white and male supremacist definition of gayness, preventing the development of solidarity with gay liberation. Now is the time for the white left to take a clear stand on the side of lesbian and gay liberation. Only such a stand can really push forward an anti-imperialist movement within the white working class which can fight Carter's new strategy.

NOTE: *Lesbians and gay men in PFOC, supported by the entire organization, are now working within the lesbian and gay movement. We have produced a leaflet, "The Meaning of Miami", which is a beginning effort to push out our analysis of the recent anti-gay attacks in an anti-imperialist frame-work. We are reprinting that leaflet in this issue of our journal. Copies are also available as a separate pamphlet. We hope that our readers will circulate it and give us feedback as to the response it gets and its usefulness in your work.*

(REPRINT)

THE MEANING OF MIAMI

"Saving" Women and Children for Imperialism

Every day for the past few months the media has been bombarding the country with facts, figures and opinions about gayness. They say the issue is whether we have the right to sleep with people of the same sex and still hold jobs, live in houses and be treated like "normal" (that is heterosexual) human beings. They define the question as one of civil rights for gay people.

People *must* fight for lesbian and gay men's rights to raise children, hold jobs, live free from anti-gay harassment. But unless the fight is based on an understanding of the roots of gay oppression our struggle will be easily coopted.

- WHO IS REALLY LEADING THIS ATTACK?
- WHY IS HOMOSEXUALITY SO THREATENING?
- WHY IS THIS CAMPAIGN HAPPENING NOW?
- HOW DOES THIS ESCALATING ATTACK ON LESBIANS AND GAY MEN CONNECT TO THE CURRENT STRUGGLE OF US IMPERIALISM?

People must begin to answer these questions.

WHO IS LEADING THE ATTACK ON GAY PEOPLE?

The organization spearheading the Miami campaign, provocatively named *SAVE OUR CHILDREN*, is fronted by Anita Bryant and several religious leaders. They talk about the sanctity of the family and the preservation of US society, uphold the holy role of motherhood as exemplified by Anita, and brandish the threat homosexuality supposedly represents to the continued reproduction of the species. While Anita claims that she has been designated by God to mount this attack on homosexuals, it's clear that she's aligned with many of the earthly forces that have recently led the campaign to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment in Florida. The line-up of forces is strikingly like the Right to Life campaign which, based in Boston, has fought against women's right to choose abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment and busing. These "independent" forces are supported by legislators like S.I. Hayakawa, famous for his repressive role at SF State, who denounces homosexuals in the same breath as he attacks "welfare parasites" and the CETA program.

This attack on gay people is not an isolated event. It's part of a whole new repressive strategy being mounted by Carter's "liberal" administration. Note:

- The US House of Representatives voted down housing aid for homosexuals, federal aid to abortion, aid to enforce affirmative action and veterans' benefits for those who have had their armed forces discharges upgraded—all in one week.
- The US Supreme Court in the past few months decided that it was legal to deny federal money for abortion, ruled to deny disability insurance for pregnancy and upheld the legality of the death penalty.
- Carter came out with a revamped, newly repressive welfare program which will mainly affect women, particularly Third World women, on AFDC.
- A judge in Madison, Wisconsin ruled that rape is a "normal response" to women.

The pieces begin to fit together. This is an attempt to roll back the gains that have been made by the women's movement and national liberation movements in this country. How are the attacks on gay people connected to these attacks on women and Third World people?

Why is homosexuality a threat?

THE WHITE NUCLEAR FAMILY

US imperialism is in crisis as a result of the victories of national liberation struggles around the world, particularly Vietnam and Africa. On the home front, the ruling class tries to keep the system functioning by stepping up violent repression of peoples of oppressed nations. At the same time, it tries to tighten its grip on the lives of white women, and the white working class by strengthening one of its chief institutions of social control: the white nuclear family. *SAVE OUR CHILDREN* has nothing to do with saving Third World children, women or families. What it's really about is saving the white nuclear family, one of the key institutions where white and male supremacy (the systems and ideologies of relative privilege for white people over people of color and for men over women) are transmitted and enforced. It's about making sure that white women keep performing their valuable role within the nuclear family reproducing and rearing children and taking care of husbands to meet the imperialist's need for white workers. And it's about maintaining the other half of women's double shift: their super-exploited work at their jobs. The ruling class wants white people to spend our energy on "saving our children" from Black people, undocumented workers and lesbians. They can't afford to have us make the connections between women's liberation and national liberation, because then we would fight to save our children from the real enemy—US imperialism. The need to maintain control of women is at the root of the escalating attacks on gay people.



Gay Freedom Day parade, San Francisco, June 26, 1977.

GAYNESS AND THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

Historically, sexual taboos have been placed on women (like virginity, monogamy, heterosexuality) to maintain control of women's role in reproducing and rearing children and to ensure women's dependence and isolation within the family. Homosexuality, especially for women, has been repressed because of the threat it poses to male control of women's child rearing function. Being gay demonstrates that sexual relations need not be based on the reproductive function and threatens the basis for the traditional division of labor within the family. Lesbians prove that sexual dependence on men is not an inviolable law and therefore challenge all the forms of enforced dependency which are imposed on women in this society. Any time a woman makes any type of move towards independence she is baited by being called a lesbian.

On the surface, the focus of the attack in Miami has been on white gay men. Gay men, being men in a male supremacist society, are more visible, have more position and privilege to attack than lesbians. Precisely because of their oppression, lesbians have not been able to come out as openly, gain even the minimum level of civil rights that gay men have achieved, or become gay entrepreneurs like Jack Campbell, Florida bath house owner. The fact that lesbian mothers have to live in constant fear that their children will be taken away, as in the recent case of Jeanne Jullion, keeps lesbians from coming out more openly. The fierce repression of lesbian mothers is crucial because the possibility of a woman being a lesbian and still able to love and care for children blows open all the myths that being gay and having children are in total contradiction.

Lesbians have been a largely invisible issue in Miami. Even more invisible have been Third World gay people whose oppression as gay people must be understood within the context of their national oppression under imperialism. The media image of gay people as white is a white supremacist lie that hides the realities of severe oppression and harassment which Third World gay people constantly face.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

In the last 30 years, women have been moving out of their dependent roles in the home. Their increasing participation in the workforce gives women a basis for more independence. On the other hand, women's work at low paid temporary jobs is an important source of super-profits for imperialism. The super-exploitation of women workers depends on maintaining the other half of women's double shift: their unwaged work in the home. But this is becoming more and more difficult to do. In the last 10 years, the whole women's movement, often led by lesbians, has exposed women's oppression and has strengthened the capacity of masses of women to fight against all forms of male supremacist oppression including their role in the family.

Especially dangerous to US imperialism is the growing understanding within the white women's movement of the connection between women's liberation and national liberation struggles. White women have begun to take up struggles in solidarity with Third World women against forced sterilization, for daycare, to free political prisoners. The militant struggles of Yvonne Wanrow, Inez Garcia, Joan Little and Dessie Woods for women's right to self-defense against racist sexual attack have pushed forward the understanding of the links between national liberation and women's liberation.

IMPERIALIST COUNTER-ATTACK

The imperialist response has been to mount a counter-offensive aimed at clamping down on white women by re-entrenching their traditional roles in the family. Gay oppression, pro-rape rulings, anti-abortion, anti-affirmative action legislation and the step-up in religious propaganda are all parts of this program. In Boston we can see the possible consequences of a well-oiled strategy to glorify the white family and women's role as childrearers: white women have ended up leading the attack on Black children in the name of "saving" their own.

SAVE WHOSE CHILDREN? ATTACKS ON OPPRESSED NATION PEOPLES

At the same time as desperate efforts are being made to re-entrench the white nuclear family, the US plan for Third World families is a program of genocide. For hundreds of years the imperialists have consistently tried to destroy oppressed nation families to prevent them from developing stable bases for resistance to oppression. Today we see:

- Massive sterilization of Puerto Rican, Native American, Black and Chicana women.
- Welfare laws designed to break up Third World families.
- Forcible separation of Native American children from their families and tribes by sending them to



Third World Attica March, Harlem

credit: LNS Women's Graphics

government sponsored boarding schools.

- Break-up of Latino and Filipino families through repressive immigration laws.
 - The murder of Third World youth like Tyrone Guyton in the streets of their communities.
- When a woman like Yvonne Wanrow attempts to save her children from sexual attack by armed self-defense, *she* is put on trial for murder!

THE REAL ENEMY—US IMPERIALISM

The same program of genocide which is directed at peoples of oppressed nations inside the borders of the US is now being focused on African peoples in Southern Africa. Imperialism as a worldwide system is based first and foremost on the oppression and exploitation of whole nations of peoples inside and outside the current borders of the US. In order to keep the system functioning, the ruling class must try to stem the tide of victorious national liberation struggles. That means smashing the Black liberation movement, the Puerto Rican movement for independence, the Native American struggles for sovereignty as well as revolutions in Southern Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Philippines.

It also means strengthening the role of white supremacy in order to keep white working class people functioning on the side of imperialism. From the imperialist point of view it's a critical time to make sure that the white and male supremacist institutions of imperialist society—the schools, courts, prisons, health care institutions and the nuclear family—keep doing their job in the face of splitting pressures and contradictions. They have tried to destroy white women's revolutionary potential and suppress any movement on the part of white working class people towards solidarity with peoples of oppressed nations.

The increased oppression of lesbians and gay men is an integral part of the imperialist counter-attack. They know as well as we do that gay liberation can strike a vital blow against one of the pillars of the imperialist system—the subjugation of women and male supremacy.

FIGHT FOR LESBIAN AND GAY LIBERATION!!
FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION!!
FIGHT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION!!
DEFEAT IMPERIALISM!!

Prepared by lesbians and gay men of PFOC. Approved by Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, June 26, 1977.

WHAT THE GUA

The Guardian Exposes the Liberation Struggles

In its issue of July 27, 1977, the Guardian attempts to refute the primacy of revolutionary struggles for national liberation. The way in which it tries to do this is by substituting a false version of our politics for the actual issues. Irwin Silber, the writer of the fan the flames articles, never responds to PFOC's criticisms of the Guardian's anti-national liberation politics; he never deals with the realities of the historical and present-day struggles of the oppressed nations within the US. He ignores the factual record of white and male supremacy in the US. To quote from his column:

(About PFOC) First they abdicate all responsibility for any objective analysis of the actual conditions of minority peoples. Actually, they promote a particular analysis, one based on surrendering to narrow bourgeois nationalist tendencies in the movements of the nationally oppressed. Second, they demagogically attempt to sow distrust among the nationally oppressed toward all those communists who are attempting to build the unity of the working class. And finally, they suggest that all multi-national communist organizations are really "white-based groups."

At another time we will again re-state our actual line. What we want to underscore here is that this is a concealed pushing of the Guardian's opportunist and white supremacist line, not a reflection of ours. We defend the right of self-determination of oppressed nations within

the US. The Guardian converts this to the "conditions of minority peoples." The Guardian converts the struggle of Black people for national liberation, and of Native Americans for Sovereignty, and of Chicanos and Mexican nationals for liberation, to mere struggles for the rights of minorities. Having wiped out the very essence of national liberation, the Guardian accuses us, PFOC, rather than the system, of "sowing distrust among the nationally oppressed" toward the communists, etc. It seems to us that people who have not taken leave of their senses will think that to support national liberation builds trust; to call this "narrow bourgeois nationalist tendencies" builds not the unity of the working class, but rather the unity of the opportunists with the empire and its preservation based upon white supremacy.

Silber makes the true politics of the Guardian very clear in the same piece:

One might argue that the brutalization, enslavement and genocide of African slaves and native peoples in the colonies was "worse" than the conditions faced by the industrial proletariat in the capitalist countries—although such comparisons do not ultimately prove anything. But in economic terms, the profits derived by capitalism from the labor of the mass of "white" proletarians of North America and Western Europe is of much greater significance in the accumulation of capital and the reproduction and expansion of the

DIAN GUARDS

stself by Denying fUS Internal Colonies

capitalist mode of production than are the profits derived from chattel slavery and colonialism.

The above white supremacist atrocity is the true measure of the Guardian's self-satisfied role as the supreme judge of true proletarian internationalism. It also reveals Silber's real target, not PFOC, but revolutionary national liberation. To demonstrate this truth, we offer material from the history of two of the oppressed nations internal to the US. These materials are sufficient for the purpose although they are a very small part of that which is available. We may add that we do not consider this "an abdication of responsibility"; abdication is not the issue, the issue is who upholds internationalism and who is only pretending.

We are selecting materials not to support our own analysis and strategic line, but to demonstrate the power and historical roots of the Black and Native American nations and their struggles, whatever the varied forms they expressed themselves in at various times. What the Guardian assumes, and bases its positions on, without ever openly laying this out, is that the forces of assimilation and the melting pot have already won out. The facts are otherwise. History shows that for these peoples, the politics of accommodation have not led to freedom and equality but to ever new forms of segregation and oppression. In every new period of crisis, national liberation movements and leaders again come forward as the only possible revolutionary solution. The editors of the Guardian would do well to ponder the fate of Earl Browder, who pronounced that the Black People had already self-determined

for assimilation in the course of World War II. —This just before the greatest upsurge of Black Liberation Struggle since the time of the Garvey movement.

The first group of statements is from the period before the Civil War. From David Walker's Appeal, 1829:

—Can our condition be any worse? —Can it be more mean and abject? If there are any changes, will they not be for the better, though they may appear for the worse at first? Can they get us any lower? Where can they get us? They are afraid to treat us any worse, for they know well, the day they do it they are gone.

... The whites want slaves, and want us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us ... my color will root some of them out of the very face of the earth. They shall have enough of making slaves of, and butchering, and murdering us in the manner in which they have ...

Though I should like to see the whites repent peradventure God may have mercy on them, some however have gone so far that their cup must be filled ...

From Henry Highland Garnet's call to rebellion, delivered at a National Negro Convention in Buffalo, NY, 1845:

Brethren, the time has come when you must act for yourselves. It is an old and true saying that, "if hereditary bondmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow." You can plead your own cause, and

do the work of emancipation better than any others

Inform them that all you desire is FREEDOM, and that nothing else will suffice. Do this, and for ever after cease to toil for the heartless tyrants, who give you no other reward but stripes and abuse. If then they commence the work of death, they, and not you, will be responsible for the consequences. You had better all die—*die immediately*, than live slaves and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity If you must bleed, let it all come at once—rather *die freemen than live to be slaves*

Frederick Douglass, who combined strong anti-slavery struggle with a generally assimilationist strategy, nevertheless objected strongly to the arrogance of white supremacist "helpers," the Guardian types of his own time, who wanted to run everything:

. . . If we are ever elevated, our elevation will have been accomplished through our own instrumentality. The history of other oppressed nations will confirm us in this assertion

Our oppressed people are wholly ignored in one sense, in the generalship of the movement to effect our Redemption. Nothing is done—no nothing, as our friend Ward asserts, to inspire us with the Idea of our Equality with the whites. We are a poor, pitiful, dependent and servile class of Negroes, "*unable to keep pace*" with the movement, to which we have adverted—not even capable of "*perceiving what are its demands or understanding the philosophy of its operations!*" Of course . . . we cannot . . . expect to receive from those who indulge in this opinion, a *practical recognition of our Equality*. This is what we are contending for. It is what we have never received. It is what we must receive to inspire us with confidence in the self-appointed general of the Anti-Slavery host, the Euclids who are *theoretically* working out the almost insoluble problem of our future destiny.

From the speech of H. Ford Douglass at a Negro Emigration Convention, 1854:

. . . the expediency of a "COLORED NATIONALITY," is becoming self-evident to Colored men more and more every day. . .

It is not our "little faith" that makes us anxious to leave this country or that we do not believe in the ultimate triumph of the principles of FREEDOM, but that the life-sustaining resources which slavery is capable of commanding may enable the institution to prolong its existence to an indefinite period of time. You must remember that slavery is not a foreign element in this government, nor is it really antagonistic to the feelings of the American people. On the contrary it is an element commencing with our medieval existence, receiving the sanction of the early Fathers of the Republic, sustained by their descendants through a period of nearly three centuries, deep and firmly laid in our organization. Completely inter-woven into the passions and prejudices of the American people. It does not constitute a local or sectional institution as the generous promptings of the great and good (Charles) Sumner would have it, but is just as national as the Constitution which gives it an existence

The Dred Scot decision of the US Supreme Court brought strong reactions; what follows is from a resolution brought before a meeting in Philadelphia, April 5, 1857:

. . . Resolved, That no allegiance is due from any man, or any class of men, to a Government founded and administered in iniquity, and that the only duty the colored man owes to a constitution under which he is declared to be an inferior and degraded being, having no rights which white men are bound to respect, is to denounce and repudiate it, and to do what he can by all proper means to bring it into contempt

After the Civil War the plight of the "freed slaves" was different in form, but not very much less oppressive in essential content. The following is from testimony of Henry Adams before the Select Committee of the US Senate in 1880:

. . . Q: About what time did you lose all hope and confidence that your condition could be tolerated in the Southern States? —A: Well, we never lost all hopes in the world till 1877.

Q: Not until 1877? —A: No, sir. In 1877 we lost all hopes.

Q: Why did you lose all hope in that year?



credit: Black in White America

Black families leaving the South in 1877 after Congress ignored their petitions for land, federal protection, or money to emigrate.

—A: Well, we found ourselves in such condition that we looked around and we seed that there was no way on earth, it seemed, that we could better our condition there, and we discussed that thoroughly in our organization along in May. We said that the whole South—every State in the South—had got into the hands of the very men that held us as slaves—from one thing to another—and we thought that the men that held us slaves was holding the reins of government over our heads in every respect almost, even the constable up to the governor. We felt we had almost as well be slaves under these men. In regard to the whole matter that was discussed, it came up in every council. Then we said there was no hope for us and we had better go.

Q: You say, then, that in 1877 you lost all hope of being able to remain in the South, and you began to think of moving somewhere else? —A: Yes; we said we was going if we had to run away and go into the woods.

Q: Well, what was the complaint after you failed to get the territory? —A: Then, in 1877 we appealed to President Hayes and to Congress, to both Houses. I am certain we sent papers there; if they didn't get them that is not our fault; we sent them.

Q: What did that petition ask for? —A: We asked for protection, to have our rights guaranteed to us, and at least if that could not be done, we asked that money should be provided to send us to Liberia.

Q: That was 1877, was it? —A: Yes, sir;

All Colored People

THAT WANT TO

GO TO KANSAS,

On September 5th, 1877,

Can do so for \$5.00

that was in 1877.

Q: Still, up to that time you did not think at all of going into the Northern States; at least you had taken no steps toward going into those States, had you? —A: No, sir.

Q: When did that idea first occur to your people? —A: In 1877, too, we declared that if we could not get a territory we would go anywhere on God's earth; we didn't care where.

Q: Even to the Northern States? —A: Yes, anywhere to leave them Southern States. We declared that in our council in 1877. We said we would go anywhere to get away.

Q: Well, when did the exodus to the Northern States from your locality, or from your country you are acquainted with best, begin? —A: Well, it didn't begin to any extent until just about a year ago.

Q: It didn't begin to any extent until 1879, you mean? —A: No, sir; not till the spring of 1879.

Q: But you had prior to that time been organized and ready to go somewhere, as I understood you? —A: Yes, sir; we had several organizations, there were many organizations; I can't tell you how many immigration associations, and so forth, all springing out of our colonization council. We had a large meeting, some five thousand people present, and made public speeches in 1877 on immigration.

Q: What was the character of those speeches as to what you intended to do? —A: We intended to go away, to leave the South, if Congress would not give us any relief; we were going away, for we knowed we could not get our rights.

Q: Where were these meetings held? —A: Some were held at Shreveport, in Caddo Parish, some were held in Madison, and some were held in Bossier Parish.

Q: Was there any opposition to those meetings in which you talked about going away? —A: No, sir. There didn't nobody say anything to us against our having our meetings, but I will tell you we had a terrible struggle with our own selves, our own people there; those ministers of these churches would not allow us to have any meeting of that kind, no way.

Q: They didn't want you to go? —A: No; they didn't want us to go.

Q: Why? —A: They wanted us to stay there to support them; I don't know what else. Mighty few ministers would allow us to have their churches; some few would in some of the parishes. There was one church, Zion, in Shreveport, that allowed us to talk there.

Q: Were the ministers opposed to it? —A: Yes, sir; they was opposed to it

Q: Your meetings were composed, then, of men in favor of going away? —A: Yes, and of the laboring class.

Q: Others didn't participate with you? —A: No, sir.

Q: Why didn't the politicians want you to go? —A: They were against it from the beginning.

Q: Why? —A: They thought if we went somewhere else they would not get our votes. That is what we thought.

Q: Why were the ministers opposed to it? —A: Well, because they would not get our support, that is what we thought of them.

Q: They thought it might break up their churches? —A: Yes; that is what they thought; at least we supposed the ministers thought that.

Q: About how many did this committee consist of before you organized your council? Give us the number as near as you can tell. —A: As many as five hundred in all.

Q: The committee, do you mean? —A: Yes; the committee has been that large.

Q: What was the largest number reached by your colonization council, in your best judgment? —A: Well, it is not exactly five hundred men belonging to the council, that we have in our council, but they all agreed

to go with us and enroll their names with us from time to time, so that they have now got at this time 98,000 names enrolled.

Q: Women and men? —*A:* Yes, sir; women and men, and none under twelve years old

Q: How many of your people have gone from that part of the country to the North, if you know? —*A:* I don't know exactly how many have gone.

Q: Of course you cannot tell us exactly, but as near as you know, give some idea of the number, if you can. —*A:* My reports from several members of the committee, in parts I have not been in and seen for myself—I take their words and put their words down as mine, because they are not allowed to lie on the subject. And so from what I have learned from them from time to time I think it is about five thousand and something.

Q: Do you mean from that section of country down there? —*A:* Yes, sir.

Q: From Louisiana? —*A:* Yes, sir

Q: Now, Mr. Adams, you know, probably, more about the causes of the exodus from that country than any other man, from your connection with it; tell us in a few words what you believe to be the causes of these people going away. —*A:* Well, the cause is, in my judgment, and from what information I have received, and what I have seen with my own eyes—it is because the largest majority of the people, of the white people, that held us as slaves treats our people so bad in many respects that it is impossible for them to stand it. Now, in a great many parts of that country there our people most as well be slaves as to be free; because, in the first place, I will state this: that in some times, in times of politics, if they have any idea that the Republicans will carry a parish or wards, or something of that kind, why, they would do anything on God's earth. There ain't nothing too mean for them to do to prevent it; nothing I can make mention of is too mean for them to do. If I am working on his place, and he has been laughing and talking with me, and I do everything he tells me to yet in times of election he will crush me down, and even kill me, or do anything to me to carry his point.

If he can't carry his point without killing me, he will kill me; but if he can carry his point without killing me, he will do that

Marcus Garvey, in 1943:

I asked, where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country, and his ambassadors, his army, his navy, and his men of big affairs? I could not find them and then I declared, I will help make them.



Marcus Garvey speaking as he was being deported by the U.S. State, 1927.

From an article printed in The Black Scholar, by Lawrence P. Neal:

Thus, the established Negro leadership is forced to continue waging the fight for total liberation within the limits set by the oppressor. . . . It assumes that the long-range interests of Black America coincide with those of the white power structure.

The only way out of this trick-bag is to begin from the position that black people constitute a would-be nation apart from that of white America. Therefore, there are two Americas—a Black one and a white one; and Black America very clearly must decide its own destiny. It must independently decide what its interests are, both in the national and the international context. Consequently, it is no longer a question of civil rights for Negroes; but rather, it is a question of national liberation for Black America. That means that we see ourselves as a "colonialized" people instead of as disenfranchised American citizens. That means that our struggle is one with the struggles of oppressed people everywhere, and we alone must decide what our stance will be towards those nations struggling to liberate themselves from colonial and neo-colonial domination.

Robert F. Williams, in another article published in The Black Scholar, wrote:

"THE FUTURE BELONGS TO TODAY'S OPPRESSED"

Whenever I speak on the English-language radio station in Havana (which broadcasts for an audience in the United States) I hope in some way to penetrate the mental barriers and introduce new disturbing elements into the consciousness of white America. I hope to make them aware of the monstrous evil that they are party to by oppressing the Negro. Somehow, I must manage to clearly reflect the image of evil that is inherent in a racist society so that white America will be able to honestly and fully see themselves as they really are. To see themselves with the same clarity as foreigners see them and to recognize that they are not champions of democracy. To understand that today they do not really even

believe in democracy. To understand that the world is changing regardless of whether they *think* they like it or not.

For I know that if they had a glimpse of their own reality the shock would be of great therapeutic value. There would be many decent Americans who would then understand that this society must mend its ways if it is to survive; that there is no place in the world now for a racist nation.

. . . The future belongs to today's oppressed and I shall be witness to that future in the liberation of the Afro-American.

"The Muslim Program," written by Elijah Muhammad in 1962, answers the question:

What do the Muslims want?

This is the question asked most frequently by both the whites and the blacks. The answers to this question I shall state as simply as possible.

Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own.

Point No. 9 of the 12-point program states:

We believe that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their "friends." Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation.

If the white people are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negro, they can prove it by dividing up America with their slaves.

We do not believe that America will ever be able to furnish enough jobs for her own millions of unemployed, in addition to jobs for the 20,000,000 black people as well.



credit: Black in White America

In "Towards Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto" (March, 1964), Max Stanford described the objectives and philosophy of RAM:

Objectives

1. To give black people a sense of racial pride, dignity, unity and solidarity in struggle.
2. To give black people a new image of manhood and womanhood.
3. To free black people from colonial and imperialist bondage everywhere and to take whatever steps necessary to achieve that goal.
4. To give black people a sense of purpose.

The motto was "One Purpose, One Aim, One Destiny," meaning:

One Purpose—To free black people from

the universal slavemaster (slang for capitalist oppression).

One Aim—To develop black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible.

One Destiny—To follow in the spirit of black revolutionaries such as Gabriel Prosser, Toussaint L'Overture, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Marcus Garvey, Dr. DuBois, Robert F. Williams, and to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation and national oppression. . . .

RAM philosophy

RAM philosophy may be described as revolutionary nationalism, black nationalism or just plain blackism. It is that black people of the world (darker races, black,

yellow, brown, red, oppressed peoples) are all enslaved by the same forces. RAM's philosophy is one of the world black revolution or world revolution of oppressed peoples rising up against their former slavemasters. Our movement is a movement of black people who are coordinating their efforts to create a "new world" free from exploitation and oppression of man to man.

In the world today there is a struggle for world power between two camps, the haves (Western or white capitalist nations) and the have-nots (Eastern or newly independent nations struggling for independence, socialist nations). There are two types of nationalism. One type suppresses or oppresses, that is, a nation or particular group reaps profits or advances materially at the expense, exploitation, slavery or torture of another group or nation. In this nation and in the world today, this nationalism is considered "white nationalism" or the cooperation of the white Western nations to keep the new emerging oppressed world in bondage. This is capitalist or reactionary nationalism. The other type of nationalism is to liberate or free from exploitation. That is the binding force of a nation or particular group to free itself from a group or nation that is suppressing or oppressing it. In this country and in the world this is considered black nationalism or revolutionary nationalism.

We can see that black nationalism is the opposite of white nationalism; black nationalism being revolutionary and white being reactionary. We see also that nationalism is really internationalism today.

While defining nationalism as a force towards black liberation, we define nationalism as black patriotism.

Nationalism is an identification and consciousness of our own kind and self. Knowledge of self is an integral part of nationalism. Knowledge of our own history of struggle is an essential part of nationalism. Love for our own people and not for the enemy is nationalism.

RAM feels that with the rise of fascism, the black man must not only think of armed

self-defense but must also think aggressively.

Our black nation is still in captivity. RAM feels that the road to freedom is self-government, national liberation and black power. Our slogan is "Unite or perish." Our definition of revolution is one group's determination to take power away from another.

In ending this manifesto, we (RAM) say, "Think what you wish, but we shall accomplish what we will."

A proposal released from jail by Max Stanford (March, 1968) begins:

1. The African-American in the U.S. should demand independent Black Nationhood and take the U.S. government to the world court, the United Nations, and bring international indictment against the U.S. for its violation of Human Rights and racial war crimes of Genocide.

(NOTE: Most of the above excerpts may be found in the anthology *Black Nationalism in America*, edited by J.H. Bracy Jr., August Meier and Elliott Rudwick; published by Bobbs Merrill Co.)

A SNCC paper "The Basis of Black Power" (Winter 1965-66), contained a section on white radicals:

It is very ironic and curious that aware whites in this country can champion anti-colonialism in other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but when black people move toward similar goals of self-determination in this country they are viewed as racists and anti-white by these same progressive whites. In proceeding further, it can be said that this attitude derives from the overall point of view of the white psyche as it concerns the black people. This attitude stems from the era of the slave revolts when every white man was a potential deputy or sheriff or guardian of the state. Because when black people got together among themselves to work out their problems, it becomes a threat to white people, because such meetings were potential slave revolts.

It can be maintained that this attitude or way of thinking has perpetuated itself to this current period and that it is part of the psyche of white people in this our country whatever their political persuasion might be. It is part of the white fear-guilt complex resulting from the slave revolts.

The July-August, 1967 issue of Tri-Continental published the following article by Stokely Carmichael, entitled "The Third World—Our World":

We do not think that the people in the Third World understand the racism that we

profits to the white working class, who accepted it, so that the white working class was now enjoying the money off the sweat of the Third World, so that they became part and parcel of the system; they have to fight to maintain it, because if they do not fight to maintain it, they will have to fight for a new system.

Though we feel that a new system would be more beneficial to white working class America, we are unable to convince them of it because they are afraid to give up their economic security they now have and fight for a new type of system which would be more beneficial to them. So they throw in

“The African-American in the U.S. should demand independent Black Nationhood and take the U.S. government to the world court . . . for its violation of Human Rights and racial war crimes of Genocide.

—Max Stanford, 1968

have to fight. The off-times question is why we do not join hands with white workers in the United States. Not only is it because of the subconscious racism of white workers and the white working class in particular, who think that because they are white they are better than us, but also because the white working class is part and parcel of the American capitalistic society, and it is part and parcel because when the white working class of the United States organized, its fight was not for the control of the resources of the United States, not for the redistribution of wealth in the United States; their fight was merely for more money. All they were concerned about was more money.

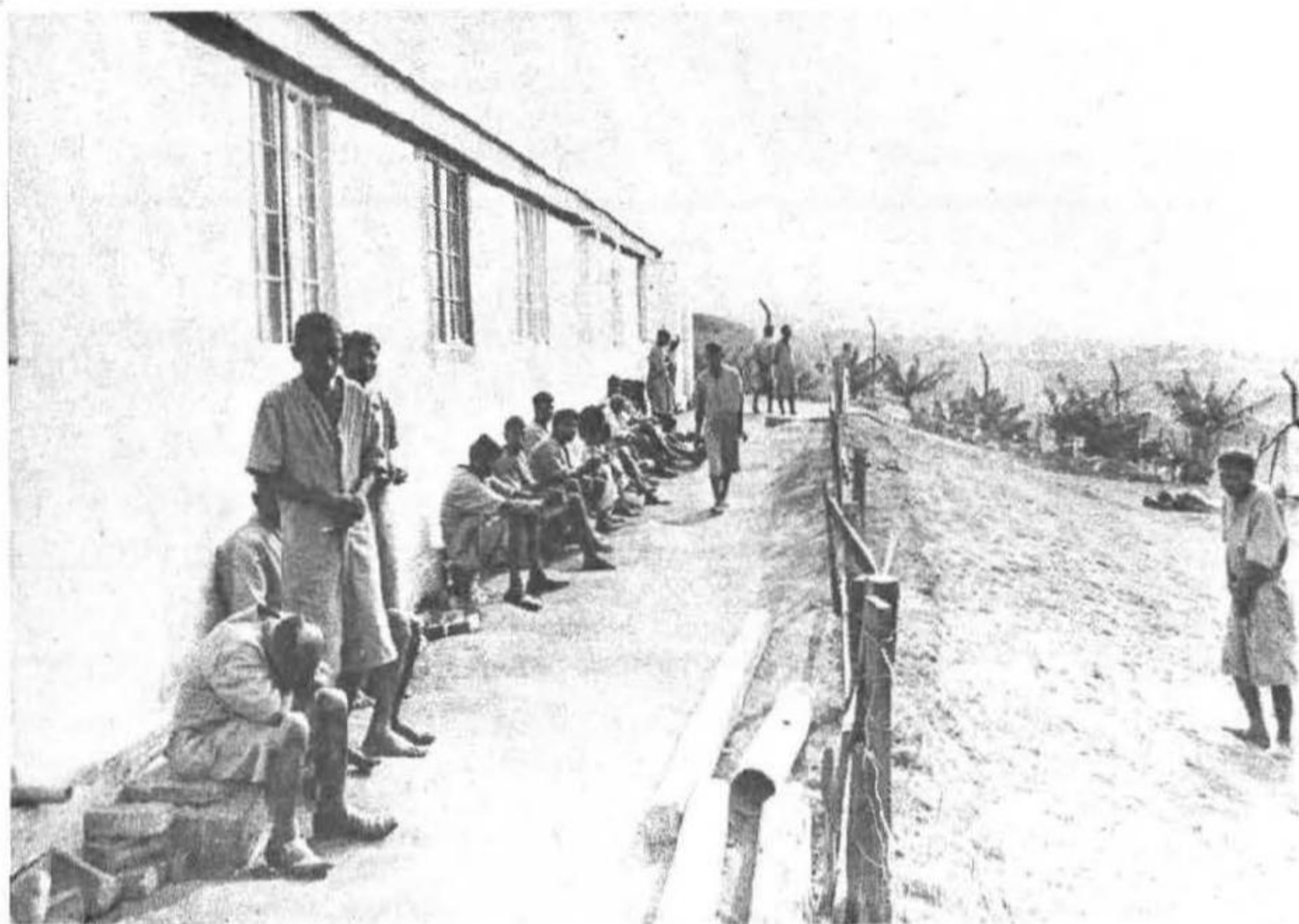
The United States capitalists, who were then ruling the country, in order to get more money, in order to avoid the inevitable class conflicts Marx talks about, began to exploit other countries in the Third World. Their profits increased, they threw some of their

their lot with the white power structure inside the United States. Until they begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness, where they will begin to fight to change this system, they will not work with us—we cannot wait for them, we must struggle alone.

