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EDITORIAL:

Solidarity with the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War



Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War continue the struggle after their capture by local US police.

On April 4, 1980 Eleven national liberation fighters for Puerto Rican independence and socialism were captured by local police in Evanston, Illinois and accused of being members of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN). Immediately upon their arrest, the Eleven rejected the criminal charges that the US attempted to put on them, taking the position that they are armed combatants of the Puerto Rican struggle against colonialism. They demanded to be treated as Prisoners of War in accordance with the Geneva Convention and other International Law. The Eleven totally refuse to recognize the legitimacy of the US imperialist state, which militarily holds Puerto Rico as a colony, to rule over them. The Puerto Rican Prisoners of War have not and will not participate in any legal proceedings held against them. Instead, by turning their backs to the judge and addressing their supporters, they have turned the courtrooms into another arena of struggle and confrontation. Maria Haydee Torres, one of the Eleven, spoke at her trial:

I, Maria Haydee Torres, am a Puerto Rican Prisoner of War. I am the product of this continuous struggle waged by my people. I am the conscience of my

people in arms, and like a captured prisoner of war, neither this court, nor this country has any right to treat me like a criminal and subject me to those things for which they have brought me here. . . . My fellow patriots, I ask you to continue to struggle daily. A free and struggling spirit cannot be broken. We need each other, and I feel happy and proud to know that our people continue to struggle. Because both I and my companeros will not cease our struggle for an instant. This country does not know how to combat the revolutionary spirit of a people in arms.

The steadfastness of this position, and the support it has won in Puerto Rico, the US and internationally, has forced the US to convict the Eleven of seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government by armed struggle. This is a victory for the Puerto Rican struggle because it demolishes the imperialist lie that the armed combatants in the rear-guard (within the US) are criminals. By convicting the Eleven of sedition the state, in effect, admits that the issue is political and that there is a state of war between Puerto Rico and the US. Intense debate about the POW stand and the strategy of people's war of which it is a part, has emerged both in Puerto Rico and this country. The fact

18 USCS S 2384. Seditious Conspiracy *If two or more persons in any State or Territory, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than \$20,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both.*

that they are armed combatants has sparked widespread support and debate about the strategy and necessity of waging armed struggle for national liberation. This debate is happening not only in Puerto Rico but within the borders of the US as well. The Eleven have supported the right of all internally colonized Black, Chicano Mexicano and Native American people in this country to engage in armed struggle. We unequivocally support the stand of the Eleven and the strategy of people's war they represent.

THE IMPORTANCE OF STRATEGY

For revolutionaries, the struggle to define a political line and strategy that will lead to the destruction of US imperialism, the liberation of internally colonized nations, and the development of revolutionary struggle within the oppressor nation is of *central importance*. It is only on the basis of such a political and strategic line that revolutionary organizations can be built. Where does such a strategy come from? On what principles must it be based in the US? This editorial is a beginning attempt to address these questions and to promote a process of discussion and struggle among anti-imperialists in the white oppressor nation.

As we enter the 1980s, all the contradictions of imperialism are intensifying, creating the conditions for a period of growing national liberation struggle within this country and worldwide. This is also a time of increasing progressive concern and movement by sectors of white people who are beginning to respond to the reactionary impact and direction of the Reagan administration. This heightens demands for revolutionary leadership, organization and struggle. It is crucial that white revolutionaries come to grips with and participate in the leading strategies being developed by national liberation forces within this country.

US imperialism is a single international system, built and maintained on the foundations of domestic colonialism. The fundamental nature of the US is that it contains oppressed nations and an oppressor nation within

its borders. These are linked in one system, covering at present one territory, ruled by one imperialist state. The struggles for Puerto Rican independence and socialism, for the national independence of New Afrika, the socialist reunification of Mexico, and sovereignty for Native nations lead revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The growth of these struggles into protracted people's war will play the decisive role in dismembering the federal system by striking at and destroying the power of the imperialist state in its vulnerable heart. The victory of people's war will usher in a new era of world history based on independence and socialism.

The capability of these movements to win is determined by the development of a correct politics, strategy, and leadership. It is only through the political/military strategy of people's war that colonized nations are capable of forging revolutionary vanguard organizations. These organizations lead both in armed struggle and in mobilizing their people into a force that all the violence and pressures of imperialism cannot contain.

This means that the only basis for the development of revolutionary strategy and organization by white people lies in building strategic unity with the leading forces of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano Mexicano and Native national liberation in this country. The building of strategic unity for anti-imperialists, Marxist-Leninists, must go beyond being white sideline supporters of these struggles. Our direction must be based in the unity of politics and partnership in carrying out a strategy to win.

Today, there are many groups on the left who recognize armed struggle and people's war as a correct strategy for national liberation everywhere outside the US, from Africa to Latin America. But these same forces deny its relevance and refuse to accept its application, at this time, to revolutionary struggle within this country.

To do this is "american exceptionalism," a politics which puts forward the idea that revolutionary struggle in the US will happen through an essentially legal, peaceful process based on different principles than those that apply to anti-imperialism everywhere else on earth. The US is the leader and center of world imperialism—if it is to be defeated, revolutionary armed struggle must be built right up into the heart of the empire itself. American exceptionalism protects imperialism from serious struggle and blocks revolutionary movement.

These politics were used by the white left in the late 1960s and early 1970s to attack and deny support to early attempts by forces in the Black Liberation Movement to wage armed struggle. The Black Liberation Army and others were labelled "terrorists," "fanatics," "anti-Marxist" by many on the left. These attacks brought most of the left into collaboration with the imperialist state in its campaign to politically isolate and destroy the BLA. The



Black revolutionary Jonathan Jackson during action at Marin Courthouse, August 7, 1970.

success of this campaign dealt a serious blow to the Black Liberation Movement.

In direct contrast to these politics, which still dominate the white left, the strategy of people's war, led by the Puerto Rican armed clandestine movement, provides a clear example of how to build revolution in the US. This people's war, in its early stages at this time, is being fought and built not only in Puerto Rico, but in the US itself. The scores of actions by the FALN in the rearguard struggle, based among the millions of Puerto Ricans inside the US, forever shatters the idea that Puerto Rican independence will be won without attacking colonialism in its home base.

This article isn't the place to attempt a long exposition of the Puerto Rican revolution. There is much material and leadership available from revolutionary Puerto Rican forces, both in clandestinity and from public organizations such as the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) and the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP). However, because Puerto Rico isn't an exceptional case, we want to focus here on certain political principles that have been crucial for the development of our understanding of this strategy.

What is the situation in Puerto Rico?

Puerto Rico is an intervened nation. For the last 83

years, since it was militarily invaded and occupied, it has been a direct colony of the US and a strategic base for imperialist domination of the hemisphere. The US has used every means at its disposal to try and destroy the Puerto Rican nationality in order to plunder the island, super-exploit the people and crush any resistance to colonialism. Puerto Rico's economy was destroyed, creating a dependency on US capital and causing one half of the Puerto Rican nation to migrate to the US in search of jobs. In response to colonialism and genocide there has always been a popular movement for independence and, to a greater or lesser degree, armed struggle by the people to regain their sovereignty.

It is out of this history, years of intense practice and political development, that the armed clandestine movement emerges. The political/military organizations that comprise this tendency are mature Marxist-Leninist forces. They are the only revolutionary forces in Puerto Rico engaged in the process of building unity. The armed clandestine movement is born as the result of sharp ideological struggle between the revolutionary and reformist roads within the independence movement. A deep break with reformism must occur within every anti-colonial and revolutionary movement if it is to move forward to victory. The political/military organizations represent a total chal-

lunge to the rule of imperialism, annexationism, and neo-colonialism in Puerto Rico. They are clear that only through a process of protracted revolutionary armed struggle will the people be able to defeat the power of imperialism, win genuine independence and achieve socialism.

Armed struggle as the leading form of revolutionary struggle stems from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the state. The state power which dominates and rules Puerto Rico is no impartial arbiter of national affairs, it is a *violent mechanism* whose sole purpose is to maintain the colonial subjugation of the Puerto Rican nation. It is the state power of US imperialism that oppresses Puerto Rico. This apparatus, including the colonial institutions, is installed and backed to the hilt by the military might of the US. It cannot be compromised with—it must be combated, defeated, and driven from Puerto Rico by the force of arms.

For people's war to grow into a massive political reality, the people are being mobilized and armed with correct politics. Revolutionary leadership is being built and consolidated through protracted revolutionary armed struggle. This leadership is a *political/military* leadership capable of building the forces and revolutionary ideology of the people from a position of relative weakness to one of overwhelming strength.



This symbol of the armed clandestine movement was released with their first Joint Communique, September 1979.

People's war never develops as an isolated phenomenon. The strategy, tactics and actions of the armed clandestine movement are deeply rooted and at the center of the process of popular struggle in Puerto Rico. This strategy gives ideological and concrete leadership at every level and around all significant issues in Puerto Rico. These politics expose and make clear to the people that any groups which accept the terms of colonialism by participating in the electoral process or struggling to achieve justice within the legal system are doomed to defeat. Politics such as these postpone the building of revolutionary organization and armed struggle to some mystical future time when "all the people are ready"; they serve only to hold the people back politically. These are major questions being struggled out in the US as well. We believe that revolutionary strategy must be based in a rejection of electoral and legalistic approaches to change.

Revolutionary Puerto Rican forces in clandestinity and those public organizations which play a role in developing people's war advocate *retramiento*. Retramiento is the total militant non-cooperation of the people with every aspect of colonialism. In the recent colonial elections, which the reformist organizations in the independence movement participated in, there was the highest abstention rate at the polls in 30 years. This signals a growing rejection of the US electoral process, whose sole purpose is to lead the people into dead-end struggle, legitimizing colonialism.

In Vieques, the armed clandestine movement attacked the US military directly. Advancing the slogan: "Vieques is Puerto Rico!" they called for the mass struggle to move out from the courts and into the streets. Many people took this up and militant confrontations between the people and the US military pushed the struggle to its highest point. Such actions by the armed clandestine movement have resulted in a deepening political polarization. Reformist groups have been forced to show their true colors and have become more isolated from the people.

Revolutionary struggle is by definition illegal, it is violent struggle—a war by oppressed people to seize control of state power and smash the apparatus and institutions of imperialist domination. This is the only basis on which genuine independence can be achieved and socialist societies can begin to be built. We have to be clear about this because it is true for struggle everywhere: in Puerto Rico and in the USA. The colonial apparatus in Puerto Rico is run by the CIA; counterinsurgency programs which worked devastatingly on the Black movement in this country have also been run against the Puerto Rican movement. The Puerto Rican vanguard *can only emerge from the strictest clandestinity* because the US will not allow any organization to exist if it has the real potential to lead the liberation of Puerto Rico.

Public organizations are just that, and the state has the capacity to infiltrate, arrest and repress the membership at any time. That revolutionary vanguard organization needs to be based in clandestinity is not something new to the world revolutionary movement. Lenin constantly stressed that the organization of professional revolutionaries which leads the struggle must be a *highly disciplined, secret, combat organization*. These principles run through Lenin's writing and are found in concentrated form in *What Is To Be Done?*, a work much read but rarely applied by revolutionaries in this country.

Clandestinity is too often viewed as a defensive posture, a means of evading repression for the public movement. This view stands revolution on its head. The Puerto Rican struggle teaches us that clandestinity allows revolutionary movement to take the initiative against the superior military power of imperialism. If armed revolutionary struggle is to be carried out successfully in urban societies it must be conducted from a base in clandestinity. The capability for such a base to exist depends primarily on an overall correct strategy which ensures the growth of mass struggle in a revolutionary direction. Everywhere that people's war has been successful this has been the case. We believe that these principles apply to the development of the revolutionary movement in the oppressor nation as well.

There are people in this country who applaud certain of the actions of the armed clandestine movement but fail to understand how these come from a strategy which is building people's war. The process of developing people's war in Puerto Rico is not one of spectacular armed actions carried out by guerrillas over the heads of passive masses. The imperialists from General Haig to the mass media promote this view that what is happening in Puerto Rico is the work of "tiny terrorist gangs."

Opportunist forces in Puerto Rico and the US left come together with this by labelling the clandestine forces and those in the public movement who support them as "adventurists and ultra-leftists" following a foco theory. The strategy of people's war being advanced is qualitatively different than this, and has nothing in common with the foco theory. The foco theory holds that a small group of guerrillas, through armed actions alone, sparks and excites the masses to make revolution. This strategy has been attempted in many places in the Third World and to a lesser extent in Europe and the US. The Puerto Rican armed clandestine movement has a deep critique of the failure of foco. Its inability to mobilize the people in revolutionary struggle has resulted time and again in the isolation of revolutionaries and their subsequent defeat.

The armed clandestine movement operates in illegality with a strategy for mobilizing the people to armed struggle. Because of this it is able to play the decisive role in summing up lessons from mass struggle and in pushing

forward to greater victories. The political/military organizations and public revolutionary organizations are massifying the clandestine mentality in Puerto Rico. By taking the mass movement out of the confines of legalism and parliamentarism, real breakthroughs are being made in building combative revolutionary movement which acts to support and defend the growth of the armed clandestine struggle. In this way mass struggle develops—not as an end in itself, *but as an integral part of building people's war*. This is in large part why the combined forces of the CIA, FBI, military and police have been unable to destroy the armed clandestine movement. And it is why the war for Puerto Rican independence is ensured of continued growth in the face of repression.

Because Puerto Rican struggle is simultaneously deeply embedded in the Latin American revolutionary process, and also central to the development of revolution in the US, the understanding about the difference between foco strategy and people's war are essential to us as well. However, we must also be clear that everywhere on earth that people's war has been waged, it started from small groups of revolutionaries in its beginning stages, who developed a correct politic and strategy. This is true from Viet Nam to Zimbabwe, from Palestine to El Salvador. And is beginning to be true for the US as well.

The Eleven Puerto Rican POW's have taken these same principles from clandestinity into captivity, exchanging one battlefield for another. The Eleven are helping to set the standard for national liberation fighters captured by the imperialist state. Their determination is creating more struggle and resistance than their detention can contain. The actions of the Eleven have already had an enormous impact on the independence struggle and on anti-imperialist struggle generally in this country. When they were captured many said it was the end of the FALN, the end of armed struggle in the rearguard. Yet the struggle in the rearguard continues: as the Puerto Rican movement says, "in the final analysis the 3½ million Puerto Ricans in the US constitute a standing army for national liberation." In the face of repression new forces arise to carry forward the armed struggle. At the same time the armed movement has grown, as witnessed in the January attack by the EPB-Macheteros, who blew up nine Puerto Rican Air National Guard jets and caused \$45 million in damage. This action crippled the combat capability of the Air National Guard and received broad support from the Puerto Rican people.

The Puerto Rican revolutionary forces are establishing a scientific strategy that will not be uprooted. In beginning to mobilize the nation around the central importance of armed struggle, they have pushed the struggle in Puerto Rico to a new stage. This is a strategy which presents revolutionary movement in this country with a call to

January, 1981: EPB-Macheteros action crippled the combat capacity of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard.



examine our politics and direction. The Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, through their example, and the entire armed clandestine movement challenge us to see when it is right to seize the time and push the stage of struggle forward to its next level. By breaking out of the terms set by imperialism and bourgeois ideology in the revolutionary movement, the Eleven have turned what could be called a defeat into a victory.

In this they follow the path of the Five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners. The Nationalists remained uncompromising in jail for 25 years. They were able to do this because they understood that the struggle was better served by them standing on their principles than accepting the deals of the imperialist state for parole. They became heroes of the Puerto Rican nation, and a new generation of independentistas has taken up their call to arms.

For anti-imperialists in the white left to become a revolutionary force we believe that it is necessary to build much stronger solidarity with national liberation in this country. The struggle of the Black nation for land and independence—to liberate New Afrika; of Chicano Mexicano people for the socialist reunification of Mexico—the return of the Northern territories stolen by the US; of Native nations for sovereignty; and of Puerto Rico for independence and socialism will be waged across the length and breadth of this country in the years to come. The strategy of people's war in America is the only way that will lead to the defeat of this empire. Struggling to unite with this will make it possible for white people to

build serious revolutionary organizations and to play a role in building revolution. We will become militant partners with the national liberation movement and organize many others into a broader movement that will participate in speeding US imperialism's end.

But if, in this period of intensifying national liberation struggle within US borders, we go the road of condemning armed struggle as premature, as something that disorganizes white people, we will fail. If we view the developing people's wars being built before our eyes inside US borders as someone else's strategy and not our own, we will be carrying white racism to the strategic level. We will doom ourselves to be spectators at best—and opponents at worst—of the serious revolutionary process in the United States.

We have to strengthen our support for people and organizations which, led by correct politics, have the courage to begin the revolutionary process. And we have to heighten our struggle to develop revolutionary theory and strategy in our organizations. We have to demand the same level of commitment and discipline of ourselves that revolutionaries on the cutting edge of national liberation practice.

This struggle challenges many of the most cherished conceptions of the white left and the "new communist" movement in this country. But if we engage the struggle, under the leadership of revolutionary national liberation forces, we will be able to move forward and grow, basing our work on a strategy that will win.

EDITORIAL

REAGAN TAKES THE REINS

The Right and the Left

The election of Reagan and Bush, along with half a dozen ultra-conservative US Senators, providing for a Republican majority in the Senate, clearly signals that the politics of the US government will move right. This serves to accelerate a shift which began during Carter's tenure, characterized by the abandonment of human rights rhetoric; the adoption of a more aggressive military stance against liberation movements and the Soviet Union; the reinstatement of draft registration; and the mobilizing of white supremacist organization and sentiment against oppressed peoples within US borders. The Reagan/Bush regime represents the convergence of the Trilateral Commission and the "old and new right." The Anderson candidacy was the insurance move by the Trilateralists (Anderson is a Trilateral Commission member —eds.) to put in their new preferred choice, Reagan, after Carter had proven incapable of the necessary flexibility, firmness and effectiveness in carrying out the imperialist strategy for continued US world domination.

The uniformity of Reagan's sweep, along with right-wing gains at every level of government, and the "respectable" candidacies of Nazis and Klansmen for public



office, shows that this is not simply a ruling class conspiracy foisted on an unwilling, unwitting public. Most left post-mortems on the election have refused to acknowledge the deepened base of support for militarism and fascism within white america which the Reagan victory reveals. Instead, Reagan's triumph is dismissed as simply an "anti-Carter" vote (CPUSA) or even hailed as a misguided expression of white working class desire for "independence, economic security and decency" (League of Revolutionary Struggle). These analysts focus on misleading statistics that "only 25 percent of the electorate voted for Reagan" to prove that the 1980 elections indicate the growing alienation of the US worker from the entire political process in america.

This is pure fantasy: while the percentage of participating voters in this election remained almost the same as for the last three presidential elections, what *is* significant is the obvious, organized growth of support within the white working class for a more aggressive defense of the crumbling empire and its material/social benefits. Reagan's election is a milestone in a process of reactionary consolidation which includes the "tax revolt," campaigns

against affirmative action and school busing, anti-ERA and anti-abortion, and the current law and order hysteria. In 1980, the KKK returned to legitimacy in America, running candidates, endorsing Reagan, garnering large-scale media attention and spurting in membership while publically organizing paramilitary training camps.

With Reagan's election, the ideological and political foundation is laid for the US ruling class to carry out its program of domestic and international Trilateralism. In *Crisis of Democracy*, the Trilateral Commission called for "limited democracy" in the US in order to further marginalize Black and other Third World people and prevent them from destabilizing the empire from within. *Crisis of Democracy* argues that imperialist economic crisis makes it impossible to meet Third World people's demands for change in the coming decade. The solution is to render them powerless through urban removal, cutbacks in vital social services and federal spending programs—backed up by increased military/police occupation of Third World communities. The rise in police murders of Black and other Third World people in the central cities is testimony to this strategy of genocide.

Reagan's domestic policies show the ideological stance of Trilateralism in practice. For example, his ending of federal funds for bilingual education is an escalation of cultural genocide against Latino and other non-English-speaking peoples. It is justified with the blatantly racist argument that allowing people to maintain their national language and culture prevents them from succeeding by Anglo standards. Every area of Reagan's spending cuts is aimed at crucial areas affecting the lives of Third World people—food stamps, education, public transportation—designed to make it too expensive for colonized people to survive.

With the nauseating celebrations surrounding the return of US spies and agents from Iran, the new administration is garnering a national consensus for the exercise of military power. Haig remarked pointedly at a Senate hearing that "Americans have things worth fighting for" and declared "wars of liberation" as a threat equal to Soviet adventurism. Senator Jesse Helms has said, "If we don't draw the line south of El Salvador we won't be able to draw it north of Mexico." This is an acknowledgment that people's war is the greatest threat to imperialism. This militarist posture is in direct keeping with Trilateral strategy: already England's Thatcher and Germany's Schmidt have welcomed the Reagan hard line towards the Soviet Union and national liberation.

Reagan will beef up and ready the US military for war. In January, elite units of the Rapid Deployment Force (targetted for the Middle East) finished highly-publicized training exercises in the Mojave Desert. A similar process is underway with the Caribbean Task Force, the equiva-

lent strike force for Central America and the rest of Latin America. Reagan has made El Salvador a test case for demonstrating US military resolve, increasing by five times military aid to the fascist junta and establishing direct US presence in the form of military training advisers. This policy exemplifies General Haig's promise to make fighting "terrorist" wars of liberation take priority over Carter's so-called human rights focus.

But it is misleading to reduce US strategy in this period to one of invasion and direct military intervention. Despite all the bluster, the US cannot impose its will unchecked. Reagan must operate within the framework set by inter-imperialist rivalries, the continuing power of national liberation and increased competition with the Soviet Union. The US will continue the more sophisticated counter-revolutionary approaches developed since the Viet Nam War. The Iran-Iraq war, in which Iraq serves as the agent of US and Western European interests by attacking Iran and the Palestinian Revolution, is a case in point. So is Jamaica, where a CIA-orchestrated campaign of international monetary pressure, media manipulation and paramilitary terror helped bring reactionary Edward Seaga to power. It is significant that in Reagan's first press conference, he hailed Seaga's election as a "model" for how to turn back the communist tide in Latin America. In a similar vein, Reagan can be expected to extend Mexico's role as a front for US policy in Central America, while tightening relations with the fascist Lopez Portillo regime. In this situation, to look only for the the next Viet Nam War leads to missing the imperialist wars and maneuvers that are happening right now.

The Reagan victory provides the terrain on which revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle will develop in the 1980s. As imperialism exposes its true face under Reagan, there will be militant movements of protest and resistance, including among elements of the oppressor nation impacted by imperialist retrenchment, crisis and violence. This is already evident in movement against women's oppression, the draft, the rise of the KKK. These struggles can mobilize in a revolutionary direction, or they can be directed towards politics which don't challenge the system.

Current left journals and newspapers are filled with sober articles about the threat from the right, and with calls for united front, coalition efforts to defeat the Reagan program. The strategy called for is to "preserve the gains of the last twenty years" and to "hold the line against reaction." This has great appeal, since it talks of uniting broad sectors at a time when left and revolutionary forces appear weak and divided. Yet these strategies can block the development of revolutionary movement and lead struggle into a dead end.

No one would argue against the need for a broader

movement in this period. But we need to ask "Unity at what cost?" The loud calls of "unite to fight the right," presently coming from the white-dominated US left, sacrifice anti-imperialist politics. These appeals have no hope of confronting the fascist upsurge in America with a strategy that can generate revolutionary movement capable of winning. Instead they divert struggle into social-democratic channels which are strictly defensive.

In this context it is instructive to look at the results of the United Fronts Against Fascism of the late 1930s and 1940s, which are the models for many of today's efforts. These fronts eventually abdicated leadership of the revolutionary movement to "democratic anti-fascist" reformists in the name of defeating the "excesses" of the far right. Communist partisans of France and Spain were disarmed and their energy diverted into electoral reformism by these politics. In colonized nations like Palestine and Puerto Rico anti-colonial national liberation movements were condemned, branded as divisive and fascist because they continued to struggle against the colonizing powers. In this country the CP formed an unofficial alliance with the Roosevelt administration and abandoned work in support of Black Liberation.

In the same way, today's united front politics liquidate support for national liberation and attack the development of armed struggle and people's war by oppressed nations in the US as "premature and divisive." They refuse to address the issue of white supremacy and genocide of Third World peoples and reject the revolutionary leadership of oppressed nation forces. In doing this they operate within the left and popular movements to do imperialism's work. By rejecting the leadership of national liberation they help to isolate the very forces that are making a real challenge to imperialism and the rise of fascism.

Examples of this opportunist response to right-wing consolidation are already apparent. Look at NAROC, the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee, which poses as a model for broad-based, anti-racist organization. In California, NAROC built its anti-KKK work around a liberal appeal to Democratic Party politicians to "not be fooled" by the Ku Klux Klan, and to oust Klansman Tom Metzger from Party ranks. The politics of this campaign stressed non-militancy and non-confrontation and explicitly condemned the slogan "Death to the Klan" as ultra-left. NAROC's approach is that the Klan attacks workers, women, gays, Jews and "minorities" alike, and that we should all unite to oppose it. This line wipes out the particular function of the KKK as the armed spearhead for genocidal attacks against the Black Nation and other Third World peoples. It's not that different than what the liberal wing of the Democratic Party has to say. It denies the leading role of the Black Liberation Movement in the struggle to defeat the Klan. Accordingly, NAROC gives

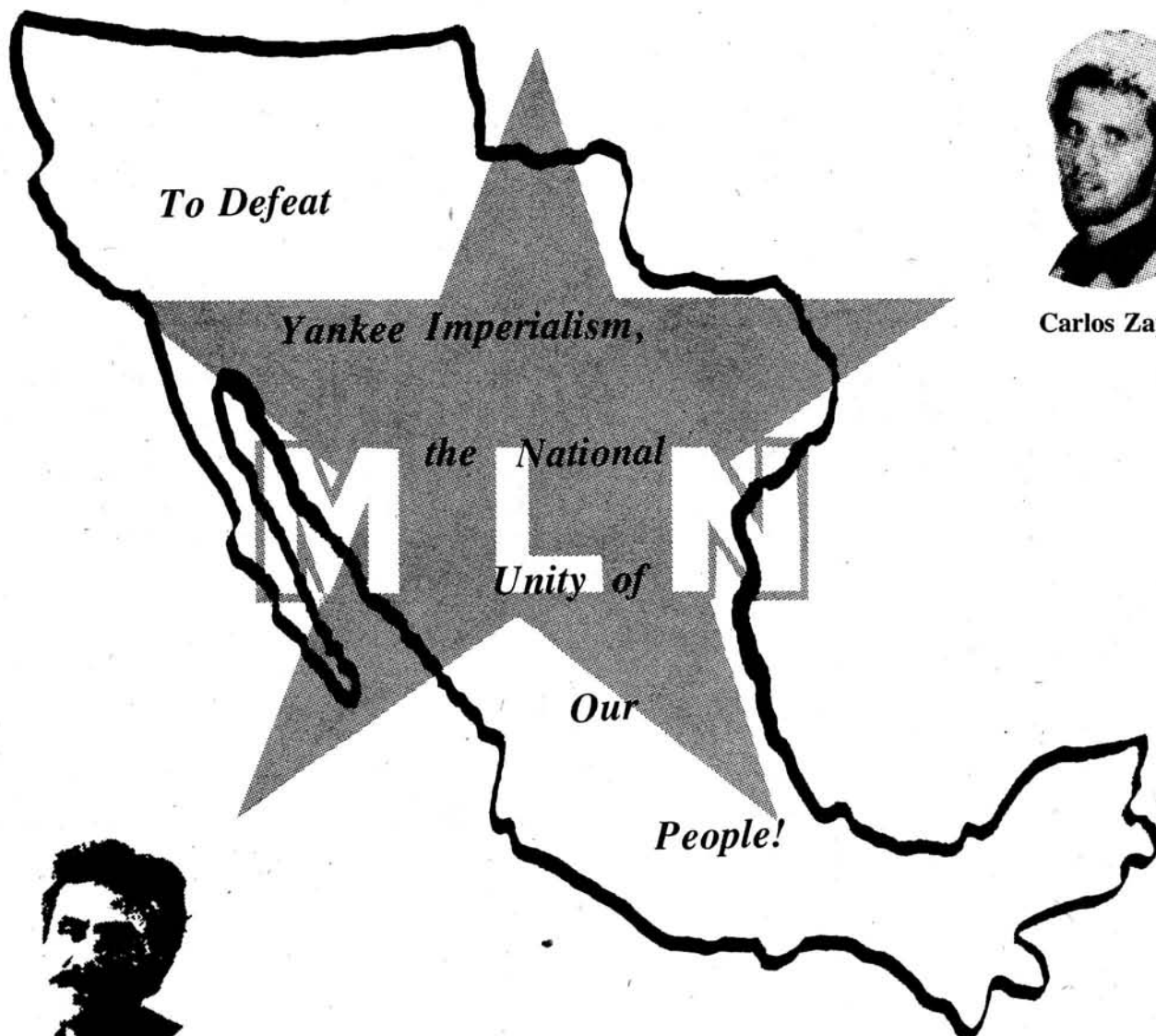
little support to Black forces like the United League, which is leading militant mass resistance to the KKK in Mississippi. United Front efforts like NAROC do not build anti-imperialist consciousness or real struggle against the Klan. They actually prevent support from being built for the Black Liberation Movement.

Similar politics dominate emerging campaigns against the Reagan economic program. These campaigns fail to target the genocidal nature of the Reagan cutbacks on Third World communities, and they don't build support for the revolutionary movements of Third World peoples which are challenging this genocide. The cutbacks are seen as across-the-board attacks on all working people and the solution is an ill-defined mass struggle for democratic rights and more social services.

This strategy is based on the mistaken premise that fascist measures in the US are an excess, an extreme right-wing phenomenon which can be checked through legalistic struggle for democratic reforms. But fascism in the US is not the preserve of the KKK and the Moral Majority. It is no mere aberration. It is not simply a "turn to the right" which will be reversed in the next capitalist cycle. In fact, fascism is the inevitable strategic response of an imperialist system in fundamental crisis and attempting a counter-offensive. Fascism is becoming the reality which faces oppressed nations in the US—the Black Nation, Chicano Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native people. A fascist base is being consolidated within the white working class through outfront appeals to white supremacy and patriotism. All this is being orchestrated by the Reagan administration, consistent with Trilateral strategy.

This process can only be challenged by concerted anti-imperialist struggle. The 1980s is a time when national liberation movements in the US will be advancing towards a strategy of people's war as the only answer to genocide and colonial domination. We must build a revolutionary base among white people that fights alongside these struggles. We do not want to repeat the history of the early 1970s when Nixon was able to carry out the Cointelpro war strategy against the Black Liberation Movement while the white left and the leaders of the mass anti-war movement attacked Black revolutionary freedom fighters as adventurists and terrorists. The same forces now calling for liberal-style unity against the right will be in the forefront condemning armed struggle as "adventurist" and harmful to the fight against reaction. They will attack, as they already have done, the armed struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico, particularly the rear-guard struggle within the US, led by the FALN. A strong counter to this politics has to be built, one which will be truly capable of confronting the right-wing tide and which makes a contribution to the defeat of the imperialist system.

International Day with the Struggle of the



To Defeat

Yankee Imperialism,

the National

Unity of

Our

People!



Carlos Zapata



El "Guero" Medrano

**LONG LIVE
DESTROY THE IMPERIALISTS
ALL OUT TO EL PASO**

of Solidarity Chicano Mexicano People

INTRODUCTION

The Movimiento De Liberacion Nacional, founded in 1977, is a national anti-imperialist organization of Chicano Mexicano and Puerto Rican peoples. Our organization represents the unity that is developing between the largest groupings of Spanish-Speaking people in the U.S. Before, our struggles existed in isolation from one another, but we now recognize the commonality of our struggles and of our oppression. Both of our peoples in the U.S. have suffered colonial oppression since the U.S. military intervened in our nations. As a result of the military intervention, Puerto Rico is a direct colony of the U.S. with close to one-half the total Puerto Rican population living in the U.S. Mexico saw one-half of its national territory stolen, between ten and fifteen percent of its population lives in the occupied territories and the so-called "independent" nation of Mexico is becoming more and more a neo-colony of the U.S.

Within the "belly of the beast" our peoples have a very strategic role to play in the destruction of U.S. imperialism. Our peoples form the rearguard base areas for the struggle for the socialist liberation of our homelands. Our revolutionary struggles against police repression killings, I.N.S. and B.I.A., our struggles for self-determination for Third World People within the U.S. will play an important role not only in developing unity between Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano Mexicano and Native American Peoples but it will also help to unite all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces against our common enemy . . . U.S. imperialism.

CHICANO MEXICANO STRUGGLE

Since the military occupation of our nation, our people have resisted. Our resistance struggle has taken and is taking different forms in the various areas of our occupied territories. Our struggle has reached different levels during the past 132 years of the internal colonization of our people. The Chicano Mexicano Commission of the Movimiento De Liberacion Nacional believes that we, the Chicano Mexicano and the Mexican people are one people and that our struggle is for the socialist reunification of our nation.

During the last few years, the Movimiento De Liberacion Nacional has had a profound influence on the Chicano Mexicano struggle. We sponsored a tour of a member of the Comite De Defensa Popular—a mass Mexican revolutionary organization—to the U.S. The first time the Chicano Mexicano people have shown solidarity with the struggle in the southern half of our nation. We called for the 1st National Commemoracion of Los Symbolos De La Resistencia Chicana Mexicana in the state of Colorado. We participated in the Third World People's Moratorium Against Police, I.N.S., B.I.A. Crimes. We co-sponsored speaking tours of the recently released Four Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners to the occupied territories.

As a result of this work, Comites Contra La Represion are developing in various parts of the country to carry on the work against repression, to begin to do work in solidarity with our homeland (Mexico) and the revolutionary struggle taking place there, to push forward the destruction of the U.S. imposed border that divides our people,

MAY 1ST!

-IMPOSED BORDER!

, TEXAS, MAY 1-2, 1981!

and to support the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Independence struggle and the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

With the increasing co-operation between U.S. and Mexican foreign policy, Mexico is increasing its role as a junior partner to U.S. imperialism, it then becomes urgent for the Chicano Mexicano struggle to increase its support and solidarity with the revolutionary forces in Mexico.

It is also important that the Chicano Mexicano Movement continue to expand its internationalist outlook as our struggle does not exist in isolation from the other struggles occurring around the world.

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY

The Movimiento De Liberacion Nacional is calling for all Chicano Mexicano people and organizations and all other progressive people to come to El Paso, Texas on May 1st, 1981 to celebrate International Workers Day and to show our solidarity with Mexican revolutionary forces by joining in a march in Juarez, Mexico.

On May 2nd, we will have a program with speakers supporting the Chicano Mexicano people's struggle within the U.S.



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FRIDAY

10:00 A.M.

May Day Demonstration in Juarez, Mexico with Mexican Revolutionary forces

SATURDAY

10:00 A.M.

Community Forum/Program

Chicano Mexicano Commission of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional

Canadian Labor Party

Liga Socialista Puertorriquena

Republic of New Afrika

Puerto Rican Commission of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional

Comite de Defensa Popular—Mexico

3:00 P.M.

Demonstration

Dinner with Cultural Activity

For more information, contact the Comites Contra Represion at:

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O

Colorado: P.O. Box 4543, Denver, CO 80204

P.O. Box 1073, Alamosa, CO 81101

Texas: P.O. Box 2118, El Paso, TX 79951

California: 314 17th Street No. #890,
Oakland, CA 94612

New Mexico: P.O. Box 134,
Tierra Amarilla, NM 87575

Wisconsin: 805 S. 5th Street, Milwaukee, WI

New York: Box 70, 115 Essex Street,
New York, NY 10002

or contact the Movimiento De Liberacion Nacional

c/o *Rebeldia*, Box 233, 2520 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614

The Struggle for the Socialist Reunification of Mexico

ONE PEOPLE, ONE NATION!



Mass demonstration led by CDP in Juarez, Mexico, 1980.

In recent years, the revolutionary struggle in Mexico has been steadily advancing against the fascist PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) government of Lopez Portillo and its direct ties and dependencies to US imperialism. This movement exposes the repression which underlies Mexico's democratic mask and how it is becoming a junior partner to US imperialism in Latin America. Mexican revolutionaries are developing advanced strategies and organizations to defeat imperialist and capitalist exploitation and build a socialist Mexico.

This struggle reaches into the heart of the US federal system itself. Mexican and Chicano Mexicano revolutionaries have defined the Mexican revolution as a struggle to reunify all of Mexico under a socialist system. This means reunifying the southern part currently under the "Mexican government" with the northern occupied territories—the colonized territories of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Utah, Nevada and California. This land was stolen by the US in 1836 with an illegal border imposed and maintained under military force of

the US. The struggle for the socialist reunification of Mexico challenges the so-called "sacredness" of US borders and threatens the very fabric of US empire.

We in PFOC have failed to understand the centrality of the struggle in Mexico to anti-imperialist consciousness and practice. And, like the majority of the left in this country, have been unconscious and unsupportive of the revolutionary struggle for socialist reunification. *Breakthrough* is publishing these important documents from the Mexican revolutionary movement as part of a process of understanding and unity with these politics and strategy. We are reprinting a speech and interview with a representative of the *Comite de El Paso Contra la Represion*. The *Comites* are a national organization of Chicano Mexicanos struggling against the colonial conditions of Chicano Mexicanos in the occupied territories and in support of the revolutionary movement in Mexico. We are also reprinting excerpts from an interview with a member of the *Comite de Defensa Popular*—a mass revolutionary organization in Mexico.

Speech and Interview with a Member of The Comité Contra la Represión de El Paso

First off, I would like to extend our revolutionary solidarity to the revolutionary Salvadorean Front, to the comrades of the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism, and to the heroic and glorious Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

First off, comrades, I would like to give a general explanation about the situation the Mexican people find themselves in today. In the rural areas of our country, as well as in the urban areas, today, there exists a shortage of food, a shortage of medical care, there is a lack of education for the working masses of Mexico. The government as well as the labor unions are filled with corruption. Employment today in Mexico is very low. There is currently an intense movement on behalf of the workers, on behalf of the popular masses. The popular masses today advance forward the revolutionary left in Mexico.

In the mountainous regions, the large landowners, the local bosses, carry out a joint program with the Mexican government to attempt to mechanize agriculture in Mexico. In this attempt they are removing and assassinating the peasant masses in Mexico. Why is this? In an attempt to develop agribusiness on the same level as that encountered in the United States. What this has caused is the involuntary and forced removal of peasants, where the majority of the peasants are forced to move into the urban areas where there exists currently a critical situation of a lack of housing, jobs and education. The masses find themselves in this situation and recognize that the PRI government, from the time of the supposed victory of the Mexican revolution, continues in its program of lying and deceiving the people. For example, each time a new candidate comes forth, the only thing the candidate does is promise; the only thing that they do is work with what is today known as the opposition, not to carry out a program that will alleviate the conditions of the Mexican masses, but rather as part of a strategy to repress the people and together to sell the nation to the United States. This has resulted in the complete repudiation by the Mexican people of the government. We have as examples the recent election in the state of Chihuahua. The people are cognizant of the fact that the PRI government carried out a fraudulent campaign in the cities of Tamargo and Casas Grandes. What happened as a result of this was that the Mexican masses, and not as a result of any one organization, took the municipal city governments by force. These takeovers of the municipal city governments were held until the Mexican government conceded and appointed the

true victors of these elections. The response of the PRI government was to unleash the Mexican military on our people.

In the teacher's movement, there is currently a mass movement of professors throughout the country. Today they are demanding of the Secretary of Public Education better economic conditions. For example, salary raises, payment of those teachers who have gone unpaid for the last nine months and labor union democracy. These demonstrations of the professors have reached the level where on June 9, 1980, over 100,000 professors had a demonstration in Mexico City.

Another example of the people's repudiation of the Mexican government is in the kidnapping and taking over of various milk trucks in the city of Chihuahua as a response to an increase in the price of milk. What occurred was that this milk was distributed in the popular colonias in Chihuahua.

In the countryside, as continuing acts of denunciation of the Mexican government, land is taken over by squatters. Independent organizations as well as independent collective life has been organized by the peasants.

GOVERNMENT REPRESSION OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT

The response of the Mexican government to this repudiation has been a repression that has been unleashed against the countryside. As examples, in February of 1980 in the region of the Huastecas, the army in conjunction with the hired guns and the White Guard (a right-wing paramilitary organization —eds.), attacked and assassinated approximately 36 men, women and children. In February of 1980 in the same state in the city of Sacahuala, hired guns under the command of a retired military commander assassinated 30 comrades, wounding fifteen, six of whom died the following day. This is because the Mexican peasantry continues a program of expropriating the lands. The justification used by the Mexican government for this repression is that the independent farmworkers' union, the Independent 14th of May Farmworkers' Union, was accused of carrying out armed actions against the government. On the 20th of April, 1980, nineteen peasants were assassinated in the city of Tepitipango in the state of Veracruz. Five of these were leaders of the movement and these five were burned alive. Those responsible for the assassination were forty hired guns who were employed



Paramilitary right-wing Black Berets—organized to attack the people's struggle.

by the local bosses Jose Amallo and Armando Garcia. At that moment, mobilizations took place of over 2000 soldiers and judicial police in the state.

At this time, the constitution of Mexico prohibits slavery. But we have in the same Huastecas region, where the indigenous population finds themselves in a miserable state, finds themselves in a state of slavery. It is not uncommon for the whip to be used on these comrades to force them to work, and when these peasants are paid (if they ever get paid), they receive 30 Mexican pesos, which is approximately US \$1.40 (a day). These people, local bosses and Arab capitalists in the region, are responsible for robbery and the raping of women and for torturing people in this region. The peasants in this region are associated with the Independent Farmworkers' Union, 14th of May. And they are united in carrying out a program of independently organizing against the state and developing collective life in this region. Because these companeros in these organizations carry out these kinds of actions, 80 members of the organization are currently being hunted down in the mountainside. The Mexican government is currently offering 100,000 pesos for the assassination or turning over of the leader Alejandro Dolores. Currently fifteen members of this organization have disappeared. Currently the 18th batallion of the Mexican

army is occupying the region and is in a virtual state of seige.

In the urban areas, in the city of Delicias in the state of Chihuahua, in June of 1980, the *Comite de Defensa Popular* invaded the land in the city creating the popular colonias *Tierra y Libertad* and *Flores Magon*. At this time these colonias find themselves encircled by the army as a response of the local bourgeoisie (because Ciudad Delicias is the agricultural center of the state of Chihuahua). At this time we are anticipating that 2400 families will be brutally and viciously removed from the land which they have taken over. In the city of Chihuahua, Chihuahua, the same organization invaded land giving rise to the colonia *Gego Museo*. This colonia finds itself being encircled by rural police and we anticipate that these squatters will be forcibly removed as well. In May of 1980, in the popular colonia *Tierra y Libertad* in the city of Juarez, Chihuahua, the house of Pedro Matos, a leader of the *Comite de Defensa Popular*, was bombed by the Mexican government. In the state of Guerrero in what is currently known as the "amphitheater," which overlooks the city of Acapulco, 125,000 families have invaded and taken over land to form a popular colony. What has occurred is that today the Mexican government is intimidating them with forced removal to create a city for tourists and so that the multinationals can create hotels in that region.

In the teachers' movement, even though at this point they are basically putting forth economic demands, in the city of Chihuahua the offices of the municipal government were occupied without any formal organization. These actions represent the complete repudiation of the PRI government by the Mexican people. These actions and this organizing has led to the development of independent organizations such as the *Comite de Defensa Popular* in the state of Chihuahua, the Democratic Association of Students in the state of Mexico, the Committee of Independent Proletarian Politics in the state of Jalisco, the Independent Peasant Union, the Worker-Student and Peasant Coalition in the Isthmus of southern Mexico, the Revolutionary Popular Defense Front, the Movement of Revolutionary Struggle and the magazine *Punto Critico*. This has allowed these organizations to come together, to consolidate the Mexican masses which are opposed to the Mexican government.

POLITICAL REFORM: THE MEXICAN DEMOCRATIC MASK AND TRILATERALISM

Another form of repression carried out by the government is of a more subtle form. For example there is the political reform. At a given moment, when the revolutionary movement of the people is developing, the Mexican government supposedly legitimates what is known today as "the parties" and submits these parties of opposition to the electoral process, which then creates divisions among the Mexican left between those who truly seek out the Mexican revolution and those who are playing the game put forth by the Mexican government. What has occurred from this is that the independent revolutionary movement is consolidating in the following manner. None of the organizations which I have previously mentioned is large enough or strong enough to lead the mass national movement. But a coordination is taking place among these mass organizations. An example of that coordination is the call to abstentionism from the electoral process in Mexico. We have seen an unprecedented act in Mexico. These organizations put forward the banner of not voting and as a consequence—in opposition to the political reform, in opposition to the Mexican Communist Party, in opposition to all the parties which are carrying out the electoral game of the Mexican government—70 percent of the Mexican population did not vote. On the other hand, what has happened is that, instead of the isolation of the revolutionary left, these so-called revolutionary parties have ended up on the right.

Currently another one of the masks of the Mexican government is to put itself forward to the international community as a democratic government. For example, we

know that there has been and continues to be a generalized movement for the political prisoners and for those people who have disappeared at the hands of the Mexican government. The Mexican government put forth a general amnesty for political prisoners in Mexico. But what has taken place has been that various prisoners who have been released from these prisons have been assassinated by the White Guards or find themselves anew in other Mexican prisons.

The Mexican democratic face put on the government in the interest of Mexican capitalism is intimately tied to United States imperialism. As an example, we see the supposed independence of the "black gold," the Mexican oil. We see that the Mexican government supposedly takes these hard stands against the United States saying that the United States will not control, will not buy Mexican oil. We see that the Mexican government supposedly comes out and supports the rights of undocumented workers in the United States and it puts forward this call for democratic rights for these people. This nationalist mask by the Mexican government is an attempt to cover up its true interest and its true face of repression of the Mexican people.

We see this within the general parameters of Trilateralism. We see that the United States completely controls the economy of Mexico. Mexico puts forth this so-called nationalist mask to end up actually being a junior partner of imperialism in the Latin American region. So that this way the Mexican government can carry out repression against the people of Latin America. In this way, United States imperialism will not have to intervene directly in this area.

Another interest of the imperialist government are the runaway shops along the border and in the city of Guadalajara. In these shops three workers are paid the equivalent of what one worker would be paid in the United States. The majority of these workers in these runaway shops are women. We see that what is being created is the possibility that the United States will be able to exploit the labor power of Mexico and that the United States will not pay taxes on the goods produced in Mexico. As examples we have IBM, Texas International, RCA and GM. What these companies do is partially produce but not complete in Mexico. They export these unfinished products to the United States, where smaller plants exist, without there being any charge on the act of exporting these goods.

We also have as an example of US interests in Mexico, the oil port which is developing in Brownsville, Texas. At this port there are currently being developed five oil refineries which will refine Mexican oil which will enter through McAllen. This oil will then be distributed for the United States.



The 1,945-mile border is a military zone, where "la migra" terrorizes millions of Mexicanos.

CHICANO MEXICANO STRUGGLE: FOR THE SOCIALIST REUNIFICATION OF MEXICO

We see this, companeros, apart from Trilateralism, as an attack not only on the Mexican people of the south but also as an attack on the Mexican people in the north. The imperialist government in no way, shape or form will stop solely with Trilateralism. If the revolution occurs in Mexico, you can take it for granted that US imperialism will intervene for its supposed interests there, which will bring the Chicano Mexicano people in the United States directly into a war against United States imperialism. Why do we say this? Because we know that one of the principle pillars of United States imperialism is racism. We have as an example the second imperialist world war. The example of thousands of Japanese people who were put into military camps in the United States. And this being the situation of the Japanese people, with thousands of them being imprisoned in military camps in the US, and Japan being thousands of miles away, what can we, the Chicano Mexicano people, expect—we who share a 2,000 mile border with the United States? For as the saying goes, "We find ourselves so far away from God yet so close to the United States."

Comrades, we believe concretely that we are a colonized people, that imperialist manifestations of the immigration services, a permanent army of occupation in our communities, sooner rather than later will begin to be used against our people in the same manner that the White

Brigades are used in the southern 30 states. We see the concentration camps of the Japanese people; we know that these camps already exist throughout the southwest for the Mexican people. We realize that the immigration service is the principle force in these camps. We currently see the militarization of the Mexican border. We see the customs agency is being used in the same fashion as the immigration service. We see the corral (Carter's barbed wire immigration curtain) constructed in El Paso at a cost of \$7 million to supposedly prevent our companeros from coming into this country. We see that the repression unleashed and being carried out against the undocumented sector of our people is but part of the repression unleashed against the Chicano Mexicano people and against the Black and Puerto Rican people and against the indigenous population.

We see that the only way that we will be able to stop this form of aggression is not any more to demand bilingual education rights. It is no longer a question of demanding more governmental programs. It is no longer a question of demanding more Mexican police. But rather it is the task of the Mexicano Chicano people to develop the rearguard to support the Mexican revolution. Because in no way or fashion will the repression stop in Mexico, but rather it will continue to this side in the same way it is being carried out against the comrades of the FALN.

Our task, comrades, is clearly to propagate about the revolution in Mexico and the revolutionary organization that is developing among our people here. But as the Mexican revolutionary movement advances and grows,

we in the Chicano Mexicano movement have to develop an armed clandestine ability to organize. Because we firmly believe that colonized nations within the United States are what will destroy and dismember United States imperialism. The task of white North Americans is to organize and to help us propagandize about our revolution and a good example of that is the action carried out three weeks ago by the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism against United States imperialism and in solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism. (The election day takeover of Carter and Reagan election headquarters in California. —eds.)

Comrades, it is clear that we have to develop a struggle *still*, which will take a long time to arrive at the same point where our Puerto Rican comrades are at this moment. But what is clear is that the discussion on the question of the socialist reunification of Mexico is not taking place here only and that we are not the only ones that are putting forth and discussing this concept. The people in the independent organizations of Mexico are in agreement with this position. As an example we have a political position paper developed by the Comité de Defensa Popular in 1967 which puts forth the call for the socialist reunification of Mexico. Comrades, we put forth a call to all and each one of you that from this day forward you keep your eyes and ears open to the movement for the socialist reunification of Mexico because we concretely believe that this is part of the beginning stage of the dismemberment of United States imperialism. As well as the Black Liberation

Movement, which is part of the process of dismemberment, as is represented by the movement for the liberation of the land of Black people in the South.

Comrades, the movement for the socialist reunification of Mexico, you can be sure, is here, is here to stay, and we will triumph in our struggle. Thank you.

* * *

BREAKTHROUGH: The PRI government holds itself up as the inheritor of the Mexican revolution of 1910. What is your position regarding this claim?

COMITE DE EL PASO CONTRA LA REPRESION: The Mexican Revolution wasn't a revolution which liberated the Mexican people from the oppression of the huge landowners or from the exploitation of foreign countries, principally England and the US. Rather it was a bourgeois democratic revolution.

Porfirio Diaz and the group which surrounded him, "the Scientists," Barrera, Limantour, Madero (father of the future President of Mexico, Francisco I. Madero) had completely sold the country out to foreigners: livestock, mining, agriculture, oil extraction and the railroads were completely controlled by foreigners. Furthermore, the national bourgeoisie (Francisco I. Madero) realized that if they didn't replace Diaz that the growing popular discontent could wipe out not only Diaz, but themselves as well. At this time the Mexican government had already forced Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon into exile as a result of their intense activity and political agitation; Emiliano Zapata was organizing the peasants in the South, while Francisco Villa was organizing in the North. Thus the only

Mexico School Supplies and Clothing Drive

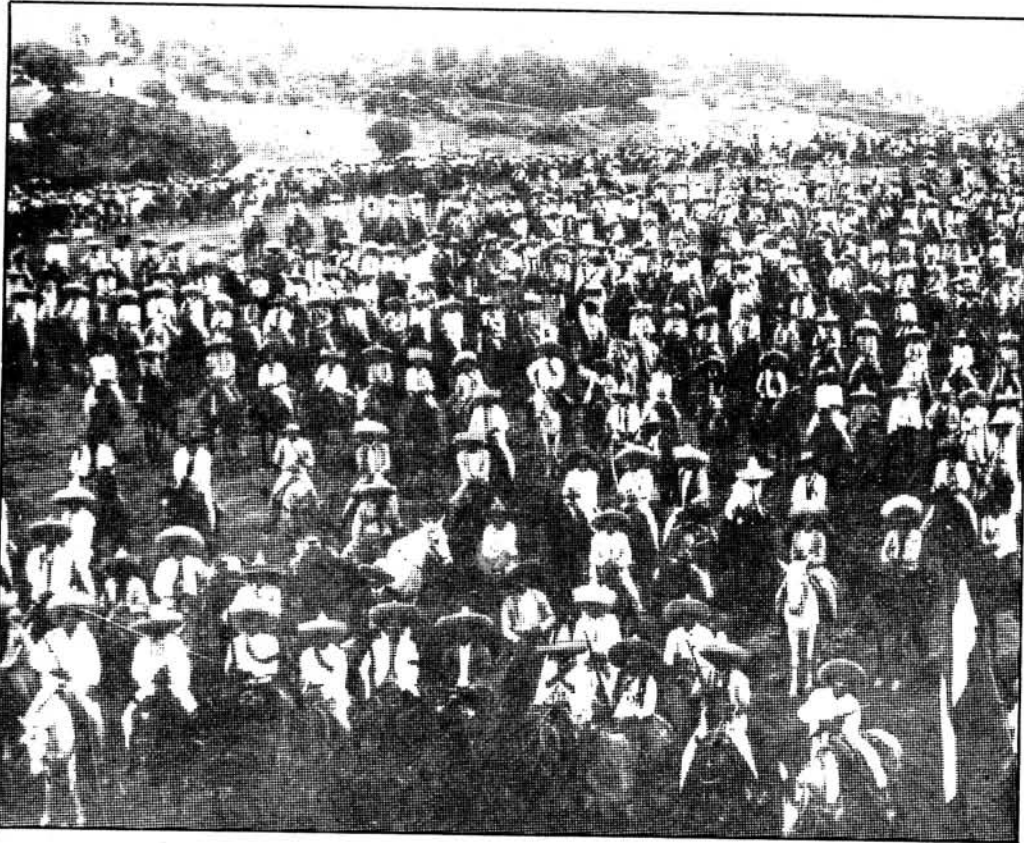
The Comité de Defensa Popular (CDP) is a revolutionary Mexican organization representing 300,000 peasants and workers. In the last several years, the CDP has organized people to take over land around various Mexican cities to set up communities called colonias, with as many 60,000 families in each.

In order to fight the high illiteracy rate, and to keep the colonias running, the CDP urgently needs clothing and school supplies. You can help by:

- giving clothing and getting friends to give clothing
- donating school supplies
- donating items for garage sales or craft sales to raise money
- helping with pick-ups, sorting, etc.
- making a financial contribution or monthly pledge

If you want to help in any of these ways, please contact:

New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism
1005 Market, #207, San Francisco, CA 94103.



Zapata's peasant liberation army of southern Mexico.

change which took place was that one group of exploiters came to power and replaced the previous one. The working people in no way benefitted from the Mexican Revolution of 1910. As a result of the victory of one group, which had represented the bourgeoisie in the Mexican Revolution, the Revolutionary Mexican Party (PRM) developed to represent their interest; in time this party became the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

BT: You mentioned the land expropriations and popular colonies in Mexico. How are these established and how do they function?

COMITE: One example of them is the *Comite de Defensa Popular* (CDP), a broad organization of the masses in the state of Chihuahua. Currently, roughly 300,000 people belong to the CDP. The CDP carries out revolutionary struggle in the major cities of the state; it expropriates large areas of land from the landowners and establishes proletarian communities on the outskirts of the cities. In Chihuahua the CDP has roughly 40 mass organizations, for example the colonias *Francisco Villa* and *Genaro Vasquez Rojas*; in Juarez, around fourteen mass fronts, among them the Community *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Freedom) and the Community *Andres Figueroa Cordero*, etc. The proletarian communities of the CDP are organized by block and a general assembly and political study are held each week. By working collectively they

have been able to build primary and secondary schools, as well as medical dispensaries. Through the organization of massive demonstrations the CDP has forced the state to provide public services such as water, drainage and electric energy to the various proletarian communities. However, when the state refused to provide these services or if after being provided the costs of these services is too high for the workers, then it has been necessary to expropriate the electricity and water.

BT: The Mexican government claims to be struggling to prevent US control of Mexico's oil and other natural resources. What is the true relationship between the US and Mexico in this area?

COMITE: While the US supplies Mexico with arms, technology and military training, Mexico provides the US with the oil it needs. For example, in Brownsville, Texas, oil refineries are being built to refine the oil which will enter McAllen, Texas by way of a pipe which is being built from Tampico, Mexico with British, French and North American money. At the same time, the port is being enlarged so that the "supertankers" can come in; and to create in Brownsville, Texas the largest "free import and export port of entry" between the US and Mexico. However, it is not only the North American imperialists who have their eyes on the natural resources of Mexico; the Japanese and French do as well. For exam-

ple, Japan offered to construct the largest oil port, possibly in the world, if Mexico would guarantee to satisfy five percent of Japan's oil needs for the next 100 years. Furthermore, since Mexico is one of the richest countries in the world in uranium, France offered to build a nuclear reactor in Mexico, if Mexico would supply France with needed uranium. This clearly demonstrates the division of an underdeveloped country between the imperialist countries, in order to rob the country, without any need for a fight; or, in other words, the Trilateralist strategy put into practice.

BT: Many Chicano and other left groups have put forward a position which recognizes the US border and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (which ceded the Southwest to the United States following the Mexican-American war of 1848) as the basis of a new Chicano nation or "Aztlan." What is your position on this subject?

COMITE: The imperialist barrier which crosses half of our country is nothing more than an example of the brutal aggression the US wages against an independent and sovereign nation. The imperialist border represents the violation of our people under a system of colonization in what is now Occupied Mexican territory and the capitalist exploitation of our people below the border. Although half of our country (Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona,

Utah, Nevada and California) are currently colonized by North American imperialism, this does not mean that we are not a people. Although our executioners try to assimilate us as a people, destroy our language and our culture, this does not mean that we are no longer one people. Rather, it only means that we must recognize and develop a determined struggle on all levels, not only to reunify our country but also to completely wipe out Yankee imperialism.

The Chicano Mexicano people must recognize that just as Opportunist parties—parties, individuals and organizations of the opposition which are opposed to the complete destruction of the capitalist system—exist in the Southern part of our country, that here as well, in the occupied territories, we also have sellouts and people who are opposed to the destruction of imperialism and the reunification of our people. There are those people and organizations which at one time played a role in the Chicano movement, but for lack of a revolutionary theory have accommodated themselves to the crumbs which the Yankees offer them and today are no longer spokespersons for the Chicano Mexicano people. Rather, with the passage of time, they have become instruments of imperialism to divert, confuse and calm the revolutionary spirit of the Chicano Mexicano people. There are those people who will never oppose this system, given that these people are totally reactionary. These people have and defend the same interests as imperialism, and they deserve the same fate as the enemy.

By recognizing the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, we are recognizing the legitimacy of the imperialist occupation of half of Mexico. We are accepting the imposed border. We are accepting the murder of thousands of Chicano Mexicanos by the police, Migra (US Immigration and Naturalization Service) and army. We are accepting the cruel exploitation of our people!!!! The police and the Migra are armies of occupation in our communities. We must particularly denounce and fight the Migra with all means available, given that it was specifically organized to repress our people.

BT: Could you talk some more about how you see the development of the revolutionary Chicano Mexicano movement?

COMITE: Our solidarity with the revolutionary movement in the Southern part of our country (from the state of Chihuahua south) must be not only a moral solidarity, but also a practical one. If we hope to have our country reunited, we must develop a struggle in coordination with our sister organizations to the South. We must be an anti-imperialist movement of National Liberation, with Marxist-Leninist bases, to achieve the Socialist Reunification of Mexico.



Political cartoon from the 1900s. Conquest and genocide were the cornerstones of America's "manifest destiny."

Interview with a Member of the Comité de Defensa Popular (Mexico)

BT: What are the perspectives and goals of the CDP on the Mexican Revolution?

CDP: The CDP, when it began, began to spread throughout the state of Chihuahua, with the perspective of building socialism. As a result of the repression and persecution which we received, we acted both openly and clandestinely. We used both tactics. We understand that the gubernatorial elections are farces. We won't vote for someone who is going to repress us. And we carried out this anti-electoral campaign throughout the state. And in all the country there were huge abstentions. Seventy percent didn't vote. Then, first in Chihuahua, then in all of Mexico, we denounced to the people (by way of leaflets, writings, all the different forms we could use) the fact that the national wealth doesn't belong to the people, but to the government and the few rich people who own the industries. There are 70 million people in Mexico and only one million own all the wealth. This gives you a true impression of the situation in Mexico.

What is the goal of the CDP, and the other groups which support us nationally? The proletarian revolution, the establishment of socialism in Mexico, because we believe that this is the only way we can distribute the wealth

collectively, so that it will be in the hands of all and not just in the hands of a few. Reagan and Lopez Portillo, the only thing that they are doing is that Reagan asks for more rights and easier access to the wealth of Mexico. They want more respect for the rights of the bourgeoisie, the rich, in Mexico. And in this way the north american bourgeoisie as well as the transnational companies become richer and the Mexican bourgeoisie does as well.

So these two go up and up, becoming richer and richer and the people, which is the immense majority, becomes poorer and poorer. These are the relationships which they have, in order to divide the wealth of the country between them. For example, the oil, then the gas, which is being given to the new ports in the US. Then, in Chihuahua, the uranium deposits, which the US is trying to get Mexico to turn over as quickly as possible. These talks are nothing more than discussions of their mutual interest.

BT: Could you expand a little on the recent meeting between Reagan and Lopez Portillo? What is the significance of their negotiations concerning oil and undocumented workers?

CDP: These are political games between the US and Mexican government. How is this going to affect us? We



Building in colonia *Tierra y Libertad*, Juarez, Mexico. Seventy percent of the people are abstaining from the electoral process in Mexico.

don't benefit from the oil; it is used to exploit us and make us poorer. It only affects them, for they are the ones who receive the benefits. These are merely games between them.

The United States does what it wants to with Mexico. But it's true that the threats are increasing. Why doesn't Mexico give the US the oil it needs? And if it doesn't, then the US will not permit the undocumented workers to enter nor will it allow business interests to enter as freely. This is a tactic between businessmen, a tactic which doesn't affect us at all. If they close the border or not it doesn't make any difference to us. It's a problem between them. Who

says it is against the Salvadorean military junta, but the truth is that when Salvadorean guerrillas arrive in Mexico, they are arrested, following orders of the government. They arrest them and they return them to El Salvador, so they will be assassinated. Thus, the Salvadorean guerrillas are already conscious of this; they know this perfectly. And now they are directly connected to us, since they know that we are the only organization of opposition. They don't even take the Communist Party of Mexico into consideration, because the Communist Party is the "paler" (stick figure—eds.) of the Mexican government; it is part of the government.



has and who wants more profits? Reagan. Who else wants more? Lopez Portillo. Each one for their respective bourgeoisie. It would be magnificent for us if they did close the border. We would take advantage of this and it would give us more weapons with which to attack both sides.

BT: What role is Mexico playing in relationship to Latin America, particularly Central America, El Salvador and Guatemala?

CDP: Demogically, Mexico is the leader of the Latin American people. El Salvador—the Mexican government

They do the same thing in Guatemala. The Mexican government denounced the burying of Guatemalan peasants in the (Spanish) Embassy, but they immediately placed 20,000 soldiers along the border with Guatemala to catch the guerrillas and to return them and hand them over directly to the military junta of Guatemala, which then assassinates them. It's the same situation and El Salvador clearly demonstrates to us that it's not true that Mexico is the leader of the Latin American people. El Salvador is already more advanced than we are because they are already at the stage of armed revolution, the stage at which we will arrive following this one.

BT: Do you think the US government could pressure Mexico into being an invasion force in El Salvador or Guatemala?

CDP: No, they won't do it, because the US knows that the only people who would go fight in Guatemala are the military, not the people. And without the military, the Mexican government is left undefended and would fall into our hands.

BT: What effects do you think that the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala are having on the people of Mexico?

CDP: It's very important. The struggle in Guatemala is

forces here?

CDP: We see it as something very important historically for us, something that is being born, which we have wanted to see develop for a long time—the dream of having *companeros* both here and there who have come to understand our objectives.

BT: Is the idea of Socialist Reunification very common in Mexico?

CDP: Yes, it is an old idea. However, it has never been able to be developed as a result of the chains in which we were held, as well as the divisions. We have been divided. Because the enemy, the government is very powerful and



On March 1, 1981, the 27th anniversary of the Puerto Rican Nationalists' armed attack on Congress, the *Comite de Defensa Popular* led a militant demonstration of thousands in the streets of Juarez, Mexico. The march was a militant and mass demonstration of solidarity between the revolutionary people of Mexico and the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War imprisoned in the US, and in support of the FALN. Solidarity between the revolutionary movement in Mexico and the Puerto Rican struggle for Independence and Socialism is growing into an unbreakable force. At this time, several streets in the *Colonia Tierra y Libertad* were named in honor of the Eleven POW's, and two new sections of land were occupied and named after Don Juan Antonio Corretjer and Dona Consuelo Lee Tapia de Corretjer.

less advanced than the struggle in El Salvador. In Guatemala at this point there are a lot of murders of the people, in cold blood, criminally, because people are not yet organized. They are not yet prepared for armed struggle as they are in El Salvador. But nevertheless, both of these actions like the one in Nicaragua, have had such a great repercussion and importance that the groups of guerrillas which are left have understood the need to organize themselves and to unite with the people and have joined with the people in a mass struggle.

BT: How do you view the growing unity between revolutionary forces in Mexico and Chicano Mexicano

it has enchained us. But this idea has deep roots.

BT: How do you see the growing unity between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans?

CDP: Now it is very advanced, and it will become more solid. The importance of this, apart from the personal relation, is that when we begin the armed, revolutionary stage—because we consider that it will be more bloody in Mexico than in any other part of Latin America—Puerto Rico will be very important for us. A struggle we will fight, and we know that we will receive support from them. The Puerto Rican comrades are in total agreement with us.





THE WILL TO WIN

by Don Juan Antonio Corretjer

The mass media is full of similar situations occurring throughout the world: bank robberies, armed robberies, kidnapping; ambushes, struggles in the streets and guerilla warfare. These actions are all placed in the same category: terrorism.

Let us take this in parts. Revolutionaries in all countries, and even history, for more than 200 years of anti-colonial struggle have called these economic collections by another name. In general, they are called expropriations. The national bourgeoisie of all countries who became independent within the course of the last two centuries, and with the United States setting the example, were nourished by appropriating through force of arms, the property of colonialists both foreign and domestic alike. The overthrow of the monarchy in France, the "great revolution," was designed to destroy the landholding nobility, by liquidating the large landed estates. The Jacobin dictatorship, the reign of revolutionary terror, passed on its glorious name and necessary example to all future revolutionaries: if the enemy in power profits by instilling fear in the people with its entire repressive apparatus, then the time is now, in which we exercise the right to instill terror in the hearts of our oppressors. It is said, "to each in their own time. . . ."

What imperialism, reaction, and counterrevolutionary propaganda in general term as "terrorism" is in fact the life or death struggle for the independence and socialism of Puerto Rico. The form it actually acquires is due to similar conditions in all countries. In general terms, the so-called "terrorism" of the revolutionaries of the Red Brigades, or the patriots of ETA, and other European armed clandestine organizations, corresponds to the betrayal of the great bourgeoisie, of the national interests and historical necessities; specifically the Basques. While the political military actions of the Red Brigades in Italy represent the answer that the necessities of the working class and people of Italy give to the degeneration of the syndicalist movement and the reformist parties at the Italian, European, and international level.

The appearance in Puerto Rico of an armed clandestine movement in struggle for independence and socialism is the manifestation of this same phenomena in the Puerto Rican dimension. The FALN, Macheteros, FARP, OVRP, (and also in this particular case, the CRP) is the answer that history gives to imperialism and the betrayal committed a long time ago by those who could have composed the Puerto Rican national bourgeoisie. But that incipient national bourgeoisie, that at the end of the past century

allowed the plunder and ravage of 40 percent of the Puerto Rican people's wealth, with the conversion of currency and the prohibition of access to its domestic market, renounced at the same time the possibility of governing Puerto Rico. Similarly, the transformation of the syndicalist movement into an instrument for the stabilization of yanqui capitalism in our country is converted, in turn, into an impediment to the massive development of the struggle for independence and socialism.

It is from that historical experience distinguished by Albizuism, that the armed revolutionary movement arrives at its own conclusions. Which is to say: develops its thought process, its strategy, its tactics, and consequently, its forms of struggle. The liberation struggles of colonized people after World War II is its second source of learning. The great strategic slogan of Albizuism—"The Fatherland is courage and sacrifice"—which from its mystic essence has produced the most heroic actions of our history—finds a practical following in a will of victory that can be stated in a few words: "Let us struggle with the desire to win!" Thereby simply complying with one of the most respectable laws of war: even when it involves a war with the same motives and objectives as one waged previously, the new war must obey a new strategy, as has just been demonstrated in Nicaragua, and as will be proven again in El Salvador. The lesson is derived from Clausewitz and is equally well known in the Pentagon, as in Sabana Seca, Muniz Air Force base, Montebello and the armory in Hato Rey.

The change of strategy eliminates the tactic of decisive concluding blows of the glorious Albizuists, by the systematic prolongation of the blows. The effect is extraordinarily instructive: during various years the armed clandestine forces have given Puerto Rico its only experience of successive victories.

I write this on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the death of Elias Beauchamp and Hiram Rosado, his comrade in that immortal heroic deed. (The killing of the colonial chief of police, Col. Riggs, on February 23, 1936—eds.) Tomorrow morning I will visit their tombs and I will tell them through the respectful silence of my thoughts, that truly, their triumphal sacrifice was not in vain. It was an example.

—from *El Nuevo Dia*, March 7, 1981

Don Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, is a lifelong fighter for Puerto Rican independence and socialism.

Statement to the UN Decolonization Committee on the Struggle for New Afrikan Independence



—Ahmed Obafemi, Eastern Regional Vice-President,
Provisional Government, Republic of New Afrika

Breakthrough is reprinting a statement presented in August 1980 by Ahmed Obafemi, Eastern Regional Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization. The Committee was meeting to discuss the colonial case of Puerto Rico.

The Republic of New Afrika is the Black Nation colonized within the United States, and claims five Southeastern states as its national territory. The Provisional Government, along with other revolutionary New Afrikan forces, is fighting to achieve an independent New Afrikan nation on this land.

The invitation extended to the Provisional Government by revolutionary Puerto Rican forces, to present the case of New Afrika in the context of an international discussion of Puerto Rico, signals the growing solidarity between colonized peoples within US borders in their common struggles to destroy US imperialism.

The Provisional Government publishes a newspaper, *The New Afrikan*, which is available from:

The New Afrikan,
P.O. Box 1184, Manhattanville Station,
Harlem, New York 10027.

Mr. President and Distinguished Delegates:

I am Ahmed Obafemi, the Eastern Regional Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. I appear before you today on behalf of 20 million New Afrikan people of the New Afrikan Nation, in North America, to express our full support and solidarity for the Independence of Puerto Rico and the 11 Prisoners of War.

The New Afrikan Nation is an internal colony of the United States. The territory of the nation is located in the southeast portion of what is currently called by imperialists the United States of America. As a colony, We have suffered the hideous results of colonization, rampant unemployment, wretched health care, and diabolical mal-treatment in the educational area. In the area of criminal justice at this very moment the state of Illinois is attempting to put to death 17 Black men on a frameup prosecution in Chicago. This continues an American tradition wherein 54 percent of the persons executed in the United States have been New Afrikans, although the New Afrikan population is only 12 percent of the total population in the United States.

The New Afrikan people became a nation upon this

land via the institution of slavery when millions of Afrikans were kidnapped from the Afrikan continent, and from various tribal nations and brought to the Americas. In North America a New Afrikan nation was born, the captives from numerous Afrikan tribal nations merged into one people during slavery, with one culture, a New Afrikan homeland, and one language.

The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika was founded by a Declaration of Independence in 1968, at a New Afrikan People's Convention in Detroit, Michigan. With the signing of the Declaration We declared ourselves formally and before the world as non-citizens of the United States and instead as citizens of our own Nation. The Provisional Government is a leader among the many formations which are currently working for the liberation of New Afrika and the New Afrikan people. The Provisional Government is a political descendant of the slave rebels who fought to overthrow the plantation. It is also a political descendant of the New Afrikan independence fighters who fought for the freedom of the New Afrikan communities in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama immediately after the institution of slavery in North America was declared to be legally abolished. The Provisional Government is a political successor of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey, the Afro-American Blood Brotherhood, the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, the Nation of Islam and numerous other formations. Our struggle for the independence of New Afrika and the freedom of New Afrikan people is conducted in union with the Afrikan Peoples Party, the New Afrikan Prison Organization, the Black Liberation Army, and various black united fronts including the National Black United Front and the National Black Human Rights Coalition.

In 1970 the Provisional Government established its national government headquarters in the subjugated territory.

The intentions of the Republic of New Afrika were well known to the United States government as early as May 1968, when the United States State Department



The United League of Mississippi, on the front lines in the fight against the Klan, carrying on the historic struggle for land and self-determination.

met with an official of the Republic of New Afrika and accepted a note containing a request for negotiations over questions of land and reparations. The United States State Department said the note would be studied. Again in March 1971, United States Congressman John Conyers, Jr. delivered a Republic of New Afrika proposal to the then United States President Richard Nixon. The legal case for the existence of the Black Nation can be found in the Article Three Brief which was filed in the United States District Court for the Southern District (*The U.S. vs. Imari A. Obadele*).

However, it is worthy to note that the Attorney General of Mississippi stated to the press in April of 1971, that he had no authority to negotiate with the Republic of New Afrika since he had no authority to negotiate in the area of foreign affairs.

In response to the Attorney General of Mississippi's request to rid the state of the Republic of New Afrika, the United States Government as a part of its war strategy "COINTELPRO" conspired to militarily attack the Republic of New Afrika. Shortly after

sunrise on August 18, 1971, in Jackson, Mississippi, the official residence of the Republic of New Afrika was raided by fifteen policemen and fourteen FBI agents seeking to serve a fugitive warrant on a young man believed to be in the house. Gunfire was exchanged and a policeman was killed and two other law enforcement agents were injured. Seven Republic of New Afrika citizens in the house and four others at the Republic's nearby office were arrested and jailed on charges of murder, assault with a deadly weapon and "waging war against the State of Mississippi." The latter charge was based on a pre-civil war statute. Eventually, certain charges were dropped and some Republic of New Afrika citizens were released after serving jail terms. Three, however, were sentenced to life imprisonment, one received two concurrent ten-year prison terms. In May 1973, seven Republic of New Afrika citizens were ordered to stand trial on federal charges of conspiracy and assault—charges on which they were found guilty and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to seventeen years. These prisoners became known as the RNA-11.

Previous to the attack on the Republic of New Afrika, the Counter Intelligence Program had decimated the Black Panther Party, sent the Revolutionary Action Movement members into exile and forced the Afrikan Peoples Party and many others underground. The implementation of the infamous COINTELPRO was declaration of war on the Black community. It was an attempt to crush the indigenous leadership and to neutralize (an intelligence term for destroy) the movement of Black people. Just as this government attempted to crush the people's struggle on the Afrikan continent, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and other parts of the globe so it saw the need to crush the legitimate struggle of its domestic colony here in North America.

It was during this period that the Black Liberation Army, an armed clandestine formation, emerged in response to the colonial violence of the United States government. After many successful actions against the state, the Counter Intelligence Program isolated the Black Liberation Army, and eventually rendered it ineffective with the capture of many of its soldiers. However, it still lives.

In May of 1975, the Republic of New Afrika called upon the United Nations Organization to recognize the 15,000 square mile District of KUSH, the Republic of New Afrika, also sometimes known as the western side of Mississippi, as a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the purview of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, for the following reasons:

(a) New Afrikans, persons of Afrikan descent, have been the majority population in this area for 200 years: We have worked and developed this land, and We have fought to stay here;

(b) But a white minority government rules KUSH by fraud, coercion, force, and naked violence, in collusion with the District Courts and other agencies of the United States Federal Government; this white minority government in KUSH is a lineal descendant of the Government found to be illegal by a Select Committee of the United States Senate in 1876 (see Senate Report 527, Part 2, of the 44th Congress, First Session), and it ruthlessly pursues a campaign of Genocide against the New Afrikan Population, in contravention of the United Nations Convention on Genocide of 9 December 1948 and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, to which (the latter), the United States is signatory, and suppresses the authentic political will to the majority population;

(c) The minority white government in KUSH, with the support and collusion of the United States, persistently interferes with the exercise of New Afrikan nationality by the majority population in violation of

Article 15 of the Declaration of Human Rights which reads: "Article 15. (1) Everyone has a right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."

We also requested the release of the RNA-11 and called upon the United Nations Organization to insist that the government of the United States cease the use of criminal statutes against captured male and female soldiers of the Black Liberation Army and accord to these soldiers full status as Prisoners of War. This petition was denied. In part primarily because our independence movement was in its embryonic state of development and had not as of yet gained mass popular support.

In the past few years the conditions of New Afrikans have become more deplorable. We have begun to organize around these conditions. Black people are being victimized more and more by racist killer cops. Black youth as young as ten years old are being shot down in cold blood! We find massive cutbacks in anti-poverty programs and essential services as well as attacks on affirmative action in education and employment. The response to the mass movement of New Afrikans has been more military aggression by the United States government and right wing terror organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. The resistance of the Black community in Miami, Florida; Wrightsville, Georgia; and Chattanooga, Tennessee, are clear expressions of Black people's struggle for self-determination.

On November 5th, 1979, the National Black Human Rights Coalition led a mass march of over 5,000 people to the United Nations under the banner of Self-Determination for the Black Nation. At that time again We submitted a petition to Salim Ahmed Salim, President of the General Assembly, seeking recognition of our Prisoners of War.

On November 2nd, just two (2) days before the demonstration at the United Nations, in an action to dispel the United States government's insistence that the Black Liberation Army was dead, the armed clandestine formation went into a New Jersey prison and freed our most prominent Prisoner of War, Assata Shakur. In Assata's own words she speaks about the army, "There is and always will be until every Black man, woman and child is free, a Black Liberation Army. We must defend ourselves and let no one disrespect us. We must win our liberation by any means necessary."

The support of the New Afrikan Nation for the independence of Puerto Rico reflects an understanding of its colonial status based upon our own experience of

GERONIMO PRATT



BLACK PRISONERS OF WAR IN AMERICA

400 years of colonial domination by United States imperialism.

The Republic of New Afrika agrees with the United Nations bodies when they say that colonialism is a crime of the highest sort, and therefore We support the rights of colonized nations to engage in armed struggle in their quest for independence.

An armed struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico has been in progress, and recently eleven Puerto Rican freedom fighters have been captured. The United States government has attempted to apply criminal status to these courageous freedom fighters, who in no uncertain terms have made it clear that they are members of the clandestine army in their war of liberation for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico.

The Republic of New Afrika fears for the life of these courageous Puerto Rican freedom fighters under the jurisdiction of the United States government without

the rights of the Geneva Convention, and therefore calls upon the Decolonization Committee to grant full status as Prisoners of War to the eleven Puerto Rican freedom fighters.

In these great international commitments and declarations you have pledged to support the independence knowing that as those oppressed colonies before us have gained their independence so too will We witness in the near future the Independence of both Puerto Rico and New Afrika.

**LONG LIVE THE CLANDESTINE ARMY
OF PUERTO RICO!**

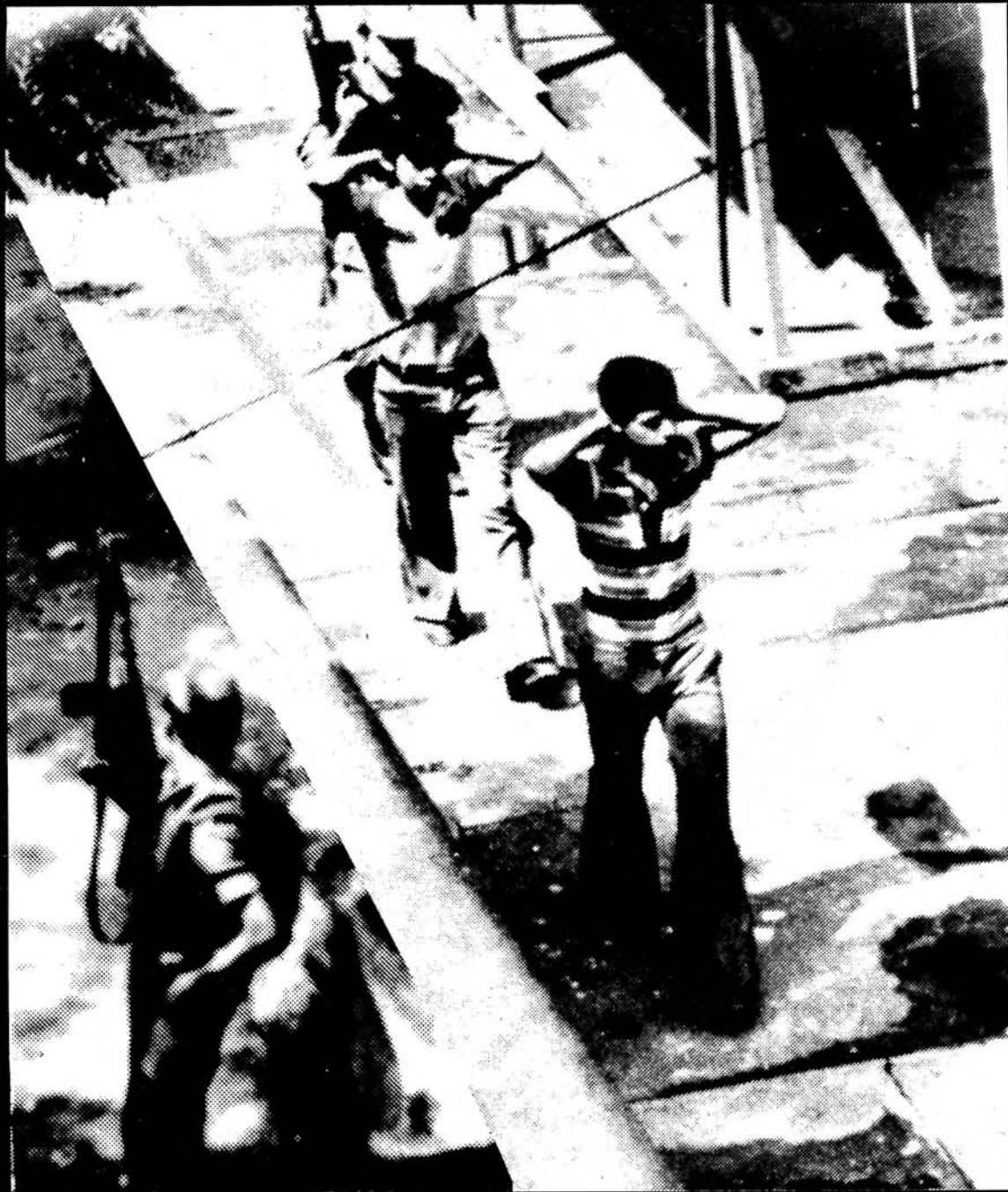
LONG LIVE THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY!

**INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM
FOR PUERTO RICO!**

**INDEPENDENCE AND UJAMAA
FOR NEW AFRIKA!**

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US-equipped security forces terrorize the Salvadorean people.

SALVADOREAN REVOLUTION! INTERVENTION!



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Checks should be made payable to "El Salvador/People In Struggle"

"GENTRIFICATION" - OR GENOCIDE?

Henrietta's—a newly opened gay bar on the corner of Haight and Fillmore Streets in San Francisco. Its white patrons sit sipping beer and wine, cappuccino, herb tea; surrounded by redwood panelling, ferns and potted palms; gazing out the plate glass windows at the passersby on the streets. A seemingly charming place. But look again. Because the corner of Haight and Fillmore is right in the middle of what for decades was a solidly Black community. And Henrietta's—renamed in an arrogant stroke of white supremacist "camp"—was formerly Hank's 500 Club, a Black social club.

Donald Lipper, the owner of Henrietta's and several other properties in the Haight-Fillmore, is one of the neighborhood's new ambitious white merchants, working hard to whiten the rest of the area. He is particularly anxious to shut down the other Black social clubs. They're bad for business, he says. "No merchant is going to move onto that block until those clubs are closed." He wants to "clean up the street," to get rid of, as he puts it, the "human garbage." By which he means unemployed Black people who live and hang out there. "Why the hell should this gem of a city be given over (sic) to welfare Blacks? Put them in Idaho, or at least in Oakland." His position is popular not just among other merchants, but among many of the white residents of the community. In overtly racist terms he is reflecting an important part of the urban strategy of US imperialism in the 1980s: *gentrification*.

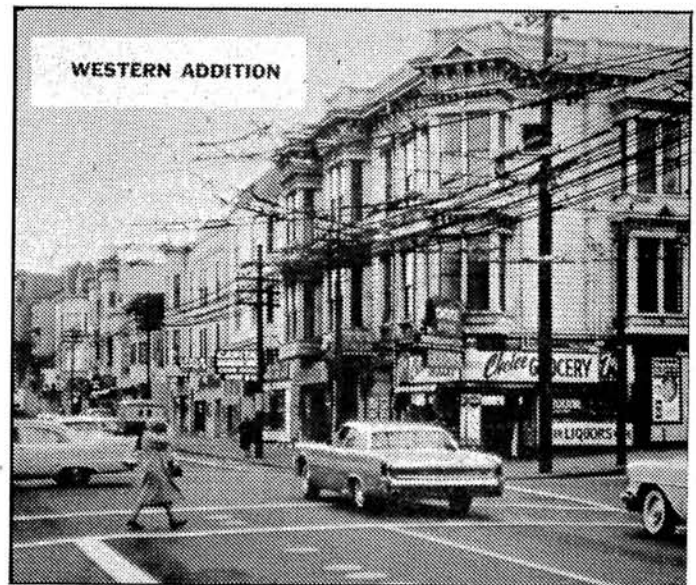
We wrote this article to further an understanding of imperialism's domestic strategy in the current and coming period. Contrary to the wishful thinking of most of the white left, the Reagan landslide does not merely reflect the frustration of white voters. But rather it signals that there is a growing base of support among white people for reactionary, fascistic solutions to the crisis faced by the US in the 1980s. For colonized Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano Mexicano and Native American peoples, conditions of life are getting dramatically worse. Economic, social, political and police attacks are a violent fact of life facing every Third World community in every city—north and south.

The covert and increasingly open war of terror waged by the state and white supremacist organizations like the Klan is escalating on a daily basis. The Reagan election signals the ascendancy of the Moral Majority and other New Right organizations to significant power; and the media promotion of the Klan both legitimizes and glorifies their leadership—"just patriotic americans with gun in

hand." In short, the status quo of the white american way of life—what people are willing to fight for, what they find it necessary to accept and to participate in doing to colonized people—is moving hard to the right. This process from the Reagan presidency on down is not the result of bad policies, it is the response of the imperialist system in profound crisis. The opening years of the decade will expose and intensify issues fundamentally affecting the lives and futures of both colonized and white people, but in very different ways. Push is coming down to shove.

WHAT IS GENTRIFICATION?

Gentrification, a romantic sounding term calling up images of European landed lords and bygone ways of life,



c. 1959—The Western Addition/Fillmore was a thriving Black community.

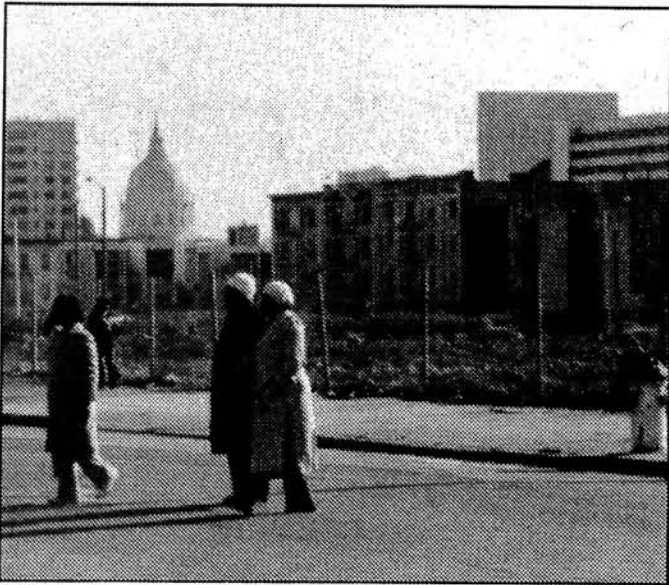
is becoming a popular movement among upwardly mobile white people. Gentrification is the process of white people "reclaiming" the inner cities by moving into Black and Latin American communities; and it needs to be understood in the context of the state's overall strategy to reconsolidate its power and social base in the streets and cities of the homefront. The mass media is pushing gentrification with slick feature stories about urban revitalization which ignore the crisis that is generated for colonized people in the process. In reality, gentrification aims at the destruction of Third World communities, their containment and dispersal. It is already well under way in places as far apart as San Francisco and New York, with disastrous conse-

THE PRICE OF URBAN RENAISSANCE

quences for the people who live there.

Many of the white buyers of inner city properties, tenants, and merchants consider themselves liberal-minded people. They justify moving in on Third World communities as an exercise of their individual rights to choose where they live. Gentrification is put forward by white liberals as being "integration in action"; it is rationalized as a progressive solution to America's "urban race problem." Yet the dismantling of Black and Latin American communities is at heart a very violent process. It results and culminates not in progress or "integration" but in the undermining and dispersal of Third World communities, families and institutions, centers of survival and resistance.

Across the country the development of reactionary law



1981—Thousands of Black families' homes have been bulldozed as a prelude to gentrification.

and order movement is intertwined with the strategy of gentrification. Crime and violence is worsening in America, as the system goes deeper into crisis and decay at all levels. This is a society where people are brainwashed from childhood with a bombardment of t.v. police shows, gangster glorification, racist stereotypes and horror films. The big boom in movies for the past years has been the combination of terror and pornography—horror films in which women are raped, murdered and tortured are watched by millions of teenagers and adults. Violence and crime are as American as cherry pie.

For colonized people, crime is increasing because desperate, frustrating economic and social conditions imposed

by imperialism are reaching the breaking point. Colonized people do not commit the majority of crime, but they are clearly the targets of the "war on crime." The situation of spiralling crime will not improve as long as imperialism exists; as long as the US relies on colonial oppression for its wealth and privilege. For Third World people crime is most often a means of survival. And the rulers of the system know this. Encouraging white participation in police and vigilante mobilizations is not really about eradicating crime. This can only actually happen when people rise up, getting rid of the system that generates crime, oppression and violence. The war on crime has as its goal consolidating white people around more and more reactionary solutions to social problems, with a particular push for people to work directly with the police.

Because gentrification comes across as something individual whites do, and not as a social strategy, many whites who see themselves as victims of crime in Third World communities fail to understand that colonized people respond to gentrification as an invasion. Progressive white women and men have reason to be concerned about physical safety in an increasingly violent society. But we must understand how safety achieved by working with police and vigilante organizations ends up targeting Third World people as the cause of crime. The reactionary strategy of police terror against colonized people relies heavily on mass acceptance and support from white people.

GENTRIFICATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

In San Francisco, Black community life is being systematically attacked and disrupted at every level; over the past decade the city's Black community has shrunk under the hammer of unemployment, inflated housing costs, "urban renewal" and now gentrification. A Black mother of four was evicted some months ago from her home on Fillmore Street (Fillmore Street has historically been at the heart of the Black community), where she had lived for two and a half years. "The original owner sold the building. He notified everybody that they should move. Well, not everyone. It seemed like what it boiled down to was the people that had children. One building right down the street from me the same company bought four months later. It's all single white people that live there now, there are no Blacks there. We found out later that the company owned about ten or fifteen buildings on Fillmore between

Haight and Geary Street, right there in the low income area. I'll give it another five, ten years and there won't be any more Black people there."

Members of a law co-op helping the Black community fight these evictions told us, "In 1977 there were twice as many evictions in the Haight-Fillmore as in any other neighborhood. The Haight-Fillmore was 80 percent Black, now it's a majority of white people. Apartments that rented for \$125 a year ago are now going for over \$400; and buildings which sold for \$30,000 five years ago now sell for \$200,000. Clearly, a white couple or group of singles has a much easier time paying these skyrocketing housing costs than a Black family living on a single income—often on welfare.

The Black Western Addition community has already been largely taken over by white "urban pioneers" who are actively organizing to control the economic and institutional infrastructure of the neighborhood. Nearby, the Alamo Square Neighborhood Association worked for months to force Opportunity II High School out of the area. Opportunity II was an alternative high school established for Third World youth who couldn't tolerate the regular public schools. The white citizens of the Association "don't want a lot of Black kids hanging around our (!) neighborhood."

The same group also tried to have playground equipment removed from the Square. "These kids," they complained, "are always bothering our dogs." The Association's latest moves include demanding more undercover police patrols inside the nearby Black housing projects, and suing the city to prevent any additional construction of much needed low income housing. "They (Black people) get up on the roof of the projects and throw rocks at my windows, and they run and hide in there, and nobody goes after them," said one Association member at a recent meeting. "You'd think there was a war going on." Amid laughing allusions to vigilantes, a man from a nearby community told how they deal with the "problem." "We don't have much crime in our neighborhood any more. . . . We carry guns."

CRIME AND THE "URBAN RENAISSANCE"

These neighborhoods, along with traditionally white areas of the city, have become the scene of an intense "grass roots" campaign for more law and order. The mayor of San Francisco, Diane Feinstein, has a reputation for being liberal, presiding over an enlightened city tolerant of diversity and understanding of human rights. Feinstein, like her New York counterpart Mayor Koch, is a big proponent of gentrification. In the past year she has put police everywhere: on busses, in the schools, mounted patrols in community parks. Now she is working on an

anti-crime package which draws heavily on the racist tactics used by the courts and police in New York City. In New York, Black and Puerto Rican people are routinely gunned down by cops. And thirteen and fourteen year old children go to trial in adult courts when accused of "major" crime such as robbery! This is the liberal solution to crime in America.

In San Francisco, the principle targets of this law and order campaign are Black and Latino people. Increased police patrols and sweeps of communities like the Mission district (the central Latin American community) have become the order of the day. Neighborhood law and order or safety committees composed primarily of new white residents are clamoring for more police powers. They are following their neighbor to the south, Los Angeles, which has one of the highest police murder rates in the country.

The dispersal and destruction of urban Black communities in San Francisco go hand in hand with similar moves happening across the country in cities with large Black and Latin American populations. In an intensification of the process begun in the wake of the mass rebellions of the 1960s, called "urban renewal" by the government—and "nigger removal" by the Black community—gentrification and the war on crime are basic parts of colonial population control. It's no accident that over 2000 Third World people have been killed by the police in the past five years—a staggering amount that exceeds the total number of deaths resulting from the war in Northern Ireland during the same period. Black people are fifteen times more likely to be killed by police than are white people. And the prisons of the US have become human warehouses for Third World people, especially Black urban youth, who are driven to crime as a means of survival in a society that holds no future for them.

ORCHESTRATING A NATIONAL STRATEGY

It is no coincidence that in Pittsburg and Detroit similar projects are called "Renaissance," or that in Chicago it has the trendy title "Chicago 21" plan. In the real estate circles in these cities it is commonly said that as long as even one or two Third World families with children remain on what is to become a white residential block, it is difficult to attract white people and realize the huge profits desired. In New York the "brownstone movement" of upwardly mobile young whites is displacing large numbers of Black and Puerto Rican people from their communities. The brownstoners, for the most part, are white collar families searching for a "home of their own" in the city, buying up and fixing tenement housing with easily available bank loans. They plant trees, put in stop signs, and form neighborhood watches against crime—recreating the community in their own image.



Mayor Feinstein preaching law and order at Alamo Square Park.

A comment by one person we talked to expresses a typical justification for gentrification. "It's unfortunate that people live in run down neighborhoods, but they're the ones who have let it run down. Then when somebody comes along and wants to improve it and get something for it, they all get upset. Too fucking bad. That neighborhood's been going down hill for the last twenty years. Where were they for twenty years?" Blaming Black people for the poverty in a community where unemployment of youth is 60 to 75 percent, where most people are struggling to simply survive, is like blaming Black people for slavery. Statements such as the one we've just quoted are racist justifications for white people supporting or allowing the police to do anything to colonized people to "get them out of the way."

There is a national strategy to bring white people back into the central cities, which many had fled in the 1950s and during the 1960s in the wake of black urban rebellions. It is a strategy to force colonized peoples out to the city's edge—far from the nerve centers of wealth and power. The explicitly stated goal of the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) new Regional Housing Mobility Programs (RHMP's) is to "facilitate the movement of low income and minority persons residing in areas which contain substantial concentrations of low income and minority persons to housing in non-concentrated areas." RHMP's are being implemented in over 35 cities.

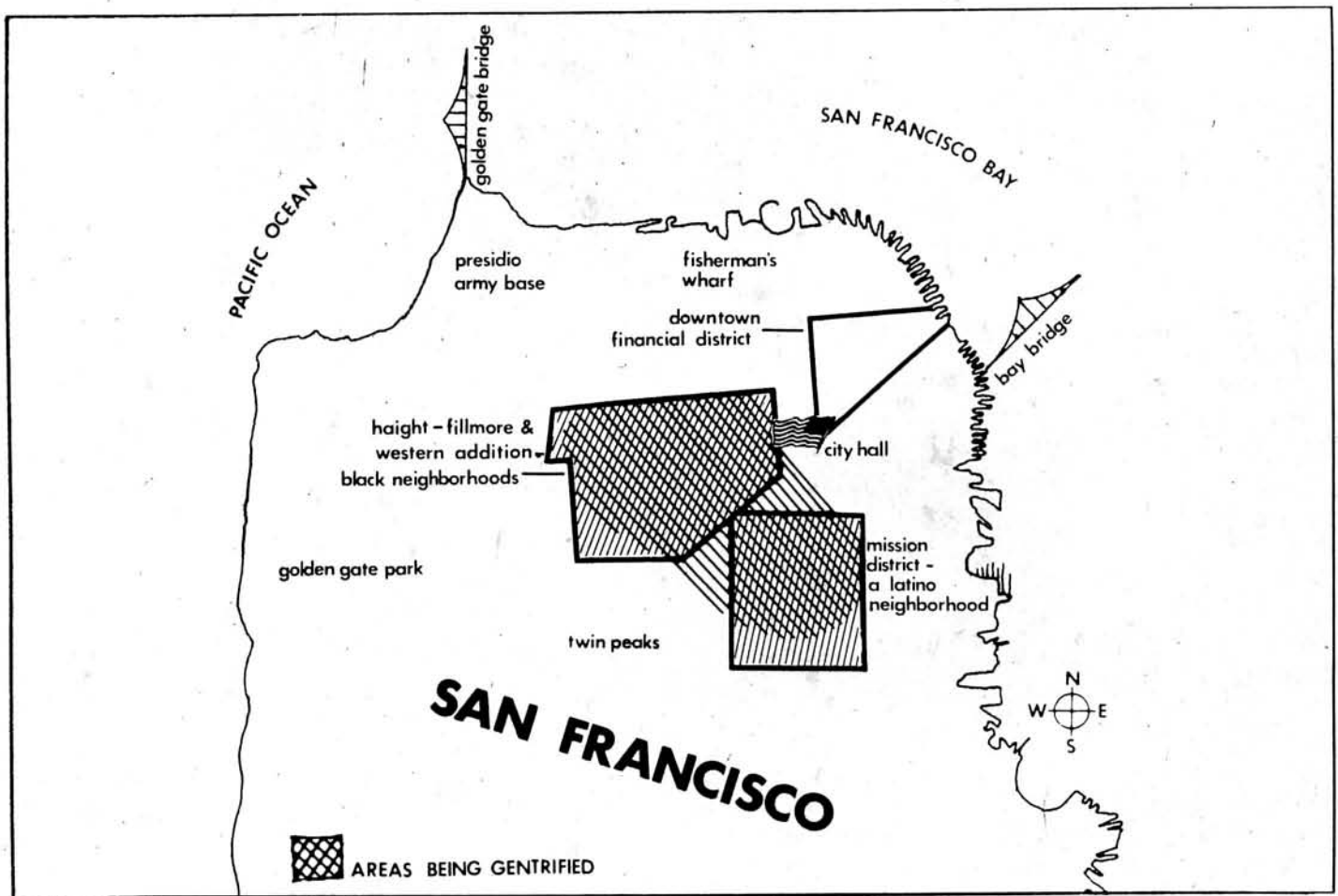
The gentrification of San Francisco goes hand in hand with the development and growth of Oakland, across the

Bay, as a largely Black and Chicano Mexicano city administered by Black neocolonial mayor Wilson. It is part of imperialist domestic strategy, in cities with large numbers of Black and other Third World people, to instate neocolonial political fronts and elites to help "run" the city. Oakland has California's second largest concentration of Black people after Los Angeles, and is known for its poverty and the reign of police terror and murder of Black and Latino people.

Black and Latino families moving into Oakland's traditionally white suburbs have faced a heavy increase in racist attacks. The KKK is organizing in the high schools and many of the attacks have been carried out by young whites. Anti-Black attacks, happening nationwide—from the unsolved murders of Black children in Atlanta to cross burnings in Queens, N.Y. laughed off by police as practical jokes—expose the truth that police are often "blue by day and white (robed and hooded) by night."

DOMESTIC TRILATERALISM: GENOCIDE

But why is it so important now that the cities no longer house large populations of Third World peoples? To find the answer to this it's helpful to look at what the rulers of the imperialist system have to say. In 1975 the Trilateral Commission issued a report, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies*. There are sections dealing with the internal crises facing Europe, Japan, and the US. The US section was written by Samuel Huntington, a Viet Nam era hawk and advisor to Nixon.



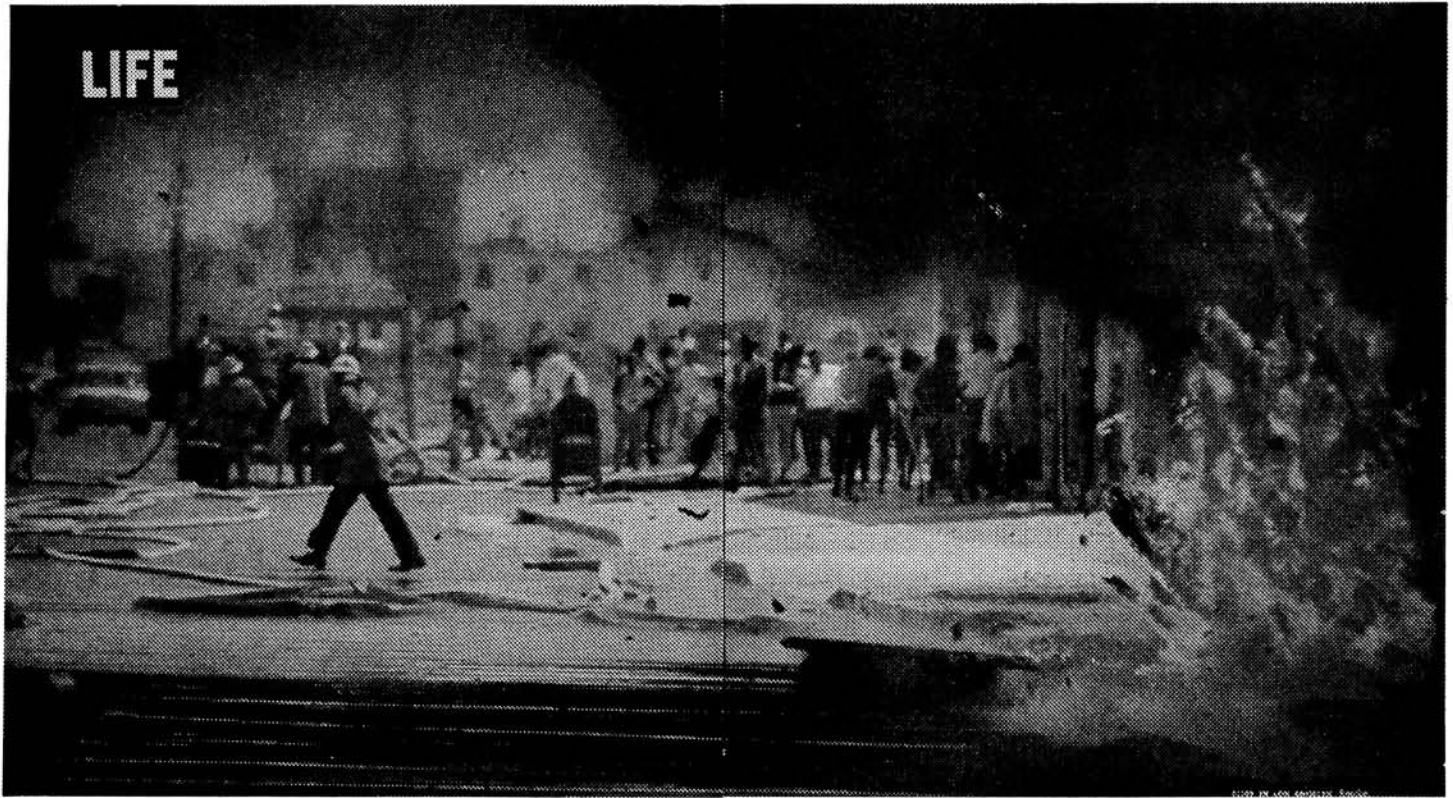
This report, beneath its "logical" rhetoric, is a blueprint for fascism and genocide in the United States. In it the demands and aspirations of colonized Black, Chicano Mexicano, Puerto Rican and Native peoples for political and economic survival and power are identified as the primary cause of the intense domestic crisis faced by the US. In essence, the report argues the "democratic" system has been overloaded and destabilized by the excessive demands of Third World people and must reshape itself if the US is to maintain a dominant role in the world. To meet the urgent demands of colonized people for jobs, housing, education, social services, and political power is deemed "suicidal and over-indulgent" to the imperialist system.

The remedy put forward for this dangerous "excess of democracy" is to return colonized peoples to their former "marginal" position in society. This is to be accomplished through a sophisticated suppression of their ability to survive, develop and resist as a people. Over and over the point is made that there isn't enough wealth to go around if the US is to keep expanding its economic, military and political power and at the same time cushion the effect of economic crisis on the majority white population. (Reagan's proposed budget cuts in survival services translate this analysis into practice.)

For colonized people this means that a strategy of genocide is being put into place. (See p. 38.) Marginalization is a violent program designed to qualitatively increase the exploitation and inhuman conditions of life faced by colonized people. It is very important for the imperialist state and ruling class that the white population support this strategy as being in their own interest. Reactionary mobilizations of white people and groups like the Moral Majority push law and order and the death penalty, and directly attack "welfare chiselers," affirmative action, and social services for colonized people.

BANTUSTANS IN AMERICA?

The rulers know that the internally colonized nations will resist and struggle against these attacks. Millions of colonized people live in the heart of US imperialism's urban centers, rather than in satellite slums on their outskirts. The rebellions of the 1960s challenged the wisdom of the US continuing this situation. Understanding that there is a strategy aimed at preventing wars of liberation cuts through the misconception that gentrification is a natural process of neighborhoods changing hands over time. The cities are nerve centers where finance, admin-



The Black rebellions of the late 1960s showed the vulnerability of US urban centers.

istration, industry, transport and communication are based. Nearly a million Black people within walking distance of the US capital, the concentrations of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in Harlem and the Bronx, just a few miles from midtown Manhattan—the cities are too strategic and explosive to be left vulnerable to people's war. The growth of the war for Puerto Rican independence and socialism—the scores of FALN actions in the US rear-guard over the past seven years—underline this point. The development of revolutionary Black nationalist movement fighting for land and independence, and the large scale mass rebellions in Miami and Chattanooga are the early signs of a storm coming that truly terrifies the imperialist state.

With gentrification, the US is drawing on the practice of South Africa. There, African people are forced to live on reservations called bantustans, or in satellite ghettos like Soweto. This enables easier military containment of resistance, and insures the white regime a captive source of colonized labor. In South Africa the white population is armed to the teeth. In creating the bantustans, South Africa, in turn, drew on the early history of the US's creation

of genocidal reservations for Native peoples. Forced relocation and population control, used as weapons by US counter-insurgency outside the borders, as in Viet Nam, find their counterpart inside this country in gentrification. They both attempt to destroy the popular base of support for national liberation.

“BAGHDAD BY THE BAY”: GENTRIFICATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

A closer look at San Francisco will reveal how all of this comes down inside the US. The Western Addition, bordering on San Francisco's downtown, was once a strong and thriving Black community with a cultural and economic base that attracted people from all over the city. The strength of the community asserted itself despite poverty, unemployment, police repression and the heroin plague aimed at Black youth. But the community was destroyed and thousands of Black people were driven out. Many of the old Victorian houses were physically jacked up and moved, sold to become homes for white people living elsewhere. The only housing built that Black people could afford were some prison-like projects. Ten years

GENOCIDE...

- Over 25 percent of Black women of child-bearing age have been sterilized.
- 54 percent of the people on death row are Black.
- Black men face a one out of four chance of going to prison in their lives.
- Nearly 10 million Black people live below what the US government defines as the poverty level.
- Black people are victims of a deliberate program to promote narcotics addiction within their communities.
- Black people face a three times greater chance of being arrested than whites.

later much of the land levelled by redevelopment's bulldozers still lies vacant and some remaining members of the Black community have planted vegetable gardens among the rubble to help put some food on their tables.

It is clear that there is no way that the rulers are going to allow rebuilding a Black community at the heart of their downtown area. In the words of the San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association (SPUR), one of the area's major think tanks.:

If San Francisco decides to compete effectively with other cities for new "clean" industries and new corporate power, its population will move closer to standard white Anglo-Saxon Protestant characteristics. As automation increases, the need for unskilled labor will decrease. Economically and socially, the population will tend to range from lower-middle class through lower-upper class... Selection of a population's composition might be undemocratic. Influence upon it, however, is legal and desirable for the health of the city... Every effort should be made to break up all ethnic "ghettos" as soon as possible.

US: A HISTORY OF GENOCIDE

Genocide and colonialism are the foundations of this country. Forced relocation is basic to its history. The US owes its birth and rise as a world power to the African slave trade and the theft of Native lands and natural resources. It was consolidated "from sea to shining sea" by the conquest and annexation of Northern Mexico and the seizure of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

One hundred million African people were kidnapped

and violently enslaved in north america and the Caribbean in order to build the "new world." The generations of African captives who worked in the plantation South never gave up their struggle to regain their freedom and independence. A New Afrikan nation was forged in the South from centuries of Black people's labor and struggle for survival, land and freedom.

After "emancipation," the imperialist state had no intention of peacefully allowing Black people to achieve independent control over the land they'd worked for 400 years—since before there even was a "united states." Millions of Black people, attacked by Klan terror, were forced from their New Afrikan homeland. In the urban centers of the north and south during the 20th century Black people, New Afrikan exiles, built a culture of survival and resistance to carry on the struggle.

The New Afrikan Prisoners Organization (NAPO) wrote in their *Notes from A New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal, book three*, of the forced relocations of the Black Nation:

Ours is a struggle with continuity, unbroken except occasionally in our own minds. We have, and must continue to struggle from one generation to the next; evolving in time and space, a people in motion, regaining independence and making history....

Our struggle involves our elders, the refugees who were forced to abandon the National Territory, head north and northwest, during the "migrations."

They were REFUGEES, those who migrated from the National Territory (five states claimed as territory of the Republic of New Afrika —eds.)

during the WWI and WW II years. Our elders were REFUGEES during the years of the "Black Codes" when they fled the National Territory.

The cities of amerikkka are full of New Afrikan refugees who entered them during the '30s and '40s escaping the klan and the southern prison. One step ahead of the hounds, a few minutes ahead of the lynch mob is how many New Afrikans came north. Refugees from the National Territory.

New Afrikans now living in Peoria, Brooklyn, Oakland and Des Moines, were born in Clarksdale, Mississippi and Greensboro, North Carolina. Twelve year old bloods boarded trains in New Orleans, Mobile, and Atlanta, loaded with stained brown paper bags of cold chicken, cardboard suitcases, and dreams of big cities where work was available and where white folks weren't so mean.

New Afrikan women who cooked in big pots for white folks in Charleston, came to New York and Chicago only to cook in "greasy spoons" or in the quiet kitchens of more white folks, for the same few dollars a week and all the left-overs they could carry. . . .

We became refugees from the National Territory; We came with dreams and We wanted to "forget the past," to forget the oppression and terror, to forget the snarls of red necks and the strange fruit of poplar trees. . . .

The same years (1940 to early 1960s) saw us move gradually farther from our first stops upon leaving the trains and busses; they saw the families that came north move farther "out south" and into dwellings just abandoned by whites; they saw us move further from each other and the strength which allowed us to survive and maintain the consciousness of ourselves as one people, struggling from one

generation to the next, until We are free. . . .

This underscores in the sharpest terms the reality that forced relocation and population control intensify colonial oppression by undermining the ability of a nation to resist. Despite fierce battles, Native Americans were forced off their lands onto reservations to make room for white settlers. Today Native nations and their lands are under escalating attack by the oil and energy corporations. The Southwest was seized over 100 years ago from the Mexican nation. The Mexican nation is now militarily divided by an illegal border. One-half of all Puerto Rican people live inside the US, as a direct result of imperialism using immigration as an escape valve for the explosive situation on the island and as a source of cheap labor in the US. Without achieving *control over land*, without independence and socialism, it is impossible for a people to defend themselves against imperialist oppression and terror.

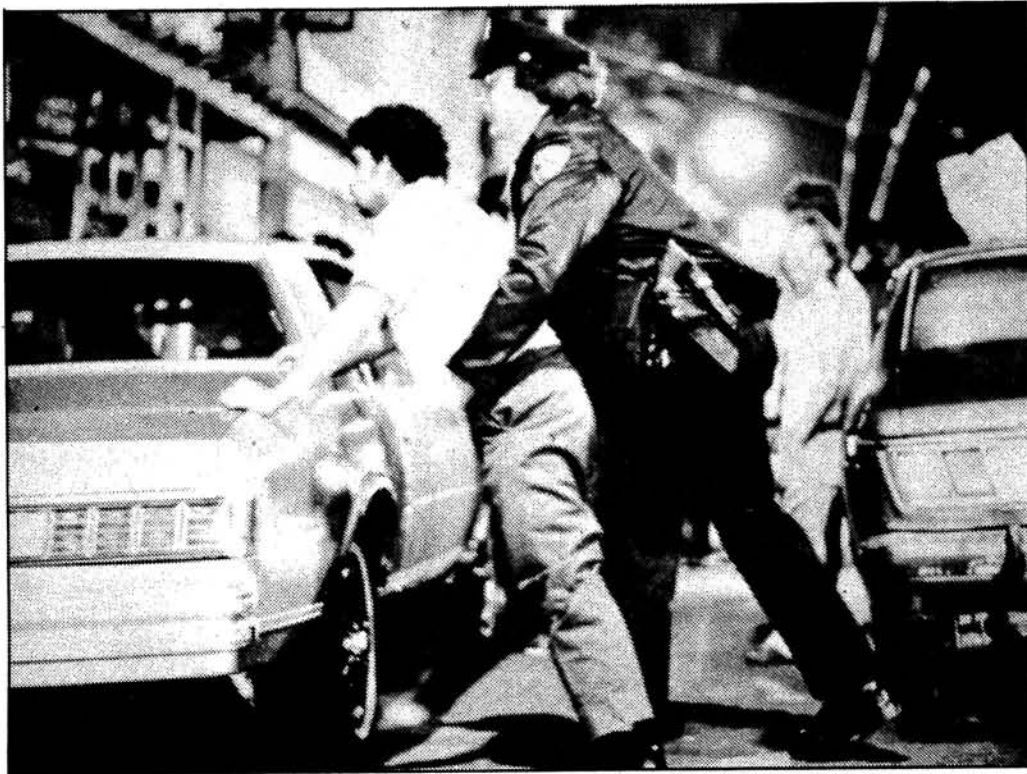
LAW 'N' ORDER: VIGILANTES 1980 STYLE

The law and order movement is an organized mass front of the marginalization strategy. From Reagan on down to the "grass roots," this nationwide movement targets Third World people as the enemy, the cause of crime, promoting the attitude that "whatever happens to Black, Latino and Indian people is justified." And the movement is gaining strength among whites concerned with defending their safety, property and turf in areas being gentrified.

The *New York Post* newspaper in its 1981 New Year editorial wrote:



Thousands of Black people march on city hall in New York City, 1979.



Saturday night in San Francisco's Mission district. The police are an occupying army in Third World communities.

...There will be many calls on Mayor Koch for improved services next year. The hospitals, the firefighting system, the subways, garbage collection, the emergency ambulance service all cry out for attention. Behind them come the city's basic services: education, welfare, daycare, orphans. They must be deferred. None of us will have served much purpose in surviving this year's perils if next year we are confronted by an armed, mindless mugger. *The strengthening of the police presence in the city is not just the most urgent task for the New Year.* It is the only task.

These words are a clear call for a police state.

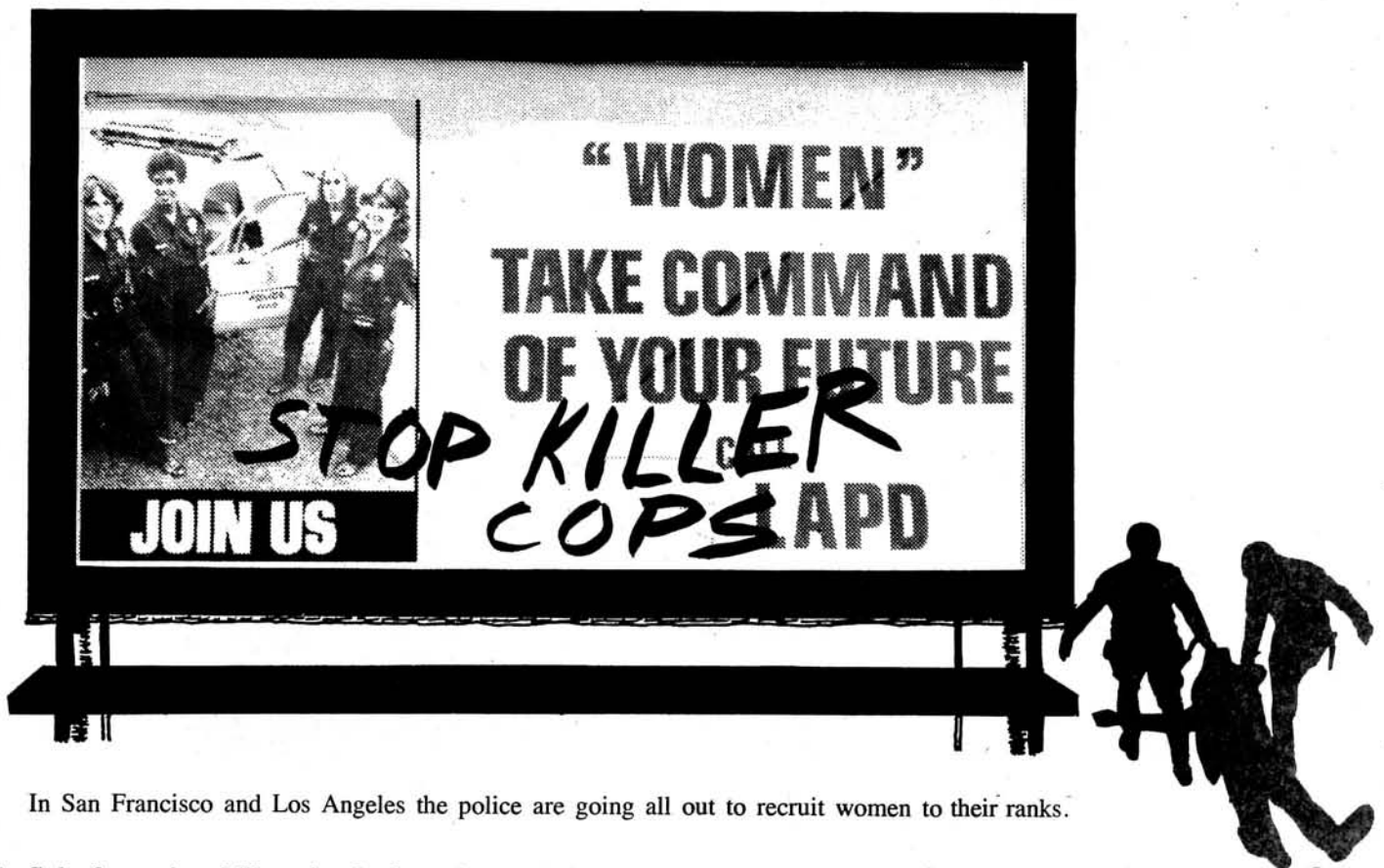
The appeal of such propaganda rests on the fact that crime is very real. Crime affects both colonized and white people in the US. The objective of the law and order movement is to focus white people's fears and desire for safety into political motion that serves the interests of imperialism. As a police public relations officer said at a neighborhood anti-crime meeting: "We can't be everywhere at once. We're very shorthanded. You have to help us out by doing some of the work yourselves." And in the same issue of the *New York Post* mentioned earlier, one of America's classic liberal columnists Max Lerner writes:

As in the '70s, the great fear will continue to be that of violence to the person, and the great demand will be for security on the street and in the home. "Menace" will continue to be written all over the decade. The answer the decade will give, I suspect, is to draw more tightly together, so that all can

protect each. It is a question of recapturing the neighborhood communities that once existed, and shifting to group self-help. . . . Despite our fear of vigilantism we shall have to accept the principle of voluntary group protection, and find means for integrating it with the police.

We should be clear that this is a call to white people to "draw the wagons into a circle." The "neighborhood communities to be recaptured" are the white cities which existed before large numbers of Black and other Third World people moved there. And the "menace" referred to is surely Third World.

Working with the police via these campaigns is participating not just in protecting ourselves; it means helping the police to fulfill their major function—that of an occupying army in colonized communities. White people have to begin to face the fact that 65-75 percent unemployment for Black youth is one of the real roots of crime. This, and all the other facts of life that colonized people suffer, result from colonialism and a conscious plan of genocide. Most crimes by colonized people are done because they need to feed their families and pay their rent. Crime is a product of "marginalization": the desperation imposed on colonized people by a strategy based on destroying their human rights. This is the process that has produced a criminal mentality and sub-culture among oppressed people. As long as colonized people face this total attack, crime and violence as a response to it will increase.



In San Francisco and Los Angeles the police are going all out to recruit women to their ranks.

To fight for national liberation is the only revolutionary alternative to a life of sophisticated re-enslavement.

THE CONTRADICTION FACING PROGRESSIVE WHITE PEOPLE

Sectors of whites identified in *Crisis of Democracy* as disaffected and needing to be brought back into the system are some of the very people involved in the first waves of gentrification. Young white singles and families, professionals, students, parts of the left, women's and gay communities are often the first to move into a Third World community because of cheaper rents and available housing. Many of these people have histories of action against US intervention, racism, and for women's and gay liberation. These people find themselves caught in a serious contradiction: on the one hand they feel that racism is an evil and that the system needs progressive reform; on the other hand there is a tremendous pull towards aligning with the police in order to secure personal safety and property.

The women's and gay movements are being attacked by the same reactionaries who attack colonized people. It is the same Reagan and Moral Majority which fight against the ERA, abortion, affirmative action and gay rights. Yet real solidarity between national liberation and these movements remains to be built. In areas being gentrified this contradiction has the potential to do a lot of harm. It is

a priority that work be done that places crime and violence against colonized people, women and gays in the context of understanding imperialism as a whole system. Attempts based in reform and integration have not and cannot solve the fundamental problems. Movement needs to be built that resists vigilantism, builds support for the struggles of colonized peoples in this country, and fights violence directed against women. Otherwise, it will be impossible to resist the pressures that move people to the right.

Violence against women and gay people is increasing countrywide, and is part of the multi-level attack on the struggle for women's liberation and gay liberation. Violence against women, fueled by disgustingly anti-woman propaganda in the mass media, is undergoing a horrible resurgence in this period. This must be combatted and women's self-defense and right to be free from such attack must be supported as a basic part of the struggle for women's liberation. But in Los Angeles the police department has launched a campaign: "Women take control of your future" to recruit women into the police. In San Francisco a similar campaign—"Join the force behind the star"—is now underway, and a number of lesbians and gay men have been added to the police force.

These moves are not a result of the police coming to support women's and gay liberation. Nor will women and gay people joining the police have the effect of "humanizing" or "sensitizing" them. These plans are part of a sophisticated strategy to tie the perception of

safety for women and gay people into the overall strengthening of the police. The purpose of this is to coopt the women's movement, preventing anti-imperialist direction that could lead white women to ally with colonized peoples in fighting to overturn the entire oppressive imperialist system.

A Black revolutionary woman who has lived in the Bay Area for years told us, "The Black community is defending itself from what it sees as a threat. Gay people—it just so happens that they're gay, it wouldn't matter—anybody moving into the community, taking it over, they've already attacked. The war was already started by them. Here's a community that's trying to survive, to fight back, desperate. The police have been brutalizing, terrorizing, murdering and raping people in our community since the beginning. For you to align yourself with the police puts you on their side. For Afrikan people, the police are our enemy."

We believe her words are relevant to all progressive white people struggling with the situation of crime and violence in the cities. Imperialism is orchestrating confrontations between white people and Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano Mexicano and Native peoples in this country. Allying with the police to solve the problem will only strengthen imperialism's hand. Why? Because it is at

this point that building white organization against crime fits with the imperialist strategy to marginalize colonized people. It is collaborating with the development of a police state.

Gentrification and the war on crime reinforce each other, justifying reactionary movement. Liberal myths and propaganda that gentrification is about integrating and fixing up the city must be exposed by the reality that the survival of colonized people is the price tag of urban renaissance. The law and order bandwagon must be rolled off the road.

White people who are struggling to build a movement against the rise of the right, the Klan and police terror must also understand the development of these more subtle ways in which white supremacy and fascism are being built. Beneath the Klan and the Nazis—the openly racist tip of the iceberg—are the mobilizations, with democratic and populist covers, which are leading large numbers of whites towards reaction.

The call for law and order must be fought as a basic part of opposing white supremacy and building a serious movement that supports national liberation struggles inside this country. For these struggles will lead in the destruction of the inhuman imperialist system and the creation of a world where security and peace for whites does not rest on fascism and genocide.



PFOC demonstration against police terror and Feinstein's law and order campaign.

A TRIBUTE TO WALTER RODNEY

Excerpts from "Guyana and the Caribbean,"

by the Editors of *Soulbook*



The following excerpts are from the introduction to "A Tribute to Walter Rodney: Guyana and the Caribbean," published by the Editors of *Soulbook*. Rodney, a Pan Africanist and leading member of the revolutionary Working People's Alliance (W.P.A.), was assassinated by the Guyanese government in June 1980.

The pamphlet also contains an historical and analytical article by *Soulbook* editors, "The Revolutionary Struggle in Guyana"; and a press release by the New York-based Coalition for a Free Guyana denouncing violent repression of the W.P.A. Copies of the pamphlet are available from *Soulbook*, Box 61213, Los Angeles, CA 90061 for \$1.00 each. Proceeds go to the W.P.A. Subscriptions to *Soulbook*, a revolutionary Black Nationalist journal, are available at the same address for \$3.50 a year.

* * *

Dr. Walter Rodney was a brilliant Pan Africanist, revolutionary socialist who represents the best tradition of Black men to reach brilliant heights in the contribution to the world struggle against oppression of human beings by human beings. He was a manifestation of Caribbean revolutionaries such as Marcus Garvey, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Fidel Castro, Dessalines, George Padmore to make majestic and big contributions to the fight against imperialism even though they come from such a small part of the world. His struggle against the oppression of all Caribbean, African and other oppressed of the world will not stop with him: we are determined that it be carried to an absolute resolution in favor of the redeemers of the world: the oppressed masses of the world!

On Friday June 13, 1980 in Georgetown, Guyana, Walter Rodney, after attending a Working Peoples Alliance meeting, was murdered by Forbes Burnham and Peoples National Congress henchmen. Comrade Rodney's car, himself and his brother Donald Rodney were bombed about one block from where he lived; Rodney's body was mutilated beyond recognition.

Dr. Walter Rodney, revolutionary Pan Africanist, radical socialist and historian of wide repute was very well known for his commitment to unity and struggle throughout the Americas, Caribbean and the Pan African World. In the 1960s he became a student leader and brilliant scholar on the University of West Indies campus of Trinidad, and Jamaica; and on the latter campus he was so effective in articulating Black power and African History to the Jamaican masses and intelligentsia that the Jamaican Government banned his person and his literature from the island. His work that best reflects this period of his life and struggle is *Groundings with my Brothers*. After being banned from his nation area, the Caribbean, he and his family settled in Mother Africa, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania where he continued his extraordinary career of commitment to African people and other oppressed people of the world. There he taught at the University of Dar Es Salaam and continued his enlightening writings. During this time he wrote what is considered a Pan African Epic: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. It is this latter work which exalts him to the pantheon of Pan African Immortals, i.e. W.E. DuBois, Nkrumah, George Padmore, Frantz Fanon, C.L.R. James, and Blyden.

Walter Rodney returned to struggle for a new world in his native Guyana. Even though his impeccable intellectual and revolutionary struggles were by then well known throughout the Third World—including Guyana—the Government of Guyana in spite of its claimed socialist commitment refused to let Rodney teach at the University of Guyana. Although after the progressive forces in Guyana forced the government to back down and partially lift the ban on Rodney's teaching there, he was never allowed to participate in the progressive intelligentsia community of the University of Guyana like he was at the University of Dar Es Salaam. However, in spite of the fascist tactics of the Burnham regime he was able to complete a work entitled "Guyanese Sugar Plantations in the late 19th Century," and at the time of his assassination he was engaged in research on the economic history of

Guyana in the late 19th and early 20th century.

For all the progressive forces inside the U.S.: Blacks struggling for Self-Determination, land and Human Rights, Native Americans in like struggle, *Independencistas* of Puerto Rico, Chicanos/Mexicanos fighting for their national rights, and progressive whites of the oppressor nation, it is essential that *all* understand that Walter would not want revolutionaries to mourn him nearly as he wanted all freedom loving people to give concrete SUPPORT to the struggle to free Guyana from the tyranny that directly and brutally carried out his assassination. Walter was an integral part of the leadership of the WORKING PEOPLES ALLIANCE (WPA) which is the first party, in this decade, which has successfully involved the Great African and East Indian masses into common struggle to decisively move to achieve socialism. It is this organization which continues to lead the mass struggle to free the largest Commonwealth Caribbean territory from the grips of the violence of hunger, murder, and Jonestown fascism of the Burnham regime. It is this organization that Walter would want us all to give total support.

Fortunately, *SOULBOOK* and its comrades and friends have put together this pamphlet in order to explain the roots and significance of these struggles of Guyana and the WPA to the anti-imperialist forces inside the USA. Thus, it is hoped that it will help us all understand that *Walter Rodney Lives!* It is a clarification of why the Guyanese people must resort to even more intense methods of struggle such as armed struggle in order to restore harmony and human rights to Guyana. By reading this work it will help steel your concrete support for our just struggle, and in turn it will strengthen our revolutionary spirit to fight in the spirit of the great African soldier and General, Shaka Zulu. Fittingly, I must end up this introduction with the prophetic words of Shaka's namesake, and Walter Rodney's oldest child and son:

"The silver tongue has
slipped
Just like before,
- But this time most fatal"

Shaka Rodney
14 years old
June, 1980

Takuma Umoja
Committee for National Unity and
Reconstruction in Guyana, L.A.



FREE THE PONTIAC BROTHERS!

The Pontiac Prison rebellion took place on July 22, 1978. Life at Pontiac meant two men to a cell, rats and filth in the food, atrocious medical care, and growing KKK activity by the guards. Eleven hundred Black and Latin prisoners rose up against these genocidal conditions. Three white guards were killed and whole sections of the prison were burned to the ground.

The state of Illinois retaliated, charging sixteen Black men—the Pontiac Brothers—with murder. The Pontiac trials are the largest civilian death penalty case in US history.

Like the 1971 rebellion at Attica, the Pontiac rebellion was a modern-day slave revolt—an act of resistance in the 400-year freedom struggle of the Black nation. Now the government is working overtime to legally lynch these Brothers, as a warning that Black people who fight back and struggle for liberation will be publicly executed.

Six of the Pontiac Brothers have filed a motion declaring themselves Prisoners of War under international law, stating that they are citizens of the Republic of New Afrika. As members of the Black nation, descendants of kidnapped Afrikan slaves who have been denied self-determination and independence by the US state, they challenge the very right of the US courts to bring them to trial.

The trial of the first ten Brothers started in March in Chicago. Support for the Pontiac Brothers is part of building a movement in opposition to this growing racist terror and in active solidarity with the Black Liberation Movement.

For information, literature and buttons, contact:

Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition: 407 S. Dearborn, Room 1000, Chicago, IL 60605
Committee to Free the Pontiac Brothers: 220 9th Street, #443, San Francisco, CA 94103
 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Suite 116, Los Angeles, CA 90028

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