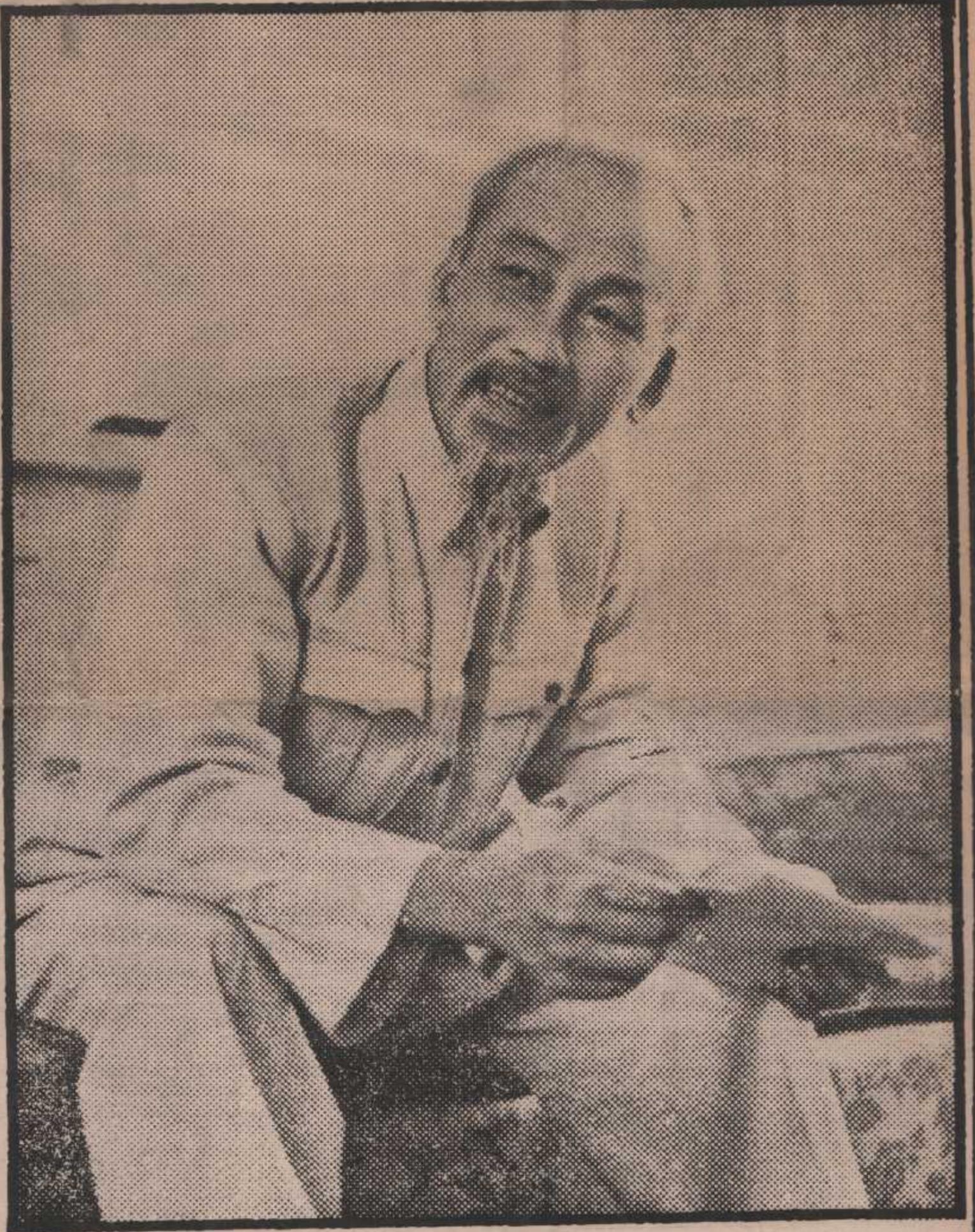


SDS new left notes

all power to the people

INT. INSTITUUT
SOC. GESCHIEDENIS

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 29
AUGUST 29, 1969



**"WE
WILL
FIGHT
AND
FIGHT
FROM
THIS
GENERATION TO THE NEXT..."**

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and

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON VIETNAM
(reprints available from the national
office for \$5/100)

This is the text of the PL pamphlet that the national office has produced. It is available for mass distribution at the bulk price of \$5/1,000.



SDS is an organization of revolutionary youth. We are building a fighting force in the heart of the US empire to struggle against the oppression and exploitation of the people of the world.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the Worker Student Alliance Caucus (WSA) that PL built inside of SDS are counter-revolutionaries who oppose the struggles of the world's people against US imperialism.

As could be expected, SDS expelled PL and WSA from its ranks. It was as simple as that.

PL'S PHONY REVOLUTIONARY TALK

Over the past year we in SDS have come to understand that there is a world war going on—a war of the poor and working people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the black and brown communities within the United States against the exploitation, oppression, and misery of US imperialism. A war that the Vietnamese people are winning, that black and brown people within the US and people all over the world are beginning to wage and beginning to win.

We have also come to understand, as white people who live in the heartland of imperialism, that, although exploited by capitalism, we receive minor privileges in the form of crumbs off the imperialist table. If we are ever to achieve our own liberation, it must come from fighting on the side of the people of the world against the imperialist monster—fighting on the side of the Vietnamese, blacks, and browns, supporting their struggles and actively participating in the international war.

PL, on the other hand, has been trying to get young people in this country to oppose the struggles of the leaders of the Vietnamese people, the National Liberation Front, and to oppose the struggles of organizations within the black liberation struggle—the Black Panther Party, SNCC, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

PL has been trying to get young people to believe some anti-communist bullshit that the NLF and Ho Chi Minh are selling out the people of Vietnam in the Paris negotiations. All the world sees that Vietnam is winning its war against US aggression, and that the Paris negotiations will eventually ratify the victory. But PL tries to undercut support for the Vietnamese by arguing that the negotiations are a sell-out. By destroying support for the Vietnamese struggle in this country, PL is actually helping US imperialism, even though they claim to be "super-revolutionaries".

The Vietnamese are fighting the most militant struggle in the world today, and thousands are dying for their country. At the same time, PLers in this country say (as PLP Vice-Chairman Bill Epton said): "We struggle, struggle, struggle, and they (the Vietnamese) always sell us out."

PL's phony revolutionary talk about the black revolutionary struggle in this country is similar. They argue that since blacks are exploited as workers, they should unite with white workers to better their position (presumably under PL's leadership). They denounce black revolutionary organizations such as the Black Panther Party, the Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and SNCC by accusing them of "racism in reverse". The rulers of this country want young people to hate blacks and to distrust them. They fear that if young people supported separate black organizations and fought against oppression in this country, a real revolution would come. By attacking real black revolutionaries in this country, PL is holding back that revolution.

In the schools, PL's phony revolutionary talk has been that only demands of black workers are legitimate. Demands to help the entire black community, such as demands for black community control of local schools, are called "reactionary". PL is afraid that access to higher education will make black students more "bourgeois". PL says that community control of the schools would be used only to help "bourgeois" blacks. Instead, PL argues, students should fight to get more blacks hired as cooks, maids, janitors, and in other

non-academic employment at schools. In addition to being blatantly racist in channeling blacks into menial jobs, this is another example of how PL's "super-revolutionary" talk only leads to holding back real struggle to help black people.

All over the country in the past year, black students have fought militant struggles for black community control. About the time that a hundred or so black students with rifles were holding a building at Cornell University, some comfortable PLer was writing: "The basic character of the black student movement is reactionary."

HOW IT WORKS OUT IN PRACTICE

Aside from phony revolutionary talk, PL and WSA people have worked to sabotage ongoing struggles this year. Usually, they have just been pushed aside and forgotten, but sometimes they manage to cause real harm.

—While black students were waging a militant struggle around admissions and self-determination at City College in New York, Third World members of PLP infiltrated the occupied South Campus to organize against the demands.

—While black students were demanding more control of the SEEK program at Queens College, PLP denounced the demands. The SDS office was attacked by black students as a result of PLP's actions. A month later blacks were chased off the campus by white racists, and only a few white persons fought with the blacks.

—While black students at Columbia University were struggling around black control of black admissions, PLP refused to support the demands, and acted on university expansion, claiming it was the only way to fight racism.

—In Chicago on election day, PLP put out a leaflet denouncing the election day strike leaders as "adventurist".

—At a Black Panther rally on the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois in Chicago, a PLP member read a program he had already agreed with the Panthers not to read, and was physically ejected from the podium.

—At San Francisco State, after supporting the demands and the struggle led by BSU/TWLF, PLP changed its line in the last weeks of the strike, saying that special admission of black and brown students and the newly won Black Studies Department was "bourgeois" and co-optive, and denounced the leadership

of the struggle as "nationalist". The next rally called by PLP was boycotted by all black and brown students and all community organizations.

—And, while SDS as a whole has been trying to organize an internationalist, anti-imperialist working class youth movement, PL has labeled Ho Chi Minh a "traitor", has accused the NLF of "making deals" with the imperialists, has denounced Cuba as "revisionist", and has called the Black Panther Party "racist in reverse".

HOW IT HAPPENED

A lot of people came to the June 1969 annual SDS Convention in Chicago determined to throw PL out. On the convention floor, PL people hooted, booed, and generally made it impossible to debate. When a Black Panther representative spoke to the convention and criticized PL, PL tried to boo him down. It became clear finally to everyone that PL had to go.

The various representatives from SDS chapters around the country drew up the following two principles and expelled PL and all others who could not accept them:

1. We support the struggles of the black and Latin colonies within the US for national liberation, and we recognize those nations' rights to self-determination (including the right to political secession if they desire it.)

2. We support the struggle for national liberation of the people of South Vietnam, led by the National Liberation Front and the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government. We also support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam led by President Ho Chi Minh, as well as the People's Republic of China, the People's Republics of Korea and Albania, and the Republic of Cuba, all waging fierce struggles against US imperialism. We support the right of all people to pick up the gun to free themselves from the brutal rule of US imperialism.

PL and WSA, meeting separately, whined that the whole thing was not constitutional, decided to pretend that they were really SDS, and elected their own set of national officers. They set up another so-called national office, and even put out a couple of scab issues of what they call New Left Notes. The whole thing will probably fall apart in a few weeks. Revolutionary youth throughout the country recognize SDS and the expulsion of PL.

THIS YEAR WE KICK PL'S ASS

PL has been important in SDS only in Boston and the San Francisco Bay Area—with a few people in Chicago and New York. Also PL has central positions in the chapters at the elite, privileged universities like Harvard, Columbia, and the University of California at Berkeley. For most of the organization the expulsion of PL has had little effect—in the other geographical areas and in non-elite schools, community colleges, high schools, and in the streets, where our membership is increasingly centered.

Two things are important to understand about the expulsion of the Progressive Labor Party and the Worker Student Alliance:

First is that SDS's differences with PL were not differences "within the movement" or "within SDS". They are principled differences on what the movement is about, where and what the international struggle is about, and who the sides of it are. Since the PLP opposes revolutionary nationalism on the part of the colonized peoples; opposes the self-determination of black people within the United States; opposes the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and calls Ho Chi Minh a "traitor", then they are in no sense a part of the people's movement, but in fact serve the enemy of the people.

And second, what became clear during our last convention is that we cannot demand of people outside SDS what we are unwilling to enforce within it. The decision of the June, 1969 convention to exclude PLP and WSA was the resolution of that contradiction, and makes explicit the principles upon which SDS must be built.

New Left Notes

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A Strategy to Win



The Red Army begins training in the parks of Cleveland

Following are excerpts from a speech by Bill Ayers, Education Secretary, at the Midwest National Action conference held in Cleveland August 29-September 1

Last week I went up to St. Johns in New Brunswick with a couple of other people to meet with the people who had come back from Cuba and a meeting with the PRG. The reason we went up there is because we felt they had been out of the country six weeks, that a lot of contradictions had been heightened, especially between us and RYM II, that a lot of changes had taken place all over this country, and we felt that the people might be totally out of it and should be cued in to what was going on.

The first thing that I found out when I got up there was that there wasn't a whole lot of straightening out that needed to be done, because in fact a lot of changes we had gone through here they had gone through also. They had been involved in the process of building cadre just as we had, they had had some confrontations with a few members of the running dogs (RYM II) who were down there, so it wasn't a terrible problem the way we had anticipated it would be.

One of the things I did while I was there was that I talked a lot about the criticisms that have been made of the national action. I talked particularly about the charge that we are adventurist which people hear a lot, that somehow the national office, and Weatherman in particular and the Weather Bureau in specific, are a bunch of adventurist fools who are out to get us all killed. I talked about that, and one of the things that I said is that adventurism is when you don't believe that you can organize the people, and lose confidence in the people, and therefore totally cut yourself off from everything, and you develop a strategy for losing, which of course is not what we're involved in at all. I also talked about the fact that if it is a worldwide struggle, if Weatherman is correct in that basic thing, that the basic struggle in the world today is the struggle of the oppressed peoples against US imperialism, then it is the case that nothing we could do in the mother country could be adventurist. Nothing we could do because there is a war going on already, and the terms of that war are set. We couldn't be adventurist while there is genocide going on in Vietnam and in the black community.

Later on in the conversation, people criticized me for that statement, and they said it was wrong to say that genocide is being committed in Vietnam, because that communicated a number of non-struggle things—that the Vietnamese are sad, tired old people

who are persecuted by the evil United States. In fact that's not what the Vietnamese are about. The Vietnamese are strong, the most heroic and the most incredible people in the world, and they've beaten US imperialism—they've defeated the United States. That lesson is very important for us because it teaches us that struggle against US imperialism is possible, that when we fight US imperialism we have a chance of winning, that even a small nation, relatively unarmed, can hold off 500,000 US troops, can defeat them in every way—that the Vietnamese have won, that they are strong, that the United States is not indestructible, not some kind of monolith that can never be changed, that history is not static, that the people can win.

Bernadette Devlin, when she was here last week, said a similar thing: that our greatest weakness is our belief in our weakness, and that's certainly true in the mother country here. What we have to communicate to people is our strength, and to show people our strength we have to show them the strength of fighting on the side of the worldwide movement. So I was criticized for projecting the image of weakness. It's a similar thing if people have seen this Wilmington, Delaware thing that Newsreel did. The kind of image that that creates about black people is that they're downtrodden, that DuPont is this heavy thing that is screwing these black people, as if they're so beaten down that they can't move. The film is essentially useless, because it conveys that kind of notion, that imperialism has defeated the people, whereas the Huey Newton film and the first Panther film conveys just the opposite: it conveys strength, it conveys confidence, it conveys positiveness, it conveys all those kinds of things that we have to learn to convey to people, all those kinds of things in terms of the image that the Vietnamese have tried to project to the world. It's no longer that we can make posters about Vietnam with an old man and a little kid who are burned by napalm. The posters that we put out and the truth is the symbol of a woman with a gun, or the picture of Nguyen Van Troi, the hero who was captured and later shot for attempting to assassinate McNamara in 1964. And Van Troi, handcuffed to the post where he was to be shot and screaming at his assassins, screaming "Long live People's War! Death to US Imperialism!" That's the image of Vietnam, it's that strength, that confidence, and that's what we have to bring to our own constituency, it's that that we have to integrate into our politics in a positive way. That's one of the major things that we have to deal with in terms of the national action.

We have to deal WITH THE FACT THAT in a lot of ways all of us have elements of defeatism in us, and don't believe really that we can win, don't really believe that the United States can be beaten. But we have to believe it, because defeatism is based on individualism—it is really based on the thought that I can't beat US imperialism, I'm going to die, I'm going to get wiped out. But the Vietnamese people have won, and that fact makes it a lie to say that we can't win or that we won't win. We have won, we won in Vietnam, that was a victory for us and for all people, and we will continue to win, continue to defeat US imperialism. We have to stamp out that individualist notion that if I don't make it through the next year, or that if I don't make it to construct socialism within twenty years, that that is a defeat. That's a defeatist and individualist attitude, and we have to beat that attitude out of ourselves.

One of the things about the politics of confidence and the politics of victory is that we know that if we have good politics, if we stick closely to Weatherman, if we project that analysis of worldwide struggle and our part in that, that we have essentially the answers to the questions that people are asking us. We have answers for people that other politics don't have. For instance, when people in Detroit go into a drive-in, and talk to those kids about the war and about the international struggle, and talk to those people about racism and male supremacy and pigs, they're not just talking on an intellectual level and saying see, here's what's happening, this is why you're fucked up, because those kids know that already. We don't have to say to people what's wrong, we have to say to people what do you do about it, and what you do about it is you fight, you fight back, and you join together with your brothers and sisters, and you kick ass, that's what you do about it. And that concretely is what actions in Detroit, in Chicago, in Ohio and other places have communicated. We can't project that phony kind of image that you join the movement because you get a dollar more an hour, you join it cause you get New Left Notes, some bullshit—though that's a good thing, not a bad thing. You join the movement because you want to be part of that worldwide struggle that's obviously winning, and you win people over to it, and you win people over by being honest to them about the risks, by being honest to them about the struggle, by being honest to them that what they are getting into is a fight: it's not a comfortable life, it's not just a dollar more, it's standing up in the face of the enemy, and risking your life and risking everything for that struggle. But it's also being on the side

of victory, and that's the essential thing that we have to show people.

In terms of building for the national action, this is what we have to project. We have to build this confidence, and build this power, we have to feel this power, and that's why it was so important to start this weekend off by talking about the Vietnamese, by talking about that power, by talking about that worldwide struggle. At this point I think it is also important to talk about the historical period that we're in, the importance of our job. A lot of people tend to ignore the role we have to play and therefore allow themselves all kinds of luxuries of being sloppy in their work, and not pushing people, and being liberal toward other people because they don't understand the necessity of what we're doing right now, including the total importance of this fall for our politics. I think that the national action has to be seen in the context of a strategy that's going to win, that's going to support the NLF concretely, that's going to build Weatherman, and that's going to build a fighting revolutionary youth movement. We can't get involved anymore in the kinds of actions that merely say to people that this is wrong, or that is wrong, because that doesn't tell people what to do, that doesn't project the kind of confidence, and the crucial nature and importance of what we're trying to do in this country now. We have to fight and show people through struggle our commitment, our willingness to run risks, our willingness to die in the struggle to defeat US imperialism. We have to convey those things, and October 8-11 is a concrete way that we can do that. I think people should push out this slogan "Bring the War Home". We're not just saying bring the troops home, bring the US troops home and deploy them some place some other time, we're saying bring the war home. We're saying you're going to pay a price because increasingly guys in the army are going to shoot you in the back, increasingly the guys in the army are going to shoot over the heads of the Vietnamese, shoot over the heads of the blacks, increasingly this country is going to be torn down, and we're not going to bring the troops home to be deployed someplace else, we're going to bring the war home, we're going to create class war in the streets and institutions of this country, and we're going to make them pay a price, and the price ultimately is going to be total defeat for them. That's the kind of thing that we have to convey, and that's the kind of thing that we have to build.

I think people understand how this kind of action at this time, given the whole thing in Paris and the situation the Vietnamese are in now, can concretely aid the Vietnamese. The other thing that people have to get confident about is that we can build a revolutionary youth movement. There's a lot of skepticism in some places about whether this action can come off, and that skepticism comes out of one thing, and that is that people have been listening to so-called "movement people", and these "movement people" have been telling them that it won't work, that it's adventurist, that it's going to hurt people, that it's not right at this time,

(continued on Page 6)



LARRY



Larry Roberson of the Illinois Chapter Black Panther Party was murdered by fascist pigs in Cook Butcher Shop County Hospital September 4, 1969. Larry is the 22nd Panther to have been politically assassinated by the fascist pig power structure.

Larry Roberson was shot in July after he left a Chicago restaurant to check out pig harassment in the community. Brother Larry questioned the pig brutality and harassment of the people, and went about heightening the contradictions between the pig power structure and the people. This is why we must fight to implement Point 7 of the Black Panther Party program: "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people."

For coming to the defense of the people he loved, Larry was shot twice in the stomach and kidnapped, chained to a hospital bed, and surrounded by fascist security pigs. Fascist pigs are oning to the people that our revolutionary brother Larry Roberson died because of hepatitis. We, the Black Panther Party, realize that hepatitis is caused by poor food and lack of medical treatment. We charge the fascist pig power structure with conspiracy to commit murder and with murder of the servants of the people.

Brother Larry would always stand up for the people he loved, stand up against exploitation, oppression, racism, fascism, and any other rotting slime to ever drop from the foul-smelling womb of a fascist pig. Larry Roberson died for the people he loved. When fascist pigs try to jail and murder liberators, they come up with the answers that don't answer, solutions that don't solve, even endings that don't end.

We of the Black Panther Party say you can kill a liberator, goddamn it, but you can't kill the liberation!

