



# Death to the Klan!

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NEWSPAPER OF THE JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE

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## News Analysis:

## Law and The Order A Look at the Aryan Nations Trial

Proceedings in a Seattle courtroom have provided an intimate portrait of the workings of the armed racist underground in this country. From September through December, 1985, 10 members of a white supremacist paramilitary formation were on trial in a Seattle federal court. On December 20, 1985, they were convicted of murder, armed robbery, racketeering and conspiracy.

Called the "White Bastion" or "The Order," this armed fascist underground hit public consciousness in 1985, as more than 20 members were arrested in a nationwide manhunt that spread from Washington state to Arkansas and North Carolina. Now the work of independent researchers and the testimony of 11 members who turned state's evidence has provided a frighteningly clear picture of the murderous workings of the underground itself, and the close ties between the Order and public Klan and Nazi organizations.

The embryo of a racist army, the Order was responsible in the first 18 months of its existence for several murders, bombings and armed robberies netting over \$4 million dollars. Twenty-three individuals were indicted as members of the Order, most are now in jail serving terms of 5 to 100 years. One of its leaders died in a shootout with the FBI. The FBI says it has broken the back of the movement. We disagree. Our research reveals that the Order came out of a sophisticated strategy that united public Klan and Nazi groups to build an underground army. Those public organizations remained untouched by government arrest or indictment despite growing evidence of their involvement with the Order.

A close look at the Order's violent history reveals the danger of the re-emergence of a new wave of racist violence.

The Order was founded in Metaline Falls, Washington, in October, 1983, by Robert Matthews and a small circle of Klansmen and Neo-Nazis. It later drew new members from racist organizations around the country. The Order is dedicated to overthrowing the U.S. government to set up a "racially pure homeland" for white people. Short term goals included raising a war chest for the white supremacist movement and carrying out assassinations of people they considered "race traitors."

Activities of The Order included a number of bank and armored car robberies, netting more than \$4 million, over \$3 million of which has never been recovered. Order members were also involved in counterfeiting, a bombing of a Boise, Idaho synagogue, and two murders.

At the time of their arrests in December, 1984 and January, 1985, Order members had been planning a \$30 million armed robbery of the Brinks vault in San Francisco. Central to this plot were Ronald King and Charles Ostrout, two members

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Klan and Nazis demonstrate against June 1985 Gay Pride Day march in Chicago.

## Chicago to be "racist capitol of the world," says Klan

"You'll never take this town. Chicago is a Nazi town. We're the Nazi center for the whole country. White power."

—message left on JBAKC's answering machine

Chicago is being targeted by the Klan and Nazis. New white supremacist organizations—the Illinois Knights of the KKK, Romantic Violence, the SS Action Group—have established themselves in and around the city. The American Nazi Party and the America First Committee have stepped up their activity.

These groups used to operate only in the largely right-wing, all-white neighborhoods of Chicago. Now they have ventured further into more racially-mixed, progressive areas. Neighborhoods that only a year ago had very little racist graffiti now are plastered with swastikas and stickers that say "Death to Race Mixers" and "Communism is Jewish." Flyers calling on "white patriots" to join the Klan are distributed widely.

These groups' tactics include threats, harassment, violence, and murder. During the past year two deaths were considered racial murders—in both cases, a member of a white supremacist group was charged. As racist organizing has increased, so has racist violence of all kinds.

At the end of September, 1985, over the span of only 48 hours, the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis made three public appearances in Chicago, each time attempting to disrupt anti-racist gatherings. They did not come out to have peaceful pickets, or to exercise their "right to free speech." They came to attack—with flagpoles sharpened into spears, with wooden shields with sharpened edges. Their purpose was to show that they are organizing and to intimidate white people who support Black liberation here and in South Africa.

First, they went to the South African

consulate in downtown Chicago an hour before the Black-led weekly "Free South Africa" picket was scheduled to begin. Carrying signs that read, "Stop Communism in South Africa, Support Apartheid," they waved swastika flags and American flags, and chanted "white power." A young Black passerby responded by grabbing one of the signs, jumping up on a nearby car and chanting "Black Power!" Shortly before the Free South Africa rally began, the Klansmen and Nazis left the area. The next week, the Black man who had stood up to the Klan was jumped and badly beaten by two white men. He thinks his attackers were among the Klansmen and Nazis he had confronted at the consulate.

That same evening, the KKK/Nazis picketed in front of a hotel in the Lakeview area of Chicago (a racially mixed, largely liberal community). Inside, two hundred people listened to a speaker on the Holocaust and discussed the rising threat of Neo-Nazi activity in Chicago.

Two days later, the situation became more violent. About 60 people had gathered to participate in the "Stamp Out Racist Graffiti" project, sponsored by JBAKC. The project grew out of increasing concern over the growth of neo-Nazis and racist violence in the city. The plan was to paint over the many swastikas and white power graffiti on walls and bus stops all over the Lakeview area.

As the activity was starting, about twelve Klansmen and Nazis jumped out of their cars and formed a picket line right in front of the crowd. They carried their sharpened American and Nazi flags, swastika shields and placards, chanted "white power" and tried to provoke individuals into a fight. People refused to give them any ground, and drowned out the "white power" chants with chants of "KKK—Out of Our Community." Some

went to the street corner and called on motorists to "Honk If You Hate the Klan." Others tried to take away the racists' signs.

The KKK/Nazis attacked several people in the crowd by jabbing with their flagpoles, striking with Nazi shields, and throwing kicks and punches. Many in the crowd fought back and succeeded in pushing the racists across the street. Three activists were taken to the hospital with head injuries. A few of the Klansmen were also bleeding.

The Nazis/Klan returned to their cars, opened their trunks and pulled out a tire jack and other similar weapons. As they headed back to the park, one Klansman ran toward the crowd, swinging the heavy tire jack.

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## KONTRA KOSTA KOUNTY: Suspicious Hanging

Concord, California, November 2, 1985:

Two Black men, talking to two white women on a street corner, were stabbed by two white men in Klan robes. Concord is a virtually all white suburb, 25 miles east of San Francisco. For almost a week, the police suppressed all news of this racist attack. Then, the Concord police chief, George Straka, called it "an individual act" by "a couple of jerks." In fact, it turned out that Klan calling cards were found in the pockets of the "jerks," Harold Gallant and George Harless, when they were arrested for the stabbings. The two Black men, Tony Lamarr Hall and Jeffrey Miller, retained the NAACP and filed a civil rights suit. In January, 1986, George Harless pled guilty to assault with a deadly weapon. Gallant's trial is set for summer.

The same night as the stabbings, only miles away, Timothy Lee, a 23-year-old Black gay man, was found hanging in the Concord subway station parking lot. The same Concord police department ruled it a suicide. The Coroner's office proceeded to destroy the strap that was used to hang him, ending one avenue of investigation.

Lee's family charges that Lee was lynched, pointing out that his own name and his sisters' name were misspelled in the so-called suicide note. The family maintains that Lee may have been forced to write the note and then been hanged. Relatives who identified the body also questioned markings on Lee that looked like cigarette burns or cuts, indicating a struggle. The police dismissed these as insect bites. Within weeks of the family's



Protest at Concord police station.

statements, people in the area notified the NAACP that they had heard screams the night Lee was killed.

Contra Costa County has a long history of racist terror. In the last six years alone, there have been armed Klan attacks on a Black housing project; arson, cross-burnings, physical attacks and harassment of Black families; and the growth of the Richmond "Cowboys," a Klan-type group inside the Richmond Police Department.

JBAKC has been doing on-going work in Contra Costa County. Immediately following the most recent attacks, JBAKC held a militant demonstration condemning Klan/racist attacks in Contra Costa County at the courthouse where Gallant and Harless were to appear. Inside, Gal-

lant and Harless appeared with a dozen supporters. On February 22, JBAKC brought over a 100 people to the Concord Police Station to protest the attacks and to expose the on-going police cover-up.

At the same time as the attacks in Concord, the Klan TV show, *Race and Reason*, went back on San Francisco television after being off the air for 90 days. A new chapter of the White Student Union has been formed in the San Francisco area. While it isn't possible now to determine the exact relationship between these different Klan groupings, it is clear that they all help create a climate in which racist violence is flourishing.

See page 4 for more information on Klan TV.

## MARINES TRAIN N.C. KLAN

Marines from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, have been training Klansmen in Glenn Miller's White Patriot Party for combat, including practice in river-crossing, escape and evasion, live-firing exercises, survival tactics, hand-to-hand combat and reconnaissance and ambush, since at least 1984. The Southern Poverty Law Center has affidavits from former Klan members and photographs as substantiation, obtained in the course of their current lawsuit against the White Patriot Party.

The White Patriot Party (WPP) is led by Glenn Miller, a former Green Beret, then a Nazi, then the head of the Carolina Knights of the KKK. Recently, he changed the name of the N.C. Klan organization to the White Patriot Party, which now claims 2500 members.

As active duty Marines, the trainers can give the Klan up-to-date information on the latest technology the army has to offer. Though the Marines supplied the WPP with fatigues, pistol belts and canteens, the state Bureau of Investigation officials said they have not found evidence that the paramilitary, white supremacist group obtained weapons from the military base. Camp Lejeune spokesman Lt. Col. David Tomsy said in a telephone interview that Marines and other military personnel have the First Amendment right to assemble with any group they choose during their free time, off base and out of uniform. At the same time, he said a Marine is a Marine 24 hours a day, "but those aspects that do not interfere with his duty, those are matters of his private life." Evidently, there's no conflict between being a white Marine and a Klansman.

Asked if the Marines tried to keep their identity a secret, one former Klansman who attended the training said, "They was trying to keep it ... secret when they first joined up. But their sergeants got word of it and they was giving them a hard time about being members."

Even though the Marine Corps knew about the training, it was not stopped. Glenn Miller even went to the Marine base to protest the minor reprimands given to the Klan Marines.

An ex-Klan member also stated that Klan Special Forces members had mini-14s, AR-15s, CR-15s, .12 gauge pumps, .12 gauge automatics and .22 rifles, and that at least 40 to 100 Klansmen participated in each of the training sessions.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has asked the federal district court in Raleigh, N.C., to hold Glenn Miller in contempt of court for violating an injunction that prohibits him from operating a paramilitary operation, marching in predominately Black neighborhoods, or harassing Black people. But an injunction is far as the state will go to stop Miller.

Miller was given \$300,000 from The Order, according to Bruce Carroll Pierce, who was on trial for being an Order member. Miller is currently running as a Republican for state Senator. He also led an anti-Martin Luther King Day demonstration in North Carolina this year.

(see photo, p. 13)

## Mobilizations Against Prison Control Units

On April 19, 1986, about a thousand people demonstrated at federal prisons in Marion, Illinois; Lexington, Kentucky; Tucson, Arizona; New York City and Puerto Rico to protest the control units being used to isolate and break political prisoners and prisoners of war. In particular, this mobilization focused on the prison at Marion where 350 men have been locked into their cells 23½ hours a day since October, 1983.

Called by the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, the mobilization targetted prisons as a weapon of colonial genocide against the Puerto Rican, New Afrikan, Mexican and Native American nations inside U.S. borders. The demonstrations protested the rising violations of human rights faced by all prisoners and the special maxi-maxi security units established for political prisoners.

About 250 people demonstrated in each city. In Marion, Illinois, the prison officials were so concerned about the demonstration (and the thousands of letters they've received demanding that the control unit be closed, the lockdown be ended, and the transfer of New Afrikan POWs Sekou Odinga and Sundiata Acoli) that they wouldn't even allow the demonstration to approach the road leading to the prison. But the prison officials couldn't stop the national attention the mobilizations received.

In New York, where the demonstration began at the Brooklyn House of Detention, the police surrounded the prison because they were afraid that the demonstration would "incite" the prisoners inside. Then people marched to the MCC, where 20 political prisoners are held.

Then, on April 26, a sixth demonstration was held at San Quentin prison, continuing the campaign around Marion and demanding the freedom of New Afrikan political prisoner Geronimo Pratt, held for 16 years on phony murder charges concocted by the FBI COINTELPRO.

The demand to End the Marion Lockdown and to Shut Down the Control Units is ongoing. Contact JBAKC for more information.

Write to Warden Jerry Williford, U.S.P. PO Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959. Demand an end to the lockdown!



Top to bottom: Approaching Lexington Federal Prison; outside San Quentin prison; on the outskirts of Marion Federal Prison.

## Skinhead Attacks in Atlanta

On April 19, in Atlanta, GA, a benefit concert for a clinic in Nicaragua was attacked by skinheads and Nazi punks. They stood outside yelling, then went inside and ripped up literature, and beat up a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. The day before, skinheads attacked a protest in support of Libya.

The skinheads also beat up a homeless man who later died of his injuries; robbed and beat an elderly woman; beat a restaurant manager and a club owner who refused them service; and threatened a gay waiter with castration. They defaced a peace mural and wrote racist graffiti on a community center in the Little Five Points area.

Major Lovett Goss, who runs the precinct that patrols Little Five Points, says the skinheads don't commit a disproportionate number of crimes and aren't particularly troublesome.



# Klan Threats in Chicago

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Only then did the police choose to move in, fifteen to twenty minutes after the racists began the attack. The cops escorted the Nazis back to their cars and sent them on their way. The Chicago Police Department played the same role they play consistently: standing by and allowing racist attacks to take place. Compare the cops' conduct here to June, 1985, when they mounted a horse charge against 100 anti-Klan demonstrators protesting a planned Nazi/Klan rally that hadn't even started yet. Or their conduct when a Black family was being attacked in a Cicero neighborhood—the cops helped supply bricks to the racists. Or their conduct three years ago, when they arrested anti-Nazi demonstrators for tossing bagels at the Nazis. Consistently, the police have defended the Nazis/Klan and attacked their opponents.

Right after these Klan/Nazi attacks, JBAKC held a press conference with the Free South Africa movement and other progressive groups, condemning racist violence and outlining plans to continue to organize against the Klan/Nazis. An open letter against the Klan and Nazis, signed by over 1,000 individuals and community organizations, will appear soon as a full-page newspaper advertisement. Educational programs about the rise of right-wing violence in Chicago are being held. Door-to-door canvassing of some neighborhoods is underway. Another "Stamp Out Racist Graffiti Day" is scheduled for June 21, 1986.

## Who are these racist groups?

The most established groups are the American Nazi Party and its close affiliate, the America First Committee. The American Nazi Party's national headquarters are in the Chicago area. American Nazi Party president James Burford and America First Committee leader, Arthur Jones, are both leading figures in the national white supremacist "movement".

Where there is racist activity, Nazis like Arthur Jones are sure to be close by. Last year, after a particularly vicious brick-throwing siege against a Black family's home, a racist crowd came out to voice their support for the attack. Arthur Jones was leading "white power" chants. In November, 1985, at a rally held in Chicago by the Civilian Military Assistance (the Nicaraguan contra support group), Jones showed up again, as a main speaker and organizer for the CMA. Other Nazis also participated in the pro-contra rally.

The Illinois Chapter of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—affiliates of Don Black's national organization—claim to have chapters in four suburbs of Chicago, and held a crossburning in Greyslake, IL in 1982. In Zion, a suburb of Chicago, white students passed out KKK literature in the local high school this year. Two years ago in Zion, a foreman at the nuclear power plant was exposed as a leader of the KKK.

The presence of the Klan within the city limits is a newer phenomena. They first appeared publically in Chicago in June, 1985, on Gay Pride Day. Under the name of "Christians for Decency," the KKK, Nazis and SS Action Group united to call a rally to oppose gay and lesbian

rights. They were met by about 100 counter-demonstrators.

The KKK recently opened a post office box in the liberal community of Lakeview, and over the winter they blitzed some neighborhoods with their leaflets.

A significant accomplishment for the Nazis and the Klan has been that they have successfully organized many young white men to join their groups. The recent Klan/Nazi attacks have been carried out largely by these young recruits.

Many of these youth were, are still are, members of a white gang called the Rebels. They operate in Uptown—a very poor, multiracial community on the northside of Chicago. In this part of town, the future for many of the white young men is not much better than it is for Black youth. It is these poorest of white youth, for whom white skin is a badge of superiority, who have joined the KKK and Nazis.



Gay Pride Day marchers oppose Klan and Nazis, 1985.

Uptown has been the site of some of the most intense racist activity in the city over the past two years—and the Rebels have been at the center of much of it. Crossburnings, racist graffiti, anti-Black and anti-Jewish posters have been the backdrop for a number of racially-motivated violent attacks. In March, 1985, a 20-year old white man, Kevin Zornes, was killed. Two months before his death, Kevin had joined the Rebels gang, and had apparently become a dues-paying member of the American Nazi Party. When Kevin's parents discovered this, they convinced him to leave the group. A week after he quit the Rebels and the American Nazi Party, he was murdered. A 16-year old Rebel gang member was charged with the murder. In September, 1985, a Black man, Henry Hampton, was beaten to death in Uptown. A 20-year old Rebel member has been charged with his murder. Members of the "Heart of Uptown" group have been harassed and attacked for organizing against this racist activity.

Others of the young Chicago racists are members of a skinhead gang called Romantic Violence. Romantic Violence represents the racist violent tendency that has emerged within the punk music scene in England and in many American cities. The leader of Romantic Violence, Clark Martell, is a former member of the American Nazi Party.

This group is responsible for a great deal of racist graffiti, including white power stickers that have razor blades stuck to the back of them—to cut anyone who tries to take down the sticker. They have left their white power leaflets on windshields of hundreds of cars and have harassed a progressive bookstore, record store and a restaurant by leaving their "calling cards" scattered around.

Romantic Violence tries to organize punks at concerts. They pass out leaflets for white supremacist rock groups like "Skrewdriver" and sell skull and cross-bone t-shirts. Although the group is still small, Romantic Violence has recruited

new members—both men and women. Their targets are angry and alienated youth, but their anger is directed at the wrong target.

Progressive punks have organized to expose Romantic Violence as a racist, fascist group, and have encouraged other punks to isolate them from the scene. Romantic Violence was prevented entrance to a fundraising concert by about 30 punks who fought them.

The Aryan Nations is also beginning to have a presence in Chicago. Chicago recently became another city to hookup to the Aryan Nations national computer network. On November 2, 1985, at least 80 people attended a Chicago meeting of the Aryan Nations and the Citizens Emergency Defense System.

The SS Action Group is also new to Chicago. An affiliate of the National Socialist White America Party, their newsletter identifies Chicago as one of three cities (the others being Detroit and Los Angeles) that show great promise for white supremacist organizing. They participated in the attempted anti-gay rally on Gay Pride Day in 1985. Their post office box

and leafletting efforts show that they are organizing on the northwest side, one of the remaining white bastions in Chicago.

Reflecting the growing unity between white supremacist organizations nationally, Chicago right wing groups are cooperating more than they have in the past. As the national white supremacist network grows larger, more organized and more sophisticated, the Chicago groups have participated. Members of the Chicago American Nazi Party and Romantic Violence were present at a national strategy meeting of white supremacist groups in Cahoon, Michigan in November, 1985.

## Why are these groups growing in Chicago?

Back in the 1960s, Martin Luther King, Jr., said he had never been in a more racist city than Chicago. Chicago is the most segregated city in the United States. Its all white neighborhoods stay all white by attacking Black people—through firebombings, brickthrowing, beatings, and crossburnings. Over the past two years these kind of attacks have increased in both number and intensity. Some recent incidents:

**Spring, 1985:** After moving into a largely white neighborhood, Larry Davis, a Black man, was attacked repeatedly: a cross was burned in front of his house at 2:00 a.m.; swastikas were painted on his garage; neighbors made racial insults; two white men physically accosted him.

**June, 1985:** Two Black families moved into Marquette Park, an all-white neighborhood with a long history of Nazi activity. Their homes were firebombed and swastikas were painted on their property. In response to this attack, a community organization set up a 24-hour watch on the Black families' homes—to prevent further attacks and to express their refusal to tolerate this kind of racism.

**August, 1985:** When it was discovered that a Black couple had bought a home in an all-white section of Marquette Park, neighbors held an emergency meeting to

try to stop the sale. They were unsuccessful. One morning a few months later, someone entered the home, poured gasoline all over the basement, and set a fire that caused \$30,000 damage.

**August, 1985:** In suburban Lombard, the front windows of the HOPE Fair Housing Center were pierced by three bullets. This attack took place shortly after HOPE won a housing discrimination suit.

## Update

Now, as summer approaches, Klan/Nazi activity continues to escalate, and their numbers appear to be growing.

JBAKC held a forum on racist violence on February 8, 1986, which was attended by over 100 people. About 35 Klansmen and members of the Aryan Nations, dressed in camouflage, marched from a nearby parking lot to the church where the program was being held. They set up a picket across the street. On the church's side of the street were about 20 people who were acting as a security team for the JBAKC forum. In the middle of the street several police formed a line. While the racists chanted "White Power," "Free the Order," and "2-4-6-8, Who Are We Going to Assassinate: YOU", JBAKC and friends chanted "No Nazis, No KKK, No Fascist USA," and "We Don't Want a White Nation, We Want Black Liberation." At one point, two undercover cops drove up to a police car parked nearby and yelled "Fuck the N—rs!" The police in the squad car laughed heartily. While all of this was going on outside, the forum proceeded without incident inside the church.

After the forum, a man known for his work against Nazi punks was followed home. The next morning, he saw that a swastika and the words, "Dead Red" had been painted on his apartment building. JBAKC called a press conference to condemn this action—two TV stations made it a headline news story. An Emergency Response Network of progressive people has been formed to respond to future Klan/Nazi threats or attacks.

The day after JBAKC's forum, the Klan was out again. This time, ten of them disrupted a Black History Month program to commemorate Martin Luther King at the Museum of Science and Industry.

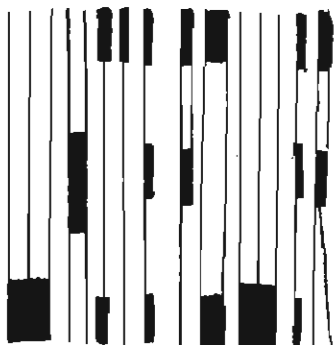
Two weeks earlier, in Marquette Park, Nazi leader Arthur Jones, Klan Kludge Ed Novak and others crashed a meeting of the Southwest Community Congress while they were having a discussion on racist violence. Jones threatened to "rub out" all race-mixers and warned them not to go out alone at night unless they wanted to get hurt.

Yet despite these threats, white people are more organized than ever before to fight racist organizing and to support the Black community as it works to defend Black people against racist attacks.



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# KLAN USING CABLE TV TO REACH MILLIONS

The TV camera pans in on a benevolent-looking man. In his well-modulated voice, he begins: "Welcome. The show is 'Race and Reason' and I am your moderator, Tom Metzger." Sponsored by the White American Political Association, a KKK front group, "Race and Reason" has put the white supremacist movement on-the-air and in the living rooms of homes throughout the country.

The program uses a talk-show format with Metzger (former Grand Dragon of the California KKK and leading ideologue of the Neo-Nazi movement) serving as moderator and producer. This show puts the KKK in touch with a potential audience of millions across the country through community access cable TV.

The Klan has learned some valuable lessons from more broadly-based and "respectable" right wing forces like the Moral Majority. Following in the footsteps of electronic preacher Jerry Falwell and direct-mail wizard Richard Viguerie, Metzger is heading for the 21st century, using the media and computers to reach, identify and mobilize a base of support for organized white supremacy.

## Nationwide Exposure

In the last several months, Klan-TV expanded quickly. Starting monthly in San Diego, "Race and Reason" is shown weekly in Austin, Texas, and San Francisco and bimonthly in about 20 cities around Los Angeles. The show can be seen nightly in Oregon, Pennsylvania and upstate New York. Metzger plans to blanket the country within the next year.

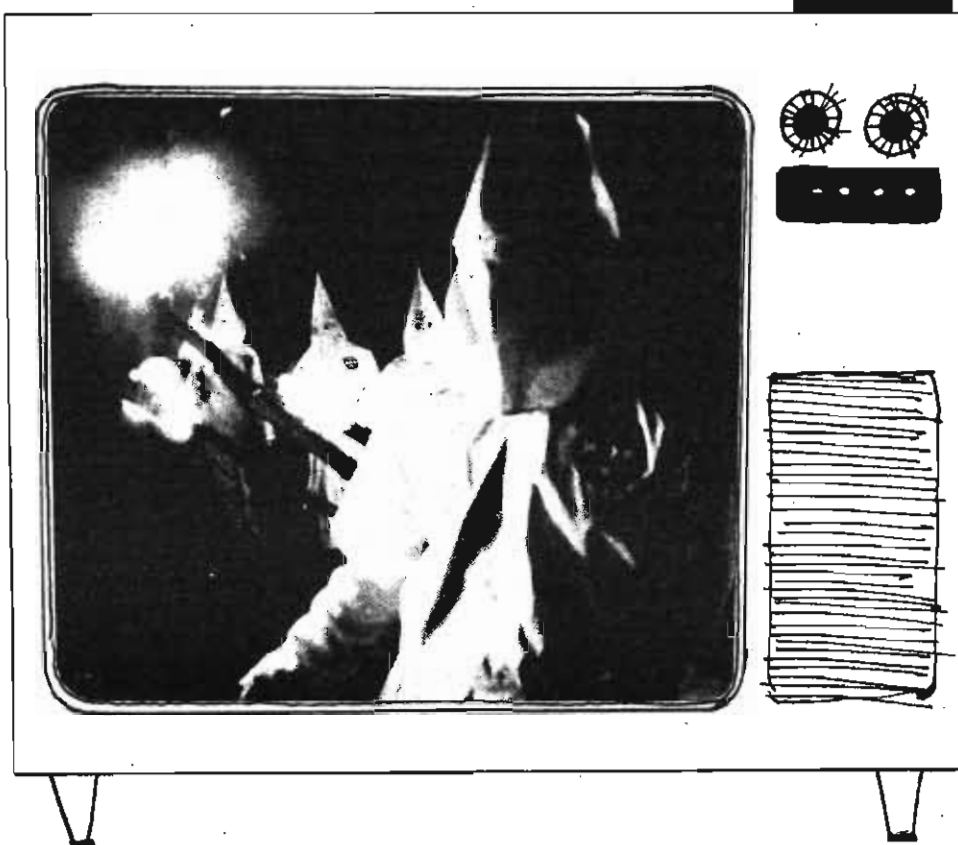
Cable TV is perfect for the Klan's goal of legitimizing racism and finding responsive audiences. Metzger takes advantage of "community access" stations where his racist propaganda is often defended as part of a diversity of opinion entitled to free speech. The show itself has a slick, low-key format. Metzger avoids the open advocacy of violence that the Klan preaches in its rallies and newspapers.

Born again as a TV talk-show host, Metzger is getting his message out to the folks he wants to reach in the privacy of their homes, without attracting much attention from potential opposition. In a period when most Klan groupings have turned away from public appearances, Metzger has hit on TV as the best way to maintain a public presence for the Klan. TV casts a broad net that draws in new followers and sympathizers without exposing them to public identification. It works as the perfect complement to the network of paramilitary camps that have concentrated and combat-trained the current hard-core.

## Rogue's Gallery of Guests

A look at the list of guests Metzger has "interviewed" reveals the reality of violence behind the made-for-TV facade of reasonableness and dialogue.

- Greg Withrow, head of the racist White Student Union. He applauded the white student who murdered a Vietnamese youth in Sacramento as the "highest example of white manhood." After his appearance on the show, break-ins occurred at several Los Angeles high schools on Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday and racist literature was scattered around. Metzger defended the break-ins.
- Frank Silva, Klan leader from Los Angeles. He coordinated a triple cross-burning in December, 1983 that brought together Metzger's KKK, Los Angeles Nazis and Richard Butler's Aryan Nations. After his February, 1985 appearance on "Race and Reason," Silva was exposed as a member of The Order.
- Robert Miles, the Michigan leader of the Mountain Church of the Creator. He is a prime mover in the Christian Identity Movement and a main spokesman for the armed Neo-Nazi underground. He recently hosted a 2-day conference at his Michigan compound that brought together more than 200 leaders



- Other guests have included anti-semites from the Truth Mission and the Institute for Historical Review which deny that Hitler's holocaust ever happened.

Besides giving these terrorists a forum and aura of respectability, Metzger's TV show allows him to project himself nationally. The show is an important vehicle for overcoming the localism that has been a weakness of the Klan in the past, and for promoting national consolidation of KKK and Neo-Nazi leadership.

## The Electronic Media: Computers to FM Radio

Metzger's show is only one element of the Klan's new electronic sophistication. The Aryan Nations has established its own national computer network, with seven layers of password-coded security systems. They distribute their propaganda on "computer bulletin boards" and identify anti-white supremacist groups and individuals who should be "obliterated".

For those in the racist movement who have not entered the personal computer arena, there's always the radio. KTTL-FM in Kansas, owned by a family linked to the violent Posse Comitatus, has been broadcasting racist and anti-semitic shows for years. The fruits of this work can be seen in the armed right wing violence growing in the region. Yet, for years the Federal Communications Commission refused to take action, claiming these programs were protected as "free speech." Last spring, after a campaign led by a coalition of Blacks, Jews and others, to demand that KTTL be taken off the air, the FCC renewed their license yet again.

## How It All Fits Together

Klan TV programming fits into a multi-faceted racist organizing strategy leading directly to violence. A good example is Metzger's show in the San Francisco Bay Area. From November, 1984 to November, 1985, "Race and Reason" was aired weekly on Channel 25, Viacom Cablevision.

Simultaneously, Metzger's Klan front, White American Resistance (WAR), established a local telephone hotline. The recorded messages advertise for the TV show and call for the removal of Black people from "Aryan territory," accuse Jews of carrying out "genocidal abortion of white babies," and demand the death penalty for lesbians and gay men.

WAR also has done extensive leafletting, posterizing and selling of the WAR newspaper in white neighborhoods and on college campuses, including UC Berkeley. As a result, WAR's membership in the liberal Bay Area has climbed to over 20, making it the largest WAR chapter in the state.

The growth of WAR has dovetailed with the rise of violence by the racist right in

who said he was from WAR called in a bomb threat to the Ethnic Studies Department at San Francisco State University. In May, a live bomb was discovered in a Black Studies classroom, timed to detonate while class was in session. Shortly after that, another live bomb was found in a synagogue in the Richmond district of San Francisco.

When rock-music promoter Bill Graham, whose mother and sister died in Auschwitz, organized a demonstration to protest Reagan's visit to Bitburg's Waffen-SS Nazi cemetery, his multi-million dollar office complex was burned to the ground. Neo-Nazis claimed credit. In September 1985, three pipe bombs with messages of "Death to all Zionist Jews" were found in San Francisco. When Coy Ray Phelps was arrested in connection with these bombings, racist literature and explosives were found in his home.

Local WAR leader Charles Miller denied any involvement with Phelps and said the actions were "ineffective." Instead, he said WAR supports the actions of The Order. (see lead article, this issue) Whether or not WAR was directly responsible for any of the bombings is not clear. What is clear is that their advocacy and support of such actions help create a climate in which racist violence can and will flourish.

## Stopping Klan TV

Resistance to "Race and Reason" is building across the country. In Austin, the Black Citizen's Task Force stated that "history has shown that massive KKK propaganda is always followed by violent terrorist actions against Black people. We do not plan to allow any Black person to be killed by the KKK in Austin."

For the last year, JBAKC and the Center for Black Survival have been organizing in California to make people aware of the TV show, to expose its recruitment for the Klan and to mobilize community campaigns to get the show permanently off the air. In the Bay Area, the Black Cable Task Force, a progressive member of California's Cable Commission, and other community groups have stated their opposition to the show in strong terms.

In Southern California, over 400 people protested at Cal State-Fullerton on April 22. Cal State gives Tom Metzger use of their facilities to produce "Race and Reason." The demonstration demanded that Metzger get off the Cal State campus and that the university stop giving him equipment and space to produce the show.

"Race and Reason" was temporarily put off the air for a few months last summer, in response to community pressure. The cable station, Viacom, was ignoring the calls, petitions and demonstrations, but still had to do something. It tightened the rules governing programming, preventing

three months. But, as we go to press, Metzger has produced new tapes and is back on the air.

Klan TV and the use of electronic media by the organized white supremacist movement represent a new sophistication in their strategy to win hearts and minds for their coming "race war." In response to the arrests of its military cadres this past year, the leading strategists have decided to emphasize massive low-key organizing to build a significant base for themselves. As they rebuild their fascist underground a public support network will be in place.

With Klan TV spreading nationally, we urge people to contact the JBAKC chapter nearest you to find out how you can help stop the growth of the racist movement.

Write or call Viacom, and tell them you want the Klan off the air! Viacom, 2055 Folsom, San Francisco, CA 94110. Phone: (415) 863-8500.

## GRAND JURY STRIKES AGAIN— NAPO Leader Won't Collaborate

Watani Tyehimba, a long-time political activist and organizer in the New Afrikan (Black) community in Los Angeles and founding member of the New Afrikan People's Organization, has been subpoenaed to a political grand jury in L.A. The grand jury was called after the arrest of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Dr. Mutulu Shakur to investigate the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Watani is refusing to collaborate with this FBI-led witch-hunt. This means that he automatically faces a jail sentence from 18 months to 5 years for refusing to give information about the New Afrikan Independence Movement to the US government.

Over the last year, NAPO has been the primary target of the federal grand jury. In Battle Creek, Michigan, Black people were subpoenaed to a grand jury in response to NAPO's anti-police brutality work. In Atlanta, Georgia, Akinyele Umoja, the National Secretary of NAPO, was subpoenaed. His subpoena was dropped following a tremendous outpouring of letters of support from the New Afrikan community and friends.

Watani Tyehimba is 34 years old. He has lived in Los Angeles most of his life. He attended Cal State Northridge, receiving a degree in Afro-American Studies. He was a very active member of the Black Student Union and the Pan Afrikan Union there. He taught school in Guyana, as well as working in co-operatives, along with the late Walter Rodney.

Watani was also the Western Regional Director of the National Black Human Rights Coalition and the National Task Force for COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) Litigation and Research. He was instrumental in organizing a community fund-raiser in support of Freedom Fighter Geronimo Pratt that was attended by over 1500 community members.

Watani is also a dedicated family man, having been married for 15 years and being the proud father of 3 children.

Watani makes no bones about his political beliefs in support of the right of the New Afrikan Nation to struggle for land and independence inside the United States. His deep commitment to the New Afrikan (Black) struggle has made him a target of US government repression.

Watani's next court date is in June. A letter-writing campaign, demanding that his subpoena be dropped, has been going on since March. Write to: US Attorney Robert S. Bonner, 312 N. Spring, Los Angeles, CA 90012.



# BLACK NATION IN STRUGGLE

## MOVE Member Convicted for Surviving



Philadelphia demonstration marks first anniversary of MOVE bombing.

On April 14, 1986, Ramona Africa was sentenced to 16 months to seven years in prison for the "crime" of surviving the bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia. She was the only adult survivor of the May 13, 1985 police bombing which killed 11 people, including 5 children, and destroyed 61 homes. She was originally tried on 14 counts but was only convicted on riot and conspiracy charges. With time served, she will be eligible for parole in six months.

Ramona Africa was arrested as she tried to escape the burning MOVE house and has been held in prison since then. She has fought the City of Philadelphia over her arrest, the conditions of her confinement, and the continued imprisonment of MOVE members since their initial confrontation with the Philadelphia police in 1978 when a policeman was killed.

She defended herself in the trial, and constantly tried to bring out the history of attack and confrontation between the city and MOVE. After her sentencing,

surrounded by 25 cops and sheriff's deputies, she talked to her supporters: "Y'all didn't expect anything? Down with this rotten system."

Two hundred supporters, mostly from Philadelphia's Black community, came to the sentencing. Few were allowed in the court room. Those who remained outside angrily demanded Ramona's freedom and the imprisonment of the police and Mayor Wilson Goode who are responsible for the bombing and murders.

There was an even larger show of support that same day at a noontime rally at City Hall, which included several scuffles with the Philadelphia police.

The District Attorney's office had called for the maximum sentence of 14 years for Ramona Africa, citing her as "dangerous" to Philadelphia. This was in sharp contrast to when the D.A.'s office asked for leniency for Vincent Callahan, a white racist, who pled guilty to the Dec. 12, 1985, arson of a Black family's home in Philadelphia. While the D.A.'s office said Callahan "set fire to the house with the intention of preventing the Black couple from returning, and to prevent any other Blacks from moving in," he wasn't considered dangerous.

Though Mayor Wilson Goode's specially appointed MOVE Commission found that the Mayor and City officials were "grossly negligent" and displayed a "reckless regard for life and property" in the bombing of MOVE, no indictments were recommended. In response to the commission, Ramona Africa said that Mayor Goode appointed the commission "not to investigate the official murder of my family, but to fend off any official investigations." She went on to say, "Now that the report is official, people are being encouraged to wait 'til the district attorney's office investigates whether or not they should empanel a grand jury to investigate some more. While all this waiting is going on, I am waiting in prison. ... Nobody waited to arrest me on May 13, 1985. I was arrested without investigation."

**Free Ramona Africa!**

## Killer Cops Acquitted—Whitewash Completed

Back in November, 1985, a crowd of angry Black people stood outside a courtroom shouting, "Pigs! Murderers! Only in South Africa!" It could have been South Africa, but it was New York City, where a nearly all white jury acquitted six of the eleven cops who killed Michael Stewart. Stewart, a 25-year-old Black man, was arrested in September, 1983, in a subway station for allegedly writing graffiti. He was beaten so badly by the police that he lapsed into a coma and died two weeks later.

Many people in New York thought the cops would be convicted, at least on some of the charges. Some believed that the trial could actually be fair, and that a fair-minded jury would make the right decision. Others thought that there had been enough pressure brewing around the issue to force the District Attorney's office to push for a conviction, just to put the issue to rest and keep a lid on the Black community's outrage. After all, there had been two years of struggle from the Stewart family, their lawyers, and community groups: demonstrations, forums, and rallies to expose the cover-up that had been attempted by the D.A., the police department, and the medical examiner's office. Throughout the trial, activists kept a vigilant presence in the courtroom despite intimidation and harassment from off-duty cops. And to top it all off, in the midst of the trial, Edmund Perry, a college-bound honors student, was killed by a cop on the streets of Harlem, which added fuel to the Black community's bitterness and anger.

Louis Clayton Jones, Michael Warren, and Alton Maddox, the team of Black lawyers who represent the Stewart family, predicted all along that the cops would be

acquitted. In a statement given to the press days before the verdict was in, they argued that the trial was a sham and a continuation of the cover-up. In fact, the court case was structured to guarantee the acquittal of the cops so thoroughly that their defense lawyers never had to call a single witness.

None of the cops were ever charged with murder. Of eleven cops involved, five were granted immunity from prosecution in exchange for their testimony before a grand jury, which means they can never be indicted for their role in killing Michael Stewart. The others were charged with perjury for lying to the grand jury. The most serious charges were "official misconduct" and "criminally negligent homicide," on which only three cops were indicted. The jury was all white, except for one Puerto Rican woman.

The prosecutor made clear from his demeanor that he had no intention of fighting for a conviction. He put 66 witnesses on the stand, including 27 students and an auxiliary cop who witnessed the beating. He allowed his witnesses to be insulted, ridiculed, and bludgeoned with questions from the defense that made them appear incredulous and crazy. The medical examiners and expert witnesses who had been called to testify as to the cause of Stewart's death gave inconsistent and contradictory testimony. Although some of them testified that his death was in some way related to the beating, the judge instructed the jury that to convict the cops, they had to agree on the exact cause of death (even though the "experts" couldn't).

The final acquittal of the cops paved the way for heightened incidents of police attacks:



Alton Maddox



Queen Mother Moore

## Champions of Human Rights Honored

On April 25, 1986, the New Afrikan People's Organization held the Second Annual Grassroots Tribute Dinner in New York City. Three hundred people attended to honor nationalist leader Queen Mother Audley Moore and Black revolutionary attorney Alton Maddox, as champions of the Human Rights Struggle.

The keynote speaker for the program was New Afrikan poet and activist, Sonia Sanchez. She noted that in honoring Queen Mother Moore and Alton Maddox, Black people were once again passing on their tradition of resistance and national consciousness to the next generation. She said that the Black liberation movement must move from a stance of opposition to the US power structure to building for revolution. She expressed her love and admiration for Queen Mother Moore, saying, "She has lighted our way for 86 years." Jitu Wensej summarized the life of Queen Mother Moore: "When historians write a history of the African-American struggle in twentieth century America, they will have to include the exploits of Audley Moore... for more than sixty years this tireless woman has had an active role in a cross-section of activities and movements that are collectively described as the struggle for African-American liberation."

In the 1920s, Queen Mother Moore was active in the Garvey movement where she strengthened her ideological foundation in African nationalism that she has kept throughout her many years of struggle. During the '30s and '40s, Queen Mother worked with the Communist Party USA, fighting in the Scottsboro Case and other campaigns in support of Black Liberation.

In the '50s, she left the CPUSA to pursue Pan-Africanism. She became a prominent figure in the Black Power and African Revolutionary Movements of the '60s and '70s.

Two major themes have always characterized Queen Mother Moore. First, her struggle with Black people to "denegrozize," to know their own history as African people. Secondly, she has consistently struggled for the right of the Black Nation to reparations, which she again raised in

accepting her tribute award.

"Mother has always placed her trust in the power of the Black masses," Jitu said. Her organizing work has ranged from organizing work around political prisoners, to parent education, rent strikes, and protests of unfair housing and employment practices. Today she is still working, at 86 years old, to establish an African-American Political Institute in upstate New York.

The other recipient of the 1986 Champion of the Human Rights Award was attorney Alton Maddox. He has been involved for many years in the legal defense of the Black community and over the past two years was one of the attorneys for the Michael Stewart family, fighting the cover-up of Stewart's murder by eleven transit cops. As a result of his hard work, the District Attorney's office tried to set him up on assault charges against a court officer. The case went all the way to trial, where the court officer finally admitted that he lied to the grand jury on the direction of a superior. Attorney Tarif Salim (Michael Warren) said that Alton is another example of Black people using their education to struggle on behalf of their nation.

On accepting his award, Alton Maddox expressed how moved he was by the award both because it honored him for his work on behalf of his own people, which was what he always aspired to do, and because it was such an honor to share the evening with Queen Mother Moore.

The third award of the evening, NAPO's Malcolm X Award for Revolutionary Character and Community Commitment, went to Nsia Akuffa Bea. Sister Nsia was raised in East Harlem and today is the co-chair of the Harlem Chapter of the National Reclamation Project, fighting gentrification in Harlem. She is also involved in many other political activities. In expressing her thanks, she recommitted her life to struggling for revolution.

The evening reflected the increasing strength of political struggle in Harlem, the long legacy of nationalist resistance in the community, and the growth of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

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• Outside Newark, NJ, on April 21, Michael Harris, a 17-year-old Black youth, was shot in the back by a white cop who said his gun went off "accidentally." Harris supposedly "matched the description" of a man who had assaulted a woman in the area—but that man was found later;

• In Brooklyn the same night, 20-year-old Derrick Williams, also Black, was shot in the back of the head by a cop who was part of a team investigating a report of gunshots in an apartment building. Williams was unarmed and the source of the alleged gunshots was never found.

• Soon after, an Irish working class youth, Daniel Guy, was killed in Manhattan when he protested a cop pistol-whipping his friend.

• On May 19, four cops responded to a report about a gunman in Grand Central Railroad Station by beating up a homeless Puerto Rican man.





# Sandinistas Fight Amerikkka's Contras

"[The Christian Patriots Defense League] is dedicated to the preservation of Anglo-Saxon, American-type culture... We believe the forced mixing of races of people is a self-evident, obvious and proven tragedy. We believe such forced integration results in racial suicide, creating an endangered species problem..."

CPDL Statement of Purpose

"The Sanctuary movement with over 200 churches in affiliation has continued its assault against the children of the Republic by its increased efforts to bring illegal aliens into the US... The Sanctuary movement has some of its greatest support among Jews."

White Patriot, Knights of the KKK

"Those two black populations [US and South Africa's] are generally healthier, better fed, longer-lived, more profitably employed and possessed of more personal and political freedom than their brothers who often suffer under less-enlightened governments... Violence in South Africa may torture the Western conscience. But if communist-orchestrated blockades and communist-supplied terrorists succeed in toppling the South African government, the Indian Ocean will be that much closer to becoming a Soviet Lake. Our failure to support South Africa compromises the security of the few struggling democracies bordering the Indian Ocean. Its internal political problems are insufficient justification for us to jeopardize the security of the Free World."

Soldier of Fortune Editorial

US imperialism learned from its defeat in Vietnam. The keystone of today's counterinsurgency strategy at its current stage is the use of mercenaries (CIA led so-called "freedom fighters") to attack socialist and anti-imperialist countries. This strategy has been used with some success in Angola and Mozambique, which have been forced into accords with South Africa. But its highest development currently is found in Central America, where the CIA led "contras" are costing the people of Nicaragua millions in resources, lives and suffering. As long as the Nicaraguan revolution survives it continues to be an example for all Central American countries, and continues to be a threat to US hegemony in Central America.

From 1981 to mid-1984, this war was funded and politically directed by the National Security Council (NSC). (The NSC is responsible for issues of US national security and is accountable only to the President.)

Faced with public opposition and pressure, in 1984 Congress cut direct aid to the contras temporarily. To continue aid, the NSC turned the financing of the contras over to the "private" rightwing, white supremacist network here in the USA.

Although Congress restored "humanitarian" funding to the contras, the mobilization of the Racist Right continues, because it serves several strategic purposes. It frees the CIA even further from Congress and the controversy created by the Nicaragua solidarity network here; it helps to strengthen and popularize the fascist forces here in the USA; it presents anti-communism and reaction as a "popular" cause; and it strengthens the links between the US rightwing movement and the more developed international anti-communist network.

Some of the key figures in this strategy are current and former US military personnel, often specialists in counterinsurgency warfare and/or military intelligence. The most notable include:

- **John Singlaub and Harry C. Aderholt**, (retired military men) led a "counter-terror program" in Vietnam in 1965. They have organized at least 10 private aid groups. In the program (later known as the Phoenix Program), the CIA organized assassina-

tion teams that killed thousands of Vietnamese. As head of the Joint Unconventional Task Force in Vietnam, Singlaub pioneered new unconventional warfare techniques. In Korea, he served in the CIA with Nestor Sanchez, currently the top Pentagon planner for Central America.

In 1984 the Defense Department asked Singlaub and Aderholt to participate in a government policy-making panel, which recommended more emphasis on psychological warfare, military/civic action, and small-unit operations. The panel also created a new office in the Pentagon in 1985 to coordinate "humanitarian assistance."

Singlaub is a major fundraiser for the contras and middleman between the contras and the National Security Council. Singlaub's contact is Lieut. Col. Oliver North, NSC Deputy Director of Policy Development and Political/Military Affairs. Singlaub serves as the go-between for North and Adolfo Calero, who is the political head of the FDN (contras).

Other military personnel organizing political/military support for the contras include:

- **Robert K. Brown**: served in the Phoenix program under Singlaub in Vietnam. Founder and Editor of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, and author of the pro-apartheid statement above.
- **Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham** (ret.): former Chief of the Defense Intelligence Agency; an officer in the Moonie CAUSA USA.
- **Tom Posey**: former Marine sergeant, founder of Civilian Military Assistance.
- **M. G. "Pat" Robertson**: former Marine combat officer, TV evangelist for the Christian Broadcasting Network.
- **Phillip Sanchez**: former Chief of the Defense Intelligence Agency, former ambassador to Honduras, officer of CAUSA.
- **Gen. David Woellner** (ret.): former Air Force special operations officer in Korea and Vietnam, president of CAUSA.

These and other CIA-linked counterin-

It is led by Dr. Arnold Oschner, Archbishop Hannan of New Orleans, and LA State Rep. Woody Jenkins. David Duke works closely with the CC. He is a former Imperial Wizard of the KKK and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP).

**Civilian Military Assistance**, based in Decatur, Alabama, and led by Tom Posey, a former Marine sergeant, received national attention when two of its mercenaries (one a Memphis cop) were killed as their helicopter was shot down inside Nicaragua in September 1984. "We like to think of ourselves as missionary-mercenaries. We do it for the cause," said Posey. They work closely with *Soldier of Fortune* to train Salvadoran troops. CMA members have already gone into combat inside Nicaragua. CMA's Chicago chapter is led by Art Jones, a major ideologue in the neo-Nazi movement in the US. Its sister group, Civilian Refugee Military Assistance, is based in Memphis. Inside the US, CMA has a relationship with *Eagle Magazine* (a SOF spin-off) through contributing editor James Adair.

CMA was endorsed by Reagan in an October, 1984, interview with Scripps-Howard newspaper editors, when he said "it was traditional" for American volunteers to get involved in such matters.

CMA is also building an international network of rightwing and fascist support for the contras. In a campaign funded by John Singlaub, Robert Brown, publisher of SOF, renowned racist Joseph Coors and others, 40 British mercenaries were recruited for the creation of an urban military command.

The goal of this group is to form a special terrorist force. The actual recruiting was done by Tom Posey (CMA) and Allan Ashes, a Liverpool stockbroker with a well known record of Nazi activism. In 1982 Ashes was photographed leading a paramilitary training camp for British and

by Ashes and brought to Central America by the CMA. Carr and Glibbery left Ft. Lauderdale in March on a chartered cargo plane carrying military supplies which included M-16 automatic rifles, 20mm cannons, 50 caliber machine guns, and 60mm mortars.

The **Nathan Forrest Brigade** is organized by Don Black of the KKK and named for the Confederate Officer who founded the KKK. From 1982-84 Black served a prison sentence for his role in the attempted invasion of Dominica (a tiny Caribbean island) in 1981. Upon his release, Black announced plans to form a Klan Brigade to fight in Central America. He said he was inspired by the CMA and had already recruited 40 people.

**Soldier of Fortune** magazine gives direct military support and organizes mercenaries to train and fight with the contras. SOF first gained notoriety in the early 70s when its organizing of white mercenaries to fight against the Black Liberation forces in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) was exposed. Many of its editors served in Vietnam Special Operations group under John Singlaub, and have participated in mercenary operations from the Congo to Nicaragua.

John Singlaub is now president of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), and its US chapter, the US Council for World Freedom (USCWF), headquartered in Phoenix, Arizona.

In September, 1985 the WACL had its annual conference in Dallas, Texas. Among the international luminaries in attendance were:

- **Mario Sandoval Alarcon**, whose National Liberation Movement party organized the White Hand death squads in Guatemala in the 1960s. The NLM is responsible for the murders of 8,000-10,000 civilians between 1966 and 1967.
- **Dr. Yaroslave Stetso**, a member of the WACL executive board, was a prominent WWII Nazi collaborator who briefly headed a Nazi puppet government in the Ukraine.
- **Hubert Kelly** of the Christian Patriots Defense League, quoted above, was an "official observer" at the conference. The CPDL, based in the Midwest, runs several paramilitary training camps and is closely associated with the violent and racist, Posse Comitatus and the KKK.
- Both **Adolfo Calero** and **Enrique Bermudez** of the FDN went to the WACL Dallas meeting. A \$500-a-plate "International Freedom Fighters Dinner" was attended by multi-millionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt of the Council for National Policy, a right-wing think tank, and Charles Irby. Irby, the owner of a Mississippi construction company, gave \$25,000 to USCWF and came to the dinner to meet Calero. President Reagan sent greetings to the dinner saying, "I commend you all for your part in this noble cause. Our combined efforts are moving the tide of history toward world freedom."

CAUSA, (Confederation of the Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas) is the political arm of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church (Moonies). CAUSA provides both cash and equipment to the contras.

The so-called "humanitarian aid" combined with Reagan's war fever may give the green light for direct CIA and military aid to the contras. If this occurs, the role of these groups may diminish. But as we watch this multi-level, armed white su-



CIA operative Bruce Jones leads contra detail on Costa Rican-Nicaraguan border.

urgency experts work through a number of rightwing organizations and foundations. The best known are linked to the growing white supremacist, fundamentalist and "survivalist" networks in the US.

The **Caribbean Commission**, based in New Orleans, LA, was formed in 1979 with the help of pro-Somoza Nicaraguans.

European fascists in Wales.

On April 25, 1985, five foreign mercenaries were arrested in Costa Rica. Of these, 3 were recruited by CMA: Steven Carr, from New York, Peter Glibbery and Terry Cooper, a member of the National Front, an English fascist organization closely allied with the KKK. All were recruited

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# Law & The Order

continued from page 1

of The Order who were managers of the Brinks Armored Car Company.

Money from the robberies lined the pockets of Order members and paid one man who was hired to provide military training. It paid for an arsenal of automatic weapons and explosives, 29 vehicles including an ultralight airplane and two mobile homes and the purchase of 270 acres in Idaho and Missouri to be used for training camps.

## The Order's Hit List

The Order is responsible for at least two murders. In June, 1984, they killed Walter West, a former associate whom they accused of talking too much about their activities. Order members were also convicted of the June 18, 1984, machine gun assassination of Alan Berg, a Jewish radio host. Berg was an outspoken critic of the Klan and other fascist organizations on his Denver, Colorado talk-show.

Denver Daw Parmenter, a founding member of The Order, testified at the trial that Berg was killed because he was "anti-white and Jewish." Alan Berg was not the only person on The Order's hit list. They



David Tate at Aryan Nations compound, 1983.

had discussed killing Berg, Norman Lear, a progressive Jewish TV producer, and Morris Dees, a lawyer for the KlanWatch project in Alabama. Other targets included a judge who had ordered the integration of a Texas housing project, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and executives of the three major television networks. Parmenter said, "The news media was responsible for indoctrinating our race, and poisoning their minds."

Trial testimony drew a vivid picture of Alan Berg's assassination. Order member Jean Craig, a woman, spent several weeks in Denver tracing Berg's movements, even visiting the radio station where he worked. After watching Berg eat dinner with his ex-wife, Order members shot him 13 times with an Ingram Mac-10 machine gun as he arrived home. Other Order members involved were Bruce Carroll Pierce, David Lane, Robert Matthews (later killed in a shootout with the FBI) and Richard Seutari, who was just recently captured.

There are clear links between The Order and other parts of the paramilitary racist movement. One example is The Order's relationship to the Arkansas-based paramilitary group called The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA). Randal Rader, an Order member responsible for setting up training camps, started out as head of security and as an elder in the CSA.

Testimony from former Order and CSA member, Jackie Norton, identified Order members Ardie McBrearty and Andrew Barnhill as frequent visitors to the CSA compound. He said McBrearty gave lectures on tax evasion, which were taped, but he turned the tape recorder off when giving instruction on such things as how to alter identification.

A number of Order members were arrested at the CSA compound in Arkansas, along with James Ellison, head of the

CSA had an arsenal and a toolroom for converting rifles to automatic weapons. James Ellison had set up his own paramilitary network, which had bombed a natural gas pipeline in Missouri, a gay church in Missouri, and a synagogue in Indiana. Ellison pleaded guilty to racketeering charges and received a 20 year sentence. Six others arrested with him received five year sentences.

## Is The Order Dead?

By April, 1985, the FBI had issued a revised RICO (racketeering) conspiracy indictment and most of the 23 indicted members of The Order had been arrested. Eleven pleaded guilty and turned state's evidence. Ten were tried and convicted in Seattle in December, 1985. David Tate is serving a life sentence in Missouri for the murder of a state trooper. Of the 23 indicted, only Richard Seutari remains to be tried.

It's clear that this armed organization of the white racist movement suffered severe blows from the 1985 wave of arrests, but have we really seen the last of The Order? In many ways, the 23 now in jail are only the tip of the iceberg.

Even after Matthew's death in December, 1984, other Order members continued to organize. Land was purchased in Missouri for paramilitary training. Randall Rader, a military specialist, later testified that he was instructed by Richard Seutari to continue his work and "train 10 men by June." David Lane was carrying The Order's Declaration of War, which he had signed, when he was arrested in North Carolina. The document read: "We are outnumbered 100 to 1 ... by a coalition of blacks, browns, yellow, liberals, communists, queers, race-mixing religious zealots, race traitors, preachers, teachers and judges ... It's time to deal in lead. You must look white, act white and fight white."

Randall Evans, arrested in April, 1985, at the military compound of CSA, had written a tribute to the slain Matthews, as well as a letter to California right-wing groups, which said, "We must fight for all we have ... we cannot afford one arm-chair racist." He and a number of Order members have continued organizing inside prison and maintain good communication with Order sympathizers active in Klan and Neo-Nazi groups.

Three million dollars is still circulating through the racist underground. Louis Beam, Texas Klan leader, member of the Aryan Nations and major ideologue of the fascist movement, reportedly received several hundred thousand dollars from The Order. He is now underground.

Trial testimony made clear that The Order had set up safe houses and communications networks in areas as wide as Washington, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, Texas, Southern California, New Mexico and Georgia. Each area represents a base of support for racist organizations.

FBI assertions that The Order is dead seem more public relations than reality. The state's general hands-off policy toward the organized white supremacist movement seems virtually unchanged. That only 23 people were indicted out of all The Order's networks and that numerous recent court rulings have upheld the Klan's "right to free speech" indicate more of the same. In fact, the FBI only started arresting people from this movement when they began to rob banks, murder prominent people and target federal agents. Many individuals revealed in court testimony to have received Order loot have been untouched by government indictment.

## A Chilling Picture

How can we assess the growth potential of the armed racist right? More than looking at its racist activities, we need to examine the roots of its membership. All of The Order members were active members of one or more public Klan or Nazi organizations. It was through the activities of the public white supremacist movement that many members of The Order met.

A chilling picture of this network is drawn by Order leader, Bruce Carroll Pierce, in a long statement to the FBI made just after his arrest. Pierce now claims that the statement was made after he had been drugged by the FBI.

Pierce was first approached by Identity



Top left, Tom Metzger received at least \$250,000 from the Order and Louis Beam, top right, received at least \$100,000. Frank Silva, bottom, was active in the Los Angeles Klan before he joined the Order.



Church supporters in Montana. Identity 'theology' says that white Anglo-Saxons are the true lost tribes of Israel. They see "race-mixing" and a Jewish conspiracy behind many of the problems that face white working class people. Through the Christian Identity movement he made contact with the Aryan Nations, a white supremacist military organization, headed by "Pastor" Richard Butler. (see DTTK, June, 1985) Pierce began attending Aryan Nations church services in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Through the Aryan Nations he met Gary Yarborough, an Aryan Nations security guard, who was organized into the racist movement when he was in prison in Arizona. In prison, Yarborough joined the Aryan Brotherhood, a white racist prison gang with members nationwide.

Pierce attended the annual Aryan Nations World Congress where he met Robert Miles in July, 1983. The leader of the Identity Mountain Church in Michigan, Miles is a Klansman who spent six years in jail for bombing school buses to oppose integration. Miles is one of the chief advocates in the white supremacist movement of the goal, adopted by The Order, of building a 'whites-only' nation.

In October, Pierce met Robert Matthews at a Klan rally in Spokane. Matthews had been a member of the National Alliance, a Neo-Nazi organization. The National Alliance is led by William Pierce (no relation) who wrote and published *The Turner Diaries*, a propaganda novel about a white power takeover of the US government.

Order members Randy Evans and Frank Lee Silva started out as Klansmen in Southern California and were among the leaders of a crossburning in Los Angeles in December, 1983. Other participants in the crossburning included Richard Butler, David Tate (a member of the Aryan Nations and The Order), and Tom Metzger, leader of the Klan front group, White American Resistance (WAR) in California. Peter Lake, a reporter who covertly investigated the Aryan Nations and the racist movement in Southern California, believes there are more than 300 hard core members and supporters of the Klan and Nazis in Southern California alone.

In his confession, Bruce Carroll Pierce provided devastating testimony about the interpenetration and mutual support between the armed racist underground and the public Klan movement. Pierce revealed that The Order gave what it called "tithes" to various racist organizations from the money it had gotten from armed robberies. According to Pierce, distribution of the proceeds included \$300,000 to Glenn Miller, leader of the North Carolina KKK (a participant in the 1979 Greensboro murders); over \$250,000 to Metzger in California; \$50,000 to Nazi William Pierce; \$100,000 to Louis Beam; and at least \$40,000 to the Aryan Nation's Richard Butler. Pierce testified that he personally gave Robert Miles \$15,300.

All these organizations have denied receiving money from The Order. But James

Ridgeway (*Village Voice*, 11/12/85) points out that while Glenn Miller pleaded indifference and requested a court-appointed lawyer in the summer of 1984, by January, 1985, his 325 Klansmen marched through Raleigh equipped with new uniforms, new Confederate flags, sophisticated video equipment, headphones and communications gear. Ridgeway also reported that Miller's Angiers, NC farm had been the site of a November, 1984, white power strategy session attended by Louis Beam, which again targeted Morris Dees, the KlanWatch attorney who had brought law suits against both Miller and Beam.

Much of the same ideology behind The Order was developed and is propagated by the Klan and Nazi leaders who received Order money. All have endorsed Robert Matthews and encouraged support for jailed Order members. Tom Metzger aired a taped interview with Order member Frank Silva on his weekly TV show, while Silva was a fugitive. On the show, Silva lauded the historical role of the Klan as a "guerrilla organization fighting for white people." Yet none of these men linked with The Order have been indicted or even charged for their part in The Order. In fact, they continue to meet and organize.

In October, 1985, while The Order trial was going on in Seattle, a summit meeting of more than 200 Klan and Nazi leaders from 17 states and Canada, was held at Robert Miles' Mountain Church in Michigan. Among the notables were Butler, from the Aryan Nations, Metzger from California, Art Jones, a leading Chicago Nazi, Don Black, former national KKK leader, and other figures of the Klan, Nazis, Identity Church and Posse Comitatus. Honored guests were the widow of Robert Matthews and the wife of Bruce Pierce.

## Only A Movement Will Defeat Them

The government has made deals with eleven Order members. In return for testifying against other Order members, men facing 175 years for murder and armed robbery are receiving 5-20 year sentences on one count of racketeering. They will probably be out of jail in half that time.

But more than the networks built by The Order and never dismantled, the real potential for growth lies in the organized Klan and Nazi groups which today are publicly advocating a white state, genocide against Third World people and growing anti-semitism. And they are finding a base: among some of the farmers in the Midwest who are losing their land and joining the Posse Comitatus, among young white men attracted by the Rambo persona Reagan promotes, in suburbs of Chicago and Philadelphia where white gangs have attacked Black families moving in.

The Order is not dead. The FBI did not stop them, or the mass movement they represent. Public Klan and Nazi organizing continues. These facts point to the urgent need for all anti-racist people to act now to take a stand against organized white supremacist attacks and organizing.



Malcolm X once said Black people are not Americans, but "victims of Americanism." The harsh facts of Black life speak to the truth of his words:

- 25% of Black women are sterilized
- One out of five Black men will go to prison in his lifetime
- Black family income is 55% of white family income
- Over 50% of Black youth are unemployed
- Each year, schools graduate thousands of Black students who have been academically abused and undereducated
- Acts of racist terror, including lynchings, have dramatically increased over the past five years.

Today, the Black nationalist community is building its own programs and institutions to fight these racist attacks against its people. Following a tradition of survival through self-reliance and self-defense dating back to the Civil War and Reconstruction, Black self-determination takes on concrete meaning through education, activism and community based programs.

The Centers for Black Survival, a project of the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO), are providing an example of what an organized Black Nation can accomplish. NAPO is organizing Black people to fight for an independent Black Nation. They carry on the lessons of Malcolm X, who taught that basic human rights for Black people will only come through control of land and the institutions that govern it.



*"... we must SURVIVE the everyday attacks and acts of war waged on us by the United States government and its agents, i.e., the FBI, CIA, local police, Ku Klux Klan and other upholders and defenders of white supremacy. We must survive unemployment, mis-education, crime in our communities, inadequate healthcare and more, so that we can build a strong liberation movement.*

*We CAN survive by building grassroots independent institutions with programs that meet the needs of our people and serve as an example of what we can accomplish through unity and self-reliance."*

—Center for  
Black Survival  
Los Angeles

# SUPPORT



## COAST TO COAST

The Centers for Black Survival and their programs are located in poor areas suffering the worst effects of economic attack against Black people. For example, in Detroit, they are in an area that is a center of gang and drug activity and the Center carries on an active youth program. Currently, the Centers have buildings where they can carry on their activities in Los Angeles and Detroit. In New York, a campaign is underway to obtain a city building in Harlem and renovate it as a full community center. In Atlanta, NAPO is searching for a suitable location.

Even though Detroit, Los Angeles and Atlanta now have Black mayors, the needs of Black people are still not being met, and, in fact, conditions for Black people in each city are substantially worse now than 10 years ago. In response, NAPO has situated the Centers in the heart of the Black communities of their cities. A special attraction of the Centers in Detroit and Los Angeles is their ability to be more than a building. They also serve as a place to gain inspiration in the struggle and to achieve cultural dignity in the every day fight against the pressures of colonial life inside urban America.

### Los Angeles

The first Center for Black Survival opened in 1973 in Los Angeles, eight years after the first urban rebellion of the 60s in Watts. The Center was built in response to the need for independent community programs and a self-reliant community center. The rebellions of the 60s opened the doors for more Black students to enter college and this first Center was organized to bring the skills they had learned back to the Black community. The first years' programs included welfare rights counseling, temporary housing for the homeless and a soup kitchen, a rape prevention course, and blood pressure and sickle-cell screening. The Center also played a leading role in the campaign to Free Geronimo Pratt, a Los Angeles Black Panther leader framed for murder by the FBI and still imprisoned in San Quentin.

The Los Angeles Center is now bursting at its seams and looking for larger quarters.

Active in local struggles against a Klan/Nazi crossburning and continuing police murders of Black youth, the Center is also home to many "survival programs". These include a food co-op, tutorial program for youth, children's bookstore and The Afrikan Institute of Martial Arts.

### Detroit

Detroit is a city suffering massive unemployment and the highest Black infant mortality rate in the country. Non-existent healthcare, poor housing and an inferior and racist city education system have contributed to serious crime and drug problems. Conditions of life in urban Detroit are much like that in colonized Third World nations, impoverished by US multinationals, and indebted to U.S. banks.

The Detroit Malcolm X Community Center has been actively involved in a campaign to prevent the gas company from disconnecting the gas of elderly Black residents in the dead of winter. Working with the Community Action Task Force, they turn on the gas after it has been shut off and then a delegation refuses to allow the gas company to turn it back off. The Center also battles against police abuse. In Battle Creek, they have fought against the terror of the local police where police murder, jail

hangings and brutality are common practice.

The largest New Afrikan Scouts chapter is in Detroit and it is the first city to set up the New Afrikan Panthers, an organization for high school age youth. The Center serves as both a drop-in center and youth study hall. They are also involved in a struggle against racism in the local schools and they are enlisting the participation of Black parents, progressive Black administrators and teachers.

### New York and Atlanta

NAPO in New York is actively involved in the fight against the gentrification of Harlem by urban white settlers and real estate interests. NAPO has also been building a community campaign to rename Lenox Avenue (a main street in Harlem) to Malcolm X Boulevard. They are working to increase support for New Afrikan Prisoners of War and political prisoners. The establishment of the Center will become a base for survival programs in the community and for NAPO's continuing work against police terror. It will also be a much needed home for the New Afrikan Scouts, New Afrikan Security Union and Nation Building Forums.

The newest Malcolm X Center for Black Survival is being built in Atlanta, Georgia, in the heart of the New Afrikan nation. This will be the first Center in the South—the national territory of the Black Nation. The national territory is the land of the Black Belt, the states of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi, where more than half of all Black people live today. Kidnapped from Africa and sold into slavery, this is the land justly claimed by the New Afrikan nation—land Black people built with their blood while suffering some of the worst inhumanities known to humankind.

In its first year, the Atlanta Center hosted Black Nation Day 1985, held for the first time in the national territory. Study groups and Nation Building Forums are also held regularly and the New Afrikan Scouts has just been established. Atlanta is looking forward to finding a site on which to open their Center.





# THE CENTERS FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

## ONGOING PROGRAMS

Resistance to slavery, lynchings and racist terror—U.S. style colonialism and genocide—is the common thread running throughout the lives and history of Black people in America. The Centers for Black Survival embody today's commitment of the New Afrikan Nation to full human rights, freedom and independence.

*"One of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn is how to see for yourself, and think for yourself. Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself. If you don't do it, you'll always be maneuvered into a situation where you are never fighting your actual enemies, where you will find yourself fighting your own self."*

—Malcolm X

The following programs are underway or will soon be initiated at all of the Centers:

### New Afrikan Scouts

A dynamic youth organization for young women and men from age 6 to 14. The Scouts encourage industriousness, self-confidence, love and commitment to Black people, discipline, respect for elders and self-reliance. The Scouts organize their own outings, parties and fund-raisers, learn self-defense and distribute leaflets for events and programs. They also organize around issues in their communities and take part in youth conferences and events like Kwanza and Marcus Garvey Day. Every February, the Scouts put together Black History Month programs.

### New Afrikan Panthers

A new and exciting youth organization for high school age women and men. These young people study, work and train together, organize film showings and fundraisers and carry out the work of the Scouts as young adults.

Resistance to colonialism and genocide and the long, slow process of unifying the Black community requires political education and social and cultural awareness.

### New Afrikan Nation Building Forums

Provides thoughtful analysis of problems facing the Black community and some solutions and things that can be done to liberate the Black nation. The Forums also expose the Black community to other national and international issues and liberation movements such as Azania/South Africa, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua and Namibia.

Food is a survival issue which affects both the economic and physical well-being of Black people. Most Black communities have few, if any, major supermarkets, and the food and other goods are low quality and high priced.

### Black Survival Food Co-Op

A collective effort to fight economic exploitation and provide fresh and nutritious vegetables, fruits, and grains by cutting out the middle merchants. The Co-Op also sponsors nutrition education classes.

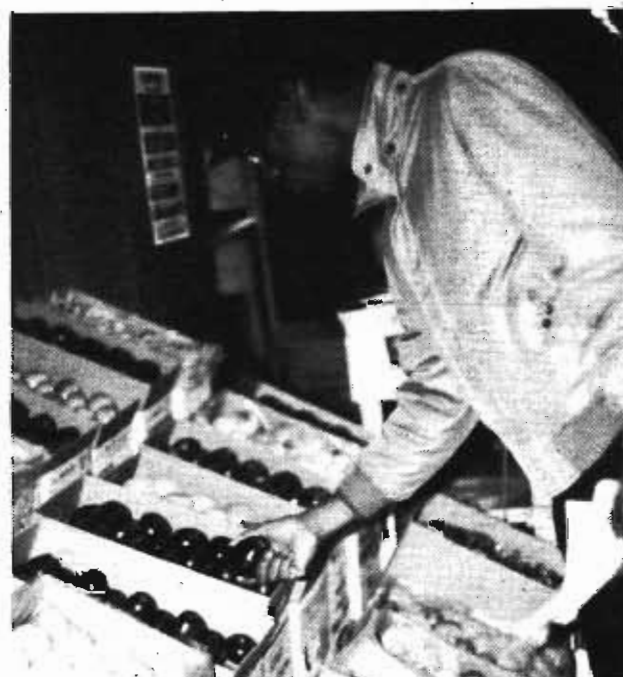
Malcolm X taught that self-defense is necessary for Black peoples' security, survival and growth as a liberation movement. Today, this is as true as ever. With mounting police murder and political repression, plus the rise of the Klan and other white terror groups, the Black Nation has the right and responsibility to defend itself.

### New Afrikan Security Union (NASU)

Designed to create a disciplined grouping of Black women and men who can protect Black people and their institutions. They learn many skills including first-aid, photography, communication skills, and martial arts training.

### Afrikan Institute of Martial Arts

Trains New Afrikans in Kupigana Ngumi (the art of self-defense). Kupigana Ngumi is a fighting system based in the best of African and New Afrikan tradition and heritage which encourages loyalty to New Afrikan people, Black culture and the Black Liberation Movement.



Twenty years after the Watts Rebellion, the drop-out rate for Black youth in Watts is 50-60%. A high priority of the Centers is to combat this type of mental genocide. One of the oldest programs is the Uhuru Sasa School in Los Angeles.

### Uhuru Sasa School

An educational enrichment program to teach Black children academic skills and bolster their self-images. At a time when public education does not meet children's needs, Uhuru Sasa provides an educational environment that prepares Black children for academic survival as well as discipline and cultural awareness to help make them proud and productive members of the Black Nation. Uhuru Sasa offers a weekend school program and has begun expanding itself to other sites in the Black community.

### Freedom Now Children's Bookstore

The only bookstore in Los Angeles which features books by Black people for and about Black children. Freedom Now also carries a fine collection of multi-cultural reading material and an assortment of science, language, social science and other books to aid children in academic development.



## BUILDING SOLIDARITY

If you had lived with Denmark Vesey  
Would you take a stand?

If you had lived in the days of Nat Turner  
Would you fight his battles?

If you had lived during the days of John Brown  
Would you walk his path?

If you had lived with Harriet Tubman  
Would you wade in the waters?

If you had lived with Marcus Garvey  
Could you see his vision?

from "If You Had Lived"  
by Sweet Honey in the Rock

We live today in a country rooted in racial hatred and violence. White supremacy is growing like an untreated cancer—in government attacks on affirmative action, the dismantling of social service programs, the militarization of the police as occupying armies in the Black community, repression of progressive and revolutionary Black organizations, and the enormous growth of Klan, Nazi and right-wing groups.

We don't want to live in this kind of society. We cannot allow these racists to continue their terror and violence without building a strong anti-racist movement to counter their genocidal plans. The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee has launched a campaign to build financial and material aid for the Center for Black Survival.

For us, solidarity is not an act of charity.

The strengthening of the Black community will move us all closer to a world based on human rights and true justice.

Our support for the Centers for Black Survival is direct assistance for day-to-day survival needs of the Black community, and the on-going programs needed to build their liberation movement and its vision of a New

Afrikan Nation where full human rights are ensured for all.

We urge you to join this solidarity campaign to help build independent institutions in the Black community. All the money raised goes directly to the regional Centers for rent, supplies, equipment and the growth of their programs.

### Help Build the Center for Black Survival

#### New T-Shirt Available!

Lavender only  
(Black graphic as shown)



I SUPPORT THE MALCOLM X  
COMMUNITY CENTER FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

- ☐ Please send me more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ I want to become a quarterly contributor.  
Amount \$ \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ I want to participate in this campaign.
- ☐ Send me a T-shirt S M L XL

All contributions are tax deductible. Make checks payable to: Community Aid & Development Corp.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Street: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Return to: John Brown Anti-Klan Committee  
2554 Lincoln Blvd., Box 4048, Los Angeles, CA 90291  
220 9th St. No. 443, San Francisco, CA 94103  
P.O. Box 7239, Chicago, IL 60680  
P.O. Box 406, New York, NY 10009  
P.O. Box 584, Cambridge, MA 02140



# PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT GROWS

by the New Movement in Solidarity with  
Puerto Rican Independence & Socialism

On November 6, 1985, the second highest officer responsible for U.S. Army recruitment in Puerto Rico, US Army Major Michael Snyder, was shot and wounded by someone riding a motorcycle on a crowded highway outside of San Juan. A few days later, the OVRP (Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution), an armed clandestine Independence organization, took responsibility for the action.

To understand the OVRP's action, we have to understand a sequence of events that started earlier in the year.

On August 30, 1985, 200 FBI agents flew to Puerto Rico and arrested 11 activists, charging them with membership in *Los Macheteros*, one of five guerrilla organizations in the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. Simultaneously, two others were arrested in Texas and Mexico. The FBI also carried out raids on other *independentistas* all over the island. The activists were flown to the US in military aircraft. FBI director William Webster flew to Puerto Rico and announced that with the arrests of 13, the FBI had broken the back of the guerrilla movement in Puerto Rico. His statement, the arrests of the 13, and the raids, show that the FBI was trying to intimidate the Independence Movement and all Puerto Rican people.

However, the FBI strategy has not succeeded. From the first day of the arrests, demonstrations of up to 10,000 people occurred on the island and several mobilizations here affirmed support for the 13 prisoners, who are all well-known community leaders and *independentistas*. The demonstrators have also expressed their support for *Los Macheteros* and the entire armed struggle in Puerto Rico saying, "Every Puerto Rican is a *Machetero*, *Voluntario* or *Obrero*" (all three are patriotic guerrilla island organizations).

their dignity, their political consciousness."

When William Webster went to Puerto Rico, he was met by a demonstration of 1,000 people called by the Unitary Committee against Repression. They demanded that the FBI leave Puerto Rico. It was the very next day that the OVRP attacked the Army recruiter. Though he was shot on a crowded road, no Puerto Rican has come forward so far to identify any assailant. The action was intended to break the violent atmosphere of intimidation the US was trying to create and show the Independence Movement's capability to provide a revolutionary alternative to colonialism. It proved that the FBI has not stopped the guerrilla movement.

The communique sent to the press demanded an end to US Army Recruitment in Puerto Rico, an end to the arrests of Puerto Rican patriots, an end to the presence of the FBI in Puerto Rico, and Independence and Socialism for the island.

Two weeks after the action, a poster appeared in hundreds of high schools on the island. The poster reads, "Be All You Can Be—Fight for Independence." It pictures a guerrilla climbing over a barbed wire fence. The OVRP also claimed the poster as part of their campaign against army recruitment. The image of the determined guerrilla climbing over a huge barbed wire fence depicts the spirit with which the Puerto Rican people have met the problem of colonialism.

Historically, the Puerto Rican people have always resisted intervention into their country. They fought the US Army when it invaded Puerto Rico in 1898. In the early 1900s, Puerto Ricans voted for Independence. It was denied repeatedly by the US government. In the 1950s, there was an insurrection in Puerto Rico that the US military repressed with the first full-scale napalm bombing of civilians. Since the 1950s, Puerto Ricans, like other Latin Americans and people in exploited countries around the world, have turned to building a people's war to liberate the island. But, it's clear that the US won't release the island without a fierce struggle.

With the crisis of control in Central America, the growing international debt and the victories of national liberation around the world, the need of US imperialism to control Puerto Rico is greater now than ever.

In 1980, the clandestine movement in Puerto Rico uncovered a US government document about the island, detailing the 2020 Plan. The 2020 Plan (named for the year by which it is supposed to be completed), is a blueprint to turn most of Puerto Rico into eleven industrial-military parks in order to facilitate mining the central hills for strategic minerals. These minerals are the same ones the US is losing access to as Third World countries liberate themselves from US control. If the plan goes into effect, it will ruin the island's ecology and destroy the source of 80% of the water supply.

The plan also increases Puerto Rico's current role as the main US military base for control over the Caribbean and Central America. Already the US Army owns over 13% of the most arable land.

If the 2020 Plan is completed, the ecological damage will be so bad that Puerto Rico won't be able to sustain its current population size. The document projects reducing the current population by two-thirds. This explains the alarmingly high sterilization rate (40-50%) on the island.

The need to depopulate also points to why the US Army has more intensive recruiting drives on the island than in any part of the US. Other reasons for the recruitment drive are: 1) the Army wants Latin American soldiers to fight in Central America, and 2) the discontent and unemployment of Puerto Rican youth is dangerously high. There is great potential for youth to be organized to a revolutionary alternative if the US does not offer them an alternative to the poverty they face.

The US views the Puerto Rican Independence Movement as the one great



Rico. To try to stop the Independence Movement, repression and surveillance on the movement in Puerto Rico and inside the US has grown in the last few years.

Including the 13 political prisoners arrested in August, there are 40 Puerto Rican patriots in US jails: grand jury resisters, Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners. Yet the revolutionary Independence Movement has not been deterred.

In February, 1986, a new communique was sent to Puerto Rican newspapers announcing the formation of another guerrilla organization. In one paper, it was called "The Puerto Rican Liberation Army in support of Los Macheteros"; in another it was "The Puerto Rican National Revolutionary Front". The communique was quoted, describing the organization as being divided into three sections, each with the name of a Taino chief. The Tainos are the original indigenous occupants of Puerto Rico. The organization claimed responsibility for a whole series of Post Office bombings—registration centers for the army, and symbols of US occupation.

Many of us in the white left have been moved by the imagination and courage the revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Movement has shown to protect

and organize their people. Many of us support the ultimate goal of independence for the island. However, many still have questions about pacifism and armed actions. The main thing we need to remember is that after 100 years of violent colonialism by the US, Puerto Ricans have the right to self-determination by whatever means they find necessary. Consistently, oppressed people around the world have had to fight armed struggles to free themselves from colonialism. Puerto Rico is in a similar situation.

We can also learn a lot from the example of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement as we try to figure out what will actually stop the US's drive toward war in Central America. The Independence Movement repeatedly shows us that imperialism can be fought within its own borders—and that it will be fought. If Nicaragua won, and El Salvador will win, then so will Puerto Rico.

**Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!**

**Editor's Note:** Since this article was written, two more *independentistas* and one North American have been arrested and charged with assisting *Los Macheteros*. They will join the 13 in trial, which is not expected to start for at least a year.

## Amerikkka's Contras

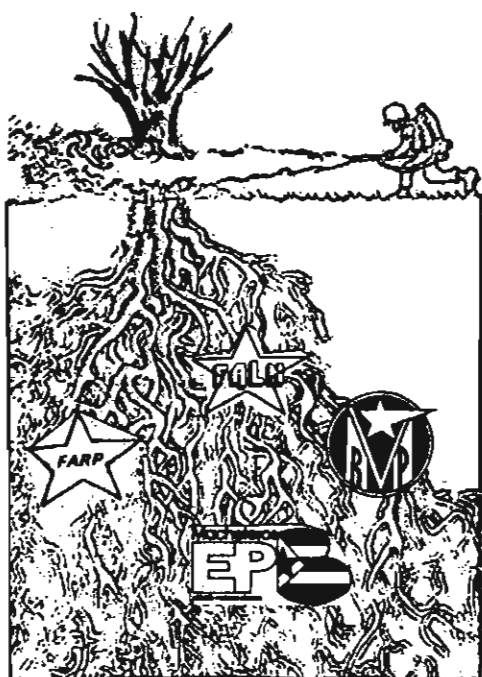
continued from page 6

premacist structure develop, we can envision its use domestically to attack national liberation movements inside US borders.

Reagan's pro-CMA statement is true. White supremacists have always found ways to support genocidal US wars. In particular, there is a long tradition of collaboration between the slaveowners of the South and the western expansionists. The first US invasion of Nicaragua, in 1858, led by William Walker, was an attempt to set up a slave society. The annexation of Texas was arranged by slaveowners. Confederate Gen. Forrest (for whom the Klan brigade is named) formed the KKK in 1868 to keep newly freed Black people from getting land and using the vote in the South. In this century, the mercenaries who were defeated in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) often carried Confederate flags and many were recruited by the Klan. The Klan also helped white Rhodesians "defend" white settlers in the southern US.

Today this tradition is being updated in a sophisticated counterinsurgency strategy to defend imperialism around the world, build reaction here at home and deny the Nicaragua and other oppressed nations their right to self-determination. It is led by the US government, and implemented by the CIA, CMA, SOF and the KKK. Once we understand the racist roots of the contra support network inside the US, it becomes clear why all of us who oppose the contras and support the Nicaraguan revolution need to fight the growth of the white supremacist movement here.

**Special thanks to The Resource Center, for their excellent pamphlet "New Right Humanitarians," published September 1985, for much of the factual material found in this article. For copies of the pamphlet send \$2.00 to: The Resource Center, Box 4506, Albuquerque, NM 87106.**



Leaders of all the different Independence organizations have united in condemning the arrests. The 13 themselves have inspired their supporters by maintaining their strength and spirits through very difficult circumstances. One of them, Luz Ivonne Berrios, was tortured in front of her child when she was first arrested in Mexico. Her child's head was dunked under water and he was also interrogated. Only 4 of the 13 have been released on bail. The others are being detained.

One of the 13 who was released, Jorge Farinacci, a labor union lawyer, gave a press conference saying that although the spirits of the remaining incarcerated comrades are very good, their conditions are bad. Although Puerto Rico is their home, they are imprisoned in New York. He stated that the FBI got a "big surprise" when it saw the reaction of the Puerto Rican people to the arrests. "They were thinking they could frighten the Puerto



# FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM IS NOT A CRIME

## New Afrikan Revolutionary Captured

*Dr. Mutulu Shakur is currently awaiting trial in New York City on conspiracy charges stemming from the attempted Brinks expropriation in 1981. He has stated that he is a Prisoner of War because he is a New Afrikan citizen. JBAKC extends our full support to Dr. Shakur and will continue coverage of his upcoming trial.*

### Who is Dr. Mutulu Shakur?

*by the New Afrikan People's Organization*

Dr. Mutulu Shakur is a New Afrikan (Black) revolutionary and patriot dedicated to the liberation of the New Afrikan Nation. On Tuesday, Feb. 11, 1986, Dr. Shakur was captured by a Los Angeles police, New York police, and FBI terrorist task force intent on destroying the Black Liberation Movement. Already the lies and disinformation of the American government's propaganda machine are being spread trying to criminalize Dr. Shakur's revolutionary activity and portray him as a terrorist. These are the facts about Dr. Shakur.

Dr. Shakur was born August 8, 1951, and has been active in the New Afrikan Liberation Movement since he was 15 years old. In 1968, he became a Founding Member of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. His life has been dedicated to national liberation and self-determination for the New Afrikan nation inside the borders of the U.S.

Dr. Shakur's life has been full of sacrifices made for the benefit of the nation. His political activism is extensive. In 1969, along with other New Afrikan Security

Forces, he placed his life on the line to defend over 200 Black men and women from a violent police attack on the church of Aretha Franklin's father, the New Bethel Baptist Church, in Detroit, Michigan. In 1970-71 he organized support for local struggles against racist violence in Cairo, Illinois and Wilmington, North Carolina. In 1970, he organized political rallies, material aid, and legal support for New Afrikan political prisoners nationwide, including the Panther 21, Geronimo Pratt, RNA-11, Assata Shakur, Sundiata Acoli, and the Wilmington 10. In 1974, Dr. Shakur coordinated the National Task Force for Cointelpro Litigation and Research which investigated the U.S. government's conspiracy against the Black Liberation Movement. He also organized mass memorials for our "Shining Black Prince," Malcolm X, in 1977 and 1978 that drew thousands of participants. As a Pan-Afrikanist and internationalist, Dr. Shakur organized a material aid campaign for the liberation movement in Zimbabwe. His efforts on this endeavor won him an invitation from ZANU, the elected governing party, to the elections held after independence was won in 1980.

Dr. Shakur was also a health worker in the community. In the early 1970's, he worked at the Lincoln Detox Community Hospital in Harlem to combat drug addiction. Recognizing the need for alternatives to the substandard health care routinely given to Black people, he became a licensed doctor of Chinese Medicine and acupuncture. He later organized BAAANA,



Mutulu Shakur

the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America, which treated over 75 people weekly and successfully rehabilitated a number of the community's drug addicts.

In addition to all of the above activities and accomplishments, Dr. Shakur is a husband and dedicated father of four children and has worked consistently under considerable stress to nurture and

protect the Black family. It should be clear that based on his history, Dr. Shakur is a freedom-loving man who is strong enough to struggle for the liberation of his nation. He is a lover of his people and struggles for our self-determination. **He is a Freedom Fighter, not a terrorist.** Don't let the FBI criminalize Dr. Shakur and the New Afrikan Independence Movement. **Support New Afrikan Freedom Fighters!**

## Carrying on the Tradition of John Brown

*Marilyn Buck is a North American revolutionary currently held in prison in New York City. She is charged in what has become known as the Brinks/RICO (racketeering, conspiracy) case. Her political involvement goes back to the 1960s when she was a member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). She did solidarity work with the Black Panther Party in the San Francisco/Oakland area.*

In 1973, she was arrested and charged with buying weapons and ammunition for the Black Liberation Army (BLA). Although only convicted of buying 2 boxes of ammunition, she was given the maximum sentence: 10 years in prison. She spent a year and a half in various county jails. Then she was sent to the women's prison in West Virginia, and held in isolation in the maximum security unit for 13 months. After a struggle, she was released into general population.

She kept struggling. She got a furlough in 1977 and didn't return. At her recent trial for escape, she explained, "I had to remain true to the principles which have guided me all my adult life—human rights for all people, self-determination for all oppressed nations, women's liberation and socialism. How could I return to the custody of U.S. imperialism—the sworn enemy of humanity?"

After eight years underground, Marilyn was arrested on May 11, 1985, with another revolutionary, Linda Evans. The government charges that she participated in the liberation of Assata Shakur, a member of the BLA, in 1979. They say she was wounded in the 1981 Brink's expropriation, but managed to escape. She faces a potential life sentence.

We are proud to print this article written by Marilyn about her upcoming case. Like John Brown, she has dedicated her life to fighting white supremacy. We urge our readers to support her and all political prisoners and prisoners-of-war.

This article was written before the capture of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mutulu Shakur. He is also charged in this case. At press time, it was not known whether they will be tried separately or together.

Write to Marilyn at: MCC, 150 Park Row, N.Y. NY 10007.

by Marilyn Buck

For months now, I've read thousands of pages of testimony from various "Brink's trials" that took place in 1983 and '84. Since I was underground then, this is my first direct exposure to these



Marilyn Buck

trials. I am struck with how the comrades involved combatted effectively the state's efforts to criminalize them and the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The courtroom became an arena of struggle between the historical force of African liberation and the racism and reaction of the imperialist state. As Sekou Odinga stated in his opening statement at the federal RICO trial:

"I am a political being. I have been a part of the Black liberation movement—the movement to free Black people from the oppression and the injustices that they have suffered since first being brought here as African slaves... I am a New Afrikan soldier, and we have an absolute right to fight for our freedom. That is a human right. That is not a right that you have to ask or beg for. Like all people who want to be free, what is necessary to exercise that right is to stand up like men and women and exercise it. If it calls for fighting, then we fight."

These words sound in my mind as I watch the advance of the national liberation struggle in Azania/South Africa. The conditions are different, but the fundamental issue of African liberation is the same. The Azanian/South African people are rising up across their nation, on many different fronts, to demand an end to white colonial domination and white supremacy. There is no longer any peace or stability for the Boers and their government. There, the struggle is much closer to victory.

Sekou Odinga's words could have been spoken by revolutionaries from Angola

Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, or Azania/South Africa. But his words were spoken here. The confrontation between Black people's absolute right to fight for their freedom and the U.S.'s efforts to destroy this struggle has defined all the cases which grew out of the Brink's expropriation and subsequent government counter-insurgency offensive. The political defense in the Brink's case reaffirmed the right of a colonized nation to obtain land and independence, by any means necessary.

Now, two years later, the genocidal oppression Black people face in the U.S. is greater than at any time since this white supremacist government attacked Black Reconstruction in the South in the 1870s.

In May, 1985, the U.S. government endorsed the bombing of a Black neighborhood in Philadelphia to eliminate a Black organization, MOVE, because it rejected the conditions of life and oppression forced upon the Black community. At the end of November, 1985, six cops were acquitted of murdering Michael Stewart, a Black graffiti artist whom they had beaten to death. The state actively encourages forces of white supremacy, like the KKK. It is attempting to enforce a racist, pro-war, consensus among white people, while launching broad-scale attacks on the lives, living standards, and human rights of Third World people inside the U.S.

This is the setting in which this second Brink's/RICO trial will take place. As a white North American, I come from the political perspective of revolutionary solidarity with the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

As in the first trials, the government will directly attack the right of New Afrikan/Black people to fight for land and independence. They will try to portray expropriating money to build a liberation struggle and liberating Prisoners-of-War like Assata Shakur as criminal acts, not legitimate aspects of a developing national liberation movement.

The government will try to criminalize and attack North American solidarity and alliances with the New Afrikan Independence Movement. It will try to reduce solidarity with the New Afrikan/Black liberation struggle to the participation of a few isolated individuals. The government's

decision not to try Susan Rosenberg and Alan Berkman, 2 other anti-imperialist revolutionaries charged in this case, was designed to strengthen their media lie that I was "the sole white member of the BLA." The government will try to make an example of me. The message is that this is the price white people pay if they ally with struggles of oppressed peoples. It is one more effort to threaten people in the oppressor nation not to support land and independence for the New Afrikan/Black nation.

I've set political goals for this case, but they can't be just individual and they can't be achieved solely in the courtroom. Organizing support around this trial can build revolutionary consciousness and can fight for the leading strategy of national liberation worldwide in a broader anti-imperialist movement. This trial will be a concrete example of how white people can support the New Afrikan/Black independence struggle and fight white supremacy. This work will have to go on outside the courtroom as well as inside.

My goals for this trial are:

1) To expose the continuing counter-insurgency attacks against revolutionary movements. The U.S. has engaged in a massive counter-insurgency program (COINTELPRO) against the Black liberation struggle since the 1960s. Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton and other leaders were murdered. Many revolutionary Black organizations, like the Black Panther Party, were attacked, undermined, and destroyed. Countless Black men and women were murdered or imprisoned because of COINTELPRO.

In the 1980s, the government has carried out this program under the guise of "anti-terrorism." After its attacks on the New Afrikan Independence movement and North American allies in 1981, the FBI Joint Terrorist Task Force coordinated counter-insurgency programs like BOS-LUC and Western Sweep. These programs were designed to track down New Afrikan and North American revolutionaries. In the last year, 14 North American revolutionaries—including me—all from a developing clandestine resistance movement—have been captured.

[In February, 1986, Mutulu Shakur was



## Updates on Political Prisoners

In November, 1985, Judith Clark was sentenced to two years in segregation at Bedford Hills prison, the NY State maximum security prison for women. She is an anti-imperialist political prisoner, serving 75 years to life for participating in an expropriation from a Brink's truck that was led by the Black Liberation Army in 1981. Judy is in segregation for "conspiracy to escape," based documents the FBI claims were written by Judy and found outside the prison. She wasn't charged with any overt acts or possession of suspicious materials. Even women who have been caught in the act of escaping have received one year maximum in segregation. Judy has gained much respect from the other prisoners. Over 120 women prisoners signed a protest letter. We urge people to join the protest by writing letters in support of Judy, demanding an end to the segregation sentence. Letters should be sent to: Superintendent Elaine Lord, 247 Harris Road, Bedford Hills, NY 10507.

The government has been losing its case against Laura Whitehorn. Her charges of possessing illegal weapons and equipment to make identification were dropped because the FBI searched her house without a warrant. Laura is an anti-imperialist revolutionary currently held in segregation at Davis Hall, Alderson, WV, even though she is only charged with resisting arrest and assault on an FBI agent. She has no prior record but has been denied bail. She is being held in contempt for refusing to give handwriting samples.

That same illegal search forced a judge to drop 22 years worth of charges against Linda Evans, another anti-imperialist who was captured with Marilyn Buck on May 11, 1985. Linda was also charged with harboring a fugitive (Marilyn). Her first trial on harboring ended in a hung jury. Her second trial on harboring resulted in conviction, but was still a political success because she countered the "terrorist" image, and established that she is a revolutionary, not a criminal. Linda still faces 55 years for allegedly buying three guns in New Orleans, LA.

A battle of a different sort was won by anti-imperialist political prisoner Dr. Alan Berkman. Alan was busted on May 23, 1985, and a few months later, discovered a tumor which turned out to be Hodgkin's Disease, a cancer. After a public campaign, many court arguments, and 1000 letters to the judge, he was able to receive the treatment he needed, although still held in prison.

More good news—some releases from prison: Julio Rosado, Andres Rosado, and Steven Guerra, from the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (Puerto Rican and Mexican) were released after 2 years. They were sent to prison for criminal contempt, for refusing to collaborate with a grand jury investigating the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the FALN. Their companeros, Ricardo Romero and Maria Cueto, also part of the MLN-5, are due to be released this summer.

Carol Hill, a Black grand jury resister who refused to collaborate with the grand jury investigating the Ohio 7, won her "Grumbles" motion and was released from prison after 10 months. The judge agreed that she would never collaborate, and that it was punitive to keep her in prison.

Not everyone is as strong in their principles as Carol Hill and the MLN-5. Julie Belmas, previously of the Vancouver 5, turned traitor. She denounced her comrades and the use of armed actions in a plea for a lighter sentence. The Vancouver 5 were convicted of bombing a Litton plant in Toronto and firebombing pornography stores in Vancouver.

Despite 18-year sentences for the Plowshares Pruning Hooks activists, four Plowshares infiltrated an Air Force base on Good Friday and destroyed missiles.

For more information on political prisoners, write to the Committee to Fight Repression, PO Box 1435, NY, NY 10025 for *The Insurgent*, which also has a political prisoners address list.

## Third Trial for Black Revolutionaries

On March 24, 1986, two Black revolutionaries went on trial for the third time in New York City. Basheer Hameed (James York) and Abdul Majid (Anthony Laborde) are both former members of the Black Panther Party and dedicated to the Black Liberation struggle. They are charged with the murder of a police officer resulting from an attack on two police officers in Queens in April, 1981.

The first trial ended in a hung jury. The second trial was abruptly declared a mistrial by the judge when he learned the jury was leaning toward acquittal. It is likely that the second trial would have resulted in acquittal because evidence withheld by the D.A. in the first trial came out in the second trial, exposing the frame-up of

Basheer and Abdul.

For example, the surviving cop had assisted a police artist in making sketches of the attackers, but these were never shown to the first jury. Three eyewitnesses were subjected to the highly questionable procedure of hypnosis, but the first jury was never told this. Finally, a confidential police report, giving names and addresses of two New Jersey drug dealers who fit the descriptions and were linked to the vehicle used in the attack, was withheld from the first jury.

Now, in the third trial, the district attorney and the judge are trying to create an atmosphere of fear among the jury against Basheer and Abdul. A known informer/ traitor to the Black liberation movement,

Tyrone Rison, may be produced as a new witness in this trial.

It has come out clearly that the police immediately narrowed their investigation to the Black Panther Party. Witnesses were shown 50 photographs of former B.P.P. members. These photos included 23 women even though the witnesses said they had seen two men.

The Black community is always present in court to show its support of these two revolutionaries and to combat the image of "mad dogs and terrorists" fostered by the Mayor, the media, and the D.A.

For more information, contact: Laborde & York Community Support Coalition, c/o Ideal, 1289A Fulton Street, Box 329, Brooklyn, NY 11216.

## Victory in New York 8 Case

The trial of the New York 8+ Against Fascist Terrorism (NY8+) lasted for three months during the Spring and Summer of 1985. These eight Black revolutionaries were charged with conspiring to break New Afrikan Prisoners of War Sekou Odinga and Kuwasi Balagoon out of jail, conspiring to rob armored cars and with possession of false identification and weapons.

This prosecution was a test case for use of the "pre-emptive strike," a new tactic in the government's arsenal of counter-insurgency.

The preparations for this pre-emptive strike began with an "investigation" of the NY8+ by the Joint Terrorist Task Force at least a year before their arrest. The trial exposed that many of the once illegal FBI COINTELPRO tactics used against the anti-war movement and Black Panther Party in the late 60s and early 70s have now been legalized.

COINTELPRO is the code name for the FBI's counter-intelligence program initiated in the 1950s to disrupt the Communist Party. As the Civil Rights Movement and later the Black Power and Black Nationalist movements in the 1960s and early 70s developed and grew, J. Edgar Hoover aimed COINTELPRO at these forces as well as the anti-war movement.

The FBI's tactics included wire-tapping, installing microphones in apartments, "black bag jobs" (surreptitious entries), reading mail, sending phony letters and telegrams, etc. During the 1970s many individuals and groups which had been targeted by COINTELPRO successfully sued the FBI and local police departments for violations of their civil rights. In 1981, two former assistant directors of the FBI were prosecuted and convicted of criminal charges for authorizing illegal break-ins of political activists' apartments. (Reagan's very first executive act after being sworn in as President in January, 1981, was to pardon them.)

In October, 1984, when the small army (of over 200 agents) from the FBI Joint Terrorist Task Force arrested these eight people, Secretary of State Schultz and Secretary of Defense Weinberger were debating publicly the use of pre-emptive strikes against so-called "terrorists." A pre-emptive strike is a military term describing a tactic where one side strikes the other before it has had a chance to organize and defend itself. The arrest and prosecution of the NY8+ was a domestic test for this tactic. It failed.

Speaking at a Zionist fundraiser in New York in 1984, Schultz said pre-emptive

strike meant that the American public had to learn to accept that their government may have to act on less information than would "stand up in a court of law." At almost the same time, the US Attorney prosecuting the case was trying to explain to a judge that the arrest of the NY8+ was a self-conscious "premature arrest" necessary to stop a band of "urban bandits."

The NY8+ defended themselves against these charges saying that the government failed to prove any agreement to commit the alleged acts. The NY8+ used the trial to expose the ongoing government conspiracy to crush the Black Liberation struggle in the US. The state pointed to "evasive driving" and the use of false identification as "proof" of criminality. The NY8+ said the government's dirty tricks were proof of why it was necessary to do their political organizing outside the eyes and ears of the FBI. The jury believed the NY8+.

The support of the Black community for the NY8+ during the bail hearings and the trial itself was the crucial factor in the jury's rejection of the government's case. The jury's decision to acquit on all the conspiracy charges sent the Joint Terrorist Task Force back to the drawing boards on pre-emptive strike.

## Ohio 7 Fight for Internationalism

The Ohio 7 are revolutionary anti-imperialist women and men who were captured in 1984 and 1985. They were on trial in Brooklyn Federal Court for five months on charges of carrying out armed actions against US military facilities and recruiting offices, South African government offices, IBM, Union Carbide, Motorola, Honeywell and General Electric corporations. These actions were claimed by the United Freedom Front in solidarity with the struggling people of Azania/South Africa and Central America.

The Ohio 7 are white North Americans deeply committed to the struggle against racism. They are working class women and men who have varied histories—as children of mill workers, Vietnam Vets, activists in the prison rights movement and anti-war movement—histories which have given them a lifetime commitment to fighting in solidarity with national liberation to defeat US imperialism and build a socialist future for us and our children.

As political prisoners, the Ohio 7 have been subject to beatings and stun gun torture. They have had their children disappeared and held incommunicado by the FBI for several months. Throughout their imprisonment and trial, they have been an example of strength. They have fought that what the government calls "conspiracy" is, in fact, resistance.

The Ohio 7 were convicted on less than half of the charges against them, and were sentenced in April to terms of 15 to 53 years. Some of them still face state charges.

The following is excerpted from the closing statement of Ray Levasseur:

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen of the jury. During my opening statement, I tried to explain to you why I chose to represent myself during this trial. I said that this is not a criminal case, it is an



Ray Levasseur

attempt by the government to criminalize revolutionaries who resist the government's policies. It is an attempt to criminalize the movement of which I am a part, the clandestine movement. It is an attempt to criminalize the fight against U.S. imperialism. This is what in part makes this a political trial.

I have tried to add the voice of revolutionary resistance to this trial, to try to prevent us from being silenced and to advance those issues which are of great concern to us and people throughout the world. Those issues are self-determination for nations, human rights and the right of people to resist a government's criminal activity by whatever means are necessary to do so.

... Something bothered me that Mr. Gallagher [the U.S. attorney] did the other day. He stood over here and did a lot of pointing toward us talking about how sly we are, about how we're bombers, no regard for human life and everything. I want to point now at both of these men right here. Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Rose [another

U.S. attorney] and their cohorts of the Joint Terrorist Task Force, two FBI agents and the NYC police department. I want to point at both of them. I want you to know the only difference between the two of them is in style and not substance because the substance is the same with both of them. The important thing I want you to realize is that both of them, what they represent, why they are here, why they feel it's necessary to point over at [our] table and say we are the criminals, is because the sole reason they are here is to defend the government of racist South Africa, to defend the government of the United States, its policies, its war crimes in Central America.

They are not defending plaster of Paris walls over there at the South African government offices or the U.S. corporations that do business in South Africa. They are here to defend apartheid and the racist government of South Africa. They are here to defend war crimes in Central America. When we get up, we say something about the death of Michael Stewart on the streets of New York City, murdered by the New York City Police Department. They stand up and object; they show their own racism. They show which side of the freedom struggle they're on. They are here to defend the government of South Africa. I hope you keep that in mind throughout the remainder of this trial when you decide if and where the blame and guilt resides.

I should say now that I know that during the course of this trial that I've been very emotional, very passionate about the issues we've dealt with. In part that is because I'm outraged about what is happening under the apartheid system in South Africa; that it is happening with the support and complicity of this government

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## Marilyn Buck

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captured. A New Afrikan Freedom Fighter, he is charged in the Brinks/RICO case.]

However, despite escalating political repression, the government has not caught Assata Shakur or Nehanda Abiodun, New Afrikan Freedom Fighters.

2) To build support for the New Afrikan/Black independence struggle, for human rights and to fight white supremacy. Fighting in solidarity with national liberation struggles has been a central part of the development of a revolutionary movement in the white oppressor nation. Judy Clark, David Gilbert, Silvia Baraldini and Kathy Boudin are leading examples of North American anti-imperialists who acted as allies of the New Afrikan independence struggle and the Black Liberation Army. Their practice reflects a long history worldwide of fighting in solidarity brigades.

We will confront the state's efforts to isolate me as the "sole white member of the BLA." I was not a part of the BLA, nor am I an isolated individual. I came out of a real movement which supported Black liberation and Black revolutionary organizations like the Black Panther Party in the late '60s and early '70s. Our support grew from struggling against white supremacy—fighting the Klan, and responding to the brutal murders of Black people by the police. At the same time, mass resistance to the war in Vietnam was building. Many of us began to understand from the example of the Vietnamese people and the struggles of colonized peoples here that the U.S. imperialist system was our enemy. We realized that if we were ever to win fundamental changes in this system we needed to build a revolutionary movement that would fight imperialism and would support the struggles of the nations directly colonized—Puerto Rico, the New Afrikan/Black nation, the Mexicano/Chicano nation and Native American nations.

Due to our commitment to supporting Black liberation in particular, we have been labelled as deviant individuals, terrorists, and criminals by the government, and as "race traitors" by the Klan and Nazis. However, we know that deep identification with the oppressed here and around the world is not being a traitor to the white race—it's being an enemy of imperialism and an ally of the majority of the world's people. Hating white supremacy is not the same as hating white people.

The more I got in touch with my own oppression as a white woman, the more I could understand the nature of national oppression and the fact that we can never be truly free in a society which is based in

oppression. As I became more of a revolutionary and a communist, I increasingly agreed with the leading role that the Black Liberation Struggle and all national liberation movements are playing in the process of defeating imperialism and taking the first steps toward a socialist world.

I want to show in this trial that my behavior and that of other anti-imperialists in the oppressor nation isn't isolated—it's hopefully the behavior of a growing number of white people who have a different world view, who see white supremacy, class exploitation, and women's oppression as barbaric and anti-human.



The rise in white supremacy makes the development of a revolutionary movement among white people necessary.

Preparing for this case, examining my own political history for the last 17 years, has brought home a lesson that I think needs to be part of our movement's strategic thinking: the realities of national oppression and the solution of national liberation make it necessary for us to build for revolution.

The surface of "American" life has been relatively placid for the past ten years or so—but revolutionaries look below the surface to fundamental social contradictions. These contradictions have intensified. Revolutionaries from national liberation movements have learned from the last generation of struggle and are building deeply-rooted organizations that will be able to survive and grow in the face of inevitable repression. It is slow, but it is sure. We need to build that same way.

Armed clandestine organizations have long been a part of the Black liberation movement (the BLA), and of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (the FARP, OVRP, and PRTP-ERB/Macheteros in Puerto Rico and the FALN, fighting inside the U.S.). In the last number of years, armed clandestine organizations like

the United Freedom Front, Red Guerrilla Resistance, Armed Resistance Unit, and Revolutionary Fighting Group have emerged, built by North Americans. They have struggled to build a capacity to wage armed struggle as an integral part of a revolutionary resistance movement in the oppressor nation.

The actions of the North American armed clandestine movement challenge the reformism that has dominated progressive movements in this country. They have begun to build a consciousness of the need to destroy imperialism. Without a capacity to wage a revolutionary struggle for power,

there can be no victory. These organizations have struggled to fight in alliance with the national liberation movements against our common enemy.

This country was built on assumptions of white superiority and deeply entrenched racism. Many of today's North American anti-imperialists did not experience the revolutionary mass struggles of the Black nation in the '60s. They didn't witness the revolutionizing power of national liberation and consciousness in a period of world-wide revolution. As anti-intervention and anti-apartheid movements grow in the '80s, we must beware of falling into the reformist and racist trap of "disregarding" the struggles of oppressed peoples here; and attacking their efforts to initiate protracted wars of national liberation.

My own experiences have taught me that we need to build a revolutionary resistance movement which has many levels, tasks and forms of organization. This includes solidarity work which can assume many forms. One form is fighting in solidarity with national liberation struggles around the world—like Carrol Ishee, who gave his life fighting with the FMLN in El

Salvador, and Sam Melville who died at Attica in alliance with Third World prisoners, or Judy Clark and David Gilbert who acted in solidarity with the New Afrikan Independence struggle. Many other North American anti-imperialist comrades do solidarity work at the mass level in organizations like the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, or organizations which work in solidarity with Nicaragua, the FMLN in El Salvador, or the Azanian/South African struggle.

We also need to continue to develop North American revolutionary anti-imperialist organizations which are committed to uphold the right of oppressed nations to self-determination and recognize strategic Third World leadership; are committed and capable of fighting the growing hegemony of organized white supremacist forces and the state; and which directly fight the state. We can speak to the righteous demands of exploited sectors of white people in this country—an end to imperialist war, racist domination, the oppression of women, and a system where economic power is controlled by the ruling class. We can continue to fight for a revolutionary strategy to win these demands.

As a movement, we need to support all people who support and act in solidarity with national liberation struggles. Those of us captured by the state have spent many years fighting white supremacy, imperialist war and aggression, and for an end to the reactionary violence and exploitive nature of U.S. imperialism. I ask for your support in the Brink's/RICO case, and support for all the comrades who are currently facing charges stemming from building clandestine resistance inside the heart of imperialism.

The late '60s and early '70s was a high tide of revolution in the world. Our political development, practice and commitment was shaped by this history. Many New Afrikan/Black, Puerto Rican, Native American and Mexicano/Chicano POWs and political prisoners have been locked up in prisons because they fought for the liberation of their nations. Though many have been behind the walls for 15 years or more, the flames of resistance and revolution do not flicker. They continue to build.

A North American anti-imperialist resistance movement can fight on the side of the oppressed as allies to defeat U.S. imperialism, for human rights, self-determination, independence, and socialism. This is the path to creating a better world.

**Land and Independence for  
the New Afrikan/Black Nation!  
Fight White Supremacy!  
Free All POWs and Political Prisoners!  
Build a Revolutionary  
Resistance Movement!**

## Ohio 7

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and corporations that are headquartered in this country. At the same time, I'm not discouraged, I'm not depressed because I feel strong and have been encouraged by knowing, and there is no doubt about this in my mind, that South Africa will one day be free, that it will be called Azania and that the grandchildren of African people that are carrying the struggle on now, and their children, will dance on the graves of fascists like Botha who is president of South Africa today. . . .

[The FBI tried to de-code dates in notebooks allegedly kept by the Ohio 7, which is the reference to ADJ dates.]

A lot has been said, particularly during the testimony of FBI agent Markey, about Jonathan Jackson and ADJ dates. I will continue on my closing by addressing that for a moment.

Jonathan was killed on August 7, 1980. You remember that Agent Markey came down from upstate Vermont. He said he needed the help of the resources of the Federal Government that are down in Washington, DC to determine that Jonathan Jackson died on August 7, 1970; that he was killed. That has two meanings. It speaks to that agent's credibility or lack of it, I should say. It speaks to the movement and what Jonathan means to us.

On August 9, 1970, two days after Jonathan was killed by police gunfire, George Jackson, his older brother, who was to be killed approximately a year later, wrote a

letter to a friend. It was subsequently published in a book called *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*. He began the letter with a date, August 9th, 1970. Right under that it says, "Real date, 2 days ADJ." He went on to say, "We recognize all time in the future from the day of the manchild's death. Manchild, gun in hand, he was free for a while. I guess that's more than most of us can expect."

Agent Markey didn't know that Jonathan Jackson was 17 years old; that he was Black; that he was a revolutionary. That's why we called him the manchild. He never reached his full adulthood in a chronological sense, but he certainly did in spirit and with his commitment. The government and Agent Markey who I believe dances to the tune of the United States Attorney's Office, just like all the JTTF agents, have tried to reduce Jonathan's life and death to a mere statistic, just another Black person killed in a hail of police bullets. That he was murdered by police is not too hard to understand in a country as racist as this one where for every 22 Black people that are killed by the police, there is only one white person who is killed. Easily understood where during the very course of this trial, the murderers of Michael Stewart were absolved of the beating death of Michael Stewart and returned to their positions in the police department. A clear sign to the rest of their colleagues in one of the most racist police departments in this country.

We had a lot of talk about the Klan during this trial. You know where the largest chapter of the Klan is in New York

State? Right here in New York City. It's called the Police Benevolent Association.

The life and death of Jonathan Jackson is more than a statistic. I think that much



has come out to you during this trial. He was and continues to be a shining example to all of us who were affected by his courage and his vision. At 17 he was a manchild but he had the heart of a freedom fighter. He loved the people and was totally committed to removing the jackboot of oppression and racism from the neck of Black people. He challenges those of us who are white to fight white supremacy, to support the Black liberation struggle. He had the foresight to outline back then at 16 and 17 years of age, the necessity to build a movement that had clandestinity, clandestine organizations, as an essential aspect of it. He was a freedom fighter and a servant of the people. The best of the best to spring from the Black liberation struggle.

Clandestinity is something we've tried to make an issue of in this trial. It is essential to come to a certain understanding about clandestinity that is different than

what the government puts forward. The way the government puts it forward is to criminalize it. You might remember that in my opening statement, I said that I have been active for 16 or so years in the movement, beginning when I came back from Vietnam. I've been involved with a number of organizations, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Southern Students Organizing Committee in Tennessee, a group called SCAR. I worked in the community quite publicly but by 1974, I said that I began doing work of a clandestine nature. Shortly thereafter to go much deeper into clandestinity, more totally underground.

I said there were a couple of factors that motivated me at the time; that's why I did things the way I did. One was that I see the need for clandestinity in this country if you're going to challenge the policies of this government and survive long enough to do it; that I could make a better contribution as a revolutionary working in the clandestine movement, and also there was much political repression in the early '70s. I told you during the opening about the existence of a death squad within the police department in the community where I worked in 1974. It was my intention to bring a witness here who was active in SCAR in Portland, Maine. The judge makes the determination on that, on certain witnesses. He has determined that this witness is not going to take the stand. . . .

[Ray's closing was three hours. We're sorry that due to lack of space, we have to stop here. For a copy of the entire closing statement, write to Committee to Fight Repression, PO Box 1435, NY, NY 10025.]



*From the New Afrikan People's Organization:*

## No Association with White Supremacists

During Fall, 1985 a Los Angeles rally featuring Minister Louis Farrakhan was attended by Tom Metzger. Metzger, a central figure for White American Resistance, the White American Political Association, and the Aryan Nations, donated \$100 to Minister Farrakhan's People Organized & Working for Economic Rebirth (POWER) program. Metzger was later to state at a white supremacist convention that the "Aryan" movement should support Black, American Indian, Mexican, and Puerto Rican separatists. Metzger has often said that if he were "Black" he would be a Black nationalist.

How should New Afrikan (Black) People view these overtures? Does the struggle for New Afrikan Land, Independence and Self-Determination have a potential friend and alliance with white supremacists? The New Afrikan People's Organization, as a revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist organization, answers emphatically NO. The only potential white allies we see are those who fight the white supremacist power structure like John Brown did. Malcolm X saw it that way too, and Harriet Tubman before him.

White racial separatism can never be equated with the national liberation struggle of the New Afrikan nation. The New Afrikan Nation is the descendant of various Afrikan ethnic groups and nation-states captured and forced into bondage inside North America. After bondage New Afrikans were colonized by the imperialist white American state and denied self-determination. Today, we are still powerless to determine our political, economic, and social development. The poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, racist police and other violence New Afrikans face daily begs the question of Independence, Land and Socialism for the colonized Black Nation. We desire a separate or independent New

Afrikan Nation to win self-determination and full development of our human and material resources.

This demand is consistent with national liberation struggles of other oppressed nations inside the Amerikkkan Empire—Occupied Mexico (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Colorado), various Native American Indian nations, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Hawaii. The New Afrikan national liberation struggle is also consistent with worldwide struggles for national liberation—Azania, Palestine, Northern Ireland, El Salvador, the Philippines, etc.

On the other hand, white separatism is the most overtly racist manifestation of white settler ideology. It openly calls for exterminating particularly New Afrikan, Mexican, and other oppressed nations along with people of Jewish descent. It is the radical extreme of a white American settler tradition—Manifest Destiny. This is a tradition of stealing Indian and Mexican land, enslaving and colonizing New Afrikan land, and trying to play policeman of the planet. White separatism and Manifest Destiny only mean "White Man take all." While revolutionary nationalism and national liberation have historically been used as weapons by oppressed nations to end oppression, white supremacy has been used by U.S. imperialism and the white ruling class as a vehicle to mobilize white Americans to maintain oppression on the basis of white skin privilege and the "American way of life."

Metzger's overtures to Black Nationalists are opportunistic. They are designed to divert our attention from the growth of a neo-Nazi military underground. This paramilitary force will serve as a fundamental tool in the genocidal race war the neo-Nazis and KKK plan to wage on New Afrikans and other oppressed peoples and

nations inside the US. Some Black Nationalists have been confused by this diversionary tactic by the Klan and Nazis.

In the 1920's, Marcus Garvey, leader of the largest mass movement of African people ever, met with Klan leaders and sought support for aspects of his "Back to Africa" Program. The union between Garvey and the Klan served to demobilize New Afrikan support for the Garvey Movement. New Afrikans whose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, sons and daughters had been lynched, brutalized, and dispossessed by white vigilante terrorists could not join hands with the Klan. This and other factors demoralized and disorganized millions of New Afrikans.

In the early 1960's, while the New Afrikan masses were struggling to eliminate apartheid "jim crow" segregation laws, the Nation of Islam had associations with the KKK. American Nazis were accorded places of honor at public meetings and rallies. J.B. Stoner, later convicted of bombing a Black church in Alabama, was interviewed by *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper of the Nation of Islam. This association with enemies of the Black Nation, along with other factors, led to the Nation losing some of its most revolutionary members, including Malcolm X.

Malcolm, upon leaving the N.O.I., publicly stood with the New Afrikan masses in our struggle against white supremacy. He called for Black self-defense units to protect New Afrikan masses and activist organizing in our subjugated National Territory. In an open statement to American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell (responsible for violent attacks on New Afrikan activists), Malcolm said, "...if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other Black Americans who are only attempting



to enjoy their rights as free human beings, [then] you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self defense by any means necessary."

Malcolm's stand reflects the revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist tradition of resistance, noncollaboration, and steadfastness against our oppressors. This tradition is seen in the slave rebels, maroons, the Underground Railroad, New Afrikan resistance during the "Red Summer" of 1919, the Deacons for Defense and other self-defense fights in the South in the 1960's, the New Afrikan urban uprisings in mid/late 1960's, and several other aspects of our rich history. This revolutionary tradition is the basis for New Afrikan national identity, consciousness, and the collective and individual moral and ideological posture we must have to win self-determination and national liberation.

We call on all Black, progressive, and anti-imperialist organizations and individuals to see through the opportunistic and destructive tactics of the white supremacists; to denounce steadfastly any relationships or "alliances" with these advocates of genocide by Black, progressive, or anti-imperialist organizations or individuals. American white supremacy must be isolated and eliminated in the same way we fight Zionism, apartheid, and all racist and genocidal systems and beliefs.

**Stand Firm  
Death to KKK and Nazis  
Free New Afrika—Free the Land**



*From the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee:*

## No Free Speech for Fascists

Alan Berg, Jewish radio talk-show host in Denver, Colorado, debated the Klan on his call-in show. Most of us would agree that Berg was exercising his right to free speech. But the Klan didn't like what he had to say and besides, Berg was one of the Jewish people the Klan says control the media. So Alan Berg was executed right in his own driveway. The murder weapon was traced to Gary Yarborough of The Order, one of the organizations in the white supremacist para-military underground. (see cover story, this issue).

Berg's murder demonstrated how little real interest the Klan has in free speech. But they will use the issue relentlessly, playing on many people's fears about limiting civil rights. The Klan's strategy is dependent on being able to put forward their white supremacist ideology in mass ways—through TV, radio, marches, rallies, etc. The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee opposes the fascist right wing's "right" to organize for racist terror.

We believe that free speech is not an abstract right. In America, any "rights" given to people under the constitution are given selectively.

Black people who opposed slavery were executed. After Reconstruction, Black people who organized for human rights were lynched by the newly born KKK. During the 1960s, Black people who organized for freedom were jailed, beaten and killed. The FBI's murderous counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) was the government's answer to Black revolutionaries who were exercising their

right to organize for Black Liberation. In the last five years, many Black revolutionaries and activists have gone to jail for refusing to talk to grand juries. Three people in JBKAC also went to jail for not talking to an FBI grand jury.

As free speech continues to be selectively enforced, the Klan's "rights" are protected. In San Francisco, WAR (the White American Resistance), a Klan front group, broadcasts a weekly TV show and runs a 24-hour telephone hotline that anyone can call for a fascist message. That's the liberal Bay Area and we could think they're not going to make any headway there, but let's look again. Klansman Tom Metzger, producer of the TV show, has gloated that WAR's membership in the Bay Area is up 400%. And what's happened in the Bay Area in the past year?

- A bomb threat and attempted bombing of the Ethnic Studies Department at San Francisco State University;
- Three attempted bombings of synagogues and a rabbi's home in one day;
- Increasing incidents of racist and anti-semitic vandalism;
- In Concord, a San Francisco suburb, a gay Black man was found lynched on the same night that two Black men were stabbed by two white men in Klan robes.

All these things do not happen spontaneously. They happen because the Klan and Nazis are organizing and creating a climate where violent racist acts are considered acceptable.



*Cops protect Klan's "right to free speech."*

sidered acceptable.

And that's just the Bay Area. In 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina, five members of the Communist Workers Party were killed by Klansmen and Nazis while demonstrating against white supremacy.

Where was their right to free speech? The Klan got off scot-free.

A few months ago in Chicago, an anti-Klan rally was attacked by Nazis and a racist punk group with baseball bats and tire irons.

When the homes of Black families are stoned in Chicago and Philadelphia because they dare to live in a white neighborhood, where are their first amendment rights?

The Southern Poverty Law Center was fire-bombed for exposing Klan organizing. Who has free speech?

The National Conference of Black Lawyers, in a letter criticizing the ACLU for their defense of the Klan, sums up what it means to defend free speech for fascists:

"The laws of the United States—including the first amendment—were not conceived, written, or enforced with the interest of Third World people in mind. ... And so, try as you will, it is inconceivable to convince Third World people that representing the KKK is in their best interests. The first amendment has become an enigma to people of color, largely because liberals use it as a tool to defend our enemies. Black people marched before the KKK existed and will continue to march—and die... first amendment or not."

In our corrupt white supremacist society, let us heed these words. At every turn, let us oppose the Klan's and other racists' opportunity to organize for racist violence and race war.



# Stop Big Mountain Relocation!



Roberta Blackgoat, Dineh Elder.

CREDIT: Lawrence Acland/Kick It Over

The most massive genocidal relocation of Native Americans in more than a century is currently underway in the Four Corners area of the Southwest. While the 1974 Relocation Act passed by Congress decrees that nearly 13,000 Navajo must be out of the Big Mountain area by July 8, 1986, the Navajo intend to stay. They have called on other Native nations and progressive people to support their resistance.

A serious conflict could occur. Reagan promises this will not be a repeat of Wounded Knee in 1973; this time the Dineh (as the Navajo are traditionally called) will "be out in 30 minutes." The U.S. government has already forced reductions of up to 90% of livestock and begun buzzing the area with low-flying helicopters in efforts to force them out. As the July deadline approaches, plans call for the National Guard to seal off the

area, preventing any outside support.

The land of Big Mountain is rich in coal, uranium, and oil. The real benefactor of this current land theft is Peabody Coal, a subsidiary of Kennecott Mining. Kennecott Mining is controlled by the reactionary Mormon Church. The Mormons, one of the fastest growing religious groups in the world, control assets worth billions of dollars. They wield political power over such issues as the Equal Rights Amendment, which they helped defeat in many western states. As late as 1977, the Mormon Church barred Black people because they had "the curse of Cain" in their eyes. The 1974 Relocation Act was introduced into Congress by then Secretary of the Interior, Stuart Udall, a deacon of the Mormon Church.

In order to justify this land theft, the US government and the media declared the existence of a "range war" between the Hopi and Dineh nations. As a remedy to this fabricated conflict, the Relocation Act was passed by the Congress, forcing the Dineh off their land. This situation was made possible in part by the collusion of the US-sponsored Hopi "Tribal Council." This Bureau of Indian Affairs-aligned tribal council has already announced their plan to lease this land to Peabody Coal for mining. This "Tribal Council" has been consistently opposed by 85% of the Hopi people as well as the Hopi traditional elders and leadership. The people of the

Hopi nation stand strong in their solidarity with the Dineh people.

Resettlement into the nearby cities has taken a devastating toll. To date, a few thousand Dineh have been forced off their land and into the alien urban environment. In the six years since they left the land, their survival rate has been alarmingly low. This is genocide, pure and simple—destruction of a people and a nation.

The Dineh have waged a constant resistance since the inception of this plan. Because theirs is a society based on agriculture and shepherding, the Dineh recognize that the land is key to their survival as a nation. The Dineh women have led much of this resistance, facing jail on multiple occasions for physically defending their land. Yet the media has continually attempted to confuse the issue and cover up the reality of this struggle. As one reporter stated, this attack against Native Americans was just "business as usual" and not newsworthy.

It is important that people respond with whatever support is possible, especially financial contributions, in the next critical months. There is a national effort to repeal the 1974 Relocation Act. The Dineh have asked people to write their Congresspeople and demand repeal.

For more information and to make donations, write: Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee, 4501 N. 4th St., Flagstaff, AZ 86001, (602) 744-5233.

## US Attack on Libya is Terrorism

by the New Afrikan People's Organization

The New Afrikan People's Organization offers full and absolute solidarity to the people and leadership of Libya in its struggle against United States military aggression.

The United States insistence that it has the right to fly warplanes and sail warships thousands of miles away from the borders of the United States Empire and within a stone's throw of the Libyan coast is absurd. The United States would never tolerate the sailing of Libyan warships and planes so close to New York, San Francisco, Hawaii, Miami, or anywhere else within the territory the United States holds within its captive jurisdiction.

The provocation of combat off the coast of Libya, the bombing of Libyan territory, the sinking of Libyan ships and the murder of Libyan nationals are criminal acts which typify US history as a war-mongering, blood-thirsty bully and an international outlaw.

We expect no better from an Empire built on the graves of Indian nations, stolen Indian, New Afrikan, and Mexican land, stolen African labor and lynchings, castrations, and terror against our people. Every inch of the American Empire is on stolen land, every development is built on stolen labor, every American dollar is drenched in blood of the oppressed.

From atom bombs in Japan, napalm in Vietnam, to machine guns and tanks in Watts, Detroit, Newark and 128 other cities in 1967 and '68, the United States has paved a path of death and destruction with attacks on smaller and weaker opponents.

Despite endless rhetoric with regard to its supposed opposition to the Soviet Union, the USA, even in the aftermath of the Soviet downing of the 007 aircraft, the USA has yet to raise arms against the Soviet empire with its comparable military might.

Yet even picking on the little nations has not always proven successful for the US. In Korea, Vietnam, Lebanon, Laos, and Cambodia, the United States has been defeated or neutralized by small and/or underdeveloped armies and populations with limited resources and military defenses.

Even the pathetic invasion of Grenada serves to exemplify the cowardly nature of US military aggression. The US prepared to invade Grenada for over a year. Yet it took major demoralizing internal strife to disarm the Grenadian population before the Americans (still nursing their

wounded from Vietnam, Iran and Lebanon) were able to gather enough nerve to carry out the invasion.

Indeed, the US military machine is a monster without courage or honor. It not only confines its combat to small nations, but hides behind extravagant missiles and nuclear warheads. Equipped with devastating destructive capability and being without honor, courage or honesty, the US Empire is a hazard to humanity, more than any other configuration on Earth.

Its diabolical behavior has earned the US universal and popular disclaim. Universally, people's dislike of the Empire and opposition to it is limited by the massive propaganda machine. This machine—composed of government and private media functionaries—taints all who oppose the Empire as terrorist, while applauding the inhumane behavior of the American government and its barbaric allies (i.e., Zionists in Israel, contras in Nicaragua, UNITA in Angola, and fascists and racists in South Africa).

The pending collapse of the Empire is personified today in the recent and victorious people's struggles in Iran, Haiti and the Philippines. In each of these areas US puppets have been deposed. Mobutu, a US puppet in the Congo, is now in trouble. In Haiti and the Philippines, neo-puppets have been empowered, temporarily delaying the people's final victory.

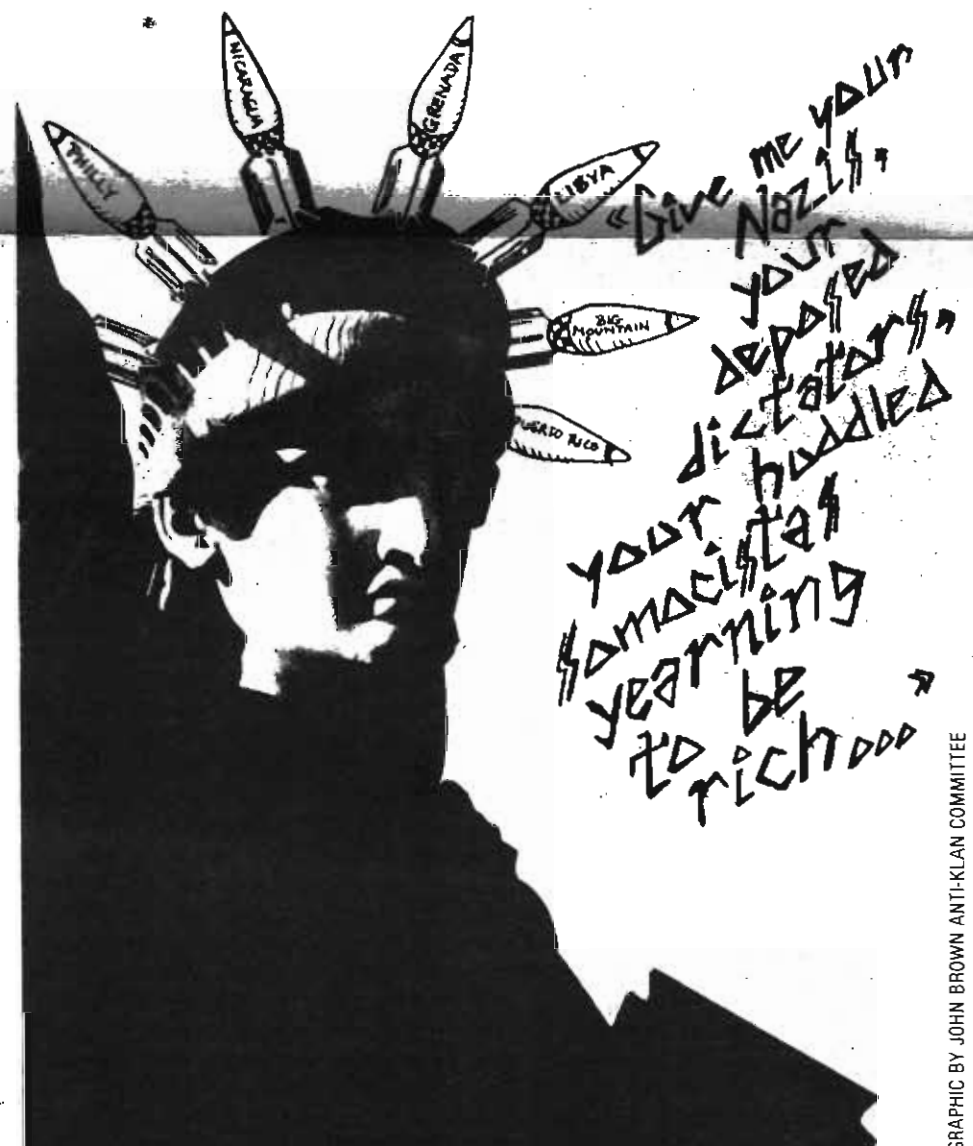
We call upon all New Afrikans (US Blacks in America) to refuse service to the United States in its imperialistic war efforts.

We urge our younger men and women who are not in US military service to decline the invitation to join US military forces. For those who are already in these forces, We encourage them to turn their guns on their real enemy. We identify our enemy by deeds, not words. We note that no Sandinistas held us in slavery or holds us at the bottom of the US economy now. No Libyan discriminated against us in jobs, in schools, in courts, and in social institutions.

Neither Libya nor the Sandinistas support the apartheid government of South Africa, through of billions of dollars of investments called "constructive engagement." The United States is guilty of all the above. It is an evil empire.

We neither support it nor respect it and We demand complete independence from it!!

Free the Land!



GRAPHIC BY JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE

### John Brown Anti-Klan Committee

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# Azania! THE LAND BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

Over the last year, the Azanian/South African national liberation movement has fought its way to the headlines and conscience of the world. Every day brings new rebellions, news of Black South Africans bringing the war into the white communities, of the mounting toll of dead and wounded. The widespread consumer boycott of white businesses has had a major impact on the economy, forcing the closing of at least one white business a day. The value of the rand has been driven down by 50% and the government has had to suspend repayment of part of its foreign debt. A state of emergency has been declared in Cape Town and many other areas of the country. The Azanian people have made South Africa ungovernable.

The Azanian people are showing that they are willing to make any sacrifice to be free. This situation has thrown US policy towards South Africa into crisis. US Republican Representative Robert S. Walker sums up the imperialist dilemma in South Africa: "Yes, South Africa is important to us strategically, but the danger of losing her is greater if we support a government that is intransigent to change." Rather than "lose" South Africa, the US is scurrying to find a resolution in which it can maintain its vital interests.

Their interests are far from marginal. The imperialist system would be dealt a staggering blow from the loss of South Africa. The default on billions of dollars of loans, the loss of returns on investment and the loss of capital are just the tip of the iceberg. Southern Africa provides many strategic minerals and metals needed by the US war machine: 80% of the world's manganese, 57% of its chromium, and 67% of its cobalt, to name a few. (Cobalt is an essential component of jet engines.) The sea lanes protected by South Africa are considered vital to US naval supremacy and its worldwide supply lines.

The pressure to find a solution which will preserve the country as an imperialist stronghold is mounting. The mild sanctions imposed by the Reagan administration and in the statements of business leaders from South Africa and the US that change *must* come to South Africa and that apartheid *must* end are indications of this pressure.

Business leaders and others in South Africa, like the Progressive Federal Party are agitating for non-violent change that will preserve the basic structure of the society, while eliminating the most visible and odious aspects of apartheid. A frequently expressed view is to call for a National Conference in which Blacks would be invited to join the existing government in a power-sharing arrangement, and in which guarantees of white privilege would be established.

Are the Azanian people fighting for reform of the apartheid system and a stake in the existing structure or is there a more fundamental struggle going on—one which challenges the very right of European settlers to claim the land of Azania? Can the struggle be won through non-violent civil disobedience or will the revolution in South Africa take the course of people's war?

## Civil Rights or Land:

### Defining the Struggle in Azania

Addressing the question of reforming apartheid at a recent program on the eighth anniversary of Steve Biko's death, Chokwe Lumumba, chairman of the New Afrikan People's Organization, said:

"We have those who would tell us that the Azanian people need to do what we did in the sixties in the civil rights movement in order to win their freedom. It would seem to me that all you would have to do is analyze a product to see if it should be sold again. The reality is that we cannot try to sell this to the Azanian brothers and sisters, because it never worked for us. It is... Reagan and the others of the white American power structure, the imperialist structure of America, ... [that]



worked for some diminishment of the apartheid system. [They] worked for the same things that many of the so-called civil rights leaders worked for. In other words, to re-color or give a different frontal appearance to the oppressive system in South Africa.

Because they know that apartheid is not necessary to oppress people. They had apartheid here! And the situation which exists among Afrikans here in America today is every bit as bad economically as it was when apartheid existed.

Civil rights have just been another mechanism in order to suppress the almighty urge of our struggle to rise, to surface, and to take control. Civil rights is the same thing that now, some of us say, is all that is needed in Azania. I hear folks say that it is not a struggle to control the nation, to surface an Azanian Nation, but merely a struggle for democratic rights in the South African government. There can be no democratic rights where there is no economic control and no political control of the nation by the people."

Whites and Blacks in South Africa are not equal "co-colonizers" of the land, as white Afrikaaner history teaches. The African people of Azania have been colonized by white settlers. 87% of their land and virtually all of its mineral wealth have been stolen from them.

Control of the land by the indigenous people is the fundamental issue in Azania. For the African people to win their freedom, they must control the land and resources of Azania. Discussion of reforms in this context is just a diversion from the real issue—the transfer of power to Azanian people and their liberation organizations.

## Non-Violence for Whom?

This helps to clarify the question of non-violence versus armed struggle. Recently Joan Baez sent a letter urging Black people in South Africa to be non-violent toward the government. The letter was co-signed by figures such as Lech Walesa and Andrew Young. This letter was angrily rejected by the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia. They pointed out that the government was the source of violence, and that Baez should give her lectures to the police, who murdered over 800 people in the last year.

History has shown, again and again, that settler colonizers will never relinquish power of their own free will. The South African state has unleashed a war against the Black population; the white population is armed to the teeth to prevent Black revolution in Azania. The fascist Afrikaaner Resistance Movement of Eugene Terre Blanche has taken up arms. Their goal is a racially pure republic in the Transvaal and Orange Free State provinces in which only whites would be allowed to live. These ultra-rightists made

gains in the last local elections, indicating a movement by the whites in the direction of out-and-out genocide. In this situation, there can be no question of peaceful dissent or non-violent tactics. This is why the ANC and PAC have been preparing to arm the people, while carrying on armed actions over the past 25 years.

## From Azania to New Afrika

There are many parallels from the Black liberation struggle in the US. Overturning a situation of virtual enslavement and powerlessness, a condition of colonial domination by white people which has existed for hundreds of years, requires more than the right to eat at the same restaurant or live in the same neighborhood as whites. True equality must be based on power, and for the New Afrikan/Black nation in the US, as for the Azanian nation, power means land.

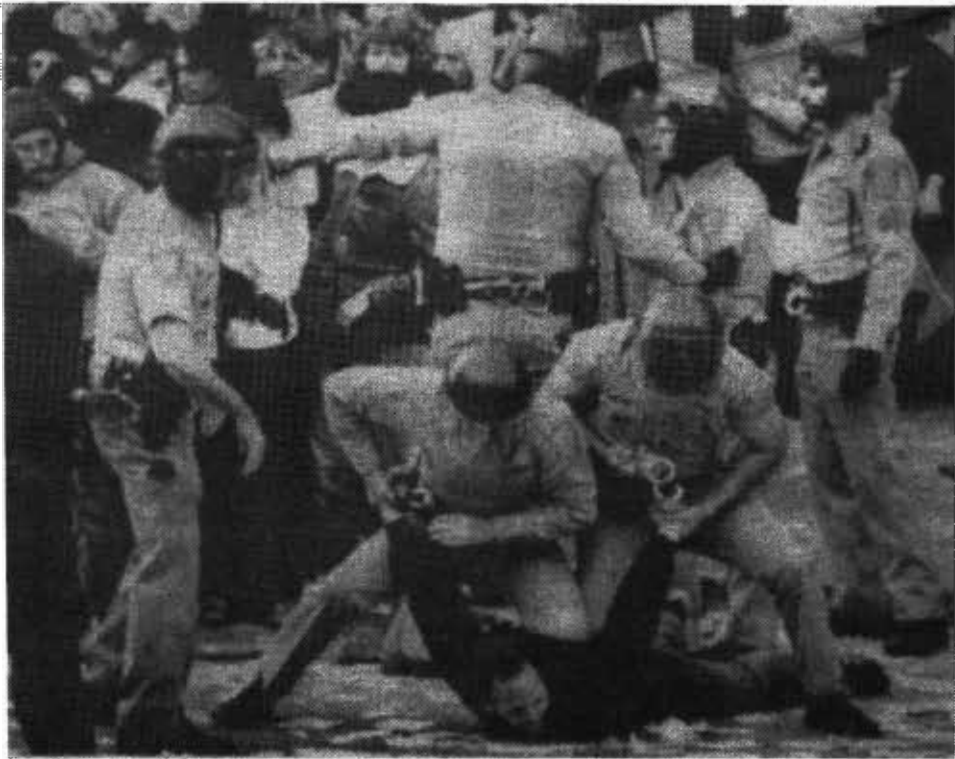
Control of land means the ability to develop a nation free of colonial control. It is easier to see this in Azania, where the

theid and why the most militant racists from South Africa are invited to attend white power meetings in the US. It's why white mercenaries are actively recruited to fight for South Africa in Namibia. For JBAKC, therefore, solidarity with New Afrika and fighting white supremacy are essential parts of our solidarity with the people of Azania.

## Solidarity with the People of Azania

The last 19 months in Azania have been marked by a watershed of mass resistance against apartheid and colonialism. The people have fought the government and its African lackeys every day, despite open murder and massive imprisonments. By the end of March, more than 1400 Africans had been killed in the struggle. Yet the resistance continues every day. On April 25, 1986, a Black policeman was assassinated in Soweto as the Black community protested the arrest of 15 students. Another Black policeman's home was set afire. The Azanian people are building their struggle and are moving all collaborators and Black servants of the colonial regime out of their way.

The solidarity movement within the US has taken leadership from the militancy of the Azanian people. The student movement has consistently and militantly confronted the educational and corporate institutions who financially support the South African government. Campuses all over the country have been the scene of massive arrests. In April, over 300 Yale students have been arrested for protesting investment in South Africa. At the University of California in Berkeley, police attacked a shantytown at 4:00 a.m. and brutally arrested 87 people. Many injuries resulted, but the police attack was also met with stones, bottles and bricks. Cornell, Georgetown, and Wesleyan are just a few of the campuses where students are making the struggle in Azania their struggle too. At Dartmouth, setting up a shantytown in the college square polarized the campus and made the fight against white



Demonstration at University of California at Berkeley, April 3, 1986.

African population is in the majority; but it is no less true here, where New Afrikans have been consistently denied their right to self-determination, including the right to establish a nation on land which they have developed and lived on for 400 years.

Much of our current consciousness of the struggle in South Africa comes from a much longer history of solidarity between African people on the continent and those in the African Diaspora, including New Afrikans in the US.

As far back as the Garvey movement (the 'back to Africa' movement led by Marcus Garvey in the 1920s), Black people in the US linked their struggles to Blacks in Africa and the Caribbean.

White supremacists around the world recognize these links. That is why the Nazis in Chicago rally to support apar-

supremacy a dividing line issue. The leadership of Black students is also raising issues of fighting white supremacy and supporting Black liberation here within the US. For example, at Berkeley and Columbia, demands have been expanded to include increasing the number of Third World students and faculty and providing more ethnic studies courses.

Our solidarity has to go beyond appealing to the US state. The US will go to any length to prevent a genuine Black revolution that puts Azania and its wealth in the hands of African people. Now is the time to deepen our understanding and commitment to the liberation movements of Azania, the ANC, the PAC, the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and their strategies.