

CROSSROAD

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ISLAMIC TOLERANCE

Ali Ibn Ibrahim

It may be thought or asked can Muslims and non-Muslims live together in a single community or nation? I am a Muslim and I think so. I base my view upon the Qur'an and my understanding of Islamic history.

Philosophical tolerance is advocated in Al-Islam and Islamic egalitarian concepts encompass differences of opinion—secular, political, social or ritual. Al-Islam is a natural "Way of Life," not a dogma replete with religious pedantics. Al-Islam is not a religion which ignores or excludes people who are not of the Islamic faith. The criteria for Al-Islam on this matter is found in the Qur'an when it declares: "Let there be no compulsion in religion: Truth stands out clear from error." (Q. 2:256) (emphasis added)

Therefore, Muslims cannot handcuff or muscle people to accept Al-Islam under any kind of compulsion. Despite the fact that people may be communists, nationalists, capitalists, the Qur'an does not endorse looking on them as evil per se. In fact, the Qur'an says that in every heart and soul there is a suggestion of evil—no doubt this includes Muslims. Al-Islam is a religion of equanimity, and Muslims are encouraged to be fair and flexible.

Sometimes, Muslims who demonstrate a lack of tolerance for others' beliefs, philosophy or ideology, cause them to flee in disgust and hatred. What we should do is encourage unity in action. This is even a psychological principle. Many parents, for example, instead of encouraging their

children to go to school or warning them against not attending, make them abscond by terrifying them. When Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) sent Ma'adh Ibn Jabal to Yemen to propagate the word of Al-Islam, he said "O Ma'adh! Give people good tidings and do not impose trouble on them!" He didn't say "Do not warn them," because warning is part of the Qua'ranic order. He said "Do not make them hate Islam!"

In this connection, we can surmise that Al-Islam should be presented in a way so as to not offend or cause people to repel the Islamic doctrine. To further illustrate the point, I would like to share a short parable from the history of Islam:

"There was a Muslim who had a Christian neighbor. The Christian was gradually showing an inclination towards Islam and was converted to Islam at the end by the help of his Muslim neighbor. The day after he got converted, he heard somebody knock on the door early in the morning. When he answered, it was his Muslim neighbor who had come to take him to the Mosque. They went and performed their dawn prayer, the Nafillah prayer, the pre-sunrise prayer, the post-sunrise prayer, and so forth. Then they stayed for noon prayer, and lingered around until it was time for evening prayer. The Muslim then turned to the newly-converted Muslim and said, 'Let's make our niyyats (intention) for fasting tomorrow'.

"The day after, when the Muslim went after his neighbor to take him to the Mosque, the man said, 'I am not going. The religion you practice is good for people who have nothing else to do but pray. I am not a Muslim anymore."

Obviously, a rational Muslim is not to be like this man who helped a Christian to accept Islam and then made him flee from it. Muslims are to exhibit a sound sense of tolerance and consideration for others not only in religious concerns, but also in terms of economics, politics and legal rights.

Al-Islam does not advocate the notion that both non-Muslims and secular politics are evil. If this notion was true, then Muslims in America engage in evil by participating in the Democratic and Republican party politics. Are these not secular parties? As we know, both of these political parties are bent on evil, but do all Muslims look upon them as evil? No, indeed, because the political reality is that we live in a system that we must scramble for some reasonable existence. Therefore, if Muslims can live with Democrats and Republicans, then I see no reason why Muslims couldn't live or co-exist with nationalists, communists, or socialists. It is not the label of the philosophy but the substance or content it offers to the reality of our circumstances in this age.

Some Muslims, whether consciously or unconsciously, would have people to believe that they must accept Al-Islam in order to be a "righteous" person or to have a worthy commitment and philosophy. This is not true, and falls outside of the ambits of Qur'an (10:99): "And if your Rabb (Nourisher) willed all on earth would have believed, in total, will you then compel them to be believers?"

This verse is addressed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and clearly acknowledges that all people weren't even meant to be Muslims according to

the decree of our Creator. Prophet Muhammad really loved the people and wanted them to be true Muslims in his time. However, the Qur'an says that the use of force in the matter of belief is meaningless. The Qur'an says: "And call to the way of your Rabb with the judgment and beautiful admonitions, and dispute with them that which is beautiful." (16:125) The Qur'an reasons that Muslims are to invite people to the path of Islam. With what? With force of sword? With philosophical struggles? Or with changing their ideology? No. With beautiful admonitions and advice. After all, Al-Islam teaches that whoever wants to believe will believe and whoever does not want to, will not. Muslims should be mindful that Prophet Muhammad said, "There is no compulsion in religion," and the Prophet said this to a Muslim companion who came to him about his two sons who became fascinated with Chairtianity and devoted to it, but their father was a Muslim and upset that his sons had become Christians. The father said to Prophet Muhammad, "What can I do to these sons of mine who have become Christians? Whatever I have tried, still they do not accept Islam. Do you give me permission to force them to leave their religion and become Muslim?" Prophet Muhammad advised him that there was no compulsion in religion. This episode of Islamic history should have some valuable meaning for Muslims today.

Yes, Muslims and non-Muslims can live together in a single community or nation. In a model community, which can be set up on these shores, Muslims, nationalists, Christians, communists and socialists can all reside together and govern collectively a community in harmony.

Al-Islam is a movement and the Islamic movement is a universal one. When we study the Qur'an, we find that it is addressing a group of people and urging them to change their ways and the world around them. The stories of the past give us a lesson and are not for amusement. Certain messages

are repeated in the Qur'an so that its followers may accept them and change their ways. The followers are urged to organize themselves and work together to bring about change. The message of the Qur'an is goal-oriented. The life of the Prophet (PBUH) was similarly goal-oriented. He organized the Muslims and stressed the need to bring about change in individuals and in society. The early Muslims, under the leadership of the Prophet, worked diligently to bring about a revolutionary change in society. From the very message of Al-Islam, from the life of the Prophet and the struggle of his companions (Allah be pleased with them), we conclude that Al-Islam is a movement for the betterment of society and its individual components.

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I.P.S. REPORT ON CUBAN PRISONS

In CASH AND GENOCIDE: THE TRUE STORY OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN REPARATIONS, D.K. Matsui indicated how the U.S. is using the world's concern for human rights to further its own inhumane interests. (1) The campaign that the U.S. has waged against Cuba in the international human rights arena provides a striking example.

The U.S. human rights campaign against Cuba reached its peak in 1987 when, at the annual session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland, the U.S. tried and failed to get a resolution passed which would have censured Cuba and called for an investigation into alleged "atrocious human rights abuses." Led by India, this move was soundly defeated. For its efforts, India was later denied the receipt of \$15 million in aid that the U.S. had previously promised it.

At the 1988 Human Rights Commission session, the U.S. again tried to force through a similar resolution against Cuba, this time threatening those who voted against it with consequences similar to those that befell India.

Rather than bow to U.S. interests, the delegates voted down the U.S. resolution and voted favorably on a Cuban proposal to send a U.N. team to visit Cuban prisons.

Despite U.S. allegations, it has been unable to disprove Fidel Castro's statement, as reported in the March 6 issue of GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW, that "There has never been an instance of a tortured or murdered prisoner. And, of course, none has ever been disappeared, or anything of the sort, in the history of our revolution because this policy has been maintained with absolute loyalty and no exceptions. Not a single exception."

Speaking on Cuba's willingness to open itself to international inspection, the March 14 GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW said: "Our country has nothing to hide nor is it hiding anything. Visitors of good-

will, regardless of their political views or nationality, who want to learn firsthand about the human rights situation are welcomed to our country with open arms....

"These same facilities that we have provided countless times for organizations and individuals from all over the world, including religious figures, professionals, jurists, journalists, politicians and scientists, will be available for the chairman and members of the Human Rights Commission invited to visit our country.

"Cuba can only stand to gain if honest and worthy people come to see for themselves what the human rights situation is in the country.

"What Cuba rejects is the slander, the lies and the outrageous manipulation by the U.S. government, which has no moral standing to give anybody lessons about rights or humanity."

It was in this atmosphere that an agreement was made between the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and the National Union of Cuban Jurists (NUCJ) to form a Joint Commission on the Conviction and Treatment of Prisoners in the United States and Cuba.

The agreement, signed in February 1988, pledged the NUCJ to obtain open access to all facilities in six Cuban prisons chosen by IPS, and to facilitate confidential interviews with prisoners selected by IPS. In turn, IPS was to seek similar access to U.S. prisons and prisoners for the NUCJ delegation. A condition in the agreement that U.S. visas for the Cubans be obtained prior to the IPS visit to Cuba was waived by the NUCJ in reliance upon good faith efforts to accomplish the reciprocity.

The IPS delegation went to Cuba and carried out its part of the agreed upon inspections between February 26-March 5, 1988. However, the U.S. State Department denied the NUCJ delegation entry visas in May 1988, claiming that "permitting such a delegation into American prisons would allow Castro to deflect

attention from Cuba's own abysmal human rights conditions and convert human rights into a bilateral issue." (2)

Adrian DeWind and Julia Sweig, two members of the IPS delegation, responded to the State Department's action and rationale in a letter printed in the Cleveland PLAIN DEALER on June 25, 1988: "The Cuban delegation's choice of U.S. prisons demonstrates a serious interest in viewing a range of prisons in this country--from the best the U.S. has to offer to the most controversial and internationally condemned. Had the delegation intended to politicize the trip, it surely would have chosen only the latter."

The letter by DeWind and Sweig also placed the U.S. government's denial of Cuban visas and the U.S. campaign against Cuba within some context: "Ironically, the State Department's denial of visas seems to derive not from fear that the Cubans would discover scandalous conditions in U.S. prisons but from a posture of arrogance and a habit of double standard. If U.S. officials making policy toward Cuba wish to gain international credibility, they should send a signal of genuine commitment to human rights, and a willingness to encourage human rights missions by U.S. groups abroad, by opening U.S. doors--particularly to ideological adversaries.

"Human rights is the concern and responsibility of the international community, not an issue on which the State Department holds a unique mandate. Bilateral prison inspections would set a valuable international human rights precedent. Denying visas to respected Cuban penologists reflects the U.S. priority of punishing Cuba, not a commitment to human rights.

"Today, having opened its prisons, Cuba sets a better example, while the United States embarrasses itself in the international eye....Surely a country wishing to deflect attention from itself opens up neither upon request nor under pressure."

This year, the U.S. government's "selective approach to human rights" was criticized by the Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights (LCHR) and Human Rights Watch (HRW), in a 342 page report on the U.S. human rights record in 1988.

The LCHR-HRW report points out that the U.S. rarely protested human rights violations in countries viewed as friendly to its interests, but repeatedly condemned communist countries for their alleged violations.

The U.S. provides enormous amounts of military and financial assistance to groups and countries (Contras, UNITA, national armies of El Salvador, Guatemala, Sudan and Philippines) with "appalling human rights records....despite prohibitions in U.S. law against such gross violators of human rights." And, with regard to countries with a staunch pro-U.S. stance, the LCHR-HRW report says that the U.S. always minimizes their human rights abuses or denies that such abuses exist, e.g., Israeli violations against Palestinians in occupied Palestine.

The IPS issued a eleven page report on its visit to Cuba. Aside from the Introduction, the preliminary report is reprinted below in its entirety.

TASK OF DELEGATION

We visited the six prisons that we had asked to see located in four provinces of Cuba and conducted confidential interviews with more than one hundred and twenty (120) prisoners. (We also conducted brief visits to one other prison and one police detention facility, but omit these from our report because our research was not sufficiently thorough.) More than forty (40) of the inter-

views were conducted with prisoners we had asked to see in advance; the remainder of the prisoners were selected by us at random. At least fifty (50) of the interviews took place with prisoners incarcerated for politically motivated offenses. Most of these interviews were with prisoners we had selected in advance. More than half of our interviews were conducted out of doors at places we chose at random. The interviews that took place indoors were also conducted at places we chose at random. At no time were Cuban authorities present during these interviews.

The Cubans with whom we were in contact--NUCJ officials, officials of the Ministry of Foreign Relations and the Ministry of the Interior which operates the prisons--facilitated our visit throughout, providing access, transportation and lodging, including a plane to make possible our visits to prisons in the provinces. IPS will provide accommodations and transportation for the Cubans who travel to the U.S. to see prisons here.

We visited all areas of the prisons that we chose to see, including dormitories, workplaces, conjugal pavilions, visiting areas, infirmaries, punishment cells and segregation cells for prisoner designated as high risk or troublesome inmates, kitchens, laundries, dining areas, classrooms and libraries. The Cuban authorities gave us access to all areas of each prison that we asked to visit. Of those prisoners we asked to see in advance, we saw all but a handful. Some few, we were told, had already been released. (We will try to verify this.)

In addition to visiting the prisons, we met with Cuban officials in each of the four provinces and nationally to discuss the prisons. We also arranged meetings with the leaders of two unofficial human rights groups in Cuba to obtain through them the testimony of recently released prisoners about prison conditions. We did not visit pre-trial detention facilities, military prisons or reform schools. At one of the prisons that we visited, Nieves Morejon in Sancti Spiritus province, which also has facilities where juveniles of 16 years and older are confined, we devoted some of our inspections and interviews to juveniles.

Our principal focus was on current conditions. Our interviews with prisoners dealt primarily with the present and recent conditions and changes in conditions since the beginning of 1987.

Also, we did not examine the reasons for confinement or the procedures leading to confinement. That was not part of our mandate. Our examination was limited to the conditions within the prisons.

Re-education for the purpose of reintegration into civilian life is the central principle of the Cuban penal system. In carrying out re-education, the system relies principally on:

- 1) employing as many prisoners as possible in productive remunerated labor;
- 2) technical education to provide prisoners with skills that they will continue to use after release from prison;
- 3) political education;
- 4) discipline.

We encountered a very strong sense of mission in most of the prison officials we met. They expressed great faith in their system and, though they concede faults in practice, they seem determined to work increasingly on their plan for re-education and for incorporation of the penal population into work and later society. At present, officials say that 85% of the Cuban penal population works. Their goal for 1990 is to incorporate 95% of the penal population into work. They claim that at present 80% of all operations costs to run Cuban prisons are covered by production which takes place within the prisons.

The humane and constructive features of the system, particularly the paid work opportunities and the training in basic skills, as well as the harsh and cruel features appear to us to be directly attributable to the determination to reeducate prisoners.

The constructive aspects of the system is reflected in the fact that:

1) the great majority of prisoners work a regular work week at productive jobs under conditions similar to those of workers not serving sentences;

2) almost all the prisoners who work are paid. The remuneration is the same as for civilians before certain discounts for cost of living. We were told that the amount remaining to them after these discounts is sufficient to help to provide support for families or to accumulate substantial savings in the case of prisoners without family support responsibilities that can aid their re-entry into normal life;

3) the regular prison facilities we saw were all clean and hygienic and we heard no great complaints in this regard;

4) we heard no complaints of the use of instruments of torture to inflict pain; we did not find any policy of extrajudicial executions or disappearances;

5) a system of conjugal visiting is well established at all the prisons we saw. Visits at conjugal pavilions range from three to eight hours every one to six months, depending upon inmates' compliance with prison rules;

6) many prisoners do acquire practical skills during confinement;

7) prisoners are provided with education to bring them up to the 9th grade level. A program is underway for prisoners who have already completed the 9th grade to secure further education;

8) we heard no complaints that prisoner against prisoner violence is commonplace (as it is elsewhere);

9) the outpatient, hospital, physical therapy, laboratory and pharmacy facilities we saw were good. Doctors and nurses, as well as laboratory and other personnel were present in sufficient number required for the prison population. Prisoners expressed satisfaction with the care available for major medical problems but we heard some complaints mostly from prisoners held on politically related charges about failure or delays in access.

The harsh and cruel part of the system is reflected in the fact that:

1) Those who resist re-education or violate prison discipline—including passive violation such as hunger strikes—are confined for extended periods, sometimes in extremely harsh punishment cells—bare, tiny, dark, cold (or hot, depending on the season)—sometimes with not enough food. We

heard of a few cases of prisoners in these cells without clothes and some cases of prisoners dressed in undershorts and shoes;

2) other prisoners who are considered to be problems and who do not work have only slightly better facilities than in the punishment cells and go out into the sun only once a week for an hour or two. In some prisons they are then placed in large iron cages too small to take walks;

3) visits have been infrequent in the past though new rules now make them somewhat more frequent. Up to now, many prisoners could only get visits once every six (6) months; the new rules reduce this to once every sixty (60) days. In the best of circumstances—that is for the prisoners considered to be doing best in the prisons and under the new rules just put into effect that liberalize visiting considerably—visits may take place only every twenty-one (21) days (family visits for juveniles are more frequent); incentives, estimulos, for good conduct include additional visiting privileges;

4) in general, letters may be sent with almost the same infrequency as visits, though regulations for some prisoners in some prisons allowed for letters to be sent and received every two (2) weeks or more often in some cases;

5) in two prisons, Boniato and Combinado del Este, we encountered frequent complaints that prisoners who did not conform to the prison regime had been beaten with rubber hoses, manqueras, or with fists or sticks. We spoke to prisoners in Combinado del Este who had witnessed such beatings. We heard of one case in which a prisoner was allegedly kicked to death by guards in 1987, but could not verify this. We heard that the two offending guards faced disciplinary procedures but we were unable to verify this. We did not hear such complaints of beatings in the other four (4) prisons we visited.

As to some other matters, some prisoners told us the food was good and others said it was adequate but tasteless. Except in the case of prisoners in some of the punishment cells, no one told us it was insufficient. In those punishment cases prisoners received a small breakfast and larger supper, but no lunch, a very deprived diet.

Except in the case of the punishment cells and harsh protection cells, toilet facilities were minimally adequate. In the punishment cells, toilets are holes in the grounds. Most punishment cells in most prisons contained facilities for running cold water. In one building in one prison the

the facilities were less good, accompanied by stench and inadequate water and ventilation.

Bathing facilities in dormitories in all prisons were primitive but adequate relative to the number of prisoners in each detachment.

In the dormitories in men's prisons, there was little place for prisoners to keep private possessions. In one prison, inmates could only keep their possessions in a numbered bag hung in a room that is normally locked; access over the course of the day is permitted according to schedule. Elsewhere—particularly in the women's prisons--there was adequate space for the storage of private possessions.

For most prisoners overcrowding is not a problem. Some prisons we saw have empty dormitories. Typical dormitories had double and triple bunks, though we saw only partial evidence of use of the top bunk in the triple bunk facilities. We calculated an average of about thirty (30) square feet of floor space per prisoner. For those prisoners, the fact that they work elsewhere, study elsewhere, take part in sports elsewhere and eat elsewhere prevents the lack of space from being particularly oppressive.

On the other hand, we saw extremely crowded conditions in punishment cells. At their worst we saw a few cells with three prisoners in which they were confined twenty-four (24) hours a day that measured five feet by seven feet, (5) by (7) or thirty-five (35) square feet or twelve (12) square feet per prisoner. Most punishment cells were slightly larger, measuring six (6) feet by twelve (12) feet. In the punishment cells in three of the prisons we saw prisoners slept on bare cement slabs without bedding on which prisoners may sleep. In others, adequate bedding with mattresses are provided. The toilet (a hole in the floor) is in the cell, as is a spigot for water. Light is minimal. All but one of the prisoners we saw in punishment cells were common criminals, not those confined for politically motivated offenses.

Complaints by prisoners are supposed to be investigated by the office of the Fiscal General. The office of the Fiscal General performs an inspection function—carrying out unannounced on-site visits to prisons to review compliance with requirements for conditions, prisoners' rights and completion of sentence, parole and release. We obtained evidence that this system works

at least some of the time, though how often we could not determine. Some prisoners expressed skepticism about seeking assistance from the Fiscal General and believed their communications would never reach his office. They told us that letters of complaint must be entrusted to their re-educators. Cuban judicial theory does not provide for independent advocates for prisoners. It is considered not an appropriate function of lawyers to represent prisoners in matters dealing with prison conditions. Pastoral visits by clergy are unknown and are apparently prohibited in Cuban prisons.

Two private, unofficial human rights groups have recently begun to operate, most of their members fresh from prison themselves. The government is hostile to such groups and they have no rights of access to prisoners though both have sources of information. In recent years foreign delegations have visited the prisons. The International Committee of the Red Cross, however, has not yet been permitted to establish a presence in Cuba, though there have been recent official contacts with the ICRC and indications are that it may gain entry. [Since the writing of this report, Cuba has agreed to allow ICRC presence. CR editor.] At present, officials from the prison system itself or from the office of the Fiscal General are the only ones who must be counted upon to protect the rights of prisoners, no one else.

There was one exceptional prison we visited: the Women's Prison of the Western Provinces in Havana. It is a model prison in terms of all physical facilities. The working conditions, the cells, including punishment cells, and the facilities for activities were very good. Relations between officials and prisoners seemed generally courteous and respectful. The prison reflects the positive influence of a dedicated warden. While this is a showplace and intended and paraded as such, the fact remains that some six hundred (600) women are imprisoned under humane conditions.

The Cuban prison system is made very hard by the prolonged prison sentences that have prevailed. Although the officials with whom we spoke are quick to say that Cuba has a low crime rate (no statistics are published), and though this claim seems valid, the ratio of prisoners to population is high. Assuming that the Cuban government's figures are correct, there are

32,000 inmates currently in prisons and detention centers. We got no figures on reform schools or military prisons. Given a population of about ten million, and using just the figure given to us, the rate of imprisonment is 3.2 per thousand. In the United States, including military prisons, we have 820,000 prisoners in prisons and jails. Given a population of about 240 million, the rate is approximately 3.4 per thousand. Adding the military prisons which include draft resisters and draft evaders in Cuba--the rate must be as high or higher than in the United States. The United States has a very high crime rate and among the world's longest prison sentences. In Cuba, with a low crime rate, the comparable rate of imprisonment indicates long sentences. In the case of those prisoners who experience the worst of the Cuban prison system, this can mean several years in cramped, poorly lighted, locked cells with an hour a week in the sun and infrequent visits. For such prisoners, they may only see relatives through iron grills, though most prisoners are entitled to contact visits.

Cuba has recognized that its sentences are greatly prolonged and some changes are underway. In 1987, 14,000 prisoners were reportedly released on parole. Some crimes have been eliminated in the new penal code effective April 1, 1988; some sentences are being reduced; parole is abbreviating some sentences; the same is the case with reductions of sentences for good conduct.

(end of report)

Footnotes

- 1) See CROSSROAD, April 1989, p. 59.
- 2) See reprint of Bill Dunn's MARIONETTE article "U.S. Fears International Scrutiny of its Prisons," in CROSSROAD, April 1989, p.24.

CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM: THE RATIONAL CHOICE

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

(Speech delivered before the Sudanese Union Headquarters
Khartoum, Sudan, January 2, 1973)

My subject is an examination of the alternative economic and social systems which are open to Third World countries. In order to keep this discussion within reasonable bounds, I must make certain assumptions. It is important that these should be clear before I begin, for if the assumptions are not shared, then much of what I say will be irrelevant.

Fortunately, my assumptions are not very controversial -- at least within Africa.

My first assumption is that any discussion about the appropriate economic and social organization must, for the time being at least, be conducted within each nation state, and the decision must be made exclusively by the people of that nation. Thus, it is the people of Tanzania as a whole, or the Sudan as a whole, who will decide the path for their country. Tanzania cannot decide for the Sudan, nor vice-versa -- and I hope that nothing I say today will be understood to imply otherwise. The fact that, for example, Zanzibar within the United Republic of Tanzania, and the Southern Provinces within Sudan, have autonomy in certain matters means that in these respects the smaller units will be the unit of choice rather than the nation as a whole.

Second, I take it to be axiomatic that all the people of the Third World desire to govern themselves, and want their country to be completely independent from external control. This does not rule out the possibility of political or economic links between two or more countries; nor does it exclude a possible voluntary merger of sovereignties, provided that these things are agreed upon after discussions based on the equality of all participants.

Third, I shall assume that, to everyone in the Third World, the present degree of poverty, and the general lack of economic development, is completely unacceptable. We have to increase our production of wealth so that we may increase the level of our collective and individual consumption.

My fourth and final assumption is that our struggles for independence were national struggles, involving the rights of all the inhabitants. We were not aiming to replace our alien rulers by local privileged elites, but to create societies which insure human dignity and self-respect for all. The

concomitant of that is that every individual has the right to the maximum economic and political freedom which is compatible with equal freedom for all others; and that neither well-fed slavery nor the necessity to beg for subsistence are acceptable human conditions.

I have said that these assumptions are not very controversial within Africa. It is equally true that they do not represent the present situation. They represent aspirations rather than facts. That is obvious from an examination of world affairs, or from the briefest visit to any of our rural areas -- or even to those urban areas where our unskilled laborers live.

Yet because these stated assumptions are also a list of our fundamental aspirations, they must be the basis for our choice of policies. If a policy militates against the achievement of these conditions, then its acceptability must be questioned. Even more, if a social and economic system is incompatible with these goals, then it must be rejected.

The Choice

In the modern world there are two basic systems of economic and social organization -- capitalism and socialism. There are variations within these broad classifications, like welfare capitalism or humanistic socialism; but the broad distinctions between the two systems remain, and our first choice has to be between them.

Remnants of feudalism and primitive communalism do, of course, still exist in the world; but neither of these are viable systems when challenged by the organized technology of the twentieth century. Sometimes, as in Japan, these old systems influence the organization of capitalism for a while, but the influences are subordinate to the logic of the later organization, and will eventually be completely eradicated. For in the last resort anything which detracts from the profit of an individual capitalist enterprise will be abandoned by that enterprise; and anything which militates against the efficiency of the capitalist system will be uprooted.

Primitive communalism is equally doomed. The moment the first enamel pot, or factory woven cloth, is imported into a self-sufficient communal society, the economic and social structure of that society receives its death blow. Afterwards it is merely a question of time, and of whether the people will be participants or victims in the new economic order.

Thus, the choice for the new nations lies effectively between socialism and capitalism. It is not a completely free choice, for all of us inherited certain patterns of trade, and have been to a greater or lesser extent indoctrinated by the value systems of our colonial masters. Further, the Great Powers continue to regard us as being within the sphere of influence of one or other of them -- which usually demonstrates its displeasure if we refuse to conform to the expected pattern of behavior. But ultimately, if we so determine, and if we are prepared to overcome our recent past and the difficulties which others may place in our way, we can move towards the growth of one system or the other within our society.

Yet having said that, I now propose to argue that there is no real choice. In practice, Third World nations cannot become developed capitalist societies without surrendering the reality of their freedom and without accepting a degree of inequality between their citizens which would deny the moral validity of our independence struggle. I will argue that our present poverty and national weakness make socialism the only rational choice for us.

Capitalism and Independence

Under a capitalist system, the purpose of production and distribution is the making of profit for those who own the means of production and exchange. The need for goods is subsidiary to the profit involved in making them. Therefore the owner of the machines and equipment used in production -- that is, he who provides the money for these things -- is the one who determines whether there shall be any production, and of what kind, and in what quantity. Neither the men who provide the labor for the production, nor the men who need the goods which would be produced, have any say in these decisions. Under capitalism, money is King. He who owns wealth owns also power. He has power over all the workers who he can employ or not, and power over the governments which he can paralyze by withholding vital production, or sabotage by the manipulation of man and machines.

This has always been the essence of capitalism. But there is a further relevant fact in these decades of the 20th century. That is that this power is now concentrated in very few hands. For whereas 100 years ago a quite small amount of money sufficed to establish an industrial or commercial enterprise, modern technology now precludes this in all important areas of production. Thus, for example, Henry Ford could begin his manufacture of cars in a bicycle repair shop and build up his capacity bit by bit. But now, in the 1970's,

anyone who decides to begin making vehicles must be prepared to make a multi-million dollar investment before the first one rolls off the assembly line. Mass production techniques make small units uneconomic -- they go bankrupt in an attempt to compete with the giants, or else sell out to a larger business. Therefore, instead of having a very large number of small capitalists, we have a very small number of large capitalists. "Small men" exist, but they initiate an insignificant proportion of the total wealth produced, and usually confine their attention to the luxury trades.

This development is part of the dynamic of capitalism -- for capitalism is very dynamic. It is a fighting system. Each capitalist enterprise survives by successfully fighting other capitalist enterprises. And the capitalist system as a whole survives by expansion, that is, by extending its area of operations and, in the process, eradicating all restraints upon it and all weaker systems of society.

According to the capitalist theory, if we choose capitalism our citizens would be free to establish capitalist enterprises, and these Tanzania or Sudanese capitalists would compete --that is, would fight-- all other capitalist enterprises, including the foreign ones. In practice, however, two questions immediately arise: First, where in our lands are those citizens who have sufficient capital to establish modern industries; and second, how would our infant industries fight other capitalist enterprises?

I believe the answer to these questions is clear in all Third World countries. For Tanzania is no exception in not having within its borders the kind of wealth which is necessary to establish modern industrial units. As a general rule, no individual, or group of individuals, from within any of our nations has the capacity to establish even a large, modern textile mill, much less to operate a diamond mine, put up a steel mill, or run a large-scale commercial enterprise. That amount of money and that kind of expertise just do not exist. Certainly, the most which could be done by Tanzanians is the establishment of little workshops which either assemble imported components or which undertake simple processing of locally produced crops. Our citizens can establish small retail shops; wholesaling on any economic scale is likely to demand more resources than they have.

When Britain experienced its industrial revolution at the end of the 18th century, that was enough. It is not enough now. How could these little

Tanzanian capitalists compete with I.C.I., Ford, Nippon Enterprises, and the other big multi-national corporations -- or even with Walls Food Products? The answer is simple; they could not. The best they could do would be to become agents of these international capitalist concerns. And this would not bring progress in the attack on underdevelopment; for the result would not be modern factories producing necessities, but local agents importing and processing those things --and only those things-- which were profitable to both the local agents and the overseas enterprise.

In fact, Third World capitalism would have no choice except to cooperate with external capitalism, as a very junior partner. Otherwise, it would be strangled at birth. You cannot develop capitalism in our countries without foreign capitalists, their money and their management enterprise. And these foreign capitalists will invest in Third World countries only if, when, and to the extent that they are convinced that to do so would be more profitable to them than any other investment. Development through capitalism, therefore, means that we Third World nations have to meet conditions laid down by others --by capitalists of other countries. And if we agree to their conditions, we should have to continue to be guided by them or face the threat of the new enterprise being run down, of money and skills being withdrawn, and of other economic sanctions being applied against us.

In fact, a reliance upon capitalist development means that we give to others the power to make vital decisions about our economy. The kind of economic production we shall undertake; the location of factories, offices and stores; the amount of employment available in any area; and even the kind of taxation we adopt; all these matters will be determined by outsiders.

It is claimed that this would be a temporary phenomenon, as foreign capitalist investment in a Third World country would be a catalyst for local capitalist enterprise. To some extent this is true; small local businesses may grow up in the shadow of a major, foreign-owned factory. But all such businesses would have the purpose of providing service to the workers of the big industry, or of making small components for it. They would therefore be absolutely dependent upon it, flourishing when it expanded and collapsing if it closed down. Local businesses would thus be the puppets, not the enemies of the foreign enterprise --the subsidiaries, not the competitors. They would be forced to identify themselves with all demands made by the foreign capitalists. The loss of real national self-determination would therefore be increased --not decreased; for the foreign owners would have secured a local

political base to back up their economic power.

This is very easy to understand. If the government, for example, proposes to lay down new minimum wages, or to raise revenue from a tariff on goods of interest to the factory, the big employer may say --politely or otherwise-- that in such a case they will close their factory. They can point out that this will not only result in a loss of livelihood for all those directly employed; it will also force into bankruptcy a number of ancillary units. Of course, the independent government can still go ahead with its proposals; but it will then have to deal with the consequences --and they are not likely to be pleasant for either that government or the people it wishes to serve.

Nor is this all. Foreign policy questions will also be affected by reliance upon foreign capitalists for economic development. It is true that American, British, or Japanese capitalists have no patriotic loyalty to their country of origin. But they do have loyalty to their largest investments -- and these are unlikely to be inside any one underdeveloped country. Therefore, a poor nation's quarrel with one of the imperialist countries about, for example, its support for Zionist expansionism, or for South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portuguese colonialism, can easily lead to the withdrawal of capitalist expansion plans, or even to the contraction and eventual closing of established enterprises.

What I am saying is that, given the present inequalities between nations, capitalist development is incompatible with full national independence for Third World countries. For such development will be foreign owned and foreign controlled; local capitalists will be subsidiary, and will remain subsidiary.

There can be no question about this --the foreign domination is permanent, not temporary. It is the big enterprises which will make the large profits and have large monies available for the next investment. The small ones will remain small --or be bought out. For confirmation of this fact, and its meaning, it is only necessary to look at what has happened within the major capitalist countries. One sees that medium-sized enterprises gobble up small ones, and are themselves gobbled up by large ones. Finally, the giants fight among themselves for ultimate supremacy. In the end, the rich governments of the big capitalist countries find their own freedom of action is restricted by the economic power of the capitalist giants. Even if they are elected to fight capitalism, they find it necessary to ensure the raw materials, and the profitability, of the big corporations or face mass unemployment and major economic crises.

The fact that a number of competing big capitalist institutions may invest in a particular developing country --perhaps from different foreign bases-- does not invalidate this simplified analysis. As a general rule, the meaning is that the poor country has given several hostages to fortune instead of one. In theory, it can endeavor to play one enterprise off against another; but, in practice, it is much more likely to discover that its economic destiny has been determined by enterprise conflicts which originate outside its own borders, and about which it knows nothing. A "take-over bid," or a rationalization scheme, or a new cartel arrangement can undo years of local negotiation, and the independent government may well hear about the prospect only if one giant or the other hopes to use it in order to get better terms for its own shareholders.

Capitalism and the Nature of Society

This inevitable loss of real national freedom is, however, only one of those results of capitalism which I believe to be incompatible with the national purposes of all Third World governments. For capitalism does not only imply a fight between capitalists, with the developing nations' capitalists inevitably being worsted. It also involves a permanent fight between capitalists on one side and workers on the other.

This is a very important matter for us, coming as most of the African Third World countries do out of primitive communalism into the modern world. For it means a new factor of national division at a time when all of us are still fighting to overcome the divisive forces of tribalism, religion, and race. It also means that the fruits of independence will be denied to the mass of the people who worked for it, or in whose name it was demanded.

There is no escaping this effect of capitalism. For the purpose of capitalist enterprise is the makings of profit. To do this, the capitalist must keep his costs of production as low as possible, and get the maximum return from the sale of the products. In other words, he must pay the lowest wages for which he can get workers, and charge the maximum price at which he can sell the goods produced. A permanent conflict of interest between the worker and the employer inevitably follows. The former wants to get high wages so as to live decently --and perhaps buy some of the goods they work to produce. The latter needs to lay low wages so as to maximize his profit, that is, the return on the money he has invested.

Thus, capitalism automatically brings with it the development of two classes of people: a small group whose ownership of the means of production brings them wealth, power and privilege; and a very much larger group whose work provides that wealth and privilege. The one benefits by exploiting the other, and a failure in the attempt to exploit leads to a breakdown of the whole system with a consequent end to all production. The exploitation of the masses is, in fact, the basis on which capitalism has won the accolade for having solved the problem of production. There is no other basis on which it can operate. For if the workers ever succeeded in obtaining the full benefits of their industry, then the capitalists would receive no profit and would close down the enterprise.

What this means for the masses of the people in the Third World countries should be obvious. Their conditions of employment, and their return from employment will be just sufficient to maintain the labor supply. Further, if the nation is dependent upon capitalist investment for all its desired economic expansion, the workers will have to be prevented from organizing themselves to fight for their rights. For an effective trade-union struggle might lead the employer to argue once again that his factory has become uneconomic. The resultant threat of a close-down may well prompt the government to intervene on the side of the employers in order to safeguard the economic growth rate and its own miserably small, but vital, tax revenue.

Development through capitalism is thus basically incompatible with the fourth aspiration I listed --that of human dignity and self-respect for all, with equal freedom for all inhabitants of the society. For capitalism means that the masses will work, and a few people --who may not labor at all-- will benefit from that work. The few will sit down to a banquet, and the masses will eat whatever is left over.

This has a further implication. With a capitalist system, the production of goods, measured statistically, may well go up considerably; if it happens to possess certain mineral resources, the Third World country may even find itself high on the list of "successful states" as regards the growth of its Gross National Product. But the mass of the people, who produce the goods which are measured, will be without sufficient money to buy the things they need for a decent life. Their demand will exist, but it will not be effective. Consequently, the production of the basic necessities -- decent houses, food,

and nice clothes -- will be limited; such production would be less profitable to the capitalist investor than the provision of "luxury goods." It was no accident, for example, that one of the early post-independence investments in Tanzania was a drive-in cinema. Much more profit could be made from using cement that way than in producing workers' houses.

For, on top of everything else, the choice of capitalism as the road to development means a particular kind of production, and a particular kind of social organization. Rural water supplies will have a low priority, regardless of the fact that they are needed for the health of the people. The importation, and perhaps even the production, of air-conditioners, of private cars, and of other "consumer durables" will have a high priority. The former brings no profit; the latter do.

To see the real meaning of this, we can once again look at the developed capitalist societies. Then we can see the malnutrition among the people of the Appalachian mountains and of Harlem contrasted with the gadgetry of suburban America; or in Britain we can see the problem of homelessness while color television sets are produced endlessly; and in the same societies we can observe the small resources devoted to things like education and health for the people as compared with those spent to satisfy the inessential desires of the minority.

The Alternative of Socialism

To argue, as I have been doing, that capitalism is incompatible with the aspirations of the Third World does not mean that the alternative of socialism is an easy one, nor that success under it is automatic. But socialism can be compatible with our aspirations; by adopting socialist policies, it is possible for us to maintain our independence and develop towards human dignity for all our people.

The vital point is that the basis of socialist organization is the meeting of people's needs, not the making of profit. The decision to devote the nation's resources to the production of one thing rather than another is made in the light of what is most [needed by the people]. Furthermore, such decisions are made by the people through their responsible institutions -- their own government, their own industrial corporations, their own commercial institutions. They are not made by a small group of capitalists, either local or foreign --and the question of foreign domination through economic ownership

is thus excluded. Further, the workers of the nation can receive --directly or indirectly-- the full fruits of their industry; there is no group of private owners which constantly appropriates a large proportion of the wealth produced.

None of this means that great inequalities within the society, or the exploitation of groups, or even the seizure of power and privilege by a small minority, is automatically ruled out in a society which opts for socialism. Looking around the world we can see so-called socialist countries where all these things happen. BUT MY POINT IS THAT SUCH THINGS MARK A FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT SOCIALISM: THEY ARE NOT INHERENT IN IT IN THE WAY THAT THEY ARE INHERENT IN CAPITALISM.

The major argument used against socialism for the developing world is, in fact, that it will not work and that all socialist states are poor states because of their socialism. It is not possible to refute this argument in any detail. There are, however, three very fundamental points which I would ask you to consider in this respect.

The first is that to measure a country's wealth by its Gross National Product is to measure things, not satisfactions. An increase in the sale of heroin, in a country where this is legal, would be recorded as an increase in its national wealth; if human well-being was the unit of measurement, such an increase of sales would be a negative factor. Similarly, the spread of good health through the eradication of endemic diseases may, or may not, be recorded as an increase in statistical national wealth; it is certainly better for the people if it has happened.

My second point is that a successful harlot, or a favored slave, may be better off materially than a woman who refuses to sell her body, or a man to sell his freedom. We do not regard the condition of the harlot or slave as being consequently enviable --unless, of course, we are starving, and even then we recognize the possible amelioration in our circumstances as being uncertain and insecure.

Third, I do not accept that the so-called unworkability of socialism has been proved. Capitalism has been developing for about two centuries. The first national commitment to socialism was made in 1917, by a backward and feudal nation devastated by war, which has subsequently suffered greatly from further civil and international conflict. Even so, few people would deny the material transformation which has been effected in the U.S.S.R. during the past 57 years. And in fact, despite the major criticisms which can be made of

all the socialist countries, it is difficult to argue that their peoples are worse off than the late capitalist starters --countries like Greece, or Spain, or Turkey, for example. On the contrary, they are clearly better off in the vital matters of health, education, and the security of their food and shelter. Whether or not they have the same number of television sets seems to me to be much less important.

Conclusion

It cannot be denied that many difficulties face a Third World country which chooses the socialist alternative of development. Not least among these are its own past, the dynamism of capitalist initiative techniques, and the gambler instinct which every human being seems to possess, so that we all hope we shall be among the privileged not the exploited. But I believe that we can choose the socialist path, and that by so doing we can develop ourselves in freedom, and towards those conditions which allow dignity and self-respect for every one of our citizens.

I believe that this prospect must be pursued, with vigor and determination. We shall not create socialist societies overnight; because we have to start from where we are, we shall have to make compromises with capitalist money and skill, and we shall have to take risks in our development. But I am convinced that Third World countries have the power to transform themselves, over time, into socialist societies in which their peoples can live in harmony and co-operation as they work together for their common benefit.

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V.I.P.O. PRESS RELEASE

The V.I.P.O. (Virgin Islands Prisoners Organization) wishes to clarify the conflicting reports surrounding its Brother and leader of the "Virgin Islands Five," Ismail Ali (formerly Ronald Labeet), whom, while being transferred from the Virgin Islands to Lewisburg federal prison on writ, overpowered government agents and commandeered the airline to freedom in Havana, Cuba, on December 31, 1984.

The V.I.P.O. learned in October of 1988 that Brother Ali, a Viet Nam veteran, had enlisted in the Cuban Army and was in Angola fighting the racist South African regime of P.W. Botha.

In an attempt to discredit this heroic and revolutionary act the Virgin Islands government sent its lackey Washington representative Ron Delugo to Cuba on what was surreptitiously described as a "fact finding" visit to learn more about Caribbean drug smuggling networks. Upon his return from Cuba, Mr. Delugo immediately reported to the Virgin Islands press that he had personally met with Premier Fidel Castro and had been assured by the Cuban leader that Brother Ali was in Cuba's Combinado prison serving a ten-year sentence for air piracy.

However, V.I.P.O. is proud to report that it's Western source has informed them that Brother Ali is in fact still with the liberating forces on the Motherland.

The Pentagon planners and their lackeys in the Virgin Islands understand the magnitude of inspiration this gigantic achievement will have on other captive freedom fighters inside U.S. prisons. This is why they have resorted to such unethical tactics in order to mislead the public.

Up until the time of his liberation Brother Ali had endured twelve long years of his harsh sentence of eight consecutive life terms, spent in imperialist prisons in Atlanta, Marion,

Terre Haute and Lewisburg. That he was able to persevere and maintain the determination that has guided him to the jungles of Angola serves as a beacon of hope for all those who dare to struggle.

Long live all struggles against imperialist colonialism,
and long live the spirit to resist!

In Solidarity,

V.I.P.O.

** The Virgin Islands Prisoners Organization is a collective
of Virgin Islands freedom fighters incarcerated in U.S. prisons.

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WHO MURDERED AFRICA
(AIDS AND GENOCIDE)

Dr. William Campbell Douglas

There is no question mark after the title of this article because the title is not a question. It's a declarative statement. The World Health Organization (WHO) murdered Africa with the AIDS virus. That's a provocative statement, isn't it?

The answers to this little mystery, Murder on the WHO Express, will be quite clear to you by the end of this report. You will also understand why the other suspects, the homosexuals, the green monkey and the Haitians, were only pawns in this virocidal attack on the non-Communist world.

If you believe the government propaganda that AIDS is hard to catch then you are going to die even sooner than the rest of us. The common cold is a virus. Have you ever had a cold? How did you catch it? You don't really know, do you? If the cold virus were fatal how many people would there be left in the world?

Yellow fever is a virus. You catch it from mosquito bites. Malaria is a parasite also carried by mosquitoes. It is many times larger than the AIDS virus (like comparing a pinhead to a moose head), yet the mosquito easily carries this large organism to man.

The tuberculosis germ, also much larger than the AIDS virus, can be transmitter by fomites (inanimate objects such as towels). The AIDS virus can live for as long as ten days on a dry plate....

You can't understand this murder mystery, and you wouldn't believe my conclusions, unless you learn a little virology.....

Many viruses grow in animals and many grow in humans, but most of the viruses that affect animals don't affect humans. There are exceptions, of course, such as yellow fever and small pox.

There are some viruses in animals that cause very lethal cancer in those animals, but do not affect man or other animals. The bovine leukemia virus (BLV), for example, is lethal to cows but not to humans. There is another virus that occurs in sheep called sheep visna virus which is also non-reactive in man. There are deadly viruses called "retro viruse" meaning that they can change the genetic composition of cells that they enter.

The World Health Organization, in published articles, called for scientists to work with these deadly agents and attempt to make a hybrid virus that would be deadly to humans. In the bulletin of the WHO, Vol. 47, p. 251, 1972, they said, "An attempt should be made to see if viruses can in fact exert selective effects on immune function. The possibility should be looked into that the immune response to the virus itself may be impaired if the infecting virus damages, more or less selectively, the cell responding to the virus." That's AIDS!

What the WHO is saying in plain English is "Let's cook up a virus that selectively destroys the T-cell system of man, an acquired immune deficiency."

Why would anyone want to do this? If you destroy the T-cell system of man you destroy man. Is it even remotely possible that WHO would want to develop a virus that would wipe out the human race?

If their new virus creation worked, the WHO stated, then many terribly and fatal infectious viruses could be made even more terrible and more malignant. Does this strike you as being a peculiar goal for a health organization? The thought occurred to me.

Sometimes I believe in conspiracies and sometimes I don't. It depends on the subject....

But what about the green monkey? Some of the best virologists in the world and many of those directly involved in AIDS research

such as Robert Gallo and Luc Montagnier have said that the green monkey may be the culprit. You know the theory: A green monkey bit a native on the ass, and bam!--AIDS all over central Africa.

There is a fatal flaw here. It is very strange. Because Gallo, Montagnier and these other virologists know that the AIDS virus doesn't occur naturally in monkeys! In fact it doesn't occur naturally in any animal.

AIDS started practically simultaneously in the U.S., Haiti, Brazil, and Central Africa. (Was the green monkey a jet pilot?) Examination of the gene structure of the green monkey cells proves that it is not genetically possible to transfer the AIDS virus from monkeys to man by natural means.

Because of the artificial nature of the AIDS virus it will not easily transfer from man to man until it has become very concentrated in the body fluids through repeated injections from person to person, such as drug addicts, and through high multiple partner sexual activity.... After repeated transfer it can become a "natural" infection for man, which it has.

* * * * *

Dr. Theodore Strecker's research of the literature indicates that the National Cancer Institute, in collaboration with the WHO, made the AIDS virus in their laboratories at Fort Detrick (now NCI) Maryland. They combine the deadly retroviruses bovine leukemia virus and sheep visna virus, and injected them into human tissue cultures. The result was the AIDS virus, the first human retrovirus known to man and now believed to be 100 percent fatal to those infected.

The momentous plague that we now face was anticipated by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) in 1974, when they recommended that "Scientists throughout the world join with the members of this committee in voluntarily deferring experiments (linking) animal viruses."

...I can assure you that the creation of the AIDS virus by the WHO was not just a diabolical scientific exercise that got out of hand. It was a cold-blooded successful attempt to create a killer virus which was then used in a successful experiment in Africa. So successful in fact that most of central Africa may be wiped out -- 75,000,000 dead within 3-5 years.

In the Federation Proceedings of the US in 1972, WHO said: "In the relation to the immune response a number of useful experimental approaches can be visualized." They suggested that a neat way to do this would be to put their new killer virus (AIDS) into a vaccination program, sit back and observe the results. "This would be particularly informative in sibships," they said. That is, give the AIDS virus to brothers and sisters and see if they die, who dies first and of what, just like using rats in a lab.

They used smallpox vaccine for their vehicle and the geographical sites chosen in 1972 were Uganda and other African states, Haiti, Brazil and Japan. The present or recent past of AIDS epidemiology coincides with these geographical areas.

Dr. Strecker points out that even if the African green monkey could transmit AIDS to humans, the present known amount of infection in Africa makes it statistically impossible for a single episode, such as a monkey biting someone on the butt, to have brought this epidemic to this point. The doubling time of the number of people infected, about every 14 months, when correlated with the first known case, and the present known number of cases, prove beyond a doubt that a large number of people had to have been infected at the same time. Starting in 1972 with the first case from our mythical monkey and doubling the number infected from that single source every 14 months, you get only a few thousand cases. From 1972 to 1987 is 15 years or 180 months. If it takes 14 months to double the number of cases then there would have been 13 doublings, one then two, then four, then eight, etc. In 15 years, from a single source of

infection, there would be about 8,000 cases in Africa, not 75 million. We are approaching WW II mortality statistics here-- without a shot being fired.

Dr. Theodore A. Drecker is the courageous doctor who unraveled this conundrum, the greatest murder mystery of all time. He should get the Nobel Prize, but he'll be lucky not to get "suicided". ("Prominent California doctor ties his hands behind his back, hangs himself, and jumps from 20th floor. There was no evidence of foul play.")

Strecker was employed as a consultant to work on a health proposal for Security Pacific Bank. He was to estimate the cost of their health care for the future. Should they form a HMO was a major issue. After investigating the current medical market he advised against the HMO because he found that the AIDS epidemic will in all probability bankrupt the nation's medical system.

He became fascinated with all the peculiar scientific anomalies concerning AIDS that kept cropping up. Why did the "experts" keep talking about green monkeys and homosexuals being the culprits when it was obvious that the AIDS virus was a man-made virus? Why did they say that it was a homosexual and drug-user disease, when in Africa it was obviously a heterosexual disease? If the green monkey did it, then why did AIDS explode practically simultaneously in Africa, Haiti, Brazil, the US and southern Japan?

Why, when it was proposed to the National Institute of Health that the AIDS virus was a combination of two bovine or sheep viruses cultured in human cells in a lab, did they say it was "bad science" when that's exactly what occurred?

As early as 1970 the WHO was growing these deadly animal viruses in human tissue cultures, said Cedric Mims in a 1981 published article that there was a bovine virus contaminating the culture media of the WHO. Was this an accident or what? If it was an accident, why did WHO continue to use the vaccine?

This viral and genetic death bomb, AIDS, was finally produced in 1974. It was given to monkeys and they died of pneumocystis carni, which is typical of AIDS.

Dr. R.J. Biggar said in Lancet: "...The AIDS agent...could not have originated de novo." That means in plain English that it didn't come out of thin air; AIDS was engineered in a lab by virologists. It couldn't engineer itself. As Dr. Strecker so colorfully puts it: "If a person has no arms or legs and shows up at a party in a tuxedo, how did he get dressed? Somebody dressed him."

There are 9,000 to the 4th power possible AIDS viruses. (There are 9,000 base pairs on the genome.) So the fun has just begun. Some will cause brain rot similar to the sheep virus, some leukemia-like diseases from the cow virus, and some won't do anything. So the virus will be constantly changing and trying out new exoteric diseases on hapless man.

Because of the trillions of possible genetic combinations there will never be a vaccine. Even if they could develop a vaccine they would undoubtedly give us something equally as bad as they did with the polio vaccine (cancer of the brain), the swine flu vaccine (a polio-like disease), the smallpox vaccine (AIDS), and the hepatitis vaccine (AIDS).

There are precedents. This is not the first time the virologists gave us disaster. SV-40 virus from monkey cell cultures contaminated polio cultures. Most people in their 40s are now carrying this virus through contaminated polio inoculations given in the early 60s. It is known to cause brain cancer which explains the increase in this disease that we have seen in the past 10 years.

This is the origin of the green monkey theory. The polio vaccine was grown on green monkey kidney cells and the geniuses who brought us polio vaccine said, "We got away with it once, so let's use it again." But they didn't get away with it and in spite of the fact that polio was rapidly disappearing without any medical intervention, 64 million Americans were vaccinated with SV-40 contaminated vaccine in the 60s. An increase in cancer of the

brain, possibly multiple sclerosis, and God only knows what else, is the tragic result. The delay between vaccination and the onset of cancer with this virus is as long as 20-30 years....

The SV-40 virus gave rise to two more viruses which are very active in AIDS patients. Most young children and young adults have received the SV-40 inoculation from polio vaccination. Primary multifocal leukoencephalopathy (PML), brain rot, had been added to the burden of homosexuals who certainly had enough to bear having been given AIDS through hepatitis-B vaccine.

The final piece of the puzzle is how AIDS devastated the homosexual population in the US. It wasn't from smallpox vaccination as in Africa because we don't do that any more.

Although some AIDS has been brought to the US from Haiti by homosexuals (it used to be one of their favorite "playgrounds"), it would not be enough to explain the explosion of AIDS that occurred simultaneously with the African-Haitian epidemics.

The AIDS virus didn't exist in the US before 1978. You can check back in any hospital and no stored blood samples can be found anywhere that exhibit the AIDS virus before that date.

What happened in 1978 and beyond to cause AIDS to burst upon the scene and devastate the homosexual segment of our population? It was the introduction of the hepatitis-B vaccine which exhibits the exact epidemiology of AIDS.

A Dr. W. Schmugner, born in Poland and educated in Russia, came to this country in 1969. Schmugner's immigration to the US was probably the most fateful immigration in our history. He, by unexplained process, became head of the New York City blood bank. He set up the rules for the hepatitis vaccine studies. Only males between the ages of 20 and 40, who were not monogamous, would be allowed to participate in this study. Can you think of any reason, other than the desire to spread something among the population, for insisting that all experimentees be promiscuous?

The hepatitis vaccine unlike the AIDS vaccine was not grown from human tissue culture. So, accidental contamination didn't occur. The AIDS virus was probably put in the vaccine deliberately.

The Centers for Disease Control reported in 1981 that 4% of those receiving the hepatitis vaccine were AIDS infected. In 1984 they admitted to 60%. Now, they refuse to give out figures at all because they don't want to admit that 100% of hepatitis vaccine receivers are infected with AIDS. Where is the data on the hepatitis vaccine studies? FDA? CDC? No, the US Department of Justice has it buried where you will never see it.

...The London Times should be congratulated for uncovering the smallpox-AIDS connection. The article states that the African AIDS epidemic was caused by the smallpox vaccine "triggering" AIDS in those vaccinated.

Dr. Robert Gallo, who has been mixed up in some very strange scientific snafus, supports this theory. Whether the infection of 75 million Africans was deliberate or accidental can be debated, but there is no room for debate about whether the smallpox shots "awakened the unsuspected virus infection." There is absolutely no scientific evidence that this lab-engineered virus was present in Africa before the WHO descended upon these hapless people in 1967 with their deadly AIDS-laced vaccine. The AIDS virus didn't come from Africa. It came from Ft. Detrick, Maryland.

The situation is extremely desperate and the medical profession is too frightened and cowed (as usual) to take any action. Dr. Strecker attempted to mobilize the doctors through some of the most respected medical journals in the world. The prestigious Annals of Internal Medicine said that his material "appears to be entirely concerned with matters of virology" and suggested he try some other publication.

In his letter to this medical publication Strecker said, "If correct human experimental procedures had been followed we would

not find half of the world stumbling off on the wrong path to the cure for AIDS with the other half of the world covering up the origination of the damned disease. It appears to me that your Annals of Internal Medicine is participating in the greatest fraud ever perpetrated."....

END



When a person is a drug addict, he is not the criminal; he is the victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country. Negroes can't bring drugs into this country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles -- those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown.

FROM Malcolm's Speech June 28, 1964 at the Organization
for African American Unity's Founding Rally

REPORT SAYS PENTAGONRESEARCHING "ETHNIC" BIOWARFARE

Joan Marquardt

(This article reprinted from WORKERS WORLD, April 6, 1989.)

The U.S. military is developing biological weapons capable of targeting specific ethnic groups. This racist research, according to a series entitled "Test-Tube Warfare" in the San Francisco Examiner March 5 and 6, has been going on for years.

Current advances in biotechnology, particularly involving genes, make such weapons theoretically possible. Biological weapons use living organisms and their toxins as "ammunition."

"Biowarfare," in particular the racist application of biological weapons, is not a new idea. In 1763, British troops committed genocide against the indigenous peoples in the Allegheny Mountains using small-pox-infected blankets. In 1830 the U.S. Army did the same thing to the Cherokee Nation during the infamous "Trail of Tears."

"Ethnic" biowarfare research started during WWII, the Examiner reports. At that time, according to declassified Defense Department documents obtained by that newspaper, the U.S. military secretly developed a "stink spray" for use against the Japanese.

More recently, the U.S. Army conducted biowarfare experiments on black workers in the 1950s, the Examiner report continues. Military researchers studied fungus coccidioides immitis, which causes "valley fever," with symptoms ranging from a flu-like attack to death, and known to be ten times more lethal to black people than to whites. They "simulated" the fever using the purportedly nonlethal fungus aspergillus fumigatus, deliberately contaminating wooden crates at the Mechanicsburg, Pa., naval depot. Laborers, many of them black, then transported the crates to the Norfolk Naval Supply Center.

The stated purpose of this experiment was "to determine the vulnerability of the naval supply system," according to the Examiner series. Declassified military information states that the researchers noted that the route studied "employed a large number of laborers, including many Negroes, whose incapacitation would seriously affect the operation of the supply system." So all the workers--not the bosses--who physically handled the crates were exposed to the sickening agent. The report didn't say how many were incapacitated, or if any died as a result.

In the 1970s, Southeast Asians were the subject of additional biowarfare research focusing on gene variances.

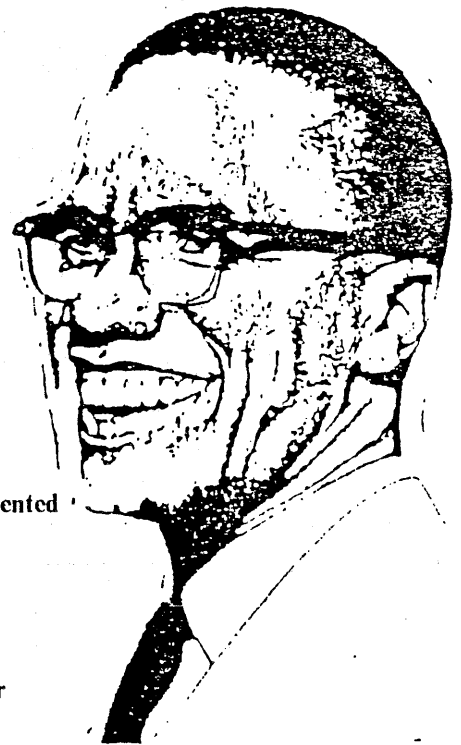
The over 500% funding increase in "defensive" biological weapons research during the Reagan-Bush administration makes the obscene "ethnic weapons" studies all the more onerous. According to Defense Department figures in a report entitled "U.S. Funding for Biological Warfare Research," \$90.6 million was spent in 1986, compared to \$16 million in 1980. And these figures do not include the millions spent on chemical warfare research and other military biological research, most of which is really biological warfare research, too.

The 1988 Defense Department "Draft Environmental Impact Statement/Biological Defense Research Program" was made available to Examiner reporter Vicki Haddock as a result of a lawsuit filed by Jeremy Rifkin, an opponent of the Pentagon's biowarfare studies. The "statement" says the most dangerous biological weapons experiments are being conducted at three U.S. Army bases: Dugway Proving Ground, Utah; Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland; and Fort Detrick, Maryland.

In addition, there are some 120 "contract labs" also involved in this research. There are several sites in California, including La Jolla, which is close to the border with Mexico. There, at the Salk Institute for Biological Studies and at the Scripps Clinic and Research Foundation, many biowarfare experiments are being conducted using genetically engineered microorganisms.

MALCOLM'S LEGACY CONTINUES...

from
The Bandung Conference-1954
To
Geneva-1989



An historical event has taken place for the African-American Nation. On February 18, 1989 three African-Americans, members of the FREEDOM NOW: Campaign For Amnesty & Human Rights For Political Prisoners presented before 45th Session of the Commission On Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland. Midway into the presentation of the testimony on human rights violations in America the U.S. delegations walked out as members from other nations enthusiastically requested copies of the statement.

Contact: FREEDOM NOW: Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights for Political Prisoners, c/o MSN, 666 Broadway, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10012.

UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
HEARS TESTIMONY ON U.S. VIOLATIONS

Intervention By: Freedom Now: The National Campaign For Amnesty &
Human Rights For Political Prisoners.

Representative: Ahmed Obafemi

By: The Indigenous World Organization

For The Commission On Human Rights, 45th Session - February, 1989

Item 10:

Human rights of all persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment, in particular: the violation of human rights of political prisoners in the United States of America

Mr. Chairman:

We appear before you today as representatives of the FREEDOM NOW: CAMPAIGN FOR AMNESTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS in the United States, thanks to the gracious auspices of the accredited Non-Governmental Organization Indigenous World. We are most grateful for the opportunity to raise before this body the issue of political prisoners in the United States. By "political prisoners" we mean the more than 150 persons who are incarcerated in United States prisons because of their exercise of the rights to freedom of expression and association, and to self-determination and freedom from racial oppression and alien domination, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Cognizant of the important strides made by this Body since the adoption of Resolution 1984/2B, demanding the release of all prisoners "detained solely for exercising the right to freedom of expression..." and subsequent resolutions enlarging the definition of political prisoners to include those "detained for seeking to exercise peacefully their human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the right to freedom of expression, of assembly and of association" (Resolution 1988/39), and particularly

cognizant of the special charge to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (1987/32), we present for your consideration as representative examples of political prisoners in the United States the individual cases described below. We are, of course, aware, that some of these rights, particularly freedom of association and speech, are also guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Others, such as the right to self-determination, were defined in this international body as the result of the great anti-colonial struggles of the twentieth century and are not explicitly reflected in that Constitution. We come before you today because, like the residents of so many other countries of the world, we find that without the moral authority of this great international body, those who are most oppressed by the injustices in our society, and those who protest them most vigorously, are not permitted to do so, but are instead subjected to lawless repression and inhumane treatment.

We call upon this Commission to investigate both the specific examples by which we seek to illustrate the problem, as well as the larger issues of political prisoners in the United States as part of the ongoing work of this body.

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

As residents of the United States concerned about human rights, we believe it is essential to acknowledge that its phenomenal material progress has been built upon three gross and well-documented violations of human rights: the dispossession and disenfranchisement of Indigenous Peoples, the kidnapping and enslavement of Africans and their transportation to the United States, and the imposition of United States rule in Puerto Rico. This material progress has produced two U.S. societies, separate but connected, yet drifting ever further apart. One society is overwhelmingly white, collectively possessed of great wealth, with few restrictions on political, economic and social opportunity. The second group, disproportionately peopled by those of color, face tremendous barriers to political, economic and social development. Accompanying this statement are some statistics which illustrate the drastic differences in the lives of these two groups.

The racism and use of arms that have violated the human rights of U.S. residents while fueling U.S. material progress continue to this day. In 1987, for example, the New York City Police Department killed 26 (mostly unarmed) civilians. 19 of those victims were Black, only one was white.

In January of this year the Miami, Florida Black community had a major rebellion for the fourth time in the past decade around the issue of the wanton killing of Black residents by the police force.

These historically continuous violations of the human rights of what are now disenfranchised "minorities" in the United States have always brought forth protest from its victims. In the twentieth century, this justified protest has been invariably viewed as "subversive" and "criminal" by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which functions as both a political intelligence and counter-intelligence mechanism as well as the chief federal law enforcement agency in the United States.

In 1971, a group of anti-war activists obtained and released to the public for the first time a series of internal FBI documents revealing an elaborate, 20-year-old program officially named COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) which was designed, in the language of the FBI, to "discredit, disrupt and neutralize" political opponents of the domestic and foreign policies of the United States government. The documents revealed that the FBI believed that it had a mandate to destroy effective organization among Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican and Native American peoples in the United States. In pursuit of this goal and under the direction of its Director J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI adopted patently illegal methods, from secretly wiretapping the hotel rooms of Dr. Martin Luther King to permitting violent attacks by the Ku Klux Klan on people engaging in non-violent protests against segregation. There is evidence strongly linking COINTELPRO activities to the assassinations of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, John Huggins and Bunchy Carter.

The COINTELPRO program was the subject of United States Congressional hearings whose findings documented the explicit approval of lies, fabrication and violence to silence political opposition. Despite official governmental repudiation of the policies of FBI Director Hoover, the criminal conviction of the Attorney General who used the Department of Justice to imprison dissidents, and strong evidence indicating their innocence, some of the explicit targets of COINTELPRO - Native American leader Leonard Peltier, former Black Panther Party members Sundiata Acoli, Herman Bell, Jalil Muntaquin, Geronimo Pratt, Dhoruba Bin-Wahad, Robert Seth Hayes and Albert Washington - remain in jail nearly 20 years later, many under life sentences, because United States courts have determined that the proper procedures were followed during the trials which resulted in their conviction. This body should note that, although COINTELPRO was officially condemned and dismantled, there is evidence to suggest it has unofficially and secretly been continued under different

names.

Time does not permit documentation here of the facts of individual cases, but we urge this Body to thoroughly investigate these cases and determine for itself whether the incarceration of these prisoners comports with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on Political and Civil Rights. Other former members of the Black Panther Party currently incarcerated for their political opinions, associations or activities, include Mumia Abu Jamal, a well-known radio broadcaster who has been sentenced to die following his conviction in connection with the death of a policeman in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Basheer Hameed, Maliki Shakur Latine, Abdul Majid, James "Blood" Miller and Sekou Odinga.

The Black Liberation and Native American struggles are not the only ones for human rights of oppressed peoples which have created political prisoners. Currently eighteen Puerto Ricans committed to winning the independence of their people from the United States are incarcerated for their political activities, associations and beliefs. All have asserted that under international law the United States has no jurisdiction to try them for acts conducted in pursuit of self-determination.

Although entitled to a jury of their "peers," these Puerto Rican political prisoners have been judged by North Americans who do not speak their language nor understand their history and culture. The evidence presented at their trials reveals far-reaching invasions of privacy by means of video and electronic surveillance of their homes and offices in violation of Article 12 of the Universal Declaration and Article 2 of the Constitution of Puerto Rico (approved by the Congress of the United States). The eighteen men and women currently incarcerated in United States jails are serving sentences ranging from 30 to 90 years, far in excess of sentences imposed on people without political motivation who are convicted of the same offenses.

In addition, conscientious white people who struggle in support of those oppressed by U.S. society or to change policies of the U.S. government, e.g. for nuclear disarmament or for the removal of troops from Central America, are subject to incarceration and denial of their human rights.

Once incarcerated, virtually every political activist in the United States is subjected to extremely harsh conditions of confinement, including designation to "behavior modification" units employing sensory deprivation techniques, such as those at Marion, Illinois, Shawangunk, New York,

Mariana, Florida and Lexington, Kentucky. The latter was recently closed by virtue of a finding of Federal Judge B. Parker that designating activists to especially harsh conditions of confinement in order to force them to repudiate their political views and associations is a "dangerous mission" for the United States government to engage in.

We urge this Commission to investigate the conditions in these and other "high security" units where political prisoners are held to evaluate the effects of prolonged sensory deprivation and isolation. After only a few years at Lexington, all three of the women political prisoners confined there developed serious medical problems, ranging from cancer and heart disease to exhaustion. Alejandrina Torres, Sylvia Baraldini and Susan Rosenberg are currently recuperating under somewhat improved conditions in general population with other prisoners, but live under the threat that the Bureau of Prisons' appeal of Judge Parker's decision will return them to the conditions which threaten their health, if not their lives.

The practice of internment without trial, in violation of Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 8 of the American Convention on Human Rights and Article XXV of the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, is increasing in the United States. The first application of a newly-passed national preventive detention law designed for career criminals (The Bail Reform Act of 1984) was against a group of Black political activists, the New York 8. The person held longest under this law has been Puerto Rican independentista Filiberto Ojeda Rios, in prison for over three years, despite having had open heart surgery performed to alleviate severe coronary artery disease aggravated by the stress of incarceration. Laura Whitehorn, one of five white North Americans awaiting trial on charges they conspired to influence United States foreign policy with regard to Central America and South Africa, has been jailed awaiting trial for more than two years.

In addition to the use of the "Bail Reform Act of 1984" to incarcerate political activists without bail, the federal grand jury continues to serve as a mechanism for incarcerating activists without trial. In the case of the grand jury, activists, such as Nelson Ramirez and Samuel Sanchez, are not even accused of violating the law, but are jailed for refusing to give evidence in a wide-ranging and secret investigation into political beliefs and associations. Political abuse of the powers of the grand jury was widely criticized two decades ago by prominent scholars, judges and members of Congress. Its resurgence today is evidence of the growth of both protest movements and political repression.

The Campaign urges the Commission to pay particular attention to abuses of the grand jury and the Bail Reform Act as well as other aspects of the criminal justice system at a time when the living conditions of Black, Puerto Rican and Native American people in the United States are deteriorating and the contrast between the affluent few and the wealthy many grows even stronger. Our experience has been that the militance of protest movements grows as material conditions deteriorate, and that the level of both legal and illegal repression increases with the militance of the protest movements. We trust that international vigilance can help to avoid many miscarriages of justice.

In closing, the Campaign again thanks the Commission for this brief opportunity to introduce the issue of political prisoners in the United States, and would like to provide detailed documentation for your study in the future. Thank you.

ADDENDUM

A Sampling of Statistics on the Quality of Life of Black versus White residents of the United States:

- between 1976-1986 the real income of the lowest fifth of U.S. society declined by \$663 a family, while that of the top fifth increased by \$12,218;
- the median income of Blacks was 58.3% of that for whites;
- the effective unemployment rate overall for Blacks was 20%, and for Black teens 45%, nearly double that for whites in each category;
- Blacks are 45% of the national prison population, despite being only 20% of the population;
- there are fewer Black high school graduates entering college now than 10 years ago;
- the infant mortality rate for Blacks is 18.2 deaths per 1000 births, while that for whites is 9.3;
- the life expectancy for Black males is 65.3 years, for white male 71.9 years, for Black females 73.5 and for white females 78.7;

A similar situation vis-a-vis the white population exists for the Puerto Rican and Native American populations.

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VIETNAM TORTURE TECHNIQUES BROUGHT TO CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT
Courts, Police Chief, Mayor, and Prosecutors
Condone Use of Electroshock.

It is well known that counterinsurgency, torture, and interrogation techniques developed in the U.S. are exported and applied to insurgents in Third World countries - Argentina, El Salvador, and Guatamala are but a few well known examples. However, John Burge, a returned Vietnam Military Policeman, has been applying electroshock and asphyxiation techniques, apparently learned in Vietnam while assigned as an interrogator and as a guard of the POW camp, to young black men on the South Side of Chicago. Using his position as a lieutenant in charge of detectives at Area II violent crimes in the Brighton Park Section of Chicago, Burge utilized the types of generators found in Field Telephones in Vietnam to build electrical devices for applying electroshock to the ears, nose, chest and genitals of persons being interrogated in his police area.

The startling disclosures result from the civil rights lawsuit filed on behalf of Andrew Wilson, a suspect in a double police murder. Andrew Wilson testified in his civil rights suit in February 1989 that when he was arrested during the investigation of the police killings in 1982 he was beaten by the police and taken to a small interrogation room at Area II where he was handcuffed to the wall and questioned about the police murders.

When he denied knowing anything Lt. Burge entered the room and took over the interrogation. He put a plastic bag over

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Wilson's head, cutting off the air, and Wilson was forced to bite through the bag to keep from passing out. Lt. Burge then produced a dark wooden box with a generator inside and a crank handle on the outside. Burge took alligator clips, attached them to Wilson's ears, and turned the crank. Wilson experienced an intense shock and screamed. Burge next applied the clips to Wilson's nose and one ear and cranked the box again. Wilson was again shocked, clenched his teeth, bit his tongue, and experienced intense pain.

Burge left the room briefly to allow the "nice" detectives to question Wilson. When Wilson again refused to talk Burge re-entered and announced "Fun-Time again." Wilson was cuffed to rings on the wall on opposite sides of a heated radiator with his chest against the radiator. Burge produced a plug-in device, like a hair curler, with the wire exposed. Burge applied the wire to the legs and genitals of Wilson. When Burge pushed the electrical wire into Wilson's back, his reaction caused his chest to press against the radiator. Several times the shock was applied and Wilson was burned by the radiator repeatedly. After a total of 12 hours of police beatings and torture, Wilson eventually made a "confession." During this time he had told the prosecutor he was being tortured. The prosecutor said "Get the Jag-Off out of here" and returned Wilson to Burge and his cohorts.

Wilson was in such bad shape that the officers at the

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police lock-up refused to accept him until he was taken to the hospital. According to the attending nurse at Mercy Hospital, a middle-aged white woman, Wilson was brought in by two policemen with their guns drawn who ordered Wilson to refuse treatment "if he knew what was good for him." Wilson at first did refuse but asked for help from a black attendant when the police looked away.

Medical records and doctor's testimony from Mercy Hospital demonstrated that less than an hour after leaving Area II, Wilson's face and the back of his head had several serious bruises and lacerations, and he had a severely bruised cornea. His chest was lined with radiator burns as was his right thigh, which had wedged under the radiator. His right cheek displayed the same vertical burn marks which matched his chest and the fins on the radiator.

When Wilson arrived at the jail the morning following his interrogation at Area II he looked so brutalized that John M. Raba, the physician in charge of the jail examined him and wrote a letter to Richard Brzeczek, Superintendent of the Chicago Police Department stating that he "had multiple bruises, swellings, and abrasions on his face and head, ... several linear blisters on his right thigh, right cheek and ... chest which were consistent with radiator burns. ... All these injuries occurred prior to his arrival at the Jail. There must be a thorough investigation of this alleged brutality."

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Wilson's lawyer had polaroid snapshots taken of his injuries. Blow-ups of these were used in Wilson's civil rights trial in February 1989 in the Federal Court in Chicago. The enlargements provided ample proof not only of Wilson's burns, bruises and head injuries, but the pattern of indentations in Andrew Wilson's ears left by the alligator clips was plainly visible.

Furthermore, Wilson's description of the painful sensations experienced during the electroshock were studied by Dr. Robert Kirschner, the Deputy Coroner of Cook County. Kirschner is an acknowledged expert in studying the use of torture, who, in connection with Amnesty International, has traveled to Argentina, the West Bank and other places, where he has interviewed victims of torture and electroshock. Kirschner testified that Wilson's description of electroshock torture, including clenched teeth, blood in the mouth, and the continuation of the pain after the current was turned off, were too accurate about facts not generally known, to have been made up. Kirschner confirmed that Wilson's accounts of the electroshock were consistent with first hand accounts he had heard of torture victims in countries where its use has been widely known and publicized in the U.S.

However, rather than be moved or outraged by the overwhelming evidence of torture and beating of Lt. Burge, the civil rights trial judge, Brian B. Duff, blocked Kirschner from testifying about torture in front of the jury saying no one could be

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an expert in that field. Duffalso refused to let Wilson show that even the Illinois Supreme Court had decided he was brutalized in police custody and that his resulting confession was ruled inadmissible for that reason. On the other hand, Duff let Burge's private lawyer (the former prosecutor of Wilson for the police murders who now is receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars from the City of Chicago to defend him) put before the jury every piece of prejudicial testimony he could muster concerning Wilson's past.

In spite of this unfairness, Wilson seemed to have a good chance at getting a jury verdict against Burge when, two weeks before the end of the civil rights trial, evidence was revealed by an anonymous police source unfriendly to Burge that nine days prior to Wilson's torture, Burge had electroshocked Melvin Jones, another young black man who was a suspect in another case where Burge was supervising the interrogation. Jones had testified about his torture in August, 1982, without ever meeting or hearing about the torture of Andrew Wilson. Jones testified that Burge had handcuffed both his wrists to a ring in the interrogation room at Area II, pulled down his pants and underwear, and applied an electrical shock device, like the one used on Andrew, to his foot, thigh and penis. Later Burge hit him in the side of the head with a stapler. Burge bragged that no one would believe Jones' word against a police lieutenant. All too predictably, the Judge came to Burge's rescue, stating the evidence came too late in the trial and could not be admitted before the jury.

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One week later the jury was deadlocked on the issue of Burge's liability. The judge declared a mistrial and rescheduled a new trial for mid-June, 1989. Based on the testimony of Jones and the knowledge of his attorney, Andrew Wilson's lawyers, from the People's Law Office, were lead to numerous other witness victims of Burge.

They disclosed that from 1972 to 1984 Burge and other Area II Detectives had routinely taken young black suspects (eleven in addition to Wilson and Jones have been discovered thus far) into Area II Headquarters where they were beaten and tortured. Among the victim accounts are the following:

(1) May 30, 1973 - Anthony Holmes was questioned by Burge and a plastic bag was put over his head causing him to pass out three times. Burge then electroshocked Holmes with a device housed in a black box. Burge later bragged about torturing Holmes to Melvin Jones.

(2) Howard Collins was arrested by Burge, a gun was put in his mouth and the trigger was pulled, but the chamber was empty. At Area II Burge put a rope around Collins neck and injured his throat.

(3) Lawrence Poree was arrested on three separate occasions from 1972 to 1979 and taken to Area II. On the first occasion Burge showed him the black shock box and threatened him with it. The next two times he was shocked repeatedly by the same device on the arms, testicles and under his armpits. Burge

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hit him in the head with a pistol and bragged about shocking others including Holmes.

(4) George Powell was arrested at his girlfriend's house on September 20, 1979. At Area II Burge shocked him with a cattle prod device on the stomach and chest and placed a bag over his head. Powell, like many other of Burge's victims, filed an official police complaint but no action was taken.

(5) Willie Porch, a suspect in an attempted police shooting was taken to Area II on September 29, 1979. Burge hit Porch in the head with a long gun and hung him by his handcuffed wrists to a hook on the door of the interrogation room. During interrogation Burge was accompanied by "Machine Gun" Joe Gorman, the Chicago Police Officer who participated in the deadly 1969 raid on Fred Hampton's apartment on the west side of Chicago. It was Gorman who sprayed the apartment with over 40 rounds from his .45 machine gun. Burge told Porch that Gorman was a "famous man because he killed Fred Hampton and wishes he could kill you."

(6) Again in 1979 Burge arrested Edward Jones and James Lewis in Memphis, Tennessee and brought them back to Chicago. At Area II Burge asked if "the man on duty is the one who killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark" (i.e. Gorman). Burge and Gorman then repeatedly slapped and hit Jones and Lewis while trying to extract confessions.

(7) In June of 1982 Burge brought Michael Johnson to Area II where he struck Johnson, pulled down his pants and shocked him

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on his testicles with an electrical device while questioning him, and beat him over a several hour period. Johnson was eventually released when he refused to confess. He immediately made complaints to the FBI and Office of Professional Standards of the Chicago Police Department. No action was taken to discipline Burge.

Armed with this incredible history of repeated torture by Lt. Burge, Wilson's attorneys sought to have this evidence admitted at Wilson's retrial of his civil rights complaint. Not only was it admissible to show a common scheme or plan, and Burge's continuous malicious intent, but of course Burge denied knowing anything about using torture at Area II. He said electroshock was something "old-timers" gabbed about.

Federal District Court Judge Duff, who had referred to Wilson as the "scum of the earth," again came to Burge's rescue. After three days of argument on the obvious relevance of the new evidence, which Duff had previously admitted was a "hand grenade", he nonetheless refused to admit it. Wilson now faces a sham of a civil rights re-trial against a known repeated torturer, without the ability to show Burge's history, and with Burge able to falsely deny any wrongdoing, backed up in this perjury by all his Area II accomplices.

The history of this case makes clear that routine police torture, including the insidious use of electroshock of black suspects, is not only carried out by the Chicago Police Officers,

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but when exposed has been condoned by the Courts, the "law enforcement" officials whose duty it is to investigate, and the public officials. Richard Daley, Chicago's current mayor, has never taken action against Burge, though officially informed of Burge's activities when he was the State's Attorney of Cook County in 1982, a few days after the incident.

In fact in the investigation of the two police killings which led to the charges against Andrew Wilson, the entire neighborhood around the killings and much of the south side was terrorized. Police broke into homes, ransacked the interiors and abused the occupants. Young black men were taken to police stations where they were subjected to beatings, bags over their heads, and at least one was threatened with being thrown off a roof and having his finger cut off with a large wire cutter produced by the police. Hundreds of complaints of police brutality were registered. Church organizations responded by demanding an end to these tactics and an investigation of police conduct.

The police response was for Superintendent Brzeczek to call in all the black command personnel who were instructed to calm the community so that information would still flow to the police. Nothing was done to restrict or investigate the police carrying out the terror campaign. This conduct is all too similar to the conduct a role of colonial police in third world countries outside the United States.

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Burge's private lawyer, who was Daley's chief deputy prosecutor, William Kunkle, has received hundreds of thousands of dollars of City taxpayer's money to defend Burge. Lawyers prosecuting Burge in the civil rights case have been held in contempt several times and are threatened with disbarment. The regular media have avoided the issue like the plague. And as for Burge he was commended, exonerated by the O.P.S., and been promoted to Commander of all Detectives at Area III.

* * * *

Nonetheless, Wilson's lawyers are committed to discovering and exposing all the evidence of Burge and the police department's campaign of terror and torture. Any other victims of this campaign should notify the People's Law Office 343 South Dearborn, Suite 1607, Chicago, Illinois 60647 (312) 663-5046.

In Struggle,

Jeffrey Haas
People's Law Office

PRELIMINARY REPORT

SHAWNEE UNIT, FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION

Marianna, Florida

December 10, 1988

The following Report was prepared for the FREEDOM NOW: Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights for Political Prisoners, c/o MSN, 666 Broadway, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10012, (212) 614-6458.

INTRODUCTION

The Shawnee Unit at the Federal Correctional Institution in Marianna, Florida is the facility chosen by the Federal Bureau of Prisons to house medium to high security women prisoners in response to pressure from the campaign to close the Lexington High Security Unit. The Bureau opted to utilize this facility rather than integrating the women in the Lexington High Security Unit into the general population of the existing facilities for women. They also did not opt to use a facility in Grants, New Mexico which they had indicated was under consideration in September 1987. The Shawnee Unit was originally designed to be a Witness Protection Unit.

National Prison Project attorney, Adjoa A. Aiyetoro and staff associate, Olinda Moyd, visited the Shawnee Unit on November 16-18, 1988. Some problems were identified during this visit which included a tour of the facility and interviews with sixteen (16) women prisoners incarcerated in the Unit.

Additional information was obtained from the prisoners via telephone and letters. This preliminary report is a brief summary of the information received during the November visit.

GENERAL COMMENTS

The Shawnee Unit was ill-prepared and ill-equipped to incarcerate the numbers of women assigned to it. There are fifty-four (54) cells, seating for only fifty-four (54) in the dining room, seating for only seventeen (17) in the visiting room and limited program space. There were approximately one hundred and four (104) women incarcerated in the Unit on November 17, 1988. Fundamental services such as health care, educational and recreational programs and work assignments were operating below what would be necessary to meet the needs of the population. In addition to the problem of crowding the women reported problems with the physical plant. Some women reported mice and rats in their cells. Most women reported evidence of mice or rats in the vending machines having observed food items that had obviously been bitten by a rodent. The women also reported that when it rains water comes into the Unit through the roof in their inside recreational area and through the doors leading to the outside areas. There also appears to be no rational basis for the decision to put these women in this medium to high facility. From talking with the prisoners about their convictions and in-prison conduct and a peremptory review of the history of escapes

at the other institutions housing women in the federal system, there appears to be little justification for creating a Unit with such restrictive confinement. Of course, a final assessment of the justification and rationale for this Unit can only be made after a thorough review of the classification process used in making the assignments and institutional records of the prisoners assigned to this unit.

The following is a summary of some of the observations made and information received about the Shawnee Unit.

1. Classification

There appears to be no criteria for assignment to this Unit, except women were told they must be a security level four, five or six. Some women reported that their classification was increased although there was no change in their record simply to qualify them for this institution. One woman complained that a heretofore ignored juvenile record was used to increase her classification. The Bureau of Prisons appears to have ignored demonstrated security requirements of many of the prisoners transferred to the Shawnee Unit of the Federal Correctional Institution in Marianna, Florida. Preliminary information indicates that women who had been incarcerated without significant incident at the Federal Correctional Institutions in Alderson, West Virginia and Pleasanton, California and who at the time of their transfer were participating in meaningful programs in these institutions, were transferred to this more restrictive environment.

2. Privacy

a. Prior to the visit of the National Prison Project there was no shower curtain up in the segregation area of the Shawnee Unit. A shower curtain was installed after the first day of our visit. We learned that it was taken down approximately two days after we completed our visit and reinstalled on or about December 6, 1988. One woman reported to us that women officers stood before the shower and observed the prisoners while in the shower.

b. Women reported that, contrary to the purported Unit policy, male officers ignored the white paper placed in their windows to indicate that they were engaged in hygienic functions or in some stage of undress. Male officers frequently opened the doors despite the white card and without knocking to discover the women in various stages of undress.

3. Atmosphere

Women reported a great deal of tension in the Unit that appears to be a result of several factors: the overwhelming majority of the women are outraged at their transfer from facilities that had quite a bit more space, more programs and allowed them more freedom of movement; there appears to be no rational system for determining who shall be assigned to this facility; officers have reportedly told women they were not human, just inmates; there are twice as many women confined in the Unit than it was designed to incarcerate; there are fifty-four (54) general population cells and on November 17th there

were between one hundred (100) to one hundred and four (104) women in the Unit; and the services, programs and facility were designed to meet the needs of only fifty-four (54) prisoners. Some of the services, such as the law library, were woefully inadequate.

We heard numerous reports of physical fights, including a report that on one occasion prisoners took a razor blade away from a prisoner who was beginning to fight another prisoner.

4. Law Library

Women with pending legal actions and no active attorney reported being unable to complete their legal work because the law library did not have even the basic materials. The essential books for research were not in the Unit's law library and the male portion of the facility which houses a more extensive library was not as yet available to the women.

5. Health Care

Women reported being able to receive medical care while at Alderson or Lexington without shackles and other mechanical restraints. They indicated they are now required to wear mechanical restraints when going to medical facilities in the same institution but in the currently unoccupied area designated for the men. They reported being required to keep the restraints on while receiving the medical service.

Numerous women complained of delays in provision of health care services.

SUMMARY

A corrections expert's assessment is necessary to investigate thoroughly these preliminary observations as well as the numerous other complaints voiced by the women. Based on information about this unit received to date, there appears to be no justification for the establishment of a medium to high security unit. Reported overcrowding in some women's facilities may indicate the need to develop alternatives to incarceration or additional camp, minimum and medium facilities. There is little evidence available at this time to support the need for a facility for high security women. The first impression of the facility is that some of the same privacy problems addressed in Baraldini exist here. There are also additional problems arising from the extreme overcrowding and the utilization of a facility prior to it being ready for occupancy. The Baraldini plaintiffs and attorneys are following up on this preliminary report and will use their best effort to obtain an expert's evaluation of the facility.

This report has been largely legalistic and descriptive. Questions that groups such as The Campaign may want to address include: 1) was this unit developed to disguise the Bureau's plan to incarcerate women with certain political beliefs and affiliations to a high security facility? 2) are women prisoners being singled out by the Bureau for special, punitive treatment? 3) should The Campaign monitor the unit's operation, and if so how?

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

GEORGE JACKSON

was the living embodiment of the Black Liberation Struggle. Condemned to spend the rest of his life in prison for a \$70 robbery and his political activism, Comrade George refused to buckle under to his oppressors. A skilled organizer and a national leader of the Black Panther Party, the central passion of his life was the freedom of Black people. Subjected to years of solitary confinement and brutality, George rose above the moral decadence of his captors to become one of the most influential political writers of his era. He wrote two books that have been widely read and studied: "Soledad Brother: The Prison Writings of George Jackson" and "Blood In My Eye." These writings reflect centuries of rage and suffering experienced by Black people since the first African slave was brought to this country in chains. George wrote that Black people continue to this day to be victimized by white racism and economic exploitation. He outlined various strategies of political organization and resistance that he felt would better enable the Black community to survive and defend itself.

George was a teacher and a revolutionary; a writer and a warrior. He was articulate and courageous, but most of all George was a friend and comrade who paid the supreme sacrifice in service to the people. His spirit will always live!

George Jackson was shot to death by prison guards on August 21, 1971.

** SOURCE for this insert:
SEDITION COMMITTEE NEWSLETTER

**‘Born to a premature death,
a menial, subsistence-wage
worker, odd-job man, the
cleaner, the caught, the man
under hatches, without bail—
that’s me, the colonial victim.
Anyone who passed the civil
service examination yesterday
can kill me today with
complete immunity. I’ve lived
with repression every moment
of my life, a repression so
formidable that any movement
on my part can only bring
relief, the respite of small
victory or the release of
death. In every sense of
the term, in every sense
that’s real, I’m a slave
to and of property.’
George Jackson**

**‘There should, I feel be one
branch that is purely
political, operating the rent
strikes, the breakfast
programs, the People’s
Bazaars where all sorts of
food and clothing, utensils
and tools are sold, hospitals
or clinics (free, of course)
...and the cottage shops to
employ those who make
clothing and canned food.
Then there should
be...the military.’
Jonathan Jackson**

JONATHAN JACKSON

was George’s younger brother. For two years he worked tirelessly to free the "Soledad Brothers" (including George) and other political prisoners. For two years he faced the brutal reality of continued killings of prisoners by guards and death threats against his brother George.

Jonathan was killed by police gunfire on August 7, 1970 as he attempted to free political prisoners, including Ruchell Magee, from a courthouse. He was 17 years old. Of Jonathan’s death, George wrote, "We recognize all time in the future from the day of the manchild’s death. Manchild, gun in hand, he was free for awhile. I guess that’s more than most of us can expect." Jonathan never reached his full adulthood in a chronological sense but he certainly did with his spirit and commitment. 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 challenged those of us who are white to fight white supremacy and support the Black Liberation struggle. He had the foresight to outline back then, at age 16 and 17, the necessity of building a movement that had clandestine organizations as an essential aspect of it. He was the best of the best.



In the 1980's, the struggles for human rights and social change continue but at a tremendous cost in human life and suffering. The U.S. backs the contra attacks against Nicaragua. El Salvador's death squads and bomber pilots are trained by the U.S. military. African people are butchered every day in the streets of South Africa by a racist regime supported by the U.S.

Here in this country there are police forces that attack the very lifeblood of Black communities—the people. There is little difference between ku klux klan lynchings and the brutal murders of Black people by killer cops and vigilantes. Once again Black leaders that organize for the survival and freedom of Black people are killed and imprisoned. They are under attack because a system that allows people to suffer and die from the social neglect of homelessness, poor medical care and inadequate nutrition cannot withstand an organized resistance led by those whose hearts carry the indestructable beat of

FREEDOM.

From the moment George Jackson and other Black men and women begin to assert effective leadership, they become targets of assassination and imprisonment. From those fallen leaders of slave revolts to the murders of Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton & dozens of members of the Black Panther Party, this country has demonstrated time and again that it will not tolerate a movement that fights for the aspirations and human rights of Black people.

The time of George Jackson was time of intense repression against those who struggle for social change. The U.S. invaded Vietnam. Anti-colonial wars in Southern Africa were on the verge of victory. The Sandinistas and other Latin revolutionaries were demanding an end to the dictatorships that ruled their countries.

Eighteen days after George Jackson was killed there was an uprising at Attica prison (N.Y.) led by Black and Latino prisoners. They sought minimal improvement in their conditions and stated they were men and not beasts and refused to be driven or beaten. New York state police stormed the prison and massacred 29 prisoners and 10 guards—all killed by police gunfire.

In 1971, information obtained from FBI files, lawsuits and a congressional investigation revealed a U.S. government campaign of sabotage, disruption, infiltration and assassination aimed at the political opposition in this country. The campaign was called COINTELPRO (Counter-intelligence Programs). One of the primary targets was, and remains to this day, the Black Liberation movement.

“The hypocrisy of Amerikan fascism forces it to conceal its attack on political offenders by the legal fiction of conspiracy laws and highly sophisticated frame-ups. The masses must be taught to understand the true function of prisons. Why do they exist in such numbers? What is the real underlying economic motive of crime and the official definition of types of offenders and victims.” —George Jackson

BACKGROUND NOTES ON "SHINING PATH"

Atiba Shanna

The Communist Party of Peru for the Shining Path of Jose Carlos Mariategui (commonly known as Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path; the name was taken from a statement by Mariategui, the founder of Peru's first communist party, that "Marxism-Leninism will open the shining path to revolution"), is carrying on a tradition of revolutionary struggle that it inherited from a previous guerrilla movement, and its development is of great concern to the U.S. government and its official and unofficial "think tanks". Because of its overall success and its many contrasts to other South American communist parties, Shining Path also draws the attention of some sectors of the U.S. left.

Because Shining Path was launched on a peasant base, with a style that observers called "mysterious" and "exclusivist," both the bourgeois and left press in the U.S. ran articles several months ago which implied that Shining Path's intensified campaign in urban mass movements and the publication of some of its internal documents are a departure forced upon it by external circumstances. None of the articles suggested that Shining Path may in fact be realizing the strategic plan outlined in its five stage theory of armed struggle in Peru. (1)

Moreover, in 1983 and 1986, as Shining Path was going through earlier stages, its destruction was predicted by the bourgeois "think tanks" and held out as a strong probability by the left. (2) In 1989,

these observers are not only surprised at the durability of Shining Path, but evidence fear and anxiety over what could become the seizure of state power not merely by a communist party, but by what to them is an "unorthodox" communist party, i.e., one whose general adherence to scientific communism doesn't compel it to base the formulation of its lines and policies upon those of other communist parties, e.g., those in the USSR or China.

THE ORIGINS OF SHINING PATH: SOME SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Shining Path was formally founded in 1970; it marks the launching of its armed phase of struggle on May 17, 1980.

In the 1960s, urban-based Peruvian revolutionaries, inspired in part by their knowledge of the Cuban experience, left the cities and sought to build a guerrilla base in the country's southern highlands, near Cuzco. They believed that they could use the "foco" model and mobilize the peasantry relatively easily and quickly. Instead, their movement was relatively easily and quickly defeated. Prime factors in their defeat were a lack of peasant support and the absence of a suitable political-military strategy. (3)

Shining Path was also founded by urban-based communists who considered Peru's southern highlands an ideal base for launching their struggle. However, they choose Ayacucho rather than Cuzco, and they also used a different model: protracted, people's war. They lived and worked among the people -- for seven years before officially founding the party, and for ten years after that before launching the armed phase of struggle -- planting the seeds in what they felt was a successful political-military strategy, based on analysis of concrete Peruvian

conditions in line with the international situation.

Peru's southern highlands were seen as an ideal base because of the harsh conditions experienced by the population, especially when seen against the conditions prevailing in the urban centers, best exemplified by Lima, the country's capital.

Also of major significance is the prevalence throughout Peru of cultural and ethnic contradictions which stem from Peru's colonial conquest and exploitation by Spain. The contradictions between the indigenous population and the descendants of the Spanish conquerors, who are still looked upon as foreigners, has an additional symbolic importance in the areas chosen as bases by Shining Path and its 1960s predecessors: Cuzco was once the capital of the Inca Empire. It was occupied in 1533 by Francisco Pizarro, who two years later moved the capital to Lima. Ayacucho was the site of the 1824 battle which won the independence of Peru--and all of South America--from Spain.

Speaking on the cultural and ethnic contradictions, McClintock says: "The Ayacucho people are almost all Indian or mestizo (mixed blood), while most of Peru's white population lives in Lima. To a greater extent than elsewhere in Latin America, the Indians of Peru's southern highlands maintain their own traditions, including their own language. In addition, more so than elsewhere, they resent the white descendants of the Spanish conquerors who rule them from the coast...." (4)

Robert Bonner goes into more detail on the subject. (5)

As for the economic contrasts between Lima and the coastal cities, and Ayacucho and the southern highlands: Lima has approximately one-third of Peru's population (six of twenty million), and one-third or two million people live in the slums on the outskirts of the city. Three-quarters of Peru's doctors live in Lima, with one doctor serving approximately 1,822 people along the coast, compared to one doctor for every 21,650 people in the southern highlands.



A Lima protest demands access to fresh water: Popular disaffection is evident.

Only sixty per cent of the families in Lima have clean water, sewerage systems and electricity. In the southern highlands, only one in seven persons has potable water, and only one of every forty-three has in-door plumbing; water and electricity are rationed, available only during certain hours of the day.

The literacy rate in the southern highlands is 47%, and 87% on the coast; life expectancy is 44 years versus 54 on the coast. Farm family income in the southern highlands is about one-third that on the coast, where Lima has 80% of the banking offices and 90% of the private investment.

Peru has the second highest infant mortality rate in South America, behind Bolivia. With a national rate of 127 per 1000 live births, Lima and other coastal cities average 88 per 1000, while in the southern highlands the rate is approximately 275 per 1000. Eighty per cent of Peru's infants die of preventable diseases such as measles, whooping cough, respiratory infections and polio. Dehydration alone causes one death every twenty minutes. (6)

"While the government was neglecting Ayacucho, Sendero Luminoso, beginning in the late nineteen-sixties, was steadily taking over the capital and the department. The movement started at the National University of San Cristobal of Huamanga...." (7)

The central figure in Shining Path is Manual Ruben Abimael Guzman (alias Comrade Gonzalo), called by party members the "Fourth Sword of Marxism" because he's said to be following the true path of Marx, Lenin and Mao.

Guzman was born in 1934, "in the southern coastal city of Mollendo, the offspring of an unmarried woman's liaison with a married man. When Guzman was fourteen, he was sent to Arequipa to attend the Catholic high school....At the National University of St. Augustine, In Arequipa, Guzman studied philosophy and law simultaneously, earning

degrees in both disciplines; his thesis in philosophy was 'About Kant's Theory of Space,' and in law 'The Democratic Bourgeois State'....As for his politics, he was a member of the Communist Party. 'But he was not an organizer, much less an agitator,' /according to Miguel Angel Rodriguez Rivas, Guzman's philosophy professor and intellectual mentor/. 'He was a theorist of the highest level'." (8)

Guzman arrived at the university in Ayacucho in 1962, as an assistant professor of philosophy. "Though he continued his political activities, conducting sessions with students and professors at his simple mud-brick house...'he was always very careful to protect his professional image'..." (9)

With the Sino-Soviet split in 1964, the Soviet-oriented Communist Party of Peru, which was founded in the 1920s, split into pro-Soviet, pro-Albanian and pro-Chinese factions. In Ayacucho, the pro-Chinese faction, then known as Bandera Roja (Red Flag), was headed by Guzman.

"By 1968, Guzman and his followers had gained control of the university, through elections; Guzman, who had spent some time in China in the mid-nineteen-sixties, eventually became the director of personnel, and brought his political influence to bear on the university's hiring and firing policies. It was said that even the night watchman was a Senderista. During the decade that followed, however, control of the university went back and forth between Sendero and other leftist organizations, which sometimes formed uneasy alliances to defeat it." (10)

It was also during these years that Shining Path was building itself up, cell by cell, and planting seeds for prolonged warfare in other ways, "using research projects to study peasant life and recruit members in the outlying Quechua Indian communities...At the same time, according to an intelligence source, they infiltrated the police, the military, and public utility companies in the cities." (11)

In 1978, the party went underground, i.e., Guzman and others who had been operating publicly then began to operate from clandestinity. In 1979 and 1980, graffiti began to appear around Ayacucho declaring that it was time to begin the armed phase of struggle:

The basis for the armed revolution had been solidly laid by the Senderistas at the university. For several years, most first-year courses were taught by professors who were Senderistas: they taught Marxism and dialectical materialism without identifying themselves as Senderistas. In addition, nearly all the professors in the School of Education were Senderistas. Consequently, when the graduating students returned to the countryside to teach, they sowed Senderista ideology.

"Sendero utilized education as has never been done before in the world by revolutions," says Manuel Jesus Granados Aponte, who was a student at the university in the nineteen seventies, and whose bachelor's thesis completed in 1980, was the first thorough study of Sendero. "Sendero didn't send out cadres--it sent teachers. They were sent back where they came from teaching Marxism with the Sendero line. Sendero used the university completely. Lenin used the workers. Mao used the peasants." (12)

On May 17, 1980, Shining Path carried out its first armed action: the attack on a polling place, burning the ballot box. The election marked the return of civilian government to Peru after twelve years of rule by the military.

When a NEW YORK TIMES reporter asked an imprisoned Shining Path cadre why the party began armed actions just when Peru was returning to elected government, the cadre said: "To show the whole system is rotten...The government is irrelevant to most poor people; it's all the same, civilian or military." (13)

Indeed, one reason for Shining Path's success is that neither military nor civilian governments have "served the people," and consequently, the people don't feel that governments exist to serve them. "So what Sendero is intent on destroying is a government and a social order that many peruvians--particularly the Indians and the poor--believe is not worth fighting to preserve." (14)

Shining Path has been labelled "secretive" and "mysterious" because it exercises an unusual discipline with regard to publicizing its thought, as well as information on its organizational structure and its membership. This discipline seemed, especially in years past,

a necessary means of keeping information about itself from reaching the hands of repressive forces. That this is the case is indicated by Bonner's observation that Shining Path "painstakingly records, analyzes, and classifies every event it is involved in." (15)

The point is also demonstrated when Bonner tells the consequences of Manuel Granados' publication of his bachelor's thesis, which was a study of Shining Path. "Sendero didn't want Granados going public with his knowledge about the movement, which at the time he wrote the thesis was about to launch its armed phase." (16) After some difficulty, the thesis was published--after Granados removed all individual names. Only three copies were made, which Granados submitted to the university. Shining Path took one copy, saying that they would use it "for the day of adjusting accounts." A second copy is said to have found its way to the hands of the Peruvian military. In March 1987, Granados wrote an article on Shining Path for the journal SOCIALISM AND PARTICIPATION; Peru's president ordered thirty copies.

Though minimal, Shining Path has engaged in what could be called "controlled exposure," i.e., calculated release of leaflets, posters, pamphlets, discussion papers, position papers, and recently the publication of some of its internal documents in EL DIARIO, a Lima newspaper which emerged in 1987 as an open supporter of Shining Path and an outlet for official Shining Path pronouncements.

Therefore, little is known (outside Peru) about Shining Path's ideology and theory, its organizational structure, etc. What has been learned from the scarce published material in the U.S. is that:

- 1) Shining Path views Peru as a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. They seek to establish a "New Democracy" along the lines of Mao's elaboration of the concept, through five stages of struggle: gathering of support in backward regions; assault on the symbols of the bourgeois state; the start of guerrilla war; expansion of popular support; the collapse of the cities and victory. The slogan "Win bases

of support" is one defined as the guide through all five stages, i.e., Shining Path begins by erasing all government authority in areas of operation, building bases of support in which the "dual power"/politics, economics and culture of "New Democracy" are built.

2) Shining Path has as much contempt for "Soviet social imperialism" as it does for U.S. imperialism. It has little or no respect for most of the other left parties in Peru, most of which are primarily concerned about trying to seize power through the electoral process. Shining Path is extremely self-reliant, not asking for and not receiving any support from other communist parties or countries.

According to Bonner, Shining Path has set up front organizations in the U.S. to raise funds. However, Shining Path feels little need for money, because "living off the land" is an important part of their ideological and strategic view: "Shortages will always be overcome if the path is right," they say. They steal and fabricate their weapons: "Unlike other Latin American movements, Sendero has not bought arms on the international black market...Dynamite, which is plentiful in the mountains of this mining country, is one of Sendero's principal weapons. Using rope slings the way their ancestors did in hunting for generations, men hurl it with deadly accuracy at police posts...As for more modern weapons, the militant is expected to acquire his /or her/ own, usually by assassinating a policeman and taking his rifle. Sendero teaches the militant that the rifle rightfully belongs to him, not to the state, and the seizing of it also tests the loyalty and courage of the young Senderista; it is also a political action that reinforces his conviction that Sendero is going to triumph." (17) Shining Path also makes bombs out of cans and uses converted fishing line guns as mortars.

3) Organizationally, Shining Path "is a disciplined, clandestine movement, one that would be difficult to infiltrate. All members use aliases. Few Senderistas know more than four others: each guerrilla cell has a maximum of five members, one of whom is the leader who joins the committee at the next higher level. During...activities, Senderistas wear large woolen hoods to protect their anonymity." (18)

The core of the party's leadership is said to be composed of the sons and daughters and the grandsons and granddaughters of peasants from highlands communities who attended the university at Ayacucho. Otherwise, Shining Path composition includes farmers, miners, students and teachers, lay preachers, and the sons and daughters of the middle and upper classes.

According to Bonner, "Sendero has focused its recruiting on boys and girls of thirteen, fourteen and fifteen years old, one reason being that young minds are malleable. Besides, the younger the revolutionary army, the more difficult it will be for the government to infiltrate it....Finally, by the time Sendero gets ready to take on the armed forces in direct battles, which might not be for many more years, the young recruits will have grown into men and women with many years' experience." (19)

Over the years the party is said to have incorporated at least six other groups. Estimates of membership range from 4-10,000 active cadres, with 20-30,000 supporters.

Shining Path has also taken a strong position on changing the traditional, patriarchal structure of Peruvian society, starting with ensuring that women have a prominent, equalitarian role within the party.



A massive public turnout for the September 1982 funeral in Ayacucho of Senderist leader Edith Lagos; at right, a photo of Edith Lagos.

Shining Path's recent activity centers on a strategic campaign to increase its presence in urban centers throughout Peru, especially in Lima, and to assert itself in all spheres of public life. There has always been a presence of Shining Path cadres in the cities. Their numbers and activity increased after government repression in some rural areas in 1983.

An early sign of the present Shining Path campaign was seen when they held a highly attended public commemoration of the 1986 prison massacre of 250 Shining Path cadres and other prisoners, held at Lima's San Marcos National University in June 1987.

The new urban strategy, which is seen as complementary to the rural one, is inspired in part by the depopulation of the countryside, the great mass of people in the cities, making them an ideal place to recruit new members, and the role the cities must play in creating a united front. Shining Path has been concentrating on infiltrating other left parties, student groups, labor unions and community organizations: "This year, Sendero has actively participated in protests called by student, community and worker groups...taking part through front groups which attack the government, Peru's ruling class, and non-Senderista left wing forces with equal vigor." (20)

During a January 1988 general strike, Shining Path formed the "Class-Based Laborers and Workers Movement" and called upon the masses to "develop the struggle for reforms as a part of the conquest of power," and said that strikes should be developed like guerrilla war and intensified through concrete armed actions.

It was also in January of 1988 that Shining Path held its first party congress. In documents from the congress that were later published in EL DIARIO, the goal of carrying out a democratic revolution uniting workers and peasants with small and medium capitalists into a "multi-class united front" was put forth.

In July 1988, EL DIARIO published an interview with Guzman--his first "appearance" in public in over ten years. It's said that his appearance was made necessary by the arrest a month earlier of Osman Morote. Morote, a leading party member, was arrested in a safehouse with four other party members, as well as over forty (40) notebooks

detailing Shining Path's organization and internal discussions.

However, the length of the interview (forty-one pages), and reports of the subjects covered, indicate that Shining Path is preparing for its final stage of struggle. (21)

(end)

Footnotes

1. Bradley Graham, "Maoist Rebels Go Public in Peru," The Washington Post, February 13, 1988; Sam Zuckerman, "Sendero Luminoso Pushes Urban Strategy," The Guardian, March 16, 1988.
2. Cynthia McClintock, "Sendero Luminoso: Peru's Maoist Guerrillas," Problems of Communism, September-October 1983; Sam Zuckerman, "Peru on the Brink--Or Will Shining Path End In A Blind Alley?," The Guardian, October 8, 1986.
3. See: Hugo Blanco, Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru (New York: Pathfinder, 1972); Richard Gott, ed., Guerrilla Movements in Latin America (New York: Doubleday, 1971).
4. McClintock, p.22.
5. Raymond Bonner, "Peru's War," The New Yorker, (January 4, 1988), pp. 55-56; 57.
6. McClintock, Bonner, and Marissa Bisso, The Guardian, May 3, 1989.
7. Bonner, p.34.
8. Ibid., p.35.
9. Ibid., p.35.
10. Ibid., p.35.
11. "Jailed Rebels Offer Some Clues to 'Shining Path'," New York Times, September 7, 1984.
12. Bonner, p.35.
13. New York Times, September 7, 1984.
14. Bonner, p.40.

Shining Path/ Footnotes, cont.

15. Ibid., p.35.
16. Ibid., p.36.
17. Ibid., p.37.
18. McClintock, p.22.
19. Bonner, p.36.
20. Zuckerman, The Guardian, March 16, 1988.
21. Michael L. Smith, "Peruvian Rebel Offers Grim Prophecy,"
The Washington Post, August 19, 1988.

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William M. Kunstler

Ronald L. Kuby

March 5, 1989

To all who believe in equal justice under law:

I urge you to read the attached open letter which will bring to your attention the treatment of a number of American dissidents who are considered to be "terrorists" by their government.

The charges against them and the medieval conditions under which they are being held dramatically reflect that the United States is now utilizing the word "terrorist" in the same way that the characterization of "communist" was used in the '50's to punish the progressive people and organizations of that decade.

I had the opportunity to appear in the courtroom where these defendants are being tried in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. I was startled to see that a plexiglass wall had been erected between the well of the court and the spectator section, with a locked door that could only be opened by federal marshals.

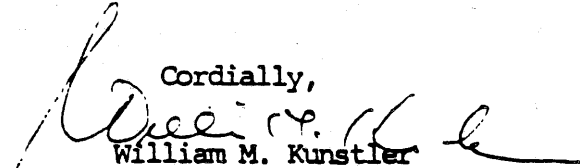
This wall, which will be in full view of the jury in this case, is reminiscent of the glass cage in which Sacco and Vanzetti were contained during their trial for murder in Deadham, Mass., more than sixty years ago. The idea of the Sacco-Vanzetti cage was to impress upon their jurors as well as the general public that they were too dangerous to be treated like ordinary defendants, thus destroying whatever chance they had for a semblance of a fair trial.

The same rationale on the part of the federal government has led to the erection of the bulletproof wall between the defendants in this case and the rest of the courtroom. No juror will fail to make the connection between the alleged reason for the existence of the "wall" and his or her expected verdicts. It is grotesquely indecent to resort to this type of jury-influencing in order to tip the scales against these defendants long before their trial begins.

Before closing I ask that you make a much needed financial contribution to the defense committee for these defendants and endorse the enclosed open letter. Only your support and that of many other outraged citizens can begin to offset the inhuman orchestration by the government of every dirty trick designed to stampede a jury into convictions based not on evidence but on induced fear.

wmk.jm

Cordially,


William M. Kunstler

**EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
The HUMAN And LEGAL RIGHTS
Of POLITICAL PRISONERS**

p.o. box 28191

washington, d.c. 20038-8191

Marilyn Buck #233-396
Linda Evans #233-411
Laura Whitehorn #220-858
D.C. Detention Facility
1901 "D" Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20001

March 31, 1989

Adjoa Aiyetoro

*National Conference of
Black Lawyers*

Raphael Anglada

Defense Counsel for Hartford 15

Rev. Daniel Berrigan, peace activist
Haywood Burns

*Past President of the
National Lawyers Guild*;
Chair Emeritus of the
National Conference of
Black Lawyers**

Michael Deutsch

People's Law Office

Luis Nieves Falcon

Puerto Rican Bar Association

Henry Foner, president

Local 1-FLM-FJC

*United Food and Commercial
Workers International Union*

Peggy Halsey, General Board of
Global Ministries

*United Methodist Church **

Lennox S. Hinds

*International Association of
Democratic Lawyers*

Yuri Kochiyama, political activist

William Kunstler

*Center for Constitutional Rights**

Harold Leventhal, music producer

Elizabeth McAlister, peace activist

Margaret Randall, author

Dr. Emanuel Rosenberg

*Family and Friends of the
"Resistance Conspiracy Case"
Defendants*

Jonathan Smith

*D.C. Chapter,
National Lawyers Guild*

Morton Sobell

former political prisoner

Watani Tyehimba

New Afrikan Peoples Organization

Dear Friends:

We urge you to add your signature to William Kunstler's on this open letter to the progressive community. We would also greatly appreciate whatever financial contribution you can make. The government has previously brought multiple charges against each of the defendants in the Resistance Conspiracy Case. One or another of them has consistently been on trial since 1982. Their resources have already been exhausted in the defense of prior trials.

If you wish to make a tax deductible donation make your check payable to the Institute for Social Justice, Inc. and earmark it: "Emergency Committee to Defend Political Prisoners." If the tax deduction is not of great importance to you it would be helpful to make the check payable directly to the Emergency Committee to Defend Political Prisoners.

Time is of the essence as the trial is likely to start this spring. Please fill out the enclosed card and return it at your earliest convenience in the envelop provided. If you wish to phone in your endorsement you may call (212) 864-2375.

Thank you very much for your time and attention.

Sincerely,

Barbara Zeller, M.D.

Barbara Zeller, M.D.

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

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OPEN LETTER TO THE PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY

One of the last actions Ed Meese took before leaving the U.S. Department of Justice was to order the indictment of six long-time political activists on charges of trying to protest U.S. domestic and international policies through "violent and illegal means."

The case, formally called U.S. v. Whitehorn, et. al and more popularly, "The Resistance Conspiracy Case," is the latest in a series of politically-motivated prosecutions brought by the Reagan/Meese Justice Department. Like other recent political trials, it targets domestic opponents of illegal practices, such as the contra war against Nicaragua and the invasion of Grenada. The investigation of these defendants and this case is linked to the recent illegal FBI investigation of CISPES and the broader Central America solidarity movement, characterized by a pattern of massive FBI misconduct and illegality.

In the three years that have elapsed between the arrest of these defendants and the bringing of this indictment, the government has put the defendants through fourteen separate political prosecutions. As a result, five of the defendants go into this trial already serving sentences of up to seventy years. The sixth has now been held in preventive detention for 2½ years. If she were not a political prisoner, she would have been given bail when she was arrested in 1985.

The six - Alan Berkman, Tim Blunk, Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Susan Rosenberg, and Laura Whitehorn - are charged with being part of a network of groups that claimed responsibility for a series of bombings of government and military buildings in 1983-1985, including the

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

1983 bombing of the U.S. Capitol after the invasion of Grenada. No-one was injured in any of these attacks. The government makes no claim to know what individuals actually carried out any of the bombings. Rather, they will try to convict the defendants by proving that they shared a "common purpose" of resisting illegal U.S. war crimes. This amounts to "guilt by political association." The government wants to stage a show trial that will have a chilling effect on activists here.

As the government prepares for this gratuitous trial, they use the guise of "security" to deny the prisoners their basic rights and ability to defend themselves. The government is creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation to make a fair trial impossible. The Justice Department has built a bulletproof plexiglass wall in the courtroom, separating the defendants from their families and supporters. Surveillance cameras have been installed in the courtroom, clearly visible to the public and the press - the first time this has been done in the history of the Federal judiciary system. These measures smack of an immoral "star chamber" proceedings, expressly designed to alienate the concern of the public from the basic issues in this case.

The courtroom atmosphere being prepared for the spring trial in Washington is clearly a way to get around the charge that the trial is really political in nature. One must seriously question why the government is proceeding with this trial, which will cost millions of dollars, when all of the defendants already are serving sentences of unprecedented length for their prior convictions. (Ironically, it should be noted that KKK members charged with murder, neo-Nazis charged with violent crimes, and abortion clinic bombers, among others, are serving less than five-year sentences.)

This is political persecution, not a criminal prosecution, and the targets of this attack are people who have shown their deep commitment to human rights and social justice over many years. There may be political disagreements among us, but we are all part of the community of people in this country who have opposed and tried to stop the murderous, inhumane, and illegal practices of the Reagan administration. The defendants in this case, like the other political prisoners in this country, need to be returned to our communities and not disappear into the U.S. prison system.

We ask you to join NOW in a campaign to halt the vindictive prosecution of these six activists, and to end the atmosphere of intimidation surrounding trial preparations. We must lend our voices and support to ensure their rights - and thereby, our own. An aroused citizenry, a timely protest, is fundamental in upholding the law of the land. Whether this is the last of these political cases, or whether it simply becomes the first of a series to be brought by the Bush administration depends in part on how we respond now. Stopping this last prosecution brought by Reagan and Meese can be an important first step in dismantling their legacy of a politicized criminal justice system and resurgent FBI.

We support the defendants' demands:

DROP THIS POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED INDICTMENT.
STOP GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN THE PREPARATION OF THE DEFENSE.
RELEASE LAURA WHITEHORN ON BAIL. STOP PREVENTIVE DETENTION.
REMOVE THE BULLETPROOF WALL AND SURVEILLANCE CAMERAS FROM
THE COURTROOM.

Signed:

→ _____
William M. Kunstler,
Center for Constitutional Rights*
Adjoa Aiyetoro
National Conference of Black Lawyers*
Rafael Anglada-Lopez
Defense Counsel for Hartford 15
Michael Deutsch
People's Law Office*
Jonathan Smith
National Lawyers Guild
D.C. Chapter*
Vincent Hallinan
Peter Yarrow
Madeline Lee Gilford
Jack Gilford
Harold Leaventhal
Art D'Lugoff
Margaret Randall
Vernon Bellecort
American Indian Movement*
Dr. Emanuel Rosenberg
Bella Rosenberg
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New Afrikan People's
Organization *
Elizabeth McAlister
Yuri Kochiyama
William Kochiyama
Dr. Cory Weinstein
Prisoners Rights Union *
Dr. Barbara Zeller
Family and Friends of the
Resistance Conspiracy
Case Defendants
Haywood Burns
Past President of the
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***** UPDATE

On April 11, Judge Green ruled on the pre-trial defense motions. He dismissed charges on Alan Berkman, Tim Blunk and Susan Rosenberg, based on arguments that this indictment placed them in double jeopardy. This was a tremendous political and legal victory for the defendants, who have contended all along that this was a vindictive, politically-motivated indictment. We anticipate that the government will appeal this ruling.

Judge Green denied the motion to take down the wall. We will continue to demand that the wall be removed and will continue to demand the rights of these defendants.

Emergency Committee

FACE REALITY: Political Prisoners in the USA

FEMALE HIGH SECURITY UNIT 35 min. 1988

NINA ROSENBLUM, DAEDALUS FILMS

FEMALE HIGH SECURITY UNIT exposes the first, secret, subterranean isolation unit for women political prisoners, opened in October 1986 at the Federal Correctional Institution in Lexington, Kentucky. Silvia Baraldini, Susan Rosenberg and Alejandrina Torres became unwitting participants in a bizarre mind-control experiment using sensory deprivation and behavior modification in an attempt to alter their ideology and break them physically.

GERONIMO PRATT 27 min. 1988

PCTV, LISA RUDMAN & THE COMMITTEE TO FREE GERONIMO PRATT

Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt is one of the longest-held political prisoners in the USA. A former leader of the Black Panther Party, he has been imprisoned since 1970 for a crime the FBI knows he did not commit. Hear his story through an exclusive interview in San Quentin Prison, archival footage of the Black Panthers, family photos and scenes from demonstrations.

FREEDOM NOW! THE PRESS CONFERENCE 28 min. 1989

GLORIA WILLIAMS, MARK LESCO & CARA PERLMAN

The National Campaign for Amnesty & Human Rights for Political Prisoners

FREEDOM NOW!—THE PRESS CONFERENCE records the inauguration of the first national human rights campaign for political prisoners. The National Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights has listed over 150 men and women and receives new cases daily. The United States can no longer avoid an examination of its own human rights abuses in prisons across the country.

FAIR DOCTRINE 70 min. 1987

ANDREA KIRSCH

The Ku Klux Klan in Alabama. The trial of the New York Eight in Manhattan. The IRA in the fight for Northern Ireland. FAIR DOCTRINE, in non-narrative video form, addresses access to the media and imagery of conflict and justice in several spheres.

THE OHIO 7—ON TRIAL FOR THEIR LIVES

AMY LOOMIS & THE SEDITION COMMITTEE

(work in progress)

HAVE YOU SEEN LA NUEVA MUJER REVOLUCIONARIA PUERTORRIQUENA? 58 min. 1987

LISA RUDMAN, PCTV & THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FREE THE PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

Taped under the controlled conditions of a federal maximum security prison, this video allows viewers the viewer a rare visit with these four women. They talk about how they have fought isolation and torture in prison, and how they continue to participate in the Puerto Rican independence movement from behind bars. Carmen Valentin, Dylcia Pagan, Lucy Rodriguez and Haydee Torres are serving sentences from 40 years to life.

CBS TRIES THE NY 3—RACIST LIES ON PRIME TIME TV 35 min. 1988

PAPER TIGER TELEVISION

Anthony Bottom, Herman Bell and Albert Washington were Black activists framed for the death of two policemen in 1971. FBI documents show perjury, intimidation and high level government tampering with their case. The man who prosecuted them wrote a book and made it into a TV movie. Redress the balance. Listen to them.

THE CONTROL UNITS 30 min. 1988

THE COMMITTEE TO END THE MARION LOCKDOWN

Marion Federal Penitentiary has attracted attention from Human Rights activists from around the world for its abusive conditions. Its inmates are in permanent isolation and dehumanizing conditions. This video gives the history and social contexts for Control Units and Marion Prison.

STRAIGHT AHEAD! 45min. 1987

THE STRAIGHT AHEAD COLLECTIVE

In the winter of 1984, eight Black activists were arrested in a military raid on their homes throughout the New York City area. They were charged with conspiring to rescue prisoners and commit robberies. After millions of dollars were spent by the government to convict them, they were acquitted in a few hours. STRAIGHT AHEAD! tells of their arrest, trial and victory.

For More Information or To Send Support
FREEDOM NOW! The National Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights
for Political Prisoners
666 Broadway, 7th Floor
New York, NY 10012
212-614-6458

CALL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS ON HUNGERSTRIKE IN
SOUTH AFRICA AND WEST GERMANY

- *** January 23, 1989: 170 South African political prisoners at Diepkloof Prison, members of various anti-apartheid organizations initiate an unlimited hungerstrike against preventive detention. They are joined by over 130 political detainees at prisons in Durban and Port Elizabeth.
- *** February 1, 1989: At least 50 West German political prisoners of the anti-imperialist guerrilla organizations Red Army Faction (RAF) and June 2nd Movement, the anti-imperialist resistance, Kurdish nationalist movement, and militant social prisoners begin an unlimited hungerstrike for political association and against isolation torture/sensory deprivation.

These two groupings of political prisoners have taken up the ultimate means of struggle available to the prisoner: hungerstrike to the death. As political prisoners in the U.S., we feel deep bonds of solidarity with these comrades. As anti-imperialists and revolutionaries, our practice has been shaped and influenced by the movements they represent.

Political prisoners and Prisoners of War in this country are familiar with preventive detention and isolation. Preventive detention has taken many forms: exorbitant, multi-million dollar bails, the grand jury subpoena, the 1984 No-Bail law. Solitary confinement has a long history of use against political prisoners here. We need only mention the seven years of Geronimo Pratt's isolation in a strip cell, the Marion and Lexington Control units, as only the most well-known examples.

What distinguishes the South African and West German realities is the scale and intensity of the repression against the political prisoners, commensurate with the severity of their perceived threat to the regimes.

Since the South African government declared its State of Emergency in June, 1986, it has detained over 30,000 people in an effort to stave off the revolutionary mass upheaval of the preceding months. Over 1000 political detainees, many of them children, are still in preventive detention after nearly 3 years. They have never been tried, they face no charges, they don't know when they'll be released. Often their families have no idea what happened to them or where they are. Anti-apartheid organizations have been robbed of leading cadre while the prisoners, families, and community suffer a severe psychological toll. The effect has been compared to the "disappearances" of activists in Latin America. The hungerstrikers have concluded for themselves that they must bring preventive detention to an end as a weapon for the South African regime.

The prisoners of the RAF have been leading the fight against isolation torture internationally for 18 years. They have undertaken 9 hungerstrikes, resulting in 2 deaths and impaired health for many. Facing one of the most serious and sustained guerrilla movements in Europe, the FRG has developed isolation/sensory deprivation as the weapon of choice. It is a bloodless, clean, and effective form of torture. Sensory deprivation torture is exemplified by the "Toten Trakte" ("Dead Wings") of Stammheim/Stuttgart where one prisoner is confined alone in an entire wing that has been otherwise vacated. No contact is permitted with any other prisoners whatsoever. The cells are soundproofed; lights are under the guards' control; exercise is taken alone in outdoor cages; mail is rigorously censored and limited; visits are non-contact and are monitored directly by state security police. RAF prisoner Bernd Rössner has endured 11 years of this form of total isolation.

As a key member of NATO, the FRG has shared its repressive technology with other NATO states and their allies for use against anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist insurgencies. The FRG prison model has been adopted by most of the countries of Western Europe and has made recent appearances in Peru and Guatemala. West German prison experts were

consulted and toured Marion penitentiary following the lockdown in 1983. The "small group isolation" model that formed the blueprint for the Lexington control unit for women was conceived in the FRG as a response to the RAF prisoners' hungerstrikes in 1981 and '84-'85 against isolation and for political association in groups.

Imperialist counterinsurgency must be met with internationalist solidarity.

We have already experienced direct, concrete solidarity extended to us by the RAF/resistance prisoners since our incarceration. The determined struggle of these prisoners and the international work of their attorneys and relatives laid the foundation for the successful international campaign that closed the Lexington Control Unit. Amnesty International's rapid response to the Lexington campaign's petitions was due to the fact that the West German prisoners had already established for Amnesty International that "total isolation" and "small group isolation" constituted forms of psychological torture. The prisoners themselves have shared with us their experiences of how to combat the effects of isolation. They are comrades who in fighting for themselves have fought for us, too. Now we fight with them.

While the South African detainees' hungerstrike has received some international attention from the major media, news of the RAF/resistance hungerstrike has been totally ignored outside the FRG. This blockade contributes to an international climate whereby the FRG with the assent of NATO is free to crush the strike by all available means. We remember the 1981 IRA hungerstrike. The state will let the prisoners die as long as they think they can get away with it.

We are calling on the POW's and political prisoners in the U.S. to join us in a one-day fast/protest on March 15, in solidarity with the hungerstrikers in South Africa and the FRG. With them, we demand an end to the use of preventive detention and isolation torture everywhere. While recognizing the symbolic nature of this fast, we hope that this unitary prisoner-to-prisoner solidarity will help in some way to break through the media blockade.

We call upon the organization and individuals that support political prisoners/POW's in this country and internationally, particularly those who have fought with us against Marion, Lexington, and preventive detention, to extend concrete support to the hunger-strikers. Organize demonstrations in front of the South African and West German embassies or consulates; organize mass mailings and mobilize your own constituencies; use all of your available press contacts to publicize the strikes; on March 15 send telegrams or letters of protest to the embassies in support of the hungerstrikers' demands.

This is an emergency. Our actions now can help prevent heroic people from having to die.

¡VENCEREMOS!

Resistance Conspiracy Case Defendants

Alan Berkman
Tim Blunk

Marilyn Buck
Linda Evans

Susan Rosenberg
Laura Whitehorn

Any prisoner wishing to join this fast should notify us here through the Washington Area Committee for Political Prisoners' Rights, P.O. Box 28191, Washington, D.C. 20038-8191. For the purposes of press releases we would like to have an estimate of the number of prisoners participating nationally. Solidarity statements to the prisoners on hungerstrike can be sent to us here to be forwarded, or directly by writing to:

ANC: African National Congress
801 2nd Ave., Suite 405
New York, N.Y. 10017

The Hungerstrike Information Office
c/o G.A.L. (tel: 040/4395416
Bartelstrasse 30 telefax: 4392892)
2 Hamburg 36
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

TELEGRAMS in support of the prisoners' demands should be sent on March 15 or at any time to:
Ambassador, South African Embassy
3501 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Ambassador, FRG Embassy
4645 Reservoir Rd., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Press Statement

From the attorneys of the political prisoners in the Federal Republic of Germany:

According to our current information, 48 political prisoners from the RAF and the resistance have been on hungerstrike since February 1, 1989. We know for certain that the following prisoners are on hungerstrike:

Gisela Dutzi, Ingrid Barabaß, Helmut Pohl, Christian Klar, Eva Haule, Rico Prauss, Andrea Sievering, Mareile Schmegner, Sieglinde Hofmann, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Knut Folkerts, Lutz Taufer, Rolf Clemens Wagner, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Manuela Happe, Carlos Grosser, Günter Sonnenberg, Gabi Rollnik, Angelika Goder, Rolf Heißler, Claudia Wannersdorfer, Luitgart Hornstein, Ali Jansen, Micheal Dietiker, Bernhard Rosenkötter, Christa Eckes, Heidi Schulz, Christian Kluth, Dieter Faber, Hanna Krabbe, Christine Kuby, Irmgard Möller, Ingrid Jakobsmeier, Rolf Hartung, Thomas Killper, Andreas Semisch, Susanne Paschen, Isolde Bohler, Bärbel Perau, Norbert Hofmeier, Christoph von Hören, Thomas Thoene.

Other prisoners have also joined the hungerstrike:

Günter Müller, Jens Stuhlmann, Hans Deutzmann, Susanne Schöfs, Dieter Glatz, and three prisoners in Berlin Tegel prison.

With the tenth hungerstrike since the beginning of the 70's, the prisoners are demanding their association together in large groups with access to common yard exercise with other prisoners, immediate release of the prisoners who are unfit for imprisonment, free choice of medical care for all prisoners, and open political information and communication for the prisoners with all groups in society.

With that, the prisoners are carrying forward their 18-year struggle for prison conditions which make survival for them in prison possible. In his statement of February 1, 1989, Helmut Pohl made the situation, the demands, and the determination of the prisoners clear (see attached).

The initial reactions of the state to the hungerstrike were:

- initiation of an investigation of the striking prisoners because of membership in a terrorist association (129a)
- cell raids and physical attacks against several prisoners (for example, in Celle prison)
- criminalization of attorneys as the "wire-pullers" in the "hungerstrike action" (for example, in the Welt am Sonntag, Feb. 2, 1989)
- immediate separation of several prisoners who had been together a few hours a day (for example, in Frankfurt prison)

We support our clients in the demands of their hungerstrike, just as we, out of our knowledge of the prison situation, have for years demanded the abolishment of isolation and the association of the prisoners who demand that together in large groups.

We call upon the responsible federal and local government agencies to stop all sanctions and criminalization in connection with the hungerstrike, to meet the just demands of the prisoners immediately and not, as they have up to now, to jeopardize the lives of the striking prisoners through inactivity, refusal, or "medical solutions."

We do not doubt the determination of our clients to attain for themselves humane conditions now, and that means to put through their demand of association together.

For the attorneys who follow:

Elard Biskamp
Attorney

Attorneys:

Dieter Adler, Renate Trobitzsch, Gerd Klusmeyer (Hannover); Pieter Bakker Schut, Adèle v.d. Plas (Amsterdam); Elard Biskamp, Joachim Bremer, Rainer Koch, Wolfgang Kronauer, Ursula Seifert, Waltraud Verleih, Berthold Fresenius, Ernst Ronte (Frankfurt); Wolfgang Diesing, Rainer Felkl, Johannes Pausch, Dorothee Frings, Karl-Heinz Bartens (Düsseldorf); Ulrike Halm (Gießen); Thomas Herzog, Gottfried Plagemann (Berlin); Heike Krause (Köln); Anke Brenneke-Eggers, Johannes Santen, Christoph Bode, Jan Mohr, Ute Brandt (Hamburg), Peter Tode (Wohlde); Wolfgang Schwab (Duisburg); Wolfgang Schmid (Heidelberg); Martin Viergutz (Königsbach-Stein); Regina Schulze, Jens Jansen (Freiburg); Pilar Gallardo Mayo (Madrid)

HUNGER STRIKE STATEMENT BY HELMUT POHL
ON BEHALF OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN W. GERMANY

We are, as of today, on hungerstrike. We're not letting go anymore; we have to get our association together now. Everyone who wants to, knows what isolation is; it is understood and defined internationally as torture. Isolation has become the rule for imprisoned revolutionaries here, whether from the guerilla, the resistance, or foreign comrades; and they are using it against social prisoners who struggle. And it is being increasingly adopted internationally as the clean perfidious method of the fine West German-Europeans. So isolation must be broken here. We have been on nine hungerstrikes during which two prisoners have died; many of us have impaired health. This eighteen-year-long torture must end now. That is our definitive decision; that is how we will fight.

There is not much more to explain. Our situation and our demand are clear. We have gotten sick meanwhile of talking about isolation and the fact that we want to be together. Those meager words and their repetition have already become a mockery of the reality in the prisons. We will be saying something now and again during the strike, so now just a few main points which it is for us all about.

We will not go on this way any longer. From the beginning, the goal of isolation was to destroy the prisoners in order to choke out the politics of the RAF. They failed in that because of us - but we won't put up with it any longer. We don't want to put with it any longer; that's how it is. That is our political and existential decision now. Although we have been able to assert ourselves against their destruction-automat, and we have also won something decisively new for ourselves in this situation, there is a limit for us to which the permanent struggle of individuals and the seriously reduced way of life for an imprisoned political group can go. This limit has now been reached. It always worked only for a limited time; that can be seen in the hungerstrike cycles over the years. Through them we defended our identity through the struggle and always brought collectivity alive again in the solitude. Until that which we had fetched for ourselves into the holes through struggle was used up again. We are not going to just add another strike to that now. That is no longer possible; for us, there is nothing now but the material goal.

We want our association together now, and we want also to close this whole long phase with that - and then we want to go further. We will no longer agree to a foreseeable reaction of "isolation will be abolished," that is - cosmetic, single, differentiated adaptations with which the FRG state only wants to get the attacks about isolation off its back and to basically change nothing for us. Not again after this long time. That shall be clear from the very beginning. We always used every little change. We were always ready to take steps. But now there is nothing else except association together.

It is a mistake to believe that the ground can be knocked out from under our fight to come together with a new opening which would maybe called "general population." That only means then a new round. There is absolutely nothing possible except association together.

It is also not only the old any longer - the necessity against isolation and the possibility of a counterstructure under these conditions - nothing remains as it has been in this kiln.

Over time, the demand has taken on a more far-reaching materiality for us. We have only been able to make it through these times because of our relationships to each other and their permanent living development; and in that, our interconnectedness has become a part of us like an arm or a leg. Today, no one can take that away from us - no one can turn that back. It is a materiality created through the struggle against destruction - and thusly one can now simply say: it is the dialectical product of their measures. And after these measures have existed for 18 years in all variations and no "normality" was able to be executed with them, they have to swallow the bitter pill that our association together is for them.

It is already a question of more, not only subjectively, but also in respect to the political development. In reality, there has for a long time been a huge gap between our situation, and with that our possibilities, and what the real situation as a whole demands in order to continue to move forward. Even though we don't have our association together yet, the question of a further, more far-reaching perspective for the political prisoners is already developing. It is about us. They are wanting something of us from all sides. For us, it only works together. And without us, it doesn't work. That should have become clear in the many attempts over the years to do things while by-passing us. We want to take part in the whole political discussion now. That is the other side of association together.

New questions have arisen out of a whole series of developments here and internationally. On the whole, a new stage has been reached in the conflict, in which everywhere, on both sides, the goals, the formulation of politics, the formation for the struggle is being taken up anew. It is also a reflection of the fact that the question of the prisoners is being raised anew from both sides here. The state is bringing pardons, state-conforming groups want amnesty - and the revolutionary resistance is again raising that freedom for the political prisoners must be won. We also think the time is ripe for this debate. But it will only be moved forward in a process of discussion and practice where revolutionary politics become a new real factor. Our struggle for association together shall now become part of that. Out of many beginnings in the last year, out of the openness and the will which cuts across the various groups in the resistance, we believe a new unity in revolutionary struggle is possible.

The degeneration of the left since the end of the 70's is now showing a reversal already. The struggle in the metropolis can also come into the international struggle as a new factor. And then real new possibilities will also be opened up in the FRG. We hope so.

For us, association together comes first now. Then we want the discussion about the whole situation - and about our freedom. For us, the situation is intensifying practically around us.

Because our goal is, of course, freedom. We don't want to establish a part of a political organization in prison; a counter-structure as prisoners is certainly not our ultimate happiness.

We believe it is possible then to take on our freedom as a realistic goal. There is consensus among us around that point.

In order to see how it should develop further, how that can be made concrete, we have to be together. We have determined association together as a transition.

We are now taking on a new form of collective struggle. In the last strike, they made a new law with which they wanted to eliminate hungerstrikes as a means for us. The "coma law." That means that the will and the decision-making capacity to keep on struggling should be taken from the ones in a coma in a long drawn-out medical-technical manipulation in the intensive care unit. That means, furthermore, for the struggle as a whole, that they want to bring the critical development and decision onto a narrow timeframe, practically onto the one point where many of us, after two or three months, are simultaneously close to the edge. Then maybe several would die, but then in a short, frontal confrontation--and they would "endure" it--like they said last time. And then, as they see it, it is over.

And that would also mean that the means of struggle would be turned against us politically. Because, in this simultaneous culmination for us all, the question of the sense and goal would be thrown back at us. When many are dead, how will the others then want to be together.

We will turn that against them and carry on a long drawn-out struggle.

Each of us is the collective.

We are going to begin together. Then after two weeks, we are going to go over into a chain. All except two will temporarily interrupt the strike; then after two more weeks, the next two will join in again, and then the next two after two more weeks, and further on.

We're not letting go any more until we have association together. We demand:

Association together of all prisoners from the guerrilla and resistance in one or two large groups, in which new prisoners would be integrated, with access to common yard exercise with all prisoners.

Association of all prisoners who are struggling for that.

Release of all prisoners for whom a return to health after sickness, injury, or torture through isolation is impossible under prison conditions.

Release of Gunter Sonnenberg, Claudia Wannersdorfer, Bernd Rossner, Angelika Godér.

Free choice of medical care for all prisoners without staatsschutz control.

Open political information and communication for prisoners with all groups in society.

For the prisoners from the RAF,
Helmut Pohl

February 1, 1989

**The names of the two comrades who have been striking since February 1, 1989, are: Karl Heinz Dellwo, and Christa Eckes. These comrades joined the indefinite strike on March 1, 1989.

LEST WE FORGETJULY

- 2, 1925: Birth of Patrice Lumumba, who led the Congo (now Zaire) to independence.
- 4, 1900: Birth of Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong, famed trumpeter.
- 9, 1893: The world's first successful operation in modern times on the human heart was performed by Dr. Daniel Hale Williams at Provident Hospital in Chicago.
- 10, 1875: Mary McLeod Bethune, educator, founder of Bethune-Cookman College, and human rights leader, was born in Mayesville, South Carolina.
- 10, 1941: Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton, pianist, composer, and jazz historian, died in Los Angeles.
- 11, 1905: The Niagara Movement was founded by Ida B. Wells, William Monroe Trotter, W.E.B. DuBois, and others.
- 12-17, 1967: In Newark, N.J., 23 people were killed and 1,500 injured during an uprising which spread over more than one third of the city.
- 14, 1848: Antonio Maceo, a Cuban of Afrikan ancestry, who led the campaign for Cuban independence from Spain, was born.
- 16, 1862: Birth of Ida B. Wells.
- 18, 1918: Birth of Nelson Mandela.



LOUIS ARMSTRONG (1900-1971)

JULY

- 18-22, 1964: Five day uprising in Harlem is among the first in the decade to manifest the revolutionary nationalist aspirations of Afrikans in the U.S.
- 20-21, 1896: National Federation of Afro-American Women founded in Washington, D.C. The delegates included Miss Rosetta Sprague, daughter of Frederick Douglass, and Harriet Tubman. Next day the Federation merged with the Colored Women's League to create the National Association of Colored Women, electing Mary Church Terrell, president. The Association set up girls' homes, hospitals and other social agencies through its local chapters.
- 20, 1925: Birth of Frantz Fanon.
- 20-23, 1967: More than 1,000 persons attended the first Black Power Conference in Newark, N.J. The Conference called for the "partitioning of the United States into two separate independent nations," one of which was to be the homeland for Afrikans on the North American continent.
- 23-25, 1900: Afrikans and people of Afrikan ancestry from around the world met in London for the first Pan-Afrikan Congress. The conveners included H. Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. DuBois and Bishop Alexander Walters.
- 23-30, 1967: A major uprising in Detroit resulted in 43 deaths, 2,000 injuries, and over \$45 million in property damage.
- 25, 1972: Details were made public regarding the infamous "Tuskegee Experiment": Six hundred Afrikans in Alabama were induced to serve as guinea pigs in a study begun in 1932 by the U.S. Public Health Service. The purpose of the study was to determine from autopsies the effects of untreated syphilis on the human body.

**MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE**

JULY

27, 1970: Babatunde X Omarwali: A member of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Babatunde was a shining example of our many revolutionary brothers who have turned from being used as cannon fodder by the U.S. military to become dedicated soldiers in service to the oppressed community as Black Liberation Fighters. Babatunde joined the Party in Chicago after serving two years in the U.S. Army and quickly became one of its best organizers. In the summer of 1970, he had just returned to Chicago from the Cairo-Carbondale area after organizing a National Committee to Combat Fascism office there. On July 27, 26-year-old Babatunde's remains were "found" lying across railroad tracks in a deserted area of the city by Chicago police...They could do so because it was the police themselves who murdered him and placed his body on the railroad tracks.

28, 1970: Carl Hampton was the Chairman (coordinator) of the People's Party II, a revolutionary organization in Houston, Texas. Carl was the motivating force of the small organization which followed the example and the policies of the Black Panther Party. At the time, the BPP was not organizing in the South, so Carl, seeing the need for a party that would serve the people's needs and desires, started the People's Party...Culminating a series of incidents on July 28, 1970, Houston police surrounded the Dowling Street area where the People's Party II office was located and attacked the entire community. Carl was killed at 2:00 a.m. in defense of it.

31, 1914: Marcus Garvey founds the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.).

31, 1961: The Honorable Elijah Muhammad calls for the creation of a separate state for Afrikans in America, in a New York speech.

** This column contains information from: LEST WE FORGET, by Safiya Bukari, and the "This WEEK in History" section of the New York THE CITY SUN.

PATRICE LUMUMBA'S LAST LETTER

(To His Wife, Pauline)

My Beloved companion:

I write you these words without knowing whether they will ever reach you, or when they will reach you, and whether I will still be alive when you read them. All through my struggle for the independence of my country, I have never doubted for a single instant that in the end the sacred cause to which my comrades and I have devoted our whole lives would triumph. But what we wanted for our country--its right to an honorable life, to a dignity without a blemish, to an independence without restrictions--Belgian colonialism and its Western allies, who found direct and indirect, deliberate and non-deliberate support among certain high officials of the United Nations (that body in which we placed all our trust when we called upon it for assistance), have never wanted.

They have corrupted certain of our compatriots, they have bought others, they have done their part in twisting the truth and sullyng our independence. What else can I say? That whether I am dead, alive, free, or in prison by order of the colonialists, it is not my person that counts. It is the Congo, it is our poor people whose independence has been turned into a cage in which we are looked at from outside the bars, sometimes with charitable compassion, sometimes with joy and delight....

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, and the free and freed peoples in every corner of the earth will always be found at the side of the millions of Congolese who will not abandon the struggle until the day when there will be no more colonizers and no more of their mercenaries in our country. To my children whom I leave behind and whom I may perhaps not see again, I want people to say that the future of the Congo is beautiful and that it expects them as it expects every Congolese, to fulfill the sacred task of reconstructing our independence and our sovereignty; for without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men....

History will have its say some day, but it will not be the history that is taught in the United Nations, in Washington, Paris, or Brussels, but the one that is taught in the countries that have freed themselves of colonialism and its puppets. Africa will write its own history, and both north and south of the Sahara it will be a history full of glory and dignity.

Do not weep for me, my companion--I know that my country, now suffering so much, will be able to defend its independence and its freedom.

Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!

Patrice

January, 1961

UPDATES AND CHECK THESE OUT

** CR has recently learned that New Afrikan POWs Sundiata Acoli and Sekou Odinga have been administratively charged with attempting to escape from Leavenworth federal prison. We're sure that there's no substance to these charges. Hopefully, We'll have more details on the matter, and information on how the comrades can be supported, in the next issue of CR.

** Charges remain against four of the original eight defendants in the "Ohio 7" seditious conspiracy trial. Barbara Curzi-Laaman was severed from the case when the court suppressed the evidence against her. However, charges against her are still pending. Raymond Luc Levasseur, Patricia Levasseur and Richard Williams are now undergoing trial on two RICO counts and one count of seditious conspiracy.

** Puerto Rican POW Elizam Escobar has an article, "Juan Antonia Corretjer: Poet and Political Thinker," in LEFT CURVE, No. 13. Available for \$6 from: P.O. Box 472, Oakland, CA 94604.

** Ed Mead and Paul Wright are planning to republish the quarterly RED DRAGON journal, a newsletter of prison news and analysis from a Marxist perspective. The journal will contain analysis, tactical and strategic, on various forms of struggle, including armed struggle. It will also contain information of an internationalist nature, of struggles and conditions in prisons around the world. For more information on how to receive and/or contribute to RED DRAGON, write: Edward A. Mead, #251397, P.O. Box 777, Monroe, WA 98272; Paul A. Wright, #930783, P.O. Box 520, 8-C-14, Walla Walla, WA 99362.

** Paul Wright was transferred from the prison in Monrow to Walla Walla "in retaliation for having participated in a class

action suit against double-celling and bad conditions at the prison in Monroe. To justify this repression (I have a clean disciplinary record) I was accused of various 'revolutionary and subversive' activities, including the RED DRAGON, and supposedly 'developing an international revolutionary network that advocates armed resistance to the U.S. government'."

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