Blood to the Horse's Brow
Death Befall All Fascist Pigs!
Illinois Chapter, Black Panther Party



Ahmed Evans is scheduled to die in the electric chair September 23. If he does, he will become the first black man to be tried, convicted, and executed by the state for his role in the black liberation struggle. It was that no right to execute him, but it has the power which we must challenge now to save the life of Ahmed Evans. On July 23, 1968, the black people of the Glenville section of Cleveland responded to months of harassment by the pigs by taking up arms in self-defense. The battle ended 15 minutes after it began, and the black community emerged as the unquestioned military victors. The police suffered 17 casualties, including three dead. The black community—seven casualties with one dead. The police, who had no idea who had killed and four others. Ahmed has never denied his participation in the Battle of Cleveland, and showed revolutionary determination in the statement he made to the court after he was sentenced to the electric chair. "I don't think there is any doubt that the people of my race have every right in the world and every reason in the world to resist," he said. Having accepted the necessity for revolutionary violence, Ahmed Evans has accepted the fact that his own participation in revolutionary violence will perhaps mean his own death.

Since the arrest of Ahmed Evans last summer, the police of Cleveland have continued their war against the black community. Four other men have been indicted for the gun battle. Brother Non-Du was sentenced last week to consecutive terms totaling 100 years in prison with no chance of parole, and it is obvious that the other three defendants will receive equally harsh sentences. In April of this year the brother of Ahmed, William "Bootsie" Evans, was found shot to death near the office of Ahmed's attorney. It was claimed that Ahmed's brother was killed during a hold-up, and the Cleveland police prosecutor ruled that the shooting was "justifiable homicide". Black nationalists in Cleveland believe he was murdered by the police as a warning to Ahmed's attorney and others.

AHMED

A People's Court was organized by the July 23 Defense Committee last May to expose the racist court that framed Evans and to indict the true criminals—Cleveland's ruling class and its racist pigs. Witnesses from the black community testified as to the real nature of the "Glenville Incident" and the circumstances surrounding the death of several black people in Cleveland and the shooting and beating of many others. Hundreds of black people gathered to hear the testimony and proclaim the innocence of Ahmed Evans and the other four defendants, and to indict the pigs for their crimes against the people of Cleveland. The sentences that have come down from this trial are among the heaviest yet in the black liberation struggle. The racist US ruling class has tried to isolate revolutionaries like Ahmed Evans from the people, and by handing down sentences of death hopes to frighten people away from the struggle. But as Ahmed Evans said when he was sentenced: "The electric chair, or fear of anything, won't stop the black man of today." The July 23 Defense Committee is planning further actions in Cleveland to force the pig courts to free Ahmed, and revolutionaries across the country are invited to show their support by taking appropriate actions across the country. Ahmed must be set free!



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We of the Black Panther Party say
you can kill a liberator, goddamn it,
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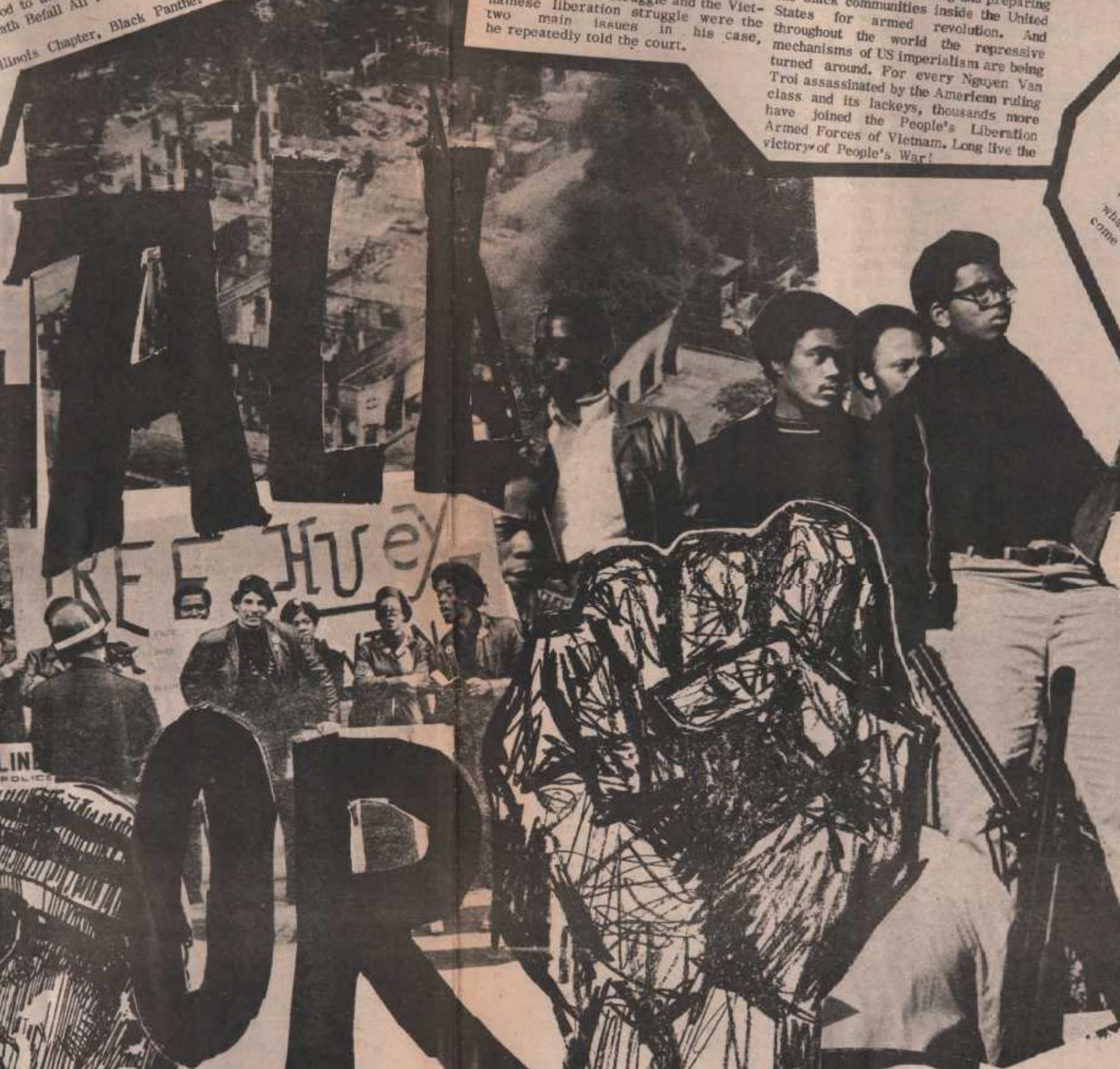
Blood to the Horse's Brow
Death Befall All Fascist Pigs!
Illinois Chapter, Black Panther Party

Along with Huey Newton, Robert F.
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many other unnamed heroes, a black
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has received one of the severest sen-
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a life sentence for a man of 44.

Martin Gonzales Sostre, like several
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"The main question in this case,"
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Martin Sostre, who grew up in
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His prison experience was like that of
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right to hold religious services in
prison.

Men like Martin Sostre can be put in
jail, but that repression will only deepen
the resistance of black people to US
imperialism. For every Martin Sostre
held behind prison walls, there are
dozens outside, organizing and preparing
the black communities inside the United
States for armed revolution. And
throughout the world the repressive
mechanisms of US imperialism are being
turned around. For every Nguyen Van
Troï assassinated by the American ruling
class and its lackeys, thousands more
have joined the People's Liberation
Armed Forces of Vietnam. Long live the
victory of People's War!



POLICE LINE

HUEY

NO
OR
NE



MARTIN



Along with Huey Newton, Robert F. Williams (in exile), Herman Ferguson, Arthur Harris, Edward Oquendo and many other unnamed heroes, a black political prisoner in New York State has received one of the severest sentences handed down by the courts to any liberation fighter — 31 to 41 years, a life sentence for a man of 44.

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Martin Gonzales Sostre, like several other black liberation fighters and anti-war activists, was framed on a trumped-up narcotics charge. The ruling class has used this type of frame-up in many instances in an attempt to deprive highly political cases of a political defense and to hand down harsh sentences to militants. Knowing this, Martin Sostre fought at every turn to bring out the political character of the frame-up.

"The main question in this case," he told Judge Colucci during a hearing for bail reduction, "is U.S. oppression of the black people." The issues of the black liberation struggle and the Vietnamese liberation struggle were the two main issues in his case, he repeatedly told the court.

Men like Martin Sostre can be put in jail, but that repression will only deepen the resistance of black people to US imperialism. For every Martin Sostre held behind prison walls, there are dozens outside, organizing and preparing the black communities inside the United States for armed revolution. And throughout the world the repressive mechanisms of US imperialism are being turned around. For every Nguyen Van Troi assassinated by the American ruling class and its lackeys, thousands more have joined the People's Liberation Armed Forces of Vietnam. Long live the victory of People's War!

The crucial thing to understand about the arrest of Chairman Bobby Seale — an attempt by the racist power structure to destroy the Party and their revolutionary program in the black community. The US government on all levels is clearly threatened by the Black Panther Party's revolutionary programs like Breakfast for Children, community control of the police, free medical care, and in general self-determination for black people. Seale is being held, along with Erica Huggins and eight others, on charges of murder, kidnaping, and conspiracy as a result of the death of one Alex Rackley in Connecticut on May 21. Seale's probation records show that he was in New Haven, Connecticut for a speaking engagement on May 19, but was back in Oakland by May 20. Besides the fact that Seale had never known Rackley, there are increased doubts as to whether Seale had been kicked out of the named grounds for the entire Panther leadership. As Chairman Bobby Seale said: "It is clear that the US government is gunning for Seale the same way it has attempted to destroy the entire Panther leadership. It is another episode in the revolutionary struggle for black liberation. As Chairman Bobby Seale has said: 'The key symbol of the coming down on the Panthers in their heroic and what is gonna happen for black liberation... but if we worry about us, we couldn't accomplish anything. Justice is gonna come when the mass people rise up and see justice done.'"

BOBBY



Take away the sign 人 (man) from the sign 囚 for prison,
Add to it 或 (probability) that makes the word 國 (nation)
Take the head-particle from the sign 憂 for misfortune:
That gives the word 忠 (fidelity).
Add the sign 十 for man (standing) to the sign 憂 for worry
That gives the word 德 (quality).
Take away the bamboo top 竹 from the sign 龍 for dragon,
That gives you 龍 (dragon).

People who come out of prison can build up the country.
Misfortune is a test of people's fidelity.
Those who protest at injustice are people of true merit.
When the prison-doors are opened, the real dragon will fly out.

HO CHI MINH PRISON DIARY





to win

continued from Page 3

that we have to build a united front, or some other bullshit. And these movement people, this kind of right wing force, this weirdness that's moving around, it's all these old people who came into the movement at a time when pacifism was important, at a time when there was a total consciousness of defeat, when the only reasons that we were in it were moral reasons, when there was no strategy for victory, for gaining power, so that the people who came into the movement at that time have a certain kind of consciousness and belief about what is possible, and what we have to do is not listen to the Guardian, or what the Guardian thinks is possible, not to listen to other "movement" groups, like certain local Newsreels, certain local NOCs, and think that they must know what's right because they are "the movement". If you think you've been isolated sometimes in your local work, you've got to dig what happened in Detroit, where because of the actions that people were taking, every so-called "movement group" in the city started to get together in a coalition to stop SDS. When the MC 9 were arrested and put in prison, and Motor City SDS people tried to raise money, they had responses from some of these so-called movement people that it would be better to leave them in jail, because they'd be dangerous on the streets. But the point is that to judge our actions by what those fucking people have to say about them is crazy. We have to go to the people and see what they have to say about the actions. Anybody who has gone out to a high school or to a drive-in, to a community college in an aggressive and assertive way, knows that the people out there loved the fuckin' action, and thought that it was out of sight.

We have to understand that if we're going to build our movement, if our movement is going to go forward and develop a different class basis and fight privilege, and fight on the side of the Vietnamese and the blacks, that a lot of these so-called movement people are just going to have to get out of the way, drop out, and that's what should happen to them—that's what their class interest is. But we don't have to listen to what they have to say and get defeatist, we have to get out to more and more people, it's not so much that these people as individuals, as people, have to be smashed or destroyed or anything like that, it's that those ideas, those tendencies, those notions have to be totally discredited, smashed and destroyed. And in the process of doing

that, some of those individuals will come over. They won't understand if we sit and talk about it, they'll only understand if we smash their ideas. In places where we smashed ideas and built our movement off of toughness and comatted liberalism in ourselves, we've developed the best struggles in this country. It happened at Columbia, it happened in Michigan-Ohio. The whole region in Michigan-Ohio was built by destroying the right wing in a couple of chapters, and asserting the power to throw them out of the chapters. But in order for us to really accomplish this, in order for us to really gain in this kind of struggle, a lot of the business that we have to be about is transforming ourselves, by getting rid of the things that are slowing us down and holding us back. This means that the only way we're going to gain that confidence and build that fighting movement, and to get rid of those bourgeois things in ourselves, is by developing collectives off struggle, and off outreach, and to build them off internal struggle—but the internal struggle only makes sense when there's outreach going on.

MALE SUPREMACY

A lot of the problems that people are going through now have to do with monogamy and its basis in male supremacy. What we have to understand in this whole discussion is that we have one task, and that's to make ourselves into tools of the revolution. We know what we have to do, and that means a lot of heavy stuff. It means a lot of invading things that people didn't think should be invaded before, and it means a lot of resisting. Just this morning a guy was saying to me that I know that what I'm saying about monogamy has to do with my own bourgeois hang-ups, but my bourgeois hang-ups are more important to me than being a communist at this point. That's something that just has to be smashed. The reason that this thing comes up at all is not just about people liking to be house-wreckers or some shit, it's got to do with the fact that people have come to the need to build collectives that can fight, the need to build collectives that are strong and tough, and in order to do that a lot of individualism has to be worked out of every one of us. Any notion that people can have a primary responsibility for one person, that they can have that "out"—we have to destroy that notion in order to build a collective, we have to destroy all "outs" to destroy the notion that people can lean on one person and not be responsible to the entire collective. It's heavier than that, too, because it has to do with male chauvinism and male supremacy, and the development of women's leadership, the development of women as

communists. A lot of what's going on is people resisting the notion that in a collective everyone is equal. A lot of resistance comes from men, from men who have a privileged situation in that relationship, from men who dig the fact that they have control over another person. It comes from men who are involved in a classical pattern of male chauvinism, of finding a woman who they can control, trying to teach that person, build that person up, take credit for building them up, begin feeling a lot of contempt for them, a lot of competition with them, and maintain that relationship to maintain their dominance. We have seen concretely that there is not an instance of a relationship that we've seen that doesn't have some kind of dominance in it, some kind of control over someone's acts—and for the most part, it's the woman who is held back. In practice, when people are operating in collectives and those relationships break down, the women begin to get strong, begin to assert themselves, begin to come out as leaders, not as political people who work through another individual, but as political people who build collectives and lead struggles. I think every one of us could run down instances like this. I'm from Michigan and could run down five or six instances, and I think that the women in Detroit are the strongest, most exemplary people in our movement right now, and I think it's precisely because they grappled with this issue early, they dealt with it four months ago, they got through it and understood the need to take the initiative in changing those relationships, and they did. That's an example, the most heated example of the job that we have to do. We have to organize ourselves in collectives, fight our individualism, we have to see that the Mellon-Hegel formula is true: freedom is the

recognition of necessity, that we become free when we realize the tasks that we have to do and go about changing ourselves into the instruments that can do those tasks.

The other thing that's clear around that whole action is the question that Klonsky raised at the NIC when he said you guys aren't into serving the people, you're into fighting the people, and we kind of just sat there and said that that's wrong. We thought about the whole thing of serve the people, and we thought that you don't serve the people by opening a restaurant, or by fighting for a dollar more, you serve the people, that means all the people, the Vietnamese, everybody, by making a revolution, by bringing the war home, by opening up a front. But the more I thought about that thing "fight the people", it's not that it's a great mass slogan or anything, but there's something to it. What's true about it is that we've never been in a struggle where we didn't have to fight some of the people. For instance at Michigan State we had to fight jocks, we had to fight a lot of them, and in the process of the next couple of weeks, we won over a number of these jocks. We understood that they weren't our enemies, but we also understood that when they objectively acted like our enemies they had to be fought, and that that was the best way to deal with them. There's a lot in white Americans that we do have to fight, and beat out of them, and beat out of ourselves. And that part of it is true—we have to be willing to fight people, and fight things in ourselves, and fight things in all white Americans—white privilege, racism, male supremacy—in order to build a revolutionary movement. We know there's going to be polarization, but we also know that through that polarization there's going to be change. In Detroit, the whole question of creating a presence, of polarization, has come to a halt because they've polarized the whole city. They've been to every drive-in, every high school, and people have an opinion of SDS. How many places has anybody even heard of it? When you say SDS in Detroit, they say oh, those are those broads who beat up guys, or those are those people who come into drive-ins, and that polarization is an important thing. Of course, the pole of the city that hates us is all these old "movement people".

ADVENTURISM ?

The major criticisms of the action have to do with adventurism, have to do with leading people to a slaughter, have to do with the pig rumor that we've been telling people that we're bringing guns to Chicago, and these things must be smashed, and it's a tricky thing to smash. It's a good rumor for them to pass around, because it does three things, highly contradictory. First they say we have guns, and that sets people up, so that they can attack us. It also scares people away, it makes people scared to get into it. But the third thing it does is that it forces us to take a defensive and a weak position on guns, it forces us to say no, we're not asking people to bring guns to Chicago. Do we dig guns? Well, no... it forces us into that defensive position. And when we make clear that we're not urging anybody to bring guns to Chicago, we're not urging anybody to shoot from a crowd, but we're also going to make it



win

clear that when a pig gets iced that's a good thing, and that everyone who considers himself a revolutionary should be armed, should own a gun, should have a gun in his home.

Since our militance is going to obviously lead to a military confrontation, maybe not this year, then the fact that most of us in here don't even know karate makes us fools, and whoever doesn't own a gun and doesn't know how to use a gun is a fool. So we should state publicly that we believe in, we support, and we are preparing for armed self-defense, because that's what we have to do in order to win.

Our politics deals well with the question of adventurism, and we don't have to be defensive about the action. It's clear that the opposition to the action comes from right-wing "movement people". The unity of the opposition to the action is incredible, because people are uniting who have totally different positions. Anti-communists are uniting with people who call themselves Stalinists, are uniting with people who believe there's a black nation only in the South, are uniting with people who don't believe there's any black nation, and that whole unity is basically around one thing, and that's fear, basically around an inability to understand that we have to continue to move forward, and that we have to continue to build a fighting movement, and take that fight to the streets of Chicago, and take it back from Chicago to our local cities, and make them pay a price by involving thousands and thousands of kids in

militant, out of sight destructive actions in every city in this country. So that this whole fall we begin to chip away at imperialism in the most concrete way that we can, and all the right-wingers who are united around this one thing, we should just ignore them—they're not our base, they never were, and they never could be. A strategy that talks about power is a strategy that ignores them and goes to the youth in the cities and begins to build among them.

I want to deal with one last criticism of the action, and that's what Klonsky puts forward in his famous article "Why I Quit". What Klonsky says is that we didn't act on the mandate of the convention and build a united front action against the war. In the first place that's a lie, and a lot of the running dogs (RYM II) are going around saying we support the action except not really, the same way that PL says well, we dig struggle except where it really is. It's a lie to say that that was passed at the convention because the paragraph that talked about the united front was debated at the convention and was dropped out of the resolution.

WEATHER BUREAU

It's also important to understand that even if it passed, we wouldn't implement it because we understand that what we have to do is to build a movement that's geared toward power—and we're not going to be involved in obeying mandates that tell us to do something that's a losing strategy. For the first time in SDS a coherent leadership was elected, with stated politics, with coherent politics, stated before they were elected, and they're united on that. Not only are they united

on that, but they're in a collective that has a base in probably the most important regions in the country, and that bigger collective, the Weather Bureau, makes political decisions, moves in a political way, and moves for victory, and it would be insane for anyone to expect leadership to organize around mandates and drop their own politics.

In the national office we're building a political collective for the first time. And it's a collective that understands that it has a primary responsibility to Weatherman, to the Weather Bureau, that its job is the implementation of those politics. And the people who don't believe that, or can't understand that, have been fired, or will be fired, because we're building a political movement, we're building a movement of revolutionaries, and we have to do that in a coherent way. The same is true of New Left Notes, which is looking better and better. The political content of the articles in New Left Notes has to speak to the best politics in the organization.

And I think that's important—that we have to organize around our politics, not around some mushy, directionless student movement, but around a movement of revolutionary youth, and we must begin to build revolutionaries in the movement, not just anyone who

wants to join the club, not just "movement people".

The criticisms of the action have to be dealt with in that honest way, in a very up-front way, have to be totally smashed, and people have to begin to get a sense that the politics of this action can win, are winning, can be built and are being built all over this country. In every city in the Midwest where we've got a summer program, people are predicting thousands and thousands of people coming out in October for the action, and that's thousands and thousands of people that we've never reached before—vets, greasers, bikers. At the Metro Beach action Motor City SDS got into a fight with a gang. But a week later the gang sent a message that they sure did dig beating up SDS but they also dig going to Chicago to beat up some pigs.

Strategically, in the long run, it's our overwhelming strength that we have to play off of and that we have to win people to, and we have to communicate to people, and that's the only way people are going to come to understand the reality of the fact that we can, and will, and beginning in October are going to bring that war home in Chicago, build off that to bring the war home in Detroit, in San Francisco, in Columbus, and New York, and everywhere all over the country.

women's militia

75 women won a victory in Pittsburgh last week. Coming off of a Weatherman conference in

women from collectives across the country formed a women's militia to march on Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, like every city, has been bordering on the brink of race war, and during the past few weeks blacks have been fighting in the streets for an end to the racist hiring practices of large, powerful construction companies.

The women came to the city as an exemplary fighting force, fighting on the side of the black liberation struggle and the Vietnamese struggle, demanding that white kids in Pittsburgh decide which side they're on. Never before in Pittsburgh had there been a white revolutionary fighting force which kids who supported the black liberation struggles could identify with.

On Wednesday night, September 3, when they arrived in Pittsburgh, they commemorated the death of Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese struggle, by taking small guerrilla actions around the city in sections where kids usually hang out. In a hippie part of town one group of women marched around chanting "Ho Lives" and "Free Huey", carrying an NLF flag. From the very start some kids followed them, joining in with the chants. There were several confrontations with the pigs, but no sisters were busted and the flag was defended.

On Thursday all the women went to South Hills High School, which was by then covered with writing on the walls and sidewalks such as "Vietnamese Women Carry Guns", "Ho Lives", and "Jailbreak". They arrived at the predominantly white school of 3,000 kids during a lunch break when hundreds of kids were hanging outside the school. The women marched together around the school handing out leaflets about the National Action and rapping with the kids. They ran through the school yelling "jailbreak" and then held a rally outside the school. The pigs came and tried to stop the women from talking to the kids, who were digging it. The pigs attacked and the women fought back, protecting their sisters and the Vietcong flag. They fought liberating every sister that the pigs tried to arrest, and left the scene of the struggle chanting "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, The Viet Cong Is Going To Win."

As people were leaving in cars parked some distance away from the schools, the pigs moved and arrested 26 women, now charged with riot and inciting to riot. Two are also charged with assault.

During the action women moved in affinity groups, each of which had a tactical leadership. The entire action was planned and led by a group of women who made up the tactical leadership for the action. Affinity groups were very important in effectively defending our sisters; however, in a criticism session afterward we understood that we had not used the affinity groups to move offensively against the pigs, and that one of the most important uses of the affinity group is the extra power it gives us for offensive actions.

After the action people all over the city of Pittsburgh were talking about what the women had done. The war had been brought home to white people in Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh freaked out not only because a red army had come to town, but because that army was made up of women. The pig newspapers tried to explain the women's action as a nudity show, and announced on the radio that a group of "bare-breasted women" had run through the school. But the kids at the school know that what really happened was that women, speaking in support of the Vietnamese, black, and brown struggles and against the pigs, the teachers, and the courts came to their school, fought the pigs, and won.

Women fought together in Detroit at Macomb Community College and they fought in Pittsburgh; the women's militia will come together from all over the country to pull off an action in Chicago during the National Action.

The action in Pittsburgh attacked imperialism and racism, and, because it was carried out by women alone, it dealt a particularly strong blow to male chauvinism in men and women. It challenged the passive, non-political role which women are forced into, a role which only helps to maintain imperialism. Through the collective struggle of the women in Pittsburgh we took one more step in building a fighting force of women, the very existence of which attacks male chauvinism and male supremacy and strengthens the forces fighting imperialism and racism.



KICK THE ASS

(continued from Page 8)

and degrading images of women for the advertising and sale of their products. Stop Raping Our Land For Profit

The companies owned by the men at the Fairmont are destroying the world's natural resources. They have spilled oil on our beaches, denuded our forests, polluted our air, and plan to fill the San Francisco Bay. These men, their companies, and the government they control threaten to make the world uninhabitable for mankind. Raping our planet for private profit must stop.

Actions:

September 4: Picket line and demonstration at the dock as the Japanese destroyer the 'Amatsukaze' docks in SF carrying some of the Japanese businessmen to the Trade Fair and the IIC. We will demand that the Japanese-US Security Treaty not be renewed and demonstrate solidarity with our Asian brothers in their struggle for self-determination.

September 13-14: A people's festival (including music, booths, crafts, and skills, ethnic foods, and guerrilla troupes) is being organized with Third World groups to contrast with the decadence of the pigs' conference and banquets of the IIC. It is also a celebration of the cancellation of last month's hippie-capitalist planned 'Wild West Rock Show' designed to rip off the people's culture for the promotion of San Francisco as the rock capital of the world.

September 16: Active support for the Chicano walkout throughout the Southwest from high schools to demand self-determination and the right to learn and teach their own language and culture. High school students are

preparing to walk out of schools and then proceed to close down selected Safeway stores throughout the Bay Area in support of the Grape Strike and boycott.

September 17: Women's Liberation groups are planning an action demanding equal pay for equal work with preferential hiring for Third World women, tax corporations for free day care centers, an end to tracking, and open admissions for Third World women in schools, relevant curricula, an end to perpetuation of bourgeois myths of women in mass media and advertising, and for free legal abortions.

September 18: The closing IIC banquet with David Rockefeller as the main speaker (with a menu of Colombian coffee, Dominican sugar, California table grapes, Chiquita bananas, South African lobster, etc.) will be the focus for a mass action which will be held in the evening to make easier the participation of workers and students who can't leave school.

The response to the attack on the ruling class Festival of Thieves has been enthusiastic. People have generally shown a willingness to move in a disciplined and militant way. By building a massive militant action we can take our demands to the people and mobilize them to fight against imperialism and racism. Through our work around the demonstration we are helping to build a strong region and organization which will serve as a center for co-ordination, planning, and response to emergencies and struggles. We are making contacts and developing programs for the fall which serve the needs of the people and will create a revolutionary communist movement.



STOP

THE

FESTIVAL

OF

THIEVES

MONDAY

SEPT. 15-19

by the Northern California Regional Staff

Like Caligula we have all wished the patrician class had but one neck so we could strangle it once and for all. This wish can be begun to be fulfilled this year at the Fourth International Industrial Conference in San Francisco—co-sponsored by the Stanford Research Institute and the National Industrial Conference Board. 28 of the heaviest capitalist businessmen representing such corporations as Chase Manhattan Bank, Royal Dutch Shell, US Steel, Safeway Stores, AT&T, and more sit on the policy board of the ICC, and are planning to bring over 700 corporate executives to San Francisco, two-thirds of whom are from outside North America.

Couched in the rhetoric of friendship and assistance, the IIC will meet to consolidate multi-national corporate control over the resources, markets, and peoples of both the Third World and the industrialized countries. Topics to be discussed at the 1969 IIC include such gems as: 'removing impediments to private foreign investment'; 'modern day capitalism's role in developing nations'; 'influence of anti-trust legislation on international trade and investments'; and 'developing feasible alternatives to free collective bargaining and strikes'.

'Japan Week': Culture and Imperialism

The IIC is officially scheduled as part of a two-week trade and culture fair known as Japan Week, which was initiated by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce last February. Japan Week is a rip-off of Japanese culture from dancing and the art of bonzi tree growing to kendo performances, film festivals, sports festivals, and so on. While Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans work in the sweatshops of Chinatown for less than a dollar an hour, \$250,000 is being spent to put on the gala affair. Not a single Japanese American organization or individual is on the official Japan Week Committee. As with the detention of Japanese Americans during World War II, the destruction of Japanese homes and businesses to build the new Japanese Trade and Cultural Center in San Francisco illustrates the contempt and exploitation held by the ruling class for the Japanese Americans.

Why all the fuss over Japan? In addition to the great concern of the

'City Fathers' with expanding trade with the East, and their desire to consolidate San Francisco as the 'Wall Street of the West', 1970 is the year for the renewal of the Japanese-US Security Treaty. The treaty is central to continued US domination (economic, military, and political) in Asia. By the treaty Japan grants the US 'the use by its land, air, and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan'. If the treaty is renewed it will insure the US continued maintenance of its 100 military facilities in Japan, its command headquarters, transport troops, weapons (including CBW and nuclear), and supplies for Vietnam, port calls by US ships bound for Vietnam, and its twice-daily B-52 mission to Vietnam flown from Okinawa.

Our brothers, the Zengakuren, are preparing to mobilize all Japan to crush the treaty. The demonstrations around the IIC and Japan Week must continue our work to forge an alliance-in-struggle with them and the other fighting peoples in Asia.

Stop the Festival of Thieves — Kick the Ass of the Ruling Class

The actions around Japan Week and the IIC are being worked on by a coalition of white radical and Third World organizations. SDS has been working closely with Los Siete de la Raza, the Asian American Political Alliance, the Chinatown based Red Guard, and also the newly formed High School Student Union, the Haight Commune, Women's Liberation groups, and others. The organizations involved have been actively participating in a steering committee which is co-ordinating the actions of all the organizations. It has set up a legal defense network, and medical aid groups. The coalition has been working very smoothly, and has had almost complete agreement around the political strategy for the actions. The overall strategy for the IIC and Japan Week actions has been that this event provides a unique opportunity to do basic educational and agitational work which will raise the level of struggle and class consciousness. We will identify the enemy in general, thus relating otherwise isolated struggles (strikes, Safeway boycotts, etc.) to one another in terms of a common fight against a common oppressor.

These actions must be used to build an understanding of imperialism, a unified system of

exploitation at home and abroad. Young whites in the shops, schools, and streets must see that the success of their struggles is tied to that of the struggles of the Third World, within and without the US.

The focus for organizing for the fall actions has been working class youth. SDS has been in close contact with the Bay Area High Schools Student Union, working with them and other contacts to co-ordinate efforts toward a general high schools walkout on September 16 (right in the middle of the IIC) in support of the demands of Chicano students against racist oppression and for self-determination. High schools and junior colleges will be the targets of intensive leafleting as soon as the term begins, in addition to showing Newsreel films and making permanent contacts for ongoing programs and actions. Work is also being done with youth on the streets, on local 'strips' as well as on the more well known areas of Haight Street and Telegraph Avenue.

The IIC is serving as the political focus for the factory organizing that has taken place this summer. SDS has taken an active role in struggles against the rate increases of Pacific Gas and Electric, in strikes against the J. L. Case Farm Machinery Company, Dow Chemical in Pittsburgh (California), and Fritzi's (a garment factory that controls Chinatown sweatshops in San Francisco). Essentially two things have been learned from this work.

First, factories are not being leafleted indiscriminately. Several of the largest companies participating in the IIC are singled out where SDS people are working or where there has been advance work—mainly strike support. Every attempt is made to bring workers to regional labor committee meetings and to involve them in the fall actions.

Second, a single leaflet for mass distribution is seriously inadequate. A series of leaflets are needed beginning with a concrete analysis of corporate structure (profits, subsidiaries, foreign holdings and policies, and labor struggles), raising anti-imperialist, anti-racist political demands and motivating working people to demonstrate against the ruling class banquet on the evening of September 18.

This is slow hard work, and as yet there is too little experience to judge participation in IIC actions. But young workers have responded enthusiastically. Large numbers of young people who

never heard of SDS will have been reached by focusing attention not only on imperialism in the underdeveloped nations, but bringing it back home to their own oppression: from pigs in the high schools to pigs in the ghettos and on strike lines; from SF State to the People's Park; from the draft to tracking in the schools; from raising taxes to speed-up in the factories.

Politics and Scenario

The ruling class will not meet in peace in San Francisco, or anywhere else in the world. We will stop them. The actions focus around seven demands:

Occupation Forces Out

We want all troops out of Vietnam and the rest of Asia, and all cops and guardsmen out of the Third World ghettos. We want them out of high schools, colleges, workers' picket lines, and any other place where they put down the people. The pig must not be allowed to enforce fascist 'law and order' that only benefits those who own and rule this country.

Vietnam Will Win

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has been leading the battle against the US imperialists. A major step toward a just peace in Vietnam has been the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. It is a broad coalition committee to peace, independence, neutrality, and gradual reunification with the North. We will fight on the side of the NLF and the PRG and for their full political and military victory. We demand that all troops be brought home now before any more of the people are killed in this ruling class war.

Liberation for Black and Third World Peoples in the US

The same men who direct the war in Asia profit off the backs of the black and Third World communities in this country. To gain their freedom they have demanded the right to determine the affairs of their own communities and their own people. We will struggle alongside them in their fights to win their demands for open admissions, community, and black and Third World studies. We understand their freedom is key to our own.

Free All Political Prisoners

The ruling class makes the laws and controls the courts and prisons. They take away our leaders—such as Bobby Seale, Huey P. Newton, Ericka Huggins, Los Siete de la Raza, the Chicago Conspiracy 8, Fred Ahmed Evans, and the SF State strikers as well as hundreds of others. They must all be set free.

End the War Taxes — Tax Corporations

The ruling class pays for its armies by squeezing money from working people. These same corporation owners control most of the major unions by buying off the union leadership. While corporate profits skyrocket, executives keep wages low and working conditions lousy. We demand an end to the surtax, an end to layoffs, the lowering of the cost of living, and an end to all war taxes. Instead of taxing the people, we demand the taxation of the huge corporations for programs that serve the people.

Stop the Oppression and Exploitation of Women

Women are pushed in and out of the labor market according to the needs of the capitalist system. Women must not be channeled by the schools into low paying unskilled jobs and forced housewifery. We demand that women be given equality in jobs, wages, and working conditions. Women must have full control over their own bodies and be able to get free legal abortions. We demand that corporations pay for day care centers and maternity leaves for working women. We demand that the corporations halt their creation of false

(continued on Page 7)

VIETNAM

HAS

WON!

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TEXT OF HO CHI MINH'S WILL



Tu-Fu, the well-known Chinese poet of the Tang epoch, wrote: "In all times, few are those who reach the age of 70."

This year, with my 79 years, I count among those "few" people still, my mind is lucid, though my health has somewhat weakened in comparison with previous years. When one is on the wrong side of 70, health deteriorates with age. This is no wonder.

But who can forecast for how long I can continue to serve the revolution, the fatherland, and the people?

That is the reason why I leave these few lines in anticipation of the day when I go and join venerable Karl Marx, Lenin, and other revolutionary elders. In this way our compatriots, the whole country, the comrades in the party, and our friends in the world will have no surprise.

About the world Communist movement: Having dedicated my whole life to the cause of the revolution, the more I am proud to see the growth of the international Communist and workers' movement, the more deeply I am grieved at the dissensions that are dividing the fraternal parties.

I wish that our party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way consonant to the requirements of heart and reason.

I am sure that the fraternal parties and countries will unite again.

About personal matters: In all my life, I have wholeheartedly and with all my forces served the fatherland, the revolution, and the people. Now if I should depart from this world, there is nothing that I am sorry to have done. I regret only not being able to serve longer and more.

After my passing away, great funerals should be avoided in order not to waste the time and money of the people.

Finally, to the whole people, the whole party, the whole army, to my nephews and nieces, youths and children, I leave behind my boundless affection.

I also convey my fraternal greetings to the friends, comrades, youths, and children in the world.

My ultimate wish is that our whole party and people, closely united in the struggle, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.

First I will speak about the party: Thanks to its close unity and total dedication to the working class, the people, and the fatherland, our party has been able, since its founding, to unite, organize, and lead our people in an ardent struggle, and conduct them from victory to victory.

Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. All comrades, from the central committee down to the cell, must preserve the union and unity of mind in the party as the apple of their eyes.

Within the party, to achieve broad democracy and to practice self-criticism and criticism regularly and seriously is the best way to consolidate and develop the union and unity of mind in the party. Genuine affection should prevail among all comrades.

Ours is a party in power. Each party member, each cadre, must be deeply imbued with revolutionary morality, and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public cause, and exemplary selflessness. Our party should preserve its entire purity, it should remain worthy of its role as the leader and a very loyal servant of the people.

The working Youth Union members and our young people as a whole are of excellent nature, ardent to volunteer for vanguard tasks, undeterred by difficulties, striving for progress. The party must give much attention to their education in revolutionary morality and train them into continuators of the building of Socialism, both "red" and "expert".

Training and educating the revolutionary generation to come is a highly important and necessary task.

Our laboring people, both in the plains and in the mountain areas, have for ages suffered hardships, feudal and colonial oppression, and exploitation. Furthermore, they have experienced many years of war.

Yet our people have shown great heroism, great courage, and ardent enthusiasm, and they are very hard-working. They have always followed the party, since it came into being, and they have always been loyal to it.

The party must work out a good plan for economic and cultural development with a view to ceaselessly raising the living standard of the people.

The resistance war against US aggression may drag out. Our compatriots may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight against the US aggressors till total victory.

Our rivers, our mountains, our men will always remain. The Yanks defeated, we will build our country 10 times more beautiful.

No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The US imperialists will have to pull out. Our fatherland will be reunified. Our compatriots in the North and in the South will be reunited under the same roof.

Our country will have the signal honor of being a small nation which, through a heroic struggle, has defeated two big imperialisms—the French and the American—and made a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement.

DO NOT WEEP FOR SORROW
SAVE YOUR TEARS FOR VICTORY

TEN POINTS FOR PEACE

Imperialism is the system by which the American ruling class uses military and police force to insure economic and political control of the people of the world and in the United States in order to make a profit. The struggle of the people of Vietnam against US imperialism is the most important event in the world today, and has an effect on every area of life in the United States. It is therefore important to understand the solution of the Vietnamese people to the brutal war in their country.

The 10-point program was put forward by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, a broad coalition formed in 1960 to direct the struggle against the oppressive Saigon government established by the United States. Since then the NLF soldiers, called the People's Liberation Armed Forces, have successfully waged a people's war against Saigon and American soldiers, defeating them both politically and militarily.

THE TET OFFENSIVE

The NLF Tet Offensive in 1968 saw simultaneous attacks on dozens of cities, every provincial capital, and hundreds of military outposts. Thousands of planes were destroyed, and almost 100,000 American, Saigon, and allied troops were killed, wounded, or captured. Even the American embassy in Saigon was held for several hours by NLF soldiers. Tet marked a clear turning point in the military struggle. The cities are the areas most under American domination, but through all South Vietnam people in the cities joined the NLF and rose up. Even businessmen who had been making money from the American presence joined the struggle against US imperialism. The uprisings caught the American military machine completely by surprise, and as a result of Tet the United States was forced to agree to begin the Paris talks.

Since Tet the NLF has continued to increase its fighting both in the country and in the cities, and today the NLF controls over 80% of the land and population of South Vietnam. In June of this year the NLF joined other organizations (primarily those of businessmen and professionals from the cities) to form the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, which has already been recognized by more than 20 countries as the legitimate government of South Vietnam. Although a broader coalition which includes the NLF within it, the PRG has adopted the NLF's 10 points as its solution to the war, and now occupies the NLF's seat at the Paris talks. As a government, the PRG has taken over the complex job of administering the liberated areas of the country; the NLF continues to direct the political and military struggle against imperialism in South Vietnam.

The NLF's 10-point program is, therefore, the peace plan of the representative of the vast majority of the Vietnamese people. It is essentially the same plan put forward by the NLF at its founding in 1960, the same plan around which the Vietnamese people have been mobilized. The program calls for the United States government to "withdraw from South Vietnam all US troops, military personnel, arms, and war materiel", as well as those of its allies, without making any conditions. At the same time, the program defends the right of the Vietnamese people to fight in self-defense, to defend their country against an outside invader, the United States.



WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

Vietnam has never sent soldiers to invade the United States. In contrast, the US government has dropped more bombs on Vietnam, a country smaller than the state of Pennsylvania, than it dropped all over the world during all of World War II. In addition, more than 500,000 American soldiers are fighting in Vietnam. Nixon's solution to bring these GIs home is to insist on "mutual withdrawal of troops", a cute phrase which ignores the entire history of Vietnam.

Vietnam has always been one nation. Even as early as the 12th Century, the Vietnamese people joined together to fight against invading forces. In more recent times they have been fighting against imperialist powers since 1930, first against the French, then against the Japanese, then against the French again, and finally against the United States.

Recognizing that Vietnam is one nation, the 1954 Geneva Agreements stated clearly that the separation imposed at the 17th Parallel was only supposed to be temporary, until general elections would be held in 1956. The US refused to allow elections to take place because, as President Eisenhower said, Ho Chi Minh would have received 80% of the vote. Instead, the US established the corrupt Saigon government. Now Nixon is claiming, as did Johnson before him, that North Vietnam is an entirely different country which has invaded the South.

In fact, what has happened is that all Vietnamese people, from all parts of the country—North and South, city and country, highlands and lowlands—have again united against a common enemy, in this case US imperialism.

Since Vietnamese soldiers are not fighting in another country, it is impossible to talk seriously about "mutual withdrawal". Are the Vietnamese supposed to withdraw from Vietnam? The only foreign troops are those of the United States and its allies.

FREE ELECTIONS

The other important difference between Nixon and the NLF's 10-point peace plan concerns the way in which the people living in South Vietnam will decide their future. Both Nixon and the NLF speak about free elections. The NLF states that these elections should be free of outside interference, and should be carried out by a temporary coalition government, made up of representatives of broad sections of the population. Nixon wants the elections carried out with American troops still in Vietnam, and under the direction of the Saigon regime. The last time this Saigon "government" held an election it received less than a third of the votes. No one who opposed the war was allowed to run, and the candidate who came in second has since been beaten and thrown into jail. That's what Nixon means by free elections.

Part of Nixon's response has been to announce the withdrawal of 25,000 American troops from Vietnam, a move which certainly doesn't fool the GIs. (Most of the 25,000 are laundrymen and PX vendors, not combat troops under heavy attack.) At the same time, Nixon is increasing the bombing of South Vietnam. He wants to remove 25,000 in order to keep the other 500,000 soldiers still stationed in Vietnam. That's the essence of his troop withdrawal plan. And he's also talking



about "de-Americanizing" the war. That means using Vietnamese to kill Vietnamese. It's clear that Nixon wants to keep the Vietnam war going, by whatever means possible.

Throughout all of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, even to the black and Latin colonies inside the United States, similar fights are taking place against US imperialism. Most of these oppressed peoples look for inspiration to the Vietnamese people, and Nixon is clearly trying to set an example, to show that the United States will not tolerate these people deciding their own future. But just as the Vietnamese are winning their battle, so will the other nations win against US imperialism.

Inside the United States a strong movement is developing, supporting the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and demanding immediate withdrawal of US troops as the basis for the solution to the war. Nixon keeps claiming that he wants an "honorable withdrawal", but the only honorable thing the United States could do in Vietnam at this point is withdraw. The Vietnamese want to be left alone in peace, to be able to develop their country by themselves. The GIs want to be brought back home (as the frequent rebellions in Vietnam against the war clearly show). And millions of American people are against the war and for the demand "Occupation Troops Out; Bring the War Home". Join us.

NLF 10 Point

Proceeding from a desire to reach a political solution with a view to ending the US imperialists' war of aggression in South Vietnam and helping restore peace in Vietnam,

On the basis of the guarantee of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people,

Proceeding from the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and the actual situation in Vietnam,

On the basis of the political program and the five-point position of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, which keeps with the four-point stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam,

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front sets forth the principles and main content of an overall solution to the South Vietnam problem to help restore peace in Vietnam as follows:

(1) To respect the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, i.e., independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity, as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

(2) The US government must withdraw from South Vietnam all US troops, military personnel, arms, and war materiel of the other foreign countries of the US camp without imposing any condition whatsoever; liquidate all US military bases in South Vietnam; and renounce all encroachments on the sovereignty, territory, and security of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

(3) The Vietnamese people's right to fight for the defense of their fatherland is the sacred, inalienable right to self-defense of all peoples. The question of the Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam shall be resolved by the Vietnamese parties among themselves.

(4)

The people of South Vietnam shall settle themselves their own affairs without foreign interference. They shall decide themselves the political regime of South Vietnam through free and democratic general elections; a constituent assembly will be set up, a constitution worked out, and a coalition government of South Vietnam installed, reflecting national concord and the broad union of all social strata.

(5)

During the period intervening between the restoration of peace and the holding of general elections, neither party shall impose its political regime on the people of South Vietnam.

The political forces representing the various social strata and political tendencies in South Vietnam that stand for peace, independence, and neutrality—including those persons who, for political reasons, have to live abroad—will enter into talks to set up a provisional coalition government based on the principles of equality, democracy, and mutual respect with a view of achieving a peaceful, independent, democratic, and neutral South Vietnam.

The provisional coalition government is to have the following tasks:

(A) To implement the agreement to be concluded on the withdrawal of the troops of the US and the other foreign countries of the American camp.

(B) To achieve national concord, and a broad union of all social strata, political forces, nationalities, religious communities, and all persons, no matter what their political beliefs and their past may be, provided they stand for peace, independence, and neutrality.

(C) To achieve broad democratic freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of belief, freedom to form political parties and organizations, freedom to demonstrate, etc.; to set free those persons jailed on political grounds; to prohibit all acts of terror, reprisal, and discrimination against



BRING THE WAR HOME

Five weeks in Cuba, two of them meeting and traveling around with the Vietnamese. One more week working, planning, and writing on a Cuban ship as we returned to imperialism. Six weeks of socialism.

The boat pulls in to St. John's, Canada. Someone tells us that J. J. and Kuttner have come from Chicago to meet us. We go out on the deck. J. J. and Kuttner are being dragged off by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for coming on the boat. We know we're back.

The people who met with the Vietcong in Cuba tried to bring back more than "a feeling I can't express in words" (the only result of so many trips in the past). We understood that the reason the Vietnamese called the meeting was to get us moving against the war again. The Vietcong were giving us a kick in the ass at a time when they've defeated the US militarily, but when the Nixon administration is trying to cling to its bases, bombing South Vietnam and bullshitting in Paris more and more intensively. Kicking us in the ass when the revolutionary movement in the United States could be making its internationalism real by getting the US out of Vietnam once and for all. Kicking us in the ass because for the first time we're really strong enough TO END THE WAR, and we've hardly mentioned it for a year. Kicking us in the ass so we could start kicking ass inside the monster.

Kick ass is the main message we brought back from the meeting. Some people are saying that now we should be fighting to end the war; kicking ass is for later. Building a revolutionary movement is for later. Bullshit. Fighting to end the war, to bring it home, is the same as building a revolutionary movement. It involves the same things: reaching out to more oppressed sectors of youth, militant struggles with a clear internationalist focus, building cadre into a real fighting force. That's what we need to do to organize white people to help smash imperialism. That's also what we need to do to end the war.

HOW TO DO IT: THE FOUR PRONGS

1. Propaganda

Vietnam is the worldwide focus of the struggle against US imperialism. People all over the world know about Nguyen Van Troi, the hero and symbol of the South Vietnamese revolution; about Ben Tre province, where armed struggle against Diem began in 1959; about the fact that the South Vietnamese people now have a government, the PRG, that is administering the liberated territories, which amount to four-fifths of South Vietnam. And the people of the world know that Vietnam is winning.

The people of the US know nothing about Vietnam. Even "revolutionaries" in the US know next to nothing. So the first prong is a massive propaganda campaign to make people—including ourselves—know what's going on. Before the National Action, the NO will be putting out about a dozen different mass distribution shotguns and pamphlets: the Tet offensive; people's war; the PRG; Vietnamese women; the NLF's 10 points; Nguyen Van Troi; North Vietnam; a general pamphlet and shotgun; people's army versus imperialist army, etc. People should pick up on the pamphlets—really use them in their mass work—and on the posters that are coming out: Nguyen Van Troi; people's war; and so on. Slogans in the schools, subways, and buildings of the city will create a presence quick. Right now in New York subways are plastered with "Bring the War Home—Chicago October 8-11"; "Nguyen Van Troi—Live Like Him"; "VC"; "Long Live People's War".

Propaganda divorced from struggle is obviously bullshit. But in the context of the Weatherman fighting strategy, a real propaganda-agitation campaign on Vietnam would add to the clarity of our politics. It took the American people eight years to find out who the National Liberation Front ("the political arm of the Vietcong") were. Now we've got to hip people to the PRG,



the 10 points, the WAR, and what it all means—imperialism is getting smashed.

2. Enemies of the people

When SDS discovered that there was a ruling class in this country, we forgot that there are people in it—individuals, fat cats who benefit from the misery of the people of the world. In every region we should start pointing out these individuals and making life miserable for them—going to their offices, harassing them, making a spectacle of them in public, doing things that make it impossible for them to carry out their work. The way to make the ruling class concrete to oppressed whites is to show them who they are, what they're doing, and that they should be stopped from doing it. In New York we're drawing up a list of local enemies and will use actions against them as a focus for building the National Action. Good targets, local politicians, record company execs whose corporations not only exploit youth culture but make a fortune off the war, famous generals, sports and entertainment figures who go to Vietnam, district attorneys, judges, and so on.

3. Local struggles

In the past, SDS has felt that the way to prove university complicity with imperialism was to demand no recruiting, end ROTC, etc. The point was to make demands that the universities could not grant, because that would show what the universities were doing in the system. Similarly, in the high schools we pushed for no draft assemblies, no tracking, etc., to show what part the schools were playing. But we've got to show people it's one system with one ruling class that makes all the decisions. The most important demand we're making of the ruling class right now is the demand to end the war immediately. Local struggles should go on—they will this year, more of them, stronger and more militant than ever—but in every local struggle we should raise the demand "Bring the War Home Now" and "Free All Political Prisoners". We'll be in a much better position to really explain imperialism when people ask us "How can Kent State free Huey?" or "How can Richmond Hill High School end the war?" than we were when they said "Ending ROTC won't end the war." (something we've never been able to respond to). When every local struggle becomes a clear struggle against imperialism's most vulnerable position, fights against ROTC, etc. will become much more real and understandable.

4. Mass action

White people joining the struggle against imperialism means joining an army of white people that's fighting on the side of the blacks and browns of the Third World. We've got to build that army starting now. That's what the National Action is about. The focus, militancy, and clarity of mass actions against imperialism by white people is the best way of demonstrating our politics to whites who are ready to move, who are moving, but who aren't sure where they're going or why. Mass actions are crucial for building cadre who think militarily, know how to run together, trust each other, and fight hard. Militant mass actions are the most important material aid we can give to the blacks and Vietnamese because social disorder is what hurts the ruling class the most. All our propaganda, attacks on the people's enemies, local struggles—everything we do—has to focus in on October 8-11 and November 8. We'll only be able to win over new people and deal with repression by building our cadre, party, and army at the same time; the National Actions are key to all of that.

At the meeting in Cuba with the PRG, Van Ba (head of the PRG delegation) told us: "When you go into a city, look for the person who fights hardest against the cops. THAT'S the one you talk all night with. Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights."

That's the way the Vietnamese built the PLA. Right now the only way we're going to build a white fighting force is if we become one ourselves. Then the white kids across the country who've been way ahead of us—the kids who've been fighting—will know what we want them to join.

Peace Program

people having collaborated with either side, and who are now in the country or abroad, as provided for by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

(D) To heal the war wounds, restore and develop the economy, restore the normal life of the people, and improve the living conditions of the laboring people.

(E) To hold free and democratic general elections in the whole of South Vietnam with a view to achieving the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination in accordance with the content of Point 4 above.

(6)

South Vietnam will carry out a foreign policy of peace and neutrality:

To carry out a policy of good neighborly relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia on the basis of respect for her independence, sovereignty, neutrality, and to carry out a policy of good neighborly relations with the Kingdom of Laos, on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

To establish diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations with all countries, irrespective of political and social regime, including the US, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence: mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence, to accept economic and technical aid with no political conditions attached from any country.

(7)

The reunification of Vietnam will be achieved step by step, by peaceful means, through discussions and agreement between the two zones, without foreign interference.

Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, the two zones shall establish normal relations in all fields on the basis of mutual respect.

The military demarcation line between the two zones at the 17th Parallel, as provided for by the 1954 Geneva Agreements, is only of a provisional character and does not constitute in any way a political or territorial boundary. The two zones shall reach agreement on the status of the demilitarized zone, and work out modalities for movements across the provisional military demarcation line.

(8)

As provided for in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, the two zones, North and South Vietnam, shall undertake to refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, not allow any foreign country to maintain military bases, troops, and military personnel on their respective soil, and not recognize the protection of any country or military alliance or bloc.

(9)

To resolve the aftermath of the war:

(A) The parties will negotiate the release of soldiers captured in war.

(B) The US government must bear full responsibility for the losses and devastation it has caused to the Vietnamese people in both zones.

(10)

The parties shall reach agreement on an international supervision about the withdrawal from South Vietnam of the troops, military personnel, arms, and war materiel of the US and the other foreign countries of the American camp.

The principles and content of the overall solution expounded above form an integrated whole. On the basis of these principles and content, the parties shall reach understanding to the effect of concluding agreements on the above-mentioned questions with a view to ending the war in South Vietnam, and contributing to restore peace in Vietnam.



REVOLUTION SOUTH

Excerpt from Forward Under the Glorious Banner of the October Revolution. Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967.

...However, the national-liberation revolution of the Vietnamese people has not yet come to a close. While the completely liberated North has shifted to socialist revolution, the South has to fight on against the enslavement and aggression by the American imperialists and their henchmen to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country. For nearly a quarter of a century US imperialism has been the mortal enemy of the Vietnamese people. Having failed in their attempt to help the French colonialists reconquer Vietnam, and in their schemes to prolong and expand the Indochina War, the Americans supplanted the French and continued their aggression against South Vietnam with a view to perpetuating the partition of our country, turning South Vietnam into a US neo-colony and military base, preparing for an offensive against North Vietnam and the socialist camp, threatening the national independence of the peoples of Vietnam and Indochina as a whole, and hampering the progress of the revolution in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia. This design is a component part of the counter-revolutionary global strategy of US imperialism aimed at stemming the revolutionary torrents battering the bulwarks of US-led international imperialism.

In South Vietnam, US imperialism has rigged up a dictatorial, fascist puppet administration to drown the people's patriotic movement in blood, in the hope of forcing them to accept its neo-colonialism. But the South is an inseparable part of unified Vietnam; its people belong to a nation with a glorious four-thousand-year history, a nation which has struggled for nearly a century to break the fetters of colonialism and which in fact has reconquered its freedom and independence and become master of its own destiny. That is why the South Vietnamese people most certainly cannot but rise up and resolutely oppose the policies of enslavement and aggression of the American imperialists and their henchmen so as to wrest back their revolutionary gains, conquer their right to live, and choose a way of development in harmony with the general trend of the time.

Fighting under the glorious banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and standing firmly on the forefront of the motherland, our staunch and valiant compatriots in the South have written and are writing the most brilliant pages in the history of the heroic Vietnamese nation. The process of development of the South Vietnamese revolution is one of uniting, organizing, and expanding the revolutionary and patriotic forces to smash the aggression of the American imperialists and the puppet ruling clique so as to liberate the South, defend the North, reunify the motherland, safeguard independence and peace in Vietnam, and defend peace in Southeast Asia and the world. The basic immediate objective of the South Vietnamese people is to achieve independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and prosperity, and to advance toward peaceful national reunification. To attain this end, the South Vietnamese people have no other way than to use revolutionary violence to oppose the brutal and cynical violence of the American imperialists and their henchmen.

The lessons drawn from the August Revolution, like the experience gained in popular revolutions in other countries, have helped the South Vietnamese revolutionaries realize that any revolution with a broad popular character must use both political and military forces and combine political and armed struggle in order to secure victory. Revolution being the uprising of the oppressed and exploited masses to oppose the rule of the oppressors and exploiters, one must adopt the viewpoint of mass revolution in order to understand revolutionary violence; and only when one realizes that revolutionary violence involves two forces—political and military forces—and two methods of struggle—political and armed struggle—can one comprehend the offensive elan of the revolution when the revolutionary situation has grown ripe. On the contrary, if one considers revolutionary violence to be merely armed struggle, and consequently takes into account only the military forces of the two sides to appraise the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution, mistakes will be committed: one will underestimate the strength of the revolution and not dare to mobilize the masses for insurrection; and once the insurrection has been launched by the masses one will not dare to continue the offensive in order to push ahead the revolution, or, when the armed struggle has been started, one will not be able to avoid falling back to a defensive strategy.

In 1959-1960, when the American imperialists and their henchmen were using the most barbarous fascist means to sow terror and carry out mass slaughter, the South Vietnamese revolutionaries held that the enemy had basically failed in the political field and could no longer rule over the South Vietnamese people; for their part the people had come to realize more and more clearly that they could no longer live under the enemy's yoke and had to rise up and wage a life-and-death struggle to liberate themselves. Under those circumstances the South Vietnamese people rose up, using mainly political struggle which they combined with armed struggle, broke the enemy's grip, won control over large rural areas, wrested back power, redistributed land, set up "self-management committees", made every effort to develop their forces in every field, and launched a widespread people's war to carry on their liberation struggle.

In South Vietnam, as the vast countryside has a natural economy, not very dependent on the towns, and the major part of the population are working peasants living on agriculture, the aggressors and their henchmen, although ruling over urban centers, could not establish a strict control over the rural areas. That is why, when conditions were ripe for revolution, the villages constituted the weakest spot, where the puppet administration became the soonest shaky and sank into a crisis, hence the possibility for the people to start local insurrections and destroy the enemy's ruling system by big chunks.

After liberating extensive rural areas, the people gradually built up large and strong armed forces, rapidly organized powerful political forces, vigorously boosted the revolutionary movement throughout the South, stepped up political and military struggle, firmly maintained their offensive elan, foiled all the enemy's political and military schemes, and kept on pushing forward the South Vietnamese revolution. Since then the close combination of political and military struggle constitutes the basic form of revolutionary violence in South Vietnam, the most suitable form of revolutionary struggle against neo-colonialism. It has been used not only in the course of insurrections, but also in dealing with the American imperialists' "special warfare" and "limited (local) warfare". This combination of political and military struggle is carried out in accordance with the balance of forces in the three strategic areas: the countryside, the towns and cities, and the jungle and mountains, and with the general tasks of the revolution and the specific tasks of each period.

Like the national-democratic revolution all over the country in the past, the South Vietnamese revolution at present relies on the workers and peasants as the main force; the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class is the cornerstone of the national united front. Therefore, it cannot rely exclusively on the revolutionary forces in the countryside, but has to build up revolutionary forces in the towns as well, and impel the revolutionary struggle in both of these areas. In the process of development of the revolution in the South, the revolutionary movements in town and countryside have been closely co-ordinated, greatly influencing and vigorously impelling each other. While the revolutionary upsurge in the countryside over the



past few years has made its impact strongly felt upon the revolutionary movement in the towns, the seething struggle of the urban masses has created highly favorable conditions for uprisings in the countryside and the extension of people's war. The recent fierce political struggle of the townsfolk has weakened, sometimes checked or seriously upset, the military activity of the enemy on the battlefields, thus giving efficacious support to the offensives of the revolutionary armed forces; conversely, the military successes won on the battlefields, like the repeated attacks launched by the Liberation troops on the enemy's rear bases and dens in the towns and cities, have accelerated the growth of the urban revolutionary movement.

In short, the South Vietnamese revolution has developed by using the revolutionary violence of the masses to launch local insurrections in the countryside, expanding revolutionary forces in both rural and urban areas—military and political forces alike—firmly maintaining the offensive elan, attacking the enemy through military and political actions and through agitation among his troops in all three strategic areas: rural, urban, and hill-forest, so as to smash successively all his military and political activities and advance toward complete victory.

US neo-colonialism and military strategy in the world, in Southeast Asia and in South Vietnam, constitute a passive and patched-up strategy, the product of a weakened position in face of the repeated onslaughts of the world revolutionary forces. Besides, neo-colonialism in South Vietnam had gone bankrupt from the very outset, when the American aggressors and their henchmen resorted to outright fascist methods against the people, against the very forces that they wanted to win over and deceive. By using "special warfare" and "limited (local) warfare" to try to salvage a policy which had gone bankrupt since the very beginning, the American imperialists have been driven from one passive position to another, and the harder they strive to escape this situation the worse their quandary and the heavier their setbacks.

Using the above-mentioned correct and flexible revolutionary methods, the South Vietnamese people have overthrown the Ngo Dinh Diem fascist regime, plunged the puppet administration into an unending crisis, and pushed the Americans deeper into a "tunnel with no end in sight". With these methods, people's war in South Vietnam has reached an unprecedented height, driven the American imperialists' "special war" to bankruptcy, and foiled their "limited" war in its initial stage, an extremely savage war of aggression waged by 1,200,000 troops equipped with the most barbarous weapons, which has consumed already \$50,000,000,000.

Having sustained bitter setbacks and finding themselves bogged down in a pitiful morass, the American imperialists strive on the one hand to extend their war of aggression in South Vietnam, and on the other cynically carry out a war of destruction against North Vietnam in the hope of shaking the fighting will of the entire Vietnamese people, preventing the North from helping the South, and staving off an inevitable defeat. Over the past three years the Vietnamese people in the North have resolutely defended their motherland, duly punished all "escalation" steps by the enemy, and won great successes. Neither American planes nor warships could intimidate them. In the fire of war North Vietnam continues to advance firmly on the road of socialism and to fulfill its duty as the great rear toward the South—the great front. The resounding exploits of North Vietnam embody the successes of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the excellence of the vanguard socialist regime, the strength of the laboring people's collective masterhood of the land, the patriotism and unshakable will for national reunification of the entire Vietnamese people, and the correct, clear-sighted leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh.

Standing on the forefront of the struggle against the American imperialist aggressors, the Vietnamese people are accomplishing their sacred national tasks while performing extremely heavy and glorious internationalist duties, thus contributing to the solution of present-day fundamental contradictions in the world. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is the spearhead of the world revolutionary tide, the peak of the common struggle of the laboring people and all nations for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. That is why it has enjoyed and is enjoying the deep sympathy and active help of all revolutionary forces in the world, first of all the socialist camp. This great and precious support constitutes one of the decisive factors for the victory of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression, for national salvation.

Holding still higher the banner of national liberation, peace, and revolution, the entire Vietnamese people will advance firmly toward final victory and fulfill their lofty internationalist duties toward the world's laboring people and nations.

OUTH AND NORTH

Editor's note: Linda Evans, NIC member from Motor City SDS, was one of seven people who went to North Vietnam to retrieve three captured American military men. Their original goal of merely receiving the prisoners and escorting them back to the US was changed as the Vietnamese realized that most of them represented segments of the Movement that were not pacifist, but had actively joined in the struggle of the Vietnamese and were fighting in the US to end the war.

Instead of spending all of their time talking to the released prisoners, they traveled around North Vietnam for 18 days, seeing the country and talking with the people. What follows is Linda's impressions, transcribed by Barbara Healy.

While we were in North Vietnam, we took a trip from Hanoi to the 17th Parallel, then to the Bang Hai River which is the border between South and North Vietnam. We were the first Americans ever to take this trip.

The thing we were impressed with was the incredible destruction of the entire countryside. We saw evidence of every kind of bomb and weaponry that was used in North Vietnam: bombs that included napalm, phosphorus bombs (which are much worse than napalm because even water will not stop the burning), pellet bombs, and fragmentation bombs, which are strictly anti-personnel weapons.

During our stay in one village a time bomb went off. We saw evidence of the use of toxic gases and shelling even while we were there. Entire cities had been bombed and destroyed by American aircraft during the air war.

As we passed from Hanoi to the South the destruction got worse and worse, and instead of being sporadic, it soon became clear that a war of extermination had been waged on the Vietnamese people.

Nowhere from Thanh Hoa, which is about 30 miles south of Hanoi, to the 17th parallel was a city left standing. There were no hospitals, no schools, no brick buildings of any kind that had been left untouched. All of them were either skeletons, totally bombed out on the inside with very few walls standing, or else they had been bombed to the ground and were rubble.

We traveled to the cities of Thanh Hoa, Dong Hoi, and Vinh Ling, and saw that not even churches and pagodas had been spared. Factories and universities had all been completely devastated. Cities without any kind of military installations or military bases were destroyed.

From Hanoi to the 17th Parallel, every bridge had been completely bombed, and of course rebuilt. They stockpile materials for rebuilding in huge shelters along the road, and immediately after a bombing raid they begin reconstruction. The roads had been a primary target along with the cities, in an effort to destroy the communications between the southern part of North Vietnam and Hanoi, and hopefully to stop any supplies that were being taken to the South.

American bombing raids were extensive against villages made of bamboo huts and against agricultural co-operatives. Whole fields would be bombed, and the bomb craters along the road make the landscape look like the moon.

The devastation of Vietnam is really incredible, but what is much more impressive is the complete involvement of every aspect of the people's lives in the struggle against the Americans, in the struggle to support the South. This is what people's war means.

In Vietnam, everyone contributes to everyone else's part in the struggle. The people in the mountains cut down trees and bring them down to the people working by the rivers, to prepare the bridges. The women have taken over production in the fields and in factories so that men in the army are free to fight. The children consider it their joy and duty to stay in school and study very hard so that when they finish the

will be able to help reconstruct their society. There is a movement among young women to postpone engagement, marriage, and children so that they will be able to better take part in the struggle.

The young people in Vietnam have taken what they even call a vanguard role in the reconstruction of society. Teams of mostly young women station themselves in various areas of the countryside and repair the bridges and roads. The people of every village help the youth in the repair and reconstruction of portions of the road near the village that they live in.

In desolate areas near the mountains, and in areas of the country that are not near any village, the youth are totally responsible for repairing the bridges and keeping the communication lines open. They have a slogan that says: "Every drop of my blood will be shed before the communication lines will be broken." And they mean it. Teams of older vanguard youth work steadily at keeping the railroads clear. Both teams are involved in a defensive of the country by learning to use anti-aircraft weapons, by helping the army units fight, by caring for the wounded, and

bombing raids, special teams go into action. The fire brigade puts out fires. The guidance team spots where the bombs are falling, and tells people where to go by knocking on the shelter door with a special code. The first aid team gives first aid. The rescue team digs people out when the shelter collapses. The village militia is out in the fields in the anti-aircraft emplacements, shooting at the planes all the time.

The army has trained the old men's militia. They're all over 60 years old, and the commander of the one we visited was 67. They were the first ones ever to shoot down an American aircraft at night. They shot off their anti-aircraft guns to show us how loud they are. You see films of their shooting down planes and the joy that's in their eyes when they shoot down a plane.

The highest honor of a village is how many planes they shoot down. That's the first thing they tell you, before they talk about how much they have been bombed. They have a competition, a socialist competition called emulation. They don't compete for material benefits, but for the honor of having taken part in the struggle.

When they get an award, either

a medal or a flag, they hang it in the village "House of Tradition". The House of Tradition has relics of aircraft that were shot down. They have statistics which show exactly why they call it the House of Traditional Victory. They give a lot of information about the fight against the French, because that's still very close to them. And also about the continuing struggle against the Americans. They talk about how many of their people are in the South.

The people are victorious because before the war 20 or 30% of the co-operatives met their quota of five tons of rice per hectare. About 85 or 95% of the co-operatives have now met or are over that quota. And this is in the middle of bombing.

We visited one co-operative that had 60 hectares of bomb craters in the middle of its fields. So what they do with the bomb craters is, they fill them up with water for irrigation. They have transformed them into fish breeding ponds. They plant banana trees, casava roots, and vegetables in them. They build special trellises around them for squash. The best squash in the country is grown in the bomb craters because of the nitrate in the soil. The ingenuity of the people is just incredible.



NGUYEN VAN TROI LIVE LIKE HIM

In October 1964 an American colonel was captured by a group of Venezuelan guerrillas and held as a guarantee of the life of a member of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Nguyen Van Troi, a 20-year-old Saigon electrician, was condemned to death for his attempt to blow up a bridge over which Secretary of Defense McNamara was scheduled to pass—Cong Ly Bridge (the Bridge of Justice). The US government and Saigon puppets agreed to the exchange, but Troi was murdered by them as soon as the American colonel was released in Venezuela.

Nguyen Van Troi had been in jail for six months. He resisted the interrogation and torture of the Saigon army. He refused to listen to Saigon propaganda and told the police that his only regret was that he had failed to kill McNamara. He tried to escape three times. The first time he jumped out of a second-story window and landed on a passing car, breaking his leg. As soon as he arrived at the hospital, he attempted to escape again.

Nguyen Van Troi was executed on October 15, 1964. He tore the bandage from his eyes, saying he wanted to see his countryside as he died. And even after the first round of bullets hit him, he cried "Long live Vietnam—Long Live Ho Chi Minh!"

Nguyen Van Troi is a symbol of the South Vietnamese people's war, not only in Vietnam, but also in Cuba and for

revolutionary youth movements in Latin America and in Europe. He exemplifies the statement of Huey Newton that the spirit of the people is greater than the Man's technology. He had been in the NLF a few weeks before he was arrested, but he was determined to fight against American military and police domination. Like all Vietnamese, Troi's own life had been touched by the long arm of American imperialism. His father was killed in a bombing raid, his mother had escaped into the jungle and died of starvation. His fellow workers brought him to the NLF by asking him why he, an electrician, had no electricity in his house while the Americans and their agents had everything.

The Vietnamese have a saying: "Do not weep at death, save your tears for bullets. In the heart of Saigon, people raised banners to honor Troi. In the prisons themselves rebellions occurred. And in the countryside, People's Liberation Armed Forces units fought fiercely to avenge Troi. The NLF helped his wife, Pham Thi Quyen, to escape from Saigon, and she continues his work against imperialism.

The life of Nguyen Van Troi, like the life of Che Guevara, is an example to revolutionaries all over the world. Latin America will remember Troi in demonstrations on October 15. We must do the same. We must use the Vietnamese slogan: "Nguyen Van Troi—Live Like Him".

PROGRAM OF ACTION OF THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET NAM



As imperatively called for by the new situation and tasks, and in response to the deep aspirations of the broad social strata, the historic All South Viet Nam Congress of People's Representatives meeting on the 6th, 7th and 8th of June 1969 resolved to set up the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam formally declares to assume its heavy responsibilities before the nation and the world; all its members solemnly pledge themselves to do their utmost to fulfil the heavy and glorious mission entrusted to them by the Congress.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam undertakes to mobilize the South Viet Nam armed forces and people to impel forward the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation to total victory and to successfully accomplish the lofty tasks laid down by the Congress of People's Representatives.

For the sake of the supreme interests of the Fatherland and people,

In this sacred hour of history,

In order to carry out the tasks confided to it by the Congress,

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam proclaims hereafter its 12-point program of action:

1. To lead the armed forces and the entire people to achieve monolithic unity, step up military and political struggle, defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war and their attempts to "Vietnamize" it, and press the United States to start serious talks with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam on the basis of the 10-point overall solution put forward by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, force the U.S. Government to withdraw completely and unconditionally from South Viet Nam the U.S. troops and those of foreign countries belonging to the U.S. camp with a view to bringing the war to an early end, restoring peace and enforcing the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people — independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity — as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

2. To abolish the disguised colonial regime established by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet Nam; to overthrow the entire structure

of the puppet administration; to rescind the Constitution and all anti-national and anti-democratic laws enacted by the puppet administration, to annul the sentences passed by the said administration that are detrimental to the life, property, dignity and other interests of the citizens.

To build a really democratic and free republican regime, to organize general elections according to the principle of equality, real freedom and democracy, without foreign interference.

3. In a very broad spirit of national concord for the sake of the supreme interests of the country and nation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is prepared to enter into consultations with political forces representing various social sections and political tendencies in South Viet Nam that stand for peace, independence and neutrality, including those who, for political reasons, have had to take up their residence abroad, with a view to setting up a provisional coalition government on the principle of equality, democracy and mutual respect. The provisional coalition government will organize general elections in order to elect a Constituent Assembly, work out a democratic constitution taking into full consideration the interests and aspirations of the entire people, and form a coalition government symbolizing national concord and the broad unity of all social segments.

4. To strengthen the comprehensive resistance potential of the people.

To consolidate and develop the revolutionary power at all levels.

To build and reinforce the revolutionary armed forces.

To unify the patriotic armed forces.

To consolidate and widen the liberated areas.

5. To enforce extensive democratic freedoms. To set free all persons detained by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration on account of their patriotic activities.

To prohibit all acts of repression, reprisal and discrimination against people having collaborated with either side, whether living inside or outside the country.

To achieve equality between man and woman in all fields.

To carry out policy of unity and equality among the various nationalities. The national minorities are free to use their own languages and scripts for developing national culture and arts, and to maintain or to change their usages and customs.

To respect freedom of belief and freedom of worship, to achieve equality among the various religions.

To protect the interests of the Vietnamese nationals abroad.

To see to the legitimate interests of foreign nationals in South Viet Nam.

6. To pay the greatest attention to the interests of all strata of townspeople, first of all, the right to a decent life and democracy.

To improve the living conditions of the workers and labouring people. To amend labour legislation and fix minimum wages. To fight against corporal punishment, wage stoppages, and sackings of workers and labouring people; the workers enjoy the right to take part in the management of enterprises, and freedom to join trade unions.

To oppose the pressganging of youths and students into the puppet army, and guarantee to youths and students opportunities for education.

Personalities, intellectuals, professors, writers, artists, journalists are to be given freedom of thought, freedom of opinion and freedom of the press.

Industrialists and traders are entitled to freedom of enterprise, and to fight against any oppressive competition by foreign monopoly-capital.

The various strata of urban populations must be able to take part in political activities, in all actions for peace, independence, sovereignty and a better life; to resist all terroristic and repressive measures of the U.S. puppets.

7. To boost up production in order to supply the front and increase the people's potential; to create conditions for the building of an independent and self-supporting economy. To care for the living conditions of the labouring people and pay proper attention to the interests of the other social strata.

To carry out a land policy consistent with the specific conditions of South Viet Nam; to improve the living standards of peasants.

To restore and develop agricultural and industrial production.

To encourage industrialists and traders to contribute to the development of industry, small industry and handicrafts.

To protect the right of ownership of means of production and other property of the citizens in accordance with the laws of the State.

8. To combat the US-imported slavish and degraded culture and education, which are impairing our people's fine cultural traditions. To build a national and democratic culture and education, to develop science and technique.

To raise the cultural standard of the people, to liquidate illiteracy, to make complementary education available for the people, to open new general education schools.

To develop health work and promote prophylactic hygiene.

9. To encourage, welcome and properly reward those officers and men of the puppet army and police and those functionaries of the puppet administration who cross over to the side of the people after accomplishing meritorious deeds. To give special encouragement and rewards to those puppet army and police units that go over to the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

To treat with leniency, and refrain from any discrimination against, those guilty persons who show true repentance and rejoin the ranks of the people; those who are credited with distinguished service shall be remunerated accordingly.

10. To actively resolve the problems left behind by the U.S. war of aggression and the puppet regime.

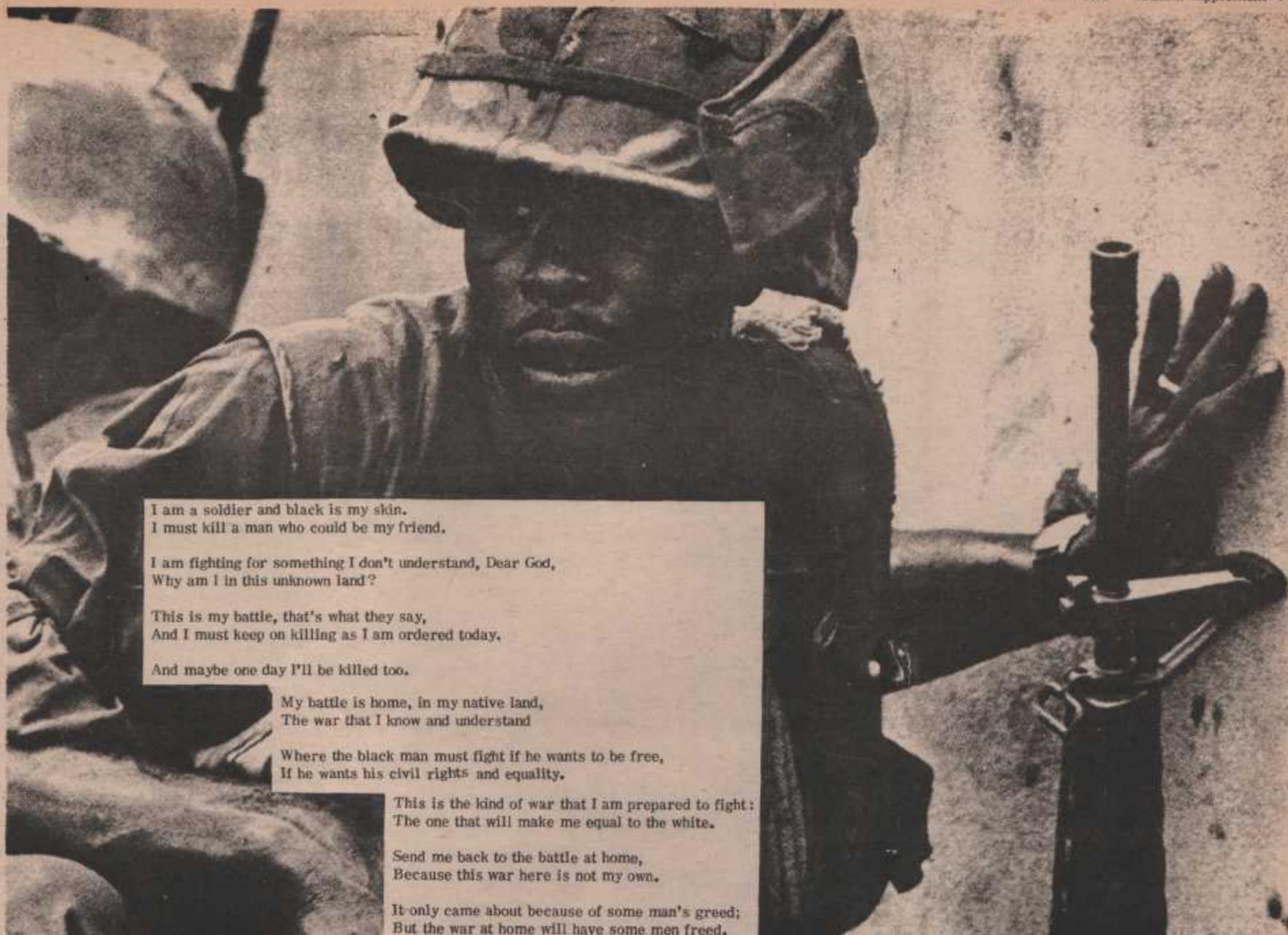
To heal the war-wounds and restore to normal the life of the people.

To give devoted care and wholehearted help to war invalids and the families of the fighters who have died for the Fatherland.

To supply jobs to the people, to diligently settle the problems of unemployment. Those compatriots forcibly "resettled" by the enemy in concentration camps and strategic hamlets, who desire to stay where they are, shall be granted recognition as owners of their lands, and given assistance to continue living in the place; those who desire to return to their former villages shall also be lent help to this effect.

To grant relief to the compatriots in misfortune, to care for orphans, old people and invalids.

Disabled puppet army men and puppet policemen and derelict and destitute families of puppet army men and puppet policemen killed in battle shall also benefit by proper attention.



I am a soldier and black is my skin.
I must kill a man who could be my friend.

I am fighting for something I don't understand, Dear God,
Why am I in this unknown land?

This is my battle, that's what they say,
And I must keep on killing as I am ordered today.
And maybe one day I'll be killed too.

My battle is home, in my native land,
The war that I know and understand

Where the black man must fight if he wants to be free,
If he wants his civil rights and equality.

This is the kind of war that I am prepared to fight:
The one that will make me equal to the white.

Send me back to the battle at home,
Because this war here is not my own.

It only came about because of some man's greed;
But the war at home will have some men freed.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

To help those who have been driven by the U.S. imperialists and their agents into depravity to turn a new leaf.

11. To re-establish normal relations between South and North Viet Nam, to guarantee freedoms of movement, of correspondence, of residence, to maintain economic and cultural relations according to the principle of mutual benefit and mutual help between the two zones. The two zones will come to terms on the statute of the demilitarized zone, and work out modalities for the movements across the provisional military demarcation line.

The reunification of the country will be achieved step by step, by peaceful means, through discussions and agreement between the two zones, without constraint from either side.

12. To win the sympathy, support and aid of all countries and progressive people in the world, including the American people, for the South Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

To wholeheartedly support the national independence movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

To effectively coordinate actions with the American people's protest movement against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Viet Nam; to actively support the legitimate struggle of the Afro-Americans for their fundamental national rights.

To carry out a foreign policy of peace and neutrality.

To maintain friendly relations and to carry out a good-neighbour policy with the Kingdom of Cambodia on the basis of respect for her independence, sovereignty and neutrality, to recognize and pledge respect for the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia in her present borders; to follow a good-neighbour policy with the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

To establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries, irrespective of political and social regime including the United States, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence: mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence. To accept aid, with no political strings attached, from any country, in terms of capital, technique and specialized services.

To refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries; not to allow any foreign country to maintain military bases, troops and military personnel on the South Vietnamese territory, not to accept the protection of any country or military alliance.



THE Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam earnestly calls on the entire armed forces and people to unite closely as one man behind it, to strive their best to carry out the above Program of Action to lead the widespread offensives and uprisings to still greater successes, to thwart all dark schemes and perfidious manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their agents, and to bring about new developments in our people's sacred resistance.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government pays a warm tribute to the admirable spirit of sacrifice and gallantry of our whole armed forces and people who always remain worthy of a heroic nation in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for the independence and freedom of the country.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam expresses its deep gratitude to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to our Northern kith-and-kin who have done their utmost to fulfil their duty as the great rear area to the great front.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam feels greatly thankful to the socialist countries, all peace-loving countries and progressive peoples in the world, and to the American people as well for their sympathy and support to the struggle of

the South Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Let our armed forces and people keep up their victorious march, level all obstacles, fight perseveringly and heighten their vigilance, determined to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, to overthrow the puppet administration, to force the U.S. government to withdraw wholly and without conditions the U.S. troops and those of foreign countries belonging to the U.S. camp, and leave the South Vietnamese people to effectively exercise their right to self-determination, with a view to gloriously completing the national liberation and creating basic conditions to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral, prosperous South Viet Nam and to achieve the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

Southern fellow-countrymen, march forward valiantly!

Splendid victories are awaiting us!

The South Vietnamese people will win!

South Viet Nam, June 10, 1969

For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam

The President,

HUYNH TAN PHAT

Fidel: In Solidarity with Vietnam

THE MILITARY POWER OF THE
YANKEES, WITH
ALL THEIR

given at a mass rally in solidarity with South Vietnam by Major Fidel Castro on June 3, 1969

We have met here tonight to express concretely our total support for the position and the points put forward by the National Front for Liberation at the Paris Talks.

One must bear in mind that these ten points are in accordance with the line and the position that have been upheld by the NLF of South Vietnam since the struggle began—or, rather, not since the struggle actually began, but since the NLF was established on December 20, 1960.



The NLF of South Vietnam is not a political party, but rather an organization that includes many political parties and mass organizations of South Vietnam—an organization which was formed to co-ordinate the initially scattered efforts of the people of South Vietnam, the armed struggle against Yankee oppression which began with the participation of diverse organizations and which it was necessary to co-ordinate and unite in a front with very clear and very concrete goals, with fully defined principles, and with waging that struggle as its objective.

The NLF is not a Marxist-Leninist party, and it is well to point this out because one of the arguments the imperialists have employed since the very beginning is the all too familiar one of anti-communism.

That does not mean that the argument of anti-communism is a valid one—some kind of reason or justification. Its use is just part of the whole network of fabrication, the whole network of lies, the whole imperialist propaganda campaign in relation to the struggle of the people of South Vietnam.

Thus these 10 points are indisputable. In the face of these points there is no real argument, no legal argument, not a single argument that the Yankee imperialists can raise.

In addition to this, in addition to the weight of these positions in addition to their moral and legal force, there is also the fact that the people of Vietnam have virtually defeated Yankee imperialism in Vietnam through armed struggle.

Therefore these points include not only a legitimate right but a right that has been defended, a right that has been won, a right that has been earned by the people of South Vietnam as thoroughly if not more so than by any other people of the world, since it is not a matter of three days or three months but a matter of 30 years! For that is how long the people of Vietnam have been fighting against very powerful imperialist and reactionary forces. 30 years! This is not a right they must beg for.

Martí stated that rights were not begged for but taken. That they were obtained by force and not by begging. Maceo said that rights were won with the blade of a machete.

Now then, in the face of the reasonable serious and just position of the NLF, what is the position and what are the arguments of the US government?

Among other things I have picked out the fundamental questions related to the US position in the negotiations. They say here, for example, in their public statement: "We speeded up the strengthening of the South Vietnamese forces. As a result General Abrams reported to me on Monday that progress in the training program had been excellent, and that apart from what will develop from the negotiations, the time is approaching when South Vietnamese troops will be able to take over some of the fighting front now being manned by Americans."

In other words, confronted with a peaceful solution, confronted with



a solution which would re-establish the legitimate rights of the Vietnamese people, the answer of the government of the US, the first thing he said—thus revealing his true thinking, his innermost thoughts—is that he has received news from the Yankee general-in-chief in Vietnam to the effect that the job of training a puppet army of South Vietnamese, at the service of the criminals imposed on the country by the Yankees after 14 coups d'etat in less than 15 years "had been excellent".

And he says this gleefully whether it is true or not, and we know it is not true because nothing over there has been going along excellently for the Yankees for a long time. But evidently the men in the Pentagon have informed the government of the United States that excellent progress has been made in the program of arming to the teeth—training and equipping—the puppet army of the criminals who, backed by the bayonets of over half a million Yankee soldiers, oppress or try to oppress that people.

It is well to analyze the points of Nixon's eight-point position, because they contain in themselves all the weaknesses, falsities, and insincerities of the stand taken by the government of the US—a position which cannot be defended with any serious arguments, legal arguments or moral arguments.

We must bear in mind how the United States got into Vietnam. This happened on the heels of the Vietnamese struggle against the French colonialists supported by the US.

The imperialists themselves—and this cannot be unknown to the man who precisely at that time was a close collaborator with General Eisenhower—the present president of the United States must know the reason why the US intervened in Vietnam, trampling underfoot the Geneva agreements. These reasons are well known, and Eisenhower himself has admitted that they have to do with raw materials, strategy, and a conviction that elections could not be permitted there.

The United States intervened, selected its own clique from among the worst bandits, and established and supported the first puppet government there, and that government dedicated itself to the worst reactionary practices—to unleashing the worst kind of repression. No elections were held and no rights were granted to the people. The land which had been given to the peasants during the struggle for liberation from French colonialism

were taken away from them. All kinds of outrages were committed against the people of South Vietnam. And the people of South Vietnam resorted to mass struggle, to legal struggle, to peaceful methods of struggle, to assert their rights and to demand the guarantees set forth in the Geneva accords. Finding themselves in an intolerable situation, the people rose up in arms against that government. This marked the renewal of the armed struggle which led to the establishment of the NLF in 1960.

The first thing we should ask ourselves is who has given the government of the US any right to make decisions on these matters concerning the people of South Vietnam. Where is such a thing written? On what principles does it base this claim? What legality can these pretensions of the US have? What right has the government of a country which for 15 years has kept the people of Vietnam from determining their own destiny, from deciding what they have to decide, from having the government that they desire?

It is possible to speak of an honorable withdrawal, but it so happens that in Vietnam the only honorable thing that can be done at this point is to withdraw. The only honorable thing is withdrawal itself! The really dishonorable thing would be to wait until they are forcibly expelled from Vietnam.

And here is another argument from among those I mentioned which is highly revealing, the one to the effect that if they withdraw their troops from Vietnam, those in the communist world who are in favor of a confrontation will take heart at this. And that it is necessary for the whole world to know that a confrontation with the United States is costly and unrewarding. The innermost thoughts of the United States government are revealed here. The meaning of this is that it is prudent for us to commit aggression to keep there the troops we shouldn't have sent, to continue committing crimes against the people of South Vietnam, so that the others may see that nobody can defy the United States, so that the other people of the world may learn how harsh and cruel the force and the military machine of the United States are. That is, they confess before the world that they are killing and murdering for the purpose, among others, of instilling terror into the peoples of the world, of terrorizing world public opinion, and above all of terrorizing those people who have to live under colonialist regimes or under imperialist exploitation.

This argument posed so subtly reveals the underpinnings of the US government's thinking when it points out that the war it is waging there is terrorist in nature. And one may well ask what right the US has to commit crimes against one people simply to intimidate other peoples, to intimidate the revolutionary movement.

It is unthinkable that the US government should dream up the incredible argument or the incredible thesis of simultaneous withdrawal of the Yankee invader troops along with the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. This



TECHNOLOGY, LITERALLY
BLEW UP IN THE FACE OF
THE RESISTANCE
PUT UP BY

THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

is even more incredible when you consider that in the preamble of this proposal they begin by stating that the job of equipping the puppet army is going along very well. But more incredible yet is that any government should try to call the Vietnamese foreigners in Vietnam. That is as if here we called a resident of Pinar del Rio, of Oriente, or of Camaguey a foreigner, or as though in the US one should call a Bostonian, a New Yorker, or a resident of California a foreigner.

As far as we know Vietnam is one country, one people, and one nation, and therefore we consider as very just, proper, and fundamental the NLF points that all which concerns the Vietnamese armed forces should be left for them to settle themselves, and that absolutely nobody should mix into this or interfere.

15 years ago the United States could have avoided intervening in South Vietnam. 10 years ago it could have refrained from starting out on its special war. 5 years ago it could have refrained from starting its local war. But then in its arrogance, in its false valor, believing itself invincible, believing itself super-powerful and intending to crush the people of Vietnam by terror and by force, it was neither conscious nor hesitant nor circumspect before the prospect of throwing thousands of airplanes, millions of tons of bombs, and hundreds of thousands of soldiers against the people of Vietnam in a useless undertaking, in an impossible task.

When it did this it never even passed through the minds of the denizens of the Pentagon, or through the minds of the imperialists, that the capacity for struggle, the capacity for the resistance of the Vietnamese people, the potential for struggle of a people fighting for its most fundamental rights, might be what it was.

But it is certain that the military power of the Yankees with all their technology blew up—yes, literally blew up—in the face of the resistance put up by the Vietnamese people, and I don't think that anybody can deny it.

And when the US began to de-escalate it was simply because its resources wouldn't spread any further. Anybody reading the statistics of these outlays of this tremendous squandering realizes that the Yankee escalation has reached its limits.

However there is something still more important, and that is that the war in Vietnam aroused the consciousness of the American people, and that the patience of the people of the US themselves was also reaching its limits and public opposition to the war was becoming increasingly greater. And this is something the imperialists cannot hide.

It is also logical that tonight we should remember the man who was a standard bearer among us, of the cause of the people of Vietnam and of the movement for national liberation, that tonight we should remember Che. That we should remember his theses to the effect that in order to support Vietnam it is necessary to fight to create two, three, many Vietnams.

Some misinterpreted his watchword. There were even some who distorted it. They tried to present his thesis as something absurd as if what was sought was two, three, or more tragedies such as Vietnam. It is not exactly from that angle that the problem should be viewed. The problem should be viewed from the angle of what the example of Vietnam and its struggle means. Che was not thinking of the tragedy involved. He was thinking of the struggle. He was thinking in terms of the people's duty to struggle. In terms of the people's right to free themselves from imperialism he was thinking not in terms of the tragedy involved but rather in terms of the dignity and the glory and the justice of Vietnamese struggle.

SDS new left notes

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 31
OCTOBER 2, 1969

all power to the people

Last summer, picking up off of the siege of Columbia, with the images of France fresh in our minds, was the first time that white kids got heavy into moving in the streets in a widespread way. Columbia showed us that it was possible—necessary—to take the offensive. By the time the Democratic Convention rolled around, we had been through fights at the Boston Commons, Berkeley and the Haight, and many smaller actions in other cities.

Those experiences were our best education. We were learning that to move in a positive way we needed to work in groups, and always be prepared for the tactical situation. Getting into fighting meant digging on survival—we fight because we want to win. Learning to fight isn't easy, and a lot of people got hurt and busted in the process. But our clumsiness didn't stop us from immobilizing Pig City last summer.

'Did you go to Chicago ?

'Did you see what we did there ?'

This summer produced a different kind of energy. After a year of moving, kids were more pissed than ever. But there weren't a lot of big actions around turf or the pigs like last summer. Action has generally been short and tight—a park thing, a beach thing. It's been a time to tighten up, hang into groups, feel that tension

mounting inside. 'Hope you have got your thing together/ cause there's a bad moon on the rise....' Tension mounting, waiting to explode

In Chicago the war is coming home. Last week there was action every day in the Loop. On Black Monday, 3000 members of the United Coalition for Community Action demonstrated at the Civic Center, demanding black jobs in the construction trades. On Tuesday night people marched from Lincoln Park to the Loop in the first action centering around the conspiracy trial.

Wednesday was the heaviest, when over 2000 people rallied outside the Federal Building, marched to Grant Park, and then moved out into the streets demanding that the trial be stopped. Storefronts and pig wagons were stoned. In the resulting fights 15 people were hospitalized, 10 of them pigs. 18 people were busted, 13 of whom are SDS people who have been organizing in Chicago for the national action. Three of these were arrested at gunpoint in a raid at an apartment several hours later, and four others in the following days were charged on warrants with several misdemeanors and two felonies, with bails ranging from \$5,000 to \$11,000.

But the thing is already happening. The struggle can't be put in jail. The high schools and subway stations are covered with slogans. People know that the shit is coming down again, and a lot more of them are with us. Images of last August are close.... See you on the 8th.

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What appears to be an arrow is actually a poison dart, defiantly launched by Marion Delgado from an overhanging branch. Live like him!

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**SOLIDARITY WITH
LATIN AMERICA**
*October 8 day of
the heroic guerilla*

URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE IN URUGUAY:

TUPAMAROS

Among the many protests staged by Latin Americans to demonstrate their opposition to US policies during Governor Nelson Rockefeller's recent visit was the destruction of the General Motors offices in Montevideo, Uruguay by a commando of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN), also known as the Tupamaros. Despite extreme security measures, four men, dressed as police officers and armed with machine guns, broke into the GM office building and tied two night watchmen. They sprayed fuel in several rooms and on some six cars and set the building on fire. The pamphlets found on the scene bore the five-pointed star of the Tupamaros, and protested the visit of Rockefeller, "agent of Imperialism". In July, with Uruguay under martial law, the Tupamaros killed one policeman and disarmed several in five raids.

The Tupamaros have been President Jorge Pacheco Areco's major headache since he took over the Presidency in 1967, after General Oscar Gestido died in office. They are the major guerrilla movement in Latin America today and operate in an area—urban guerrilla warfare—where all other revolutionary attempts have failed in recent years.

Since Fidel Castro and his followers overthrew Batista, many Latin American revolutionaries have become convinced that the only means to achieve power is guerrilla warfare. In certain countries, notably Venezuela, revolutionaries have tried both urban and rural warfare.

The Tupamaros have done a good deal to advance the opposite case in Uruguay. Almost at the same time that urban guerrilla warfare was abandoned in Venezuela, the Tupamaros adopted that strategy as the most adequate for the "objective conditions" existing in their country. Its population had benefited from an advanced welfare system and its predominant middle class had enjoyed a high real standard of living in comparison with the rest of the continent. In fact, Uruguay was the "Switzerland of Latin America".

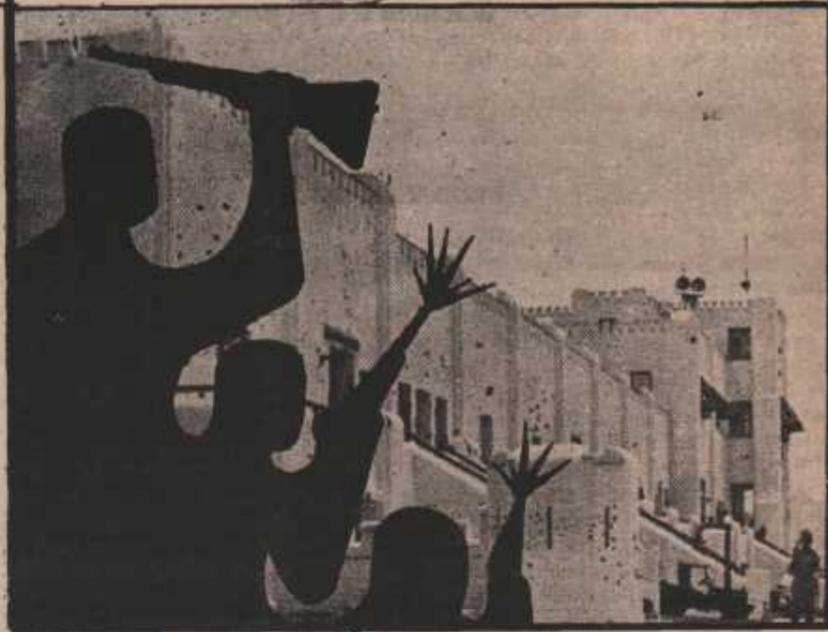
By the mid-fifties, however, Uruguay's economy began to falter. Anti-inflationary measures applied by the government in the early sixties met with increasing opposition. In June 1968, after the cost of living had increased 160% in 15 months, President Pacheco Areco sought to stop inflation by establishing wage and price controls. The decision was preceded by a month of violent clashes between the police and workers, civil servants, teachers, and students (striking for more money for education and a lower bus fare). Pacheco Areco declared Uruguay under limited martial law. This state of siege did not calm the situation, and strikes went on.

The origins of the MLN are still very obscure. In a country small enough for everybody to discover the best-guarded secret, very little is known about the Tupamaros, how they came into being as a group, who the leader or leaders are. The name comes from Tupac Amaru, the 18th-century Inca cacique who led an unsuccessful rebellion against Spain.

The Tupamaros first identified themselves as a revolutionary group August 9, 1965, when shortly before midnight a high-caliber bomb exploded in front of the offices occupied by Bayer, the chemical concern. A leaflet with the following message was found nearby: "Death to Vietnam's Yankee assassins. The assassin's intervention in Vietnam must be answered by the union of all oppressed people. The common enemy must be crushed. Bayer, a Nazi enterprise, provides gas for the gringos' intervention. Viva Vietnam. Viva la Revolucion. TUPAMAROS." In September 1968, hundreds of students clashed with the police and three students were killed. In January 1969, striking civil servants clashed with the police in Montevideo. One person was killed and 32 people were injured.

On March 15, 1969, the state of siege was lifted. However, as a result of the unrest provoked by Rockefeller's visit, Pacheco Areco reinstated martial law and added one item: all news concerning the Tupamaros was to be censored.

The fundamental factor that prompted the Tupamaros to launch their strategy in the early sixties was their belief that Uruguay had entered a deep and prolonged crisis. The measures adopted to cure Uruguay's economic ills hit the middle class particularly hard. Civil servants, bank employees, and students have defied martial law and gone on strike against the rising cost of living. Some have joined the Tupamaros. The two Tupamaros arrested after a Banco de Cobranzas holdup in 1964 proved to be a professor of the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes and an ex-student of that institution. The police subsequently arrested an engineer who had provided the arms for the robbery. The Tupamaros boast: "Most of the people may not be ready to take part in our struggle, but at least they are not willing to get killed defending a government that harms them."



On July 31, 1963, a small group of men broke into the rifle club of Nueva Helvecia—a sleepy town in Uruguay's hinterland—and stole 31 rifles and 2 carbines, most of which had been lent to the club by the Uruguayan armed forces. At first the police attributed the robbery to common criminals, but gradually they concluded that it had been a political act, and singled out Raul Sendic as the leader. They are probably right.

The Nueva Helvecia robbery marked the beginning of a long series of attacks against arsenals. Dynamite, rifles, guns, military and police uniforms have disappeared in swift commando operations. On January 1, 1964, the customs office of Bella Union, a town on the border of Brazil, was attacked by a handful of men who escaped with 19 rifles. In February 1966, a commando broke into a theatre showing an Arnold Wesker play and stole 10 Mausers and 18 military uniforms lent by the Uruguayan armed forces for the performance.

Banks have been another target. In their last bank holdup they got away with almost \$10,000. On November 29, 1968, six men entered Montevideo's Casino Carrasco at 3:45 p.m. and left with \$25,000. On February 18, 1969, seven men dressed in the Tupamaros' favorite disguise, police uniforms, forced their way into Punta del Este's elegant Casino San Rafael and escaped with some \$200,000.

Montevideo's main radio stations have also been attacked by the Tupamaros. The sabotage of Radio Ariel, owned by Jorge Batlle, a close adviser of Pacheco Areco, was particularly effective. The station was raided a few minutes before the President was to address the nation, and the damage was so great that it had to be closed for several days. The Tupamaros escaped, taking some short-wave transmitters with them.

The most unusual Tupamaro raid was that of the "Hunger Commando". That group held up a truck owned by a food-store chain on December 24, 1963, and distributed its chickens, turkeys, and sweets to the inhabitants of a slum for their Christmas dinner.

new left notes

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WHEN YOU GET TO CHICAGO...

The central communication number for the action is 641-7133. When you get to town you should call that number, and you will be told which movement center you and your region will be working out of. Do not call or come to the National Office. For security reasons, absolutely no one but N. O. staff will be admitted into the building. Anyone else who comes to the office will not be allowed in. The National Office telephones will not be functioning as communication lines during the action. So don't call here either. Central communication number: 641-7133

PROBLEMS WITH THE PRINTED WORD....

It seems that there is a fascist in our local Greyhound Express Office, and that a lot of folks have not received their literature orders recently. When we send orders Greyhound we always send a postcard to you telling you the date we shipped the order and the invoice number of the shipping ticket. If you have received one of our postcards but not your literature, you should contact Dennis Waldman, Literature Secretary, at the National Office. All orders are insured, so that we will be able to either replace the order or refund the money you paid for it.

LIVE LIKE THEM

THE SMALLEST ARMED GROUP HAS MORE CHANCE TO BECOME A PEOPLE'S ARMY THAN THE GROUP THAT LIMITS ITSELF TO "REVOLUTIONARY POSITIONS"

The transformation of Uruguay's left-wing militants into Tupamaros took place somewhere between 1962 and 1963. That year Sendic and the Socialist Party militants who had been organizing the nonunionized workers of Uruguay's countryside decided to form a paramilitary group, independent of the official line adopted by the Socialist Party. That group was the Tupamaros, and their first holdup, at Nueva Helvecia, was carried out without the support or knowledge of the party.

The second stage in their evolution came about when the Tupamaros decided that a paramilitary group connected with a specific party was not an adequate solution. They became the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, which welcomes all militants who agree with its strategy and tactics.

The basic principle which has guided the MLN is that revolutionary action in itself—that is, the process of arming and preparing oneself, acquiring equipment and finally carrying out actions that violate bourgeois legality—generates revolutionary conscience, organizations, and conditions. Platforms and documents are important, but they are not sufficient to make a revolution. Furthermore, the principles of "a Socialist revolution have been spelled out and tried out in countries like Cuba. They cannot be discussed any longer."

Their position concerning strategy is quite clear. "Although the efforts to create a party or a mass movement before initiating an armed struggle cannot be disregarded, there is no doubt that armed struggle quickens and precipitates mass movements. Nobody can doubt any longer that the smallest armed group has more chance to become a popular army than the group that limits itself to taking 'revolutionary positions'." This rejection of the debate among numerous Latin American leftists over the role of the political party in the revolutionary process is typical of the Tupamaros and stems from their lack of dogmatism in everything except their ultimate goal, socialism. They place themselves in the Marxist-Leninist camp, consider their struggle to be part of a continental strategy aimed at creating "more Vietnams".

"Strategy valid for this day, this month, and this year... (is) to create as soon as possible an armed force capable of taking advantage of any favorable situation created either by Uruguay's crisis or by any other factor. To create consciousness in the population, through the actions of armed groups or any other means. To create bases in the cities and in the countryside. To connect ourselves with other Latin American revolutionary movements for action throughout the continent."

The Tupamaros discarded rural guerrilla warfare because Uruguay lacks the mountains or jungles where a "foco" can be organized. On the other hand, it is highly urbanized, at least 70% of its 2,560,000 inhabitants live in cities and almost half in Montevideo alone. The capital also dominates Uruguay's economic life, handles most of the international trade, consumes 75% of the electricity, and contains most of the industry. Montevideo was considered a far better setting for a guerrilla base than the flat, sparsely populated countryside.

Although police estimate that there are some 100 hard-core Tupamaros the exact number is unknown. A recent publication indicates that the total is 1,000, but with only 50 or 100 participating in commando operations. The members are divided into completely independent cells of six or seven men, coordinated through the leaders, and each Tupamaro ignores the real identity of his fellow cell members. Decisions for commando operations are put to a vote, individually or by cells. Leaders meet once a year to discuss their unit's instructions and evaluations. It is not known whether the MLN has both a military and a political leadership or whether they are united in one person.

In the last three years the police have uncovered some eleven Tupamaro bases. Several were hide-outs, others were makeshift ammunition factories, and still others provided services. In one of them, a photographer's shop, the raiders found equipment to make ID cards similar to those issued by Uruguay's police. All the

machines used in the forgeries and even the paper were legitimate and had been obtained from police headquarters. The type of equipment found in Tupamaro hide-outs has led observers to believe that the movement provided Guevara with the false Uruguayan passport he used on his way to Bolivia.

Only two Tupamaros have been killed since 1965, when the MLN stepped up its activities, but at least 20 men connected with the movement are in jail. Although some are thought to have been tortured, the information obtained by the police has not led to a major crackdown because of the cell organization. No top-ranking Tupamaro has been caught. Sendic, whose capture was ordered after the Nueva Helvecia holdup and who is believed to be one of the top members of the MLN, if not the leader, is still at large. He is thought to have led the Casino San Rafael robbery, having spent at least two months in Punta del Este before the holdup, with his wife and youngest child.

The Tupamaro intelligence service has infiltrated even the police, and the current joke in Montevideo is that if you want to find out the exact weather forecast, ask a Tupamaro. Their information on Uruguay's armed forces is voluminous. The police have captured documents which disclose a precise knowledge of the Montevideo garrisons—number of men, identity of officers, schedules, private addresses, logistics, etc. On February 7, 1969, a guerrilla deposited a package containing some 60 pounds of dynamite at the doorstep of the captain who is the Uruguayan army's armament technician. The following letter was attached to the package: "Captain Manzino: This material is in bad shape; since it is dangerous to handle it, we have decided to destroy it. We believe you are best equipped for this task. We are aware of your technical expertise. At any rate, since these boxes were ultimately going to be examined by you, we decided to avoid delays and give them to you. Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (Tupamaros)."

The Tupamaros have not attacked the government frontally, but have sought either to expose its corruption (i.e. the Monty holdup), or force it to display its weakness and respond with irrational repression. On August 7, 1968, a commando kidnapped Dr. Ulises Pereira Reverbel, president of the state-owned Electricity and Telephone Services, a close friend of President Pacheco Areco and one of the ideologues of the hard anti-labor line followed by the government. MLN issued a statement taking full credit for the kidnapping and warning the police not to search for the prisoner. Despite strenuous efforts on the part of Montevideo's police force, Pereira Reverbel was not found until he reappeared five days later, haggard, unshaven but unharmed, in a Land Rover parked near Montevideo's main football stadium. The kidnapping was not done only for publicity, like Fidel Castro's kidnapping of Juan Manuel Fangion, the Argentine racing champion. It sought to create support among the workers who had been subjected to Pereira Reverbel's anti-labor policies. In its efforts to locate him, however, the government ordered the search to include the university. The police entered some buildings without a warning and without requesting permission from the rector. Students opposed the search and violent clashes ensued.

The Tupamaros have achieved the first stages of their strategy without terrorism. They fight with the police only when they are forced. Whenever their raids might hurt civilians, they make a point of protecting them. During a bank holdup, the Tupamaros helped an elderly lady who had fainted. Afterward, even Montevideo's chief of police had to admit "the perfect organization, the good manners of the robbers and their humane behavior". On another occasion, when the Tupamaros blew up the transmission room of Radio Ariel, they first took time to warn the people in a nearby house that they might be hurt by the explosion. Consequently, Uruguayans have not been seriously harmed by the Tupamaro raids, although on occasion passers-by have been wounded. Thus to a certain extent, and without necessarily approving its goals, they admire the MLN's audacity and expertise.



The name of Régis Debray often brings a snicker to the lips of "intellectual radicals" in their university positions. This is indicative of the fact that they are merely in the "movement", not the revolution, and in reality serve only to hinder the people's struggles. A discussion of political and political, politics and politicking in Latin America has much relevance to the situation today in the mother country of imperialism.

A new revolutionary organization appears on the scene. It aspires to legal existence and then to participation in "normal" political life, in order to consolidate and make a name for itself and thus prepare the conditions for armed struggle. But lo and behold, it is gradually absorbed, swallowed up by the routine of public political life. It recruits a few members, a few activists, holds its first congress, mimeographs a newspaper and various bulletins. Then come the hundred annual assemblies, the thousand rallies, permanent representation with other organizations to be arranged, public relations to be maintained. The balance sheet is always positive: Functionaries function, printing presses print, delegates travel; leaders are always overwhelmed with work; in brief, the machine is in motion. It has cost dearly and it must be cared for. The organization is "growing stronger".

The prospects of insurrectional struggle diminish, delayed first for a few months and then for years. Time passes, with its vicissitudes, and there is an increasing tendency to view the opening of hostilities as a somewhat sacrilegious temptation, a kind of adventurism, perennially "premature". True, the militants who may get restless and demand an explanation must be pacified; then a small annual contingent of "military cadres" will be formed—a matter to be handled by the Top Leadership, but known to the organization's activists, who whisper their hopes to each other. Alas, the moment has not come; there are always unforeseen factors. The militants must understand that to enter into armed struggle at a given moment would be to destroy the sacred unity of the organization, to sabotage its legality, to provoke repressions against its leaders. In short, the political organization has become an end in itself. It will not pass over into armed struggle because it must first wait until it establishes itself solidly as the party of the vanguard, even though in reality it cannot expect recognition of its vanguard status except through struggle. This vicious circle has plagued the revolutionary struggle for years.

Consequently, it is useless to create antibodies in the heart of existing political organizations: the opportunist infection, far from being halted, will be aggravated, exacerbated. It has been proved that certain political or ideological struggles, certain public polemics, have only delayed the opening of the decisive mass struggle. The creation of one more political "foco" mobilizes only the mobilized: a number of militants and a handful of old leaders are siphoned off from one party to another, subtle internal adjustments are made within the profession, but this does not result in raising the level of the class struggle; it even tends to lower the level since the struggle is not based on genuine positions—non-existent on both sides as far as the national reality is concerned—but on personal gossip, animosities, trivia. These changes do not interest the workers and peasants, who are in fact unaware of them; and they do not alarm the ruling class at all. Rather, they localize the focus of infection. The capital's mid-town area abounds with congresses, public lectures, bulletins, posters, all completely legal; meanwhile, in these same countries these same governments ferret out "activists", not so noisy but deemed more dangerous.

Antibodies must be created at the base, at the level of the masses, by offering them a real alternative within their reach. Only then will the existing political leaderships be changed. In most Latin American countries, it is only when the armed struggle has begun or is about to begin that the process of removing the revolution from its ghetto, from the level of academic

talk-fests, from a caste of permanent globe-trotters, can get under way. In philosophical language, a certain problematique has vanished since the Cuban revolution, that is to say a certain way of posing questions which governs the meaning of all possible answers. These "Marxist-Leninist" fractions or parties operate within the problematique which is imposed by the bourgeoisie; they are bogged down in false problems, quarrels over precedence or office-holding in left organizations, electoral fronts, trade union maneuvers, blackmail against their own members. This is what is called quite simply politicking. In order to escape it, there must be a change of terrain, in every sense of the word.

The new political organizations—all the "Marxist-Leninist" parties or groups that have been formed since the Cuban Revolution, were established, according to their own claims, for the purpose of precipitating the armed struggle which had been sabotaged by the "revisionists". They have not achieved their objective. Furthermore, in order to justify their claim to sole possession of the role of vanguard of the proletariat, these organizations have ended by sabotaging the armed struggle wherever it remains to be carried out. In their condemnation of those who have put their propaganda into practice, they sometimes find themselves on the same side as the leadership of the parties they have severed connections with—verbal adversaries but partners in fact, playing the same game. It would be too boring, too tedious, to examine the failure of the organizations or parties styling themselves, above all, "pro-Chinese". At the first stages of organization they are able to attract honest and resolute militants, thanks to their programs and their promises. Very soon, however, their method of work, the noisy opportunism of their political line, the hypocritical sabotage of their own official line on the armed struggle, lead the revolutionary strata, principally the youth, to abandon them. They then find themselves grappling with the added hostility of yet another political organization. Sad to say, in some countries, revolutionary groups which are in the midst of serious preparations for the armed struggle feel that they are under observation and are more persecuted by these "Marxist-Leninist" parties, from which many of them came, than they are even by the repressive agencies.

In Latin America, wherever an armed political vanguard exists, there is no longer a place for verbal-ideological relation to the revolution, nor for a certain type of polemic. We are on new ground; we are dealing with new issues. Wherever imperialism is actually challenged, splinter groups are re-absorbed, and revolutionaries unite on methods and objectives tied to the people's war.

No one can avoid seeing that in Latin America today, the struggle against imperialism is decisive. If it is decisive, then all else is secondary.

If the armed struggle of the masses against imperialism is capable of creating by itself, in the long run, a vanguard capable of leading the people to socialism, it cannot define itself in terms of its relations to reformism or any other existing political organization, but fundamentally in terms of its relation to imperialism. To regulate the pace of its action by comparison with the inaction of the reformists is not only to lose time, it is to paralyze the decisive in the name of the secondary.

Furthermore, the best way of putting an end to vacillations is to pass over to the attack on imperialism and its local agents wherever conditions are ripe. In this way the problem is inverted. It will be up to the conciliators to determine their position vis-a-vis the revolutionaries, not vice versa. It is they who must define themselves in terms of reality. If they join in the struggle against the Empire, so much the better for everyone; if they hold back, so much the worse for them—history will see to it that they are left by the wayside. A successful ambush, a torturer cut down, a consignment of arms captured—these are the best answer to reformist faintheartedness which may arise in one or another American country.

Since the Cuban Revolution and since the invasion of Santo Domingo, a state of emergency has existed in Latin America. The Marines shoot at anything that moves, regardless of party affiliation. For reasons of both emergency and principle, the armed revolutionary front is a must. Wherever the fighting has followed an ascending line, wherever the popular forces have responded to the emergency, they have moved into the magnetic field of unity. Elsewhere they are scattered and weak. Events would seem to indicate the need to focus all efforts on the practical organization of the armed struggle, with a view to achieving unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

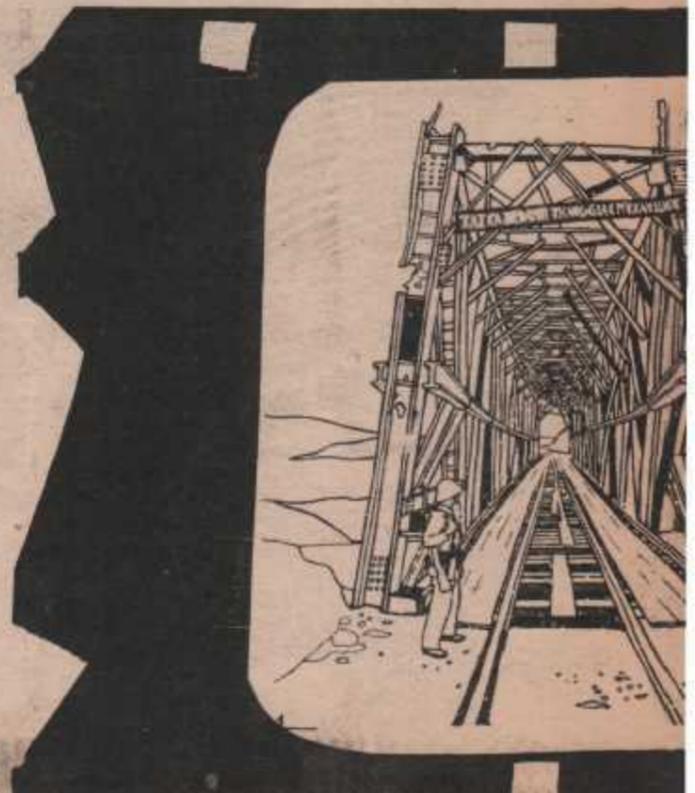
Those who have taken up arms in Latin America today have rallied round this line of action. All groups that come closer to the armed struggle are also converging on this line. This encounter owes nothing to chance, still less to conspiracy. No one has given a signal, as the oligarchs pretend to think. This encounter is simply rational. In a given historic situation there may be a thousand ways to speak of the revolution—but there must be one necessary concordance among all those who have resolved to make it.

Revolution



two excerpts

REGIS DEBRAY



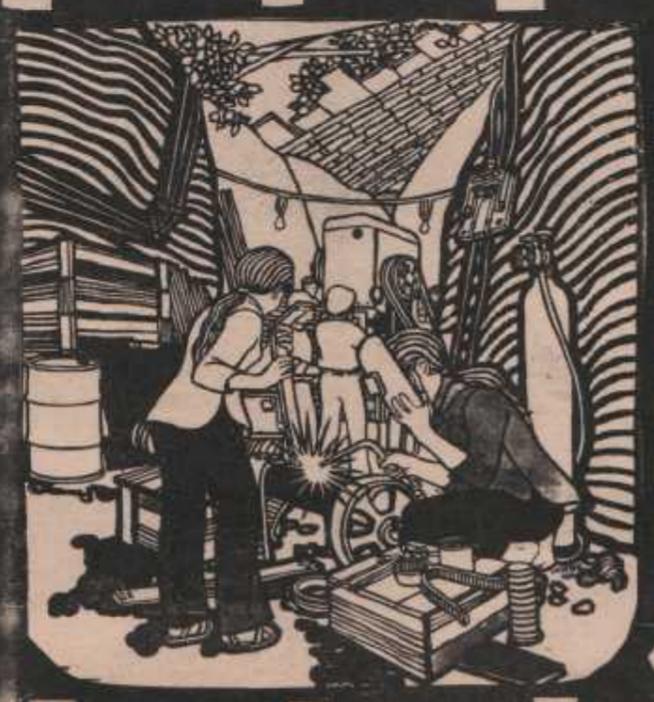
Revolution in the R

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REGIS DEBRAY

two excerpts



ation in the Revolution

What is the situation in many Latin American countries today?

The guerrilla focos, when they first begin their activity, are located in regions of highly dispersed and relatively sparse population. Peasants know very well that fine words cannot be eaten and will not protect them from bombardment. The poor peasant believes, first of all, in anyone who has a certain power, beginning with the power to do what he says. The system of oppression is subtle: it has existed from time immemorial, fixed, entrenched, and solid. The army, the guardia rural, the latifundista's private police, or nowadays the "Green Berets" and Rangers, enjoy a prestige all the greater for being subconscious. This prestige constitutes the principal form of oppression: it immobilizes the discontented, silences them, leads them to swallow affronts at the mere sight of a uniform. The neocolonial ideal is still to show force in order not to have to use it, but to show it is in effect to use it.

In other words, the physical force of the police and army is considered to be unassailable, and unassailability cannot be challenged by words but by showing that a soldier and a policeman are no more bullet-proof than anyone else. The guerrillero, on the other hand, must use his strength in order to show it, since he has little to show but his determination and his ability to make use of his limited resources. He must make a show of strength and at the same time demonstrate that the enemy's strength is first and foremost his bluster. In order to destroy the idea of unassailability—that age-old accumulation of fear and humility vis-a-vis the patrono, the policeman, the guardia rural—there is nothing better than combat. Then, as Fidel tells us, the unassailability vanishes as rapidly as respect engendered by habit turns into ridicule. The very peasants who take up arms and join the guerrilla force on the same footing as the veterans begin to underestimate the enemy and take it lightly; at this stage a contrary duty devolves upon the guerrilla leadership: to concede some prestige to the enemy, so as to preclude the running of unnecessary risks.

Lastly, the absence of organized or semi-regular revolutionary forces. Armed propaganda, at least if it is geared to combat, seeks precisely to organize regular units or to expand existing units, by means of "political recruiting". Thus, villages are "stormed" to assemble the populace and hold propaganda meetings. But in reality how have the inhabitants of these villages been helped to rid themselves of their class enemies? In the course of these operations, few arms have been acquired. Even if young peasants are spurred by enthusiasm to join the guerrilleros, with what will they be armed?

Many comrades have concluded from these experiences that an ambush of a column of reinforcements or some other blow leveled at the enemy in the vicinity would have aroused more enthusiasm in a given village, attracted new recruits, given a more profound moral and political lesson to the villagers, and—most important of all—would have procured the arms so essential to a new guerrilla unit. The destruction of a troop transport truck or the public execution of a police torturer is more effective propaganda for the local population than a hundred speeches. Such conduct convinces them of the essential: that the Revolution is on the march, that the enemy is no longer invulnerable. It convinces them, to begin with, that the soldier is an enemy—their enemy—and that a war is under way, the progress of which is dependent on their daily activities. Afterwards, speeches may be made and will be heeded. In the process of such raids the fighters collect arms, reduce the enemy's military potential, acquire experience, demoralize enemy troops, and renew the hopes of militants throughout the country. The agitational

and propagandistic impact resides in this very concentration of effects. A significant detail: During two years of warfare, Fidel did not hold a single political rally in his zone of operations.

In other words, armed propaganda follows military action but does not precede it. Armed propaganda has more to do with the internal than with the external guerrilla front. The main point is that under present conditions, the most important form of propaganda is successful military action.

To consider armed propaganda as a stage distinct from and prior to military operations is, it seems, to provoke the enemy needlessly, to expose the comrades working as propagandists to assassination or the need to escape, and to expose a future or possible zone of guerrilla action.

The lack of previous experience in armed struggle under historic and social conditions peculiar to Latin America has made for imitation (perhaps unconscious) of the Vietnamese experience, torn from its context. A misreading of the Cuban Revolution—a revolution well known in its external detail but whose inner content has not yet been sufficiently studied—may also have played its part. It was perhaps wrong to link the name of foco with a people's army in the process of formation in the countryside, whose aim was the encirclement and arousal of the city population. A kind of biological interpretation has spontaneously tied the idea of a foco to that of contagion, of spontaneous generation, microbial spread to neighboring tissue, by the simple magic effect of content or proximity. A hundred men incite the mountain population with speeches; the regime, terrified, collapses to the accompaniment of jeers; and the barbudos are acclaimed by the people. In this way one confuses a military foco—motor force of a total war—with a foco of political agitation. It appears to have been simply forgotten that the "26th of July" Cubans first made a war without a single unilateral truce; that during only a few months of 1958, the Rebel Army engaged in more battles than have other American fronts during a year or two; that in two months the rebels broke Batista's last offensive; and that 300 guerrilleros repulsed and routed 10,000 men. A general counter-offensive followed.

This was a war that cost dearly in combatant casualties; a war that, although exceptionally short, required nonetheless a wealth of tactical inventiveness, mobility, and audacity—together with real soundness of strategy. It has simply been forgotten that Patria o Muerte is not a slogan with which to end speeches but a principle of conduct which the Cuban fighters followed to the letter in all their actions from the attack on the small La Plata fort in the capture of Santa Clara. Strategically they staked all, and in the end they won all.

Of course this strategic decision—to stake everything—should not lead the guerrilla forces to a tactic of undertaking decisive battles that can cost them the revolution. It is pointless to expect to win everything in one battle. In the battle of Guisa, for example, in November, 1968, Fidel, with 200 guerrilleros (of whom 100 were raw recruits), opposed 5,000 soldiers of the dictatorship, plus their tanks, planes, and artillery. But the rebels always had the possibility of withdrawing from the plains to the mountains where they could skillfully take advantage of the terrain. The battle was more important for the enemy than for the revolution since the latter had other columns elsewhere invading the island. To risk all means that having risen in the mountains, the fighters must wage a war to the death. A war that does not admit of truces, retreats, or compromises. To conquer is to accept as a matter of principle that life. To conquer is to accept as a matter of principle that life, for the supreme revolutionary, is not the supreme good.



WE ARE NOT THE ARMED BRANCH OF ANY PARTICULAR ORGANIZATION

The Liberation Armed Commandos have been in the process of formation during the past few years, but we started operations in September 1967 by simultaneously burning down Bargain Town, Carolina and three other stores owned by Yankees in the Santa Rosa, Bayamon shopping center.

WHAT ARE YOUR OBJECTIVES IN RESORTING TO THIS TYPE OF STRUGGLE?

Our actions are aimed at undermining the colonial stability and peace of the imperialist invaders; we are in the first stage of operations, and in this phase we intend to cause \$100 million worth of damages to US concerns. Our idea is to inflict such heavy losses on these enterprises that the insurance companies will have to pay out more money in indemnity than they have received in payments, thus upsetting the economy.

HAVE YOU ACHIEVED ANY PRACTICAL RESULTS?

Let me explain. When the losses amounted to \$14 million, the first crisis of the insurance companies was precipitated; they started to cancel policies taken out on fire losses by US enterprises. Furthermore, the attitude of the insurance companies forced the colonial legislature to enact a special law whereby the Government of Puerto Rico subsidizes the insurance companies. It was necessary to set up a special fund for policies on liabilities that are financially burdensome to the companies. By escalating this action, as we propose to do, the time will come when the Government will be unable to continue to subsidize these companies. So far it has only tried to patch up the situation.

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF YOUR ACTIONS AGAINST US INTERESTS?

In our actions we have kept in mind the experiences of the revolutionary struggles in other countries—for instance, the Algerian experience—regarding this stage of urban struggle, but we apply this experience to the Puerto Rican reality, which has its own special—though not exceptional—characteristics; we apply in Puerto Rico whatever we can from the struggles all over the world.

YOU REFER TO THE "SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS" OF PUERTO RICO. WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT?

Puerto Rico is a US military and economic bulwark in the Caribbean; in this appraisal we coincide with other Puerto Rican fighters for independence; it's just that they wage their struggle on the political plane, while we are waging an armed struggle. I will elaborate on this. The situation of our country implies a series of limitations, but also certain possibilities that revolutionaries in other countries do not have. Less effort is required to strike at the imperialist enemy in Puerto Rico than anywhere else.

But there's something else. Our struggle for independence will be carried out by many organizations—that is, it will manifest itself in various fronts through many different organizations.

THEN THE LIBERATION ARMED COMMANDOS CONSTITUTE THE ARMED BRANCH?

We are not the armed branch of any particular organization; we are the armed branch of the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, although that doesn't mean that there is any formal agreement between us and the various independence organizations. In the Commandos we have some people who don't belong to any organization other than ours.

WHAT METHOD DO YOU USE FOR GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE AND SPREADING ARMED STRUGGLE?

We begin by linking our actions with the specific problems of the working class and the people in general affected by the presence of imperialism here. For instance, when the telephone workers' strike broke out last April we got ready to sabotage the telephone company, which is a branch of the IT&T monopoly, in solidarity with the workers on strike. Our actions against the telephone company prompted its running full-page ads in the local newspapers offering a substantial reward for any information leading to our arrest. In our first bulletin we showed the people how to take an active part in the war against the telephone company.

WHAT WERE CAL'S FUNDAMENTAL TASKS DURING ITS FIRST YEAR OF STRUGGLE?

First, to organize, discipline, and train the members of our organization. We have worked not only in the formation of cadres, the organization of cells, and the training of Commandos, but also in getting the necessary resources to carry on our revolutionary struggle. We took up, organized, and disciplined a spontaneous armed struggle that has been going on in Puerto Rico for the past 10 years. Naturally, this year we began to put into practice our plans for armed struggle, consisting of sabotaging the imperialist enterprises that have gradually taken over the economic life of our country.



HAVE YOU ANY PROGRAM EXPRESSING YOUR IDEOLOGY AND ASPIRATIONS?

Within the next few days we will issue a manifesto setting forth our program; we have been publishing a bulletin since last September. This is in addition to the communiques we have issued on our actions. In our bulletin we give instructions to the people on how to sabotage the imperialist enterprises and take part in the struggle to kick the Yankees out.

As a part of our armed struggle we have carried out—and will continue to carry out—operations against this Condado zone, the lair of the US gangsters and mafia and Cuban counter-revolutionaries who control the casinos of the big hotels in this area, and who have even outdone—as far as prostitution and drug peddling are concerned—the Havana of pre-revolutionary days. All these night clubs practice discrimination against Puerto Rican artists. We have declared Condado a war zone and have warned Puerto Ricans not to go through it, especially at night. Moreover, we are preparing to engage in more important operations, including confrontations, with the henchmen of imperialism.

LET'S TALK ABOUT THE REPRESSION THAT HAS BEEN UNLEASHED AGAINST YOU.

Well, I'll tell you; they have brought down FBI experts and explosive experts, and increased the resources of the Criminal Investigation Corps—the police force in charge of suppressing the patriotic struggle of our people. But they have failed. Our organization has been set up so as to be impregnable, so they haven't the slightest possibility of hitting us.

WHAT ABOUT THE ARRESTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE?

That's because the pressures brought to bear by US investors and the reactionary press forced them to produce scapegoats; they look for these scapegoats among the more active independence organizations. That explains the arrest of members and even leaders of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). The Government offers big rewards and 24-hour-a-day police protection to all those who will testify as witnesses against these scapegoats. They also want to hit the MPI because it is the organization that gets the most people out in the streets in the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico and especially because the MPI has refused to condemn the actions of CAL. (The Independentist Party (PI) has repudiated our actions.)

Not only that, but the General Secretary of the MPI, Juan Mari-Bras, stated that "To the same extent to which they continue to limit the framework of precarious legality wherein the new struggle for independence operates, the underground armed struggle will grow in importance."

HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO ASCERTAIN THE EFFECTS OF YOUR ACTIONS ON INVESTORS?

We know that our actions are beginning to be felt, as we have seen their effects in various sectors that support big investment. Time magazine, US News and World Report, and The Wall Street Journal have expressed their concern. In addition to this, we know that the head of the Puerto Rico Industrial Development office in the United States, Danilo Ondina, resigned his post after failing to attract a number of companies that had already made tentative contacts with the Government to set up business in Puerto Rico.

THE DIVERGENCES IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP HAVE HAD A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF THE WORLD. WAS THERE ANY SUCH EFFECT IN PUERTO RICO?

These divergences have not affected us, because we are quite clear on the specific objectives of our struggle here. Such futile discussion is limited to debating circles in our country. One of the healthy effects of the creation of CAL has been the unmasking of pseudorevolutionary idle talk. Now, anyone who is not engaged in a task in the mass organization or is not a member of CAL is simply running off at the mouth.

We are aware that there is room for other kinds of work; let no one think that we attack those who participate in demonstrations, picketing, and denunciations or who struggle against the draft imposed on our youth by the US imperialists. We know that this is all part of the struggle.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE REACTION OF PUERTO RICAN BUSINESSMEN TO CAL'S ACTIONS AGAINST US ENTERPRISES?

They give us financial aid. I DON'T WANT TO HOLD YOU HERE ANY LONGER, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ONE LAST QUESTION: WHAT MOVED YOU TO CREATE CAL?

On September 23, 1963, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Cry of Lares, all the patriotic forces signed the so-called Declaration of Lares; in it they pledged themselves to do their best to attain our independence before the Centennial—which is this year. Perhaps that was the biggest stimulus which led us to organize the Liberation Armed Commandos last year, since we considered it our duty to try to make good the Lares pledge, so that the year of the Centennial would find us already engaged in armed struggle for independence under CAL's slogan: Independence or Death!

Before leaving, I wish to express our gratitude for the solidarity offered us by revolutionaries everywhere—but, like Che Guevara in his message to the Tricontinental on the many Viet-Nams, we believe that the greatest solidarity that can be extended to revolutionaries is for everyone to develop his own struggle against US imperialism and all the other oppressors. We are striving to carry out the struggle through our own efforts, basing ourselves on the experiences gained in other parts of the world.



INSURRECTION!

BOMBINGS:

NEW YORK CITY: On September 19, the 40th floor of the Federal Building was blown up with a dynamite charge and timer. The building security force was notified just before the blast, so the building was cleared and no one was hurt. But the offices of the Department of the Army and the Selective Service were heavily damaged. This has been the fourth in a series of acts of political sabotage which have taken place around the New York City area. A United Fruit dock was offed, a grenade factory in New Jersey was blown up, and one of the large city banks was the scene of another bomb plant.

Also on September 19, one of the main stairwells of the Federal Building in Milwaukee, Wisconsin was blown up.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN: 300 people involved in a rally at Wayne State University against university expansion into the neighboring black community and against war research moved into the streets with NLF flags. Two pigs charged John Jacob (J.J.) who was carrying a flag, and a fight resulted with 5 pigs hospitalized, 2 in critical condition. Several pig cars were trashed, and it is reported that \$1,000 damage was done to campus property. Resulting charges: 2 assault on a pig (Karen Latimer and Detroit Luke), 1 felonious assault on a pig, 4 aggravated assault (Dave Chase and Steve Fitch), 1 malicious destruction (Dave Moon), and 1 anarchy (John Jacobs). The pigs, stunned by the fact that the demonstrators were fighting back, panicked, pulled their guns, and held the crowd at gunpoint while they backed their prisoners into the cars.

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA: A National Guard armory was the target of a terrorist explosion.

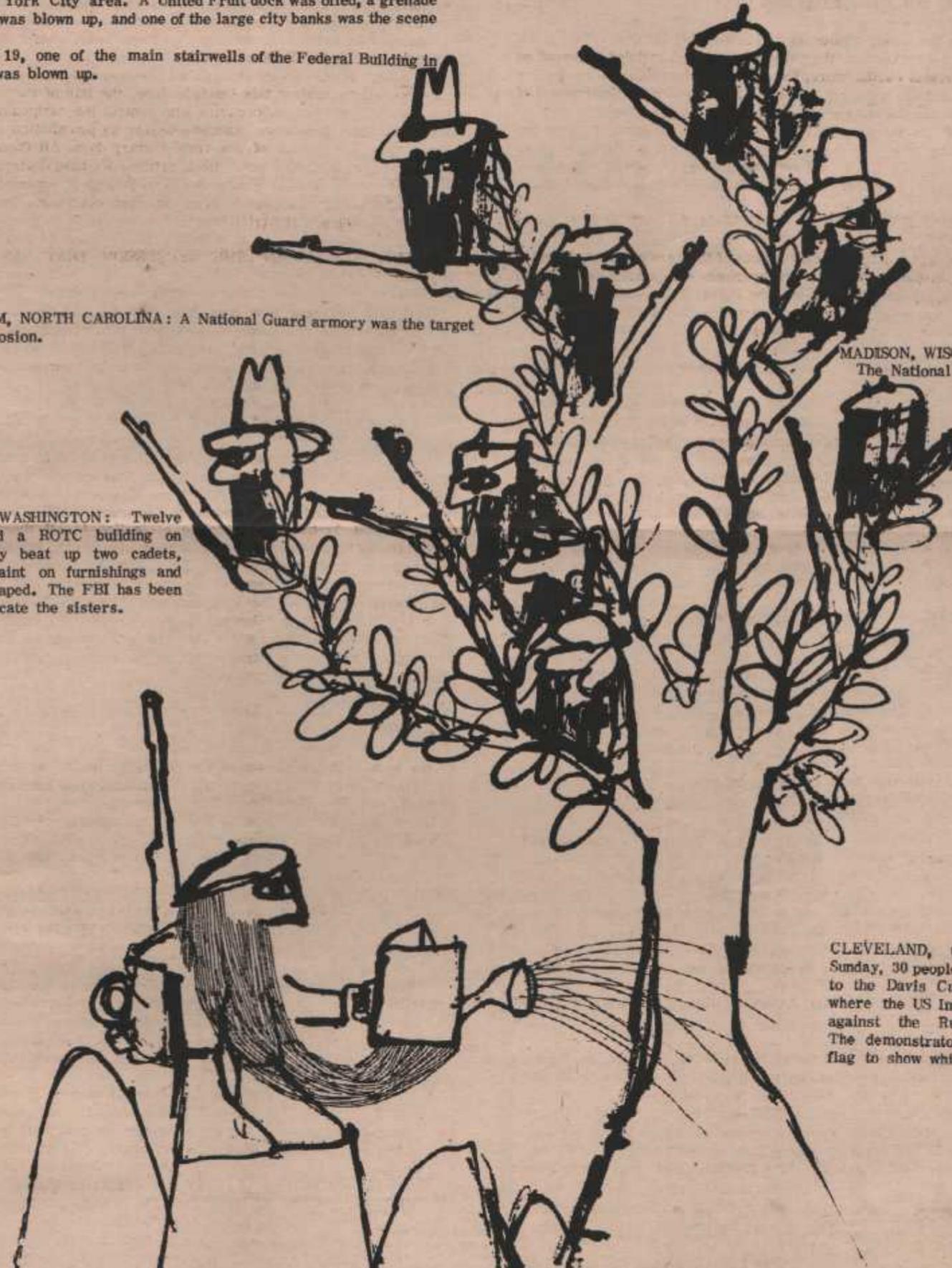
MADISON, WISCONSIN:
The National Guard Armory was blown up.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON: Twelve women sacked a ROTC building on Tuesday. They beat up two cadets, poured red paint on furnishings and files, and escaped. The FBI has been called in to locate the sisters.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: A week ago Sunday, 30 people brought the war home to the Davis Cup Tennis Tournament where the US Imperialists were pitted against the Rumanian Revisionists. The demonstrators carried a Vietcong flag to show which side they were on.

ITHACA, NEW YORK: During registration at Cornell University, 2 women offed the ROTC desk and ripped off all the literature. During the first week of classes, one woman threw a full can of paint all over the Marine recruiter, and was caught and held on \$2500 bail.

MEXICO CITY, MEXICO: A call has gone out to the people of the world for a day of Solidarity and actions on October 2, anniversary of the massacre at the Plaza of Three Cultures, in support of imprisoned Mexican students and all political prisoners. The Mexican students sending out the call have demanded that all political prisoners be freed, and stated that if the demand is not met the government and the ruling class will be subject to revolutionary justice. Two weeks ago a large public demonstration was held in violation of the general ban on political demonstrations. Mexican pigs fired on the crowd with machine guns, killing an undetermined number of demonstrators. A state of fascist repression has existed in Mexico since last October. Many leftist papers and magazines have been closed down, and the student movement has been driven farther to the left, and in many cases underground. Actions will be taken at Mexican consulates in major cities throughout the world.





INTI

VICTORY

Inti Peredo, chief of the National Liberation Army of Bolivia and one of the most outstanding of that country's fighters, who accompanied Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara in his heroic guerrilla group of Nancahuazu, died in action in La Paz, Bolivia Tuesday, September 9.

Inti Peredo went to his death in the natural setting for his life as a revolutionary: the battle for a new Bolivia in a new Latin America, ideals of liberation to which he was linked ever since he was barely an adolescent and in which he developed as a vanguard fighter and leader until his death at the age of 32.

In 1951, when he was barely 14 years old, Inti Peredo formed part of a small group of young men who, in Trinidad, Department of El Beni, founded the Communist Party, seeking, in this organization, the vehicle for a genuine revolutionary action.

From 1954, when he was arrested together with his brother, Roberto Coco Peredo, for taking part in revolutionary activities, he knew the regime's prisons and beatings on five different occasions, but his fighting spirit never flagged. He held posts of responsibility successively in the communist youth; in the organization of the party in La Paz, of whose regional committee he was First Secretary; and in the Central Committee until his break with the vacillating treacherous line imposed by the leadership of the Communist Party of Bolivia, headed by Mario Monje.

In 1963 Inti gave his valuable internationalist aid to the People's Guerrilla Army, organized by Major Segundo, Ricardo Jorge Masetti, which carried out its operations in the province of Salta, in the northern part of Argentina.

Inti, together with Coco, Rodolfo Saldana, Jorge Vazquez Viana, and other heroic sons of the Bolivian people, was quick to understand that the leadership of the Communist Party of Bolivia was not really ready to embark upon a genuinely revolutionary course such as the country's reality and the Latin American situation demanded, but rather that it was bent on submerging the organization in paralysis, inaction, and discredit. Thus, he broke with the Party leadership.

In 1966 Inti Peredo was one of the principal collaborators of Major Ernesto Guevara in the preparation of the guerrilla force that was to have its base in the southeast of Bolivia.

Inti's development under extremely difficult conditions of struggle was described by Major Ernesto Che Guevara in a historic analysis which reveals the scope of the admiration and confidence that Inti and his brother Coco had earned from their demanding and exceptional leader. "It should be taken into account," Che pointed out, "that Inti and Coco excel ever more firmly as revolutionary and military cadres."

major Inti

With the fall of Che and his comrades, Inti became the standard-bearer and leader of the Bolivian revolutionary cause. By then more experienced in battle, more convinced of the path to be followed, he faced the dangers and the pitfalls of underground life, the constant persecution by agents of the regime and of imperialism, devoting himself entirely to the task of reorganization to once again take the glorious road to the mountains.

And, even though it is impossible to deny how severe a blow his death is to the cause of the revolution in Bolivia, it is no less true that commotions of this nature; examples such as his; selfless, courageous lives such as Inti Peredo's, devoted to the cause of the humble and exploited, immediately transform themselves into forces that spur on the struggle, into historic banners for youth, into a clarion call for duty which shakes consciences and opens up new roads for the revolution.

Today the Bolivian revolution has, instead of one less rifle and one less leader, an additional reason for victory.

There is no room, therefore, for either sadness or disappointment. That is why, today, with renewed strength and unalterable faith in the future—in universities and mines, in the fields and in the city streets, on the plateau and in the jungle—the people of Bolivia repeat, together with Inti, their song of battle:

"We will be the triumphant Vietnam that Che, romantic and heroic visionary, dreamed of and loved.

"Our banners bear crepe but will never be lowered.

"The ELN considers itself the heir to the teachings and example of Che, the new Bolivar of Latin America.

"Those who cravenly murdered him will never kill his thought and his example.

"Let the imperialists and their lackeys withhold their songs of victory, because the war has not ended, it has just begun.

"We will return to the mountains!

"Bolivia will again resound to our cry of

"VICTORY OR DEATH!"

(reprinted from Granma)

VICTORY or DEATH

EXCERPTS FROM INTI'S "WE WILL RETURN TO THE MOUNTAINS", WRITTEN SHORTLY AFTER CHE'S DEATH...

we know what we are fighting for. we are not waging war for the sake of war. we are not wishful thinkers. we are not fighting for the sake of personal or party ambition. our single and final goal is the liberation of latin america....

the time for continental revolution has come. the frantic squealing of the reactionaries and some pseudo-revolutionaries who oppose the participation of patriots from other countries in our people's liberation struggle is nothing but a reflection of their vain attempts to isolate our movement and collaborate with the enemy by creating feelings of chauvinism among the people....

faced with...brutal reality, should we be held back by the prospect of the sacrifices involved in a just war? our struggle will not demand any more sacrifices than those made by our people under this tyranny. That is why the creation of a new vietnam does not constitute a "tragedy". it is an honor and a duty we will never refuse....

for this reason, as long as there is a single honest man in latin america, guerrilla warfare will not die....

let the imperialists and their lackeys withhold their songs of victory, because the war has not ended, it has just begun. we will return to the mountains! bolivia ... again resound to our cry of victory or death!



ON EVE OF HIS FALL, GUIDO INTI PEREDO SENT CONDOLENCES ON DEATH OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

From Bolivia, field of battle in the struggle against US imperialism, the fighters of the National Liberation Army (ELN), intensifying their struggle as the best form of homage to revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh, lower their banners and join the Vietnamese people in grief.

Ho Chi Minh's physical death moves all the revolutionaries of the world. Ho Chi Minh and the people of Vietnam are inseparable symbols of heroic, unequal struggle against US imperialism.

Ho Chi Minh and Vietnam constitute the most impressive example of the fact that when a people is ready to win or die in defense of its freedom, it cannot be conquered by anybody—not even by the most powerful imperialist force, with all its destructive power.

Ho Chi Minh was a hard working, brilliant political and military leader who knew how to organize his people and imbue it with an exemplary mystique which made it grow stronger in the face of defeats and opened up the definitive path toward a total liberation which looms nearer every day.

The National Liberation Army (ELN), founded by our Major Ernesto Che Guevara in the mountains of Nancahuazu in the heat of the battles waged against US imperialism and its lackeys, ratifies in this hour of sorrow its unshirkable motto to create "Two, three, many Vietnams...." For Vietnam's struggle is the struggle of all the oppressed peoples of Latin America, and its example constitutes the only path to be followed by all the peoples.

The sorrow that saddens the people of Vietnam by this irreparable death is also the sorrow of the people of Bolivia and of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

The grief of the Communist Party of Vietnam is the ELN's grief.

Our homage to Ho Chi Minh is not limited to formal words. Our homage to this heroic leader of the oppressed peoples is symbolized in the determination to carry on—until Bolivia and Latin America emerge victorious—the guerrilla struggle initiated by our Major Ernesto Che Guevara.

Victory or death!

Inti Peredo