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Inside: Imperialism and the Nuclear Freeze Movement

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We encourage our readers to write us with comments and criticisms
You can contact Prairie Fire Organizing Committee by writing:

San Francisco: P.O. Box 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114
Los Angeles: P.O. Box 60542, Los Angeles, CA 90060
Chicago: Box 253, 2520 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614

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EDITORIAL

REPRESSION, RESISTANCE AND THE LEFT: THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

The battle of Beirut will haunt imperialism and remain etched in the consciousness of progressive people for years to come. The Palestinian and Lebanese resistance set a standard for revolutionary struggle—the uncompromising defense of principle and the spirit of sacrifice and courage which turned military setback into moral and political victory. They showed that oppressed people will fight, against all odds, for their national liberation. And that genocide is empire's only weapon against a people determined to be free. The example of Palestinian and Lebanese freedom fighters contesting every inch of ground against U.S.-supplied Israeli rockets, tanks and cluster bombs poses a challenge to anti-imperialists in the U.S. As the Palestinian struggle continues, we have a responsibility and opportunity to make our solidarity real by sharpening our own battle against U.S. imperialism.

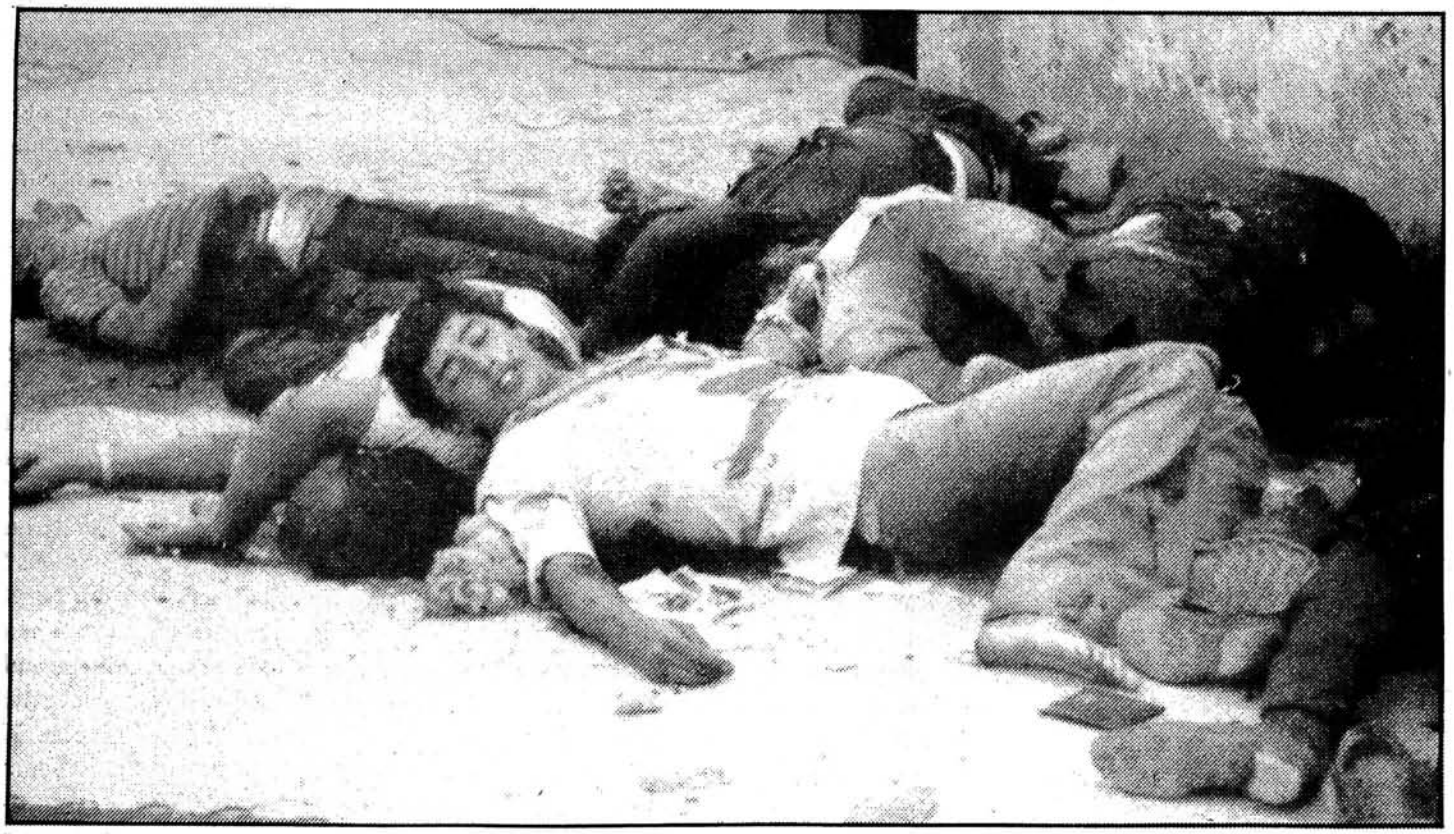
The U.S.-sponsored Israeli invasion of Lebanon, climaxing in the hideous massacres at Sabra and Shatilla, was the cutting edge in what has become a worldwide imperialist counter-offensive against movements for national liberation and socialism. The CIA is at this very moment directing open counter-revolutionary war against the government of Nicaragua, while the U.S. and Israel increase military aid to the Nazi-like regimes in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. Shortly before getting his clean bill of health from Reagan, dictator Efrain Rios Montt warned the Guatemalan people, "If you are with the government, you will eat. If you stand against us, you will die." This is also the message which the U.S.-backed de la Madrid government in Mexico is sending to that country's impoverished working class and peasantry. While the wealth of Mexico is looted to repay U.S. banks, the PRI is escalating its violent attacks against the Comité de Defensa Popular (CDP) and other popular forces. In Africa, the U.S. and South Africa are coordinating major military operations against the revolutionary governments of Angola and Mozambique. In the spirit of "constructive engagement" with the South African racists, the Reagan administration has just shipped 2,500 electrified shock batons to the South African police force. In Puerto Rico, the CIA and FBI are intensifying their war against the armed clandestine movement as they move to implement the 2020 Plan, designed to stripmine the island and turn Puerto Rico into a series of military bases and industrial parks by the year 2020. Here at home, in the midst of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s, the state has launched its heaviest assault on the New Afrikan and other national liberation movements since the height of COINTELPRO.

These are the grim realities behind Reagan's frozen smile and Hollywood handshake. Imperialism means murder, poverty and genocide for millions around the world. These are not simply the policies of one right-wing administration. U.S. imperialism is entering a new period characterized by increasing aggression and violence as it attempts to shore up its shaken empire and solidify a national consensus behind white supremacy.

This is what we have to contend with. But many liberals and leftists, head in the sand, refuse to face facts. Grasping at straws, they issue hopeful predictions of a "new moderation" in the wake of Democratic Party victories in the 1982 elections. New York Times columnist Tom Wicker calls the election results "evidence of the essential moderation of the American public." Tom Hayden celebrates his victory in a race for California State Assembly (achieved at a cost of $2 million) as the "dawning of a new day for the Democratic Party." Proponents of the nuclear freeze rejoice over electoral victories in seven states and look to the Democratic Congress for passage of a pro-freeze resolution, optimistic that this will help stop the arms build-up.

These are rose-colored fantasies. Imperialism uses both the iron fist and the velvet glove, Republican "conservatism" and Democratic "liberalism." But the inexorable motion, at this stage of history, is to the right. And it will get worse as the crisis deepens. Militarism and economic austerity on the backs of Third World people are already enshrined as the strategy of both major ruling class parties. While 80% of New Afrikan youth are without work, the Democrats drop their call for full employment from their September, 1982 economic report. Despite their rhetoric, the Democrats now officially accept high long-term unemployment as the price for "economic recovery."

Yes, there is *some* heat over the nuclear freeze. But this



Massacre in Beirut: imperialism implements its Middle East "peace" plan.

obscures the widespread ruling class agreement that conventional military forces be strengthened, particularly counter-insurgency units for use in the Third World. Mondale, Hayden and Kennedy vie with Reagan for the Zionist vote. And both parties push the "war on crime," the code word for massive imprisonment of Black and other Third World youth and a police reign of terror in colonized communities.

What is happening in America is not some bad dream which will go away when enough progressive Democrats are elected. As the contradictions sharpen, resistance and motion will develop, particularly among the colonized within U.S. borders. Already there is a real upsurge in struggle and angry protest among New Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Mexicano and Native people. The white supremacist, patriotic American consensus, rebuilt so carefully since the Viet Nam war, is showing some strains under the weight of national liberation around the world and economic crisis at home. This means there are more openings to build anti-imperialist movement now than at any time since the late 1960s. The potential for militant movement can be seen in the anti-Klan confrontations, led by the Black community, which have recently taken place in Washington, D.C. and Boston. In D.C., the Black community fought back against the police, chanting "The cops *are* the Klan." Many white demonstrators joined the battle, showing that they would not stand idly by and accept the rise of white supremacy and fascism.

But just as surely as the growing resistance of colonized people will challenge white working class people to fight imperialism, the established white left will be there to try to put out the fire. Opportunists steer the anti-war base of the nuclear freeze movement into meaningless electoral battles. They respond, at best, with polite protest against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and, at worst, with open apologies for Zionism. They urge the anti-Klan movement to petition Congress to "ban the Klan," and they tried their best to contain the militant confrontation in the streets of D.C. They function as a safety valve for the system, holding out the false hopes that reform and the ballot box will be the vehicles of social change.

COUNTER-INSURGENCY: WAR IN THE U.S.

Nowhere is the bankruptcy of these politics more evident than in the deafening silence with which the left has greeted the state's escalating war against the New Afrikan, Puerto Rican and Mexicano movements. Over the past 15 months, since the attempted expropriation of a Brinks truck in Nyack, N.Y. by the Black Liberation Army (BLA) and white revolutionaries, we have seen a full-scale campaign to brand national liberation movements within the U.S. as criminals and terrorists. The Brinks investiga-

tion is now the largest and most expensive FBI operation ever. We have seen the Joint FBI/NYPD Terrorist Task Force emerge as a death squad, responsible for the assassination of New Afrikan freedom fighter Mtayari Sundiata; the brutal and systematic tortures of New Afrikan prisoners of war; and physical threats and intimidation directed at supporters of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Growing numbers of New Afrikan and white anti-imperialist comrades have been imprisoned for refusing to collaborate with the grand jury supposedly investigating the Brinks expropriation. RICO racketeering and conspiracy laws, designed to indict Mafia figures, have been used for the first time against revolutionaries in the Brinks case. Puerto Rican and Mexicano leaders of the MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional) are targets of a related grand jury witchhunt that is aimed at destroying the revolutionary Puerto Rican independence movement. The state's plan is to perfect the grand jury as an instrument for political internment, just like what the British practice in Northern Ireland. The state is attempting to destroy public revolutionary organizations like the MLN, Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) and May 19th Communist Organization by criminalizing them and labelling them as armed terrorist groups. They have used the testimony of traitors and informers to arrest and indict their leaders and to harass and threaten their supporters.

The KKK is playing a growing role in the state assault on the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Freedom for New Afrika will spell the death of the Klan and its attempts to keep Black people colonized. The KKK has targeted the Black Liberation Army, the RNA and the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (JBAKC) because of their practice in fighting white supremacy and building revolutionary struggle against the Klan. At an Austin, Texas cross-burning, the KKK displayed a coffin which it said was "reserved for the BLA, the RNA, May 19th, the MLN and the JBAKC." White organizers from May 19th and the JBAKC have received numerous death threats and they believe that the Klan and government are setting up a Greensboro-type operation in the area.

This is serious business. It demands a unified response from all progressive people. But many on the left are still playing the state's game. More concerned with self-protection than with fighting the state, they condemn revolutionaries for bringing down repression. They meekly protest repressive measures, but reserve their fire for freedom fighters who are advancing armed struggle in the U.S. They call for "fair trials" for prisoners of war who have already rejected the right of U.S. courts to even try them. They try to isolate anti-imperialists by starting whispering campaigns, warning people not to associate with groups that support the Black Liberation Army or the FALN. They want a safe, white-dominated movement, untouched by the difficult and often painful realities of revolutionary struggle. This is why they condemn revolutionary acts like the attempted Brink's expropriation and why they refuse to support national liberation movements within the U.S. With their sectarian practice, they encourage the state to strike even harder.

We have to come together and recognize that a major offensive is taking place against the 400-year-old freedom struggle of the Black Nation and against the heroic struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence and socialism. White revolutionaries are being imprisoned and attacked for supporting New Afrikan independence and fighting back against the Klan. Where is the outrage and condemnation over the savage beatings and torture of Black revolutionaries, over the internment of Puerto Rican and Mexicano activists, over the grand jury inquisitions? What kind of movement sits back and, using the excuse of political difference, shuts its eyes to these crimes? When New Afrikan freedom fighters like Sekou Odinga and Kuwesi Balagoon demand P.O.W. status and denounce the illegitimacy of the U.S. courts, they must be supported. If we are committed to building a movement that fights white supremacy, if we stand opposed to the continued subjugation of colonized nations in the U.S., we have to take a clear stand on these issues. If not, we will help the state usher in a period of reaction that will make the last decade look like a tea party.

SHATTERING THE INNER PEACE

The state is now laying the foundation for further moves away from bourgeois democracy, towards police state terror and fascism. Imperialist counter-offensive abroad requires a pacified homefront. Colonized people must be repressed and re-enslaved. White workers must be won to support or accept these assaults on the colonized as the only way to protect their shrinking privileges. What the state fears the most is the capacity of Black and other colonized people to wage revolutionary war from within and destroy this inner peace. The urban rebellions of the 1960s are no dim memory—imperialism is sitting on a tinderbox which it knows will explode. The consolidation of revolutionary armed centers within the New Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Mexicano and Native movements can lead the fight against genocide and transform spontaneous mass resistance into protracted popular armed struggle for national independence and socialism. This is the system's great nightmare. Already, FBI director William Webster has called the Puerto Rican armed clandestine movement "the greatest internal security threat" to the U.S. This is why U.S. imperialism is waging a classic counter-insur-

gency war to decimate and contain these movements. Our response must be a firm defense of national liberation struggles, recognizing that they are the leadership for revolution within these borders.

The harsh reality is that things will get worse. Imperialism will lash out with even greater cruelty as the struggle sharpens. We must expect this and develop strategy and a movement to fight back successfully. Working under the leadership of the national liberation movements, white anti-imperialists can build a force that challenges the white supremacist consolidation in America. We can win significant numbers of white working class people to break with the privileges of empire and fight the state. The mounting anger and opposition to the Klan can be transformed into a massive movement, embracing thousands, that supports and takes leadership from the struggle of the Black nation for land and independence. The disgust and horror which people experience as Reagan joins hands with the world's bloodiest dictators must be transformed into a movement that fights U.S. imperialism, the source of all this evil.

But to do this, we must reject the comfortable role of the loyal opposition. We have to welcome and encourage the emergence of freedom fighters from the ranks of our movement. Judy Clark, David Gilbert and other white anti-imperialists have committed themselves to building armed struggle under the leadership of national liberation. They represent the most basic challenge to the accommodation, compromise and legalism which so characterize the U.S. left. We in PFOC also express our revolutionary solidarity with May 19th Communist Organization. May 19th is one of the few forces in the white left which has consistently fought for anti-imperialist politics and whose practice is one of principled support for national liberation and active struggle against white supremacy. They stand as allies with the New Afrikan Independence Movement. We believe that the attacks on May 19th are attacks against all anti-imperialists. We must defend and support these comrades. The movement against the RICO grand juries and the upcoming RICO conspiracy trial must be strengthened right now. Non-collaboration with the grand jury and the FBI must become a cardinal principle of our movement. We can never allow the enemy to break our resistance. Collaborators, traitors and snitches must be exposed for the human garbage that they are.

Imperialism will not achieve the inner peace it so fervently covets. The next decades will be ones of upheaval, storms and battles. By strengthening our unity, establishing a base in the working class and in the anti-white supremacy and anti-militarism movements, and by supporting the development of people's war inside the U.S., anti-imperialists can make real advances. In this process we will win more people over and develop the new strength and character that the struggle to defeat this bloody system requires. ■

Black anti-Klan demonstrators overturn undercover police car in Washington D.C., November 27th. The Black community fought the police and prevented the KKK from marching.

ON NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS DAY

Speech by Judith Mirkinson on behalf of PFOC, Los Angeles, August 21, 1982

We come here tonight with these slogans: Death to the Empire, Victory to New Afrika, Long Live the Freedom Fighters, and We Will Win, We Will Win!

Death to the empire; death to the system that calls those who fight for freedom "terrorists." Death to those who hunt Assata Shakur and Mutulu Shakur, torture Sekou Odinga, murder Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata. Death to the country which for four hundred years has subjugated and colonized the Black nation, denied Black people basic human rights, committed genocide—making land, independence and socialism for New Afrika the only path for liberation. We are committed in Prairie Fire to the liberation of all the New Afrikan and white anti-imperialist freedom fighters. The attempted expropriation on October 20th by the Black Liberation Army and its Revolutionary Armed Task Force was a revolutionary act. And on September 13th, we will be there to demonstrate our solidarity to these freedom fighters and we will continue to demonstrate our solidarity and fight for New Afrikan liberation until victory.

We say, "Death to imperialism!" because imperialism can have no alternatives. There can be no reforms or halfway measures—only the total dismantling and destruction of the federal system that is called the United States: independence and socialism for Puerto Rico, the socialist reunification of Mexico, independence and land for New Afrika, and sovereignty for Native nations. This will only happen through protracted people's war—the political/military strategy by which oppressed nations win life and freedom, and oppressor nations are buried in the ground.

For us, that means life for those who fight, and that's why we say, "Long live the freedom fighters!" understanding that for many it will mean giving up our lives for future generations to have theirs. The freedom fighters represent the highest aspirations of people struggling for freedom. They are the personification of revolutionary theory and practice. The development of armed clandestine movements like the Black Liberation Army and the FALN ensures that the revolution will go forward to victory. Fighting from clandestinity, away from the eyes of the state, attacking the enemy where it's most vulnerable, enables the revolutionary forces to slowly gain the upper hand. Protracted people's war makes people believe that imperialism isn't all that powerful. It changes the conditions, both subjective and objective, so that others can and will join the struggle.

For those who say, "It's too early," it's because they're still too dominated by bourgeois ideology. The state wants us to think that it will go on forever. For white people, not wanting to support the freedom fighters of national liberation and those who fight alongside them means that we are content with the way things are. We enjoy the privileges of white supremacy and don't want things to change too much too soon.

In struggling with people about the importance of New Afrikan Freedom Fighters' Day, many replied, "Well, we support the people in jail, but not those carrying on the struggle from clandestinity." Or, "We support the freedom fighters, but not New Afrika." We say, "How is this possible?" Those who fight for New Afrika: Sekou Odinga, Kuwesi Balagoon, Abdul Majid, Bashir Hamid, don't struggle for struggle's sake. They're struggling for their nation; they're struggling for their freedom. When people say they don't support New Afrika, they mean they don't support Black people's struggle to be free. In history, we have to remember, it was only when the Black nation and other colonized nations built a fighting movement that the possibility of defeating this system became a reality. And this is still the only way that imperialism will be defeated.

Still others say, "Well, you don't talk enough about class." For us, class war will take the character of civil war in the oppressor nation. We can repeat the slogans of our comrades in Germany and Italy when they say, "Turn the imperialist war into anti-imperialist civil war." Inside the U.S. this means that those of us who are part of the oppressor nation must divide and conquer the oppressor nation and make it dead. To build fascism there must be significant support from the oppressor nation working class. To destroy imperialism and fascism we must organize white people, the working class and others, building their solidarity with national liberation and socialism.

This has been possible in the past, but it has never been enough. Today we know that people will join, that we can organize other white people to fight alongside the freedom fighters to destroy this corrupt, disgusting system. To destroy the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations inside the U.S., we know we must fight, and fight under the leadership of national liberation.

The only strategy to win is people's war. There is no separate path and we must protect and defend those who develop the people's war now, those who develop armed clandestine movements today so that there will be true people's war tomorrow. The Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War have taught us that history can be made to move forward. By consistently refusing to recognize the legitimacy of the state, they have forced many to accept the fact that they are Prisoners of War—*not* criminals and *not* terrorists. Their steadfastness is an example to all of us. Their refusal to enter into the legal system, however good or bad their legal case may be, is a direct confrontation to those who say, "Jail is the worst thing that can ever happen to anybody." We know that in order to struggle for freedom, all over the world, people have gone to jail and yet the freedom fighters continue and victory becomes a reality.

The U.S. has no jurisdiction over New Afrikan freedom fighters or Puerto Rican freedom fighters. The imperialist state has no right to judge. We echo freedom fighter and patriot Lolita Lebron when she says, "Who are the real terrorists? The U.S. has no moral right to judge anybody in the entire world a terrorist." If we are committed to protecting and defending the armed clandestine movement, however, we must understand that the state will attack us too, and we must never rely on the state's legal or electoral machinery for justice. The only justice will come through fighting.

We can and will win. Many don't really believe that. For those, revolution is still a game to be entered into now and to leave when things get too hard. Many will give excuses and focus on what holds us back. But revolutionaries must single-mindedly unite around what moves us forward. How many people have talked to others who say, "Well, I sort of agree, but what about all these disagreements?" or "I guess I just can't do it." Instead, we have to say to people, "You can, you must struggle to unite, not struggle to disagree. That is the only way that you will change; that is the only way that things will move forward." Other people say, "But what about white people?" We answer, "What about white people?" We say, "It is unthinkable to sit by resting on white supremacy in the face of genocide." Yet for many we know it actually is quite thinkable and it's also quite comfortable. We, as revolutionary white anti-imperialists, must make people feel that it is not comfortable, that it is wrong and that they have to change. We can say to them, "Are your goods, are your things really more important than living in a moral world? Is it really more important for you to have your Pacman games, or whatever else people are playing with these days, than to be on the side of fighting against genocide?" We think that many people over time will hear the reality of these arguments and of course will be moved by objective conditions and the growth of the struggle.

Recently I read a letter from Billy Ayers, one of the leaders of the Weather Underground Organization. When people say that the Revolutionary Armed Task Force is trapped in the 60's, they really are talking about the wrong set of people. Billy Ayers is definitely trapped in the 60's. In fact, he's trapped in pre-historic times. When you talk about people uniting with weaknesses, you can talk about Billy Ayers. For someone who at a certain point committed himself to revolution, this kind of letter is not only quite upsetting, it's sort of revolting. He writes about his situation (referring to the fact that his comrade, Bernardine Dohrn, is a grand jury resister, and he's taking care of the children): "The kids have been shook up and are clinging to me (and I to them). I've never felt so powerless and depressed. I want to be strong for the kids, but I think just holding them, crying with them, being emotionally honest is the best I can do." To us, this is the exact opposite of what we want our revolutionary children to be. It is the exact opposite of how we want to struggle with other people to move forward for revolution. If all you're concerned about is your safety and your particular situation, you will never be able to overcome the bourgeois ideology that is dominating us all.

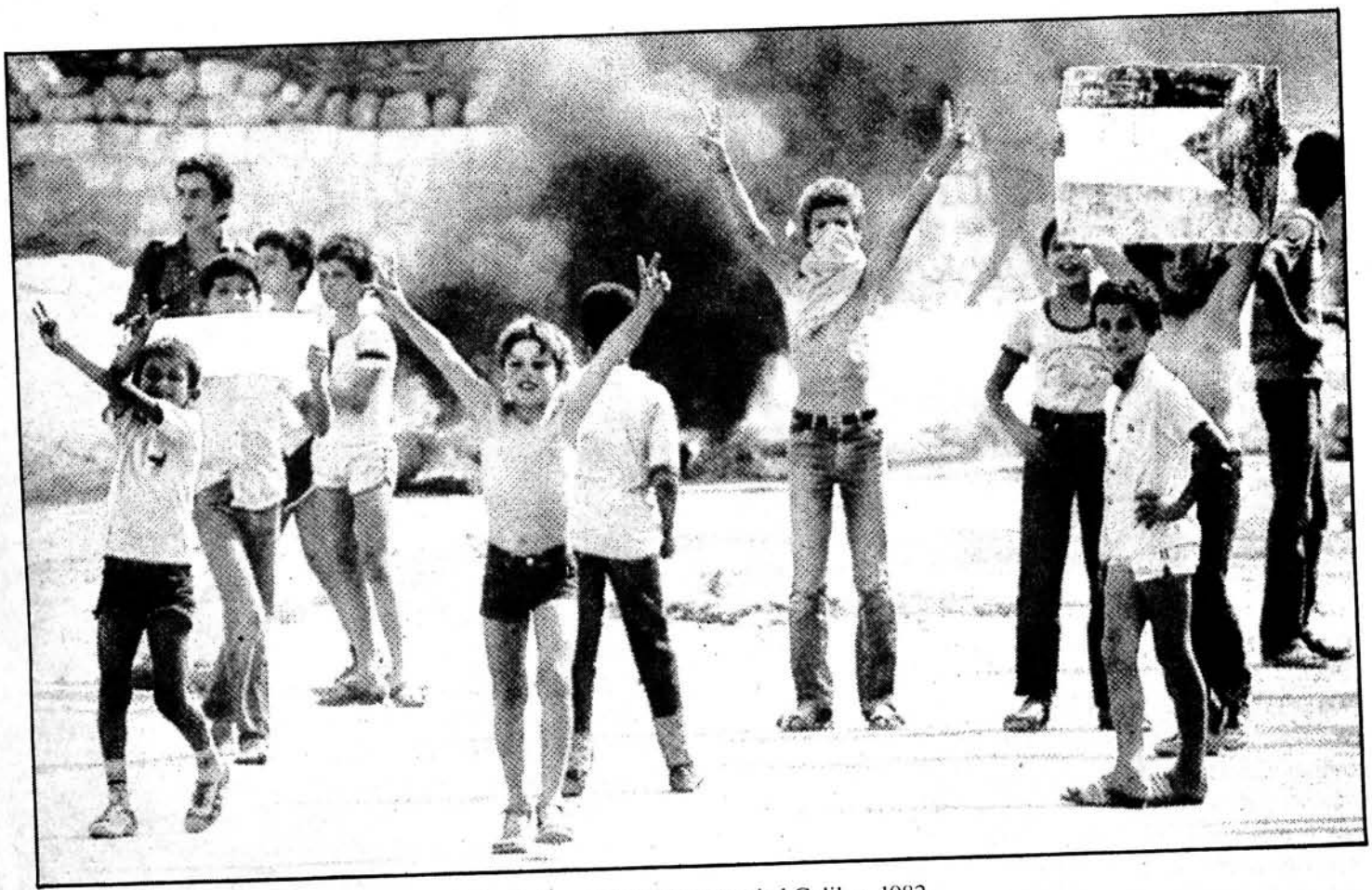
We have to move forward and we can only do this by looking at our strengths. The white freedom fighters in the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, people like Judy Clark and David Gilbert, have offered us a challenge to follow their example. We can look at their practice in the line-ups, along with the other members of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force. These white anti-imperialists, along with New Afrikans, have refused to give in to the line-ups. They have made the authorities shackle them to dentist chairs in order to take one lock from their hair. We can look at their strength and determination and we can ask ourselves, "Can we do this?" And the answer must be, "Yes!" We will be part of an historical process; we can be part of looking forward, of reaching out to struggle, of grasping for parts of ourselves and of our comrades that haven't been realized yet, strengths we don't even know are there.

For those of us who are really committed, we have it in our power to become freedom fighters too. We understand that we are at a birth of revolutionary change and we understand that in order for there to be birth there must be death. We must kill those parts of ourselves that refuse to go forward; we must kill those parts of ourselves that are

deathly afraid of change; and we must kill those parts of ourselves that refuse to struggle in collaboration with national liberation inside of these illegal borders. We must build our unity based on political line. We must build our unity based on revolutionary humility. Because only this is the basis of collective power. This is the opposite of power trips. It's the only way that we can win.

Recently a comrade of mine told me a story about the Palestinian struggle, and I'd like to share it with you today because it moved both of us immensely. She told me about Palestinian freedom fighters who were fighting in Lebanon and about one freedom fighter in particular who had killed four or five Israelis. And the Israelis were closing in, and it was very difficult. This freedom fighter had two bullets left and he overheard the Israeli commander saying, "Leave this one alive; I want this one for me." And when he heard this, he used one bullet to kill an Israeli and one bullet to kill himself. This Palestinian freedom fighter was eight years old. This is what it means to commit our children to the revolution. For those of us who are mothers, this is both a liberating and perhaps one of the most difficult processes that we have to enter into, but we can understand when we see the children of Palestine, when we see the children of Africa, when we see the children of Viet Nam, when we see the children of Puerto Rico, New Afrika and Mexico, that we too can commit ourselves and our children to the revolution because this is the only way that we can bring Death to the Empire, Victory to New Afrika, and this is the only way that We Will Win! Destroy U.S. imperialism!■

DEATH TO THE EMPIRE!



Palestinian youth in the occupied Galilee, 1982.

THE TAMING OF THE

IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

In what is now being hailed as "the largest peacetime rally in U.S. history," three quarters of a million people marched in New York City on June 12, 1982 against the threat of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. With this mobilization, and a simultaneous one of 50,000 in San Francisco, the anti-nuclear/peace movement inside the U.S. joined with similar forces in the imperialist countries of Western Europe and Japan. In the past eighteen months, these movements have brought tens and hundreds of thousands of people out into the streets to protest the deployment of new nuclear missiles on their soil. The demonstrators in this country and in Europe, for the most part, share the premise that World War III will come as a nuclear apocalypse between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, destroying everything in a furious exchange. What flows from this is the prescription that a freeze on the production of new nuclear weapons (the U.S. and the Soviet Union already possess more than 50,000 nuclear weapons) will be a giant step towards world peace.

We do not believe that this apocalyptic scenario characterizes the military strategy being pursued either by imperialism or the Soviet Union. Nor do we think that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are equal threats to world peace. It is the imperialist system headed by the U.S. which is responsible for the drive towards world war.

In the autumn of 1982 Reagan charged that the "freeze" movement is being instigated by the Russion KGB, who are duping millions of people. This anti-communist crusade, complete with documentation furnished by Readers' Digest, is a highly ideological assault on the anti-militarist and anti-U.S. potential of the movement. However, on the issue of nuclear arms reduction and/or freeze itself, the U.S. is prepared to compromise. Conventional war, not nuclear war, remains the foundation of U.S. imperialism's war strategy. This is quite different from the image put forward by the peace movement.

While the nuclear disarmament movement has been capturing the headlines, there has been a *qualitative* upsurge in conventional (non-nuclear) wars, interventions, and preparations for war. The imperialist powers, with the U.S. in the lead, are now waging a protracted offensive against national liberation struggles, socialist governments and progressive movements. While imperialism is covertly attacking and attempting to destabilize the Soviet Union and its allies, and although competition is sharpening between the imperialists themselves, the *primary focus* of war is the Third World where imperialism is being challenged by the forces of national liberation.

Why is this so? In our lifetime, nations such as Viet Nam, Angola, and Zimbabwe have won their independence by waging and winning protracted people's wars, and have begun the difficult process of building socialist societies. These newly liberated nations, along with national liberation movements and with the other socialist countries, constitute the greatest threat to imperialist hegemony. U.S. imperialism cannot survive without the vast wealth, resources and superexploited labor power it extracts from the colonial and neo-colonial dependent nations of the Third World. To gain new markets and superprofits, imperialism has established industry in areas of the world which had been primarily producers of food and natural resources. In the years since World War II, this development process has helped promote the leadership of the working class and socialist ideology in the struggle for national liberation. Because the Third World is the weak link in the chain of empire, and also where the raw economic and military advantage of empire is greatest, it is here that the U.S. must concentrate its offensive.

This is where war *is* happening, and it is not abstract. The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the escalating war against the revolutionary movements of Central America, and the South African invasions of Angola represent the visible beginnings of a new period of more and more wars, both large and small. At the same time, the growing genocidal attacks against national liberation movements inside the U.S. borders are part of a developing internal war: the counter-insurgency war to pacify America. On the whole, the anti-nuclear movement shows little understanding of the roots of any of these conflicts and their connection to a new world war which would certainly involve the other imperialist nations and the Soviet Union.

FREEZE

THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT MOVEMENT OF THE 1980'S?

The June 12 rally was praised to the skies by such an array of groups that its level of support looked like the results of an opinion poll on whether we are for or against the end of the world. Even Reagan, whose muscle-flexing tour of Germany was upset on June 11 by 10,000 protesters fighting police in Berlin, was obliged to say, "I'd have walked there (in the New York rally) if I though it would do any good." Religious leaders including the U.S. Catholic hierarchy, infamous cold warriors like ex-CIA chief Colby, bourgeois liberals like Teddy Kennedy and the Democrats, and many other prominent figures have all come out in favor of the freeze. Virtually every progressive organization, and many which call themselves Marxist, have proclaimed June 12 as "an historic turning point," the birth of the single most important movement of the 1980's.

We disagree sharply with many of the assumptions underlying this growing national consensus, as well as with its conclusions. All revolutionaries and communists want peace, but to achieve peace we must understand why there is war. The widespread view that war will be prevented by a nuclear freeze or nuclear disarmament is dangerously wrong because it makes weapons the center of the problem. But it is the system of imperialism which commands the armies and the weapons and which is driving this country towards war. By focussing on nuclear weapons, people are being prepared to accept the main thrust of U.S./NATO strategy, which is to fight and win conventional and counter-guerrilla wars.

During the past year we've attended peace demonstrations to organize for solidarity with the national liberation struggles inside the U.S. We have been struck by several features of this movement. *First,* a deep fear for survival brings many people out to the rallies. On the gut level, people are aware that war is more and more likely unless something is done. Anti-militarism is growing; however, the movement's defeatism and passivity are not solutions

The June 12, 1982 nuclear freeze demonstration in New York City.

to people's fears. Rather, they reinforce them. The surge of activism at the base of the demonstrations is often channeled into the dead end of electoral politics. Many people have developed a messianic fervor, believing that the issue of nuclear weapons transcends national, class and ideological divisions. All other struggles (including wars going on right now) are dwarfed to insignificance. The popular attitude is, "If the world is blown away tomorrow, nothing else will matter to anyone, anymore." Best selling books and scientific spokespeople reach a growing audience with the horrors of nuclear devastation for all levels of biological life and civilization. This paralyzing fear is then channeled into a pacifist movement that proclaims itself loyal to the "best and truest ideals of this country." The stars and stripes wave at the rallies and rock groups blare the message. The white liberals at the head of the anti-nuclear movement today are many of the same people who were against the Viet Nam war in the 1960's but refused to support the Black liberation struggle when it faced military attack from the FBI's Cointelpro program. These anti-war "veterans" are now saying that one of the great lessons of the 1960's is that the movement has learned never again to "provoke violence." Underlying this argument is the defeatist belief that it makes no sense to fight the U.S. state because it is too strong and we will certainly lose. In the face of this we must ask what the world would be like if colonized and exploited people adopted this passivity and self-defeating fear; if oppressed people didn't wage armed struggle for their freedom?

Second, the mainstream of the anti-nuclear movement does not understand the relationship between imperialist war and revolution. War is never an irrational activity, or the product of accidents. It is always the continuation of politics, the resolution of profound crises by force. Deci-

sions to make war, and to risk world war in the future, are made by ruling classes holding state power, and not by "mad individuals." Imperialism, which must expand or die, now faces a world that is almost completely divided up. The days when the U.S. could wield the club of nuclear blackmail have disappeared with the dreams that this would be an "American century." World war is never a matter of "foreign policy," although it may seem so in the U.S. which has never had a modern war fought on its territory. The drive towards war stems from the basic dynamics of capitalism/imperialism itself.

World War I was an inter-imperialist war fought for control over spheres of influence and colonies. The 20th century's first massive war fought in the trenches of Europe created the conditions in which the Russian Revolution could emerge victorious. The Second World War was fought over a qualitatively wider terrain: Europe, Africa, China and much of Asia. This war had a dual character. It was an inter-imperialist conflict between the monopoly capitalists of the U.S. and Europe against the fascists of Germany and imperial Japan; and, on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies, it was a war to defend socialism from the combined forces of the Allies and Axis. At the end of World War II the U.S. had become the uncontested head of the imperialist system, but the Soviet Union and revolutionary forces worldwide were strengthened as well. The establishment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in 1945 and the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 opened up a qualitatively new era of national liberation struggle against imperialism. Even to bourgeois politicians, the past thirty-five years have been defined by the emergence of the Third World. It is the role of anti-imperialists to struggle for an anti-war movement that will divide the empires' base of support for war and which will be part of transforming imperialist war into national liberation and socialist revolution.

And *third:* the movement is overwhelmingly one of white people, members of the most privileged oppressor nation on earth. Its terms for survival, war and peace are worlds away from those of Third World people. The idea that war itself is the danger and peace the solution is widely held as simple common sense. Yet it is wrong. Under imperialism, war and peace are two ends of the same weapon used to enforce the rule of the state. The imperialist concept of peace has always been predatory and white supremacist. The Middle East peace sought by the U.S. can only result from a genocidal war to destroy the Palestinian nation. In El Salvador and Guatemala, the U.S. never tires of talking about a "peaceful democratic solution" to the crisis. But what oppressed people are fighting for is not this kind of peace. For most of the world's people the only peace this system offers is that of continued slavery, the order of the police state, the serenity of the mass grave. People who believe that war alone is the problem, and that all wars are the same, apply a selective pacifism, refusing to support just wars fought for liberation on the one hand, yet going along with imperialist wars to maintain domination on the other.

The most glaring recent example of this selective pacifism was the June 12 rallies in the U.S., just six days after the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This war of conquest was not opposed by the dominant anti-nuclear/anti-war forces. At the New York rally, the leadership supported Zionism and imperialist war so strongly that a rally of 750,000 mobilized against war refused to take a stand against Israeli genocide!

A peace movement which seeks only to save its white sanctuaries from radiation, while tolerating and supporting colonial terror does more than apply a double standard; it is racist! Not surprisingly, out of the hundreds of thousands who marched in New York, a city where millions of Black and Puerto Rican people live under terrible conditions, only a few thousand Black people joined the march. In the months before the June rally colonized people waged a bitter struggle against the rally's leadership which excluded them from the planning stages and refused to recognize even their minimal demands.

The U.S. is a colonial settler state; any movement that sees itself as expressing the true spirit of America can only be a movement that ignores or justifies domestic colonialism. Yet the same dynamic that is leading to imperialist world war is also at work inside U.S. borders. For the U.S., streamlining the economy and society for war depends on re-enslaving and containing the resistance of oppressed nations inside this country. It also depends on the development of a fascist white consensus, an "inner peace." Oppressor nation workers must come to accept that the economic and social crisis they face requires them to accept austerity, "small wars" and colonial terror. Most leftists active in the peace movement do nothing to challenge this. By advancing the view of an integrated multinational class struggle and the slogan "Money for jobs, not for war," they claim that the economic crisis and the threat of war has put white and Third World workers in the same boat. This denies the reality that colonized people in the U.S. are facing—domestic genocide.

The failure of the anti-nuclear war movement to understand that the threat of war is tied up with the development of white supremacy and fascism has serious consequences. At the center of the government's campaign to pacify domestic opposition is its effort to destroy the national liberation movements inside the U.S. This it must do to mount its protracted, global offensive. The revolutionary New Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Mexicano and Native

American organizations and the white anti-imperialist movement are currently facing the greatest repressive attack since the late 1960s; at the same time the KKK is uniting nationwide and building paramilitary formations for race war. Yet, in this climate, while the economic and social crisis is hitting more white people, the anti-nuclear movement stands in opposition to national liberation and to the possibility of white workers participating in revolutionary class struggle.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF WAR

The U.S. is intent on clearing the decks for winnable wars; that is why the nuclear freeze is now being considered by the ruling classes of the Trilateral countries. To understand imperialism's evolving military strategy, we must look beyond many assumptions held by the anti-war movement and spread by the media. Leaders of the freeze movement extol the wonders of democratic dissent in the U.S. as compared to the Soviet Union, saying that both countries are equal threats to peace. This is nonsense. The Soviet Union is not an equal danger with the U.S., nor is it the main source of war. The Soviet Union is driven by a different set of economic and political forces than is imperialism. It does not have the level of economic stakes in the Third World that the U.S. has. And the projection of the Soviet Union as behind revolutionary struggle everywhere is a smokescreen for U.S. aggression, as in Central America and Southern Africa.

The rulers of the U.S., Europe and Japan know that nuclear war, whether with the Soviet Union or with each other, would mean global annihilation. This type of war could offer at best only a Pyrrhic victory. Nations, labor and capital all over the world would be destroyed far in excess of what imperialism needs to overcome the economic crisis and dominate the Third World and socialist nations. They also know that the kind of nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union that could deal it a "decapitating blow" is not realizable because much more than a marginal edge is needed to achieve this.

So the U.S. under Reagan is accelerating the shift begun by Carter towards building the capacity to fight and win multi-front conventional and counter-revolutionary wars. A revitalized and technologically up-to-date army, elite units of Special Forces, Air Force Special Operations Wing, Navy SEAL teams and Marine Reconnaissance companies are being made combat ready. According to "Defense Guidance," a major document supported by Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger and covering the years 1984-1988, the U.S. must "revitalize and enhance special operation forces to project U.S. power where the use of conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate, or infeasible." These forces will be ready first for use in the Third World, but ultimately the plan is to reach the boundaries of the Soviet Union. The report states the goal as "to exploit political, economic and military weaknesses within the Warsaw Pact and to disrupt enemy rear-area operations." Nuclear weapons will continue to be one aspect of the empire's military strategy, but not the most dynamic. There is widespread agreement that nuclear weapons have failed to stem the loss of U.S. global power. It is also common knowledge that the U.S. believes that it can drop at least one tactical nuclear weapon in the Third World without triggering a global holocaust. And conventional war, based on the most advanced non-nuclear forces, includes the use of tactical nuclear weapons in its worst-case scenarios.

The "Defense Guidance" document confirms that conventional and counter-insurgency war, not full scale nuclear war, is the direction of NATO strategy. In the section on strategy it says, "Emphasis is directed towards limiting U.S.-Soviet confrontation to conventional means." Fred Ikle, influential Undersecretary for Defense Policy, said of the report, "To the extent that there is something new in this administration, it is a further backing away from fighting a nuclear war. That's why there is emphasis on conventional war (and) improving mobilization capabilities."

The differences over military strategy are narrowing among the imperialist countries. They are all seeking a strategic reduction and/or freeze on the production of large scale nuclear weapons. This has nothing to do with reducing the danger of war or making humanitarian concessions to the peace movement. It is really about achieving greater military flexibility to fight and win wars. The U.S. believes that imperialist countries can retain/regain superiority over all opposition with a united NATO, control over the world financial system, and state-of-the-art military technology. So the military establishments study the Falklands, Lebanese, and Iran-Iraq wars to judge the performance of land, sea and air weaponry.

A long-term strategy for the U.S. relationship to the Soviet Union and Europe is now unfolding. The aggressive posture of the U.S. towards the Soviet Union is not just part of the anti-communist cold war line which has characterized every U.S. presidency since World War II; it also has an economic goal. Reagan likes to talk about playing America's "ace in the hole" by initiating a renewed arms race. This would damage the Soviet economy, which has a smaller Gross National Product than the U.S. and therefore must spend a higher percentage on defense just to keep up. The U.S. hopes to pressure the Soviet Union towards a reduction and/or freeze on the production of strategic nuclear arms *on U.S. terms* as the alternative to a damaging internal crisis. Carefully timed

statements that this country believes it can win a nuclear war, and the refusal to reject a "first nuclear strike," are mostly saber-rattling designed to make imperialist threats believable.

The economic cost of a nuclear arms race, plus the price of conventional rearmament, has put the imperialist powers into a terrible bind. It is a dream, Horatio Alger economics, to believe that the U.S. will be pulled out of its depression by the developing new technological revolution in electronics, computers, aerospace, etc. Although these sectors of the economy are growing, fueled by a $1.5 trillion defense plan, they cannot energize capitalism's basic industries—energy, construction, manufacturing, steel, autos, etc. The crisis of absolute overproduction and economic stagnation is a permanent feature of the pattern leading towards war and social upheaval.

At the same time the nuclear build-up in Europe has met a deep and growing mass resistance by Europeans to the prospect of dying on a nuclear battleground. European leaders agree that war in Europe is unlikely because of the strategic balance of forces between East and West. The U.S. is arguing that the NATO allies and Japan must take up more of the burdens of defending the world system. The NATO countries have already begun playing a greater military role against the Third world. The so-called multinational peace keeping force in Lebanon is an example. This army is nothing more than a NATO intervention force designed to secure Trilateral interests in the region. U.S. and NATO forces maintain or have access to more than 50 military facilities in Africa to guarantee strategic interests. These are the troops which keep the dictator Mobutu in power in Zaire. The members of NATO have jointly agreed, in the words of Rolf Pauls, former FRG (West German) permanent representative to NATO's North Atlantic Council, that "We must be absolutely clear that we must also protect our interests outside the NATO area....It is not only the safeguarding of the supplies of oil and other raw materials vital for the survival and security of Europe which is at stake. It is also necessary to provide unstable regions with more stability." All of this is happening regardless of whether hardliners like Reagan and Thatcher or "socialists" like Mitterand hold power. Contradictions over relations with the Soviet Union, such as the gas pipeline fight, are being ironed out under the pressure to unite. And the NATO powers have developed sophisticated international secret police groups to carry out domestic repression of "terrorists and their supporters" in order to insure the "inner peace."

THE FREEZE: WHO'S PULLING THE STRINGS?

Seen in terms of this evolving long-run strategy for Europe and the Soviet Union, the demand for a nuclear freeze, rather than being diametrically opposed to imperialist strategy, can be quite compatible with it. The imperialists are working hard to set the course of the freeze movement, to undermine its progressive potential. This potential comes from its anti-militarist character and its

"Peacekeeping" imperialist style: U.S. Marines arrive in Lebanon, September, 1982.

possibility of mobilizing large numbers of people in opposition to the U.S. government. But this progressive potential remains a distant hope because the current "freeze" leadership is totally tied in to the system. The core of this leadership, the coalition builders, operate a political machinery where the Democratic Party, organized labor, the Catholic bishops and other prestigious religious groups and social democrats operate at the highest levels. These comments from a leader of Greenpeace (one of the largest anti-nuclear/environmental groups) are typical: "I think it's fair to say that if anything significant is going to happen on disarmament, this rally (June 12) can't be too far left....I personally would like to see more right-wing and conservative groups involved, since they are also concerned with the arms build-up because it causes deficits."

Leaders within the Trilateral Commission are developing organizations to "guide" the peace movement. An example of this is the story of Peace Links. The *New York Times* of May 25, 1982, carried an article "Politicians' Wives and Peace Links." This story, released three weeks before the June rally, exposed how deeply the enemy is involved in the movement. One of the major organizers of Peace Links is Betty Bumpers, wife of influential Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas. With a grant from the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation, Bumpers has organized 2,000 women in 32 of the state's 75 counties into a pilot program for a national organization. She says, "What we want to do is to tap into every women's organization in the country, from garden clubs to church groups, and have them put nuclear awareness on the agenda....All you really have to know is that we already have enough nuclear weapons to annihilate each other...." This project is now getting off the ground nationally with "seed money" from the Rockefeller Family Fund. Rosalynn Carter and Sharon Rockefeller are national volunteers.

This is one example of the effort to shape and influence the "protest movement of the 1980s" into something that will in no way challenge or impede a world war. Another example is the debate on the draft. The U.S. is the only major imperialist country which does not have some kind of draft, due to the tremendous anti-militarist reaction to the Viet Nam war. Although Reagan continues to oppose the draft, insisting that the volunteer army attracts more than enough who feel "it's an honor to wear the uniform again," the draft is an important institution that builds loyalty to the state. Kingman Brewster, former Yale University president and ex-Ambassador to Britain, is a leading liberal who believes conventional forces are an alternative to nuclear weapons. He is quoted as saying that a mass slogan should be: "I'd rather be drafted than nuked."

In these ways the peace movement is being brought under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. Their vehicle of opportunity is the freeze campaign which does not threaten the plans of empire to wage war and genocide anywhere. To the rulers, if they play their cards right, this movement has the potential to be a broad oppressor nation force against revolutionary struggles for national liberation and socialism. In the 1980s, as in the 1960s, there will be an anti-war movement and there will be national liberation struggles. At the anti-war movement's height, anti-imperialists who supported the national liberation of the Vietnamese people and who supported struggles for Black liberation inside the U.S. posed a genuine and deep challenge to the movement's dominant liberalism and pacifism. The conscious goal of the bourgeois leaders of the freeze movement is to have a movement in the 1980s which will either be blown away by the fire of ongoing counter-insurgency and conventional war; or will tolerate and even promote such wars as the lesser evil, unavoidable alternatives to nuclear disaster.

Similarly, the movement against U.S. intervention in Central America has failed to develop either a militant struggle against the U.S. government or to support national liberation struggles in the U.S. This has kept it from having any real impact on U.S. policy. The failure of the anti-intervention and anti-nuclear movements to confront the state in any way contributes to the steady slide of many progressive people into the arms of the Democratic Party.

WHICH SIDE ARE WE ON?

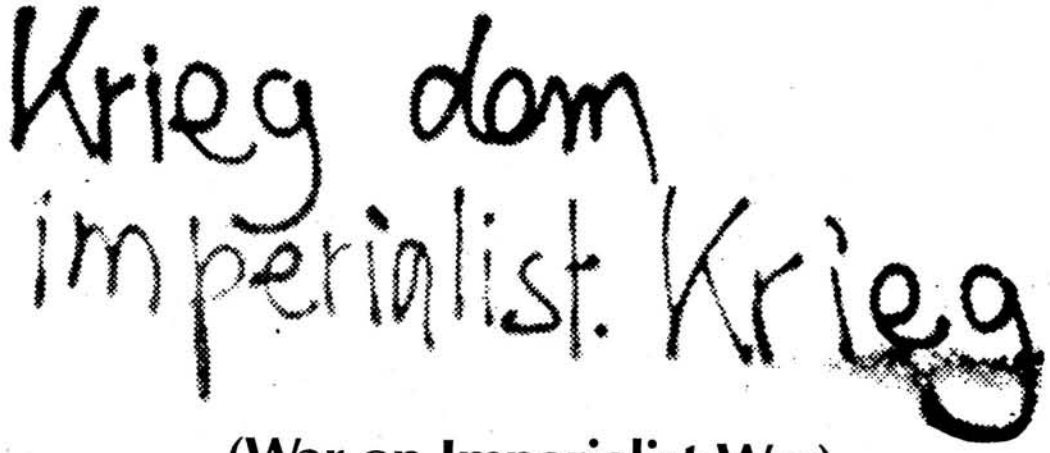
War is inevitable under imperialism; it is here now and it is going to increase in frequency and intensity. Hidden wars are becoming more open. More and more people feel the need to build a movement against war. On this point the apathy and cynicism of white America is changing a little. Among the millions who have come out to demonstrations are many who want to change the course of this country. But this isn't enough; it never has been and never will be. Effective struggle depends on our building an anti-imperialist movement which will lead more and more people to challenge the power of the U.S., to upset its ability to wage war right now. This cannot be done by accomodating or working within a framework controlled by bourgeois liberals, as many on the left are now doing. The desire for a mass audience is causing many so-called "revolutionary" groups to call internationalism and support for liberation movements inside this country "sectarian." Accordingly, they reduce their goals to being able to "maximize our ability to organize within the movement for our perspective." Some organizations, such as the *Guardian* news-

paper, seem to call for a halt to any serious criticism and exposure of the "freeze" movement.

The crisis of imperialism is drawing lines in the white left and peace movement. There is a contemporary manifestation of the "split in socialism" (This was how Lenin described the betrayal of revolutionary internationalism by large sectors of the European "socialist movement" who sided with their bourgeoisies in World War I.) Country by country, the composition and demands of the peace movements are remarkably similar. They are led by social democrats, reformists and revisionist forces who believe that war can be prevented by a change in foreign policy, a change in priorities, or the banning of certain types of weapons. They are committed to keeping the system intact, and shielding it from an anti-imperialist movement against war. Such a movement, which would be part of building the revolutionary offensive against the empire inside its home bases, would be an advance of real significance. This is a development which imperialism must try to prevent. Containment of revolutionary struggle is the "raison d'etre" of social democracy, which is why these forces are encouraged by the bourgeoisie to grow.

However, as the world crisis becomes more acute, there is emerging, particularly in Europe, an anti-imperialist pole within the movement against war. These forces are struggling for a revolutionary internationalist line and practice and the rejection of oppressor nation privilege. The strategy of anti-imperialist civil war being developed by the revolutionary left in Europe defines the terms of revolutionary class warfare in the imperialist nations in relation to the development of national liberation struggles. Most people in the U.S. movement are unaware of the struggles within the "peace movement" which are producing, in Germany for example, some of the most militant anti-war actions. Tens of thousands are calling for the destruction of NATO; the armed clandestine movement has attacked U.S. bases on the average of one per week in the first eight months of 1982 and has attempted to kill NATO leaders such as Alexander Haig and General Frederick Kroesen, the U.S. Army's European commander. In this issue we publish exerpts from the writings of both the public and clandestine organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). We do this to advance the building of a movement in the U.S. which understands that the only road to peace is through fighting along with the national liberation movements inside and outside U.S. borders for the total destruction of empire.

In this country, the heart of the struggle in the peace movement is the choice between accepting the legitimacy of the U.S. system or aligning our interests as progressive/anti-imperialist white people *with* the liberation of the majority of the world's people, not against them. One path leads to compromise with the most aggressive empire in the world, to being unable and unwilling to fight against imperialist war as it is actually being waged. The other path is that of allying with the national liberation struggles to turn imperialist war into revolutionary war. By doing this we will be able to resist the U.S. strategy of containing and crushing the national liberation struggles within its borders and greatly limit the consolidation of white workers behind fascism and white supremacy. These are the tasks anti-imperialists must take up in struggling with the "peace movement"; only in this way will the growing violence of war ever give way to the promise of peace.■



(War on Imperialist War)

–Materials from the German Anti-Imperialist Movement–

"He/she who wants to fight imperialist war has to fight to smash the imperialist system. Fight the battle in the metropolis together with the revolutionaries of the Third World!"

—RAF (Rote Armee Fraktion/Red Army Fraction)

The following are documents from the revolutionary movement in the Federal Republic of West Germany (FRG). This material was banned in the FRG and illegally published in defiance of laws prohibiting "advertising for a terrorist group." We include a communique from the RAF issued in September 1981, on the attempted assassination of U.S. General Kroesen, commander of the 300,000 U.S. troops in Europe. We also reprint excerpts from a paper by Women Against Imperialist War, an anti-imperialist women's organization that supports the RAF.

The western bourgeois media and even the left media slanders the RAF as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" of isolated anarchists and ultra-leftists. But in reality, it is a revolutionary political/military organization with clear anti-imperialist politics waging armed struggle today in the heart of imperialist West Germany. Solidarity with liberation movements of the Third World is a central part of the RAF's politics.

The RAF slogan "War on Imperialist War!" is being turned into a reality. During 1982, the RAF carried out an average of one armed action per week against the more than one hundred U.S. military installations throughout West Germany. The anti-imperialist politics of the RAF are developing a mass base in the West German left. During the same month that the RAF attacked General Kroesen, 80,000 people participated in a militant demonstration against U.S. Secretary of State and former NATO commander Alexander Haig. Thousands of people battled the West German police all day, utterly wrecking Haig's "triumphal visit" and propaganda show. Such demonstrations are making it abundantly clear that the growing anti-imperialist movement will not stand by and let imperialism continue to use the FRG as a launching pad for wars against Third World liberation movements. The military offensive of the armed clandestine movement and the mass anti-imperialist struggle in West Germany are creating a real challenge and a revolutionary alternative to the reformist politics of the social democratic leadership of Germany's peace movement.

Since its inception a decade and a half ago, the RAF has shown its capacity to maintain the revolutionary offensive in the face of intense repression. In 1977 RAF prisoners went on hungerstrike for POW status, sparking an international mobilization of support. The West German state responded by cold bloodedly murdering four RAF comrades in Stammheim prison. In 1981 one hundred RAF prisoners and supporters again went on hungerstrike. All support work for the strike and the RAF was criminalized by the government, and forty activists were jailed during the strike for "crimes" such as holding up banners and distributing and possessing leaflets.

Over the last two months, the West German secret police have captured two women and a man alleged to be leading members of the RAF: Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Adelheid Schulz, and Christian Klar. Another comrade, Helga Roos, has been accused of participation in the Kroesen action and kept in isolation for a year. Now the West German state is actively attempting to have her committed to a mental institution.

We urge all *Breakthrough* readers to act in solidarity with the RAF and the West German anti-imperialist movement by sending letters of protest to the FRG's BKA (Federal Bureau of Crime), demanding an end to the repression and that the imprisoned comrades be held under conditions guaranteed under the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war. Send letters immediately c/o AKAS, Postfach 3021, 4 Dusseldorf, West Germany; and to An den, 5. Strafsenat des OLG Stuttgart, 7000 Stuttgart, West Germany, with a note that the letter be forwarded to the appropriate government agency.

PFOC presents these materials as part of our ongoing commitment to build solidarity and learn lessons from the revolutionary movements throughout Europe. The development of armed struggle in European strongholds of imperialist power represents a new and higher level of anti-imperialist and communist action against the enemy. (Ed. note: a booklet of materials from the West German movement is now available from *Breakthrough;* see ad on page 36.)

RAF COMMUNIQUE

Assassination Attempt on General Kroesen

ATTACK THE CENTERS, THE BASES AND THE STRATEGISTS OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY MACHINERY!

FIGHT IMPERIALIST WAR WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL CLASS WARFARE!

Today we have—with the Gudrun Ensslin Unit—attacked the Commanding General of the U.S. Army and of NATO's Middle Europe Section, General Kroesen.

He is one of the U.S. generals who directly hold in their hands the imperialist politics in Western Europe up to the Gulf Region, as he is the one who decides what to do and how to do it in times of confrontation! He determines the use of conventional destruction and he decides when and where neutron bombs are going to be fired. He is commanding the U.S. troops of intervention that are stationed here for their use in the Near East. He and Rogers are the strategists who are called away to the Pentagon from the frontline in Europe, as happened when a decision was made to intervene in Iran.

He will be one of the American military men who wants to openly command the FRG instead of Schmidt, Genscher, Kohl, Strauss or whoever it might be at a time when resistance seriously shatters the colonial status of this country. For this purpose and time, the data on the left in the FRG have for years been stored in the computers at the U.S. Headquarters in Heidelberg.

He regularly meets with the Federal Attorney to permanently coordinate steps and to directly check on the situation. These meetings, together with reports of the Western European secret services combined within NATO, determine U.S. anti-guerrilla warfare in Western Europe.

Kroesen is a frontline general.

Western Europe is no longer the hinterland from where imperialism is waging war—now, with the victories of liberation wars in the Third World—now, with the development of the guerrilla in Western Europe—now that the whole of imperialism is suffering a crisis, Western Europe has become part of the worldwide frontline.

It is the part where they possess everything. But it is also the part that has become vital for the process of liberation on the whole, worldwide line.

The fighting within the metropolis can keep global imperialism in check so that, together with the revolutionaries in the Third World, a new breakthrough can be accomplished. The struggles in the metropolis now are real steps of revolution in the centers themselves, a revolution that for us must be a constantly changing process of developing revolutionary resistance.

Resistance means: attacking the counterrevolutionary attack.

Resistance means: putting one's practice in context with the guerrilla.

The guerrilla, the fight of the prisoners from the guerrilla, and the fight of the anti-imperialist militants are the lines that as a unit form the revolutionary frontline in Western Europe—or are going to form it.

Fight all battles for the conditions of life in all areas as an anti-imperialist fight—that means bringing them into the frontline.

MAKE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PRISONERS, AS A CENTRAL POINT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE, YOUR OWN CAUSE!!

SUPPORT THE PRISONERS HERE, IN IRELAND, TURKEY, ITALY AND SPAIN!!

THE WEST EUROPEAN GUERRILLA IS SHAKING THE CENTER!!

FIGHT WITH US!

The mistake is believing that there might be someone fighting out of the experience of weakness; but someone who fights, somewhere, at some time knew strength, experienced it himself, otherwise he would not be fighting. *—Gudrun Ensslin*

WAR ON IM

—Women Against Imperiali

We, Women Against Imperialist War, are part of the women's movement and the battles that have developed since the militant demonstration against NATO on the 6th of May, 1980, in West Germany. We have had a snout full of being reduced as women to our "natural abilities," namely those of peacemaker, eternal mother and social workers who make peace between incompatible opposites. We are no "Women for Peace" because we see that here and everywhere in the world we cannot conjure up peace and that there will be no peace unless we fight the material causes for war and destroy them.

In this article we want to discuss the theories and the strategies of the peace movement as exemplified in such slogans as "Make Peace Without Weapons" and "West Germany Out Of NATO," which we think to be incorrect and leading in the wrong direction. We think it is senseless to inundate politicians, the same politicians who are helping to prepare for war, with moral appeals. We think it is hopeless to use peaceful protest and civil disobedience to stop the war machinery of imperialism—the war machinery that tries with all its resources to find a way out of the current crisis even at the cost of destroying the entire human race.

It is our aim to discuss the conditions and perspectives of our resistance, which we feel brings us together and strengthens us. When we say "War On Imperialist War!" we mean we have not only the threat of a Third World War before us, but that we must also fight for the overthrow of the system which is already, all over the world, either overtly or covertly waging war against people who resist its power. And we must also fight the so-called "normal" conditions of living, the deadly isolation of people from each other, and a permanent state of war. We as women are confronted with these conditions all the time.

IMPERIALIST WAR IS THE STRATEGY OF THE RULING CLASS TO OVERCOME CRISES

We know from the history of this country that the imperialist system needs wars to maintain its profits. In this century, both the world wars and fascism have shown us that the capitalists are not afraid to use any means necessary to broaden their possibilities of (surplus) accumulation. Inevitably when a crisis of capitalism can not be controlled by normal methods such as increased political repression and economic exploitation (automation, unemployment, reduction of workers' benefits and social welfare programs), the system resorts to military violence. That is how in 1930 the big crisis in Germany and Italy led to fascism and finally to the beginning of World War II. It was in the interest of the leading German capital, which had fallen into a crisis, to destroy the national borders created by the Treaty of Versailles, to regain territory and to expand their capitalist influence through a world war. Fascism, which meant the violent restoration of the "inner peace" in Germany after the years of crisis between 1929 and 1933, was a necessary basis for the planning and the execution of the six years of World War II.

German fascism was crushed by the allied forces in 1945, but by no means did they destroy the conditions that bred fascism. On the contrary, the capitalist class of the victorious powers found new, wider possibilities for expansion....

Part of the rebuilding that was part of the restoration of capitalist conditions in this society was the destruction of any radical opposition from its very beginning. The elimination of any radical opposition (the German Communist Party, communist trade unions) and the integration of resistance into the Social Democratic Party were the main objectives, in the years following the "economic won-

Over ten thousand demonstrators took to the streets of West I imperialist war plans, June 11, 1982. The banner reads, "Dra

ERIALIST WAR

War (Hamburg, West Germany)

der," for the installation of a model of democracy, a model in which the theory, the official line, was that all classes more or less took part in the economic growth. Any questioning of the "growthpact" between workers and capitalists was suppressed. And it was fought as being a danger to democracy and the well-being of the people.

The conception of "inner peace" (loyalty of the general population) and the growth of the economy which determined the atmosphere of the 60s and 70s was dependent upon continuous expansion of capital. So the development of a world market was not only an economic, but a political necessity in order to keep the people in the metropolises quiet through increased consumption and a constantly rising standard of living. The development of a world market meant exploitation of the Third World by an international division of labor. Thus, the development of the metropolises took place on the backs of the Third World countries. In the 60s many countries of the Third World began liberation wars against exploitation by multinational corporations dominated by U.S. capital, thus bringing to an end the expansion of imperialism for world power.

st Berlin to oppose Reagan's visit and to fight against U.S./NATO Draw a clear line between us and the enemy."

IMPERIALISM CAN BE DEFEATED

The victory of the Vietnamese people, who waged a difficult, determined struggle and finally succeeded in getting the Yankees out of their country, was the hope and example for many liberation movements. The major significance of the victory of Viet Nam was the proof that it is possible to fight the monster U.S.—that it is vulnerable and that it is possible to defeat it. In the last ten years liberation movements all over the world have pushed the Americans back, most recently with the expulsion of the Shah and his clique from Iran.

Every revolutionary struggle for liberation is able to weaken imperialism, which is dependent on natural resources and labor power as well as political stability in the Third World. Most obvious is the Middle East, a region which, because of its rich oil fields and strategic military location, has been declared by the Americans as part of their "vital interests," and which they are ready to defend with all their military means. The impending stationing of new middle-range missiles in Europe, aimed at the USSR, is thus intimately connected to the Third World and to the interests of the imperialist states in preventing revolution. The U.S. hopes to scare the USSR into stopping its support of liberation movements in the Third World, thus clearing the way for undisturbed intervention in the Third World countries when they attempt liberation from imperialism. Inherent in imperialism is the calculated risk of the destruction of all life in Europe, and the nuclear contamination of West Germany.

But imperialism knows its vulnerability; it sees itself on the defensive. The crises are worsening here in Europe, in its centers, as imperialism is no longer able to carry out its plundering wars. The more the crises develop in the centers, the more the resistance grows against this system that is based entirely on destruction, and the more imperialism looks to a military solution for its crisis—it is not only looking for an external military solution, but also an inner military solution against the resistance within the metropolis itself. The military "solution" which has been prepared for by the U.S. and West German imperialists since 1945 and strengthened in the last ten years can be seen in the development of NATO and the history of remilitarization of West Germany, and in the growth in the last ten years of a social democratic government and of repressive measures by the state....

THE "SMALL WAR"—COUNTERREVOLUTION

It is not the only task of NATO to plan and carry out strategies for an imperialist attack on the Third World or the Soviet Union. It is also the task of NATO to create and to guarantee the conditions for such an attack: the inner stability in the countries within the alliance, the quiet hinterland for imperialist wars of aggression.

Shortly after he came into office, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig described this task as the most important: the fight against "international terrorism."

Concepts for the international fight against resistance are worked out between the U.S.A. and Europe. During the last ten years the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) has been foremost in the establishing and pushing through of projects designed for the fight against and the smashing of resistance in Western Europe. The former chief of the Federal Investigation Bureau (BKA), Herold, built up the BKA and the whole apparatus of the police into a gigantic apparatus for the fight against resistance. His declared aim was to start an offensive against terrorism. Herold once characterized the fight between revolutionary guerrilla movements and the imperialists, with their strategies for defeating resistance, as the "small war" that has pushed into the background the "big war" among states, the global fight among alliances and blocs of powers. Everyone waging resistance in this country is experiencing the "small war," is feeling that the state has declared war on them. It is important for us not to be afraid of such a declaration of war, but to take it up: angrily, with the will to attack, joyously and seriously.

> Saying: I do not like this or that, that's protest. Seeing to it that what I do not like does not happen any more, that's resistance. —*Ulrike Meinhof*

In order to clarify the conditions for the development of our resistance, we have to go back to the history of the FRG and we have to take a close look especially at the time after World War II, when U.S. capital and the U.S. government set the lines for the reconstruction of this country. If we want to become a real power against this state, a power that is able to make it impossible for the U.S. imperialists and their allies to use their war machinery, we have to know the foe we are fighting. We have to know this in order to be victorious.

FRG—JUNIOR PARTNER OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

We have to recognize that the FRG is no sovereign country, that in the phase of the reconstruction this country has been so invaded by U.S. capital that an economic dependency and political cooperation have been established that make it impossible to divide the FRG from the U.S.A. In this the FRG is not just a victim of U.S. interests but, as a strong imperialist power, is itself actively taking part in securing and enlarging the imperialist regions of power.

> The FRG is part of the global fight between the proletariat of the world and imperialism. There is a political, military, economic and ideological identity of interest with U.S. imperialism and so the FRG is no oppressed nation but one that oppresses other nations. The FRG has been established by the CIA and by U.S. capital as a stronghold against communism and as a strategic base. In this function the FRG today, as part of the states aligned to the U.S.A., is a strategic subcenter for U.S. foreign policy, a policy that is conceived of as the world's home policy. That means that the FRG is the operational base for American capital in this region. The FRG is a leading imperialist power in Western Europe, a power that is organizing Western Europe into a political, military and economic bloc of power. —*Quote from the declaration made by Rolf Heiler during his trial in September 1981*

The demands being made by a large part of the peace movement neglect this reality. These demands do not exemplify that the FRG, or better, German capital and the ruling class, are part and parcel of transnational capital under the hegemony of the U.S.A. These demands neglect the fact that the FRG is part of NATO and that those in power know that they can only realize their interests together with the Americans. If the German people were to say, "We want to leave NATO!" they would, on one side, be confronted with the interests of their own imperialist ruling class, a ruling class that does not want to leave NATO and that cannot leave NATO. They would also be confronted with the interests of the Americans who did not build up this country for the last 35 years just to give it up again if the German people thus wish.

OUR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE: TO FIGHT IMPERIALISM

In the FRG there is not a question of national liberation, because this country is a leading imperialist power and, as a nation that oppresses other nations, cannot just leave the imperialist war plan, cannot be neutral. The international contradictions, the war between imperialism and the peoples in the Third World fighting for liberation, are gaining in sharpness. At the same time it is becoming obvious that there are only two possibilities in the world: either you are an ally of NATO or you are NATO's enemy. There is no third way in between. Neutrality does not exist. It is not in our interest to keep ourselves out of this conflict, hoping perhaps that then the bombs might not fall on us. It is our aim to smash NATO, to liberate ourselves and all people in the world from imperialism.

We are only able to do this together with all the peoples in the world. It is because of this that we think it a scandal that at the peace demonstration in Bonn on the 10th of October, 1981, the representative of the ANC (African National Congress) who was to speak in the names of numerous liberation movements (PLO, SWAPO, FDR, Polisario, Unidad Popular) was forbidden to speak because the people who had organized the demonstration were fearing for the good image they had with the federal

government and the fascist regime in Israel. The speech that was going to be given exactly states what the situation is now:

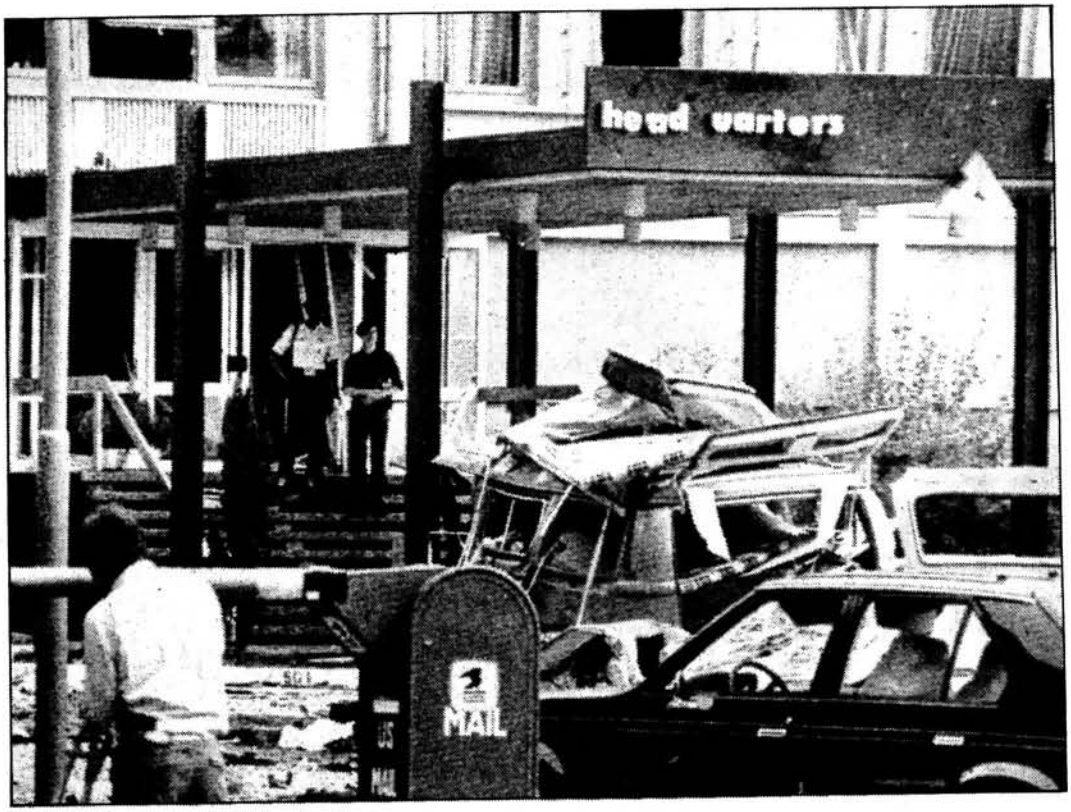
> Peace for us means the end of everyday oppression, the end of unfair structures, the end of hunger, the ending of the terror of the ruling classes. The liberation movements make up the first rows in the frontline in the fight against the aggressive war-threatening policy of the U.S.A. Our people every day are risking their lives in the fight for peace and justice. They are paying a high price with their blood. The peace movements in the FRG and in Europe and the liberation movements in the Third World have to walk hand in hand.

We, the peace movement, the anti-imperialist movement and the women's movement can learn a lot from the liberation movements for the fight against our common enemy. The liberation movements did not only experience how imperialism defends its total power in the world with murderous brutality. They have also experienced that one can nevertheless defeat this enemy if one does not have any illusions about it, if one declares war on it, if one attacks it materially in a revolutionary war for liberation that has to be fought on all levels, politically and militarily.

Our sisters in the liberation movements are an example for us, because they have won for themselves the means to attack imperialism and to defeat imperialism. They are not out to win "free zones" for themselves as are some women in the women's movement in the metropolis. They are fighting for their freedom within the fight for liberation. The Red Army Fraction (RAF) began taking up armed anti-imperialist struggle in this country ten years ago. In their attacks, like, for example, against the U.S. headquarters in Heidelberg in 1972, they have developed a practice that brings the war of liberation into the metropolis, into the hinterland of imperialism. It is a practice that sees itself in concert with the liberation movements by attacking the common enemy in the "heart of the beast" (Ché Guevara).

When we got together as "Women Against Imperialist War" two years ago, it was very important for us to discuss the politics of the RAF and of the prisoners from the RAF. It was our aim to develop a new political offensive out of the women's movement, a movement most of us came from. An offensive that brings our fight against male violence and male supremacy together with our fight against the state and imperialism. We knew that we did not wish to create for ourselves quiet islands within the system, because doing that would mean not to attack male violence and the state, not to abolish it, but to just bypass it. This is why RAF politics is so important to us: the comrades from the RAF and their politics do not bypass reality, do not bypass imperialist structures of violence, do not bypass alienation. This is because it is a politics that does not lie and deny reality by making compromises, that does not align itself with the system, but takes the perspective and possibility of liberation from imperialism, our

NATO exercises in West Germany, 1982.



U.S. and NATO Air Force headquarters in Ramstein, West Germany after it was bombed by the RAF on August 31, 1981. Twenty military personnel were wounded in this action.

liberation as people, very seriously and fights for it radically. The fact that continuously, for ten years, the RAF has attacked American bases and strategists, as well as the figures representing this state, did not only show us that this state can really be hurt when attacked. Most of all it has shown us the possibility to free ourselves from alienated structures of passivity and fear, to develop a revolutionary identity and power. This possibility is clearly shown by the fact that the RAF does not let the fight be determined by repression. It means that they themselves determine strategic attacks and that they themselves determine when and where the confrontation is going to be.

On the 6th of May, 1980, in Bremen, we ourselves had the experience of wanting the confrontation and of determining it and of thus becoming stronger. We did not only protest the public taking of an oath by soldiers; we also militantly attacked those preparing for war. What was so important about the stones and the molotov cocktails that flew about was that they expressed a new quality of resistance: someone who throws stones does not enter anymore into a dialogue with the rulers, expects nothing from them, determines the confrontation himself, does not want integration. What was new about the resistance in Bremen was that, for the first time, anti-imperialist groups and anti-militarist groups came together and it was the beginning of a broad mobilization against NATO.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RAF PRISONERS' HUNGER STRIKE

The anti-imperialist mobilization was continued during the last hunger strike of the prisoners from the RAF. It was a hunger strike that was aimed at winning the demand for association for many prisoners that have been isolated for years. The anti-imperialist mobilization was continued during the strike and gathered strength because our resistance outside the prisons came together with the fight of the prisoners. In this fight our relationship to the prisoners was no longer one of just support. We felt that it was a fight we were fighting together. In fighting with the prisoners for their association—for their possibility to continue to collectively fight and work within the prisons—we have tackled our own fear of prisons. We have done something in order not to let our perspective and power end before the prison walls. In dealing with our fears, we have realized where our power lies:

> When the militant left learns what imperialism had to recognize in its defeats, namely, that its power ends where its violence is feared no longer, they will have solved the whole problem of imperialism's invincibility. *—Hunger strike declaration by the prisoners from the RAF*

The strong mobilization for the hunger strike has forced the state to make concessions. It was our mistake not to really realize our power. We could not estimate how much

the state fears the different movements coming together. We did not really realize how the state has to fight even the beginnings of such a development of unified structures, contexts and perspectives among us. We did not realize this and so we stopped our fight with the ending of the hunger strike. We did not force the state to implement the concessions it had made.

But despite our mistakes we have made during the hunger strike, we have nevertheless learned what is important for our resistance and how to go on. The resistance during the last year here in the FRG has shown the rulers that the time when they could carry out their projects without being hindered is over: the militant fights of the squatters in Berlin, the numerous demonstrations and actions of the peace movement, the demonstration against Haig in Berlin, the determined resistance of the people fighting against the NATO runway in Frankfurt.

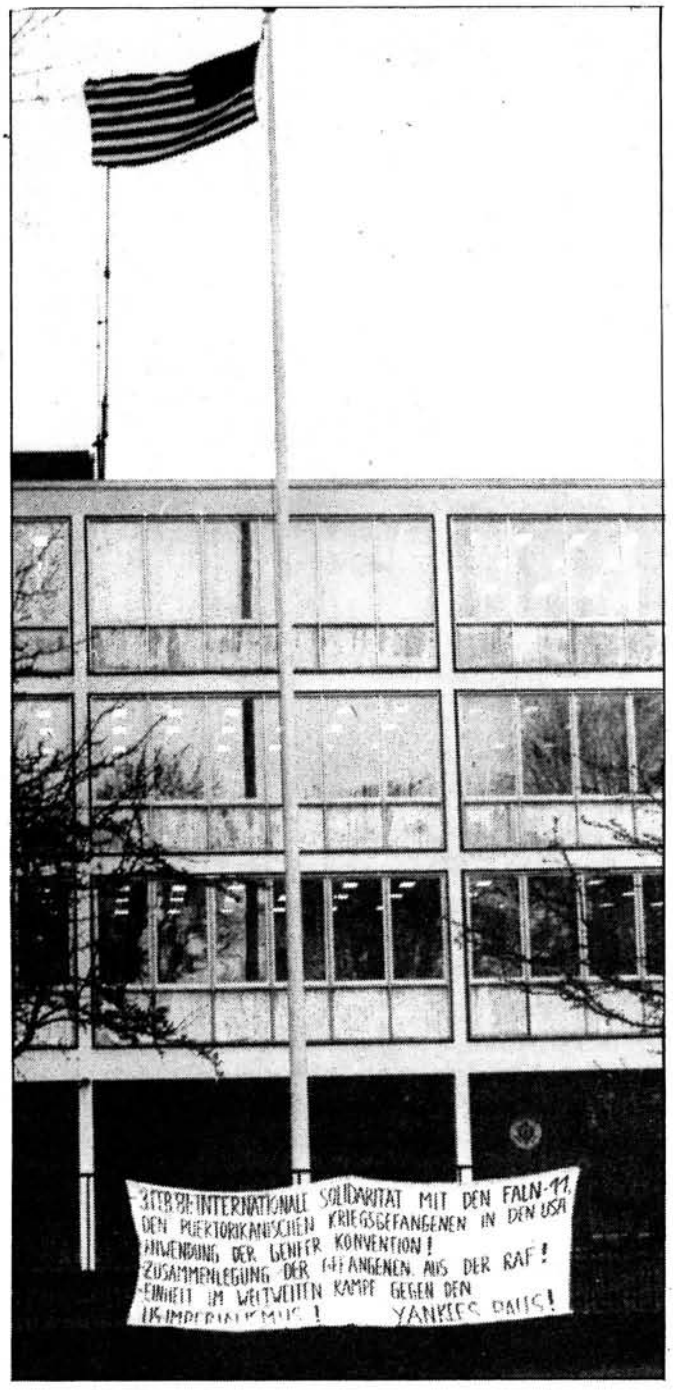
What really shook the pigs was that in this situation, where not only in the FRG but in the whole of Europe, resistance against imperialism is developing and coming together, where more and more people realize who the enemy is and that you have to attack it, that in such a situation the RAF attacked the U.S. headquarters in Europe in Ramstein and the NATO high commanding officer, U.S. General Kroesen.

This has shaken the pigs, because the mass resistance against the war preparations and the armed attacks of the guerrilla have come together. The Red Brigades in Italy a few weeks ago kidnapped NATO General Dozier under the same slogan the RAF had in the attack against Kroesen: War on Imperialist War! The Red Brigades have called for a unified struggle of the Red Brigades, RAF, IRA, and ETA against U.S. imperialism.

TO WANT REVOLUTION IS MORE THAN A PHRASE

We have felt during the last year that to want revolution is more than a phrase, that it is more than just an analysis of imperialism. To want revolution above all means: wanting to change yourself and others, breaking with structures and roles that have been especially forced upon us women. It means realizing that personal and political liberation can only be won together, that personal liberation is the condition necessary for political liberation and vice versa.

The motor for our resistance is the experience that we can overcome our fears, the knowledge and the consciousness that we can change weaknesses into power, that we are no longer just suffering our fate but are subjects of our thinking, acting and feeling. Women's liberation means the fight for self-determination and subjectivity, means turning around the experience we had as women to be at the bottom, defined by weakness, alienated from ourselves. It means turning these experiences around into collective power, by putting our whole self against the rulers, against institutions and institutionalization, against oppression, against chauvinism. It means becoming a real force that is able to do away with imperialist rule and power. ■



Banner placed on the U.S. Consulate in Dusseldorf, West Germany, February 1981. It reads: International Solidarity with the FALN-11, Puerto Rican Freedom Fighters in the USA! Observe the Geneva Convention! Association for the RAF Prisoners! Unity in the Worldwide Struggle Against Imperialism! Yankees Out!

JUDGMENT OF THE GRAND JURY

by Carlos Noya, Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña

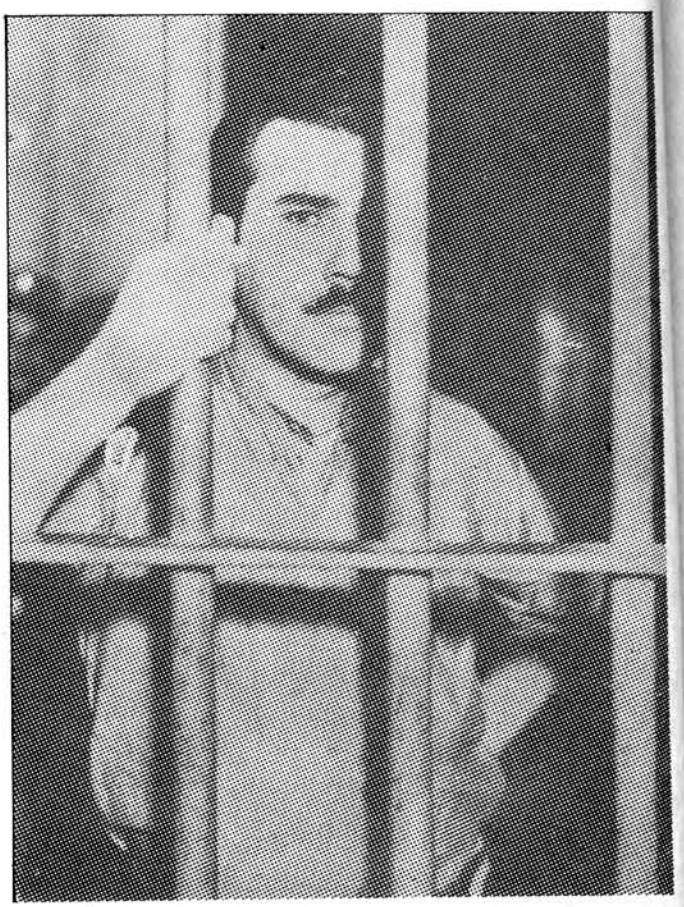
Carlos Noya is a leading member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña (LSP), a public revolutionary organization in Puerto Rico. For 20 years the LSP has argued for the necessity of a protracted people's war to achieve independence and socialism on the island. Today this strategy is being led and carried out with growing effectiveness by the Puerto Rican armed clandestine movement. The inability of the U.S. state to uncover and destroy the underground forces has made public supporters of the armed struggle the targets of repression. For refusing to collaborate with a federal grand jury investigating the clandestine organizations, Comrade Noya was exiled and imprisoned in the U.S. After serving 17 months, he was released in March, 1982. This essay first appeared in *Correo de la Quincena*, organ of the political bureau of the LSP, in Volume XIX, March to September, 1982.

The grand jury is the form of judicial terrorism used by imperialism to jail activists in the independence struggle whenever they want to do so. The grand jury, as Corretjer has described it so well, is the reception room for the prison, an illegal mechanism within their illegal legality. It is the arm of the FBI—more specifically of the "Task Force," comprised mainly of agents of the CIA, FBI and Navy espionage, set up for this purpose and others:

- To obtain information on activists and organizations through the use of intimidation and the threat of jail.
- To threaten activists and organizations through imprisonment or threat of imprisonment, attempting to influence some organizations to take more and more reformist positions.
- To recruit informants who could be planted in, or who are already within, organizations; to sabotage the work of these organizations and help to fabricate charges against their leadership.
- As we already said and will expand later, to jail activists whose work of organizing, propaganda and agitation is effective and anti-imperialist in character.
- And, of key importance, to test the attitude of the activists and organizations in regard to this body—which is, after all, a measure of the general attitude of struggle—for purposes which we will explain later, near the end of this essay.

In the U.S., the grand jury has been used against the Puerto Rican independence movement, about which we will speak more fully later, and against the Mexicano movement, the Black movement, the Indian movement, the movement against the war in Viet Nam, the labor movement, and the feminist movement. At present it is being used against the Black movement and the white anti-imperialist movement.

In Puerto Rico the grand jury was first used against the independence movement in April of 1936, when they subpoenaed the entire leadership of the Nationalist Party, its National Junta and its Municipal Juntas, to appear and submit the records of the Party. The information in these



Don Juan Antonio Corretjer, shown here in 1936, when, as a leader of the Nationalist Party, he refused to turn party records over to a grand jury. He was jailed for 14 months. His action set a standard for the Puerto Rican Independence Movement of total non-collaboration with grand juries. Corretjer is currently Secretary General of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña.

records was a matter of public knowledge, but to turn them over was to surrender. This is also how Albizu and Corretjer understood it. On the day of the subpoena, as both of them had agreed, Corretjer, then Secretary General of the Party, informed the court that the documents were in his possession and that he refused to turn them over to the court, whose jurisdiction he did not recognize since it was a foreign court. As expected, Corretjer was imprisoned, sentenced to one year for contempt.

The process that brought about the establishment of this grand jury was the execution of Colonel Riggs in February of 1936, which was provoked by the massacre of four Nationalists four months earlier. Two lessons were learned from this process. The first is that resistance to the grand jury is, in itself, a victory. In this specific case, the position that Corretjer took prevented the imprisonment of dozens of Nationalist Party leaders at that time.

The second lesson is that the grand jury arises as an instrument of judicial terror to punish the punished; or, in clearer terms, to punish the people's self-defense against official terrorism, against murders of independence activists carried out by order of the U.S. imperialist government. Beyond these two lessons, it established a precedent: non-collaboration is a complete position; it can not be divided into testimony and physical evidence which they have or could obtain through other means.

Let us keep all this in mind as we analyze later experiences.

In 1977, a number of revolutionary Puerto Ricans, Mexicanos and one Venezuelan comrade were imprisoned in the U.S. for refusing to collaborate with a grand jury that was investigating the FALN—specifically the FALN bombing of Fraunces Tavern. This action was in response to a bomb that *gusanos*, acting on the orders of the CIA, had placed in a restaurant in Mayaguez on Hostos' birthday in 1975, a few hours before a pro-independence activity was to take place. This bomb took the lives of two Puerto Rican workers and wounded many others, including a child. The comrades who were imprisoned, 11 in all, included Jose Lopez, now the National Coordinator of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, sister organization to the Liga Socialista Puertorrequeña; Pedro Archuleta, Mexicano; Ricardo Romero, now Coordinator of the Mexicano Commission of the MLN; and the Rosado brothers, Julio, Luis and Andrés. Julio is now the Coordinator of the Eastern U.S. region of the MLN. The comrades decided to turn what looked like a defeat—their imprisonment—into a political and organizational victory.

Effectively maintaining their political principles of non-collaboration and full support for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico, and recognizing that the armed struggle is the only means that can achieve it, these comrades concretized in practice the bonds of solidarity between Puerto Ricans and Mexicanos. They also changed from a group of activists with a revolutionary political line, organizing themselves and others into a National Committee Against Repression, parts of which were consolidated into the MLN and part of which still exists in its original form in the Southwest of the U.S. In this period also grew the seeds that later became the National Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

And most important, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional is, in fact, the organization that is carrying forward the public struggle in the U.S. for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico, a fact that reformists haven't the slightest chance to deny. And this is very, very important and beneficial.

Moreover, it is very important to point out that these comrades carried out an extensive and intensive campaign to denounce the judicial terrorism of the grand jury and its imperialist character in opposition to Puerto Rican independence. This campaign paralyzed the repressive activity of the grand jury and the comrades were freed by defeating their respective grand juries. The comrade who served the most time was comrade Archuleta, who was imprisoned for 13 months.

The victory of these comrades was so complete that when another group of comrades was called before another grand jury after the marvelous and stimulating escape of Prisoner of War William Morales in 1979, the campaign that was generated froze the action of that body and no one was imprisoned. An organization had been built that was able to mobilize the masses against the grand jury.

And even more important, less than a year ago, another grand jury called five comrades from the MLN and from the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, four of whom, Maria Cueto, Andrés and Julio Rosado and Ricardo Romero had been imprisoned previously by a grand jury. The campaign generated in support of these comrades was very powerful. On December 16, 1981, more than 5000 people were mobilized throughout the U.S., Puerto Rico and northern Mexico (the northern part of the territory of Mexico that is not occupied by the U.S.). In Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, 3000 people came together in a militant protest in front of the yanqui embassy and burned the imperialist U.S. flag as a warning.

The comrades were brought before the grand jury, and all refused to collaborate. But the U.S. government, in order to avoid a worse defeat than they had already suffered, opted not to jail them. The political line was maintained, the principles were upheld, and the masses responded.

Let us now return to Puerto Rico, to the grand jury we see in operation now; and to begin where we should, we will start with Vieques.

The struggle to drive the Navy out of Vieques began with militant action and that is the direction it took for some time. It began with the brave ocean blockades that stopped, actually stopped, the practice of environmental genocide, the bombing practice. The logic of the struggle brought this defiance to the shore, to land used as a bombing target and/or amphibious landing practice. In this, the most difficult of the confrontations, Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal shined more than anyone. Angel defended the soil of Vieques to the highest level as a man, and at the highest level of the Liga Socialista Puertorrequeña, at the level that frightened the enemy, that scared them because of its potential to spread to others.

The rest is known to all. The enemy cowardly assassinated him in prison, in solitary. And in a genuine and feeling expression for all decent and sensitive people, the combatants of the Resistencia (FARP), the Voluntarios (OVRP) and the Macheteros (EPB-PRT) avenged the murder through the heroic ambush of Sabana Seca.

What remains is also known to all. The enemy responds with terrorism, from murder to the judicial terrorism of the grand jury. Under the distracting mantle of the colonial elections of 1980, Carlos Rosario Pantojas was imprisoned again, and I was imprisoned also. Using the ambush of the Pensacola sailors as an excuse, they imprisoned comrade Ricarte Montes. And after having to drop a fabricated case against comrade Norberto Cintrón Fiallo, the enemy retaliated by jailing him, too. All through the grand jury.

Other things have happened but I will limit my exposition to final points: non-collaboration; and one further point on the grand jury.

Non-collaboration is a totality; it can not be divided into testimony and physical evidence. At the beginning of this essay, we mentioned that one of the reasons for the existence of the grand jury is to measure the attitude of activists and organizations with respect to that body, which is, after all, a test of the general attitude of the struggle.

When activists and organizations call for collaboration, for submitting physical evidence "already in possession or easily obtained by the enemy," or actually do collaborate with the grand jury by surrendering such evidence, imperialism uses this to split the independence movement, as a depressant and as a justification for the jailing of all who refuse to cooperate, and to strengthen the state and legitimize terrorism and repression.

The independence struggle, since Montebello—more specifically, since Fraunces Tavern—has won an important series of victories, political-military victories, and important, although limited, outbreaks of mass struggle: the case of Vieques, the case of major mobilizations against the grand juries in the U.S. and Mexico. Imperialism has sought and continues to seek a way to limit or sabotage support by the most conscious elements for the revolution, expanding the political sphere of reformism, thus isolating the most serious, advanced forces, which makes it easier for them to be hit.

The incorrectly named "third alternative," which does not really exist, falls within this scheme. Cooperation with the grand jury strengthens it, since it creates in public opinion an image of effectiveness, a justification for its existence, a justification of the allegation that it is not punitive but coercive, which is a huge lie that collaborators give credence to. The enemy uses the example of the collaborator to justify repression against comrades who struggle, trying to create an image of the person who does not surrender, who does not submit physical evidence, because he/she can not, not because he/she refuses.

The enemy must not be allowed to set up a situation like this.

To say there is nothing wrong with submitting physical evidence is to sow demoralization. It is a failure of a basic fundamental of consciousness-raising—to provide an example. After all, what does the word submitting mean?

And also, what is the guarantee that the enemy, seeing that people are submitting to the demand for physical evidence, won't extend the demand to testimony? There isn't any.

What the incorrectly named "third alternative" has done, as has been well said, is "to recover and mobilize the support of reformist sectors of the independence movement" and help imperialism "to launch a campaign of confusion and division in the heart of the patriotic forces."

At a time when a sector of the independence movement has been subjected to the repressive action of adding prestige to the position of autonomy, to submit to the orders of the "Task Force" by way of the grand jury would be to graft itself on to the global process of surrendering independence for opportunism.

Let us put a stop to that now.

The grand jury is a form of judicial terrorism which allows yanqui imperialism to do things as they are done in occupied Ireland and South Africa—to jail activists because they feel like it. The fact that the grand jury is an instrument of enemy espionage to imprison activists at will, the reception room for the prison, and that there is no way to avoid it except in mass struggle, is what brought our valiant comrade Ricarte Montes to denounce them, as he should, without a lawyer, without recognizing the authority they have only through their power—power they have now, but which they will lose someday. The character of the grand jury as a secret political tribunal was proven when, at the appeal of comrade Norberto Cintrón Fiallo, the government refused to answer such basic questions as: when did this grand jury begin? What is it investigating?

The reach and the political weight of the grand jury in Puerto Rico right now is evident. We must prepare ourselves to combat it with the example of those of us who did not collaborate and will not collaborate, with the experience of how to fight it, with firm principles and mobilization for independence and socialism.

NO COLLABORATION WITH THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY!

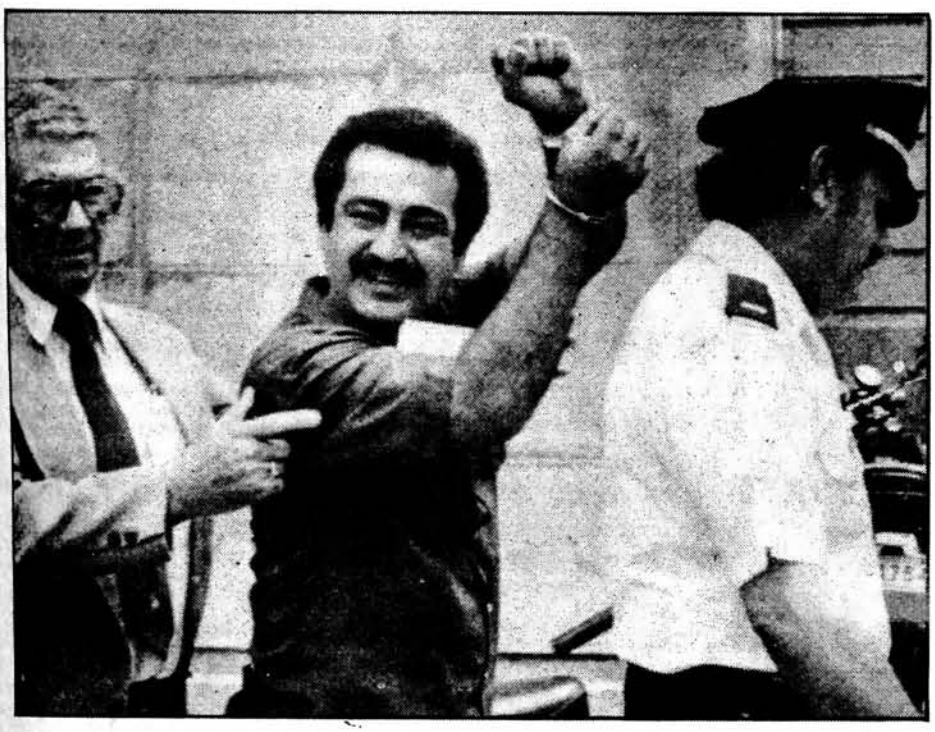
TO THE STREETS AGAINST THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY!

Since this essay was first published, the U.S. government has accelerated its use of the grand jury as a political weapon. On September 24, 1982, the MLN grand jury resisters were simultaneously arrested in four cities by teams of FBI agents. They were charged with criminal contempt for refusing to testify before a grand jury nine months earlier. All five activists had been visibly organizing in their communities and had never failed to appear in court. Yet, the FBI seized them in their homes and on the streets as if they were dangerous fugitives.

At a press conference following their arrests, the FBI declared that they had captured the last remaining leaders of the FALN. The sensationalism of this charge and of the arrests was part of a campaign to criminalize and discredit the five resisters in the eyes of the public.

The charge of criminal contempt, conviction for which carries an indeterminate sentence, is meant to put the MLN grand jury resisters in jail for many years. But the government moved so sloppily in putting together their case that the presiding judge was obliged to point out that the obvious political motivation of the prosecution would make it difficult to obtain a conviction. Rather than risk losing, the Justice Department in Washington dropped the criminal contempt charges on November 15 and then promptly resubpoenaed the five Puerto Rican and Mexicano activists to appear before a new grand jury. As we go to press, the government is moving forward with deliberation to build a stronger criminal contempt case against the five.

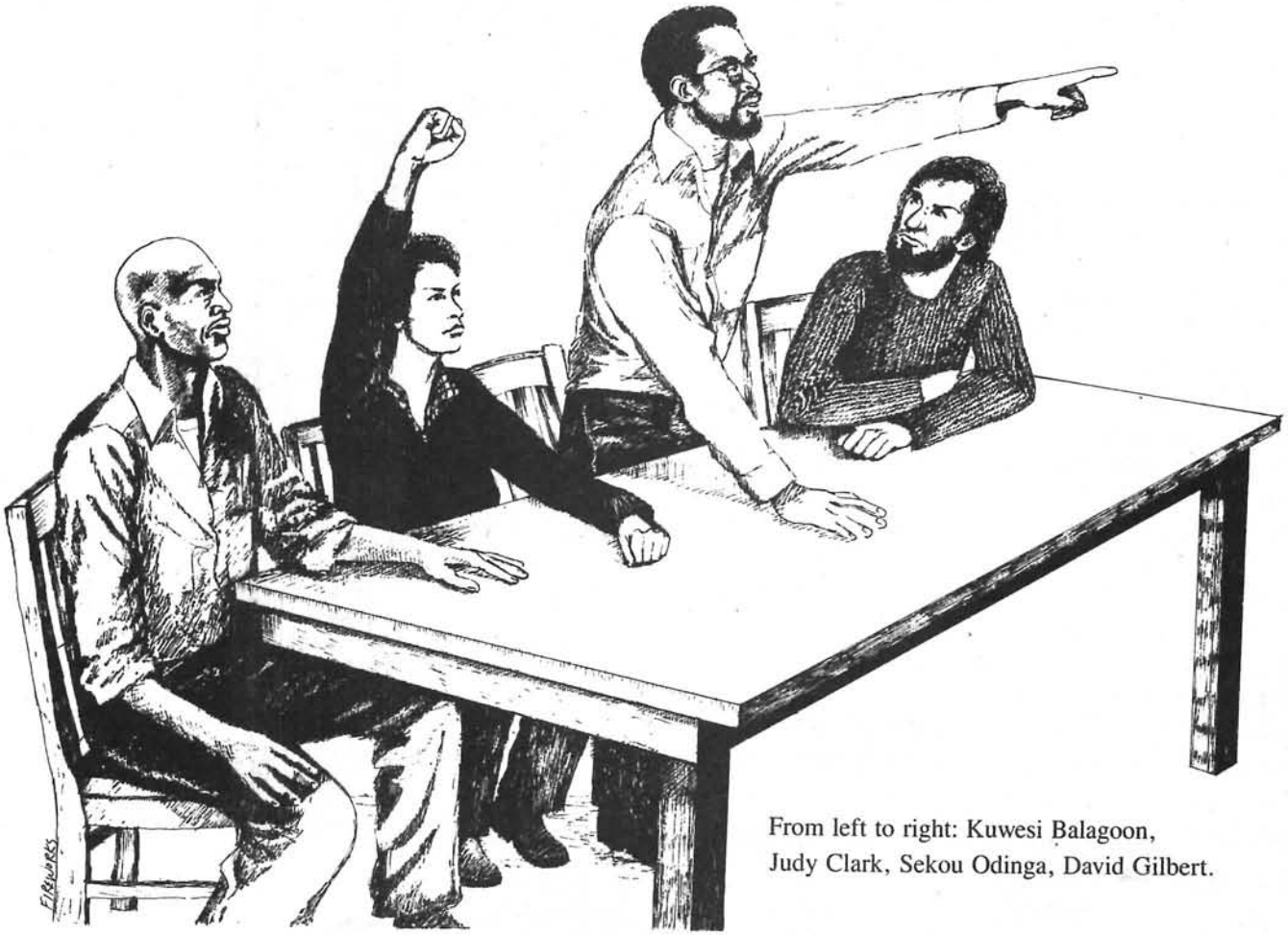
—Eds.



Ricarte Montes Garcia, a leading member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña, expatriated and imprisoned in New York for resisting the federal grand jury in Puerto Rico.

"THIS COURT HAS NO RIGHT TO TRY US!"

Statements by New Afrikan and White Anti-Imperialist Freedom Fighters



From left to right: Kuwesi Balagoon, Judy Clark, Sekou Odinga, David Gilbert.

On September 13, 1982, the U.S. government began pre-trial hearings for the freedom fighters accused of participating in the attempted Brinks expropriation. However, four of the captured fighters, New Afrikans Sekou Odinga and Kuwesi Balagoon and white anti-imperialists Judy Clark and David Gilbert, disrupted the state's plans by renouncing the legitimacy of the court and refusing to participate in the trial. The Brinks expropriation attempt was carried out on October 20, 1981, in Nyack, N.Y., under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army. In response to the government's attempt to criminalize the action, the four freedom fighters have asserted that U.S. imperialism, the greatest criminal entity on Earth and colonizer of the Black nation, has no right to sit in judgment on revolutionaries fighting for the independence of New Afrika. Chanting "Free the Land," refusing to stay seated and showing no respect for the proceedings, their militancy forced even the bourgeois media to acknowledge that this is a political, not a criminal trial. Following are the freedom fighters' statements in court:

Sekou Odinga

Let me say at the outset of this statement that I am a Muslim and a New Afrikan freedom fighter. Both positions leave me out of the jurisdiction of this court and make these court proceedings null and void (illegal).

As a Muslim I am subject to the laws of the Qur'an which clearly tells me to fight oppression. To enjoin what is right and to forbid what is wrong. As a freedom fighter, fighting for the freedom, liberation and self-determination of my people, the United Nations charter and all other legal bodies dealing with the subject of liberation of an oppressed people, recognize my right to wage armed

struggle against my oppressor. It is important to understand who I am and who my people are.

I am the descendant of Afrikan slaves, brought to this country in chains as captives of a brutal slave war waged against the Afrikan people. My people have been fighting for our survival, liberation and self-determination since the first Afrikan was illegally kidnapped and enslaved for the profit and the pleasure of the European.

We the Afrikan descendants are now called citizens of the United States, but like everything else that has been forced on the Afrikan slaves and their descendants, we were never asked if that is what we wanted or needed. This title of citizen was forced upon us, but the rights that go along with this citizenship for the European American citizen were never given to the ex-slave and his descendants.

I am not an American citizen. I am a victim of America. I am a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika. I do not want to be an American citizen. America has proven itself to be the most devilish and barbarous people that has ever called themselves civilized.

Black people in the United States are a colonized people and have always been a colonized people. What is meant by "a colonized people"? A colonized people is a people whose land, labor and resources are controlled and exploited by another group of people. It makes the colonized dependent on the exploiting group. Dependent on them for almost everything. Their laws, their livelihood, their protection, their every way of life. A colonized people doesn't ask to be dependent, it is forced on them, usually with arms, as it was forced on my Afrikan forefathers. And it is with arms that their hold is usually broken by the oppressed people. The U.S. Declaration of Independence declares:

> ...that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.
>
> But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their duty to throw off such Government and to provide new Guards for their future security.

On January 24, 1979 the United Nations passed a specific resolution stating:

> The General Assembly declares that freedom fighters captured during the struggle for liberation must be entitled to Prisoner of War status in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention.

In 1950 as part of its "Programme of Action" to end colonialism the General Assembly has specifically insisted that the captured anti-colonial freedom fighter may not be prosecuted as a criminal under the domestic law of the detaining colonial power, but must instead be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War. (This is resolution #2621.) So as a Prisoner of War, international law, which Article 6 of the United States Constitution states supercedes domestic law, prohibits me from being tried in a criminal court by the colonizing power, which the U.S. government is in relationship to the descendants of Afrikan slaves.

So I do not recognize any legitimate right of this court to try me. My only participation in these proceedings will be to push for my legitimate political rights as a freedom fighter and Prisoner of War and to denounce these illegal proceedings in particular and the colonial government of the United States of America in general.

"All Power to the Righteous People"

Free the Land

Kuwesi Balagoon

As an anti-imperialist and a warrior of African descent, dedicated to the overthrow of the United States government, as an urban guerrilla in the ranks of the Black Liberation Army, I will not only resist the designs of a sham hypocritical system of law, but outright refuse to take any part in court proceedings. At large I do not pay taxes, aid the fascist law enforcement authorities, or pass up reasonable opportunities to strike the oppressors, and find no reason to change now or any time in the future. As long as the United States Government keeps the masses of Black and other Third World people as cannon fodder, and uses force to maintain its domination over us, and I am alive, I will resist, knowing that my fate as a resister, irregardless of the state's consequences, is better than the fates of those who accept oppression and pass it on to coming generations.

The gang of bullies under the banner of the American flag who practice genocide against Black, Latin and Native American peoples within its confines, while harboring nazis and secret police from other fascist regimes, and arming and training ku klux klanners and domestic nazis, deserves no respite, and it's a sad day whenever they do. The United States, Israel, and South Africa stand as expanding imperialist settler states, rotten to their cores from inception. Their fall will mark the end of a tragic era in history, worth all truly revolutionary efforts.

Judy Clark

I am a revolutionary and an anti-imperialist freedom fighter, committed to overturning this system of exploitation, to the liberation of the captive Black Nation of New Afrika and all oppressed nations, and to a socialist future. I do not recognize the legitimacy of this court to try us, because it is only a part of the government's armed apparatus of war to maintain power and domination. I will not participate in these so-called legal proceedings.

This court will never seek justice for the theft and enslavement of millions of Afrikan people. For the armed robbery and continued occupation of Native American, Mexican and Puerto Rican land and sovereignty. For the stolen lives and labor of all those whose work brings nothing but riches to the powerful.

Two thousand Black people have been murdered with impunity by the police in the u.s. over the last five years. When this happens in Northern Ireland, it is called war. Here, they try to call it justice.

For 400 years, the rulers of this empire have used force of arms, terror and white supremacy to enslave, dominate and exploit Black people. For just as long, Black people have resisted and fought for their human rights and freedom. They have fought for land and independence as the only means to secure their rights as a people. The most far-sighted and class conscious white people have joined in solidarity with this struggle, as the only road to a society based in justice, equality and power to working people.

The right to self-determination is the most basic human right of any people. The right to fight for it by any means necessary, including armed struggle, is recognized by the U.N. This court and the government it upholds tramples upon that right and calls those who fight for it terrorists and criminals. Well, you called Ho Chi Minh a terrorist and he led his nation to independence and socialism. You called Robert Mugabe a terrorist and he is now the Prime Minister of an independent Zimbabwe, building a non-racialist and socialist society.

We are not terrorists. We are freedom fighters, upholding those same most basic and precious rights. For the last eleven months, I have refused to collaborate with this court's/d.a.'s/FBI's attempts to criminalize us and wage its offensive against the Black liberation struggle and anti-imperialist movement. I will never give anything of myself to you and I will continue to struggle as a freedom fighter.

Today, you have the power to impose this mockery on us. But tomorrow, our children and even some of yours, will dance on the ashes of this blood-soaked empire. New Afrika and all oppressed nations will be free. And the tremendous, human undertaking of building socialism will be the challenge.

David Gilbert

The government that dropped napalm in Vietnam, that provides the cluster bombs used against civilians in Lebanon, and that trains the torturers in El Salvador calls us "terrorists." The rulers who have grown rich on generations of slave labor and slave wages violently imposed on Black people label us as "criminals." The police forces of Amerika who have murdered 2,000 Third World people in the last five years and who flood the communities with drugs say that we "have no respect for human life."

We are neither terrorists nor criminals. It is precisely because of our love of life, because we revel in the human spirit, that we became freedom fighters against this racist and deadly imperialist system.

The lesson of history is that oppression calls forth rebellion; social structures that live off plunder, exploitation and degradation mandate revolution. The 400 years of the rip-off of the labor and ingenuity of African people in the New World created their absolute right of self-determination and national liberation; the 400 years of brutal repression created the necessity of armed struggle to achieve those rights. White people with any sense of justice and with any hope of living in a humane and cooperative society must fully ally with Black liberation.

There should be no illusions that these proceedings will be fair and impartial. The courts, along with the army and the police, are very much a part of the repressive apparatus that maintains this criminal and thoroughly illegitimate social system—imperialism—in power. This court has no right to try us. I will not participate in these hearings. The mass media, controlled by big money, serves these same ends. The FBI/police/media have waged a massive campaign of slander against us, a campaign highly political and reactionary in character. Can we now expect that the courts and media will provide us a comparable forum to answer their lies and racism?

Let no one be fooled by their cries of "law and order" and "stop crime." If those were the real concerns, war criminals like Nixon and McNamara would be in prison, killer cops would no longer be walking the streets, the Ku Klux Klan would have been wiped out, the corporations that grow fat from apartheid in South Africa and from racism would have been seized long ago.

The only way we will get justice is to build a revolutionary movement that fights for it. ■

MAY 19TH
COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

STOP THE GRAND JURY!
DEFEAT THE FEDERAL RICO INDICTMENT!

Reprinted below is a pamphlet published by the May 19th Communist Organization in December 1982. Copies are available—see p. 23 for details.

On November 18, 1982, a special federal RICO grand jury indicted eleven people in the most sweeping conspiracy case since the Panther 21 conspiracy case of 1969. After investigating the Black Liberation Army for over a year, the u.s. government is charging freedom fighters and public activists alike with being part of a "racketeering conspiracy" which allegedly planned and committed a series of actions ranging from the liberation from prison of Assata Shakur on November 2, 1979 to numerous bank robberies. Named in the conspiracy indictment are: Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Sekou Odinga, Nehanda Abiodun, Bilal Sunni-Ali, Chui Ferguson, Jamal, Iliana Robinson, Nilse Cobeo, Susan Rosenberg, Silvia Baraldini and Dr. Alan Berkman. Of these eleven people, four are free today.

In the late 60's, the FBI, through COINTELPRO, assassinated and imprisoned Black revolutionary leaders in an effort to destroy the Black Liberation Struggle. Through the Panther 21 conspiracy indictment, they attacked the leadership of a revolutionary movement at a critical stage of development. Today, as the FBI uses the RICO indictment to attack the New Afrikan movement and the BLA, the stakes are higher. Both freedom fighters and activists in the public movement face prison sentences of up to 20 years on each count of the conspiracy indictment. In its effort to destroy the Black Liberation Army, the FBI has used systematic torture against New Afrikan freedom fighters. In its efforts to destroy the New Afrikan Independence Movement, it is making full use of tools of repression like the grand jury, creating special political police forces such as the Joint Terrorist Task Force, and using tactics such as the creation of traitors.

WHY THIS INDICTMENT?

This indictment represents an attempt by the FBI to win a counter-insurgency war aimed at destroying the struggle to free the land of New Afrika—wiping out the Black Liberation Army and the public movement that supports the armed struggle. The primary purpose of the FBI is no different than it has ever been—to destroy the revolutionary movement, and particularly the Black revolutionary movement, which poses the fundamental threat of exploding the very foundations of the u.s. empire. Today, the FBI is using the RICO indictment to attack the New Afrikan movement and to stop the development of a clandestine army which is vital to implementing a revolutionary strategy for the liberation of the New Afrikan Nation. This strategy to win land, independence and socialism for New Afrika is in direct contradiction to imperialism's Trilateral strategy for the 21st century, in which Black people are expendable. If imperialism is to implement its strategy of mass genocide and the forcible removal of Black people to bantustans outside the nation's major cities, it must now eradicate the New Afrikan Independence Movement, particularly the armed forces which are resisting repression and building the capability to wage a people's war. This is what the FBI is trying to do.

Through the RICO indictment, the FBI is also trying to stop the development of white communist revolutionaries committed to fight for the liberation of New Afrika and all oppressed nations and the total destruction of u.s. imperialism. They have particularly targetted May 19th Communist Organization for destruction. They know that we are committed to playing a role as a public organization in a strategy of people's war and armed struggle to destroy the u.s. empire. The state is well aware that we look to the revolutionary forces in the New Afrikan, Puerto Rican and Mexican struggles as the revolutionary leadership in this country, and they do not want to see us organize a serious revolutionary movement among white working class people that will fight as allies of the liberation struggles for the total destruction of imperialism and the building of socialism. They have indicted Silvia Baraldini and Alan Berkman of our organization in an effort to make our public revolutionary work illegal.

THE FBI'S OFFENSIVE

The RICO conspiracy indictment is the product of a year-long grand jury "investigation" which began October 6, 1981. Of primary concern to the FBI were the activities of the Black Liberation Army. Since Assata Shakur escaped from maximum security prison on November 2, 1979, the FBI has neither been able to

credit: Madame Binh Graphics Collective

Opening day of Brinks pre-trial hearings, New City, N.Y., September 13, 1982.

recapture her nor to capture the BLA soldiers who freed her. Assata's liberation was widely supported in Black communities throughout the country. The public support that was built for her was effective in combatting the government's efforts to criminalize Assata's liberation. In the next two years, the BLA would claim three more actions: the bombing of the Eastern Rugby Union office in protest of the South African Springbok Rugby Tour, the retaliation against the NYPD for the capture of Bashir Hamid (s/n James York), and the attempted Brinks expropriation of October 20, 1981 in Nyack, New York. This expropriation was carried out by a Revolutionary Armed Task Force, built by the Black Liberation Army, which included revolutionary Black and white freedom fighters. During this two-year period the New Afrikan Independence Movement continued to organize for a strategy of protracted people's war to win land, independence and socialism for New Afrika. During this time, the May 19th Communist Organization built active support among white people for Assata Shakur, and other New Afrikan Freedom Fighters and for the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

With the capture of four combatants attempting the revolutionary Brinks expropriation of October 20th, the FBI escalated its offensive, waging an all-out war to annihilate the Black Liberation Army, destroy the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and destroy the white anti-imperialist movement. The FBI's Joint Terrorist Task Force dealt some heavy blows—the murder of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata, the capture and torture of Sekou Odinga, the subsequent capture of Kuwesi Balagoon, and the arrests of many public activists. In the past year, the Joint Terrorist Task Force conducted numerous acts of terror against Black communities. In an effort to arrest and frame Republic of New Afrika activist Fulani Sunni-Ali for participating in the Brinks expropriation, they amassed 200 specially trained police, equipped with tanks, helicopters and automatic weapons to raid a small school/farmhouse in Gallman, Mississippi, terrorizing three adults and twelve children who lived there. During the past year, the Joint Terrorist Task Force has conducted numerous break-ins of homes and cars and has kept public activists under constant surveillance. When Silvia Baraldini was arrested, ten agents of the Joint Terrorist Task Force raided her home, carrying out 10 crates of personal belongings and May 19th literature.

The other main force used by the FBI in its year-long offensive has been the grand jury, convened under the Racketeering and Corrupt Organizations Act. RICO is one of the many repressive measures that has been passed under the guise of fighting organized crime, only to be used later against revolutionary organizations. Through RICO, the government can jail people solely for their political beliefs and membership in revolutionary organizations. RICO is being used to obtain information about the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the Black Liberation Army, to issue criminal indictments, to launch searches for freedom fighters, to jail leaders of the public movements, and to turn people into traitors. In these ways,

RICO constitutes an attack on the entire New Afrikan Independence Movement.

A total of ten people have been imprisoned for refusing to collaborate with the grand jury "investigation." This revolutionary and principled stand has been fought for by leaders in the Puerto Rican and Mexicano struggles, who are now fighting the state's efforts to charge them with criminal contempt for resisting the fascism of the grand jury. By taking the stand of non-collaboration, the grand jury resisters are carrying on the total resistance of the freedom fighters. In the words of New Afrikan grand jury resister Shaheem Jabbar, "Our non-collaboration must be accompanied with a conviction that prison is not a defeat. It demonstrates that the government cannot break the will and spirit of our people." By refusing to talk to the grand jury, Shaheem Jabbar, Alan Berkman, Eve Rosahn, Silvia Baraldini, Bernardine Dohrn, Jerry Gaines, Asha Sundiata, Aisha, Yaasmyn Fula, Fulani Sunni-Ali and Iliana Robinson are building a wall of silence protecting the armed clandestine movement.

Faced with the refusal of the grand jury resisters to give evidence or testify, the grand jury has issued its indictments based on the statements of informers and traitors. The same information in the statement written by the FBI and signed by Solomon Brown under torture (a statement that he later recanted) has now been put into the mouth of Tyrone Rison. And the stories that came from the deranged mind of Yvonne Thomas are now coming from the mouth of Peter Middleton. The use of traitors is a classic tactic in counter-insurgency operations all over the world. The FBI trains fascist police forces from other countries to turn people into traitors through coercion and bribery. Many times this is the only way the state's police forces have of gaining information and creating mis-information about revolutionary movements. It is no surprise that the FBI would try this tactic within the New Afrikan struggle. It is a victory for the state that the FBI has been able to get two men to turn traitors on their own people. Even though the statements of the traitors are lies and fabrications, the state has already been able to use them to arrest and indict seven people and to put out "shoot-to-kill" orders on freedom fighters that it has been unable to capture.

RICO—WHO SETS THE TERMS?

In an effort to set the political terms and hand the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the white anti-imperialist movement a resounding defeat, the FBI is using RICO to indict New Afrikans and white anti-imperialists for master-minding a "racketeering conspiracy." The FBI is trying to use this case to discredit the New Afrikan struggle and to present revolutionaries as criminals. Kenneth Walton of the Joint Terrorist Task Force has been making television appearances saying that "These people rob banks because they don't want to work for a living." Says Walton, "It's only after they have been caught that they come up with slogans like 'Free the Land.'" In the trial, the FBI will parade the traitors before the public as the living embodiment that revolution is a degenerate, self-serving criminal enterprise that anyone with an ounce of self-respect should stay away from.

What really defines this case, however, is the strength of the revolutionary commitment of the freedom fighters. In the state trial in Rockland County where six people are charged in the attempted Brinks expropriation, New Afrikan Freedom Fighters have set the terms. What do these freedom fighters represent?

> New Afrikan Freedom Fighters represent the first point of resistance for the Black Nation. Under different variations and interpretations, they represent the continuity of our struggle for self-determination. They represent the unconquerable will of our people that enabled us to survive the most brutal form of oppression the world has known. Simultaneously, New Afrikan Freedom Fighters exemplify our recognition of the need to confront and vanquish our oppressors.
>
> —*Communique from the* ***Revolutionary Armed Task Force of the Black Liberation Army,*** *New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Day, August 21, 1982.*

The total resistance shown by New Afrikan and white anti-imperialist freedom fighters on trial in Rockland County on September 13, 1982 enabled them to turn a potential defeat into a victory. The state was not able to stage a propaganda coup espousing that criminals and terrorists were on trial. Instead, the freedom fighters took the offensive, turning the state's strategy on its head. New Afrikan POW's Sekou Odinga and Kuwesi Balagoon took the stand that the u.s. court has no right to try the freedom fighters of a colonized nation struggling for liberation. White revolutionary anti-imperialists Judy Clark and David Gilbert joined in forcefully exposing the illegitimacy of the u.s. government. Their statements named the state as the terrorists and the revolutionaries as the freedom fighters, and their statements were heard around the world. These freedom fighters have not stopped fighting just because they are in prison. The total resistance that they embody is a powerful force that the state has not been able to contain or destroy. It is this strength of character that we can expect Sekou Odinga to bring to the RICO case to combat the government's use of traitors and informers.

A state victory in this conspiracy case would be a dangerous precedent for all revolutionary and progressive forces in the u.s. empire. This indictment charges freedom fighters and public activists alike with planning and carrying out a long series of acts. In addition to the escape of

credit: Madame Binh Graphics Collective

Demonstration,
New City, New York,
September 13, 1982.

Assata Shakur and the attempted Brinks expropriation, the indicted comrades are charged with being part of a racketeering conspiracy that planned and carried out bank robberies which allegedly took place in Pittsburgh, the Bronx, Inwood, and Arlington, Va. They are charged with several "attempted" expropriations of armored vehicles at Nanuet, N.Y. and Danbury, Connecticut. The grand jury offers no proof whatsoever that these "attempts" ever happened. They were described by traitor Tyrone Rison as "trial runs." Yet the FBI would use these charges to send members of revolutionary movements to prison for twenty years or more.

Silvia Baraldini is among those people charged with the escape of Assata Shakur from prison and with the kidnapping of a prison guard and prison matron in the course of the escape. In fact, this widely supported escape was planned and carried out by the Black Liberation Army. And it is precisely because the state wants to destroy the public support that it is trying to criminalize this revolutionary action. Since 1973, when Assata Shakur was arrested on the New Jersey Turnpike, forces that built May 19th Communist Organization struggled for white people to support her as a revolutionary freedom fighter. It is this work that was key in defining the politics of May 19th Communist Organization that fight for the right of Black people to wage an armed struggle for liberation as central to the defeat of u.s. imperialism. Through this work we understood that there is no other strategy for white people to defeat imperialism and build socialism than through the strategy of national liberation war. For May 19th's revolutionary politics, Silvia Baraldini is being indicted on criminal charges.

The indictment of Dr. Alan Berkman as an accessory in the Brinks expropriation attempt is another attack on May 19th Communist Organization and an attempt to stop white people from participating in revolutionary struggle. Because May 19th has built public support for freedom fighters, one of our members is being charged as an accessory in this case. Because Dr. Berkman has fought for correct medical care for Prisoners-of-War and has exposed the torture of New Afrikan POW Sekou Odinga, he is now being charged with treating Marilyn Buck after the October 20th action, an act that carries a twelve-year sentence. The only way to stop these fascist measures aimed at destroying public revolutionary organizations is to build a revolutionary movement based on concrete support for freedom fighters. By applying the principles that the freedom fighters are struggling for, we can change the terms that the state is trying to set in this case.

STOP FBI REPRESSION—
STOP THE RICO GRAND JURY

In response to this attack by the state on the New Afrikan Independence Movement and our own organization, the May 19th Communist Organization is going on an offensive against the FBI to stop the RICO grand jury. The attempt of the FBI to imprison Silvia Baraldini for 20 years and Alan Berkman for 12 years marks the highest level of battle with the state that we have been in to date. For the last year the state has tried to destroy us through media attacks, physical attacks, raids on our houses, jailing our members, and trying to isolate us. The attacks are national. In Texas, our organization has been a target of attack by the Ku Klux Klan. Yet the movement we are building has grown stronger. RICO is exactly the kind of indictment the state has been looking for to deal us a serious defeat. Since the state arrested Silvia Baraldini, they have gone to great lengths to ensure that she will stay in jail. Her arrest on a criminal complaint was followed by a bond set at $300,000 and a grand jury subpoena. When Silvia and Alan were indicted, we waged a successful fight to get the grand jury contempt dropped and to bail Alan out of jail. The state then announced its intention to file an order requiring hair and handwriting samples for Silvia and Alan knowing that they would be jailed rather than provide these samples to the enemy. The next week, the state denied a motion to lower Silvia's bond. As we continue to participate in the development of people's war inside the u.s. empire, we can expect the state to marshal all of its forces to defeat us. And we also know that, if we fight our enemy with revolutionary strategy and tactics at every step of the way, we can turn a potential defeat into a victory.

We are committed to fighting this case based on principles of support for the struggle to win land, independence, and socialism for New Afrika; support for the armed clandestine movements; total non-collaboration with the state; and a total commitment to defeat u.s. imperialism. When we fight this case, we are fighting the political police of the u.s. imperialist state—the FBI. We know that the Joint Terrorist Task Force, the Ku Klux Klan, and the grand jury are their forces for implementing their strategy and that they *can* be defeated.

Our goal is to stop the repression through building a revolutionary movement. We are fighting to stop the RICO grand jury—forcing the state to drop all indictments and subpoenas and to free the people indicted. This fight is waged in conjunction with the fight to stop the grand jury repression against the Puerto Rican and Mexican struggles. It is waged in solidarity with the freedom fighters of the BLA, the RATF, and the FALN. We are holding national demonstrations on designated days, participating in monthly vigils called on the 26th of every month by the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, holding forums and charlas to build resistance to the grand juries, and conducting a petition and national letterwriting campaign to the Justice Department demanding that the grand jury be stopped. We are raising money to conduct a legal and political defense that will make a contribution to fighting the government's strategy. It is a priority to bail Silvia Baraldini out of jail. These actions are all part of a fight to stop RICO and hand the FBI a defeat.

In fighting this case we have lessons of history to draw on. When the state first began to implement COINTELPRO (its counter-intelligence program) against the Black Liberation Struggle, no one had heard of it. Black revolutionary leaders like Dr. Mutulu Shakur fought to defeat this strategy by exposing what the state was doing. We know that the state has never been able to succeed in conspiracy indictments. When the state tried to convict the Panther 21 they failed. The state has on its side the full military and bureaucratic apparatus of u.s. imperialism. But we have on our side the revolutionary leadership of the national liberation struggles, the developing armed clandestine forces within these struggles, white freedom fighters committed to the principle of proletarian internationalism, communist organization, and a movement that is growing stronger through higher levels of struggle with the state. People who are doing time in prison are coming out stronger, more committed revolutionaries. We have history on our side. If we fight, we can win.

LAND AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NEW AFRIKA!

LONG LIVE THE B.L.A.!

DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM!

YOU CAN FIGHT
TO STOP THE INDICTMENT!!!

- ☐ I want to request a speaker from the May 19th Communist Organization to speak on the fight to stop the RICO indictment.
- ☐ I will set up media interviews or circulate articles on this case.
- ☐ I will circulate petitions, letters and literature to help fight this attack.
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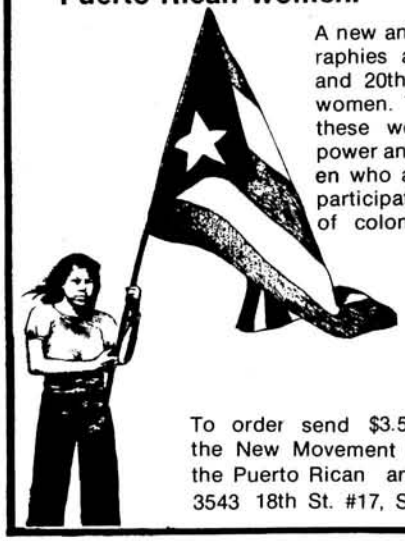

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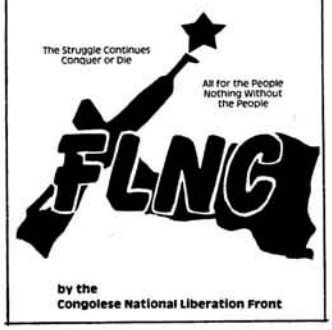

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FALN BRINGS IN THE NEW YEAR

"This is the FALN. We are responsible for the bombings in New York City today. FREE PUERTO RICO! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR!"

December 31, 1982

The Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) is an armed clandestine Puerto Rican independence organization in the U.S. that has carried out more than 100 actions against U.S. imperialism since 1974. On New Year's Eve their targets were the FBI, police, a federal court and a federal prison. One bomb damaged the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC), which has become a political internment center for many of the Puerto Rican, New Afrikan and white anti-imperialists who have been jailed for refusing to collaborate with federal grand juries. The FALN is alive and well! Long live the armed clandestine movement!

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This is not the first time the Zionists have miscalculated. In March 1978, they anticipated a military victory within 24-48 hours after their forces crossed the Lebanese border. Their calculations were off by a long shot. They failed, as they always do, to take into account our readiness to sacrifice in defense of the revolution and the masses, and our steadfastness in the face of one of the most vicious military machines of today.

This gap is inherent in any reactionary or imperialist assessment of a revolution. It stems from their ignorance of the masses' abilities and will to sacrifice. They cannot understand the principles of our masses and their revolutionary vanguard; nor do they understand what it means to fight for freedom, justice and liberation."

—Abu Ahmed Faud, Politbureau member
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine