

DRAGON - FIRE

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

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RACIST COP GUNS DOWN BLACK YOUTH IN BED-STUY BROOKLYN

Randy Evans, a fifteen year old Black youth was gunned down, MURDERED by a white police officer on the night of Nov. 25th, Thanksgiving Day. The cop shot the young brother in the head at point blank range with his 38 caliber pistol. Powder burns had been found on the brother's head which indicated that the maximum distance from the gun to Randy Evans' head was 18 inches. Witnesses at the scene of the murderous assault stated how Randy and a couple of his friends were outside the project grounds of the Cypress Hills Housing Development at 515 Fountain Avenue in East New York, Brooklyn, when this pig Robert Torsney from N.Y.P.D. and five others came out of an apartment house on an assignment. Randy Evans asked the the cop, "Are you coming from 7D", when the cop turned toward the brother and said, "Damn right", pulled out his pistol and shot the brother in the head. Robert Torsney then turned and walked to his patrol car almost running.



any cop
u.s.a.

our youth

The people in the community reported how the brother's body laid on the gutter for over fifteen minutes before he was taken to the hospital and pronounced dead. Witnesses also reported how cops went to the nearby rooftops, after the shooting, allegedly looking for a sniper, who they say might have killed the brother.

Clearly this was part of an attempted coverup of the racist police murder by new york's swine. The police also did not make official reports and investigations of the crime for over nine hours, obviously they were stalling for time trying to fabricate some scheme for their fellow officer Torsney.

It is common practice for police to commit murders and have their partners help them to produce weapons and fabricate stories so that they can receive their usual, justifiable homicide. This is historical when it comes to murdering Black youth, Black men and women in amerikkka. The Black colony has always been a hunting ground where mad dog police run wild carrying out the orders of the capitalist ruling class. They have a license to kill and against a relatively defenseless Black colony, it's an open season.

-COMMUNITY RESPONDS-

This attack obviously insensed the Black community. We know that at any time this kind of attack can occur on our children. We remembered Clifford Glover, Claude Reese, Ricky Boden, Otto Lee and many others. The community once again took to the streets demonstrating in front of the police station on Sutter Avenue where the mad dog cop worked out of. People were protesting the fact that Robert Torsney was out on a bail of \$20,000. posted by the policemen's benevolent association (PBA), whose president arrogantly talked about Torsneys "unblemished record" and how he was "carrying out his duty". Clearly, history has shown that exterminating Black people in amerikkka is a policeman's duty!

During the demonstration, the youth pelted the precinct with rocks and bottles chanting "kill the pig". The cops in the precinct responded by attacking women who were on the picket line.

One sister, Mrs. Virginia Woods was hit in the eye and another sister, Barbara Cromer was busted in the head and required several stitches.

At the wake and funeral, Monday night and Tuesday morning, at the First Baptist Church on Rogers Avenue and Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, over 2,000 people attended. It was a showing of love and solidarity for the dead Brother Randy Evans and his greived family.

Ministers who spoke at the funeral clearly picked up the mood of the people and expressed the necessity to organize Black people to combat the outrageous attacks of police officers. One minister, Rev. Timothy Mitchell spoke of building a national coalition of African ministers in the u.s. and in south africa to fight for the total liberation of Black people. To all of our people present the connection with the murder and repression of Afrikan people in Soweto, south africa, and the murder and repression of Black people in Brooklyn, New York was as clear as day. The killing of Randy Evans, a fifteen year old brother will burn in our hearts and minds, raising our consciousness and sharpen our determination as a struggling people to inflict a maximum political consequence on our ENEMIES!!!

In Struggle, We Will Win!

Zimbabwe guerillas speak

(Reprinted in part from Michigan Free Press, October 24, 1976, and November 28, 1976).

The US corporate media are now filled with Henry Kissinger's exploits in southern Africa, particularly his attempts to negotiate a settlement for majority rule in Rhodesia. But what do Zimbabwean liberation fighters think of this proposed settlement plan? What are the guerillas fighting for?

The following interview with Dzin- ashe Machingura, deputy political commissar of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) begins to answer these questions. The interview was conducted by the Mozambique Information Agency and released in Maputo, Mozambique September 22, 1976. It has been shortened somewhat by MFP. These are the first public statements made by a member of the leadership of ZIPA.

QUESTION: What is the Zimbabwe People's Army and how was it formed?

MACHINGURA: The Zimbabwe People's Army is a product of the voluntary merger of the military wing of the former ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and the military wing of the former ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union). It was formed for the purpose of rescuing the Zimbabwe liberation struggle from the chaotic situation that had been created by the ANC (African National Council) leadership. It is an armed body, which was formed for the purpose of resuming and intensifying the armed struggle, and carrying it to its logical conclusion, establishing a just and popular socio-political order serving the interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

After the Lusaka agreement in December, 1974, the four nationalist organizations fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe (ZANU, ZAPU, ANC, FROLIZI) came together under one

umbrella, the ANC. But in the course of time, the leadership which was formed at that time through the Lusaka agreement failed to organize itself in negotiating with the Smith regime, and failed to set in motion machinery that would prosecute and realize the liberation of Zimbabwe through armed struggle.

THE FIGHTERS realized the incompetence of the ANC leadership, and they took it upon themselves to organize themselves, to reconstitute themselves into an army that would fight for the independence of the Zimbabwean people. The combatants from both former ZANU and former ZAPU agreed to form a joint military command that would lead the armed struggle. After this agreement they approached the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and the front-line (Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola, Zambia and Botswana) Heads of State, who appreciated and actively supported this joint military command.

The joint military command was formed on the understanding that the liberation of Zimbabwe could only be realized through an arduous armed struggle; secondly, on the understanding that the traditional political leadership of Zimbabwe had divided the people of Zimbabwe. It became quite clear to us that if we were ever going to be able to prosecute a successful armed struggle we could not be a party to either of the two rival ANC factions, the Muzorewa faction or the Nkomo faction. We realized that the time for personality politics had long passed. It was this approach to politics which had divided the Zimbabwe people.

QUESTION: Does ZIPA have a political structure and leadership?

MACHINGURA: ZIPA is an army in the traditional sense of the word. But ZIPA is a unique and revolutionary army in the sense that it has a strategic role of transforming itself into a political movement. The ZIPA structure accommodates the shouldering of both the military and the political tasks of the revolution. We have, within the ZIPA structure, a political department exclusively charged with the responsibility of shouldering the political tasks that are normally shouldered by a revolutionary political organization.

IN THE HISTORY of revolutionary struggles we find examples that closely approximate our own situation. For example, in the course of their struggles, at one time or another, depending on the stage of their revolution, the political leadership was identical to the military leadership of the organizations fighting for freedom in China, in Cuba, in Korea, in Vietnam and in many other countries.

But we have to establish a formal political structure in order to give better political direction to the armed body that is now fighting inside Zimbabwe. And moves to do this are already well underway; moves to transform this organization into a revolutionary vanguard for the people's struggle.

QUESTION: Has it been possible to establish liberated or semi-liberated zones in Zimbabwe?

MACHINGURA: We can say that at this stage we have managed to establish semi-liberated zones in the sense that, although the political and administrative infrastructure is not yet fully organized, the enemy has no control whatsoever in these areas.

Zimbabwe (continued)

The masses are fully mobilized and organized, and are fully behind the armed struggle that is now being waged by the freedom fighters. We also feel that establishing liberated areas at this stage would be presenting the enemy with many targets vulnerable to air strikes.

QUESTION: How has ZIPA organized a political infrastructure inside Zimbabwe to mobilize the people?

MANCHINGURA: The masses are organized in units and they are democratically conducting their day-to-day business under the leadership of ZIPA. In each unit we have a section of dedicated people and we have also managed to establish mass organizations — for students, for children, for women, peasants and workers.

QUESTION: Does this political structure extend into the cities?

MANCHINGURA: Our strategy has been that of fighting from the countryside, encircling the cities. As far as the rural areas are concerned, this structure is quite organized. But because of the existing conditions it has not been possible for these organizations to come out into the open in the cities. They are still clandestine. But they are there.

QUESTION: What about the possibilities for urban guerilla struggle?

MANCHINGURA: We do not conceive of urban guerilla warfare as being divorced from the guerilla war we are carrying out in the countryside. Urban guerilla warfare can only play a supplementary role to the guerilla operations organized in the countryside.

QUESTION: The regime regularly claims that the liberation fighters have committed atrocities against the African population. What do you have to say about this?

MANCHINGURA: The Smith regime brands us as terrorists, therefore they have to find something to justify this definition. But we are a people's army. We are not terrorists. Civilians are not the targets of our attacks.

THE REGIME itself has organized the Selous Scouts to carry out atrocities against the people while masquerading as freedom fighters. This is widespread, but not so much in the semi-liberated zone, because we are in control there and the masses can clearly distinguish the true freedom fighters from the sham freedom fighters of the regime.

QUESTION: Many Zimbabweans are fighting in the Smith regime's army. Why, and what is ZIPA's attitude toward them? Are any of them deserting to join the guerillas?

MANCHINGURA: It is true that thousands of Zimbabweans are fighting in the racist regime's army. This is because of blackmail and conscription. The people are blackmailed into serving the Smith regime in search of social security. They want to guarantee the security of their families. They want to earn a livelihood and have no alternative, with all other employment opportunities denied them, but to serve in the racist army. It has also become clear of late that the Smith regime is actually conscripting Africans into its army by force.

ZIPA'S ATTITUDE is that those who join Smith's army are misguided Zimbabweans. They need to be doubly liberated. First they need to be liberated from the national oppression. They are oppressed just like any other Zimbabwean. Secondly, they need to be liberated from the oppression they suffer within the racist army. They occupy an inferior position in the racist army. So we sympathize with them. Our struggle is to liberate all oppressed Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe today.

Recently the number of deserters from the racist army joining the ZIPA ranks has risen to astronomical proportions. Hundreds and hundreds of them come to our ranks. Some of them with their weapons.

QUESTION: How does ZIPA define the enemy? What is the target of the freedom fighters' bullets?

MANCHINGURA: A clear understanding of the character of our society, the nature of our revolution and the fundamental contradiction in our society is essential to the definition of the enemy.

OUR SOCIETY is essentially a colonial society and as such we have to wage a national democratic revolution to overthrow national oppression. This national democratic revolution will serve to reconcile the principal contradiction in Zimbabwe which is characterized by the domination and oppression of the vast majority of the Zimbabwean people by a small minority, racist, reactionary clique of whites.

From this we can say that all those who are opposed to the liberation and the independence of the Zimbabwean people are our enemies. These comprise the Smith racist regime, and the imperialist powers that back it, puppet Africans serving the Smith regime, and all those who are opposed to the independence of the Zimbabwean people. The target of the freedom fighters' bullets is the system of exploitation and the capitalist enterprises and armed personnel which serve to perpetuate it.

QUESTION: It is clear that since the beginning of this year the ZIPA forces have stepped up the armed struggle. Has this been done only in terms of the geographical area affected by the war, that is to say, is it only a matter of extending the war to a wider area, or has the war been intensified in the sense of achieving higher combat effectiveness?

MANCHINGURA: It is true that there has been considerable expansion of the geographical area covered by our guerilla struggle. But the quantitative growth of the war has also given rise to the qualitative development and transformation of this same war.

THE ENEMY is now generally on the defensive. The enemy has now employed the strategy of not dispersing its forces, so as to minimize the danger of ambushes on patrols and to minimize the dangers of surprise attacks on small encamped units without permanent fortification. This has forced the enemy to concentrate its forces in large fortified camps and to deploy its forces in big convoys.

(ZIMBABWE...CONTINUED)

To continue the war we have to develop it to a stage of attacking the garrisoned enemy, and to raise the level of tactics to ambushing large enemy convoys. Therefore there was an imperative need for a qualitative change in our struggle. This we have realized and carried out through operating in bigger military units, which has been possible because of the qualitative development of the consciousness of the masses, who are serving as our camouflage, as our intelligence system and as our quartermasters.

Now, more than nine months since the emergence of ZIPA and its initial successes on the battlefield the army is for the first time presenting to the world its political face. From its communiques, and more recently in interviews and press conferences broadcast over Maputo radio, ZIPA has elucidated its position on a number of issues, among them:

— **Detente.** ZIPA maintains that the Lusaka Agreement and the "so-called dialogue between Kaunda and Vorster" nearly destroyed the Zimbabwe revolution, now redeemed by the army;

— **Political Role.** In its "first statement to the world" over Maputo radio on September 22, ZIPA confirmed that it had set up effective "political structures in order to give better political direction to the armed body now fighting inside Zimbabwe." A later message said the army was "in the process of transforming itself into a revolutionary political party."

— **Ideology.** ZIPA has avoided calling itself "socialist" or "communist," preferring to say simply that it seeks to destroy "the present system of exploitation," which it identifies as capitalism. The army also released a ten-point political program in late October, calling for a government of national unity, equitable distribution of land, freedom of religion and of the press, and a non-aligned foreign policy.

— **Transfer of Power.** The high command has stated repeatedly and unequivocally, "We either completely seize power or political power is unconditionally surrendered to the people of Zimbabwe." It rejects any interim government in which there is "participation of any reactionary,

racist and fascist regime." The army says also that the introduction of any peace-keeping force comprised of foreign troops will be unacceptable, and that it will keep up its military campaign against the white regime until power resides in the hands of the African majority.

MILITARY PRESSURE

The blueprint for an independent Zimbabwe would seem to call essentially for a tri-partite government, with ZIPA assuming a major role and sharing power with ZANU and ZAPU, whose "patriotic alliance" they have described as "sensible." But the army is not so concerned for the moment with the distribution of portfolios in an independent Zimbabwe. The business at hand is the waging of the military campaign that they insist is the essential ingredient for the attainment of genuine independence.

ZIPA ITSELF HAS remained silent about the recent Rhodesian raids into Mozambique — attacks that Salisbury claims wiped out a number of guerilla bases. Mozambican government sources, however, have said that ZIPA's only two permanent facilities in the country are far from the border area and were not involved in the Rhodesian incursion. BBC correspondent Tony Avirgan reported from Maputo that some smaller encampments were hit, but that the guerillas were long gone before the Rhodesian soldiers arrived.

Avirgan cited the participation in the raids of Black Rhodesian troops dressed in the uniforms of Mozambican soldiers. Now ZIPA charges that the Smith regime is using a similar technique inside Rhodesia: dressing commandoes up as guerillas and using them to terrorize African villagers, in an effort to erode ZIPA's base of support. In a recent official statement the army said that these masqueraders have been guilty of many of the atrocities — including the burning of crops and other economic sabotage — which the white government has blamed on the guerillas.

ZIPA propaganda says the forces of the white regime, now weakened and demoralized, are engaging in desperate attempts to internationalize the conflict. ZIPA has declared that its "victory is certain," but avoids the setting of a timetable. They take the same position offered by former ZANU army commander Josiah Tongogara in a recent interview with the *Financial Mail* (South Africa): "The protractedness of the struggle purifies everything." The longer ZIPA fights, the greater the chance that it will create a lasting unity among Zimbabwe's nationalist forces.



AFRICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY PROPOSES A NATIONAL AFRICAN P.O.W. ALLIANCE

(The following statement was given by Saladine Muhammad of African Peoples' Party in October at the East in Brooklyn in support of Sister Assata Shakur and all African prisoners-of-war in general. His rap was a call for Black prison organizations and legal defense committees combining forces to build a P.O.W. alliance).

Governmental conspiracies against Black political activists, be they local, state, or national is an issue that affects all of us irrespective of our various organizational and ideological persuasions, and if we are truly serious about the involvement of our people in struggle and particularly the emergence of their political activism, then we must view the building of a unified mass movement for the defense of Black political prisoners of war as being paramount.

The issue of police frame-ups, attacks and incarceration of Black political activists is a political question whose sole aim is the destruction of the Black liberation movement. COINTELPRO tells us that, if we study it, we will see very clearly that the Malcolm's, King's, Hampton's, and Assata's, Zayd's, Sundiata's and Ahmad's were no mere co-incidents but well-planned governmental conspiracies to eliminate Black leadership from the movement.

The limited success of the many different defense committees within the Black movement in dealing with the political prisoner of war question clearly points to the need of having a predominant political and ideological line of struggle to unite the many factions of the various organizations and individuals. This dominant political line would place into proper political perspective the many developments and issues that will occur in the course of our struggle and thus elevate to its rightful political level the frame-ups, attacks and incarceration of Black political activists, and not simply allow them to be threatened as isolated cases of police abuse carried out by a so-called "few corrupt cops" as they would have us believe.

A people's national self-confidence

(conscious will to struggle) is of the utmost importance for their survival and key for the success of their national liberation struggle. We must realize that every uncontested attack on the Black liberation movement by this racist power can lead to the re-inforcement of the domestic colonial psychology of our people that tells us that we can't defeat our oppressor and achieve true liberation unless there is some kind of miracle. Understanding this, the question of being able to defend Black political activist (true symbols of our people's courage to struggle) from frame-ups, murders and also secure the release of Black political prisoners of war becomes a major and immediate task which must be accomplished if we are to truly move forward in our struggle.

Sister Assata Shakur's courageous and historical actions of struggle is a prime example of the conscious and unconscious desperation of over 40 million domestically colonized Afrikan people inside the united states to be free and have a better life. It is the desperation of the mothers and fathers to feed, clothe and shelter their families. It is the desperation of a people crying out for justice in the courts, quality education and health care. And it is the desperation which produces the war cry of all those brothers and sisters behind the walls that they will never be defeated.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

We must build a national Afrikan Prisoners of War Alliance. This Alliance must be part of an Afrikan National Liberation Front (ANLF) in order to have the broadest base of support possible and to be reflective of a predominant political and ideological line of Revolutionary Nationalist struggle. Being apart of the ANLF would enable the Alliance to maintain contact with other forces and to coordinate its actions with other forms of Revolutionary Nationalist struggles.

NATIONAL AFRICAN P.O.W. ALLIANCE--Continued

This Alliance must be capable of combining the individual efforts of the many different defense committees into an overall movement for the defense of Black political activists and the release of Black political prisoners of war without dissolving the respective defense committees and campaigns.

This Alliance must be anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist with a collective leadership and democratic centralist process of organization, deriving from its unifying statement of principles.

This Alliance must seek to root itself into and recruit into its ranks and leadership the Black working class in order that it may apply the greatest amount of pressure possible on this racist monopoly-capitalist system for its demands. It would also be a major line of defense against any fascist acts of repression on the Alliance itself and those brothers and sisters incarcerated behind the walls. The building of such an Alliance will take much hard work, patience and a contin-

uous struggle against the sectarian tendencies which have us respond subjectively to the frame-ups and attacks on political activist outside of our respective organization and cities.

For all those brothers and sisters who have died, are in political exile, behind the walls, because of your will to struggle, we want you to know, that it was not and will never be in vain, because the developing national and political consciousness of our people and the realization of the need for a mass Revolutionary Nationalist Black Political Party to lead our struggle to victory is certain.

Revolutionary Black Nationalism (Internationalism) must become the ideology which charts the course of our National Democratic Revolution, and a Revolutionary Black Nationalist Party must become the revolutionary center and instrument which guides us through its various stages to victory. For Sister Assata Shakur and all Black political prisoners of war, STRUGGLE UNITES US WHEREVER WE ARE.

BIGGEST INDUSTRY IN U.S.

So what is the fastest growing industry around? Armaments!

This fact has been confirmed by an article in the November issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, a liberal scientists' publication. U.S. arms exports under the foreign military sales program, according to the article, have risen from \$798 million in 1968 to \$9.5 billion in 1975--a leap of 1,200 percent!

Quoting the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the article illustrates how U.S. imperialism is the major supplier of arms abroad, delivering a total of \$31.6 billion worth of weaponry to other countries between 1965 and 1974, just under 50 percent of all arms traded on the international market. The article also points out that the role of the U.S. in peddling murder machines is not likely to decline either, since new foreign military sales orders currently outstrip actual deliveries "by a factor of three to one."

In past depressions, it took new developments such as the railroad, the steam boat, and the airplane to generate capitalist recovery. But now, boxed in by its own inherent contradictions, the capitalist system has no place to go but to rely more and more on the parasitic, uncontrollable and ever-growing military monster. The one and only purpose of armaments is to make war. The continuing slump exerts tremendous pressure on the ruling class to put these weapons to work, unleashing more imperialist wars of aggression in a desperate attempt to save their faltering system.

(From Workers World - November 26)

BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD !!

In Philadelphia, a mass campaign is developing uniting the Black community and workers in a common struggle against cutbacks in the South Eastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (S.E.P.T.A.). Proposed by SEPTA was a fare increase to 50 cents which raised an immediate outcry in the community and was pulled back from by SEPTA manag. Nevertheless, this did not make up for poor and inadequate service, which included hour long waits for transportation, and accidents due to faulty equipment. As a result of the above and cutting of service on rt. #48, a community meeting was called on Aug. 23rd led by the Black Cadre Family. Also participating was the Black Workers Support Comm. and the African Peoples Party. The demonstration by these forces in the community forced SEPTA officials to relent to community pressures and restore services. Not long after SEPTA once more announced cuts involving 23 trolley and bus routes at nite and day service cuts too. A call was put out to organizations to unite and develop a city-wide coalition with the community and workers. The coalition made 4 demands consisting of reinstatement of services, rehiring of workers, no fare increase and a board of community people and rank and file workers.

The coalition did plenty of community canvassing (door to door rapping, leafletting etc) This was to culminate into a move against two of the largest depots in Phil.

Outside of the depot at 27th and Allegheny, the workers took an active role, honored the picket lines and refused to drive the buses out of the depot. At the other major depot (10th and Lazerne) the Area organizing Coalition composed of P.U.S.H., Nice-town Civic Ass., Ali Shabazz and the African Peoples Party gave support to Black drivers who, refusing to be intimidated by SEPTA off. chanted slogans and mingled with the demonstrators.

A.P.P. and Black workers maintained constructive communications for worker-community unity and the need for a Black workers independent organization.

SEPTA's losses were estimated at 1 million dollars with more to come!!

There have been over 40 arrests and at least two beatings since the onset of this. In spite of this, the people in the community continue to build, mobilize and educate, through meetings held in workplaces, schools and churches for further actions!

"WE WILL WIN"



from:

Behind-the-Wall

This will be a regular column for brothers and sisters behind-the-wall to communicate individually or collectively on issues important to all.

TOWARDS POLITICAL PRISONERS REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

This letter is to all brothers and sisters who responded to our general proposal to petition the United Nations, who recognize the need for our struggle/prison movement to develop into a formidable force of revolutionary political conscious prisoners in an organizational structure of national proportion and international significance.

Since we began the U.N. petition, we've gained hundreds of endorsements from locked-down brothers and sisters, and solidarity-support from many prison-related groups. All of which is good for our task, but in order to substantiate our gain, to practically take in account the words of support and endorsement, it would be necessary to provide such groups and individuals with particular areas of work upon which their support can be manifested in political (concrete) work towards our objective, and the need of our struggle in the prison movement.

We feel that our objective will not succeed without the arduous support of those brothers and sisters in whose name we claim responsible to/for. We feel that no prison organization can be or develop without the support of prisoners, nor should any organization speak in the name of political prisoners of war if such an organization does not compose of the membership of those POWs. Therefore, in accepting these attitudes as a policy in our endeavors we are calling for all progressive revolutionary-politically conscious brothers and sisters in koncentration camps throughout amerikkka to become involved in building a national prison organization that will compose of the many progressive/revolutionary prison-related groups/collectives/alliances and unions across the country.

In the first petition letter sent to brothers and sisters across the country, it related the need to build strong lines of communication among prisoners and between us and supporters based in the outside communities; also to revitalize our movement nationally with unified goals and objectives and defined principles and policies, and that the petition campaign to the U.N. is a way to build communication and structure. Thus far, our area of communication and dialogue has been great. What is now necessary is for us to begin establishing means to secure the network of communication, to build it into an organizational structure of information ties and links between prison-related groups/collectives and intra-prison, county to county, state to state, until we've built a durable communication apparatus of prison information/news. Therefore much of our work and attention should be directed towards building close ties with those groups in the immediate area of the kamp you're held captive, and to have that group contact, establish a dialogue, and build responsible and principled relationship with other groups in your county or state, or for the particular groups you're associated with to get involved with our U.N. petition campaign and UPU.

It is our faith that we as politically conscious prisoners should determine the direction and development of our struggle - from the inside out, and not the outside in. Therefore, it is preponderant on us to become conscious of our own organizational potential and strength, that building our network of communications is the first step towards building a Political Prisoners Revolutionary Solidarity Movement, a national prisoners organization, a united force of prison-related groups in unity and struggle under a single banner of ideological philosophy and perspective, goals and objectives and defined principles and policies.

Brothers and sisters, we have begun a monumental task of national proportion and international significance; what has been started can develop into an organizational force far beyond the UN petition in itself, to carry our struggle and prison movement into the crux of the class and national liberation struggle in this country, only if we consciously take the steps towards organization that is politically disciplined in struggle to surmount the many difficulties and obstacles that may confront us; that provides the correct ideological perspective and gives concrete directives towards the goals and objectives to attain in struggle. Brothers and sisters, we are appealing for you to recognize the need for organization in our struggle/prison movement and the necessary leadership to direct such organization to success in struggle and the victory of class and national liberation. If we should fail to recognize our responsibility as politically conscious prisoners, and fail to exert our energies towards building the necessary apparatus to motivate and organize our struggle, we have, in essence betrayed the revolution and our right to freedom and self-determination.

Build to win,

Anthony Bottom...B-39993...Tamal, Ca 94964

FROM ROBERT 35X/RASUL SULEIMAN---RAHWAY PRISON

It seems that the name changes but the game remains the same. And the name of the game is--to keep the men in prison; don't let them go free. This is the genocide that was spoken of and we were too blind to see. All across the country the prisons are full of young, old men and all in between ages--rotting away, not being able to procreate and keep the races going...Black, Latino, Native American.

Out in the streets there is one of the same problems that exists here and that is the t.v. After a hard day's work of fighting the enemy on every level we come home and all of the anger and firm resolutions are lost in the fantasy of t.v. One can't pay the rent or get a job, can't or won't study, isn't involved in the political, social or the civic running of his or her community, but they watch the hell out of t.v. In here it's the same thing. A brother gets shipped out or beat up, the canteen prices go up while the wages remain the same and no medical treatment. But everyone forgets after a night of watching the 'boob tube' or the 'control center'--the t.v. All the emotion is drained out of us. We stay up all night watching the late shows, getting all upset over the day shows while our real show never gets on the road. Since the death of Al-Hajj Malik, many feel because there is none to articulate the problem that it no longer exists. Because none speak of the enemy they forget that there is an enemy, yet we can all be lulled to sleep and not even realize it until some traumatic event brings us to our senses.

Noone likes a loser and whenever an individual becomes our leader or spokesman and he or she is jailed, killed, exiled or goes over to the enemy it looks as if we are losers. While in reality it's the whole race or mankind fighting to survive. Al-Hajj Malik is gone, Rap is not rapping, and Cleaver did a turn around and no one is in the spot light. Well, the condition of a people will never change until THEY THEMSELVES MAKE A CHANGE!

Message to the Black Movement

A POLITICAL STATEMENT FROM THE BLACK UNDERGROUND
COORDINATING COMMITTEE: THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY

(N.C.D.P.P. will be reprinting the above "message" in a regular series in our newsletter. This is the 2nd series, entitled "View From The Armed Front: The Dialectic of Revolutionary Violence, Law and Reformism".

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Our recognition of the economical contradictions of capital in no way obscures the social and political realities that now confront us and our struggle for Black Liberation. To the contrary, it enhances and deepens our perspective and clarifies the dialectical role of armed struggle in our liberation process.

We have begun to recognize and analyze those forces in a modern technologically advanced society that set our particular struggle apart from other Third World peoples' struggles, as well as the common factors all oppressed people share as a result of U.S. and western imperialism. One such factor that sets our struggle apart from other struggles is the profound influence of organized technology on our consciousness, social relationships and behavior. People who live in the technologically advanced societies of the west have been programmed to perceive their needs as being one in the same as the technology that created these artificial needs. Because the masses of working people do not control this technology, it has been consistently used to manipulate their whole lives. We are told what to buy, what to eat, whom to hate, and what to love by rulers and controllers of an exploitive system. Technology in the context of Capitalism is the ultimate means by which the masses are programmed out of the need for real freedom. A whole social value system has evolved to support the dependence on corporate-state technological control. We no longer know what freedom is - what self-determination is. We perceive the value of competition as being in the natural order of

human relationships, instead of contrary to the fact that man is a social animal more attuned to co-operation than competition. We must create in the course of destroying our system of oppression, whole new value concepts, concepts that exist in dialectical opposition to the values that buttress our oppression - even more than this, we must create a new need within ourselves for freedom, so that we can harness technology in our behalf. As it stands now, Black people cannot even conceive of real freedom; we are afraid of real liberation because we have been programmed to be afraid by racist class oppression. Technology has immensely aided in reinforcing our fear of the dominant ruling circles. We must break this social psychosis.

The B.L.A. has undertaken armed struggle as a means by which the social psychosis of fear, awe, and love of everything white people define as being of value, is purged from our people's minds. Our historical experience in North America has shown us that we as a people have always suffered while the racist ruling circles have never suffered. We have seen throughout our history, pain, blood, rape, exploitation, poverty, our families torn asunder by a cruel and brutal culture; our youth murdered and socially crippled, our women degraded, our lives ever at the mercy of the cold American dream machine. We realize that the results of this historical experience have caused Black people to fear America's capacity for racist violence, and on the other hand, has reinforced the racist ruling circles in their attitudes of arrogance and confidence. The fact that

the majority of whites who are equally oppressed and exploited do not really understand who their real enemy is does not deter us from doing what must be done to break not only our people's mental chains, but theirs as well. We therefore will illustrate in the only terms that the ruling classes understand, the terms of blood - their blood. America must learn that Black people are not the eternal sufferers, the universal prisoners, the only ones who can feel pain. Revolutionary violence is, therefore, not a tactic of struggle, but a strategy. A strategy designed to drive the capitalist system further into crisis, while at the same time forcing all those responsible for oppression to realize that they too can bleed, they too can feel our pain. Only when this is realized, will any just and equal decisions be made, will we be conceded our right to self-determination. As it stands now, the powerful do not believe they can hurt, and therefore, find concession to our demands for liberation ridiculous. Our social/psychotic fear of the racist ruling circles must be purged also, and only by developing our capacity to fight our enemy will this unreasonable and reactionary fear be irradiated from our social psyche. Revolutionary violence is not so much a self-cleansing process as it is a necessary ingredient in creating a psychological frame of mind amongst the ruling classes that our liberation must be granted.

We must clarify revolutionary violence in relationship to our actual condition, because many of our people believe in the "law", or at least the existing code of law of our oppressor. Most people do not see the real relationship between the development of western law and the development of western capitalism, therefore, these people cannot deal with the reality of injustice as being an integral part of the prevailing system. Not a few people misunderstand the objective class function of the courts, the police, and various related institutions in maintaining the illusion of North American democracy.

In a society such as exists here today, law is never impartial, never divorced from the economical relationships that brought it about. History clearly shows that in the course of the development of modern western society, the code of law is the code of the dominant and most powerful class, made into laws for everyone. It is implemented by establishing "special" armed organs, that are obliged to enforce the prevailing class laws. In this historical period of human social development such is the objective function of "law". Under such conditions of the most powerful economic and political classes. But, what about the law in a democracy, especially one that claims that all its citizens can elect their representatives who in turn can create new laws? First of all, such a democracy does not exist in North America; bourgeois democracy is essentially the dictatorship of what used to be termed the "national bourgeoisie". There are a combination of reasons as to why this form of democracy as such is merely a means of political control that evinces a design to subjugate its people; all of these reasons flow from the necessity to maintain exploitive capitalist relationships. Thus, the influence of corporate wealth on the politics of bourgeois democracy is merely an extension of private property's traditional influence and control of the so-called democratic process. The constant co-optation by ruling classes of the masses of working people, coupled with their complete control of technology and information, renders the so-called democratic process null and void. To a greater degree all social and political institutions in a class society are reflections of the class organization of that society of the reflection of a given technological-economical arrangement and its supporting value system. The political organization of the most powerful classes or economic groups in a class society has to be, and is, the control by these classes over the entire society and its political system. We have found the democratic process under capitalism to be mere-

ly a means by which capital controls the masses. It is a means of mass division, designed to keep the powerless classes politically impotent while at the same time fostering the illusion that real power can be gained through the electoral process. Black people should know better. In a nation based on the false principle of majority rule we are a marginal minority, and therefore, our right to self-determination cannot be won in the arena of our oppressor.

The rejection of reformism, however, is much deeper than the above reasons. For if reformism is a rejection of any meaningful change, it is also a rejection of revolutionary violence, and therefore reformism is a functional ignorance of the dynamics of Black liberation. This is because the character of reformism is based on unprincipled class collaboration with our enemy. The ideals of class collaboration do not stand in opposition to our people's oppression, but instead, consistently seek to reform the oppressive system. Reform of the oppressive system can never benefit its victims; in the final analysis the system of oppression was created to insure the rule of particular racist classes and sanctify their capital. To seek reform, therefore, inevitably leads to, or begins with, the recognition of the laws of our oppressor as being valid.

Those within the movement who condemn the revolutionary violence of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and revolutionary Black nationalist groups are in essence weakening themselves. These fools do not understand the inter-active need for revolutionary violence with other forms of struggle, and because they do not understand the real dynamics involved, they seriously inhibit the development of the liberation movement as a whole... These reformists in liberationist garb should understand that unless the movement cultivates its capacity to fight the enemy on all fronts, no front will secure any real victories. It is abysmal ignorance that imagines our oppression in any other terms than undeclared war.

How will the movement as a whole be able to fight the oppressor in the future when all other "legal" methods are completely exhausted? How will we implement political struggle without the machinery and capacity for revolutionary violence - when it is abundantly clear that our oppressor maintains armed organs of violence for the enforcement of his rule? We as a movement will be unable to fight in the future if we do not develop the capacity for revolutionary violence in the present. But revolutionary violence is not an alternative to mass movement and organization, it is complementary to mass struggle, it is another front in the total liberation process. Those who put the question of revolutionary violence in "alternative" terms are guilty of crippled politics at best or reactionary politics at worst. Those involved in the total revolutionary process, yet claim not to "endorse" revolutionary violence when it occurs, are attempting to "legitimize" their existence at the expense of the entire struggle. The only "legitimacy" these people can possibly be seeking in such cases is bourgeois legitimacy. These type of people further confuse the masses, for revolutionary violence is not clarified and extended in order to undermine the psychological dependence Black people still have on racist, reactionary "legality". This is the vilest of sins, one for which everyone will pay during heightened repression.

We therefore do not view the "law" of our class enemies as valid, nor do we feel restricted in struggle to his laws. On the other hand, we understand the "tactical" value of using the law, and consequently, we understand the tactical value of reform in the liberation process. For example, school takeovers by community parents, rent strikes by tenants, labor union takeovers by dissident members, etc.; utilizing their systems and built-in safeguards to obtain certain goals that place the enemy at a temporary disadvantage. But we maintain there is only tactical value to reform when there exists other forms

(cont. on p. 17)

TRIAL BRIEFS

LEWIS 17X DUPREE, the Nation of Islam brother charged with a police-killing, ended in a hung jury on November 27 after 10 days of deliberation. The jury was split 10-2 for conviction. The trial involved the N.Y. Police Dept. attacking Harlem's Malcolm Shabazz Mosque which provoked an incident in which 4 Muslims and 9 police were injured. One police died 6 days later. Dupree was charged with assault when the incident took place, but 2 years later was indicted for murder.

The trial began on August 2 and continued for nearly 4 months, one of the longest in New York's history. The costly hundreds of thousands of dollars case will be re-tried again. Dupree was defended by the Nation's highly capable attorney, Saad El-Amin who gave a dramatic Muslim prayer just prior to his 4-hour summation. The whole court-room responded in solemn participation.

ASSATA SHAKUR/Jeanne Chesimard Assata's case is still slated for January 17 in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The defense has been concentrated on three motions: (1) to have Assata removed from solitary confinement in the New Brunswick Men's Prison to the Women's Middlesex County Work-house where she will finally be able to mingle in women's population. (2) to fight against the State of New Jersey who is trying to keep Atty. William Kunstler from taking Assata's case; hitting Kunstler on professional ethics because he has spoken on the case. (3) to introduce a bail motion that Assata will be released before trial begins. (Assata has never been convicted of any charges; has been acquitted in 4 trials; and has had 1 charge dismissed—but has never been allowed bail).

MUHAMMAD ADIL/Eugene Sojourner of African People's Party, Philadelphia, has had his appeal postponed until March or April, 1977. Adil, a long-time activist and APP party-member was a militant anti-drug fighter in his community. Because of his consistent work, he became a prime police target. In December of '75, he was apprehended and booked on false drug charges and framed. This enemy of pushers was made to look like a drug-seller. He was convicted in April of this year, and sentenced in June. This vicious charade against Muhammad Adil is an attack against the African Peoples Party. A recent raid on the APP house in Philly was also part of the repressive police campaign against the party. Much needed donations for his legal defense can be sent to: Muhammad Adil Defense Comm., P.O. Box 25412, Philadelphia, Pa., 19140.

THE 5 PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST POLITICAL PRISONERS. A massive movement to free the Five (Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andres Figueroa Corder) culminated in rallies and marches in major cities in U.S. and Puerto Rico on November 13, with world support by letters and telegrams. Local demonstrations took place in New York City, New Haven, Hartford, Northampton, Syracuse, Philadelphia, Ithaca, Springfield, Madison, Atlanta, Cleveland, Buffalo, San Francisco, San Diego. On-going activities will be announced to continue the demands for unconditional release, especially the immediate release of Andres Figueroa Cordero who has terminal cancer. The 5 Puerto Rican Nationalists are the longest-held political prisoners in North America, having been incarcerated from 22 to 27 years.

IMARI OBADELE AND THE RNA 11 CASE. President Imari Obadele was recently notified that the Supreme Court has denied the appeal on their State charge. This means that Obadele will have to surrender himself within several weeks. Three others who have never been out on bail--Hekima Ana, Offaga Quddus, and Karim Njabafundi, have been serving time in the infamous Parchman Prison in Mississippi from 1971. The RNA 11 are the citizens of the Republic of New Africa who were charged with murder when a policeman was killed and 2 others wounded (including an FBI-man) during an all-out pre-dawn raid by a contingent of well-armed Mississippi State, City, and Federal authorities on the RNA headquarters in Jackson in August of 1971.

CONTINUATION --- TRIAL BRIEFS

ATMORE/HOLMAN BROTHERS. Bro. Imani (Jehhy Harris)'s death penalty is being challenged in the State of Alabama. Imani was the only one of the Atmore Holman Brothers of Inmates-for-Action given the death sentence under Alabama law. He was tried under a Civil War statute which mandates the death penalty for a prisoner already serving a life sentence who is convicted of a murder. Concerted effort by peoples everywhere must fight against capital punishment, which is an instrument of the ruling class to suppress the resistance movement in this country. Brothers like Imani must be supported. Countless others, regardless of which state, are in the same category as Imani.

ANDREW BASHIR JACKSON. After winning dismissal of the murder charge in Brooklyn, Jackson is now being confronted with a gun possession rap in Manhattan. He was recently transferred to Rikers Island, 14-14 Hazen Street.

VICTOR CUMBERBATCH. A Bronx robbery charge is being appealed by Attorney Mike Ratner. Also, Atty. Bob Bloom will handle the Bronx bank robbery indictment (the same charge that Oscar Washington, Pedro Menges, and Raul Estramera were convicted on and given 18 years).

ROBERT RAUF VICKERS... has finished all of his cases. He was sentenced to 6 years on the escape from the Vroom Room in Trenton and on the assault on a correctional guard. His pleading guilty cut loose one of his sisters; the other pleading guilty to misdemeanor, was given no time--suspended sentence or probation. Rauf is also doing 11 years on a robbery of a bar in 1972. He was acquitted this past summer of the assault charge on 2 policemen.

JUAN OTERO. A 1972 burglary charge in the Bronx is being appealed in the Bronx Supreme Court. Otero, a community organizer and activist with PSP, was convicted and sentenced to 5 years. He came out on bail after 6 months. Otero received broad support from the Puerto Rican community and Puerto Rican Socialist Party. His case has been considered, since '72, a police frame-up (because of his political activism) or a mistaken identity.

FRANK DOTTON recently lost his appeal on a rape conviction which took place in 1974. An outright unjust trial, frailties in the case involved a bizarre way of apprehending Dotton, questionable identification, no medical examination of the supposed victim, (a white woman); denial of testimony of the alibi witness (his mother). The usual deceptive plea-bargaining tactic was also part of the railroading. Two of Frank's friends were also implicated--Leon Crawford and Derrick Adams. A legal defense group is being organized by the Westside's Charter group. Bronx Legal Service is also assisting. For further information, call his mother, Mrs. Iris Dotton at 468-2658. Help is needed.

DACAJAWEIAH (JOWN HILL), ROBERT RICE, and SALVADOR AGRON are three brothers in Green Haven Prison who have strong Defense Committees in New York who are working to effect a governor's clemency for their release. Dacajeweah, a Native American brother, is the only Attica victim still imprisoned because of the uprising. He was given an unjustified life sentence. Robert Rice is the only member of the Harlem Six still incarcerated. All the others have been out from their 8th and 10th year; Rice is doing his 12th year. Salvador Agron was only 16 when sentenced to life when a white youth was killed in a gang war in Hell's Kitchen in the late 50's. Agron has done 17 years. Support for the three has been asked by their respective defense committees. Call Wa.6-7412 for the address and phone numbers of key contact people.

prisoners are our fighters

SEND COMMISSARY...SEND LITERATURE...SEND MAIL...SEND STAMPS...TODAY! ! !

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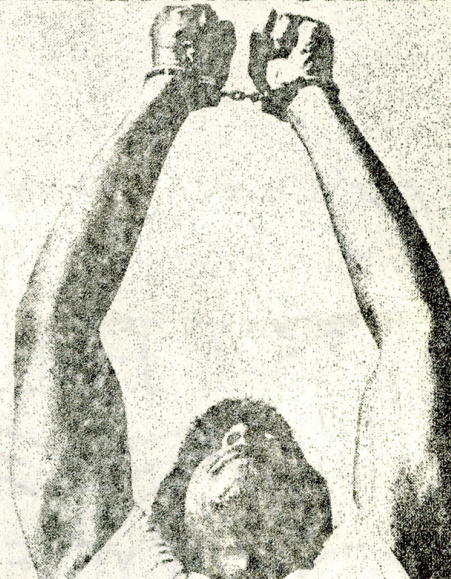
CARL DADE 23931
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organize our communities to free all political prisoners

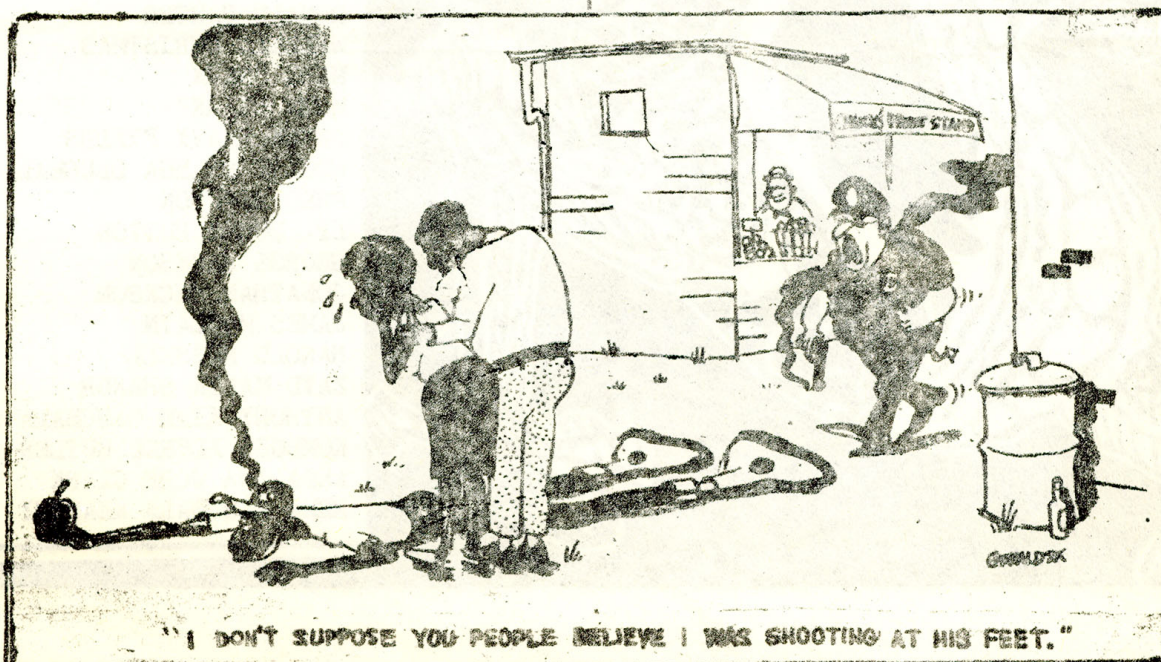
of revolutionary struggle against the whole of the capitalist structure. Reform as such is inherently reactionary and perpetuates psychological dependence on the enemy, while confusing the true class contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Considering these factors, we maintain that reform can never be anything more than a tactic, never a complete strategy, never offering in itself any revolutionary change. While it may offer the Black bourgeoisie rewards, it can never be the road to self-determination for the entire Black populace.

We also strongly condemn those who claim to be progressive, yet depreciate revolutionary violence of an oppressed people in their struggle for liberation. There can be no conditions on our fight for freedom except those set by the oppressed themselves. Those who claim that revolutionary violence gives the enemy the opportunity to repress the movement in general are profoundly mistaken if they think the reactionary government needs such excuses for repression, or that the government does not recognize the real danger in allowing a movement to develop the full blown capacity to wage armed struggle. The B.L.A. has undertaken the task of building just such a capacity, along with other comrades, on the clandestine level...

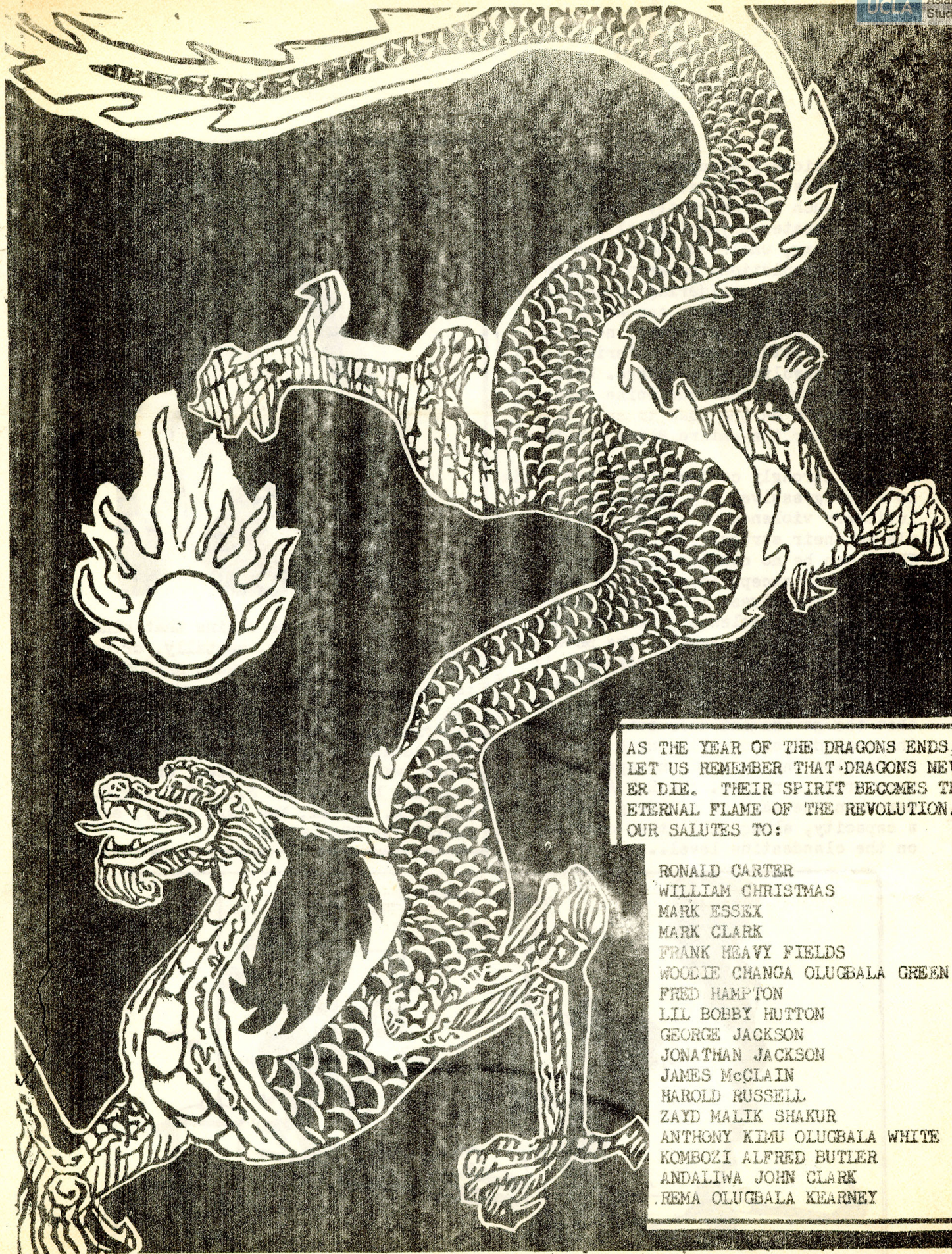
BREAK THE CHAINS



Help to break the chains that bind ALL OF US physically, mentally, or psychologically. This is what DRAGONFIRE is about—a newsletter from which we can learn/teach/communicate. Our one material problem is funds. Any donation to defray printing and mailing expense, will be appreciated. Checks or cash may be sent to: N.C.D.P.P., P.O. Box 1184, Harlem, New York 10027, earmarked for DRAGONFIRE.



"I DON'T SUPPOSE YOU PEOPLE BELIEVE I WAS SHOOTING AT HIS FEET."



AS THE YEAR OF THE DRAGONS ENDS,
LET US REMEMBER THAT DRAGONS NEVER
DIE. THEIR SPIRIT BECOMES THE
ETERNAL FLAME OF THE REVOLUTION.
OUR SALUTES TO:

RONALD CARTER
WILLIAM CHRISTMAS
MARK ESSEX
MARK CLARK
FRANK HEAVY FIELDS
WOODIE CHANGA OLUGBALA GREEN
FRED HAMPTON
LIL BOBBY HUTTON
GEORGE JACKSON
JONATHAN JACKSON
JAMES McCLAIN
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ZAYD MALIK SHAKUR
ANTHONY KIMU OLUGBALA WHITE
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