We automatically hook up with the peoples of the Third World, because we see ourselves, and we are in fact colonies inside the United States; the peoples of the Third World are colonies outside the United States. The same power structure that exploits and oppresses you, is the very same power structure that exploits and oppresses us. It rapes us of the resources inside the colonies where we live, it rapes you of your resources outside in the colonies where you live. So even if our goals were different, even if our aims were different, even if our ideology was different, our enemy is the same, and the only way all of us will be

continued on p. 66

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND US PRISONS



This is a photo of a psychiatric concentration camp somewhere in South Africa.*

“... This so-called sanatorium is nothing else but one of 14 labor camps belonging to a private commercial firm: the Smith-Mitchell Company... a network of a particular type of institution reserved for Black patients.”**

For violating the codes of behavior im-

posed by the white settler colony state, Black people are sent to these camps as well as to the prisons. They are subjected to ‘treatment’ which includes electroshocks, torture, and slave labor.

“It was also learned that the doctor’s advice was not always preponderant to decide for or against internment in these institutions. Very often even this decision is taken by police officers.”

FOOTNOTES:

*This and other photographs of South African psychiatric detention camps were released by the Church of Scientology in Los Angeles. South Africa has since passed laws banning photos of the camps or mental patients. For holding these and other materials,

Church offices were raided by the FBI for ‘possession of classified government documents.’

**All quotes are from “South African Capital, Mental Illness and African Labor,” translated from *Jeune Afrique* by African Youth Movement for Liberation and Unity.



Here a truck hauls off inmates of the camp to work for private firms without pay.

"... The patients are being loaned under contract to member companies of the Smith-Mitchell group. There they manufacture among other items coat hangers, brushes, and labels..."

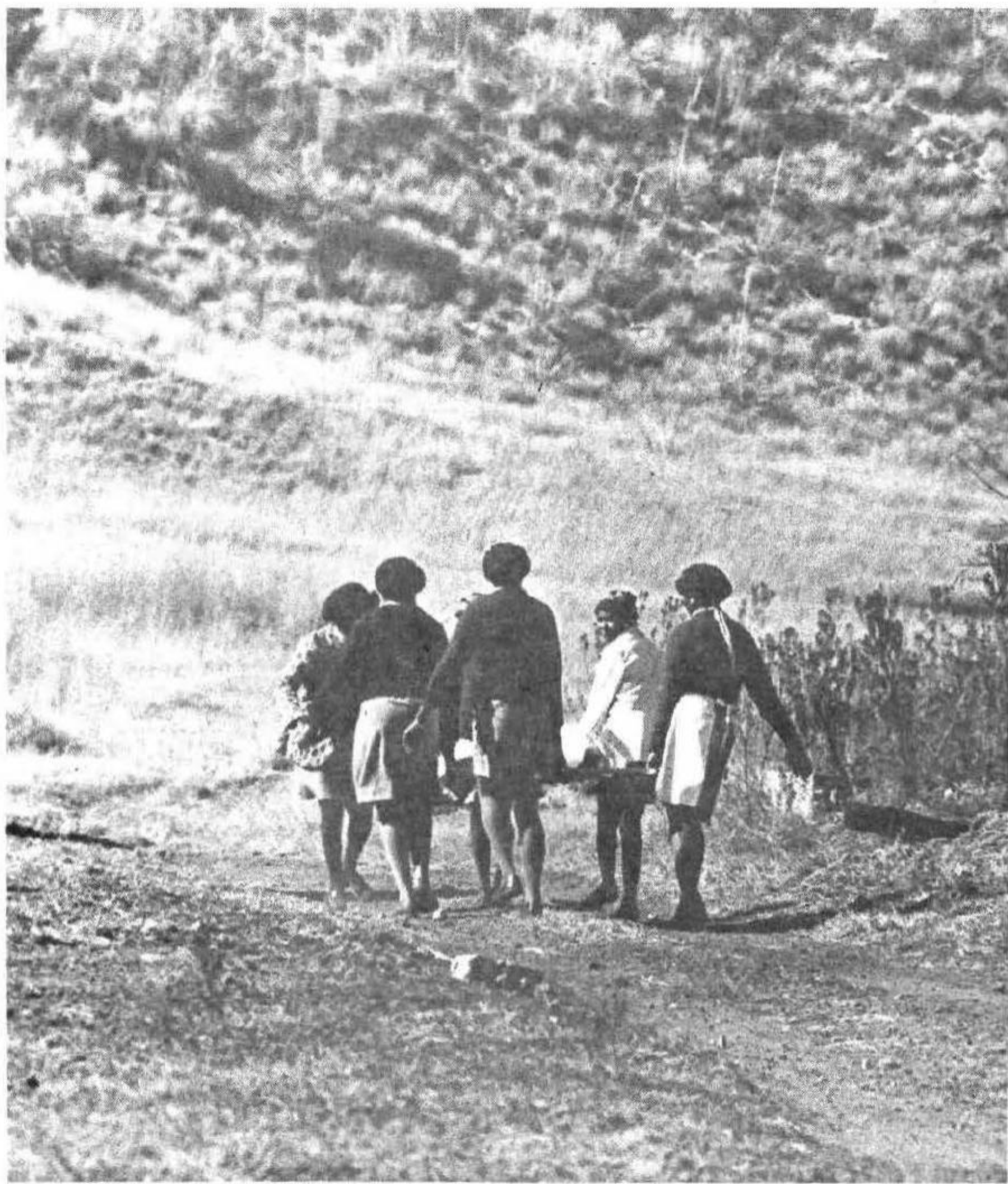
US imperialism is directly involved, through investments and contracts with the camps and other South African operations.

The drugs and techniques of behavioral control 'therapy' were developed through behavior modification programs and experiments in US prisons and mental institutions. The fascist laws of the *apartheid* system and white settler colonial rule, such as the bantustan/pass system, are modelled on US laws like those controlling Native Americans and the post-Reconstruction Black Codes.



Black people are rising up against this system, as in the Soweto rebellion, in many forms of struggle to gain their national liberation. The victories of national liberation struggles in Southern Africa weaken

imperialism and threaten the white supremacist South African state. In response, genocidal attacks on Black people, including behavior modification, are stepped up.



BEHAVIOR MOD



Nurses in the camp carry a body off for burial. Almost all work in the camps is done by inmates. The South African regime, through the camps and prisons and in the whole society, breaks up Black families to hold back Black national resistance. Women are forced to live in the barren bantustans, where thousands of infants die every year. 'Behavior mod', which poses as a 'clean' psychiatric technique with a jargon of rehabilitation and respectability, is part of this same genocidal strategy.

"The only treatment dispensed (in the camps) are tranquilizers and electroshock. The unfortunate patients undergo electroshock without any anesthesia . . . The patients sleep on mats which they themselves have woven and on boards. (Pit) toilets . . . are installed in the center of the rooms."

It is torture, to destroy either the will to resist, or the freedom fighters themselves.

MEANS GENOCIDE

ATTICA 1971



In US prisons as well, behavior mod is used as an important weapon in the administration's arsenal to control the most rebellious and militant prisoners, especially Black and other oppressed nation prisoners, and to contain the rebellion of women prisoners by enforcing subservient roles. Behavior mod, in which scientists put their expertise at 'human engineering' to the service of the imperialist state, is ultimately based on armed force, as was demonstrated when the armed forces of the state brutally retook control of Attica.

Behavior modification is used in the US and in South Africa to create a *prison within a prison*, to contain or crush resistance against white and male supremacy. In special sections, called Behavior Modification, Management Control, or Lock-Up units, terroristic attacks against prisoners, using electroshock, drugs that leave prisoners at the brink of death and totally dependent on prison doctors, psychosurgery, and other methods of mind control, are engaged in by prison administrators. Sundiata Acoli, Black P.O.W., explains the purpose of these techniques:

"The function of Behavior Modification . . . is to isolate, experiment and constantly harass prisoners in order to 'break' them or learn how to 'break' most prisoners. Those who won't 'break' run the risk of getting murdered—as was done to Andaliwa (s/n John Clark) here in the Management Control Unit (at Trenton State Prison) and to George Jackson in San Quentin 'O' Wing Lock-up."

The programs which the prisons officially classify as 'behavior mod' such as in the federal prison at Marion, Illinois or the California 'Medical' Facility at Vacaville, are only part of a whole system, that includes such legal methods as strip cells, solitary confinement, 'maintenance' drugging of up to 80% of women prisoners, attempts to 're-orient' lesbian and gay male prisoners, and the use of the death penalty, to maintain the prisons as institutions of white and male supremacy. At the same time, the State relies on extra-legal means to maintain control, like setting up prisoners for violent attacks, and encouraging white supremacist organizations among prisoners and guards.

Although behavior mod is aimed at destroying them, prisoners targeted by these programs have resisted, fighting back and exposing the system, like the Marion Brothers or the sisters of California Institute for Women who struggled successfully with outside support to prevent the establishment of a behavior mod unit there. This 1975 rebellion by women inmates in North Carolina also disclosed the use of behavior mod techniques at North Carolina Correctional Center for Women.

When Assata Shakur is held as the lone woman prisoner in a men's prison; when Dessie Woods is subjected to drugging and beating; when oppressed nation women are forcibly sterilized in prison; these are behavior mod procedures as surely as the use of hypnotic drugs to enforce conditioning or the CIA-sponsored mind-control experiments on prisoners and mental patients revealed in the recent "MK-Ultra" disclosures.



credit: Women in Prison



Angolan popular militia forces.

credit: Robert Kramer

Behavior mod will not save imperialism. In US prisons and in Southern Africa, the revolutionary forces of national liberation are leading the struggle against the imperialist system.

Through solidarity with these struggles, we can actively oppose imperialism. This means taking up the struggle against behavior mod, genocide, *apartheid*, and the

white settler colonies of Southern Africa; opposing colonial violence against Black and other oppressed nation women in the US; and mobilizing in defense of political prisoners and prisoners of war. By combatting white and male supremacy, and building solidarity with the forces of national liberation, we hasten the final destruction of the imperialist system.

AUGUST 21ST AT THE GATES OF SAN QUENTIN

Militant Demonstration

Opposes White Supremacist Attacks on Black Prisoners



"In realizing the reality of our situation, we know that we are not merely dealing with other racist prisoners, but also dealing with the administration, the pigs and neo-nazi right-wingers on the outside. We are seeking as much support as possible from the progressive and revolutionary elements on the outside to assist us in combatting the escalating racism, fascism, that confronts us all."

—Statement to the People from Black Prisoners inside San Quentin

On August 21, 1977, over 300 people massed outside the gates of San Quentin prison in a militant demonstration of solidarity with Black prisoners who are resisting murderous white supremacist attacks behind the walls. August 21st is the sixth anniversary of the assassination of Black revolutionary leader George Jackson by San Quentin prison guards; and the demonstration called by the newly-formed

August 21st Coalition marked one of the largest and most powerful actions of the prison solidarity movement in recent years.

Demonstrations in support of political prisoners and P.O.W.'s were also held in New York City and Los Angeles on the weekend of the 21st. The demands put forward at the San Quentin demonstration were:

STOP WHITE SUPREMACIST ATTACKS ON BLACK PRISONERS!

- End California Department of Corrections support and collaboration with white supremacist prisoner organizations in their attack on Black prisoners!
- Expose and defeat the Aryan Brotherhood, Ku Klux Klan, and Nazis!
- Fire Warden Sumner! End the Lockdown! Stop the Torture of Black Prisoners!
- We demand an investigation of Institutionalized White Supremacy at San Quentin—(to be conducted by community organizations and ex-prisoners.)
- End legal lynching! Defeat the Death Penalty!
- Free all Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War! Support the revolutionary prisoners movement!

Statements from Black prisoners, and speakers at the rally made clear that the growing unity between outside anti-imperialist forces and the struggle of Black prisoners is based on taking up the initiative to combat the white supremacist prisoner organizations and the white supremacist US state as a central part of fighting the system of imperialism.

Inside San Quentin, Black prisoners are being set up, attacked and murdered by white supremacist prisoner organizations like the Aryan Brotherhood, the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, with the active support of the San Quentin administration and the California Department of Corrections. The coalition's leaflet states:

"The Aryan Brotherhood, the KKK and

the Nazi Party are extra-legal arms of the criminal justice system, sanctioned to murder for the state, which then justifies increased repression on prisoners. White prisoners are armed to murder Black prisoners and get real privileges for supporting white supremacy (better assignments, early parole). Many white prisoners actively support white supremacy and genocidal attacks on Black prisoners.

"Some white prisoners do try to avoid being part of the attacks on Black people. These forces do, or could, support the exposure of what's happening in San Quentin today. We want to support them in their efforts to organize in solidarity with Black prisoners against these attacks."

In a statement to the people written in July, Black prisoners at San Quentin write:

... The latest events, the most recent stabbings and deaths resulting from racist attacks are not and cannot be isolated, they aren't isolated events. This is something that has been building, been escalating for the past six or 7 months, it could be linked to events of the past years also, but this is not intended to be a history of prison struggles ... but it must be kept in mind that they are all interconnected to the past.

"These racist attacks in 1977 that has been building, growing in numbers, has brought us to the bloody point that we are at now. Since the beginning of the year there has been over 20 stabbings here, and most has been against blacks! And of a total of 5 deaths so far this year, 2 of these has been black deaths, both the result of racist attacks. Comparatively speaking, a large percentage of the stabbings have been the result of several white con groups attacking blacks, with their racist brand of politics.

"... The situation here really reached the point of climax when brother Garland Berry (AKA, Poncho) was attacked and murdered by four whites on the upper yard directly below the sight of a white "guard-gunman" who was 30 feet above the area. Strange enough that the pig-guard's weapon was 'supposed' to have jammed after the initial warning shot, by the time it was un-jammed Berry lay bleeding near death in his back, his attackers still upon him, and brother Berry still trying to fight off their knives.

"The second shot was not at the racist attackers, but at the blacks that were near and attempting to assist the brother. The end result was the death of brother Berry. Without a doubt it was a 'set-up' by the pigs that knew him or knew of him (Berry) from the last time he was at San Quentin ... From this point on we've wavered on and off of lockdown status with the tension and racism continuously on the climb."



Speakers and statements at the rally clearly emphasized the links between the white supremacist offensive going on inside San Quentin and the Carter administration's escalating white and male supremacist campaigns of attack directed against Black, Native American, Chicano, Mexicano, and Puerto Rican peoples, and against women and gay people. Attacks on Black prisoners are increasing in San Quentin, Folsom and other California and US prisons. In New York's Napanoch Prison, prisoners have exposed a KKK chapter operating among the guards. Shortly after the murder of Garland Berry in San Quentin, (see box), uniformed Nazis demonstrated outside the prison in support of the white supremacist organizations that are committing these attacks. The response of the San Quentin administration to the killings and attacks has been to impose a 23-1/2 hour-a-day lockdown aimed at Black prisoners, and to transfer over 100 Black people to other prisons. This is an attempt to turn back revolutionary movement of Black prisoners and leave those remaining isolated and vulnerable to future attack.

A Black student from Campuses United Against Apartheid (U.C. Berkeley) spoke for the August 21st Coalition. He pointed out that US imperialism, on the defensive around the world as a result of its defeats in Indochina and now especially in Southern Africa, has resorted to more fascist methods of control of Black and other Third World people at home. He cited attacks on Third World prisoners, the reinstatement of the death penalty, genocidal sterilization of Black, Native American and Latina women, and the Bakke decision. Stressing the genocidal nature of the attacks against Blacks inside and outside of prison, he emphasized the need for Black people to organize to resist.

In a message read at the demonstration, Black prisoners in San Quentin said:

"The 'prison movement' in the United States emerged with political significance when the Soledad Brothers trial was thrust into national prominence, then the heroic attempt of Jonathan Jackson to liberate comrades out of the Marin County Courthouse, and the subsequent Ruchell Magee and Angela Davis trial followed by

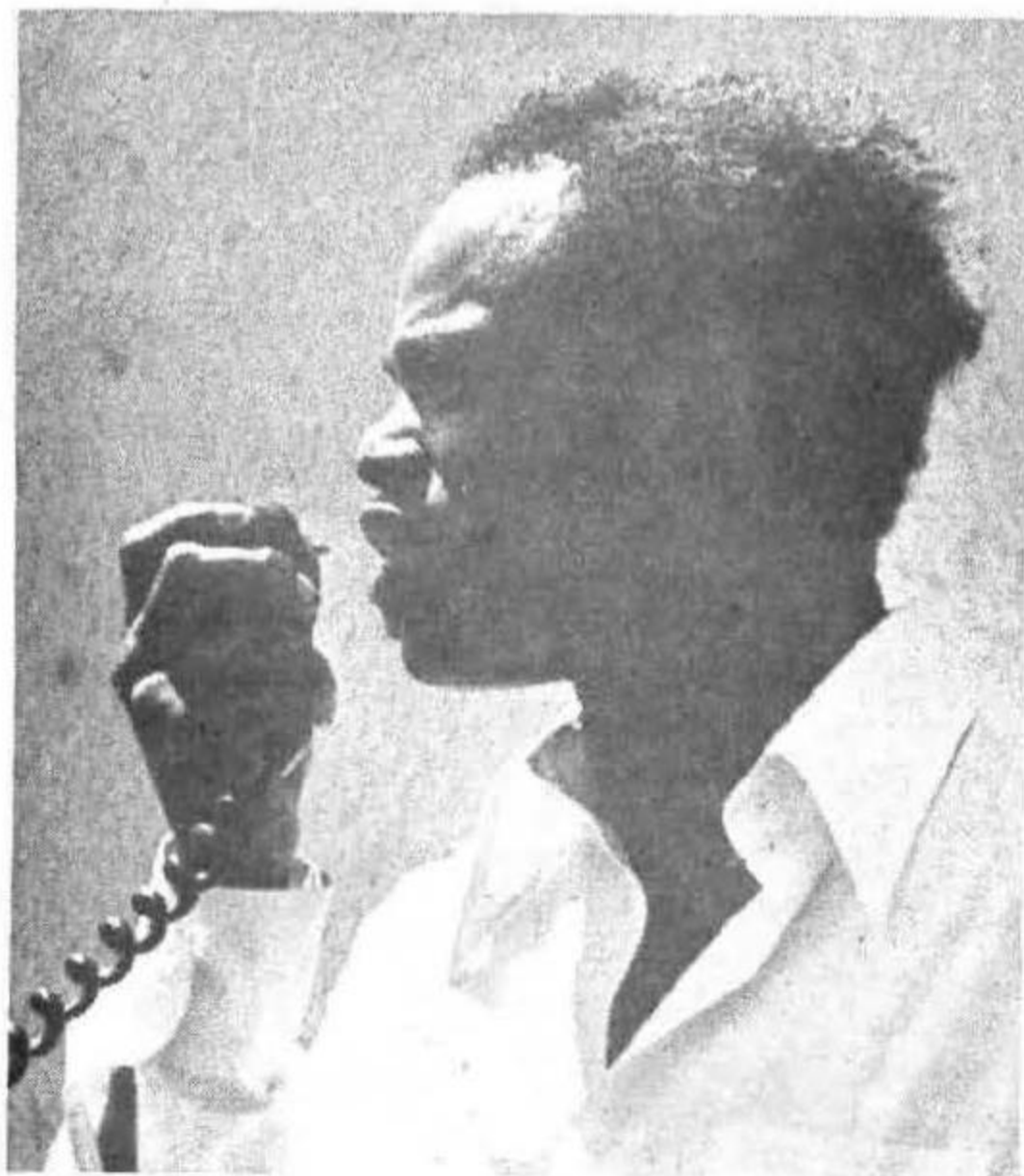
the San Quentin Six trial, and the state's assassination of our beloved brother George Jackson, then the courageous insurrection at Attica, which led to the brutal massacre of 43 human beings. Since then the Prison Movement has gained nationally in political strength and durability, with gradual momentum, steadily forging alliance with every segment of our class and national liberation movement.

"Brothers and Sisters have been organizing and resisting in nearly every state prison From Bedford Hills to North Carolina to California Institute for Women (CIW) strong and determined sisters have courageously organized and resisted against injustice and inhuman prison conditions. In Alabama and Trenton more strong and dedicated brothers (prison leaders) have been murdered off. Just a couple of weeks ago in New York State there have been two prison sieges behind prison conditions and treatment At this very hour, very moment, behind the walls before which you now stand there are political prisoners and captured prisoners of war (POW's) in the various lock-up units who continue to suffer all the dehumaniza-

tion, brutalization, racism and injustices the state can lease out; their lives hanging in the balance, or imbalance, of prison gun towers, racist authorities, and/or the whim of racist/fascist high courts. Eugene Allen-Ernest Graham (facing the death penalty), (Geronimo) Elmer Pratt, (Khatari) Jeffrey Gaulden, Anthony Bottom, Bill Harris, Russell Little . . . to name some of the better known names, which are actually just a few for the list is too long . . . "

On August 21st, Fleeta Drumgo, acquitted Soledad Brother and San Quentin Six defendant, returned to the gates of San Quentin for the first time since his release. Standing as close as 10 feet from the guards, Fleeta spoke of George Jackson, stressing how that leader of the Black liberation movement grew and developed in resistance to the oppression Black people are forced to live under in the US.

The demonstrators heard a solidarity statement from Skyhorse and Mohawk, two Native American prisoners of war facing frame-up charges in Los Angeles. A woman from the African People's Socialist Party spoke, as well as speakers from some of the many organizations that were active parti-



Fleeta Drumgo, acquitted Soledad Brother and SQ6 defendant, speaks of George Jackson, as he returns to the gates of San Quentin for the first time since his release.

cipants in the coalition: Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, Bay Area Gay Liberation, and Southern Africa Solidarity Committee.

In a statement of solidarity, PFOC noted:

"... In the Bay Area there has been too much talk, especially among white forces, that to fight the fascist organizations provokes them to further attacks. In fact, these attacks increase because, covered by the officialdom and our inaction, they can get away with it. Sharp exposure a year ago could have meant lives saved this year

"In prisons across the country, ... Black prisoners are resisting white supremacist attack. The Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis are busy organizing among both guards and white prisoners. These fascist outfits are supported by the highest officials of the California and US government.

"Prisoners have responded by organizing work stoppages and hunger strikes, rebellions and takeovers—fighting to transform the conditions of their existence. Revolutionary Black prisoners, especially, have been locked down as a part of the government's war of extermination on the Black liberation movement. They continue

their resistance from inside the walls in the face of isolation, behavior modification, and assassination.

"People working outside to build a mass movement against these attacks is necessary to protect the lives of Black comrades locked down and to create the conditions for their work to go on.

"The revolutionary prison movement is leading in struggle against US imperialism. In order to support this movement all the way, progressives and revolutionaries of the white oppressor nation must uphold the right to self-determination, independence, and sovereignty of all oppressed nations. Exposure of the organized white supremacist groups like the Aryan Brotherhood, the Nazis and the KKK must be followed up by exposure of the role of the state from President Carter and Governor Brown to Warden Sumner and his flunkies."

The August 21st Coalition action was enthusiastically received by many prisoners locked down in San Quentin, and the coalition is planning to continue its efforts in building an anti-imperialist prison solidarity movement.



In solidarity with Black revolutionaries inside San Quentin, demonstrators at the prison gates demand an end to the alliance of white supremacist organizations and the prison administration that is co-ordinating the mounting attacks on Black prisoners.

MOVEMENT BUILDS TO FREE DESSIE WOODS, SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE

Dessie X Woods is a Black woman who defended herself against the rape attempt of an armed white man. She is now serving a 22-year sentence, convicted of voluntary manslaughter and armed robbery. Dessie's case clearly shows that the rape of Black women by white men is an integral part of the colonial oppression of all Black people within the US, as well as raising the issue of women's right to defend themselves against male sexual assault.

On June 17, 1975, Dessie X Woods and Cheryl S. Todd were hitchhiking home to Atlanta from Reidsville, where they had gone to visit Todd's brother in prison. They were picked up by Ronnie Horne, a white man who—from the antenna on his car and the gun on the front seat—they thought was a police detective.

But Horne made his true intentions clear a short while later when he began to make sexual threats to the two women, and pulled his car off the road in a deserted area. Cheryl Todd, who had been raped before, ran screaming from the car. Horne picked up his gun in an apparent attempt to shoot her. Dessie Woods, defending her friend's life and her own, fought Horne for the gun and then shot him twice in the head. She and Cheryl Todd then took the money from Horne's wallet to pay their way back to Atlanta.

Two days later they were arrested and charged with murder and armed robbery. Their trial took place in Hawkinsville, Georgia, a small, reactionary white supremacist plantation town. The state intentionally created an atmosphere of terror to intimidate local Black residents from speaking out in support of Dessie Woods, or from serving on the jury. State troopers, Sheriff's Deputies and local police staged

an armed occupation of the courthouse and the town. Rumors were spread that thousands of Black militants from Atlanta would descend on Hawkinsville and wreck the city. The presiding Judge O'Conner issued a court order severely restricting the ability of Dessie's supporters to demonstrate on her behalf, and making it extremely difficult for the press to publicize the true issues of the case.

The message behind these actions by the white power structure was clear to everyone: the state and local authorities and the white residents of Hawkinsville had every intention of holding onto their white supremacist control over Black people's lives. They hoped to make Dessie Woods an example so that Black people would not dare resist their colonial oppression.

Despite this repression, support was mobilized from Atlanta, and several demonstrations were held in Hawkinsville demanding Dessie's freedom. A local defense committee was also set up, and many local Black residents, including a number of high school students, joined in the picket lines around the courthouse.

The trial itself was a railroad. The defense attorney, who had just taken the case, was given no time to prepare a defense. And even though the state was unable to prove its case on the strength of the evidence they presented, and the jury reported that it was hopelessly deadlocked, Judge O'Conner demanded that they reach a verdict. They returned a "compromise" verdict: Dessie X Woods was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter and armed robbery.

Judge O'Conner then sentenced her to 10 years on the manslaughter charge and 12

years on the robbery charge. He also refused to grant an appeal bond. He claimed that Dessie was a "threat to the community."

An appeal has been filed recently with the Georgia Supreme Court, to overturn Dessie's conviction. The appeal brief stresses that:

"despite the fact that women are encouraged to depend on others for their protection, women have not received meaningful protection from sexual assault Thus, there has been a recent pattern of women finding it necessary to resort to weapons to defend themselves against physical assault."

The history of white violence against Black women is also raised:

"The appellant's assailant was a white male. The appellant is a Black female. The charge to the jury should have encompassed the historical and traditional role of white males as sexual aggressors against Black females in the American South. It should have encompassed the deep fear a Black woman harbors for those kinds of things she has heard a white man would do in the South to a Black woman."

While waiting for that appeal to be heard, Dessie remains imprisoned in the Georgia Women's Institute of Corrections at Hardwick, Georgia. She faces continual harassment and brutality at the hands of the prison guards and administration there. She is forcibly drugged and beaten, and kept in isolation from other prisoners.



credit: Burning Spear

"Tell the people victory is ours, and Dessie Woods is strong! strong! strong!"—Dessie Woods

Several times she has been thrown nude into punishment cells. Her mail is intercepted and often she does not receive it.

This brutal treatment is an attempt to break Dessie's spirit of resistance and to stem the tide of support that is building for her across the country. But Dessie remains strong. Since the trial the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods has mobilized several support demonstrations and forums in Atlanta, and there are people working for Dessie's freedom in Maine; Philadelphia; New York City; Providence, Rhode Island; the San Francisco Bay Area; Louisville, Kentucky and in several cities in Florida. The primary source of Dessie's support is progressive and revolutionary nationalist Black organizations and individuals. The African People's Socialist Party has played a strong leading role in mobilizing this support.

The most significant solidarity demonstration that has taken place to date is the National Mobilization to Free Dessie Woods, held in Atlanta on September 4th. Despite a near-total news blackout by both the imperialist bourgeois press *and* most of the oppressor nation "left" newspapers, such as the Guardian, over 500 people attended the September 4th mobilization in a steady rain.

This rally was a significant event not only because it opened a new stage in the struggle to free Dessie Woods, but because it mobilized massive support for the political understanding that the rape of Black women by white men must be viewed in the context of the history of the colonial oppression of all African people within the im-

perialist borders of the US. Despite these important victories, most of the white left press did not report the September 4th mobilization. The Guardian did not even see fit to *mention* it in their weekly half-page of "Black News". This omission is entirely consistent with their practice of denying that there is an independent Black struggle for national liberation and self-determination within the US. It is yet another example of the Guardian choosing to ignore or attack revolutionary Black nationalist organizing efforts.

A public forum was also held on September 14th in Berkeley, CA, attended by close to 200 people.

Continued support is needed to free Dessie Woods. You can help by contacting:

**National Committee
to Free Dessie Woods**
Post Office Box 92084
Morris Brown Station
Atlanta, 30314; or

Dessie Woods Support Coalition
Post Office Box 71
San Anselmo, CA 94960

Following is a statement from the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods explaining the importance of the September 4th mobilization; and statements by Assata Shakur, Inez Garcia, the Afrikan People's Party, the African People's Socialist Party and Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, in solidarity with the September 4th action.

FREE DESSIE WOODS!!

**SMASH WHITE VIOLENCE
AGAINST BLACK WOMEN!**

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND DESSIE WOODS

On September 4th we are calling on the peoples of the U.S. to come together in one location to clearly demonstrate to the Georgia and U.S. ruling class our collective intent to free Dessie Woods from prison and to disclose the real contradictions in this country; the contradictions responsible for police terror throughout the Black, Native peoples', and Puerto Rican "communities"; contradictions responsible for the attacks on the democratic rights of women and homosexuals; contradictions responsible for the obscenely disproportionate number of Black people in the prisons and on death row.

The case of Dessie Woods is obviously very important to various people and organizations throughout the U.S. as indicated by the hundreds of letters and petitions we have been receiving.

For some groups, primarily women, the rape aspect of the case was the most significant, with one woman mailing a contribution with a note explaining, "women will always be attacked until we learn to fight back!" Other women's groups saw the main aspect of the case as one which demonstrates the "common oppression of women" throughout the U.S. and the world.

Georgia State Senator Julian Bond sees the Dessie Woods case as revealing "the present rightward political assault on women, Blacks and Third World people."

Most Black organizations have seen the case of Dessie Woods as an attack on Black people generally. National Committee Chairman Omawale Kefing has described the attack on Dessie Woods as one by the U.S. ruling class state, designed to "keep all Black people oppressed and passive for the sake of profit." Afrikan People's Party leader Saladin Muhammad defined the Dessie Woods struggle as one which "exemplifies ... the colonial contradiction ...," as did the African People's Socialist Party.

While the National Committee to Defend

Dessie Woods is in basic unity with the position that the attack on Dessie Woods by the State of Georgia is representative of the use of traditional colonialist terror against Black people, we do believe that a successful mobilization and defense of Dessie Woods will be a major setback for the reactionary anti-woman attitude and forces which exist within the U.S. We believe a successful mobilization and defense of Dessie Woods will strengthen the anti-rape forces and escalate the movement to crush rape as a violent, terroristic political weapon against women ...

We know this is no easy task, for we know who we are—the Defense Committee and our friends. Generally we are the independence forces and persons who represent progressive ideas and institutions, who are generally isolated from the so-called leftist movement because of its inability to win political hegemony over our struggle.

We are the ones in whose name the left purports to struggle, but whose legitimacy and worldview it rejects in practice. Therefore, we are without the material support the left generally provides for actions it controls and endorses.

Therefore, we are generally left to our own primitive devices and resources to get to Atlanta on September 4th. However, we must get to Atlanta if we are to lend legitimacy to our own movement; if we are to ever circumvent the ability of misleaders to put forth struggle in the name of the victims of imperialism and national oppression in a fashion that actually contributes to our victimization.

It is not enough that we experience subjective unity with the cause of Dessie Woods. We must act now. For as Black Liberation Army leader Sundiata Acoli has correctly noted: "The more sweat in peace, the less blood in war."

Forward to Atlanta!
Strike a Thousand Blows for Liberation!
Free Dessie Woods!



ASSATA SHAKUR

During slavery, Black women were forced to be sexual objects for any white man who desired them. The rape of Black women was openly sanctioned and rewarded by the white power structure and the racist political system. Although slavery was "officially" abolished on paper, a century ago, today in 1977 a Black woman stands sentenced to 22 years in prison, for defending herself against a white man who attempted to rape her, and her companion. Dessie Woods is that Black woman and Dessie Woods needs our support.

Anyone who proclaims to be against racism, against injustice, against sexism and sexual abuse, has got to come to the aid of

Dessie Woods. As a Black woman and as the mother of a womanchild, I know that by supporting Dessie Woods and her companion, Cheryl Todd, I am supporting the right of all our sisters to walk the streets unmolested. By fighting for the freedom of Dessie Woods, we are fighting against a system of injustice that protects the real criminals and prosecutes the victims. If we turn our backs on Dessie Woods, then we are turning our backs on our mothers, our sisters, our daughters and ourselves.

Show Concrete Support for Our Sister!

**SUPPORT THE SEPTEMBER 4TH ATLANTA
MOBILIZATION FOR DESSIE WOODS!**

Assata Shakur

s/n Joanne Chesimard

INEZ GARCIA

I just got acquitted from my rape case and as a victim (three years) of the judicial system, I will be involved in helping other women like yourself. Please let me know what I can do on your behalf.

Inez Garcia

Inez Garcia with Willie Tate. Nov. 1976



AFRICAN PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY

The African People's Socialist Party extends our solidarity and the totality of our resources to the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods as well as your efforts for the September 4th national mobilization and rally in Atlanta, Georgia.

We realize that Dessie Woods is guilty of no crime, that the real criminal is dead, and that it is only because of the colonial relationship that Black people in the U.S. have with the U.S. North American state that Dessie Woods is in Prison.

The National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods can depend on the African People's Socialist Party to do everything in our power to mobilize as many people as possible for the September 4th national march and rally. We must struggle from generation to generation for Independence in Our Lifetime!

One People, One Cause, One Party!

Joseph Waller, Chairman
African People's Socialist Party

AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

The Afrikan People's Party definitely and strongly endorses the national mobilization scheduled in Atlanta on Sister Dessie Woods' behalf. Her struggle not only is the struggle to free an Afrikan Prisoner of War, but exemplifies in the most crystal clear sense, the colonial contradiction be-

tween the New Afrikan colonized nation and the U.S. imperialist state.

We Will Win!

Saladin Muhammad
Afrikan People's Party

PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee sends greetings of solidarity to the sisters and brothers of the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods. As many Black revolutionary forces have said, Dessie's courageous fight against white rapist Horne is a stand against colonial violence. Rape of Black women continues to be part of the colonial violence and terror that has affected Black women and all Black people since the beginnings of slavery. Although colonialism changes its forms, it is still the main question all progressive forces seriously fighting US imperialism must deal

with. Colonialism at home and abroad must be defeated. We, of PFOC, will continue to work in the California Committee to Free Dessie Woods to provide material concrete support for the struggle. We will work to educate and mobilize oppressor nation (white) women and men to unite in active solidarity with Dessie, her actions, and the efforts of the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods. This is our duty.

SMASH COLONIAL VIOLENCE!
FREE DESSIE WOODS!

SEPTEMBER 12

The Assassination of Steve Biko by the Union of South Africa



On September 12, Black South African leader Steven Biko was murdered while undergoing torture at the hands of the South African police. Widespread Black protest and international condemnation has thrown the Vorster regime into its gravest political crisis since the Soweto uprisings last year.

The current wave of repression against Black South Africans is coming at a time when the white settler colonialist regimes and their US imperialist backers are on the defensive. Last year's uprisings were the most massive in South African history, and armed struggle in Zimbabwe approaches victory.

Andrew Young's maneuvers in the United Nations and in Geneva can neither stop the military defeats nor the deepening political isolation of the colonialist govern-

ments. The response of the white colonialists is dual: on the one hand, there is an intensification of repression directed against Black leaders and increasingly aggressive military action by South Africa and the CIA-backed UNITA throughout the region. On the other hand, US imperialism tries to forestall the decisive defeat of the Smith and Vorster regimes through hypocritical talk of "non-violent settlement as the only alternative to total destruction and bloodshed", accompanied by pressure on Pretoria and Salisbury to make certain cosmetic changes in apartheid law.

The flowers that A. Young sent to Steve Biko's funeral can not cover the foul stench of US imperialism as the cardinal supporter of South Africa's repressive state machinery. Through NATO, the US government supplies a whole technology of terror to the



Mourners at Biko's funeral vow to heighten the struggle against the Vorster regime.

white supremacist rulers, including riot control, anti-guerrilla warfare, and nuclear and missile technology. Repressive techniques, devised and perfected in Viet Nam, have come home for use against national liberation movements inside the borders of the US, and are exported as well.

Now SWAT officers travel frequently to Southern Africa. When Henry Kissinger visited South Africa last year he was met by General Hendrick Vanden Burgh, a Nazi sympathizer who is head of South Africa's secret police and BOSS (Bureau of State Security, which is modeled after the CIA). The campaigns of murder and disruption carried out by BOSS bear a striking resemblance to the FBI's COINTELPRO program directed against the revolutionary Black nationalist movement in the US, and the US itself has never balked at the cold-

blooded murder of Black liberation fighters in the prisons.

ZANU estimates that 50% of the Rhodesian Army is made up of white mercenaries. Recently it has been documented that many of these mercenaries are covertly recruited by the CIA and US Army. Against this reality, Carter and Young's speeches about "human rights" and "non-violent, productive, and humane change" are revealed for what they are—**neo-colonialist lies!**

Protest Steve Biko's murder to tear the cover off these neo-colonialist lies!
Expose and resist all US government support to the white supremacist Southern African regimes!
Victory to the national liberation struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa!

SUPPORT SID WELSH!

A Statement from the Sid Welsh Defense Committee



On January 1, 1976, Sid Welsh, Mohave Indian and AIM activist, was arrested in Indio, California for malicious possession of two blasting caps. Now, on Nov 21, Sid is facing his second trial on these charges. During the first trial, the prosecution failed to produce the evidence, saying that it had accidentally been destroyed. The defense knows that there never were any blasting caps.

Regardless of the lack of evidence, and influenced by the testimony of FBI agents who had been flown in from all over the Southwest and from Washington DC, the jury convicted Sid. The conviction was based on the grounds that, as an Indian and as an AIM member, he *could* have possessed the blasting caps. That decision was overturned on the technical grounds of faulty jury instructions, and a new trial was granted.

During the first trial, Sid's counsel was the Indio Public Defender. This time he is acting as his own lawyer. Despite his lack of legal training, in late August he won a block of pre-trial motions. Included in this were several discovery of evidence motions aimed directly at the FBI, as well as a change of venue to Riverside.

Knowing the weakness of their case, Indio authorities offered Sid a deal, where he would plead guilty to a misdemeanor and serve no time. Sid rejected this: "I plan to use this trial as a forum to educate the public about the FBI," he said. "I'm not guilty of this charge, and I won't make any deal."

All over the country, AIM activists are being harassed, persecuted, falsely charged, and railroaded into jail. Dennis Banks, at a recent benefit for Sid in Berkeley, said:

"Sid Welsh represents Dennis Banks, he represents Leonard Peltier, he represents Yvonne Wanrow, he represents *all* Native Americans."

When Sid speaks about his case, it is in terms of a "continuing struggle"—a struggle which he intends to carry on whether or not he is put behind bars. He faces five to life if convicted, but remains undaunted.

Expenses in this trial are many. To make donations or for further information, write:

Sid Welsh Defense Committee
Native American Defense Fund

225 Valencia Street
San Francisco CA 94110

We are going to pack the courtroom at Riverside, and demonstrate at the opening of the trial. We are going to show the face of the FBI to America.

—Sid Welsh Defense Committee

1971:

OPEN LETTER TO THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

by the New York Panther 21

BREAKTHROUGH is reprinting a criticism of the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) made by the New York Panther 21 in early 1971. We believe that this statement is still relevant and important today, when many of the practices and politics it criticizes are still alive and active. The statement is also an important contribution to the development of a strategy for revolutionary activity by Black people in the heartland of the US empire.

The New York Panther 21 were Black Panther Party members and associates who were subjected to a lengthy frame-up and trial by the state on explosives and conspiracy charges. These charges were based primarily on the testimony of agents and police informers. The Panther 21 were the targets of intense harassment, including the beating of defendant Joan Bird, the orchestrated campaign against them in the media, and prohibitive bails. A number of the 21, including Richard 'Dharuba' Moore, became fugitives. (Moore was later busted for allegedly taking part in the Black Liberation Army attacks on repressive state forces, and is still imprisoned.)

Through a strong political defense, including militant courthouse demonstrations of solidarity, the Panther 21 were eventually acquitted, as the jury summarily rejected the state's trumped-up and unsupported charges. During the trial, nine of the New York Panther 21, who were still in prison, were expelled from the Black Panther Party by Huey P. Newton, after the statement criticising the WUO was released, because it contained remarks

which were interpreted as also critical of the BPP.

The Panther 21 open letter to the WUO was a response to the Weather communique entitled "New Morning, Changing Weather" issued earlier, which the 21 saw as a retreat from previous WUO practice of armed revolutionary action in solidarity with national liberation. "New Morning" contained a self-criticism by the WUO for what they termed a "military error", which actually tended to obscure or divert political struggle within the white left about armed struggle and its relationship to self-determination for internal oppressed nations, and had aspects of liquidating WUO support for national liberation and revolutionary war. "New Morning" laid out a strategy for basing the WUO in a developing 'white youth nation'. The WUO never answered the 21's criticisms of the direction expressed in the New Morning document.

Two-line struggle within the WUO continued in various forms in its practice and statements, through the publication of the book *Prairie Fire*. Details of the adoption of a consolidated opportunist political line by the WUO and forces upholding the line of *Osawotamie*, can be found in "The Split of the Weather Underground Organization" and in the first issue of BREAKTHROUGH, available from the John Brown Book Club (see order form elsewhere in this issue). It is especially timely to reprint this criticism now, as some of the same forces persist in these bankrupt white and male supremacist politics, and are trying to reorganize on this opportunist basis yet again.

(REPRINT)

OPEN LETTER TO WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND FROM PANTHER 21

We, of the Panther 21, take this opportunity to greet you with a spirit of revolutionary love and solidarity—that spirit that revolutionists feel for each other—that spirit that our enemies cannot understand nor deal with—that spirit that defies their divide and rule campaign—with that spirit—we greet you.

We wish to make known to you that we feel an unrighteous act has been done to you by the self-proclaimed “vanguard” parties by their obvious neglect in not openly supporting you—by their obvious disregard of and silence on your righteous revolutionary actions. But they have all but ignored us also—so in that respect we are in similar waters. But we wish to inform you that the most revolutionary and progressive brothers that we have met within the confines of a maximum security Babylon—along with us—have considered you one of the—if not the true vanguard within the confines of the artificial boundaries of the United States of Amerikkka at this time. You related to action—the unequivocal truth—by which revolutionaries gauge each other.

This letter is to acknowledge your actions—and like how we have watched your growth—and to relate to you how we have felt revolutionary joy on both accounts. This letter is also a response to your latest communique—“New Morning—Changing Weather.” In it we can sense and feel your frustration and sense of isolation. We know the feeling very well, having felt it ourselves for the last 21 months.

We also very keenly feel the loss of direction, the confusion and chaos that is running rampant out there. We see how the pigs are working overtime to try and fuck things up—but we also see how much of the misdirection comes from these self-proclaimed “vanguard” parties themselves. How these “omnipotent” parties are throwing seeds of confusion, escapism, and have lost much of their momentum through bad tactics—in fact terrible tactics, tripping out, pseudo-machoism, arrogance, myrmidonism, dogmatism, regionalism, regimentation, and fear. Thus the situation out there has become a sort of lost leading the blind. We have seen our comrades-in-arms sit in maximum security and dig the contradictions out in the streets—get bailed out—and then not be able to deal with it head-on—so that finally, they too become co-opted by the bullshit—and now cannot confront us—cannot look us in the eye. So from our experiences we are responding to your communique because although we can understand fully where you are coming from—we sensed a certain mood and saw certain statements in your communique that sent chills up our spine.

We can see your attitude towards the mother country “youth culture”—how it was “the forces which produced” you, “a culture that” you “were part of, a young and unformed society (nation).” We can also see “the possibilities that exist for” you “to develop the movement so that as revolutionaries” you “change and shape the cultural revolution”—You “are in a position to change it for the better.” We can also see that you feel—and rightfully so—the need for more support from the mother country youth. But we feel that most of the mother country youth culture communes smack heavily with escapism—a danger you must be aware of and guard yourselves against.

Another facet to be considered is that there is a world of difference between a MOVEMENT and a REVOLUTION. Movements can go in many directions—and all at one time—and can only be used up to a certain point. Like the essence of the government’s power has been FORCE and its ability to maintain a gap between the people’s beliefs and the realities of society. For what the people do not understand they cannot control. A movement can deal with the belief/reality gap, but not with force. The only thing that can deal with reactionary force and violence is revolutionary counter-force and counter-violence. Another factor to be considered is that just because you “go out into the air” does not necessarily mean that you will be closer to the people—Look at the self-proclaimed “vanguard” parties.

Many of the peace people are out there, not because they feel a solidarity with the Vietnamese, but because they don’t like war—something that is inevitable in any oppressed/oppressor struggles—or

they are really Amerikkkan—they don't subconsciously want this imperialistic country—their home—to be whipped. We have no idea how you are going to deal with the latter, but as far as we are concerned—with the former—to quote Sartre—“... if violence began this very evening and if exploitation and oppression had never existed on the earth, perhaps the slogans of non-violence might end the quarrel. But if the whole regime, even your non-violent ideas, are conditioned by a thousand year-old oppression, your passivity serves only to place you in the hands of the oppressors.”

You must also deal with racism within your “youth culture”—although as Sartre states—the “worthiest souls contain racial prejudice”—we are talking about overt racial prejudice. You mention the demonstrations over Kent State and Jackson State—but there was a world of difference in them—a racial difference—an overt racial difference. When the Kent State incident occurred—the nation stopped—flags flew at half mast—everybody was uptight—that in no way resembles the magnitude—or rather the lack of magnitude concerning the Jackson State incident. The former—as you said “showed real power and made a strong difference”—the latter did not put anyone “on the defensive” except black people.

We can understand your need to build a strong sense of community—it is a necessity for you in the mother country—just as it is for us in the colonies. Now while doing this we must use this new consciousness and recognize it for what it is—a perception of reality. We—you especially, under the circumstances—must realize that “grass and organic consciousness-expanding drugs” are NOT weapons of the revolution—they may be a tool to bring you together in a sense of community—but they will not bring the Amerikkkan system down. Remember—the amount of hard drugs increased proportionately with the growing political awareness in the black community—and that was no accident—and the establishment uses its tools, not only “the killer drugs (smack and speed)—to pacify and destroy young people”—but also DANGEROUSLY adulterated organic consciousness-expanding drugs. Also these things—these “tools” can also be used for escapism—and again to quote Sartre—“in other words, the colonized people protect themselves against colonial estrangement by going one better—in religious estrangement and wine and dope and organizations and petitions and congresses.”

Then in your “youth communities” of the mother country—the emphasis is on individual freedom still, while we are dealing with group freedom still. Thus where do blacks and the rest of the third world fit into the scheme of things in your “new families”? You see, you state that “none of these changes that people are going through are rules and principles.” Now in dealing with the mother country—black and third world relationships—in dealing with revolution—in dealing with “the need for new men and new women”—you are dealing with principles—or are you trying to tell us that these contradictions have been dealt with—we are not convinced. We realize that this will be a protracted struggle—but when does protracted become non-movement—escapism-isolation- and retrogression? Those contradictions—all of the above—must be dealt with—and rapidly—without a drop in the armed struggle. As Dowbar of Brazil states:

“You cannot build the revolutionary consciousness of a population through political explanations. But military actions can create this consciousness.” And as history has shown, Martin Luther King's tactics can only work to a certain extent. It is your duty as revolutionaries to “change and shape the cultural revolution” into a real revolutionary culture—to shape your youth to fight.

For instance, take a group, a party and its supporters with a few activists—it can move in a revolutionary manner against the pigs OR it can function—have a newspaper, hold rallies, conventions, congresses, etc.—then rhetoricians rhetoric, functionaries function, printing presses print, delegates travel, international friendships grow, “leaders” become overwhelmed with “work”—then the prospects of armed struggle—real revolution diminish. It gets lost in the “works”—it becomes to be looked upon as adventurism—always premature—it might “sabotage” the legality of the party—(which if it was effective would be illegal anyway)—it might bring down too much repression—meanwhile, the fascists snatch out the activists—who are not so noisy—but deemed more dangerous. Does this sound familiar?

We say—Right on!—Use the new consciousness... BUT remember this new consciousness of love, creativity, and liberation will not stop the exploitation of the third world. You state that you “had all come together around the militancy of young white people determined to reject racism and U.S. exploitation of the third world.” This involves a very basic fundamental thing that cannot involve much



Eleven of the New York Panther 21, at the time of their acquittal. Seated, left to right: Kinshasa, Clark Squire, (Sundiata Acoli, now imprisoned in New Jersey on charges stemming from the shoot-out in which he and Assata Shakur were captured in May, 1973), Joan Bird, Michael 'Cetewayo' Tabor, Ali Bey Hassan, Robert Collier, and Lumumba Shakur. Standing, left to right: Katarra, Baba Odinga, Shaba-Um, and Curtis Powell. Not shown: Afeni Shakur, Analeyi Dharuba, Lee Berry, Lonnie Epps, Jamal, Mhina, Larry Mack, Sekou, Richard Harris, Donald Weems, and a 22nd person, Fred Richardson, not originally indicted, but held at Bellevue after his return from Barbados.

vacillating—the people's hunger—2/3 of the world—the third world—is starving—with an average life expectancy of 33-35 years of age. Do you believe that your "Acting openly, denouncing Nixon, Agnew, and Mitchell," and sharing your "numbers and wisdom together with young sisters and brothers" will—in the eye of the octopus of Amerikkka—significantly deal with such situations as South Africa, Latin America, Palestine, Rhodesia?—Will it "blow away" the people's hunger? Will it free in any way any of the chains around the Red Man, the Black Man, the Chicano, the Puerto Rican? For over four years the new consciousness has known about the contradictions concerning Vietnam—yet the largest mass demonstrations were in May 1970—that's Vietnam. How long will it be before all of the contradictions are known and make themselves felt about conditions for third world people in this country, in South Africa, Panama, U.S. aid to South Africa and Portugal, U.S. and Russia moving closer to try and contain China? Will rallies and demonstrations—even on a mass level—do much to combat racism and the U.S. exploitation of the third world? Remember the U.S. economy is based on this very exploitation and the U.S. is also a warfare state—a dynamic capitalist power, requiring periodic wars to survive! No philosophical masturbation or no other "ism" is going to deal with it. The Amerikkkan machine and its economy must be destroyed—and it can only be done with intelligent political awareness and armed struggle—revolution! Or do you believe that this new consciousness can really reach Westmoreland and Laird and Stennis and Eastland and—?

We are sorry to hear that the town-house "forever destroyed" your "belief that armed struggle is the only real struggle." That places us in a unique position because, as Che stated—"Armed struggle is the only solution for people who fight to free themselves"—and we have lost dearly loved comrades.

Also—probably every experienced revolutionary has—but we realize that risks must be taken—some will die—others will replace them (or us)—like people rapping about ending racism, colonialism, sexism, and all of the other pig “isms”, exploitation and all that—but these things can only be ended by revolution—and revolution is—in the final analysis—ARMED STRUGGLE—revolution is VIOLENCE—revolution is WAR—revolution is BLOODSHED! How long have different successful national liberation fronts fought before they have won large popular support?

Che stated—“A revolution is a handful of men and women with no other alternative but death or victory. At moments when death is a concept a thousand times more real, and victory a myth that only a revolutionary can dream of.” Are you hip to Marighella—Carlos Marighella? “Revolutionary action unleashed by small groups of armed men was the great strength that nourished our struggle.” “Revolutionary organization usually grows by two important methods; 1) grouping and training of political cadres to hold meetings and discuss documents and programs; 2) revolutionary action—its method is extreme violence and radicalization. We chose the latter because we feel it is the most convincing method and that the former leads—if not combined with the latter—to bourgeois tactics and loses initiative.” “Action is what will awaken the revolutionary energy among our people, that is what will determine the formation of such a battle force that no one will be able to hold it back.” “Our methods and forms of organization are subordinate to revolutionary action and we will not stand for anything that may impede and limit such action—every one of our actions is a revolutionary action and aims at seizing power through violence of revolutionary war.”

We have had too many martyrs. We desperately need more revolutionists who are completely willing and ready at all times to KILL to change conditions. Just to be ready to die does not make a revolutionist—it just makes a martyr—“revolutionary suicide” and “only those who die are proven revolutionaries”—are bullshit—tripping escapist bullshit—a revolutionist escapes death as a natural phenomenon, but MUST be ready to KILL to change conditions. Revolution is ARMED STRUGGLE—revolution is VIOLENCE—revolution is WAR—revolution is BLOODSHED—and the “duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution.”

Now we must make ourselves clear—we agree with you that demonstrations and rallies may have some use—and as you state “someone must call for them, put out leaflets, convince people that it is a priority”—but the only way to get good support—to quote Marighella again—“The rebellion of the urban guerilla and his persistence in intervening in public questions is the best way of insuring public support of the cause we defend—we repeat and insist on repeating: IT IS THE BEST WAY OF INSURING PUBLIC SUPPORT. As soon as a reasonable section of the population begins to take seriously the action of the urban guerrilla.” You state “People become revolutionary in the schools, in the army, in prisons, in communes, and on the streets.” BUT the only thing that “will blow away the fear of the students at Kent State, the smack of the Lower East Side and the national silence after the bombings of North Vietnam” is victorious military action by the revolutionaries here in Babylon who are in complete solidarity with the third world revolutionaries. Information has to be distributed on ALL of the contradictions caused by the U.S. exploitation of the third world—but while we see that rallies and demonstrations on a mass level are a contribution—like keeping Nixon and company off the streets—at this point intensified mass demonstrations will serve a dual purpose and be much more functional only if they are used in coordination with armed action—military action. For instance—we know full well and feel and can relate to your frustration—like when we were in the Long Island City (Branch Queens) jail rebellion—we felt that the people outside could have supported us in the fullest revolutionary manner in two or three simultaneous ways: 1) mass demonstrations at each of the prisons involved, 2) while the pigs—quite a large percentage—were surrounding the prisons—and if there had been mass demonstrations—while leaving the city vulnerable—in this case for five days—for some righteous urban guerilla military actions, and 3) if the chance occurred—to liberate the prisoners at any jail that the opportunity presents itself. Thus you see—the best tactics in revolution is in CONTINUOUS CONFRONTATION AND STRUGGLE.

As George Jackson states—“Every mass movement in history has been led by one person or a small group of people. Although everyone is born with a brain only a few choose to use it. The difference between successful and unsuccessful mass movements is in the people who lead them. Successful ones are

led by persons gifted with a delicate balance of both mental and physical forcefulness. Brains are useless without the nervous equipment and muscle required to execute their orders." So it is a necessity that you—when you deal with the mother country "youth community"—must take this new consciousness love and redirect it—so that it becomes revolutionary love—love to destroy the enemy—love to destroy a pig's life to create a human life. So as you say—it is true—"People become revolutionaries in the schools, in the army, in prisons, in communes, and on the streets"—like Kent State showed what can happen in schools, in the army—they can change sides or desert, you have seen about all that can be accomplished in prison, and on Wall Street in May about on the streets—if these revoltings are done alone—without coordination and outside help. Thus the underground and military actions are very necessary—very necessary—and very necessary that they are very much together. You must also spread your light of knowledge and encourage more of your "youth community" to FIGHT.

"We don't accept the pig's boundaries . . . The black, Puerto Rican, chicano and red man's revolution is the heart and core of the revolution in America north."

We don't accept the pig's boundaries—thus when we talk of an American revolution—we are speaking of America—north, south, and Latin—ALL of America—therefore even here we are talking about a third world revolution—this is also a third world situation because Amerikkka is the world's largest white monster—and in America north, that is Amerikkka—the black, Puerto Rican, chicano, red man's revolution is the heart and core of the revolution of America north—Also, to buttress this is the fact that revolutions come from the bottom up—the bottom becomes the banner—the leadership—can your "youth communities" accept this realization? You must form your mother country new consciousness, "young and unformed society (nation)"—They, as a nation, if they are going to progress as a nation—can either take a position similar to that of France (reactionary—but taking personal swiping pot shots at Amerikkka) or Sweden (neutral—but giving some aid to the third world) or Albania (fully committed to the struggle) (And we can only have full solidarity with the Albanian position)—Because if you and your "Youth nation" don't keep the pressure up—not only with mass demonstrations—but also with military action—then—basically—as you state—"Black and third world people" are forced by necessity to go "up against Amerikan Imperialism alone." In that event—we say to your "youth nation"—if they can not be of aid to us—then keep them out of the way!

Now no successful war for liberation has ever been waged without violence—the question is how intelligently are we going to use it? We must fight with gun, bomb, mind, and heart—we must match the enemy AT LEAST blow for blow—AT LEAST! You see—for us things are critical—every day—every hour—how many of our people are suffering? How many die? That's why our fight will not be over until no human being in Washington D.C. is more important than any human being in Harlem, no human being on Wall Street is more important than any human being in Guatemala, no human being in Ohio is more important than any human being in the Congo, no human being in London, Paris, Moscow, Stockholm, or Rome is more important than any human being in Hanoi, Peking, the concentration camps of South Africa, Dar-es-salaam, or Kingston, Jamaica—in other words—until everyone is free—nobody will be secure. We, of the third world, MUST of necessity destroy this highly automated and cybernated society or be destroyed by it—NOW!

We need allies—we have a powerful enemy who cannot be defeated without an allied effort. Anyone who has the same interest as we do—the destruction of this evil society—is an ally—all others are foes. Now how are our allies going to aid us? You speak of "Almost random bombing offensive" and "most of" your "political actions have hurt the enemy on about the same military scale as a bee sting. But the



political effect has been devastating. The world knows that even the white youth of Babylon will resort to force to bring down imperialism." Well—let's look at that—for one—Muhammad Ali boasted of his "Floating like a butterfly—sting like a bee"—and with enough of his "bee stings" could destroy a foe—and he himself admits—as he got more mature his "bee stings" began packing more of a wallop. We think the same principle might apply here—also picking targets—let's ALL try to pick targets with more care and planning—The object is to: 1) destroy the economy—like bombing sites which will affect the economy the most; 2) rip-off money, weapons, and etc; 3) sniping attacks. Bomb factories, mine factories, and bullet factories are needed. Let's talk about "Large scale material damage"—This economy must fall—There is a war on, you know! And we KNOW that "twos and threes" can "do an armed action without getting caught." As you say—your power is that you "are mobile, decentralized, flexible ..."

In conclusion—we would like to leave these few thoughts—We wish you revolutionary victory in all that you do. But remember—the degree of racial co-existence greatly depends on your successes. Secondly—remember that this is not a national war, but a global war—and we who are in the eye of this evil, monstrous octopus—we who are in the belly of the beast—a lot depends on us! Thirdly—remember "In a revolution one wins or dies!" The stakes are very high—humanity versus inhumanity—do you recall the old "Ask what you can do for your country?"—Destroy it—mentally, morally, psychologically, and physically—destroy it. And whatever you do—do it good!

Your fellow guerillas in the revolution.

WHAT THE GUARDIAN GUARDS

continued from p. 37

liberated is when we come together and defeat our enemy. And we must come together to defeat the enemy, because we are not fighting isolated capitalism, we are fighting international capitalism; and since the imperialist powers of the world have internationalized their system, we must also internationalize our system, so that our fight will be international.

That, then, means that the importance and the significance of Che's words when he says we must create two, three, many Viet Nams has much relevance to us once we begin to recognize the importance of internationalizing our fight.

Our hooking up with the Third World also moves beyond the point of having a common enemy; therefore it is more important for us to hook up with the Third World, than it may be for the Third World to hook up with us. Because the United

States has used our peoples time and time again to fight all of her imperialist wars; it is we who are the cannon fodder for all of her wars. We must develop a relationship with the Third World, so that our people will begin to recognize that their struggle is with the struggle of the Third World, and that we cannot allow white America to use us to fight imperialist wars, where she can continue to subdue peoples. Once we begin to show that relationship to our people, they will not fight in the Armed Forces of the United States. Once we have reduced the fighting power of the United States, they will have to send other people to do their fighting on the outside, we can then have our total force on the inside, we can start to wage a fight on the inside of the United States.

*From George Jackson's Blood in My Eye:
... The principle reservoir of revolutionary potential in America lies in wait inside*

"The principal reservoir of revolutionary potential in America lies in wait inside the Black colony."—George Jackson



credit: Black Scholar



"... the fuse is the smallest part ... in the powder keg ... yet that little fuse ... ignites the entire powder keg. The black nationalists to you [whites] may represent a minority in the so-called Negro Community. But they just happen to be composed of the type of ingredient necessary to fuse or ignite the entire black community. And this is one thing that whites—whether you call yourself liberals or conservatives or racists or whatever else you might choose to be—one thing that you have to realize ... what happens to a black man in America and Africa happens to the black man in Asia and the man down in Latin America ..." —Malcolm X, 1964

the Black Colony. Its sheer numerical strength, its desperate historical relation to the violence of the productive system, and the fact of its present status in the creation of wealth force the black stratum at the base of the whole class structure into the forefront of any revolutionary scheme.

From Malcolm X (who spoke for more people than the Guardian even dreams of) at the Leverett House Forum (Harvard) of March 18, 1964:

... Student Question: Mr. Malcolm X, do you support a bloody revolution and if not, what kind do you have in mind, especially when the Negro is at a numerical disadvantage?

Malcolm X: Don't tell me about a six-to-one disadvantage. I agree it is a six to one disadvantage when you think in terms of America. But in the world the nonwhite people have you at an eleven to one disadvantage. We black people consider ourselves a part of that vast body of dark people who outnumber the whites, and we

don't regard ourselves as a minority.

Finally, to illustrate how far the Guardian's position on Black Liberation has deteriorated in recent years, here are some quotes from dialectics of black power, a pamphlet written by Robert Allen and published in 1968 by the Guardian as a Guardian pamphlet. While Black Liberation defined its goals and strategies still more sharply in the years immediately after 1968, this piece does show some serious efforts to define things by factual analysis rather than mere declamations and phrase making:

The Internal Colony

Black power as black liberation within the context of a U.S. revolution. This wing of the black power movement, represented by the Black Panthers, many members of SNCC and various local groups, views black people as a dispersed internal colony of the U.S., exploited both materially and culturally. It advocates an anticolonial struggle for self-determination which must go hand-in-hand with a general revolution throughout the U.S. It urges alliances with

white radicals and other potentially revolutionary segments of the white population since, according to its analysis, genuine self-determination for blacks cannot be achieved in the framework of the present capitalist imperialism and racism which characterize the U.S. Links with the revolutionary third world are also stressed since the black struggle will supposedly be anti-colonialist like other national liberation movements, and directed against a common enemy: U.S. imperialism.

Aside from these problems the pressure of events is also overtaking black radicals. On the one side they are facing the prospect of increasing repression, on the other there is the escalating anger and nihilism in the ghettos. Black power did in some sense speak to the anger and frustration of urban masses and increased their militance. Their response has been bigger and better rebellions. The outbreaks are political in

and have not organized poor whites or white workers, groups which have simply persisted in their support of U.S. racism and imperialism. The older middle-class white left has opted out by joining with itself in a middle-class antiwar movement or thrown in with the liberals in supporting McCarthy. A handful of white leftists maintain the proper rhetorical posture vis-a-vis the blacks, but they aren't able to produce the goods.

... At last October's Guardian meeting (H.Rap) Brown expressed his position: "We don't need (white) liberals, we need revolutionaries . . . So the question really becomes whether you choose to be an oppressor or a revolutionary. And if you choose to be an oppressor then you are my enemy. Not because you are white but because you choose to oppress me."

... These are tough standards to meet and Brown, too, is known to have growing

"We don't need [white] liberals, we need revolutionaries So the question becomes whether you choose to be an oppressor or a revolutionary."

—H. Rap Brown, 1968

that they clearly challenge property rights, but black power militants have not brought this political undertone into conscious focus, except among black students, nor have they been able to deal with the resulting repression and co-optation. Instead, those who have not been co-opted, jailed or killed have tended to yield to nihilism and fatalism.

The inability of the white left to seriously deal with racism and repression has accelerated this process. Many black militants increasingly believe that there simply are no effective revolutionary elements in the white population. White students have largely confined themselves to the campuses, where the left has grown stronger,

doubts about the existence of revolutionary forces both within and without the black communities.

The few references which we have given here should provide some idea of how massive and persistent have been the strivings of the Black nation for its own liberation since its beginnings in the period of direct chattel slavery. We will present some of the evidence that this liberation movement, contrary to the assumptions of the Guardian, is still very much alive in our concluding article of this series. Whether the Guardian, or anyone else, likes it or not, the power and strategic role of Black Liberation must be faced up to by the entire oppressor nation including the white left.

THE GUARDIAN REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE NATIVE SOVEREIGNTY

The entire history of the indigenous "Native American" peoples refutes at every critical point the Guardian's disregard and liquidation of their centuries-long fight for survival and sovereignty. The basic issues of existence as independent nations; of land, resources, self-government, self-determination have been fought out over and over again. Compromise and assimilationism have had their inroads along with the impact of whiskey, disease and missionaries, but the nations of the red peoples have never surrendered and are now more united and determined than ever to win their own liberation. They fight for the land and the resources to survive, and for self-government and for the right to live in their own traditional ways.

With respect to Native Americans, the Guardian is even less liberal in words than is the US Government. The Government and the courts, though with many evasions, betrayals and breaches of faith, has theoretically and in solemn treaties many times legally recognized the national sovereignty and self-governing rights of the Native Nations. These treaties have generally been made when the US wanted something, usually land and resources, from the different tribes. They have been broken when the treaties stood in the way of taking even more and when the US felt strong enough to take by force what they formerly had had to concede. The Guardian lives from hand to mouth and shows no sense of history. This whole matter barely exists for it as a part of the now dead past. But the 85,000,000 indigenous red people of the Western Hemisphere are also part of the world majority which is in motion here and elsewhere. No matter how many times Irwin Silber chants "the most narrow bourgeois nationalists," these facts will haunt all the "left" white supremacists to the end of their days.

The following group of materials is taken from the papers Indian Treaties and Indian Sovereignty by the Institute for the Development of Indian Law. Our point here is not the legal argument for itself. It is to show that the

US did indeed recognize the Native Americans as nations. The US had its reasons; it was compelled by the facts of Native resistance and US interests to enter into these treaties. The Guardian may argue that this is not a serious matter, however it is just this contemptuous attitude that is the entire downfall of the Guardian's politics.

First the constitutional basis:

... This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. (Emphasis added.) (Treaties, p. 70.)

... The president shall have the power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present consent. (p. 58, same)

... The point, then, once conceded, that the Indians are independent to the purpose of treating, their independence is, to that purpose, as absolute as that of any other nation. (p. 4, same)

... treaties have been made with the Indians, and the treaty-making power has been exercised in making them ... within the meaning of the Constitution ... (they) are the supreme laws of the land. (US Supreme Court, 1852—p. 5, same)

The sort of promises made by the US to Native American Nations by treaty may be seen from one or two examples:

... The US do engage to guarantee to the aforesaid nations of Delawares ... all their territorial rights, in the fullest ... manner, as it hath been bounded by former treaties, as long as the said Delaware nation shall abide by and hold fast ... the friendship now entered into. (Treaty with Delawares—p. 17, same)

.... The US agrees that the following district of country ... is hereby set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians, as from time to time they may be willing with the consent of the US to admit among them; and the US now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein authorized so to do, and except such officers ... of the Government as may be authorized by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians. (*Treaty with Cheyenne and Arapaho, 1867—p. 18, same*)

On the matter of the violation and destruction of those promises; from the discussion of the new policy of the allotment of Native lands for sale:

... The ideology of ... (Indian) life had included no real concept of property in land ... To ... Indians the land was "Mother Earth" and attaching to her property concepts ... seemed sacrilegious.

A committee report of the US House of Representatives in 1880 showed that Congress was aware of this. The report states:

... The very idea of property in the soil was unknown to the Indian mind ...

And as to the consequences, Senator Henry Teller made these remarks:

... If I stand alone in the Senate, I want to put upon the record by prophecy in this matter, that when 30 to 40 years shall have passed and these Indians shall have parted with their title, they will curse the hand that was raised professedly in their defense to secure this kind of legislation (p. 92, same)

Further (from Indian Sovereignty, p. 60):

... The Allotment Act affected the sovereignty of Indian governments in two ways. First, it reduced the amount of land controlled by Indians. From 1887 to 1934 ... the Indian land base had been reduced to two-thirds of its original size. With individual ownership of reservation lands, Indian governments lost some control of their territories. But a court decision has

held that, although the lands were owned individually by Indians and non-Indians, *the reservation boundaries still exist* Indian governments still have jurisdiction within reservation boundaries, even over non-Indian owners of land. Second, the Act weakened Indian governments by breaking up the social organization of tribes.

The undermining of the sovereignty and treaty rights of the Native Americans was furthered by a decision of the US Supreme Court handed down by Chief Justice Marshall in 1830 on a case brought by the Cherokee Nation against the State of Georgia. Marshall held against the Cherokee previously-undisputed right to its territory on the ground that Native Nations are not the same as foreign nations but:

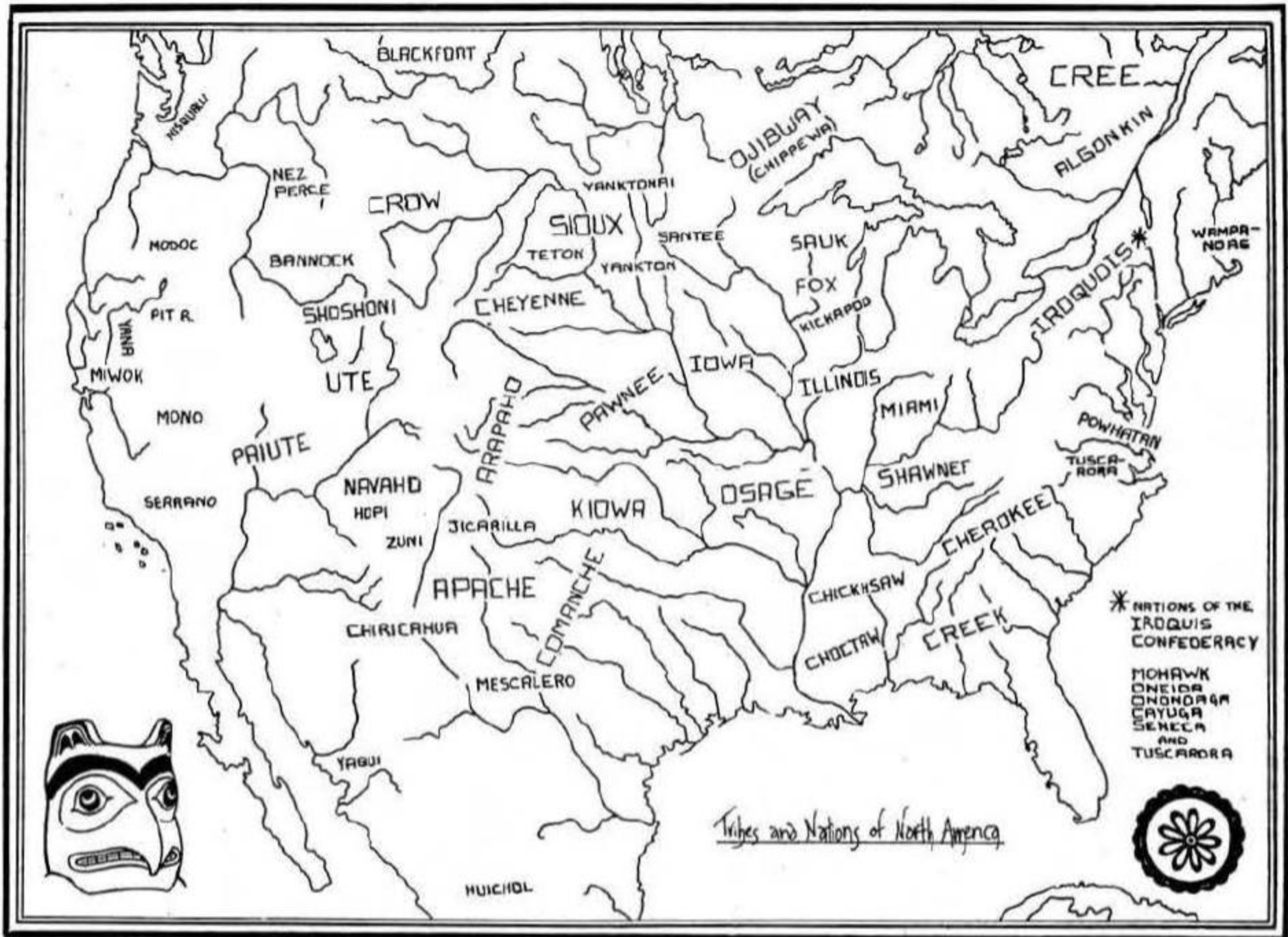
They may be ... denominated domestic, dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right to possession ceases. Meanwhile, they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian. (p. 76, same)

The present-day Guardian is retrograde as compared to Marshall's "limited sovereignty." The Guardian cannot fit Indians into its scheme of "multi-national" working class and democratic rights, so it treats Native Americans as if they were already extinct and therefore of no significance as nations.

As recently as 1886 the Supreme Court was still using the wards of the nation doctrine. (p. 81, same) In more recent years, the courts have been under much pressure from increased resistance and struggles by Native Americans and the peoples of other oppressed nations, at home and abroad. This has caused the courts to uphold some of the treaty rights, especially as against individual states. As recently as 1976 the Supreme Court held in one case that Indian tribes are:

Distinct, independent, political communities possessing and exercising powers of self-government derived solely from their original sovereignty.

However, in cases involving the Federal Executive (Justice Department, FBI, etc.) and the Congress, the Courts continue to either not act,



or to over-ride the treaties. The Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan of 1972, which occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs for some days in Washington, DC was compelled to appeal for a declaration of Congress that the US Government should return to a recognition of the treaty relationships and to act accordingly. The National Congress of American Indians held in San Diego, CA in October 1974, issued a Declaration of Sovereignty in which it demanded the implementation of an 8-point program that would recognize and reinforce Native American Sovereignty.

The Sovereign Native Women's Conference held at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, May 18, 1976 addressed a birthday message to the Government of the US. This message is in itself convincing proof that Native Americans are not prepared to trade their sovereignty for empty

promises of equality and democratic rights from anyone at all, much less from such an unreliable source as the white supremacist and patronizing Guardian. The message:

We are women, who are called Indians. We are from many nations within the borders and boundaries claimed by the United States Government.

We have met in council at Lawrence, Kansas to express our concerns and dreams for a better future . . . for our little sisters and brothers who are with us, our children who are not yet born . . . and on behalf of our elders, because their spiritual strength provides us the energy and courage and patience to deal with your system and to continue their dreams of freedom.

After five days of meetings, we concluded there was nothing to say about what we

need. Our elders, long ago, in the Treaties, reserved all of the rights, properties, and guarantees of services necessary to provide protection and support for the quality of life we require to live with dignity as Indian human beings.

We, the mothers of the future generations of Native people, DEMAND these federal legislatures remember their oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States and to respect the federal treaties with our many Indian Nations, AS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND demands. We see these representatives and legislators of this nation advancing upon our lands, resources, jurisdiction, families, and futures. These assaults against our properties and persons

are done to satisfy the racist inclinations of this government's sickest citizens and the greediest corporation structures on the face of the earth.

The elected representatives of this system are able to continue the illegal and inhumane attacks against our individuals and communities, only because too many citizens of this nation remain blissfully unaware of their real role in this world. When many American citizens are faced with the truth of their shameful tradition of living off the resources of Indians and the sweat of other Third World people, they just change channels, turn up their stereos, and turn off their minds with liquor; rather than face the truth and change their empty reality.



"We are proud of being Indian and we will never be ashamed of our heritage or our decisions."—Anna Mae Aquash and KaMook Banks.

Anna Mae Aquash was later murdered and her death was covered up by the FBI.

We, the Indian people, may be the only citizens of this nation who really understand this form of government, and respect the Constitutional ideals, as it was originally copied from the Iroquois Confederacy. Unless you develop a respect for the most basic principles behind this form of government, you are doomed to be just another "civilization" significant only for its barbarism.

We understand also, that we are supposedly guaranteed Federal protection of our basic resources which were *RESERVED PERPETUALLY*. This failure affects our reservation lands, our timber resources, our hunting areas, our water supplies, our minerals, our fishing rights, our wild rice,

available for your own companies to exploit.

As you remove our trees and minerals, harvest our fish, divert our water supplies, move your white communities upon our lands, gather the foods provided for us by the Great Spirit, and run your cattle onto our properties, you establish your unbroken records as the tenth generation of parasites. You cannot claim these conditions as being the responsibility of your ancestors. You cannot claim no shame or guilt. As long as the materials of your homes belong to us, and you heat those homes with our fuel, and use power derived from our beautiful rivers and streams to keep your lights and entertainment systems working, drive cars

"As long as the materials of your homes belong to us, and you . . . use power derived from our beautiful rivers and streams to keep your lights and entertainment systems working, . . . and feed yourselves with food from our land, . . . all in violation of 372 Treaties signed by your government, you . . . share, and continue the guilt of this nation's pathetic history."

our beaches, and all the other natural resources that the Great Spirit has provided us.

We additionally are guaranteed protection **BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT** against any interest that encroaches against our rights and properties.

We also understand that the services guaranteed in the Treaties were intended to meet our needs, not to be used as tools to further dehumanize us.

You have pressured us through imposed on-reservation poverty, and promises of equality to leave our homes and families and relocate to your cities. These promises were all as hollow as your hearts. You only meant to make our properties more readily

manufactured from materials ripped from our Mother Earth, and feed yourselves the foods from our land, beaches, and streams, all in violation of 372 Treaties signed by your government, you as elected representatives share, and continue the guilt of this nation's pathetic history.

We have lived in fear of the injustice of your judicial systems, in fear of your cruel removal of our beautiful children, in fear of the lies forced into our children's heads by your educational system, in fear of your police attacks against our young men, in fear of the isolation and starvation of your cities, and in fear of a future of poverty and unemployment on our reservation.

Your white citizens may find it hard to



Yvonne Wanrow and her three children. The Colville Indian mother has just won a court review of the charges against her from the 1972 shooting in defense of her children.

credit: Common Sense

believe . . . when you see us; with no decent homes, no jobs, no money, no running water, no phones, no cars, and no solid hope for the future . . . that we are sorry for you. You have traded your original solid values for a momentary comfort, and when this moment passes, you will have nothing left but guilt and hate.

We see you continually attacking people of color on other continents. We see you in Asia, South America, Africa, and wherever people of color live their lives . . . and you haven't changed at all. You are still robbing and raping the people and the land . . . you are still claiming resources and enslaving human beings.

The results of your oppression and injustice are observable by Third World citizens and white people with a conscience, all over the world. You are sick . . . and the world knows it. You can send your ambassadors and diplomats to smile at the "leaders" of these nations and to give gifts and promises. As long as your treaties are not honored, the world will know you have a tradition of no honor and no trust.

Whether you cease your aggression toward ourselves and the world, or elect to continue your path to isolation and destruction, is your choice.

However, you do, as citizens and representatives have a responsibility to the rest of the world to get this government under control, and individually act to educate yourselves and your children to your moral responsibilities.

Your nation is a sick joke. Your infantile greed and tantrums have been tolerated only because the European nations considered such aggressive behavior economically beneficial. The people of color, like ourselves, couldn't believe such a lack of manners and morals could be true, even if you were a young and immature nation.

You can learn from us how to conduct yourselves in a civilized manner of harmony and non-aggression to your neighbors and this continent. Or, you can force other nations to destroy you like a mad dog.

All we can promise you is that there will be Indian communities, families, tribes, and nations continuing to observe your behavior, and that we'll always be here.

You may believe your federal grants are buying us off, but we know these pennies are no substitute for the billions of dollars worth of precious resources and lands you have stolen and continue to steal.

You may think we see no correlation between our child deaths and your thefts in our communities, but this just hasn't been true.

We intend, as Nations of People, to resist your attacks whether your weapon is a court aimed at our family or a corporation aimed at our land.

We will fight and continue to struggle and work to live the life intended by the Great Spirit, and promised by your federal treaties.

We may be disguised in business suits or cowboy boots. We may wear uniforms from the military, hospitals, basketball team, parochial school or just blue jeans. But whatever we wear, wherever we live, we are determined to live as Indian people, and we will stand up and fight for that right. We are not dead, our culture is not dead, our hearts are alive with hope and determination. We are here forever, and we, the poor and working people in this country will decide how the next page of our history will read in the world courts and libraries in the year 2076.

The continued and un-ceasing struggles of Native Americans for their land, resources and sovereignty, and their human rights; the hundreds of dead who have been assassinated by US and local governments from before Wounded Knee to now; the present struggles to defend the prisoners of war and those still on trial; the mass campaigns to take the case of attempted genocide and violated treaties and national rights before the world via the United Nations hearings in Geneva all demonstrate that no-one is going to be able to reduce this continued centuries-long struggle for liberation and freedom to one of constitutional rights or petty reforms. The Guardian has not deserted this struggle—it has simply not yet ever taken it seriously, which is perhaps the worst form of sabotage.

The final point is the Guardian's way of minimizing national liberation struggles under

the guise of exposing PFOC. The Guardian juggles the world contradictions in a vague way, never defining the strategic relationships between class and national struggle for itself, but accusing us of seeing only national liberation struggle. Actually we have laid out in BREAKTHROUGH No. 1 this entire relationship fairly extensively. We did not invent the notion of the special role at present of world-wide national liberation struggles against US imperialism. Revolutionary Parties of Asia and Africa have led in developing this understanding. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said in part, in a letter to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, June 14, 1963:

...2. The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time ...

3. The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

4. The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defense of world peace.

5. In a sense, therefore, the world cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of these people ... who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

We are not arguing for those precise formulations or China's present course; we do agree that the role of national liberation is essential to defeat opportunism and imperialism and to bring the world victory of revolution and liberation.

HIT AND RUN EDITORS

The Guardian Attacks PFOC and Then Conceals Our Response from its Own Readers (Documents)

In the last issue of BREAKTHROUGH No. 2, PFOC began a critique of the Guardian newspaper from a revolutionary anti-imperialist political perspective. We gave a general outline of the major criticisms of the Guardian's politics. Following this, our first article showed how the Guardian's views on women's emancipation stand in opposition to women's struggles for liberation. In the present combined issue, BREAKTHROUGH No. 3 & 4, we show how the Guardian suppresses and attacks the leading revolutionary role of oppressed nations both inside and outside current US borders.

About the same time that PFOC published its criticisms, the Guardian started its own series of articles attacking its own-distorted version of PFOC's politics. The Guardian was going to cover 11 main points which it held to be the essence of our position. In this issue we continue to concentrate on exposure of the Guardian's political line. However, we are also reprinting some materials of that struggle to show how the Guardian refuses to debate the issues. We are printing the paid advertisement which the Guardian refused to print because it exposes the Guardian's dishonesty with its readers. We also include information on how to obtain BREAKTHROUGH which the Guardian never provided, and an exchange of letters between PFOC and the Guardian. Finally, we are printing some comments on the Guardian's opportunism which we have received from political prisoners of war. These materials show that these struggles are not petty squabbles, but have to do with revolutionary solidarity as the primary task of the present time, as opposed to attacks upon national liberation.

These issues embody the most important two-line struggle of our times. We want to make the basic documents generally available. A fuller exposure of the Guardian's

politics and methods is being prepared for this purpose. We will also continue to carry these materials in coming issues of BREAKTHROUGH. We invite people to get in touch with us, order back issues of BREAKTHROUGH and/or subscribe, in order to examine the real issues and our historical analysis. Also, we urge readers to write to the Guardian, expressing your views on their politics and methods in this struggle.

August 15, 1977

To: the Guardian
Attention: Irwin Silber,
Jack Smith

We of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee have read the two *fan the flames* columns in the July 20 and July 27 Guardians. In the name of conducting political struggle with the revolutionary line of our organization, you have falsified the contents of our provisional political statement (BREAKTHROUGH No. 1); still worse you have viciously assaulted all revolutionary liberation forces in the USA, especially the Black and Native American peoples, who are quite able to speak for themselves. As for us, we demand and require of the Guardian that you apologize to all concerned for the calculated attacks which you have made. We also require that you print in an early issue, while the present series is still current, portions of our statement and other materials to be chosen by us to offset the damage you are doing. This will include suitable portions of Lenin's book, *Imperialism*, to correct your falsification of his views on that subject.

We will include the first set of materials with this letter. We will expect early reply and early action. We will, ourselves, also publish and circulate this letter and our

continued on p. 78

The Guardian refused to print this paid advertisement submitted to it by PFOC.*

FROM: Prairie Fire Organizing Committee
TO: The readers of the Guardian

- PFOC has been aware of deep political differences between ourselves and Irwin Silber and the Guardian.
- Now Silber is going all-out against revolutionary anti-imperialism—beginning in the Guardian of July 20, 1977 and continuing with his frenzied "Fan the Flames" column of July 27 on the national question, as in his earlier writings attacking women.
- Silber calls PFOC insignificant—but what he can't stand is any serious challenge to the Guardian's right wing opportunism and chauvinism.
- PFOC is not the real target. The Guardian rages at all genuine politics of revolutionary liberation in the US. Silber heaps contempt and white supremacy on the Black and Native American peoples especially.
- Silber's case is weak, and so he falsifies the political statement of PFOC and still worse, he treats Lenin's analysis of imperialism the same way.

We challenge the Guardian to print and debate facts instead of inventions. We are forwarding the documents.

To Guardian readers: You can obtain the original and genuine materials of the revolutionary position of PFOC directly from us. *BREAKTHROUGH*, PFOC political journal: No. 1 contains our Provisional Political Statement; No. 2 has a general reply to the Guardian's lines with a special article on its line on women, a reprint from the Native Study Group of Vancouver, Canada on Sovereignty, reprints from the African Peoples Socialist Party newspaper *Burning Spear* about the white left and women's struggles; *BREAKTHROUGH* No. 3 will have more on the Guardian's anti-liberation politics.

☐ 6 issues of *BREAKTHROUGH* or ☐ 5 issues of *BREAKTHROUGH* plus 1 copy of "The Split of the Weather Underground Organization." Either is \$5 plus \$1.00 postage; total \$6.00. Less than six pieces, \$1.25 including postage. Order from:

PFOC, P.O. BOX 40614 Station C, San Francisco CA 94110

*The Guardian did, however, offer to run the ad if PFOC would allow them to rewrite it, saying that they would write to us about this! They finally said they would not run it at all. PFOC also demanded in writing of editors I. Silber and J. Smith that the Guardian print 10 pages of our Provisional Political Statement as well as eight pages of Lenin's work, *Imperialism*, both of which they have falsified constantly in their 'party building' articles as well as in the Guardian attacks on PFOC. This they have categorically refused to do. So much for the Guardian's pretenses about "serious debate", "freedom of the press", and "democratic rights."

continued from p. 76

response along with such apology as you may offer. Whether you make the requested corrections or plunge even deeper into opportunism and white supremacy is yours to decide.

Since writing the above we have read the continuation of the Guardian series which resumed in the issue of August 17. This issue does not improve the matter. You announce that you will present our strongest positions squarely and then refute them. In fact you quote more words but present them even more dishonestly. We never expected you to abandon your opportunist politics; we do expect that people will force you to present the real issues instead of the straw monsters you are setting up. By your pre-

sent course you expose your true line more and more.

In all seriousness,

National Committee,
Prairie Fire
Organizing Committee

Enclosures: excerpts from PFOC Provisional Political Statement, BREAKTHROUGH No. 1, pp. 16-29; also from Lenin, *Imperialism* (FLP Peking, 1973) pp. 105-112 and p. 122 to the top of p. 131. Also, the Lenin quote from his report to the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, quoted by us in BT No. 1, p. 18 of enclosed material, requires special note.

the independent radical newsweekly
Guardian

33 West 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 691-0404

National Committee
PFOC

September 1, 1977

We have received your letter of August 15. Our entire staff and Coordinating Committee unanimously reject your arrogant and absurd demands.

GUARDIAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Frances M. Beal Irwin Silber
Ben Bedell Jack A. Smith
Karen Gellen

Comrades:

Many thanks for forwarding me a copy of "Breakthrough" (Vol. 1, No. 2). I found the contents quite relevant and timely....

I cannot find the adequate words that would render your critique on the Guardian the justice that it truly deserves. Exquisite! To say the least.

These pseudo-Marxists-Leninists are long overdue for having their covers pulled. I. Silber is a fake and a discredit to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. This sycophant's recent labeling of our courageous comrades (FALN) as terrorists and individualists is despicably unforgivable! It has been these false, plastic so-called liberal groups such as Silber and his lot who have been thwarting the Black, Indian, women's, prisoners' and all other

progressive struggles in this kountry. In the September 7 edition of their paper they speak of building a *club*! Can you imagine?! They would be better off if they started bingo games! Out of the 29 principles that they assert as the ideological foundation for this club unity, there is not the slightest mention of the prisoners' struggle. Not one word pertaining to prisoners or prisoners mentioned at all! They claim to provide support and leadership to struggles against oppression, racism, capitalism, etc., etc., yet omit giving support to the thousands of sisters and brothers enslaved in amerika's koncentration kamps. If you are in reach of these scavengers, comrades, relate this message from Auschwitz to them. Tell them that the "Dragon" is coming!

—A prisoner in California

LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM PFOC

BREAKTHROUGH, the political journal of Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, is produced bi-monthly. It expresses and applies PFOC's anti-imperialist revolutionary political line to the struggles against imperialism and opportunism and for national liberation, women's liberation, and proletarian internationalism, and also reprints significant materials from the national liberation movements.

- Vol. 1, No. 1: The main content is our Provisional Political Statement which includes a major section on women's oppression and liberation. We think it is a contribution towards rectifying past errors and moving ahead. The political statement reflects an attempt to define the history and apply the relationship of the white working class to the US empire. We have tried hard to learn from the history of the women's movement, and from the lessons of the worldwide revolutionary history and experience, and also from Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Mexican history and leaders. We can learn much from them about the nature of this system and about our own particular historical weaknesses and how to combat them in our practice.

- Vol. 1, No. 2: Includes the overview of a PFOC critique of the opportunist line behind the Guardian's plans to build itself a party, and an article counterposing the Guardian's views on women's "emancipation" to a revolutionary anti-imperialist approach to women's liberation, which emphasizes the links between white and male supremacy and the importance of women's solidarity and revolutionary women's leadership. Other material includes a statement on Leonard Peltier from the Native Study Group, a comment on Puerto Rico solidarity work, reprints from the *Burning Spear* (newspaper of

the African People's Socialist Party), and an article by Lenin on guerrilla warfare.

- Vol. 1, No 3-4 (double issue): This issue continues PFOC's exposure of the white and male supremacist line of the Guardian, reprinting materials from the history of the Black liberation and Native American struggles. Also featured is "The Meaning of Miami", an analysis of the current wave of attacks on women and on lesbians and gay men. Other material includes an interview with a representative of ZANU; coverage of the struggles of Dessie Woods, Skyhorse and Mohawk, and Sid Welsh; and a photo essay on behavior modification in South Africa and US prisons.

- "The Split of the Weather Underground Organization" is a collection of articles, communiques, criticisms and self-criticisms that detail the disintegration of the WUO into an opportunist political line, and its subsequent break-up.

- "The Meaning of Miami" is an analysis of the current wave of anti-gay repression, and the Carter administration's strategy for maintaining US imperialism by re-entrenching white and male supremacy and attacking oppressed nations and women. It is available as an eight page pamphlet.

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

RATES

RATES: single copies of BREAKTHROUGH or of "The Split of the WUO" are \$1.00 plus 25c postage each, pre-paid.

Subscriptions to BREAKTHROUGH are \$5.00 plus \$1.00 postage for six issues, which can in-

clude "The Split". The institutional subscription rate is \$15.00. Our literature and journal are free to prisoners.

"The Meaning of Miami" is available for 20c a single copy, 15c each for 5 or more; 10c each for orders of 20 or more.

Bulk rates for BREAKTHROUGH or "The Split" on orders of five or more copies of the same issue are 60% of the cover price.

WHO WE ARE

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) is a young and growing communist organization situated in the white oppressor nation in the United States. Our politics, revolutionary anti-imperialism, are rooted in dialectical and historical materialism, the science and ideology of Marxism-Leninism. PFOC is committed to building socialist revolution, which is the essential first step toward a world-wide communist society. To achieve this ultimate goal requires the total destruction of imperialism, opportunism and revisionism, and white and male supremacy. Meanwhile there must also be a revolutionary communist party or parties within the US in order to bring about the defeat of imperialism. We define party-building as the central task for white communists at the present time. Our political journal, **BREAKTHROUGH**, is joining the struggle for revolutionary anti-imperialist, Marxist-Leninist politics and practice as a necessary part of building communist organization.

It is only through the development of a revolutionary anti-imperialist consciousness and movement in the oppressor nation that we will be able to successfully participate and lead the white working class to take part in the world-wide revolution that is currently being led by oppressed nations around the world and within the US.

As an organization, we of PFOC commit ourselves to active solidarity with national liberation struggles—to supporting the right of self-determination for oppressed nations inside and outside the US, and to combatting the white supremacist institutions of US imperialism. We commit ourselves to fight for women's liberation, for revolutionary women's leadership; for gay liberation, and against the male supremacist institutions of US imperialism.

We struggle to implement our politics in the prisoner solidarity movement, the women's movement, in international solidarity movements, lesbian and gay movements, and in the communities and workplaces. We understand that revolutionary theory must guide revolutionary practice, and that practice tests the correctness of theory. The principles of democratic centralism and criticism/self-criticism are relied on to help determine, evaluate and correct our practice.

We commit ourselves to fight against all forms of opportunism, national and male chauvinism, privilege, competition, and arrogance which have historically characterized most of the white oppressor nation left in the US. We commit ourselves to struggle with all who have honest differences with us and who are principled in the struggle. We will unite with all who break with opportunism to struggle against imperialism.

SUBSCRIBE

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STOP THE GRAND JURIES!

Halt US Attacks on the Puerto Rican and Chicano and Mexicano Peoples!

The US government continues to wage war on the Puerto Rican and the Chicano and Mexicano nations. The latest attack is the jailing of eight Latino activists from New York, Chicago, and New Mexico for refusing to testify to US Grand Juries which are investigating the Puerto Rican FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional) and attacking the right of the Puerto Rican and Mexicano/Chicano national liberation movements to engage in armed struggle. The frame-up arrests of two members of the N.Y. Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners and the indictments of three alleged FALN members are part of the same wave of repression.



Although forced to free Andres Figueroa Cordero, the Carter administration continues to hold the other Nationalists who took armed actions for independence in the 1950's; this, like the Grand Juries, is an attempt to isolate and attack some of the most revolutionary forces in the Puerto Rican, Chicano and Mexicano struggles. In refusing to collaborate, the Grand Jury subpoenaees—such as Maria Cueto in New York, Jose Lopez in Chicago, and Pedro Archuleta from Tierra Amarilla, NM—maintain the resistance against US imperialism that began with the invasion and conquest of Northern Mexico and of Puerto Rico in the 19th century. They uphold the revolutionary example of Zapata, Albizu Campos, Lolita Lebron and other fighters, as they build international solidarity between their liberation struggles.

The Grand Juries, previously used to attack the Black liberation, Native American and lesbian and women's movements, can be defeated by this militant and principled resistance, and by solidarity activities that demand independence and self-determination for all oppressed nations. For more information on the Grand Jury struggle, contact the National Committee Against Grand Jury Repression, 2403 W. North Ave., Chicago

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR OPPRESSED NATIONS!

CHIMURENGA!

**VICTORY TO THE
ZIMBABWE
LIBERATION
STRUGGLE!**



EXPOSE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN!