

OSAWATOMIE

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

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LOLITA LEBRÓN



**INDEPENDENCIA PARA PUERTO RICO
FREE THE NATIONALIST PRISONERS**

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OSAWATOMIE

In 1856, at the Battle of Osawatomie, Kansas, John Brown and 30 other abolitionists, using guerrilla tactics, beat back an armed attack by 250 slavery supporters, who were trying to make Kansas a slave state. This was a turning point in the fight against slavery. For this, John Brown was given the name "Osawatomie" by his comrades.

OSAWATOMIE GOES BIMONTHLY

Sisters and Brothers,

With this issue OSAWATOMIE will advance from a seasonal (quarterly) publication to a bimonthly. This reflects the growth of our organization and the importance we attach to the continued development of OSAWATOMIE as the revolutionary voice of the WUO.

An immense amount of human effort is mobilized for each issue -- the labor and creativity of artists, writers, printers, photographers and distributors is joined into a powerful force that gets the job done. In addition OSAWATOMIE is produced clandestinely, hidden from the eyes of the state. Securing this operation, keeping it going, meeting our deadlines requires the united effort of a strong staff and the active support of the whole organization. We are proud to have met our deadlines for the past year. Going bimonthly will require a new level of organization and discipline.

OSAWATOMIE will be a consistent fighter for two strategic goals of our movement: 1. to mobilize and organize the working class in closest alliance with national liberation struggles to fight imperialism and 2. to organize and build a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

This issue begins our second year of publication. We have learned from mistakes as well as successes, from criticism as well as self-criticism. We have tried to make our articles clear and accessible to people not yet organized into the revolutionary movement as well as to organizers and communists. We have tried to create beautiful propaganda and to avoid wordiness or stereotyped writing. We have tried to be accountable to you, our growing readership.

You can help -- by distributing OSAWATOMIE to comrades, friends, fellow workers, neighbors and associates; by holding formal discussions and political debates over the central issues raised in these pages; by making your criticisms and conclusions known. In this way, through active engagement with the political ideas, we can all move forward.

Thank you for your support in the past year.

In struggle,

Billy Ayers
Joe Reed

Editors

WHERE WE STAND

IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS

Whatever difficulties and hardships may be ahead, our people are sure of total triumph. The US imperialists shall have to quit. Our Fatherland shall be reunified. Our compatriots in the North and in the South shall be reunited under the same roof.

- Ho Chi Minh

Uncle Ho's words have come true. This year will see the reunification of North and South Vietnam into one country, 43 million strong - the consolidation of Vietnam's complete victory over US imperialism.

This is a victory for people all over the world, not only because of the justice of the Vietnamese struggle, but because their defeat of US imperialism has materially advanced the cause of people struggling against imperialism everywhere. The era of the liberation of Vietnam is marked by the strengthening of the socialist countries, the growth of anti-imperialist struggles and the substantial weakening of imperialism.

Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, the stage of monopoly capital. It is an international system of political domination and economic exploitation. Since World War II US imperialism has been the leading imperialist power and the number one enemy of the world's people. It has grown rich from its control and super-exploitation of workers and oppressed nations around the world. But this worldwide extension is also imperialism's fatal weakness. Every defeat sends shock waves through the system, spins it into crisis; every victory against it weakens it, hastens the day of its overthrow.

The victory of Vietnam, and of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos, has been joined by other advances. Of particular significance is the victory and consolidation of the people's revolutions of Guine-Bissau, Mozambique, and now Angola, which have overturned the balance of forces in Southern Africa and brought closer the inevitable end of white racist rule in Africa.

In the Middle East, international condemnation of Zionism and Israeli expansionism has increased Israel's isolation and built support for the cause of the Palestinian people.

In Western Europe, the old order is under attack. Revolutionary struggle continues in Portugal, despite setbacks and CIA intervention. In Spain, Franco is dead and Spanish workers are mobilizing against fascism and reaction.

In Latin America, the defeat of the OAS blockade of socialist Cuba, international condemnation of the fascist junta in Chile and the rapidly growing struggle of the Panamanian people to regain control of the Panama Canal are all important developments. (cont'd)

Today the Puerto Rican struggle has entered a critical period (see p. 6). The revolution in Puerto Rico is closely tied to the struggles of Puerto Ricans in the US and is an integral part of our revolutionary movement. A tremendous struggle for independence in Puerto Rico will surely come. Building solidarity with Puerto Rico is a heavy responsibility for every working class organizer and revolutionary.

The US is an prisoner of nations, founded on the attempted genocide of Native American people and the theft of Native and Mexican lands, enriched by the slave labor of Black people and the superexploited labor of other peoples brought here to build the railroads, dig the mines, and work the fields. The struggles of the Black nation and other oppressed peoples in the US are part of the worldwide movement for national liberation. At the same time these struggles are intertwined with the US class struggle and push forward the working class movement.

This is the era of socialist revolution in the world. In the socialist countries, there is no unemployment, no inflation, no starvation. The entire capitalist world, however, is today shaken by a profound economic crisis, one which reveals all the irrationality and contradictions of capitalism. This is not just a "business cycle" crisis, it is a crisis of imperialism in decline. It is directly caused by the wrenching effect of waging and losing the war in Vietnam, and the challenges now being raised to imperialist domination of the world's resources and markets. It is the reflection of these defeats in the economies of the US and the rest of the capitalist countries. Within the US, the crisis attacks the working class, with the blows falling heaviest on Black and Third World people.

The traditional response of imperialism to political and economic crisis is war. Today US war of aggression remains a great danger, particularly in Korea, the Middle East, Cuba, and Southern Africa. Although the experience of Vietnam has cut into the government's ability to mobilize support for war, we must remain vigilant and ready to oppose all imperialist war.

There is also the danger of fascism. The ruling class is not committed to the forms of bourgeois democracy beyond the point where they get in their way. Fascism becomes a danger as imperialism comes under sharper and sharper attack. Fascism in the US means appealing to racism and white supremacy: ROAR in Boston is a fascist movement, the Rodino Bill attacking undocumented workers is a fascist measure. When white people are mobilized to oppose the just demands of Black and Third World people against national and racist oppression, a base for fascism is built.

Today the two main tasks of our movement are: 1) To build an anti-imperialist working class movement that can join with the oppressed peoples, overthrow imperialism and establish socialism; and 2) To build a communist party to lead the struggle.

The theme of this issue of OSAWATOMIE is "A Bicentennial Without Colonies!" This slogan challenges people to realize that 200 years after the American Revolution the US is the number one imperialist power. This is a slogan against all forms of national and colonial oppression, inside and outside the US, a call for self-determination for all peoples oppressed by imperialism. This is the fighting stance of a revolutionary working class movement that can win.

ORGANIZING IN THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The current depression is rooted in the worldwide crisis of US imperialism. No amount of pre-election tinkering can prevent the fact of prolonged and painful dislocation. The strategy of the ruling class is clear: increase the rate of exploitation of labor, drive a wedge between the employed and unemployed, and intensify police repression.

But this is only part of the story. During the 60's and the first half of the 70's the differential between the standards of living of white workers and Black people has increased. The working class is being forced down to pay for this crisis. Yet Black and Third World people bear the brunt. Thus, the suffering and emiseration of the whole working class on the one hand, and on the other -- the bribe, the sheltering of white workers from the most severe blows. This is the real situation organizers must confront in all its complexity. Bowing to the narrowist view of economic self-interest, or fighting for the long-term collective interests of the class. All the more urgent is the necessity to organize the working class against imperialism and for revolution.

The recent settlement in the New York teachers strike provides a textbook illustration. First came the layoffs. In the name of "averting default", 20,000 teachers and paraprofessionals got laid off. People with eight years tenure got a \$1,000 raise. Because of the policy of last hired/first fired, those laid off were 70% of the Black and Third World teachers, and the younger teachers in general. With a stroke of his pen, Mayor Beame wiped out the small gains of the past six years. United Federation of Teachers (UFT) President Albert Shanker consolidated his strength: the slight progressive pro-community sentiment that existed among teachers was eliminated. The question for UFT members was: would the older, tenured teachers stand with their 20,000 fired fellow union members, or would they breathe a sigh of relief and say, "Well, at least it wasn't me"? The union once again sold out Black and Third World teachers, the community and the children, who are 70% Black and Third World in the NY school system.

This story illustrated the problems organizers face. The working class is divided not just by racist ideas or tricks of the ruling class but by the acceptance of real though relative privileges by white workers. It is not enough to oppose racist ideas. Principled unity with Black and Third World people must be based on the uncompromising fight for equality, and total solidarity in the fight to end national and racial oppression.

Similarly, the basis of unity between men and women rests on attacking the material basis for the special oppression of women, fighting for women's equality. Sexism is more than a bad idea, it is a bad reality.

Organizers wholeheartedly fighting for the needs of the working class must also raise the banner of revolutionary anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism helps us correctly identify the enemy and identify our friends; it points toward uniting with those for whom imperialism has always meant hard times. The only way to strengthen the working class is to fight for internationalist class consciousness in the struggle against hard times.

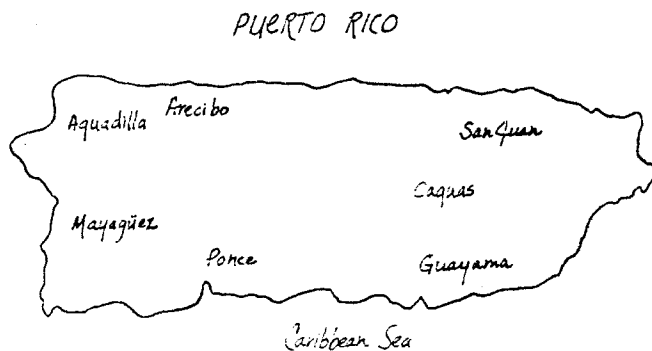
In this light we dedicate ourselves to solidarity with the July 4th mobilization in Philadelphia which will raise the banner of Independence for Puerto Rico and unite this struggle with that of the workers and oppressed people of the US. This is an urgent priority.

Central Committee

Weather Underground Organization

"PUERTO RICO IS THE TEST OF

by Celia Sojourn



A profound economic and political crisis is shaking Puerto Rico, the result of 75 years of colonial control. This crisis has weakened the colonial government and set the stage for a sharpening confrontation between US power and the Puerto Rican independence movement, spearheaded by a militant workers movement and led by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. An enormous battle is brewing; Puerto Rico is a dagger at the heart of imperialism. The Puerto Rican people are fully determined to see this confrontation through to a revolutionary conclusion.

Faced with this reality, the US is using a combined strategy of legal maneuvers and repression. Since January 20 a Congressional sub-committee has been considering a "Compact of Permanent Union" which would incorporate Puerto Rico into the US. The Compact's purpose is to discredit the independence forces and get the case of Puerto Rico out of the hands of the UN Decolonization Committee, which meets again in August.

This is the moment for solidarity. The UN and the Non-Aligned Movement recognize Puerto Rico's colonial status and right to self-determination, and world support for independence is growing every day. Building a Puerto Rico solidarity movement is urgent. As in the early days of the Vietnam War, the press lies about Puerto Rico and the US government pretends it is a small internal nuisance which Congress will soon settle. Here is the truth.

Puerto Rico is A US Colony

Puerto Rico is a direct colony of the US. It is a nation conquered by the US, whose state machinery and economy are under the direct control of the US imperialists.

Puerto Rico was born as the island of Borinquen, inhabited by Taino Indians. The Spanish came to settle and mine gold at the end of the 15th century. The Tainos resisted and were wiped out, their land replaced by the importation of Black slaves from Africa. In the middle of the 19th century Ramon Emeterio Betances led an independence and anti-slavery movement which culminated in the Grito de Lares uprising on September 23, 1868. A provisional Puerto Rican republic was formed and at the same time an uprising shook another Spanish possession, Cuba. Both were crushed with brute force by the Spanish. In 1897, Puerto Rico won autonomy from Spain.

In July, 1898 US troops led by General Miles, fresh from the massacre at Wounded Knee, invaded and occupied the island. Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the US as booty to settle their war. Puerto Rico lost its sovereignty and became US property. In 1917 the Jones Act gave Puerto Ricans US citizenship in time for them to serve in the US armed forces in World War I. After World War II, when the independence movement was strong, the island, the US Congress allowed the Puerto Rican governor to be elected for the first time. He was Luis Muñoz Marín, whose Popular Democratic Party came to power by appealing to the people's longing for independence. Once elected, Muñoz Marín turned on the people and proposed a Commonwealth status, the Free Associated State (Estado Liberado Asociado). ELA means that Puerto Ricans have all the duties of US citizens without any of the rights. In 1950, Public Law 600 granted Puerto Ricans the right to a constitution, provided that Puerto Rico passed no law Congress did not approve. If Puerto Rico had been classified a US possession, it could have put its case before the UN. The Commonwealth -- much like the Compact today -- was essentially a legal maneuver by the US to keep the status of Puerto Rico out of the UN without changing the

FIRE OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM"

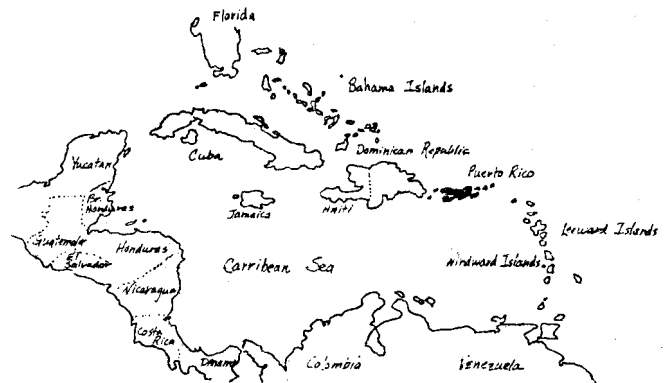
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reality of colonial domination.

There was no change in the colonial status of Puerto Rico for the next twenty years. Plebiscites (elections) which supported the ELA were meaningless. These recurring attempts to legitimize US domination were similar to the US-run elections in South Vietnam in 1972. The elections were held under the guns of the occupying power and the results, by law, had to be approved by the US Congress. In the referendum to be held on the Compact of Permanent Union, independence is not one of the choices: you only vote for or against the Compact. The Compact makes only two US laws inapplicable to Puerto Rico -- minimum wage legislation and environmental protection. The Puerto Rican people have the inalienable right to self-determination and independence. No phony plebiscites or trickery can eliminate that right.

The ownership of the means of production in Puerto Rico is in the hands of North Americans and the development of the Puerto Rican economy is determined by the needs of US capital, not the needs of the Puerto Rican people.

Early colonial history in Puerto Rico was typical of Latin America: the US needed sugar and sugar is what Puerto Rico produced, to the exclusion of food production for the people. Sugar was king until the 1940s. After World War II, the US had enormous capital reserves and was searching for new areas for investments and markets. Muñoz Marín came to power with a US-sponsored plan for the rapid industrialization of the island: Operation Bootstrap. In the name of accumulating capital for Puerto Rico by attracting US investment on a huge scale, Operation Bootstrap in fact sealed Puerto Rico's fate. Puerto Rico offered US investors a cheap non-unionized labor supply kept in line by government repression. It offered tax exemptions and subsidies for foreign investments. Until the 1960s this plan brought light industry -- clothing, cement, glass. By the mid-sixties the US shifted to heavy industrial investment on the island -- petrochemical, chemical and pharmaceutical. These industries swallowed up thousands of acres of Puerto Rican land and now pour noxious gases, metals, wastes, acids, dyes and pesticides



capable of causing cancer and genetic damage into the water, air and vegetation. Whole towns of workers in petrochemical and drug industries suffer from asthma and emphysema. This is environmental colonialism.

The Puerto Rican economy is in hock to the US. The biggest stores in Puerto Rico are Woolworths, Grand Union, Whelans, Thom McCann. Foreign-owned enterprises generate 81% of the employment on the island and 90% of the industrial exports. In 1970 these enterprises stole \$583 million in profits. By 1974 it was up to \$1,345 million -- an increase of 230%. These super-profits come from superexploitation: Puerto Rican workers earn one third less than US workers doing the same job. This is the fruit of Operation Bootstrap, "the economic miracle."

The system which has grown up in Puerto Rico is colonial capitalism. It is a capitalist economy owned by the US in which only a very few wealthy Puerto Rican families, tied completely to the US, own any means of production. For the great majority of the 3.3 million Puerto Rican people, the rapid industrialization brought only terrible exploitation and suffering. Hundreds of thousands of jibaros -- mountain people and peasants -- were forced off the land and moved to the cities of Puerto Rico or emigrated to the US in search of work. Two million Puerto Ricans came to the US in one of the largest forced displacements of a population in this century. In the face of this colonial process, Puerto Rico remains one nation and one people, with a

common language, culture, homeland and history -- facing a common oppression by US imperialism and meeting it with a common struggle.

Over one million Puerto Ricans live in New York City, where they fill the low-paid service and unskilled industrial jobs, pushing racks, sweeping floors and sewing dresses in the garment center. The Puerto Rican population has now spread to other industrial cities of the northeast and midwest. Another 50,000 Puerto Ricans are migrant farmworkers who work as much as 12 hours a day six days a week and live in camps with no plumbing, privacy or dignity. According to US government figures, 32% of the Puerto Rican population in the US lives in poverty -- as compared to 13% of the people as a whole. Counting people who need work but are discouraged from looking and women who take care of families, 42% of the Puerto Ricans in the US able to work are unemployed. 200,000 Puerto Rican women in NYC must raise their children on welfare.

The economic policies of colonialism are now coming home to roost on the island in a devastating depression. Unemployment in Puerto Rico has not fallen below 15% in the last 20 years but is now more than double the rate here -- estimates range between 35% and 50%. Even in the best of times prices are 25% higher in Puerto Rico than in the US. One third of Puerto Rican families have annual incomes of less than \$2000. One third of the population is on welfare and 71% depend on food stamps to survive and feed their children. The per capita debt is equal to 70% of the island's income -- three times the level of debt in NYC. The economic miracle is built on sand.

US imperialism blames the Puerto Rican people for these conditions and argues that the fewer the Puerto Ricans the fewer the problems. A major weapon is birth control experimentation and the forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women. Sponsored by HEW and the Rockefeller Foundation, pills and coils which the US medical establishment was unwilling to test on women here have been used on the island for years. Sterilization without informed genuine consent, encouraged by government propaganda and payment, account for the horrible fact that 34% of all women of child-bearing age in Puerto Rico have been sterilized.

THE STRUGGLE

1. Albizu Campos and the Nationalist Party

"To take our country, first they will have to take our lives."

Pedro Albizu Campos led the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party during the insur-

gent period of 1930-1936 and then again from 1948-1950. The rest of his life -- 22 years -- was spent in prisons in the US and Puerto Rico. Don Pedro was a Harvard Law graduate, a many-sided thinker and leader, one of the great figures of this century. The basis of his theory was anti-imperialism. He built a military organization of the people as well as the Nationalist Party. Nationalists were widely loved as the fiercest fighters for independence. When a sugar cane strike paralyzed the island in 1934 the strikers came to ask Don Pedro to speak for them. In 1935 the US tried to crush the Nationalists. Four Nationalists were killed by the police. The Nationalist Party retaliated with the execution of the colonial chief of police. Albizu Campos was arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment in Atlanta, Georgia. On March 27, 1937 the people of Ponce, Don Pedro's home town, called a peaceful demonstration to protest his incarceration. The army fired on the people and 22 were massacred, more than 200 were wounded.



"El Maestro" - Pedro Albizu Campos

After World War II widespread strikes and a university movement reappeared. Don Pedro returned in 1950 determined to bring the case of Puerto Rico before the world. The Nationalists had gone to the UN at its founding meeting in 1945 and been turned away. Now they built for insurrection. In spite of harsh repression, on October 30, 1950 the Nationalists were able to seize the town of Jayuya. Blanca Canales raised the Nationalist flag. The Nationalists held Jayuya for a week. Then the town and the surrounding area, a Nationalist stronghold, were bombed and thousands arrested. The Nationalists attacked La Fortaleza in the capital. In concert with this uprising came the attack on Blair House in Washington, President Truman's residence, in which Griselio Torresola was killed and for which Oscar Collazo is still in prison. A version of the Smith Act was immediately applied to Puerto Rico. Under this "Law of the Muzzle", Don Pedro was sent back to jail. On March 1, 1954 four members of the Nationalist Party -- Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores attacked the US Congress with arms to call the world's attention to the Nationalist cause and Don Pedro's imprisonment. Don Pedro remained in jail, ill, slowly weakened by a radiation "treatment." He was finally released, sick and unable to speak, shortly before his death on April 1, 1965. 100,000 people marched in his funeral. The five heroic Nationalists are still in prison, the longest held political prisoners in the US.



Lolita Lebrón in Alderson Federal Prison, 1974.

2. The Workers and Independence Movements

Colonialism in crisis has given rise to a militant movement with two great converging currents: the desire of the Puerto Rican people for independence and the sharpening class struggle of the Puerto Rican workers, which threatens the economic basis of US colonial exploitation in Puerto Rico. This synthesis of the national movement and the working class movement is explosive. The question for the coming years will be the transformation of the economic and social crisis into a political crisis which challenges the very power of the colonial regime.

The public sector -- those workers employed by the government -- is the most advanced part of the workers movement. In the last three years the National Guard has been called out to battle striking firemen and employees of the Water and Aqueduct authorities. The telephone strike of 1975 was backed up by the force of sabotage. These services are strategic to the economy -- without them the country ceases to function. Last October, while the legislature considered an anti-labor Personnel Law to break the power of the public sector unions, these same unions called a one-day general work stoppage. 80% of the unionized government workers stayed out and 15,000 demonstrated at the State House, but the Personnel Law still passed.

In the private sector, the workers are also fighting systematic attempts to break their unity. One example is the Ponce Cement strike. Ponce Cement belongs to Luis A. Ferre, multimillionaire ex-governor and close friend of Rockefeller and Nixon. Five hundred workers in the Cement Workers and Operators Union struck to hold onto hard-won benefits and the integrity of their union. Their strike lasted over one year. At the beginning, Governor Hernandez Colon mobilized tactical police against their picket lines, permitting scabs to enter the plant. Union members were harassed and intimidated by the FBI and false charges were brought against their leaders. The government strengthened the company's hand by allowing several price hikes for cement. Five months into the strike, the sell-out Seafarers International Union (SIU, AFL-CIO) challenged the Cement Workers jurisdiction and organized the scabs. The NLRB has just ruled in favor of the scab SIU in the contested union elections. This is a setback for the new trade union movement, but the support mobilized for the strike both here and on the island shows what must be built in the future.

This workers movement has joined forces with a resurging independence movement. When the Cuban Revolution came to power in 1959, there was a renew-

al of the independentista forces in Puerto Rico. This caught fire in the 1960s. FUPI, the student organization, brought many thousands together to protest the Vietnam War and to resist the US draft at the same time SDS and the student movement were organizing here. In the late 60s the clandestine Commandos of Armed Liberation (CAL) declared the Condado tourist preserve off limits to Puerto Ricans and bombed the sumptuous hotels. Both CAL and MIRA attacked monuments of US power on the island. Armed struggle has continued both on the island and here -- most recently in the US with the actions of the FALN. In Puerto Rico, armed struggle has become a tool of the working-class and is used in close harmony with union and anti-US struggles.

In 1959, the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI) was formed with Juan Mari Bras as Secretary-General. In his words MPI was "an alliance of classes, progressive ideological tendencies and different generations. We represent national unity in embryonic form." In 1971 MPI became the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), adopted Marxism-Leninism as its ideology and from a multi-class movement it became a working class party. The PSP, which is organized here and on the island, is the leadership of the Puerto Rican struggle. PSP has advanced a full strategy for national liberation and socialist revolution and based this strategy deep in the Puerto Rican working class. The PSP is increasingly recognized by the people through trade union and community struggles, and political confrontations with imperialism in Puerto Rico, in the US, and on the international level. Their recent Second Party Congress was the focus of events on the island. Thousands attended and thousands more read the PSP's message in *Claridad*, their daily newspaper. PSP has advanced a strategy based on the analysis that US control is the very root of the capitalist economy in Puerto Rico. Therefore true independence must of necessity rupture capitalist control too. Political independence for Puerto Rico is a first step, the cornerstone of this process, and will be the fruit of decades of the people's struggle. The final objective, following the creation of a democratic workers republic, is the building of socialism in Puerto Rico.

The US government will not let go easily. Total control over Puerto Rico is a strategic priority. Economically, US investments in Puerto Rico yield an enormous rate of profit. Puerto Rico generates one tenth of all the profits arising from US capital invested abroad. Puerto Rico accounts for almost half the profit on all US investments in Latin America. Puerto Rico is the fifth largest market for US goods in the world and second in the Americas.

Militarily, Puerto Rico is a staging area to be used against all of Latin America.

Politically, the Puerto Rican revolution is dangerous for the US. The ruling class considers Puerto Rico its backyard, its playground, and they consider the independence movement a personal affront. The two million Puerto Ricans living inside the US, part of the independence struggle and part of the US working class, are a constant reminder and threat to peace at home.

Wherever we work we must add to our demands the slogans "Independence for Puerto Rico" and "Free the Nationalist Prisoners." This is a righteous responsibility. Our organized presence can limit the US government's ability to respond to the Puerto Rican people with repression, invasion or CIA intervention. We must create a movement even bigger than the movement against the Vietnam War, rooted in shops, schools and communities. Our movement must be militant and use all means to frustrate and sabotage imperialism's goals.

Independence for Puerto Rico will be a blow against US world control and especially the US ability to have its way in Latin America. Independence for Puerto Rico will be a victory for our movement if we do what the situation demands: build a solidarity movement of millions and make our rebellion and action a price imperialism must pay for its crimes against Puerto Rico. ■



The Socialist Alternative - PSP

March 1, 1976

An Open Letter to US Workers:

The voice of the Puerto Rican independence movement grows stronger each day, both on the island and among the 2 million Puerto Rican workers who live in the US. Puerto Rico is the main Yankee fortress in Latin America. All forms of colonialism prevail: super-exploitation of Puerto Rican workers, forced migration, plunder of natural resources, ruin of agriculture, attempted genocide and utter economic dependency. 85% of all industry in Puerto Rico is controlled by the US. Puerto Rican workers earn 1/3 less than US workers doing the same job. Official unemployment is 22%. For Puerto Rican women, there are additional savage forms of oppression: the lowest-paying dangerous jobs; malnutrition and hunger for their children because 70% of the people must depend on food stamps; and a 40 year US program of forced sterilization. 34% of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age have been sterilized. Victory in the independence struggle will mean a strategic blow to US imperialists who have invested nine billion dollars -- half the US investment in Latin America -- in Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican workers and independence forces are determined to wrest back their sovereignty. They have no illusions about the difficult nature of their struggle. But they have the courage and energy of a people dedicated to independence, they have a class-conscious workers movement, they have a leading revolutionary party (Puerto Rican Socialist Party) -- and their cause is just. They have appealed to the people of North America, whose solidarity is a fundamental factor in advancing the independence struggle. They recognize that cutting off another tentacle of US imperialism will be a decisive advance in the struggle for revolutionary change in the US.

The workers movement in Puerto Rico has asked for your support. In the past 10 years, an independent union movement, dedicated to union democracy and organizing the unorganized, has been fighting for increased wages, improved working conditions and against the high cost of living. Their struggles have led to tremendous confrontations with US-owned companies and with the colonial government. The workers are also forced to fight the "labor colonialism" of the AFL-CIO, which has allied with the FBI, the US government and the big corporations in attempting to crush the labor movement. These sell-out internationals are challenging the independent unions' jurisdiction, breaking strikes and condoning the police terror unleashed against strikers.

The United Workers Movement (MOU) is a coalition of independent unions and some internationals: 40 unions representing about 40,000 workers. Its coordinator, Pedro Grant, is President of the Boilermakers Union and also a member of the Central Committee of the PSP. After a two week trip across the US speaking to rank and file groups, caucuses, organizers, and progressive unions, he observed:

In general, I was amazed at how an important sector of workers as well as many organizations and individuals in the US are interested in the problems of Puerto Rico. It was a very good experience for me because now I know...that there are strong forces in the US who are showing interest and taking action in regard to our fight for independence.

Take a stand with the Puerto Rican independence and workers movement. Join the list of organizations, caucuses, rank and file groups and locals who have formally given their support to the Puerto Rican independent trade union movement and the independence movement. The Puerto Rican struggle is the lifeblood of our own.

Independencia para Puerto Rico!
Free the Nationalist Prisoners!

In Solidarity,

Bernardine Dohrn

Bernardine Dohrn
First Secretary,
Weather Underground Organization



REVIEW: AKWESASNE NOTES

"Where The Partridge Drums"

How many readers of OSAWATOMIE have seen and carefully read Akwesasne Notes? If for you the answer is no, that must change quickly. If for others the answer is yes, you have a fine hand to guide you through the Native American movement and an obligation to encourage others to read it also.

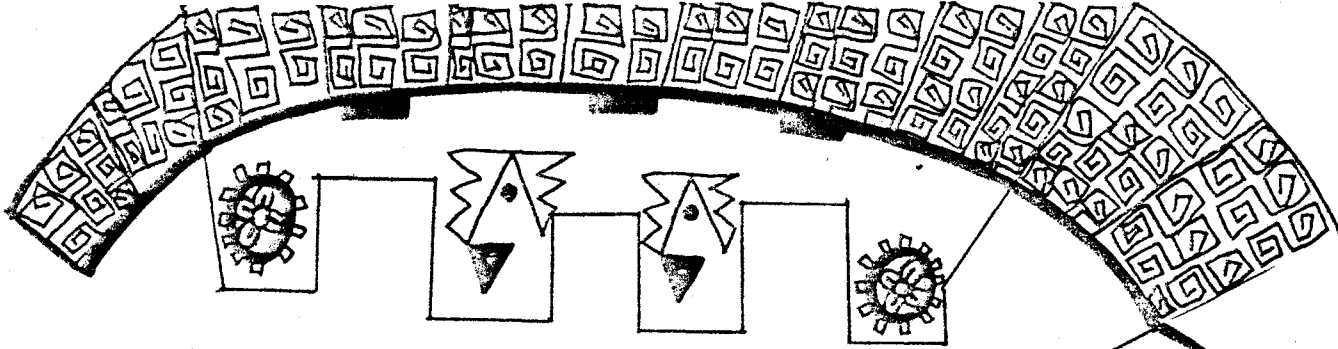
The Notes is the official newspaper of the Mohawk nation at Akwesasne; Akwesasne means People of the Longhouse. The Longhouse, a symbol of unity of the six-nation Iroquois league, is the seat of council government. It is in the tradition of the Iroquois confederacy to spread the roots of Indian law in all four directions. Akwesasne Notes continues in this tradition.

The Mohawk reservation covers territory in Northwest New York and Canada, artificially divided by the U.S.-Canadian border. The border has been the scene of many clashes in the last eight years between the Mohawks and Customs officials who were stopping and searching Indians crossing back and forth on their own land. After a long struggle, the Mohawks won the right to free passage; now they demand the same rights in crossing the bridge over the St. Lawrence River.

The Notes began in 1968 as stapled, mimeoed sheets describing this fight. Today the Notes is a national and international newspaper. It reaches the homes of many Indians, supporters of the Indian movement, schools, libraries; in all, a circulation of 75,000.

The Notes tells the news of Indian people internationally, with an emphasis on the U.S. and Canada. It is Pan-Indian, believing in the commonality of all Indian people and committed to the freedom of all Indian nations. The Notes seeks out Indian people everywhere, explains their culture, their tradition, their resistance. Recently an entire issue was devoted to the Mayan people in Guatemala, following a trip taken there by Notes people and Mexicanos from El Teatro Campesino. The issue revealed the rich Mayan culture and the poverty and degradation in which they are forced to live. Richness of culture side by side with extreme poverty is the dual condition of Indian people everywhere.

Indian people are fighting for survival, for their people and for the land. Land provides for human survival. Indians have been in the forefront of exposing the ecological brutality of the government and struggling against strip mining and nuclear power plants and for an alternate relationship to nature.



Ganienkeh in upstate New York is reclaimed Indian land -- the seeds of an Indian nation built on respect for the land.

The Notes argues for self-determination. The right to decide how to live, educate their children and govern themselves, is the right of every Indian nation. Sovereign tribes, who have lived here for 1,000 years, are demanding their treaty rights be honored after years of violation. And they are demanding an end to all forms of colonial exploitation: sterilization, assimilation, forced destitution, alcoholism, destruction of Indian culture, support of illegitimate leaders, rape and destruction of the land.

The war against Native peoples fills the pages of the Notes, particularly the campaign of terror at Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. 54 people have been killed there since the last battle of Wounded Knee ended in Spring, 1973. Every form of terror has been used against the Oglala people in an attempt to crush their fighting spirit. The FBI, whose illegal aggression on the reservation got two of their agents killed, sends out SWAT teams to illegally enter and search Indian homes and harass, beat up, arrest and murder "suspect" Indian militants. AIM (American Indian Movement) has been a special target of this government repression because of their persistent role in fighting for Indian self-determination. Local goon squads, led by former tribal chairman Dick Wilson, help to do the government's dirty work. Grand juries are popping up under every pretext and the Wounded Knee trials are still going on, tying up the lives and funds of many activists.

We have an obligation as progressive and revolutionary people in the U.S. to actively support the Indian struggle for freedom. To subscribe to Akwesasne Notes send whatever you can, according to your financial capabilities. Support of all kinds is needed; letters, news clippings, articles of your own. "This paper comes out with the love and energy of many."

Akwesasne Notes
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, NY 13683

by Ella Flynn

**SUBSCRIBE TO AKWESASNE NOTES!
A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES!**



FIREWORKS

THE WAR OF 1898

The official Bicentennial is the ruling-class campaign of bread and circuses. The carnival is meant to cover up the catastrophe. Let's use this time to dig out the truth of US history. The rulers have set the time for the party; let us bring the fireworks.

The history books say that the Spanish-American war was a war in which the US sided with the people of the Spanish colonies who were fighting for their independence. But the truth is that under the guise of "aid", the US intervened at the moment when Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines were on the verge of winning independence. With the defeat of the dying Spanish empire, the US claimed these three nations as its own. Mark Twain had this to say about this first US imperialist war:

We have bought some islands from a party that did not own them...we coaxed a weak nation into a trap, and closed it upon them...we are as indisputably in possession of a wide-spreading archipelago as if it were our property; we have pacified some thousands of the islanders and buried them; destroyed their fields; burned their villages and turned their widows and orphans out of doors; furnished heart-breaking exile to dozens of disagreeable patriots and subjugated the remaining millions by Benevolent Assimilation which is the pious new name of the musket... And so, by these providences of God -- the phrase is the Government's, not mine -- we are a World Power; and are glad and proud.

These clandestine propaganda actions were done by the WUO.



Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.
Statue in commemoration of Wm McKinley,
dedicated by Teddy Roosevelt in 1906.



Central Park, New York City.
Statue dedicated to Jose Marti,
Cuban patriot.

ORGANIZING REBELLION IN THE VOLUNTEER ARMY

by J. Lardner



"Join the Navy and See the World!" "Today's Army Wants to Join You!" The recruiters shout their appeals like carnival barkers. You are offered everything by the military, from financial security to job training, from liberation for women to masculinity for men. This is today's volunteer army (Volar). Nixon ended the draft in December 1972 and Ford signalled the government's commitment to a volunteer military this January when he ended requirements for registration with the Selective Service System. Now is the time to examine Volar more closely.

The central contradiction for GIs is between their role as imperialist agents -- an armed force used to maintain and expand bourgeois power in the US and around the world -- and their class origins, young people coming from the working class and oppressed nations within the US. From the perspective of the Pentagon planners, this contradiction is described as between the mission of the military and the morale of the troops, who at times identify with those they are supposed to be fighting. The revolutionary GI organizer sees it as a contradiction between GIs as hired guns of the government and the potential for resistance based on where they come from. Which aspect of the military will dominate, which interest of GIs will prevail? This is the question that sets the strategies on both sides of the struggle.

VIETNAM

In Vietnam, the U.S. ruling class went to the limit to turn back the national liberation struggle. Eventually they committed a half-million troops to fight in Vietnam, rotated yearly, with twice as many support personnel outside Vietnam.

The Vietnamese fought a people's war, based on the unity of their people and support from around the world. The only strategy the Pentagon could come up with was to use more bombs, more troops, and to mold the U.S. society into an extensive war machine to direct U.S. strength against Vietnam. Huge

grants from the Department of Defense were used to turn university research to the tasks of winning the war. Universal conscription of young men was tailored to direct different sectors of the population into acceptable occupational slots: the rich and privileged were sure to get out with loopholes and exemptions; those who labored at war industries and the physically unfit were likewise exempt. What remained were youths from the working-class and Third World communities who were sent to do the front-line fighting.

The military training system was geared up: political motivation for fighting the war was never primary in training GIs since this kind of indoctrination would raise more questions than answers. But military training carefully cultivated racist ideology among GIs concerning Asians and promoted racism towards Black GIs among whites. Recruits were also motivated to train and fight to prove their manhood: the military furthered its tradition of promoting prostitution and violence against women. Non-commissioned officers, up from the ranks, cajoled and threatened the troops into place. The Pentagon fielded an army that brought tremendous destruction to Vietnam, from atrocities against villagers in the countryside to the decadent culture of dope, prostitution and gambling in the cities.

But this was also an army subject to pressures. The Vietnamese carried on a constant war of harassment against

the occupying troops. The arrogance of the imperialist army was disrupted and shaken.

Non-white GIs were in combat and taking casualties in numbers disproportionately higher than their numbers in the population as a whole. While the military was 12% Black in 1971, 16% of the combat assignments and 20% of the service and supply positions were held by Blacks; the 82nd Airborne, the Army's primary combat division, was 26% Black. Combat casualties sometimes ran as high as 45% Third World. At the same time, many of these troops identified with the Vietnamese, rejected the racist designation of "gooks" and "slopes". And this recognition of the lie behind U.S. propaganda spread to other front-line GIs -- the grunts, bush-beaters, eleven-bravos. It was these soldiers, taking the most abuse from the officers, bearing the brunt of the fighting, who became the disloyal opposition within the military.



Firebase Pace. On October 9, 1971, the Army's First Cavalry Division was pinned down in fierce fighting near the Cambodian border. Captain Robert Cronin ordered the Third Platoon of Bravo Company to leave Firebase Pace on ambush patrol. First one, then the majority of the soldiers, refused the order; men in the other platoons backed them up. The refusal of the soldiers at Firebase Pace to fight was flashed on TV screens and newspapers across the U.S. and around the world. The First Cav was the showcase division, the descendants of the infamous Crook raiders against the Apaches and Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders in Cuba. And they were no longer willing to fight.

Worn down, beaten, demoralized, the U.S. army broke down in Vietnam. Sometimes this took the form of a self-destructive fatalism in heroin addiction; sometimes it was direct rebellions: GIs refused ambush patrols, established pri-

vate cease-fires with the Vietnamese, dropped smoke grenades or fragmentation grenades in their officer's bunkers. GIs were ordered to do the impossible in Vietnam. Some were realizing they had nothing against the so-called enemy and began to turn their guns around. Many white GIs came in close contact with this Black-led rebellion and turned their backs on the reactionary training they had received to become -- along with Third World veterans -- a leading anti-imperialist force in the working class.

Organizers opened coffee houses, built servicemen's unions and deserters' committees, and formed Black brotherhoods to spread information and build consciousness among GIs about the war. Resistance in the military grew and flowered in the context of the huge social movement against the war and the Afro-American liberation struggle.

In the summer of 1967, federal National Guard troops were called out eighteen times, leading to 87 deaths. But during the 1968 demonstrations in Chicago against the Democratic Convention, forty-three Black airborne troops from Ft. Hood refused to board planes for domestic action, saying they did not want to be fighting Black and anti-war demonstrators.

When Nixon was forced to pull the ground troops out of Vietnam, organizers spread consciousness to sailors and airmen who were carrying out Nixon's air war against Vietnam. The Vietnamese set the limits of U.S. bourgeois power in the Tet offensive. The resistance in the military was an important factor in frustrating the escalation strategy and forcing U.S. rulers to withdraw from Vietnam.

WHAT KIND OF VOLUNTEER MILITARY?

During the Vietnam war, the ruling class and their generals were defeated on many fronts. Many Americans rejected the militarization of society and universal conscription, and Nixon was forced to end the draft as an institution that caused more problems than solutions. But what did Nixon and his planners want to replace it with?

The goal of the generals is to build an army of "true volunteers" -- instead of volunteers who signed up under threat of a draft. Every effort is bent to the task of forging a force of gung-ho soldiers, permanent, reliable, like many U.S. police forces. Further, the Pentagon wants to use its 2.1 million active GIs and 900,000 reservists in the National Military Program for Flexible Response. This is simply a plan for imperial aggression in short raids (like the Mayaguez attack on Cambodia in 1975), bombing missions and tactical support for pro-U.S. governments (like the support the U.S. gave Israel in the 1973 war). More-

over, the generals use the armed forces as a striking force in domestic disorders: the National Guard in California inaugurated a program last Fall to form urban police units within the guard. This was nominally to enable them to step in in the event of another city police strike, but also served to beef up domestic power in case of urban rebellions.

But the military is an unpopular occupation and has had difficulty recruiting even with increased pay and relatively peaceful duty. Military planners decided to turn over more of the most degraded work like KP to civilian workers who have become -- especially in the South -- a key part of the military machine.

And increasingly they have been recruiting women to fill non-combat occupations. The number of women in the military has increased from 2% in 1971 to 5% in 1975 and is expected to reach 8% by 1977. While the public is fed features on the few women in military academies and success stories on job-training for women, the truth is primarily in the drudgery of low-paid clerical work, contract employment with no chance for promotion or job choice. 51% of the women in the military are kept in the lowest three grades (E-1 through E-3), which is double the service-wide average.

With poverty among Afro-Americans dominating the economic picture, recruitment was increasing among Black youths. Of the new enlistees in 1974, 21% were Afro-Americans. Over the past four years, Black GIs have grown from comprising 14% to 20% of the soldiers in the Army, from 11% to 18% in the Marines and from 11% to 15% in the armed forces as a whole. This confronted the generals with a new problem: could they count on Black GIs, who had always been the most rebellious, as mobile enforcers for imperialism in Angola or Lebanon? They took steps to counter the trend of Black enlistment. Recruiters began to focus campaigns in largely-white small towns. The requirement of a high school diploma or equivalency test, which eliminates many Black youths from deteriorated ghetto schools, was reintroduced. In boot camp, officers would seek out the most gung-ho GIs, to separate them into special units they could rely on in times of combat.

But even with recruitment among women and hiring of civilians, with arm-twisting by judges sentencing youths for petty crimes and huge advertising campaigns in high schools, with short enlistment periods and a \$2500 cash bonus for combat enlistments, the military was not able to meet its quotas in the early 70s. By the end of 1974, however, the economic crisis was deepening and unemployment was reaching record levels, over 20% for men under 25. Suddenly the fortunes of the recruiters began to change, especially in cities hit hard

by unemployment like Detroit. They were able to meet recruitment quotas in all services, to drop the offer of a two-year tour of duty, to cut the number of Black recruits from 29% to 26% and raise the number of recruits with high school diplomas from 56% to 75%. In 1975, the services surpassed their enlistment quotas by 20%. The most successful recruiter the military could find turned out to be Sgt. Hard Times.

So the "universal" conscription, which was supposed to be a democratic general lottery but never was, changes its form of compulsion to an economic conscription of workers unable to find jobs or the prospect of job training. The military's \$93 million direct advertising budget for 1976 is aimed directly at unemployed youth. The strategy of the generals is to build a mercenary army from the victims of the economic crisis.

GI ORGANIZING

GIs are caught between their role as a special armed body, imperialism's enforcer, and their roots as working-class people and as members of oppressed nations within the U.S. The job of GI organizers is to win recruits to understand this contradiction and to repudiate their role as oppressors.

To the extent that the generals succeed in building crack units, "centurions", organizers and GIs should direct sharp attacks against them. These units should be exposed and isolated and defeated. In today's Volar, however, the majority of GIs do not fit this category. They rebel and resist the conditions of their service, and the job of organizers is to bring political consciousness and organization to this rebellion.

Many GIs are disgusted with life in the military, and AWOL levels in the last year have been only slightly below the record high period of 1971. Some recruits have sued the military for misrepresentation in job training offers, such as the case of Seaman Paul Oldencamp and eight other Hawaii-based sailors in 1974. Sailors' wives have been organizing in California to stop the sailing of unsafe ships and homeporting of the ships in Japan. Other GIs have fought the restriction on democratic rights in the military: for years U.S. forces in Europe have been confronting hair length restrictions -- from Afros and corn-rows to long hair -- leading to numerous courts martial and the development of contacts with the radical Dutch GI union. Gay women and men in the military have been challenging discharges on the basis of homosexuality, demanding basic democratic rights. Many GIs have reasoned

that since they signed up voluntarily, they have the right to quit. The 13th Amendment prohibits involuntary servitude to everyone with the exception of prisoners. Six men and women on Navy bases in Virginia resigned with the help of the Norfolk Defense Committee in protest of conditions and the role of the military.

Organizers should not limit the struggle to these reform demands, but fight for democratic rights -- free speech, the right to organize, the right for GI newspapers -- in a way that links each struggle to the consciousness of anti-imperialism, which is the key to a vital GI movement. Without this, reform struggles remain only reforms, and in the military this is a deadly error, leaving the imperialists armed to wage further wars. In addition, GIs can be an important force in other political struggles: against rape, the sexist assaults exalted in military folklore; for full amnesty for 30,000 military resisters and 600,000 veterans denied benefits because of bad discharges.

A direct challenge to the perverted military order and the U.S. military mission is provided by the Black and Third World GIs' attack on racial harassment and racist institutions. During the Middle East war in 1973, Black and Puerto Rican sailors on the USS Little Rock in the Mediterranean fought back against a white attack that was the culmination of four months of racial harassment. Black Seaman Apprentice David Pryor had these words to say during his trial for the incident: "Our problems went unsolved. Our questions remained unanswered. . . Aboard the USS Little Rock, our hopes turned to hatred, dedication became disgust, eyes searching for acceptance turned inward, and our hands raised for help became clenched fists." Similar Black protests have taken place in the U.S. -- like the take-over of a dining hall by Black Airmen and WAF's (Women in the Air Force) at Minot Air Force Base in North Dakota -- and overseas -- like the pitched battles in Korea over racism in the service clubs. Building the struggle against racism and the national oppression of Black people is a central task for GI organizers.

In the most advanced GI actions, the imperial mission of the U.S. military is directly called into question. Black Army PFC Larry Johnson was court martialled for refusing service in 1973. Larry won his trial, based on his argument that "I resigned from the Army to make people better aware of what Portugal, the U.S. Army, and NATO are doing in Mozambique, and to withdraw my service from aiding and abetting war crimes." Five Marines in Iwakuni, Japan were court martialled for circulating a petition in support of democratic rights

in South Korea, a U.S. puppet dictatorship under Park Chung Hee.

In the southeastern U.S. radical GIs organized a campaign against the U.S. Navy and Marine practice warfare in Puerto Rico, dubbed "Operation Springboard." The U.S. military occupies over 13% of Puerto Rican land and Navy gunners use Puerto Rico's Culebra Island as a firing range. Their petition reads in part: "'Operation Springboard' is part of our training in providing fire support for suppressing rebellions in countries like Puerto Rico. . . As working people ourselves, we support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their independence, and call on you to take whatever actions are necessary to STOP OPERATION SPRINGBOARD!"

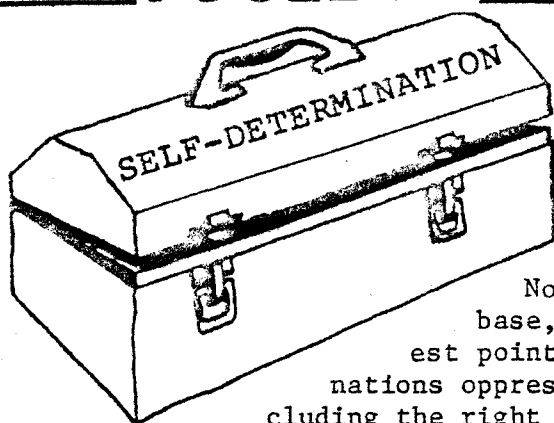
The military is in a state of constant alert because of the instability of the U.S. empire, and the contradictions within the military are seething. Everyone doing working-class organizing should turn some attention to agitation among GIs, even if only by leafletting GIs about important issues every month. Some organizers should build mass struggles and organization within the military. It is right for GIs to organize now as broadly and extensively as during the height of the Vietnam war -- the conflicts of the coming decade will be just as intense. ■

General, your tank is
a mighty vehicle.
It smashes down forests
and crushes a hundred men.
But it has one defect:
it needs a driver.

General, your bomber
is powerful --
it flies faster than
a storm
and carries more than
an elephant.
But it has one defect:
it needs a mechanic.

General, a man is very
useful.
He can fly and
he can kill.
But he has one defect:
he can think!

Bertolt Brecht



With the advent of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, the world was divided into oppressor and oppressed nations. The oppressed nations struggling for national liberation became a part of the great tide of the proletarian movement.

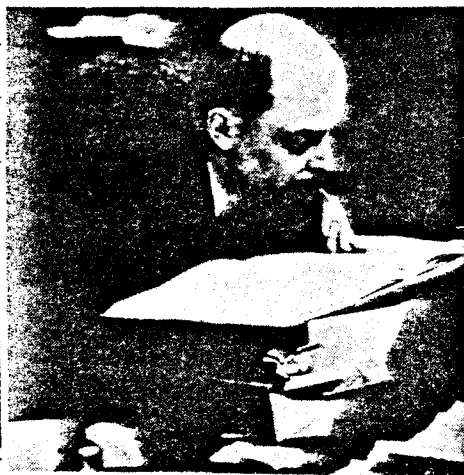
Now, with a strong and growing socialist rear-base, national liberation struggles are the sharpest points of defeat for imperialism. The right of nations oppressed by imperialism to self-determination, including the right to secession and independence, is a fundamental democratic right, recognized and fought for by communists everywhere; this right is inalienable, and cannot be swept away by violence or imperialist-run plebiscites.

Workers in the imperialist countries must fight against the bribe offered by imperialism; they must recognize and fight for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. This is the necessary basis of class solidarity and unity. This is the meaning of proletarian internationalism. This is the essential underpinning of the slogan: "Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite!"

The demand for self-determination is forwarded in the interest of equality of nations and peoples. But it also recognizes that equality cannot be achieved by shoving union down the throats of the oppressed.

US imperialism dominates nations around the world with military force, economic aggression and political control. The US owns direct colonies like Puerto Rico, controls neo-colonies like South Korea, and oppresses nations within its own borders -- Black, Mexicano and Native American nations. The oppressed nations, fighting for self-determination, are delivering the most telling blows against imperialism. The communist and workers movement must actively join in this fight, for this is the necessary basis for a revolutionary alliance against the common enemy.

Even dreamers desire unity between workers of oppressed and oppressor nations, but unity on what basis? Only the principled fight for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination can build a true and lasting unity -- a communist unity. When the demand for self-determination is muted or dropped, for whatever "practical" reasons or imagined goals, this is national chauvinism. The demand for self-determination is the expression of the struggle against national oppression both now and in the future, and it must be emblazoned on our banners always.



Reminiscences of Lenin, Krupskaya

The proletariat of the oppressing nations cannot confine itself to the general hackneyed phrases against annexations and for the equal rights of nations in general, that may be repeated by any pacifist bourgeois. The proletariat cannot evade the question that is particularly "unpleasant" for the imperialist bourgeoisie, namely, the question of frontiers of a state that is based on national oppression. The proletariat cannot but fight against the forcible retention of the oppressed nations within the boundaries of a given state, and this is exactly what the struggle for self-determination means.

-- Lenin on the National and Colonial Questions

ZIONISM IS RACISM

The United Nations General Assembly voted on November 10, 1975 to declare Zionism "a form of racism and racial discrimination." The WUO supports this resolution, supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in their homeland, and condemns the colonial, racist and reactionary state of Israel. Anti-Zionism does not equal anti-semitism, nor is Zionism in the true or lasting interests of Jewish people.

Zionism is racist because it is colonial. Zionism has always used and been used by imperialism -- first British, now American. Theodore Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, negotiated with the Turkish sultan, the British, the Germans, the Russians and the Pope for assistance in obtaining Palestine. In return, Herzl promised his proposed Jewish colony would be a "rampart of Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism." Herzl expressed his admiration for British imperialism in Egypt in 1903: "The role of the English there is superb. They are cleaning up the East, letting light and air into its dens of filth."

The common goal of Zionism and imperialism was to impose a destiny on the Middle East against the wishes and interests of the people who lived there. Imperialist ideology justifies the conquest and exploitation of the Third World with lies that Third World people don't need, want, use or deserve their own lands and resources; that they are too backward to rule themselves; and that they should be grateful for the civilizing mission of the conquerors. This ideology is racist; Zionism is one of its forms.

The Zionists justify their claim to Palestine by insisting that no one lived there. Palestine was "a land without people for a people without land." In fact the Arab population of Palestine numbered 700,000 in 1914, and a million by 1948. The Zionist colonizers did not confine their efforts to the deserts and marshes, but seized the fertile plains and valleys, the orchards and groves as well.

The Israeli leadership denies that they have ever displaced a single Arab. But in the first six months after the UN decision to partition Palestine in 1947,



the Zionists forced the evacuation of 400,000 Palestinians by a campaign of terror culminating in the massacre of 250 inhabitants of the village of Deir Yasin April 1948 -- a month before the beginning of the Arab-Israeli war. 750,000 Palestinians were forced from their homeland in 1947-1948; this was 3/4 of the entire Palestinian people.

Zionist colonialism did not end when Israel became a state in 1948. It continues in the theft of Arab lands inside Israel; in the expansionist occupation of Arab territories in the wars of 1956, 1967 and 1973; and in the Law of Return which encourages every Jew in the world to emigrate to Israel and participate in the further colonization of Palestine.

The military government which has administered most Arab areas of Israel

since 1948 is empowered to suppress political activity, restrict travel, confiscate or destroy property and detain, or expel any inhabitant. Thousands of Palestinians have been imprisoned without trial under a preventive detention system similar to South Africa's. Arabs cannot work or lease land owned by the state of Israel. Tens of thousands of Arabs are stateless due to the Israeli Nationality Law and have no rights of citizenship. Arabs in Israel live under a different set of laws, as well as a different set of social and economic conditions than those which apply to Jews. This is Zionist racism in practice.

Zionism bases its claim to the land on the fact that the Jewish people lived there in ancient times, and have maintained their attachment in prayers, legends, and messianic prophecies. Against this historic claim is the living claim of the Palestinian people, the inhabitants and cultivators of the land at the beginning of the Zionist colonization. Palestinians have lived on the land, built their houses from its yellow stone and clay, terraced its rocky hills, tended its olive and citrus groves, its flocks of goats and sheep continuously for the past 3,500 years. The program of the Palestinian Liberation Organization calls for a secular, democratic Palestine, recognizing the right of Jews presently living there to remain as well as the right of all exiled Palestinians to return. This is the only just solution.

Israel's existence as a Zionist state is the denial of self-determination for

Palestinians, and Israel needs the active protection of US imperialism. Israel receives massive US military aid and is one of imperialism's staunchest supporters. Zionism defends and aids reaction around the world: in Saigon before liberation, in South Africa, in Chile.

Anti-semitism is a dangerous ideology which must be condemned and fought wherever it exists. It has been perpetrated as a reactionary doctrine to blame Jews for the evils brought about by class society. But Zionism itself is built on the premise that anti-semitism is inevitable, a disease inborn and eternal to the human race, separate from social, historic conditions.

Zionist oppression of the Palestinian people is the cause of anti-Zionism. The Palestinians' struggle to reclaim their homeland is not anti-semitic. Robbed of their land, deprived of the most basic human and civil rights, the Palestinian people justly see the state of Israel as their enemy. Their leaders have publicly denounced anti-semitism and fought it in their ranks.

The path to overturning anti-semitism does not lie in cooperating with the imperialist murderers of My Lai to repress the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. The main safeguard against the development of fascism in the world today is in the struggles of the oppressed and exploited people of the world against US imperialism and its allies; including the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism and for self-determination. ■

ENEMY OF THE SUN

I may - if you wish - lose my livelihood
I may sell my shirt and bed.
I may work as a stone cutter,
A street sweeper, a porter.
I may clean your stores
Or rummage your garbage for food.
I may lie down hungry,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

You may take the last strip of my land,
Feed my youth to prison cells.
You may plunder my heritage.
You may burn my books, my poems
Or feed my flesh to the dogs.
You may spread a web of terror
On the roofs of my village,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

-Sameeh Al-Qassem

ON POETRY

If only these poems were
A chisel in the hands of a worker
A grenade in the hands of a fighter
If only
If only these poems were
A plow in the hands of a peasant
A shirt, a door, a key,
If only
once
A poet said:
If my poems gratify my friends
And anger my enemies
Then I am a poet.

- Mahmoud Darweesh

ANGOLA

by Joe Reed

March 1, 1976

The victories of MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola are of breathtaking historical importance. They are a triumph for the Angolan people, a stunning defeat for the South African racist invaders and a deadly setback to US plans for re-colonizing Angola under the cover of puppet forces, FNLA and UNITA. Neocolonialism, the cornerstone of US imperial strategy, has been dealt a heavy blow. This is also a victory for the workers and oppressed people in the US and for all those whose actions in solidarity with Angola have challenged US aggression. Angola has been the spearpoint of national liberation struggles in the past year, and solidarity with the MPLA has been a cutting-edge question for all anti-imperialists.

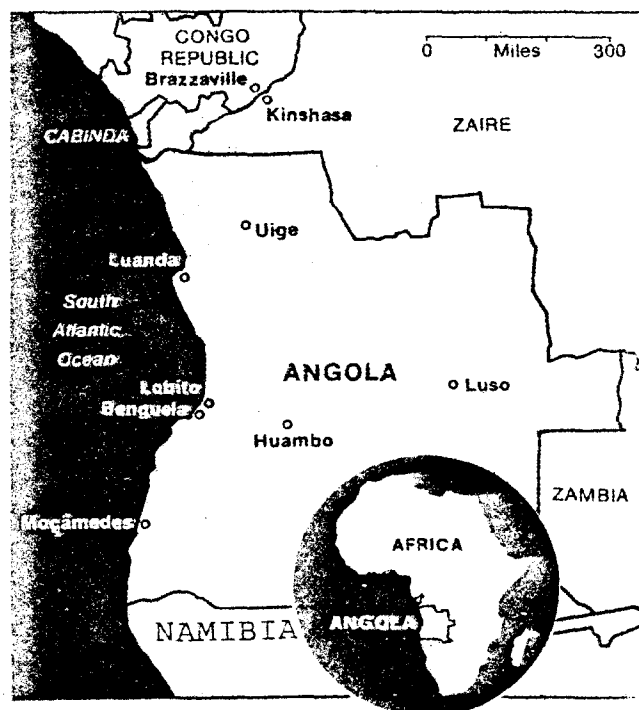
MPLA was founded in 1956 by a small group of African revolutionaries, including Amilcar Cabral and its present leader, Dr. Agostinho Neto. MPLA began armed struggle on February 4, 1961 and has led every subsequent stage of the liberation war. MPLA built a people's army to fight colonialism and promoted popular power in the liberated zones. MPLA stood for true independence free from US neocolonial control. Its policies won it the love and support of the people: by early 1975, MPLA governed a substantial portion of Angola.

FNLA and UNITA have long been the instruments of imperialism. Holden Roberto, the head of FNLA, began as the leader of a tribal secessionist movement in the north. He has received a yearly \$10,000 retainer from the CIA since 1961. The FNLA never bothered the US or Portugal. It functioned instead as an armed band attacking MPLA guerrillas near Angola's northern frontier and then retreating to sanctuaries in Zaire. While MPLA fought the Portuguese in Angola, Holden Roberto grew rich off gangster dealings in Zaire and waited for the US to install him as Angola's new leader. Roberto has never hidden his violent anti-communism: in a recent Newsweek interview, he called on "the West to save Africa from Communism", and criticized the US for "moving slowly in Vietnam."

By 1966 FNLA was discredited in the eyes of Africa. The CIA then set up UNITA as a more "legitimate" counterweight to MPLA. UNITA built a small base area in central Angola and won support among the Ovambo people in the south. While UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi concluded secret deals

with South Africa and Portugal, CIA-sponsored UNITA representatives went to the US posing as the only revolutionary Angolan movement. UNITA focused on splitting the Black and white revolutionary movements away from MPLA. This CIA strategy had its successes and wreaked much havoc. Within our own organization this campaign created uncertainty which was later corrected. All the while MPLA cried out that it was the only force fighting colonialism, that UNITA and FNLA were grotesque neocolonial creations designed to keep Angola in chains. In 1971, the Organization of African Unity sent an official delegation to observe the actual conditions of struggle in northern Angola and reported back that "only the militants of the MPLA were effectively combating the Portuguese."

MPLA victories and the overthrow of Portuguese fascism in 1974 set the stage for Angolan independence in November, 1975. In January 1975 the US began a massive program of aid to UNITA and FNLA with a \$300,000 payment. This was two months before any increase in Soviet aid to MPLA.



By the end of last year, US aid had reached \$32 million, with another \$10 million laundered through Zaire. By arming its puppets the US hoped to provoke and win a civil war before the MPLA could consolidate its strength in Luanda. As part of this strategy, Henry Kissinger orchestrated the South African invasion and promised full US support. South Africa launched the attack in October 1975 from a military complex in its northern colony of Namibia. Thousands of South African commandos swept north, attacking the liberation forces of SWAPO in Namibia, burning villages in southern Angola, terrorizing the fleeing population.

Invaded from the south and under attack from 6000 Zairean troops in the north, the newly-declared People's Republic of Angola sustained heavy losses. But MPLA held Luanda and its outlying regions and resistance continued in the areas held by UNITA and FNLA. Then heroic Cuba, which had been a firm MPLA supporter throughout the long war, responded to an MPLA request by sending hundreds and then thousands of volunteer fighters. Cuba acted in the great tradition of proletarian internationalism. In a moving defense of Cuban actions, Fidel Castro declared at the First Party Congress in Havana: "We are a Latin American and Latin African nation as well; African blood flows freely through our veins." Mozambique offered troops and full support. The Soviet Union expanded its shipment of arms, tanks and other desperately needed supplies. This solidarity was critical in smashing the South African offensive and liberating much of Angola.

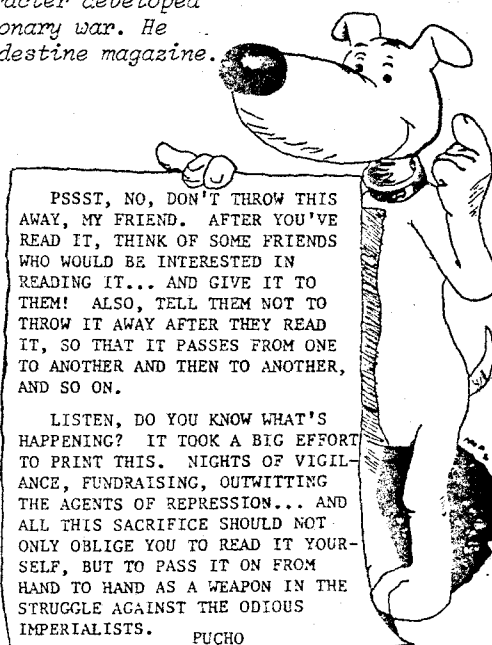
Samora Machel, the President of Mozambique, has said:

In Angola, two forces are confronting each other; on the one hand, imperialism with its allies and its puppets; on the other, the progressive popular forces which support MPLA. There is nothing else.

This is clear. But there are revolutionaries who hesitate and those who back the wrong side. The People's Republic of China has lined up with the US by denouncing Soviet aid to MPLA, condemning "Soviet-Cuban aggression" and accusing the Soviet Union of "single-handedly provoking the Angolan civil war." China has refused to recognize the MPLA government, instead insisting that MPLA unite with UNITA and FNLA in a "government of national concord." This would amount to letting a fifth column enter the new Angolan government. China's position is dangerous and without justification. It is echoed in the US by the October League which recently staged a demonstration in San Francisco against "Soviet intervention" in Angola while Henry Kissinger was speaking several blocks away.

The People's Republic of Angola is now a reality, tested in the fiercest struggle. It has won state power and governs almost the whole of Angola. It has the overwhelming support of progressive forces. Now it will defend these gains and begin the awesome task of economic reconstruction. The US will not reconcile itself to defeat; it is sure to attempt more subversion and escalate its efforts against liberation forces in Zimbabwe and Namibia. South Africa still has troops inside Angolan territory. This is why continued solidarity is essential. But the future of Angola is bright.

"Pucho" is a cartoon character developed during the Cuban revolutionary war. He appeared in *Mella*, a clandestine magazine.



PAUL ROBESON (1898-1976) "The Tallest Tree"

In a cold night rain we arrive at the Harlem funeral, converging with several thousand people to mourn the death and celebrate the life of Paul Robeson. Black and white, of every age, we fill the Mother AME Zion Church, smiling solidarity to one another as we crowd closer together, a cross-section of lives touched by a great man. Hymns and prayers are followed by tributes; Lloyd Brown begins: "The tallest tree in our forest has fallen..."

The tree had roots strong and deep; Paul Robeson was born the son of a former slave. Bursting with extraordinary talent, energy and creativity, overflowing with humanity and love, Paul broke down racist barriers to win the highest academic and athletic honors at Rutgers, earn a law degree, and take the theater by storm.

Paul Robeson sang in a full bass-baritone the spirituals and folksongs of his heritage. And he did more with his beautiful voice than sing: he agitated and taught, he fired the desire for freedom in working and oppressed peoples. "The artist must elect to fight for freedom or slavery", he said. "I have made my choice. I had no alternative."

Paul Robeson drew experiences from the common people and sang for the freedom fighters. He was in Spain performing for anti-fascist fighters during the Civil War, he was in Russia, he was in China. And he was also in the theaters and union halls of America, organizing solidarity with African liberation struggles, fighting racism and national oppression, standing up to a lynch mob at Peekskill. Paul Robeson loved the people of the world; he spoke over two dozen languages. And Paul was loved by people in every land. He was a true internationalist, a militant, a communist.

The mighty forces of U.S. racism hounded Paul, and he refused to move an inch. He was stripped of his passport, blacklisted as a performer, summoned before HUAC. "Why didn't you stay in Russia?" asked a U.S. Congressman. Paul Robeson's retort rang out:

Because my father was a slave, and my people died to build this country, and I am going to stay right here and have a part of it just like you. And no fascist-minded people will drive me from it. Is that clear?

Illness forced his retirement ten years ago, but his political stance never wavered. "I am still the same Paul," he said in 1973, saluting the liberation struggles of his people and all those embattled against imperialism.

Now we recall with love and sorrow the father, friend, freedom fighter, artist, brother. "Can we doubt", asks Lloyd Brown, "that he would have gone to Vietnam to sing for their Liberation Army? And with Paul's genius for languages, in purest Vietnamese!" We are very moved, very proud to be part of a revolutionary history in which Paul Robeson played his magnificent role. As we file into the night, Paul's words echo in our minds:

But I keep laughin' instead of cryin'
I must keep fightin' until I'm dyin',
And Ol' Man River
Just keeps rollin' along.



CHOU EN-LAI

Message of condolence sent to the
People's Republic of China.

January 15, 1976

With people and nations all over the world we pay our respects to Prime Minister Chou En-Lai and join the Chinese Communist Party, government and people in mourning his death. The life and work of Chou En-Lai has been an inspiration and lesson to revolutionaries on every continent for fifty years. From Shanghai to the Long March, from Yen'an to Peking, Chou En-Lai's life was a revolutionary life. He is loved by all of us who love the Chinese Revolution. Statesman, leader, communist, his death is a great loss to socialism and to the world's peoples.

In solidarity --

Bernardine Dohrn
Weather Underground Organization



WHO WE ARE

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and ... We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in "Subterranean Homesick Blues", a popular song in the last decade: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows". In 1970 we made the decision to begin armed struggle and developed an underground organization. For five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

In July 1974, we published Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism. To the best of our knowledge there are currently 30,000 copies of the book in circulation.

The Weather Underground Organization is responsible for over 25 armed actions against the enemy. Eight of these were bombings directed against imperialist war and in support of the people of Indochina. This includes the attack on the Capitol in 1971, on the Pentagon in 1972, and on the State Department in 1975. Ten actions were directed against the repressive apparatus: courts, prisons, police, and in support of Black liberation. This includes attacks on N.Y. City Police Headquarters in 1970 and the California Department of Corrections following the assassination of George Jackson at San Quentin in 1971. One was a bombing of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, an action which was part of the freedom struggle of women. One was a bombing of the New York City branch of the Banco de Ponce, in militant support of striking cement workers in Puerto Rico. These actions were carried out in harmony with the demonstrations, marches and political activity of millions of people. Together they have resulted in approximately \$10 million damage to the imperialists and a significant blow to their arrogance. This is a bee sting against such a powerful enemy, but a bee sting whose strength is multiplied many times by the fact that these actions represent the early stages of sustained armed struggle led by a political organization.

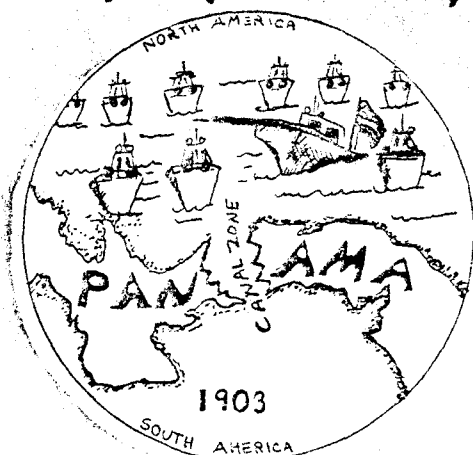
Osawatomi, the revolutionary voice of the WUO, is guided by a commitment to struggle, a determination to fight the enemy, the certainty that we will see revolution in our lifetime, and a spirit of love for the exploited people of the world. In order to build a successful struggle, the people need strong organization and a revolutionary party.

The program of the Weather Underground Organization is:

- US imperialism out of the Third World. Independence for Puerto Rico.
- Peace. Oppose imperialist war and US intervention.
- Fight racism. Build an anti-racist base within the working class.
- Support self-determination for oppressed peoples.
- Struggle against sexism and for the freedom of women.
- Organize the working class. Fight for socialism. Power to the people.

In a single sentence, the program means this: Mobilize the exploited and oppressed people to wage the class struggle against US imperialism, the common enemy.

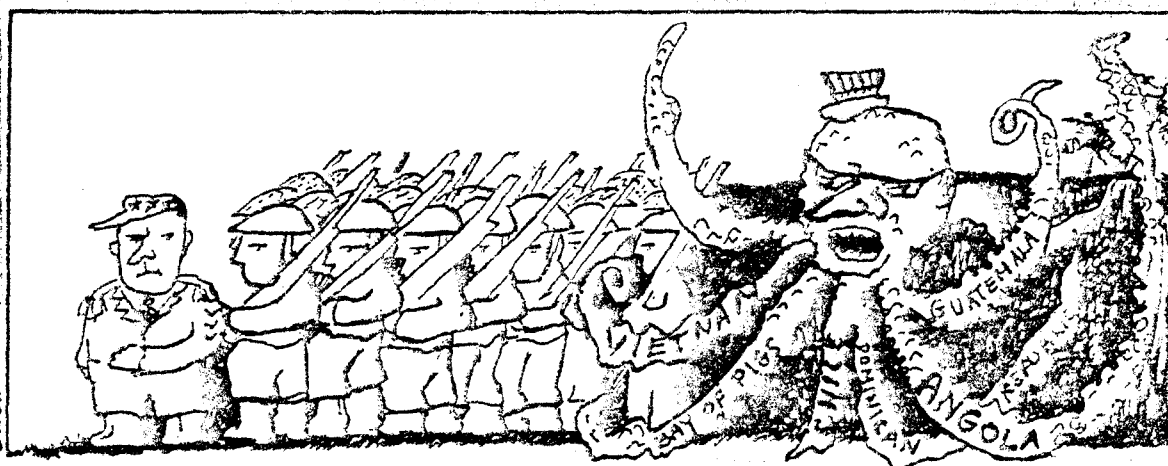
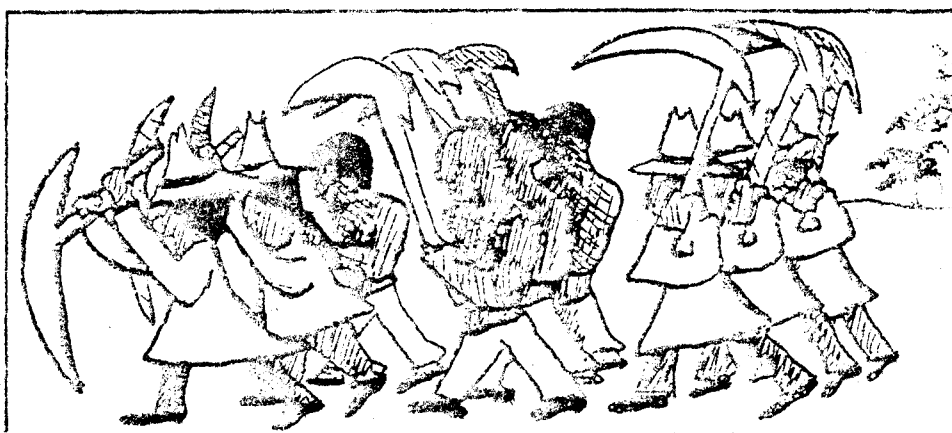
¡FUERA LOS YANQUIS DE PANAMA!



1903: TEDDY ROOSEVELT'S "GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY" FORCED THE NEWLY-FORMED PANAMANIAN REPUBLIC TO SIGN A TREATY GIVING THE U.S. THE RIGHT TO BUILD THE PANAMA CANAL AND CONTROL IT FOREVER.

THE U.S. THEN RECRUITED BLACK WEST INDIAN AND SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN PEOPLE TO CONSTRUCT THE CANAL. 25,000 WORKERS DIED WHILE BUILDING IT.

TODAY THE U.S. RETAINS COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE CANAL ZONE. \$15 BILLION IS INVESTED THERE: 14 MILITARY BASES ARE LOCATED THERE, AND THE U.S. ARMY SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS HAS TURNED THE CANAL ZONE INTO A MAJOR BASE FOR COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN LATIN AMERICA.



THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR UNDENIABLE RIGHT TO CONTROL THEIR LAND AND RESOURCES, INCLUDING THE CANAL ZONE.



A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES!