

SEIZE THE TIME



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I AM AN EXTREMIST, A COMMUNIST (NOT COMMUNISTIC, A COMMUNIST), AND I MUST BE DESTROYED OR I WILL JOIN MY COMRADES... I WILL GIVE THEM MY ALL, EVERY DIRTY FIGHTING TRICK IN THE ANNALS OF WAR. NOTHING WILL DEFEAT OUR REVENGE AND NOTHING WILL COUNTERVAIL OUR MARCH TO VICTORY. WE COME TO OUR CONCLUSION: THE ONLY HISTORICAL RECOURSE THAT IS LEFT TO US. FREEDOM MEANS WARMTH AND PROTECTION AGAINST HARSH EXPOSURE TO THE ELEMENTS. IT MEANS FOOD, NOT GARBAGE. IT MEANS TRUTH, HARMONY, AND THE SOCIAL RELATIONS THAT SPRING FROM THESE. IT MEANS THE BEST MEDICAL ATTENTION WHENEVER IT'S NEEDED. IT MEANS EMPLOYMENT THAT IS REASONABLE, THAT COINCIDES WITH THE INDIVIDUAL NECESSITIES AND FEELINGS. WE WILL HAVE THIS FREEDOM EVEN AT THE COST OF TOTAL WAR.

Inside This Issue:

CENTERFOLD SECTION ON FASCISM IN AMERICA
UNITED FRONTS AND PARTY BUILDING
JOINT DECLARATION OF LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES
REPORT FROM THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE
TO THE WOMEN FROM THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION
BREAK DE CHAINS (TRIAL NEWS)



"JUCHE MEANS HOLDING FAST TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLVING FOR ONESELF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION AND CONSTRUCTION IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS AT HOME."
- - - KIM IL SUNG(DRK)

JUCHE SECTION

The North Korean Communist Party has firmly established the principle of "Juche" as the basic principle of national self-reliance in building revolutionary struggle. This section of the paper contains articles concerning the National Liberation struggles of oppressed people within the United States. Kim Il Sung explains Juche more fully: "The establishment of Juche means holding fast to the principle of solving for oneself all the problems of the revolution and construction in conformity to the actual conditions at home and mainly by one's own effort. This is an independent stand, discarding dependence on others, displaying the spirit of self-reliance and solving one's own affairs on one's own responsibility under all circumstances"... "(We) have made every effort to establish Juche in opposition to dogmatism and flunkysm. Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-reliance in the economy and self-defense in national defense -- this is our stand."

TO THE WOMEN

In 1910, Flores Magon wrote this essay on the role of women in the Mexican Revolution. Chicanos and all revolutionary peoples must seriously and critically examine their history. It demonstrates to both men and women that the emancipation of women is an integral part of the struggle for national liberation. Any other view would harm the movement.

Magon's 1910 call to action falls short of today's demands. He asks that Chicanas support their men and encourage them to action. Since his essay, the history of Mexico and the world revolution has shown that the role of women in the revolutionary movement must be expanded.

The demand of today's revolutionary women is for complete equality in work, responsibilities and rights. Women are one half of humanity. All successful National Liberation struggles from Mozambique to Vietnam have moved to integrate women into all levels of the revolution and society. Long live the Revolutionary Women's Movement!



Companeras:

Revolution approaches! With angered eyes, and flaming hair, her trembling hands knock anxiously on the doors of our nation. Let us welcome her with serenity, for although she carries death in her breast, she is the announcement of life, the herald of hope. She will destroy and create at the same time; she will raze and build. Her fists are the invincible fists of a people in rebellion. She does not offer roses or caresses, she offers an axe and a torch.

Interrupting the millennial feast, sedition raises her head, and the prophecy of Baltasar has with time become a clenched fist hanging over the heads of the so-called ruling class. Revolution approaches! Her mission will ignite the flames in which privilege and injustice will burn. Companeras, do not fear the revolution. You constitute one-half of the human species and what affects humanity affects you as an integral part of it. If men are slaves, you are too. Bondage does not recognize sex; the infamy that degrades men equally degrades you. You cannot escape the shame of oppression. The same forces which conquer men strangle you.

We must stand in solidarity in the

JUCHE

grand contest for freedom and happiness. Are you mothers? Are you wives? Are you sisters? Are you daughters? Your duty is to help man; to be there to encourage him when he vacillates; stand by his side when he suffers; to lighten his sorrow; to laugh and to sing with him when victory smiles. You don't understand politics? This is not a question of politics; this is a matter of life or death. Men's bondage is yours and perhaps yours is more sorrowful, more sinister, and more infamous.

Are you a worker? Because you are a woman you are paid less than men and made to work harder. You must suffer the impertinence of the foreman or proprietor; and if you are attractive, the bosses will make advances. Should you weaken, they would rob you of your virtue in the same cowardly manner as you are robbed of the product of your labor.

Under this regime of social injustice with corrupts humanity, the existence of women wavers in the wretchedness of a destiny which fades away either in the blackness of fatigue and hunger or in the obscurity of marriage and prostitution.

In order to fully appreciate women's part in universal suffering, it is necessary to study page by page this somber book called Life, which like so many thorns strips away the flesh of humanity.



So ancient is women's misfortune that its origins are lost in the obscurity of legend. In the infancy of mankind, the birth of a female child was considered a disgrace to the tribe. Women tilled the land, carried firewood from the forest and water from the streams, tended the livestock, constructed shelters, wove cloth, cooked food and cared for the sick and the young. The filthiest work was done by women. Should an ox die of fatigue, the woman took its place pulling the plow, and when war broke out between rivaling tribes, the women merely changed masters, and continued under the lash of new owners, carrying out their task as beasts of burden.

Later, under the influence of Greek civilization, women were elevated one step in the esteem of men. No longer were they beasts of burden as in the primitive clan, nor did they lead secluded lives as in Oriental societies. If they belonged to a free class, their role was one of procreators of citizens for the state; if they were slaves, they provided workers for the fields.

Christianity aggravated the situation of women with its contempt for the flesh. The founding fathers of the Church vented their outbursts of rage against feminine qualities. St. Augustine, St. Thomas and other saints women now kneel refer to women as daughters of the devil, vessels of impurity, and condemned them to the tortures of hell.

Women's position in this century varies according to their social stature; but in spite of the refinements of customs and the progress of philosophy, women continue subordinated to men by tradition and laws. Women are perpetually treated as minor when the law places the wife under the custody of the husband. She cannot vote or be elected, and to enter into civil contracts she must own a sizable fortune.

Throughout history women have been considered inferior to men, not only by law but also by custom. From this erroneous and unjust concept derives the misfortune which she has suffered since humanity differentiated itself from lower animal forms by the use of fire and tools.

Humiliated, degrade, bound by the chains of tradition to an irrational inferiority, indoctrinated in the affairs of heaven by clerics, but totally ignorant of world problems, she is suddenly caught in the whirlwind of industrial production which above all requires cheap labor to sustain the competition created by the voracious "princes of capital" who exploit her circumstances. She is not as prepared as men for the industrial struggle, nor is she organized with the women of her class to fight alongside her brother workers against the rapacity of capitalism.

For this reason, though women work more than men, they are paid less, and misery, mistreatment, and insult are today as yesterday the bitter harvest for a whole existence of sacrifice. So meager are women's salaries that frequently they must prostitute themselves to meet their families' basic needs, especially when in the marketplace of marriage they do not find a husband. When it is motivated by economic security instead of love, marriage is but another form of prostitution, sanctioned by the law and authorized by public officials. That is, a wife sells her body for food exactly as does a prostitute; this occurs in the majority of marriages. And what could be said of the vast army of women who do not succeed in finding a husband? The increasing cost of life's basic necessities; the displacement of human labor by the perfection of machinery; the ever decreasing price of human labor - all contribute to the burden of supporting a family. The compulsory draft tears strong and healthy men from the bosom of a society and lessens the number eligible for marriage. Migration of workers, caused by economic and political phenomena, also reduces the number of men capable of marriage. Alcoholism, gambling and other ills of society further reduce the number of available men. Consequently, the number of single women grows alarmingly. Since their situation is so precarious, they swell the ranks of prostitution, accelerating the degeneration of the human race by this debasement of body and spirit.

Companeras: This is the frightful picture offered by modern society. In it you see men and women alike suffering the tranny of a political and social environment in complete discord with the progress of civilization and the advances of philosophy. In times of anguish, however, do not look up to the heavens for solutions and explanations because in that lies the greatest contribution to your eternal bondage. The solution is here on earth! That solution is rebellion.

Demand that your husbands, brothers, fathers, sons and friends pick up the gun. Spit in the face of those who refuse to pick up a weapon against oppression.

Revolution approaches! Jimenez and Acayucan, Palomas, Viesca Las Vacas and Valladolid are the first gust of the inevitable wind.⁺ A tragic paradox: freedom, which is life, is gained by imparting death!

Ricardo Flores Magon

⁺A reference to the insurrections led by the Partido Liberal Mexicano in 1908 and 1910. Too premature, they failed in their intent. Still, they gave the signal for the later general insurrection, the Revolution of 1910.

On Organization in the Revolutionary Movement

Since 1971 the revolutionary movement has been unsuccessful in organizing the mass movement. Even though this country's economic and political life is in a shambles, even though mass consciousness has never been higher and even though the spontaneous mass movement is again building rapidly, mass organizing by revolutionaries has been sporadic and uncoordinated. When there is successful organizing, it is confined to local areas such as a city. The one example of large scale nationwide organizing has been the African Liberation Day organizing. But after two years, the work is going downhill. The west coast Bay area, which had the largest rally last year, is no longer recognized by the national committee. National leadership is being fought over by reactionary and petty bourgeois nationalists, and the day-to-day struggle of African people inside the U.S. was not integrally connected with the year round organizing work being done.

Several problems have contributed to the lack of successful organizing:

1. Localism - the mentality of not looking beyond one's own area for ideas and/or assigning unique prominence to the importance of one's local area and beliefs.
2. Defeatism - losing confidence in the masses and the revolutionary movement, taking the short view and not the long view.
3. Unsystematic and unprofessional propaganda among the masses and the vanguard. Also propaganda work being done is so hard to read and sloppy that people do not want to read it.

In the past few years, the most organized and sustained element of the revolutionary movement has been the military aspect. However, the military work has suffered mostly from lack of connection with the mass movement. This has mainly been the fault of the above ground organizations - most of which consider the military forces to be completely divorced from the revolutionary movement.

This has caused them in some cases to actually repudiate the military forces of the movement. In other cases, the above ground organizations do not openly repudiate the military forces but do not do any propaganda or organizing among the masses to explain the necessity for military action. These are reactionary attitudes as Chairman Mao teaches, "without the people's army the people have nothing."

On the other hand, the military forces themselves have not emphasized propaganda work anywhere as much as necessary. In some cases isolation from the masses has caused our military forces to make severe political mistakes in the selection of actions. The killing of Marcus Foster is a good example of a military action that more retarded the movement than moved it forward. Although the evidence overwhelmingly suggests that Marcus Foster was a pig agent, he was not a recognized enemy of his people. Propaganda work among the masses was not done either before or after to show the masses the necessity of his death. There were undoubtedly other targets that were much clearer in the minds of the people for assassination. This one incident tainted in the eyes of many of the masses the SLA's later courageous and revolutionary actions. Our comrades in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have learned that military actions that cause any confusion in the minds of the people must not be taken. Military actions must clarify the struggle. If the masses are confused by military actions taken by revolutionaries, the people will not be willing to provide the guerrillas with shelter and help. As Chairman Mao teaches a guerrilla must be able to go among the people "like a fish swims in the sea." Lastly, all elements of the vanguard of the movement also suffer from occasional but fatal overconfidence, sloppiness and a lack of tight internal security.

Consequently the revolutionary movement is faced with a situation where the aboveground organizations are not succeeding in organizing the masses and the military forces are suffering serious losses due to isolation from the masses and slack security and execution. It is clear from the actions of the BLA, Weather-underground and the SLA that the foco theory can be applied to the urban jungles of the U.S.A. The successful armed actions of the BLA, SLA and Native Americans have moved the revolution forward and in themselves raised the consciousness of the people. The battle of New Orleans showed that a very small number of trained revolutionaries can confound the military might of the state. The Hearst kidnapping showed the potential of armed action connected with a mass people's political demand. The Battle of Wounded Knee showed the connection between the Third World masses demand for self-determination and land and the mass armed struggle by all those who support those just demands.

However, armed action by itself cannot organize the masses of people into the sustained revolutionary activity necessary for liberation. It is also clear that military forces cannot even long exist without the protection of an active revolutionary mass movement. Mao sums up by saying, "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses. It can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." On the other hand, the experience of the BPP, the Crusade for Justice, the RNA and



the anti-war movement shows that mass organizations cannot exist without a people's military force to defend it. Our Palestinian and Latin American comrades correctly point out that a mass movement divorced from illegal work will invariably be destroyed or turn toward reformist goals.

Presently we can see that in the dialectic between mass organizing and military work it is now key that the mass work must move forward. Over the past few years the work of our armed comrades has taken a qualitative leap both in implementation and political substance. However

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In 1959 members of the Black community defend NAACP's Dr. Perry from KKK attacks in Monroe, North Carolina.

ON SELF-DEFENSE Build the Militia!

Ten year old Clifford Glover's murderer, NY policeman Thomas Shea, was found innocent and is again free to commit murder. Black 17 year old Brandon Gibson was murdered June 22 by a nigger pig in Atlanta. All community people witnessing the murder stated that Brandon was unarmed. In the feaceful civil rights protest on the following Wednesday, Atlanta police SWAT squad members rode their horses over little girl children while beating their mothers bloody. Twenty-three Black people have been murdered by Atlanta police in the last 17 months.

The murderer of 12 year old Chicano, Santo Rodriguez, got a mere five years. The only reason why this pig went to jail was that Chicano and Black people in Dallas took to the streets in violent protest. The police pig had stuck a gun to the child's head and fired. He thought that the gun, his service revolver, "was unloaded."

You'll find that the vast majority of the people shot at or beat up are poor, Third World people, and that the police are rarely disciplined for murdering a poor person. This kind of "accidental", and "justifiable" homicide that happens in poor communities, never happens in rich communities.

It isn't that rich people don't break the law, it's that they control the police who supposedly enforce the law. If, instead of the businessman, the people controlled the police, the real criminals would have been brought to trial long ago. The criminals who carried out a

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Strong Marxist nationalist parties must be forged to lead the revolutionary masses. The BPP was the strongest of the early nationwide revolutionary nationalist cadre organizations.

policy of genocide against the Vietnamese and Native Americans, the criminals who keep millions in subsistence conditions worldwide for the sake of their vast profit. We can not expect the police, the paid agents of these businessmen, to serve us.

The murder of our youth such as 14 year old Tyrone Guyton in Oakland, 15 year old Greg White in East Palo Alto, California, and 10 year old Clifford Glover in NY shows us the need for self-defense. The murder of our leaders such as Malcolm, Martin, and Fred Hampton shows us the need for armed and organized self-defense. The vigilante actions of Nazis, the KKK, etc. in San Francisco, Indiana, Denver, Cairo and Newark also show us the need to build a militia for self-defense.

These self-defense organizations must involve the whole community. It is every oppressed person's responsibility to protect his/her neighbors and neighborhood. We Chicanos, Blacks, Boricuas, and all oppressed people have reacted violently to these crimes. This is good and necessary. Murderers (pushers, pimps, mad-dog pigs) should be punished and the criminal establishment must know that the people will not quietly watch the murder of their own. But the time for reacting to the murder of our people must end. We must move to the time that we prevent these atrocities by patrolling and controlling the streets of our communities.

In this society, successful individual self-defense completely depends on community support. It is vital that people insist on their right to be present when the police are at the house on the

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without a corresponding leap in mass organizing the revolutionary movement cannot go anywhere but backwards. The question then becomes what will move revolutionary mass organizing forward at this time.

There seems to be two main responses to this question. On the one hand we hear the call for building revolutionary national united fronts. On the other hand we hear the call for building a genuinely Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. (Of course it is not that simple. There are two lines on how to build a revolutionary party.) The comrades who call for the revolutionary national united fronts correctly point out the following:

1. That the vanguard of the revolutionary movement are the Third World masses. Correspondingly the most developed revolutionary cadre are on the whole Third World.
2. That the struggle of the vanguard masses is a struggle against national oppression and working class oppression. The Third World masses are overwhelmingly working class and, in fact, mostly proletarian.
3. Therefore the struggle of the vanguard masses is a struggle for national liberation and proletarian revolution. The just demands of the Third World masses are for self-determination, land and socialism.
4. That in order to satisfy either national liberation or proletarian revolution, the first step must be the destruction of US imperialism (monopoly capitalism).
5. That the history of the US and the world revolution shows that in struggles of national liberation, the primary form of involving the masses in revolution are Fronts for National Liberation.
6. That the history of the world revolution also shows us that these fronts must be led by an alliance of the working class and poor people. (In America, Marxist capitalist degeneration has proceeded to such a degree that large numbers of the proletariat and the working class are no longer employed and have become members of the reserve unemployed army. It is un-Marxist to deny that this is a very revolutionary class. Marx himself said that this is the most revolutionary class because they have the least to lose in revolutionary struggle. They should not be confused with the parasitic lumpen class of big-time pushers, pimps, ripoff artists and other lumpen whom comrades in the Congo and China describe as being good fighters but often shaky loyalty.)

On the other hand, several of our comrades are equally correct in calling for the building of a new Leninist fighting party. They point to these points:

1. That in every successful revolutionary struggle, a scientific combat party with iron discipline has been the general staff that has led the revolution to victory.
2. That the experience of the Black Panther Party shows the potential of what a Leninist combat party closely connected with the masses can accomplish in America.
3. That only a party of this type can successfully combine legal and illegal work over the long run, in such a way to maximize the effects of both.
4. That national liberation struggles and national united fronts have been led by disciplined, scientific combat parties.
5. And that such a party(ies) is needed to coordinate as many of the revolutionary forces as possible so that American imperialism can be destroyed.

Unfortunately, most of the discussions on how to move revolutionary organizing forward have discussed these two forms of organization as an either one or the other proposition. Most discussions have been extremely narrow-minded. Many revolutionaries deny the application of revolutionary science outside of the classical Russian and Chinese works. Others let racism fog their discussions. It must be re-emphasized that revolutionary science did not stop developing in Yenan (and the Chinese would be among the first to agree to this!) Conditions at home and domestic history are always the primary considerations in formulating any revolu-

tionary strategy. Chairman Mao's firm principle is that we must consider all revolutionary experiences and assimilate the useful and reject the rest in accordance with the conditions at home and our own history.

In formulating a strategy on how to move mass work forward the three elements that we must consider are the present domestic conditions, the history of this country (especially of the progressive and revolutionary movements) and the experience of our comrades internationally that have the most relevance to our situation.

Presently the spontaneous movement is rapidly growing and mass consciousness among all segments of the populace has never been higher. In the Third World communities this is due to increasingly violent economic, political and police repression, consistent organizing by revolutionaries for the past decade, and a long tradition of constant resistance to imperialist/racist oppression. In the white working communities this new consciousness is not as high as that in the Third World communities, but much higher than it has been since the thirties. This is due to the economic and political shambles that the Nixon regime has brought on. However the ideology of racism is still very strong among the white masses and poisons serious attempts to organize their potential into a revolutionary instead of a fascist force.



The Third World revolutionary movement, despite being disorganized above ground and suffering intense repression underground, is still effectively organizing local areas and executing sporadic but effective armed activity. Third World revolutionary cadre are still working at some level in many communities, and new attempts at are being made to move work to a more organized and higher level. While disorganized, many individual cadre are founded in the basic principles of revolutionary science and in many cases have the experience of revolutionary practice to draw upon. The situation among white revolutionaries is not nearly as favorable. Most predominately white organizations are thoroughly pervaded by revisionism, opportunism and racism. The Weather Underground and YAWF seem to be the only large organizations that have been struggling along anti-racist, anti-fascist lines for any sustained period. However few organizations are doing consistent organizing in white working communities against fascism, racism, capitalism, in support of self-determination and armed struggle, for proletarian revolution. The few principled white above ground cadre are usually scattered and do their work in support of either the prison movement or the national liberation struggles and not in organizing their own communities. The experience of third world cadre in many so-called multinational organizations is that the white cadre are usually more concerned with organizing third world communities. When organizing in white communities is done, it is usually along reformist and/or petty bourgeois lines.

The history of the revolutionary organizing during reconstruction, the thirties and the late sixties also show that when third world cadre are not organized along national lines, the interests of the various national struggles are submerged

to some abstract conception of "working class unity". Recent history does show, especially the experience of the BPP and DRUM, that when revolutionary cadre are organized along nationalist lines under Marxist principles an extremely strong and broad alliance of the working class is possible. Concrete multinational struggles and organizational alliance were achieved.

On the other hand, third world cadre who became members of multiracial organizations had very different experiences. While these organizations called themselves multinational, they were not organized as alliances between nations for the sake of national liberation and socialist revolution. (Multinational usually is defined as white with some other nationality, not between two or more third world nationalities.) In these organizations, (Venceremos, Revolutionary Union), much time was spent explaining "multinationalism" and not so much on other vital questions of revolution.

Lastly but importantly, on the other side of the dialectic we see that much very good military work, working class organizing and some propaganda work has been done by multinational groups (through organizational alliances or actual multinational squads). Willingness to work with other nationalities seems to be a crucial aspect to these three forms of work. Nationalist organizations which are unwilling to form alliances are quickly isolated and rapidly destroyed by the state.

What is needed are organizational forms that safeguard the needs and wishes of the Third World national struggles while at the same time being able to coordinate on the broadest possible scale the revolutionary forces necessary to destroy U.S. imperialism. This complicated problem is the key to successful revolutionary struggle in the US. The ideology of racism and the consequential backwardness of the white masses and most white revolutionaries make this question the most difficult in the world. But the experience of our Indochinese, Latin American and Palestinian comrades, while not providing any easy solutions to our specific problems, do suggest some possible directions and examples to the problems of party and united front building in the U.S. We must abandon our subjectivity and dogmatism and study these examples carefully.

Our Palestinian comrades' struggle has developed in a way similar to the potential of one wing (the underground) of our revolutionary movement. They have developed liberation fronts (the best known are the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a splinter of the PFLP). The fronts have attempted to combine mass action with disciplined and militant activity. This has been the Popular Front's strategy for the past few years. In their recent report from their national congress (see this issue) in the spirit of self-criticism they say that they absolutely need to build a militant party and pay more attention to mass organizations and mass struggle. They also state that they need to focus their military activity more in line with the needs of the masses, but they also state that to eliminate consistent, sustained and high level military work would be suicidal and revisionist. Their conclusion is to build the party, expand the Front, pay attention to the needs and struggles of the masses and continue focused military work.

Our Indochinese and Latin American comrades' experiences are even more directly applicable to our situation. In both cases, various national liberation struggles have faced a common imperialist master. In Indochina, despite the fact that there were various national liberation struggles and different fronts, there was one imperialist enemy (France, Japan and finally the US). The victory against the French at Dien Bien Phu was due in no small part to the struggle of Laotian military cadre who tied down large numbers of French troops. In the seventies the joint Indochinese military command coordinated their struggle in such a way to

maximize for the beneficial effects of each fraternal party, National Front, and military forces on the other two nations. The defeat of the imperialists in Laos and Cambodia in the late 60's and early 70's was due to the close cooperation of the military forces of the DRVN, PRG, Khmer Rouge and Pathet Lao. As imperialism has entered the last stage of its downfall in Indochina, the various national fronts are formulating policies, while not contradictory, speak to the specific conditions of the different countries.

The struggles of the Latin American comrades speaks to a similar type of development. In Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina (among others), national fronts were developed in line with Marxist guerrilla warfare. Unfortunately the combination of the local fascists and capitalist in league with the American fascists and multi-national corporation usually proved too strong for the local revolutionary forces. In Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia the local armed detachments were destroyed or seriously defeated in their armed actions. In the spirit of self-criticism the Latin American communists (non-revisionists) analyzed their defeats and tried to move their struggle forward. They made two basic conclusions. One is that international imperialism in their areas can only be defeated by international armed scientific socialism. This realization has led to the creation of the Latin American Joint Command. They also realized that the masses must be more totally involved in revolutionary struggle (after major defeats the Tupamaros came to this conclusion relatively early) and that also a Marxist party of iron discipline was absolutely necessary to the successful waging of the revolution. Recently they are coordinating their military activities, and they also are striving to build one Leninist combat party for the region. They have not abandoned their national fronts but are broadening their struggles to maximize the struggles nationally and internationally.

In the U.S., we have a situation where Blacks, Chicanos, Boricuas (Puerto Ricans), Native Americans are all attempting to form National Fronts and/or national parties, Asians are organizing along revolutionary nationalist lines in their local communities. In general, white working class communities are unorganized. TW revolutionaries feel both the need for organizing their national struggles and coordinating revolutionary forces. White revolutionaries in general (although some definitely recognize the need for building strong national fronts) are agitating for increased coordination between revolutionary forces but balk at organizing their own communities (party because the lower consciousness in white areas makes organizing a frustrating job). Clearly the Third World masses will not follow leadership that they do not believe will safeguard their national rights and just as clearly all revolutionary forces must be coordinated to destroy imperialism.

What we then need is not one organizational form to solve the problems of organizing now, but a skillful combination of two or more organizational forms. There are three organizational forms that, if flexibly combined, could move the organization of the masses and the organization of revolutionaries forward. National United Fronts, Leninist Party(ies) and a council of coordination seem to be the most viable organizational forms available to us now. Propaganda, military work and workplace organizing must be coordinated for the struggle to succeed. National fronts are absolutely necessary to involve the broad masses of the vanguard third world peoples in revolution. There is much confusion about the differences between types of united fronts and parties. United fronts have classically been defined as a front of different classes inside the national liberation struggle, so that as many people as possible participate in the liberation struggle (it is not the front of the Revolutionary Union which is more of a federation). National fronts are usually involved in militia work, mass organizations and national governments (using Stalin's definition of nation). Par-

ties are usually involved in the army, propaganda work, party organization and are the main leadership elements of the front. If the goals are the same, large ideological differences are permitted in the united front (the PRG of Vietnam has Buddhist monks, communists and others), but the party must have one ideological line.

Leninist parties are necessary to provide leadership to the national fronts if they are not to be taken over by bourgeois nationalists and reactionary nationalists. Leninist parties (y) are also needed to provide leadership to coordinated work.

Revolution is a process. Organizational forms which are primary now will not (cannot) be the primary organizational forms later. Many comrades are calling for the formation of a multi-racial communist party now. This demand seems to:

1. Ignore history which shows how such parties betray the third world masses unless TW cadre are independently organized.
2. Ignore the masses which are clearly looking for militant, scientific nationalist leadership.
3. Ignore the development of the white masses and white organizations which, with notable exceptions, are far behind.
4. Ignores that multinational organizations formed artificially without regard to the development of the struggle usually do more to hinder the developmental process than to move it forward.

At this point we must emphasize that this is merely the summation of the experiences of some Third World Marxist cadres. This is not a dogmatic solution to the problems of organizing. It is only a document submitted for discussion to revolutionary cadre of all nationalities throughout the country. The Communist League and Black Workers' Congress have made their positions on organizational forms clear. We are eagerly awaiting analysis from our comrades who take George Jackson's analysis of fascism and revolution as the basis for their understanding of organizational forms in the revolution.

What we foresee in the immediate future is a two-fold process. One side of development must be organizational. Practice is primary in the relation between knowing and doing. Many questions on organizing can only be resolved through the concrete process of organizing the people and struggling against the state. Revolutionaries of various nationalities must come together now to discuss the situation in their local areas and in the country and then put their ideas into practice organizationally. It is clear that the mass movement cannot move forward unless the masses are directly involved in the revolutionary struggle on a day-to-day basis. The people will not involve themselves unless they are led by tightly organized groups of practiced revolutionaries dedicated to protracted struggle. White cadre in particular need to come together and discuss how to best organize white working people to struggle against fascism, racism and imperialism and for socialism, armed struggle and the self-determination of Third World peoples.

We must avoid narrowmindedness and realize that there is uneven development can different conditions between different geographical areas. Some regions may be ready for a fully multinational cadre organization. Some regions may be ready for a third world cadre organization. In some regions councils of coordination between strongly moving nationalist struggles may be the primary organizational form for some time, and in many areas the nationalist struggles themselves need intense work. However, people throughout the country need to know the experiences of others in building the revolution in general and cadre organizations in particular. Also it is absolutely necessary that a coherent nationwide strategy to build and strengthen cadre organizations and mass struggles be devised immediately.

The other aspect of our task is ideological. There are two major ideological struggles occurring within the revolutionary movement at this time. It is our feeling that there is very little room for compromise on ideological struggle. Many

would join a cadre organization and struggle about ideological differences (esp. on national liberation and self-determination) later. This is an incorrect and dangerous approach to organization. Cadre organizations are not united fronts! Che said, the party is "persons fused by a community of ideas who organize themselves..." There must be theoretical unity within the party if it is to succeed. Mao says, "To lead the revolution to victory a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidarity of its own organization."

One ideological struggle is around how to build a party. One line is that it will spring from the spontaneous movement of the masses. The other is that small disciplined groups of cadre from the vanguard of the movement will unite to form a small but iron organization. The history of the entire revolutionary world supports this view. The parties of China, Russia, Vietnam, etc. support this view. One of the major problems with the BPP and other organizations was that they attempted to combine the form of a mass organization with the tasks and responsibilities of a M-L party. Mass organizations are crucial and so are united fronts, but they cannot be confused mentally or practically with party type formations.

The other major ideological debate is whether or not the US is a fascist state and the consequent form of organizing needed. Those who believe that the US is a democratic or quasi-democratic state scorn armed action, emphasize open aboveground work and focus entirely on parliamentary forms of struggle. The other side embraces Jackson's analysis of fascism and assert that armed, propaganda and party organizations must develop concurrently and that organizing must become more clandestine as the state becomes more insecure. This is not to say that mass work will not exist! It only means that reasonable security procedures are taken to insure the smooth functioning of the aboveground and propaganda units. Unsurprisingly, those who take the first view emphasize the entire working class struggle and downplay the national struggles of TW people domestically. The second side takes the view that the TW national struggles are the vanguard of the overall revolutionary movement. As we said in the first issue of SEIZE THE TIME, the entire staff agrees with the second side of this struggle.

The revolutionary movement is now faces with the crucial task of building the mass movement and revolutionary cadre organizations. We will only succeed if we firmly grip our ideological and organizational tasks, don't divorce theory from practice and realize that practice is primary in the relation between knowing and doing. There are no easy answers. We submit this summation to the revolutionary movement for discussion. We will struggle to remain undogmatic and call on our comrades to do likewise. Come together, talk, and submit your views to others while you attempt to put them into practice. We will try to do the same. Meanwhile let us know your positions, criticisms and practice so that we may move our understanding and work forward. We must emulate our Vietnamese comrades who say, "Our organization, supervision, exchange and summing up of experiences are still weak. This is our shortcoming. From now on we strive to overcome them and the emulation movement will certainly bring about many more and better results..."

The difference between our force and the enemy's was so great that there were at the time people who likened our Resistance War to a locust fighting an elephant!

It was so if things were seen from the material side, in their actual conditions and with a narrow mind, we had to oppose airplanes and cannons with bamboo sticks. But guided by Marxism-Leninism our Party did not look only at the present but also at the future and had firm confidence in the spirit and force of the masses, of the nation. Therefore we resolutely told the wavering and pessimistic people that: "Today the locust fights the elephant, but tomorrow the elephant will be disembowelled."

Build fighting National Fronts
Build the fighting cadre organizations
Staff of Seize the Time

BEHIND THE LINES

UPLA - A communique released late in May announced the formation of the United People's Liberation Army. This is an umbrella organization of many active fighting guerrilla forces in the US. It includes the BLA, SLA, BCF (Black Guerrilla Family), NWLF, BGS, PAC and the Revolutionary Nationalist Pan-africanists. The stated goal of this new organization was to coordinate urban guerrilla activity on both a regional and countrywide scope. In one section of the communique, the Sholan Dragon, the highest award given to urban guerrilla fighters and originated by field marshal George Jackson, was awarded. It was conferred on the six murdered comrades of the SLA and Tania (Patricia Hearst) for the action she took to rescue her two comrades in Inglewood. The communique was signed by general field marshal Cabrilla of the SLA and by the minister of cultural affairs of the BLA. ★

CALIFORNIA - Armed actions in response to the brutal murder of six SLA comrades are spreading throughout the country. On May 31, two armed actions took place. In Los Angeles the offices of Attorney General

Evelle Younger were severely damaged by a powerful bomb blast. The blast was claimed by the Weather Underground. In a communique the Weather Underground outlined the fascist history of Evelle Younger and laid many murders of the people directly, at his feet. The last times that the Underground spoke through an action were the bombing of the NY IIT building in response to the fascist coup in Chile and the bombing of a NY police car for the police murder of 10-year-old Black manchild Clifford Glover.

In Berkeley, members of the New World Liberation Front claimed responsibility for a bank expropriation earlier in the day. A communique from Combat Unit 4 of the Black Liberation Army also announced an expropriation. ★

CLEVELAND - On May 30, members of the revolutionary Sunni Muslim engaged 100 Cleveland and East Cleveland police in battle. The brothers who had provided pallbearers at the funeral of comrade Cinque DeFreeze were in the midst of moving on a bigtime well known drug pusher (owns two houses), when the police came to the aid of their

lackey (the pusher). The five brothers escaped, but police traced three to a nearby residence. A fire fight began. One police was shot through the head, and four others were less seriously wounded. The three brothers were wounded and arrested and held for a ransom of \$900,000 bail. Reports state that the two other brothers got away. One of the most serious 'crimes' that can be committed in the U.S. is trying to clean up our communities of the death dealing drug pushers.

AN UNARMED PEOPLE ARE SUBJECT TO SLAVERY AT ANY TIME

SAN FRANCISCO - The South African style Zebra manhunt continues despite the bourgeois press reports that it is over. In the middle of May, a 72-year-old Blackman was shot by SF police because "he looked like a zebra." In the courts, the decision which ruled the sweep and "Zebra ID cards" illegal will be appealed by the police and pig Alioto. They claim that they will appeal the case to the Supreme court because the "concepts of mass sweeps and searches and identity cards is indispensable to modern law enforcement."

massacre could take place...

Opportunism in the left takes many forms. In the white left it traditionally means abandoning the struggle against racism to push self-interest, economist struggles. Sometimes it means "reaching people where they're at", ignoring that where they're at is racism. Sometimes it means reducing the complexities and uncertainties of revolution to simplistic formulas derived from misreadings of revolutionary literature. Always it means taking the easy way, the non-struggle way. Revolutionaries who fight cannot be left to fight and die alone. The spectacle of those women and men, trapped in a burning building, surrounded by 500 state agents, all on national TV for hours and hours, without support from the left, without a rally or a speech or a leaflet or an action, cannot be repeated. It is intolerable... Armed struggle is not the only form of revolutionary struggle. Armed actions and mass movements together make the fabric of revolutionary struggle. Today the US government is in complete chaos. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America imperialism is on the defensive. Black, Brown, and Native American resistance here continues to grow. The prisons are exploding with tension. Alienation permeates the entire society. It is possible to begin organizing thousands of people to oppose imperialism, support Black liberation, and fight to destroy this sick system that oppresses us all. This work must be begun. Armed struggle also must be built and supported. Armed struggle can illuminate the nature of the struggle, identify the real enemy, win some victories, inspire people, given them experience in different forms of struggle, and prepare for the future. Armed struggle cannot become a spectacle. It is the responsibility of mass leaders and organizations to encourage and support revolutionary armed struggle, in the open as well as quiet ways. Without mass struggle there can be no victory. The "destruction" of the Symbionese Liberation Army that Richard Nixon, Randolph Hearst, and Charles Bates crow about is only a lie and an illusion. The SLA represents thousands and thousands of people in this country who have learned there is no alternative to US corporate fascism besides revolution, and many more who are beginning to learn. Joe Ramirez said from prison: "What the SLA has done, there's no way of going back and telling people to forget what happened, forget what they saw, forget what they did." Six revolutionaries fought and died in our struggle. We must commit ourselves to study their practice, to remember their courage and determination. If we do not honor those who die in our struggle, they will be forgotten. We will lose sources of inspiration and strength and examples to study. This cannot happen...

Message from the Weather Underground

Sisters and Brothers:

On May 17, over 500 agents of the Los Angeles Police Department, the Sheriff's Department, the FBI, and other police agencies surrounded a small cottage in Compton, a predominantly Black community in Los Angeles. In complete disregard for the safety of the people of the neighborhood and under orders to shoot to kill, they attacked the house with thousands of rounds of automatic and semi-automatic rifle fire, tear gas bombs, and fragmentation grenades. They set the house on fire and let it roar in flames for two hours before calling in fire trucks. Two adjoining houses were seriously damaged. The target house burned to the ground, and everyone inside, six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, were killed: Cinque Donald DeFreeze, Mizmoon Patricia Soltysik, Genina Angela Atwood, Fahizah Nancy Ling Pexry, William Wolfe, and Camilla Hall.

We deeply mourn the death of these revolutionaries... The decision to create a clandestine organization and begin to build armed struggle is a very difficult one. These people made many sacrifices and many hard choices. They dedicated their lives to the destruction of the American corporate empire and its imperialist, racist, and sexist oppression and died fighting for the revolution.

The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and the subsequent demand -- that her family use a little of its tremendous riches to feed hungry people -- was an ambitious and courageous revolutionary guerrilla action. It was successful on many levels. The SLA raised to the forefront of people's consciousness the fact that millions of people in this country are poor and hungry. They laid the responsibility for this poverty and hunger directly on William Randolph Hearst and his class, the ruling class. They forced an unprecedented concession from the ruling class, the distribution of 2 million dollars of free food to thousands and thousands of poor people in the Bay Area. In America, where baby chickens are slaughtered, milk is emptied into the streets, and rich soil lies unused so that the big conglomerates that control the food industries can maintain high prices, they reaffirmed the right of all people to eat, and the right of the people to fight to obtain the necessities of life. This was the political message of their action.

The SLA successfully maintained the political initiative throughout the entire action. They thwarted the efforts of Hearst and his media to change the issue from hunger and poverty to the fate of his daughter. "Save the children" was a theme, repeated in almost every communique. They were understood by thousands

of people as serious revolutionaries fighting for poor people, not as crazy terrorists. Their militancy and determination inspired many people.

But the success and the political effect of this action was only half as great as it might have been. The failure of the organized left to relate positively to the political initiative of the SLA was crippling. In a situation like this, like Attica, like Wounded Knee, where the contradiction between possessor and dispossessed, rich and poor, oppressor and oppressed is absolutely stark, opportunities exist as at no other time to explain to masses of people the reality of Amerika.

When Ronald Reagan said they should put botulism in the food to be distributed, where were the outcries of protest, the defense of the right of people to eat? When Black people in Oakland rioted over the quality of the food and the demeaning way in which it was thrown at them, who supported them? Where were the rallies and speeches and leaflets on racism and poverty and hunger in Amerika?...

Many people did work to support the action. Some left papers printed articles exposing the extent of the Hearst empire, its origin in robbery and exploitation. Some movement people worked in the food program, pushing the real issues and fighting to improve it...

But these peoples' political leadership was largely ignored. Most of the white left was criminally blind to the fact that tens of thousands were heartened and inspired by the opening up of new fronts of struggle, by the real victories that were achieved, by the determination of the SLA. A wide range of community groups and leaders expressed varying degrees of support for the SLA -- all supported the right of the people to food. And at each distribution, 40,000 people lined up to wait for what was often inadequate amounts of poor quality food, defiantly fighting Hearst's recalcitrance, knowing that Reagan was calling them accomplices and making veiled threats about prosecuting them.

Yet too many movement spokespeople and organizations attacked the SLA for being "isolated" and organized against them, cutting them off from potential support -- political and material. They encouraged people to close their ears to the SLA's words, to be cynical about the necessity to fight for freedom. They said the SLA wasn't attacking the real enemy, as if Hearst isn't a perfect symbol of the ruling class...

The movement, by not activating itself to support the action -- to explain it, build and extend it, to struggle over strategy -- created the political climate where this

FASCISM: AN ANALYSIS

Most of the theoretical misunderstanding present in the revolutionary movement lies around a scientific understanding of fascism. Many "revolutionary" organizations deny the existence of fascism inside of America. This is contrary to the most scientific understanding of fascism. It is also key to formulating the correct strategy for revolution. Mass organizing, propaganda, party building, etc. are conducted differently in fascist and democratic states. This centerfold is dedicated to providing the theoretical and informational foundation for a scientific understanding of fascism.

Redevelopment: A Strategy of Control

The term "urban renewal" has come to mean "urban removal". This is a strategy directed at isolating the poor and oppressed nationalities of America's cities. In fact, urban renewal has sometimes been called the "Nigger Removal Program" on the streets. Two-thirds of the people dislocated by urban renewal have been Black, Puerto Rican or some other non-white nationalities.

The pattern has been that Redevelopment will step into an explosive ghetto situation to survey the community, diffuse it and isolate it. Its immediate purpose is to prepare the way for safe white middle-class development. Its ultimate purpose is to resecure the central city.

Urban renewal was consciously based on the successful Marshall Plan for rebuilding European cities and friendly capitalist economies after WWII. In most European countries the only social and political structures left after the defeat of Nazism were the socialist and communist resistance forces. The prospect of a "red" Europe frightened the U.S. ruling class. Massive amounts of aid were granted to European bourgeois nationalists (like DeGaulle of France) who had fled their countries before the Nazi occupations. They used the aid not only to rebuild ruined cities, but also to crush the resistance organizations.

The economic theorists of Harvard, MIT and University of Chicago looked at post-war America and saw the same potential for revolution in the overcrowded and ruined slums of the central cities. Urban renewal was billed as the "Marshall Plan" for the potentially explosive ghettos of America. Comprehensive legislation was passed in 1949.

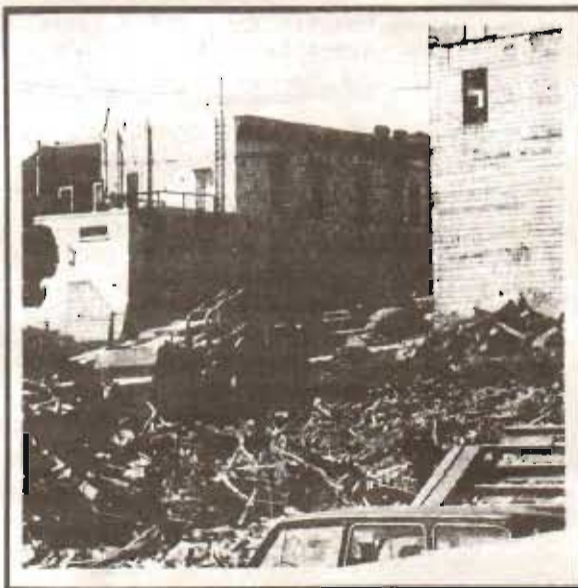
The beginning of the Kennedy administration, the second Johnson administration and the second Nixon administration all marked new stages of redevelopment strategy. The Kennedy administration emphasized neo-colonialism - making counter-insurgency look like constructive reform. The Viet Cong were defeating conventional policing actions in Vietnam. So Kennedy introduced the semi-guerrilla Green Berets and strategic hamlets under the guise of protecting the peasants from armed attacks and providing them with comprehensive social services. Many of the people he recruited for overseas counter-insurgency would later switch over to domestic counter-insurgency under Johnson. Kennedy also accelerated the growth of HUD and Redevelopment.

But the real boom did not happen until after the first Urban Rebellions of the mid-sixties. Emergency meetings were called in Washington in 1967. These meetings brought together directors of corporations like Hewlett-Packard and Varian, think tankers and government officials like Shriver and John Gardner. Shriver and Gardner were Kennedy men who worked on the Peace Corps, Food for Peace and the Alliance for Progress; all overseas counter-insurgency programs, pacification

Out of these meetings came a number of "non-profit" organizations that were to coordinate the resources of private industry and government. Organizations like the Urban League and the Urban Coalition helped the government to design new redevelopment programs all over the country. They hired ad agencies to sell the idea of redevelopment to people through thousands of slick pamphlets. On the local level they convinced the more pliable community organizations like churches and labor unions to sponsor new housing projects. In San Francisco's Fillmore District the "Frederick Douglas Gardens" is sponsored by the Third Baptist Church, and the "Loren Miller Homes" by the Labor Assembly for Community Action, Local Business, mostly representatives of big business were organized into "Community Development Associations" as in Fillmore and Nihonmachi (Japan-town). Besides the very profitable subsidies, loan terms and investment returns, large corporations were able to consolidate the maze of small land parcels, alleys, fire escapes, backyards and flats into monolithic planned areas. The potential jungle for urban guerrilla warfare was being simplified into controlled access areas. A controlled access area allows the police to quickly cut off and/or massively invade an area easily.

The people being dislocated were generally given little notice. In Spanish, Chinese and Japanese speaking areas, the language newspapers and radio stations often did not receive any requests to inform their audiences of scheduled clearances.

The housing built to replace low-cost ghetto housing was not meant for the poor families it evicted. Most of it was "moderate to medium income" housing - beyond the reach of anyone who made less than \$10,000 to 18,000 a year. The rent of the few "low-cost" housing units subsidized by the FHA averaged at \$195 per month in 1962. "Low-cost" subsidized units have climbed since then to around \$250 a month for a 2-bedroom apartment in Chicago and New York.



Redevelopment at work in San Francisco's Nihonmachi area (Japan-town)

The true impact of redevelopment can be seen by looking at San Francisco Redevelopment's own figures on housing. A total of 20,000 low-cost units were torn down. Another 7,000 were priced out of reach by being repaired without any controls on the rent increases. At the same time, 7,132 units were completed or under construction. A total of 14,000 units were projected. But of this, only 1200-1300 units will be low-cost housing. The same pattern is repeated across America.

The people uprooted by this outrage have been forced to move out of their neighborhoods. Some moved into the adjacent ghettos or working class areas to more overcrowded and much more expensive

housing than before. In Nazi-occupied Europe, the Jews were relocated into progressively smaller ghettos before they were "relocated" to the gas chambers. This tactic effectively reduced resistance to relocation away from the urban centers and out of sight. Some Jews were so eager to be relocated out of the overcrowded ghettos that they paid their train fare to Auschwitz.

Other people forced to move by Redevelopment have moved out beyond the rich white suburbs to isolated rural fringe areas. This pattern is especially clear in Chicago's South Side and Honolulu's downtown area.

In hopes of stopping the coming revolution, Redevelopment has tried to recreate the 18th century city. In this city the banker could walk from his home to the bank without getting mugged. The poor lived in shanty towns outside the city limits and out of sight.

Redevelopment has also supplied funds for "street improvement". Generally these programs ignored street safety signals, resurfacing and cleaning desperately needed in residential ghetto areas. Instead they concentrated on widening major entry streets and installing high intensity lighting on those streets as in Chicago and Watts. These are the routes needed to blockade and invade the ghetto with troop carriers and tanks in the event of insurrection. There is also the added benefit to the businesses that usually line such streets of "beautification" and better security.

But Redevelopment strategy has not gone unchallenged. Starting in the late sixties, organized resistance to evictions and demolitions began. The struggle at Columbia University was sparked partly by the University's plans to redevelop its ghetto property and evict the tenants. A community struggle developed around University of Chicago's redevelopment plans.

In San Francisco, many organizations joined in a general fight against Redevelopment. In Fillmore area, the Model Cities elections were designed to "black-wash" the project. But ex-Panthers organized and captured many of the seats with a community united front called WAPAC (Western Addition Project Area Committee). Now some of the members of WAPAC are on the police's list of suspected Black Liberation Army members.

One of WAPAC people, Rory Hithe, was assassinated during a Project meeting. At the age of 15, Rory Hithe joined the BPP. He was arrested as one of the 14 Panthers charged in the New Haven Conspiracy trial. He split from the Oakland-controlled BPP and continued the struggle. At age 22 he was assassinated. Even though the assassin's identity was known, police did not look for him until three weeks after the murder.

Other projects (such as the SF Yerba Buena area) were delayed by court action and public protest until many more low-cost units were included. Organizations like CANE (Committee Against Nihonmachi Eviction) have fought huge "cultural" centers that degrade their people's culture for tourism. Their principles are:

1. To stop the destruction and dispersal of the Japanese community and to keep Nihonmachi a small business and residential area.
2. To uphold the rights of residents and small businesses.



Cont. on Next Pg.

Because of organized resistance, delays in construction, shortages and inflation, the Redevelopment strategy became less attractive to business and government. The millions of dollars poured into the central cities just did not seem to have that great an effect. Comparisons were made to the lack of success that American foreign "aid" had in "underdeveloped" Third World countries. Bourgeois economic theorists stated (Pender 1969):

In most of these cases this aid was not to rebuild war-torn countries (Europe's Marshall Plan), but to build up very poor countries that never had been developed. There were multiple reasons for failure but most were some aspect of the culture or civilization of the people.

or in the words of the Hawaii Redevelopment Agency (Proposals for Community Renewal Programs 1970):

"...the current urban situation in Honolulu is largely a Hawaiian problem."



A Neighborhood Struggle in New York City

or in the words of Moynihan in a memo to President Nixon (January 1969):

"The problem is not that one group in the population is beginning to react to centuries of barbarism by another group. The problem is that this cultural reaction among black militants is accompanied by the existence of a large, disorganized urban lower class which, like such groups everywhere, is unstable and essentially violent."

In plain language, the unselfish billions the bourgeoisie poured into the ghetto still didn't make them nigga's quiet. So the bourgeoisie concluded that the ghetto inhabitants were poor because of something in their culture, their very nature. Naturally the next step was, if they could not be assimilated, isolate them. The process of rural isolation was elevated from an unplanned consequence to a strategic proposal.

In 1969, the first Nixon year, a book was put out by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at the University of South Carolina. It was titled Strategic Hamlets in America, an approach to the problems of the urban and rural poor, by David Pender.

Interestingly enough, about half of the Bureau's staff, that helped Pender, earned degrees at Duke University, Nixon's alma mater. Most of them were prominent social scientists listed in the "who's who" of social scientists.

In his book, Pender states that "strategic hamlet" is the actual name for "implanted community", "new community", "satellite village" or "new village". His proposed hamlets are "aimed at the 10% of the population at the bottom of the eco-

omic ladder." Pender explains that the reason for this is because, "Revolution and violent change often march hand in hand along with the poor enroute to the cities." Further, "This concept is presented not as a substitute for the model cities' idea, but as an addition to it."

Finally, "The strategic hamlets as proposed here are designed to provide an environment where the poor can become productive and be isolated from some of the exploitative monopoly elements of the elements of the economy. The unproductive poor in the central city, with only 10 to 15% of the nation's population, will otherwise increasingly become the case of the 'poverty' tail wagging the 'affluent' dog."

In 1970, Redevelopment programming reached its peak of 1,110 involved communities. In 1972 Nixon won his second term and would not need to run for the Presidency again. In 1973 both funding and the number of involved communities dropped for the first time. In 1974 funding dropped from \$1.2 billion to \$600 million, and over \$275 million of that was impounded by Nixon. For 1975 Nixon has requested no Urban Renewal funding unless it is consolidated under his proposed Better Communities Act. Nixon has budgeted \$2.3 billion for its implementation.

* * *

The next issue of the paper will detail the provisions of Nixon's Better Communities Act. This article and others will expose the present form of fascism, what to expect and means of resistance.

* * *

If the Urban Renewal strategy has shifted from the Marshall Plan to Strategic Hamlets, another government agency has thoughtfully been developing the facilities for strategic hamlets. That is the U.S. Bureau of Prisons under the authority of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

GUERRILLA WARFARE ADVOCATES IN THE UNITED STATES

Report No. 1351 by the
Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
May 6, 1968

CHAPTER X - CONCLUSION

Once the ghetto is sealed off, and depending upon the violence being perpetrated by the guerrillas, the following actions could be taken by the authorities:

- (1) A curfew would be imposed in the enclosed isolated area. No one would be allowed out of or into the area after sundown.
- (2) During the night the authorities would not only patrol the boundary lines, but would also attempt to control the streets and, if necessary, send out foot patrols through the entire area. If the guerrillas attempted to either break out of the area or to engage the authorities in open combat they would be readily suppressed.
- (3) During a guerrilla uprising most civil liberties would have to be suspended, search and seizure operations would be instituted during the daylight hours, and anyone found armed or without proper identification would be immediately arrested. Most of the people of the ghetto would not be involved in the guerrilla operation and, under conditions of police and military control, some would help in ferreting out the guerrillas. Their help would be invaluable.
- (4) If the guerrillas were able to hold out for a period of time then the population of the ghetto would be classified through
- (5) an office for the "Control and Organization of the Inhabitants." This office would distribute "census cards" which would bear a photograph of the individual, the letter of the district in which he lives, his house and street number, and a letter designating his home city. This classification would aid the authorities in knowing the exact location of any suspect and who is in control of any given district. Under such a system, movement would be proscribed and the ability of the guerrillas to move freely from place to place seriously curtailed.
- (6) The population within the ghetto would be exhorted to work with the authorities and to report both on guerrillas and any suspicious activity they might note. The police agencies would be in a position to make immediate arrest, without warrants, under suspension of guarantees usually provided by the Constitution.
- (7) Acts of overt violence by the guerrillas would mean that they had declared a "state of war" within the country, and therefore, would forfeit their rights as in wartime. The McCarran Act provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country and these might well be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of warring guerrillas.
- (8) The very nature of the guerrilla operation as presently envisioned by certain Communists and black nationalists would be impossible to sustain. According to the most knowledgeable guerrilla war experts in the country, the revolutionaries could be isolated and destroyed in a short period of time.

BLACK RESERVATIONS

...a collection of the proper knowledge for the proper purpose is an incalculable and powerful assortment of assets which no force is too mighty to conquer.

The colonized masses of Afrikan people in America live on black reservations. The areas of these black reservations are totally confined, totally contained and totally controlled in the interest of those who exploit the native resources. The masses of Afrikan people provide for themselves little or none of the basic life-sustaining needs on these reservations. Things such as electricity, water, gas and food are all pumped or brought in by the same people who are responsible for the present conditions on the reservation. Almost everything we need is provided on these reservations, and the only reason we leave them is to work, spend money, or to travel to other reservations.

The overcrowding on these reservations, in some instances, have become of a very genocidal nature. For example, in the state of Illinois, black people are 10.6% of the population. There are some 1,068,603 black people in the entire state, but only occupy 81 square miles of land mass out of a total land mass of 55,930 square miles. Within the largest city of the state of Illinois, which is Chicago, the figures get even more frightening. Between the blocks of 39th Street and 55th Street, there exists a housing project which is occupied by Afrikan people; it is called the Robert Taylor Homes. Every 4 blocks there are 8 buildings. Each building contains 150 apartments with an average of 10 people per apartment. This averages out to 1500 Afrikan people per building. Eight buildings every 4 blocks means that in 4 blocks, 12,000 Afrikan

people exist. This means in a mere 16 city blocks, there exists 48,000 Afrikan people. We say here, 'exist', because that's all they do - just exist - under some of the most inhumane conditions imaginable. The animals in the zoo have more room than the Afrikan people who live in the Robert Taylor Homes.

As a result of this pattern, which holds true for almost the entire black population, we are confined collectively to less than 10,000 square miles of land, less than four-tenths of one percent of the almost three million square miles of America's land mass.

The following figures are not exact. They are as accurate as any census figures have been. These figures were not compiled to frighten you, but to enlighten you to the realities that Afrikan people face in this country.

Where there is weak or no persistent defense, there's excitement and enthusiasm to oppress, exploit, humiliate, disgrace, torture and destroy, by unjust people.

HUAC'S INTERNAL SECURITY ACT (McCARRAN ACT) TITLE II

Public Law 831, 81st Congress; Title II; Section 102, 103 and 104

"Emergency Detention: In the event of... Insurrection...the President is authorized to make public proclamation...of an 'Internal Security Emergency'...and...acting through the Attorney General, is...authorized to apprehend and...detain...each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe...probably will...conspire with others to engage in, acts...of sabotage. Persons apprehended...shall be confined in...places of detention...prescribed by the Attorney General."

McCarran Internal Security Act - 1950 (Prepared by Citizen's Committee for Constitutional Liberties)

History

- 1948 - Originated as Mundt-Nixon Bill; sponsored by Senators McCarran, Mundt, Eastland, McCarthy and Representatives Nixon, Velde, Walters.
- 1950 - Passed as the Internal Security Act during the Korean War hysteria, over the veto of President Truman.
- 1954 - Amended by the "Communist Control Act" to include unions and individuals.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Due to the protests and actions of many people, especially Japanese and Blacks, Title II of the McCarran Act has been repealed. However, the rest of the act still stands. And, in the event of a "national emergency", the President's powers are broad enough to re-establish all the provisions of Title II by executive order.

Although some 20 years later his administration has called for partial repeal of the measure, which was enacted in response to the Communist Korean victory in South Korea, it remains on the books. The first step in applying the act is a presidential declaration of an "internal security emergency". Such a declaration is authorized only in time of war, invasion, or insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy.

In such an emergency, however, the President may order the Attorney General to incarcerate "each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such persons probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or of sabotage."

There have been documented over 58 sites for concentration camps throughout this country. These concentration camps which have been set up by the government, are maintained in constant readiness and availability. The McCarran Act provides the reason why they exist and makes it perfectly legal to incarcerate any one whom there is reasonable ground to believe...probably will...conspire with others to engage in acts...of sabotage or insurrection. It must be clear here that the riots were insurrections, but just that

the Afrikan insurrectionists caught the white power structure off guard. Now the cracker is ready. In the Pentagon, there is a pickup list with a million or more Afrikan people on it. With the push of a button, they are in touch with the chief of police in every major city throughout the U.S. telling him where you're located. It would be very unintelligent to doubt that this could occur at any given time. On December 4, 1968, on a very cold and dark day, Chicago police with guns drawn, moved into position. The telephone service had been cut, the electricity turned off and the surrounding sixteen block Black area had been "sealed off" in preparation. Brother Mark Clark and Brother Fred Hampton, who were sleep in bed, would be dead by dawn. The police would claim the brothers had "resisted arrest" and the courts would concur, "Justifiable Homicide."



The bed in which Fred Hampton was murdered. —LNS Photo

Let us here turn to a government report; 90th Congress, 2nd Session, House Report No. 1351 -

GUERRILLA WARFARE ADVOCATES IN THE UNITED STATES
Report by the Committee on Un-American Activities House of Representatives Ninetieth Congress Second Session

An outline of the contents of the report is as follows:

- Chapter I Communist Concepts of Guerrilla Warfare
- II The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)
- III RAM's New Concept of Guerrilla Warfare
- IV The Harlem Riot - The First Clear Indication
- V Cleveland - "Trained and Disciplined Professionals" The Watts Riot - A Civil Revolt?
- VII Other Pro-Guerrilla Warfare Advocates
- VIII The Current Communist Party Position
- IX Pre-riot Measures and Best Defense
- X *Conclusion

*See copy of "Chapter X - Conclusion" in box next to article pg. B

The following is a list of all concentration camps and potential concentration camps of knowledge to this date:

DE-ACTIVATED JOB CORPS CONSERVATION CENTERS
(Potential Concentration Camps)

State	County	Center Name
Ariz.	Apache	Alpine
	Mohave	Kingman
Calif.	Pleasanton	Camp Parks
	Eldorado	Sly Park
	Glenn	Alder Springs
	Orange	Los Pinos
	Riverside	Oak Glen
	Shasta	Toyon
	Trinity	Lewiston

State	County	Center Name
	Tuolumne	Five Mile
Colo.	Archuleta	Pagosa Springs
Idaho	Elmore	Mountain Home
	Idaho	Cedar Flat
Ill.	Williamson	Crab Flat
Ind.	Edinburg	Camp Atterbury
Ky.	Bell	Cumberland Gap
	Manifer	Fenchburg
	McCreary	Stearns
	*Morganfield	Breackinridge
Maine	Hancock	Acodia
Md.	Frederick	Catocin
Mass.	Barnstable	Wellfleet
	New Bedford	Fort Rodman
Mich.	Gogebic	Ojibway
	Weford	Hoxey
	Calhoun	Fort Custer
Minn.	Becker	Tamarac
	Cass	Lydeck Lake
	Lake	Isabella
Mo.	Butler	Popular Bluff
Neb.	Red Willow	McCook
Nev.	Clark	Antelope Mesa
N.J.	Hudson	Ellis Island
	Edison	Camp Kilmar
N.M.	San Miguel	Luna
	Torrance	Mountainair
	Valencia	Grants
N.Y.	Orleans	Iroquois
N.D.	Stark	Dickinson
Ohio	Lawrence	(not known)
	Lucas	(not known)
Okla.	Laflore	(not known)
	Murray	(not known)
Ore.	*Astoria	Tongue Point
	Harney	Malhem
	Josephine	Fort Vannay
	Lincoln	Angell
	Tillamcock	Tillamcock
Penn.	Forest	Blue Jay
Tenn.	Blount	Tremount
Tex.	Walker	New Waverly
	*Sann Marcos	Cary
Utah	Carbon	Castle Valley
Vt.	Addison	Ripton
Wash.	Lewis	Cispus
W.Va.	Greenbrier	Anthony
Wisc.	Bayfield	Clam Lake
Wyo.	Nationa	Casper

*These centers are still in operation. Source: Dictionary of Job Corps Centers, U.S. Dept. of Labor

DE-ACTIVATED MCCARRAN ACT CONCENTRATION CAMPS

City	State
Allenwood	Pennsylvania
El Reno	Oklahoma
Florence	Arizona
Tule Lake	(Newel) California
Mil Point	West Virginia
Greenville	South Carolina
Montgomery	Alabama
Tucson	Arizona
Safford	Arizona
McNeil Island	Washington

Source: Concentration Camp, U.S.A. - Charles Allen Jr., Pg. 52, originally built in 1952 and still available for occupation.

DE-ACTIVATED MILITARY INSTALLATIONS
(Potential Concentration Camps)

State	Installation	City
Ala.	Brookley AFB	Mobile
Calif.	Fort Irwin	Barstow
	Naval Missile Felty	Santa Maria
	Oxnard AFB	Oxnard
Colo.	Peterson Field	Colorado Sprgs.
	Sanford NAS	Sanford
Ga.	Turner AFB	Albany
Ind.	Bakalar AFB	Columbus
Kan.	Olathe NAS	Olathe
Mass.	Fort Rodman	New Bedford
	Springfield Armory	Springfield
	Watertown Arsenal	Boston
Minn.	Twin Cities NAS	Minneapolis
Mont.	Glasgow AFB	Glasgow
Nev.	Indian Springs AFB	Indian Springs
N.Y.	Fort Tilden	New York
	Miller Field	New York
	Stewart AFB	Newburg
	Suffolk County AFB	Westhampton Beh.
Okla.	Clinton-Sherman AFB	Cordell
Penn.	Olmsted AFB	Middleton
Tenn.	Stewart AFB	Smyrna
Utah	Fort Douglas	Salt Lake City
Wash.	Paine Field	Everett

Source: 1968 & 1971 Commercial Atlas & Marketing Guide (De-activated between 1968 and 1971)

FASCISM IN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

Hundreds of young Black men were swept off the streets of San Francisco and searched as Mayor Alioto hysterically fanned the flames of racism to spark his campaign for governor. Under the pretense of searching for the so-called Zebra killers, every Black man stopped was issued a Zebra card. Many compared the Zebra cards to the identity cards issued to Blacks in white supremacist South Africa. Weeks earlier, Governor Reagan sent in club-swinging state police and threatened to use the national guard to break the strike of S.F. municipal workers. By government statistics, unemployment in the Black community is over twenty percent. At the same time that the government is increasing its anti-Black and anti-labor campaigns, oil company profits have increased by as much as 100%.

Terror in prisons from Attica to San Quentin is intensifying. The entire California Penal System is under a terroristic lockdown. There are over one million Black men in U.S. jails and prisons. Overall there are more men, women and children in U.S. prisons than in the prisons of all the world combined.

On the streets, police murders of third world people are increasing at a terrifying rate. Sheriffs have won court cases brought against them by the mothers of murdered 15-year-olds. The mothers are told that the police are not violating any laws or human rights when they shoot unarmed youths in the back. Legislation proposed by Nixon, Rockefeller and Reagan completely repeals the Bill of Rights, legalizes the police terror that was used against the leftist and third world movements of the sixties and firmly establishes the American police state.

Yet members of the "new left", especially white and white-dominated segments, debate if "fascism is really here". Even some Black nationalist groups, which are under attack from the state, believe that "the masses of Blacks are not in danger because Nixon will try to buy us off." Organizing and propaganda are being done as if we are living under a "tolerant" bourgeois democratic state. Many believe that the state will benignly allow us to organize revolution without trying to cripple and destroy our efforts. The destruction of the Black Panther Party by police terror seems like a fading nightmare that is no longer relevant.

Yet government, military, corporate and labor elites have concentrated their power more than ever before. This concentration of elites is in response to the staggering defeats suffered at the hands of the Indochinese, the intensification of armed struggle in Africa, Palestine, Ireland and South America, and the resurgence of the internal mass movement led by the vanguard of the Black, Native American and other Third World movements. With rampant unemployment and inflation, worker unrest is at its highest point since the thirties.

The ruling class knows that they will preserve their system of profits and exploitation only by putting the lid on domestic unrest. Conversely they also know that conditions for revolution are very favorable and that they have never been more vulnerable internationally and domestically.

DEFINITION OF FASCISM

Historically, threatened ruling classes have responded to internal social rebellions and international attack in one way. They "reformed" the governing structure of society in order to completely destroy the socialist and revolutionary movement. They promoted labor elites to the status of a co-operative partner of the bourgeoisie, controlled and centralized the economy, and unleashed elite police and military units to keep domestic and international order. This form of capitalist organization is known variously as monopoly capitalism, corporate capitalism, the military-industrial complex etc. George Jackson has formulated the most

scientific understanding of monopoly capitalism. Since his formulation on the subject, present capitalist organization is usually referred to as corporate fascism.

If we do not have a scientific understanding of corporate fascism and how to fight it, we are doomed to the prospect of allowing the police state to dominate American society for the next several decades and witnessing the concurrent massacre of the revolutionary movement.

If we want to understand what fascism is, we must understand what fascism is not. Comrade Jackson attacks this point head on, "(A) notion that stands in the way of our understanding of fascist corporativism is a semantic problem. When I am being interviewed by a member of the old guard and point to the concrete and steel, the tiny electronic listening device concealed in the vent, the phalanx of goons peeping at us, his barely functional plastic taperecorder that cost him a week's labor, and point out that these are all manifestations of fascism, he will invariably attempt to refute me by defining fascism simply as an economic geo-political affair where only one political party is allowed to exist above ground and no opposition political activity is allowed. But examine that definition of totalitarianism, comrade. NO opposition parties are allowed in China, Cuba, North Korea or North Vietnam (Editor's note: or Tanzania or Guinea for that matter). Such a narrow definition condemns the model revolutionary societies to totalitarianism. Despite the presence of political parties there is only one legal politics in the U.S. - the politics of corporativism."

Dissent is only allowed in the U.S. so long as it is only an intellectual affair. But no matter the differences in ideology, once a King or a Malcolm X, a Black Panther Party or a Crusade for Justice starts to organize people for real and permanent social change, they are viciously attacked and the mass movement ruthlessly suppressed.

Another misunderstanding concerning fascism is the role that reform plays in the fascist arrangement. One will often hear arguments that "this could not possibly be a fascist state. Look at all the reform that is happening." This statement shows the blindness and naivete of some progressive forces in North America. Every fascist movement from the Italian movement to Hitler and Roosevelt swept into power as a reform movement. Many times fascism entered power under the guise of a "revolutionary" alternative to the socialist revolution. Italian fascist leader Mussolini trained in the tactics of social democracy under Lenin. Ex-Filipino guerrilla leader Malagasy is considered the leading expert in the world on counter-insurgency.

Comrade George summarizes the arguments on reform and fascism in the following, "Reform is an old story in Amerika. There have been depressions and socio-economic political crisis throughout the period that marked the formation of the present upper-class ruling circle and their controlling elites..."

"The latest round of capitalist reform, the latest redirection of its energy was its highest and last form. The struggles of the thirties, forties and fifties completed the totalitarianization of the country and perfected the system of total mass social deception." The advent of social and economic reforms by the capitalist system can not be taken as a sign that fascism is not here. Capitalist reform is merely more efficient deception and repression.

What then, are the elements of a fascist state? George Jackson states that all commentators agree that fascist states are typified by an anti-labor stand and a centralized capitalist economy. This is not enough. History points to several more characteristics that are exhibited by fascist states. The most common ones are:

1. A highly centralized internation-

al capitalist economy.

2. An anti-labor orientation that becomes terroristic at any sign of serious worker unrest.
3. A racist philosophy encouraged by the ruling class in part of the working class so that large segments of the working class turn against another sector of the working class instead of their true class enemies.
4. The promotion of police and military elites to the position of the active managers for the bourgeoisie. In some cases, members of the bourgeoisie themselves fulfill these roles.
5. The alliance of labor elites with the other elites of the fascist state. This alliance turns the traditional labor unions into a tool of the bourgeois state.

DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM

Jackson shows that there are three main stages in the development of the fascist state. They are:

1. out of power - "This tends almost to be revolutionary and subversive, anti-capitalist and anti-socialist."
2. in power but not secure - "This is the sensational aspect of fascism that we see on the screen and read in the pulp novels, when the ruling class, through its instrumental regime is able to suppress the vanguard party of the people's and worker's movement."
3. in power and secure - "During this phase some dissent may even be allowed. In Italy, Trilussa the poet wrote and published more bitter and biting satire attacking the political regime than can be found in any of the so-called liberal democratic states."

Now we must see how the definition and the development of fascism apply to the present American state.

FASCISM IN AMERICA

Since the Civil war, American capitalists have been driving toward the complete centralization of the economy. George Jackson describes the centralization of the American economy, "The expansion of U.S. industry to the demands of the Civil war involved a complex concentration of several violent and predictable capital mandates. The old traditional sector of the landed aristocracy was broken; machine tools, transport, and communication boomed (the basis of the industrial state and of course an industrial elite, when raw materials - coal, iron and other ores are not lacking); the price or value of labor shrank; and the drive toward monopoly accumulation was firmly established."

"This period of capital accumulation, invention of new machinery, its use in expanding factory setups, the "closed economy" created by Republican government legislation, and the direction of certain amounts of capital through government contract were in part the beginning of a new chapter in the authoritarian process of Western history. Industrial centralization, I mean the refined tactics of monopolized capitalism, may have been developed right here in the U.S!!"

"Analysts of the old left are completely confused by the differences between bourgeois democracy and monopoly capital and their manifestations on the American scene. They seem to feel that both can coexist in the same society. Actually one simply grows out of the other. Prior to the civil war and the emergence of the trend toward monopoly capital, America was dominated by bourgeois democratic economics and political rule. The economy was based upon diverse ownership of many thousands of factory units and a political arrangement to reflect that fact."

"However, with the emergence and ex-

pansion of monopoly capital after the economic impetus of the Civil War, bourgeois democracy naturally began to fade. Bourgeois democracy, the political rule of the bourgeoisie, simply cannot exist after the emergence of monopoly capital. Monopoly capital has its own political expression. It develops as bourgeois democratic political rule declines."

"The roots of corporativism-fascism were laid with the expansion of monopoly capital into giant cartels, corporations and interlocking trusts. The owners of the largest share of a nation's GNP will always control the political life and government of the state. Monopoly capital is corporativism(fascism!)"

The drive toward monopoly continued throughout this century to the point where families such as the Rockerfellers control virtually entire industries such as oil and energy. The international aspect of present-day American capitalism is clear. Large corporations dictate foreign policy to the U.S. government. The U.S. military and intelligence agencies make the world safe for U.S. corporate greed. The influence of ITT in Chile is a recent example. The U.S. is the prime criminal power responsible for waging imperialistic wars of suppression against national liberation movement. It is the major financier of the imperialist counter-insurgency wars in Africa, Asia, the Mideast and Latin America.

The second element of fascism is an anti-labor orientation. The call up of heavily armed national guardsmen and state police during the trucker's strike, the actions of Reagan during the SPMunicipal workers' strike, etc. have ripped off the state's mask of tolerance for the labor movement. Anti-worker terror is reaching its highest point since the massive struggles of the thirties. Just as big business and the state are busting strikes and protests with terror, business has increased economic exploitation. Huge corporate profits in nearly all industries were gained at the expense of labor - particularly Third World labor. Small competitors are being squeezed out of the market, just like in the thirties. Inflation and unemployment are rising at record rates. Working families cannot afford food, rent and gas. Despite being in the midst of a recession(even bourgeois economists admit it), corporate profits in industries like oil, steel and services are booming at astronomical rates of one hundred percent and higher.

Workers throughout the country, especially members of the proletariat, are saying that there might be so many strikes this year that the nation's industry will be crippled. These strikes are a direct result of spiraling inflation. In the first quarter of 1974, the inflation rate was 11.5%. Workers' average real income has been dropping for the last year.

The use of racism is a third element of fascist arrangements. It was pioneered and developed to a high level of barbarism inside of the United States. Hitler, South Africa and Israel all have learned from America's genocidal treatment of Native Americans, Blacks, Hawaiian and all Third World people.

Oppression of national groups within the United States has been racial in character and economic in motivation. There are numerous references of Blacks and whites fighting the national guard in Chicago together during the day and going home to riot against each other at night. It hardly needs pointing out that the bosses were the only ones who gained by this ludicrous division of the working class. It does need pointing out that working class whites then(as now) were the really backward element. They were duped into instigating these riots - usually in the form of lynch parties that would invade the Black community. Naturally Black people(then as now) defended themselves from these attacks.

George Jackson succinctly explains how the bourgeoisie uses racism as a fascist tool to keep the white working class from rebelling against their true class enemies. "All the ingredients for a fascist state were already present: the morbid traditional fear of Blacks, Indians,

Mexicans; the desire to inflict pain on them when they began to compete in industrial sectors. The resentment and the seed bed of fear is patterned into every modern capitalist society. It grows out of a sense of insecurity and insignificance that is inculcated into the workers by the conditions of life and work under capitalism. This sign of vulnerability is the breeding ground of racism. At the same time, the ruling class actively promotes racism against the Blacks of the lower classes. This programmed racism has always served to distract the huge numbers of people who subsist at just a slightly higher level than those in a more debased condition(in the 1870's just after the Civil War, strikes frequently ended in anti-Chinese or anti-Black lynchings). It conforms to the dual requirements of the authoritarian personality(conformity accompanied by compulsive sadism). Racism has served always in the US as a pressure release for the psychopathic destructiveness evidenced by a people made fearful and insecure by a way of life they never understood and resented from the day of their birth."



The fourth element of fascist states is the promotion of police and military elites to high-level managers, and in some cases members of the bourgeoisie. The recently deposed FBI chief Patrick Grey was a member of the bourgeois circles of Connecticut. Richard Helms, the former head of the CIA and now ambassador to sub-imperialist Iran, is another head police agent who belongs to exclusive bankers' clubs in New York. David Packard, co-founder of the powerful electronics company Hewlett-Packard, has at various times been a trustee of Stanford University, a candidate for the governorship of California, and Under-secretary of Defense. Robert McNamara is even a better example of the merger of the bourgeois and military elites. He has been consecutively President of the Ford Motor Company, Secretary of Defense and head of the World Bank. The latest example is General Haig, a four-star general and one of Nixon's two closest advisors.

This is similar to the experience of Nazi Germany. By 1933 one-fifth of the SS generals were German(Prussian) aristocracy. Many prominent capitalists were given high positions. The Dresdner Bank directors were both members of the SS and the "Friendship club of Reichsfuhrer SS".

The final characteristic of the fascist arrangement is the merger of labor and bourgeois elites. This characteristic causes the most problems for the old left and many white-dominated segments of the New Left. The present labor movement is the descendant of the often revolutionary labor movement in the period of 1880's to 1930's. It is hard for them to conceptualize that the present labor movement is dominated by fascists and the bourgeoisie. However, the facts are clear. The Teamster leadership is completely fascist and has allied with California agri-business in order to bust the United Farm Workers' Union. Besides its union busting activities, many of the Teamsters most militant activities are in support of state prison and private security guards. In factories where terrible working conditions need to

be struck, the Teamster leadership will sign "sweet heart", no-strike contracts. The Teamsters also refused to support the struggle of independent truck drivers during the "oil crisis".

The traditionally radical AFL-CIO, UAW and ILWU have not been much better. After WWII the AFL helped the US government break up Communist leadership in the French labor unions. The AFL-CIO has been working with a CIA front, the American Institute for Free Labor Development(AIFLD). The AIFLD is chaired by George Meany and has been organizing anti-communist, pro-management, fascist unions throughout the Caribbean, Central and South America. George Meany was listed in the Who's Who in the CIA as a CIA operative since 1948.

The UAW leadership cooperated with police and hired private security goons to destroy the Black revolutionary workers' movement in the late sixties. Lately they have signed a sweetheart contract with the auto companies. The once very radical head of the ILWU, Harry Bridges, is now a registered Republican. All the unions are now very worried by the growth of women caucuses, and it appears they will take the same steps to destroy them that they took in their campaign to destroy the various Black caucuses.

Nixon himself has been no slouch in organizing "police" unions(unions controlled by the government). He appointed the gun-toting head of the New York Labor Council, Peter Brennan, as his Secretary of Labor. His National Commission for Industrial Peace is by bourgeois accounts basically a police agency to subvert and destroy the working class movement. Both the Russian Tsars and Hitler organized unions that were under the direct control of the capitalist state. In this country Roosevelt was the first bourgeois leader to effectively ally the military, labor and bourgeois elites.

As brother Jackson teaches, "The necessary shock troops and tools for creating the false contrapositive psycho-social basis of fascist type pseudo-society were in short supply in this country prior to and during the process of the fascist takeover. There was little of this consciousness among the middle classes, so the first terror came from the specially formed and hired goons of the Duponts and Rockerfellers, the Black Legion, the Guardians of the Republic, the FBI. They destroyed the already disintegrating vanguard, leaving degenerate elements of the working class as the only available mass. Class relations were slowly altered as a result of this action by the co-opted labor sectors. Government agents were sent to infiltrate scattered labor movements. The disguise was complete. The satisfaction of labor's short term economic interests was made possible by the giant consumers' market and the military complex. Ties were formed between rulers and labor leaders. The elite of the proletarian governing elites were centralized and were carefully co-opted. A fascist arrangement!"

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM IN THE U.S.

We see that the U.S. presents all the elements of a fascist state. In fact, the U.S. presents these characteristics more clearly than any other state presently or historically. What then was the development of fascism in the United States? It has developed in the same three stages that we outlined earlier - a period of fascism out of power, in power but not securely and securely in power. To scientifically understand the present, we must take a closer look at fascist development in the United States.

We must first understand that fascism is a response to the revolutionary activity of the masses and some vanguard party. "When the fascist arrangement begins to emerge in any of the independent nation-states, it does so by default! It is simply an arrangement of an established capitalist economy, an attempt to renew, perpetuate and legitimize that economy's rulers by circumflexing and weighing down, diffusing a revolutionary consciousness pushing from below. Fascism must be seen as an episodically logical stage in the socio-economic development of capitalism in a state of crisis. It is the result of

a revolutionary thrust that was weakened miscarried and a consciousness that was compromised. When revolution fails...it's the fault of the vanguard parties."

Jackson goes on to describe the development of fascism in its first two stages. "The United States was not existing in a vacuum when fascism first swept the western world on the heels of two great depressions. My reading of history indicates that the U.S. was in greater economic, social and political crisis after the 1929 stock market crash than any other western country excepting possibly Germany. The same trends, the same experiments, the same internal battles were fought by the same forces for the direction of the nation's economy. The extreme economic crisis of the early thirties brought working class revolutionary consciousness to its very peak. All serious commentary on this period reflects a profound lack of confidence in the workability of capitalism. This avalanche of criticism came from the sectors of the middle and right-oriented thinkers as well as the left...But of course the middle and right intellectuals were thinking in terms of a new direction for capitalist growth, not of its abolition - a "New Deal", much like those of Nazi, Fascist and Falangist Europe. No serious or honest student could miss the likeness. FDR was a fascist. His state documented congratulatory messages to Mussolini were not simple diplomatic gestures..."

"There was a positive mobilization of workers and the lower class, and a highly developed class consciousness. There was indeed a very deep economic crisis with attendant strikes, unionizing, lockouts, brackins, callouts of the National Guard. The lower class was threatening to unite under the pressure of economic disintegration. Revolution was in the air. There was terrorism from the right...and hired assassins who carried out the beginnings of a contra-positive mobilization. Under the threat of revolution, the ruling class, true to Marxian theory, became all the more co-optive and dangerous. FDR was born and bred in this ruling class of families. His role was to form the first fascist regime to merge the economic, political and labor elites, governing elite/corporative state/fascism - his role was to limit competition, replace it with the dream of cooperation; to put laissez-faire to rest, and initiate the acceptance of government intervention into economic affairs."

During this same period terror against Blacks intensified. It reached its height in the south, two Black men were lynched in San Jose, California during the thirties, and Blacks were subjected to lynchings in Chicago until the late fifties. At the same time, Black revolutionaries were leaving the Communist Party. They were disillusioned by racism inside the party and generally refused to support the party's directive to fight with the American war effort during WWII. This experience was paralleled by the experience of the Hawaiian branch of the CP. This CP branch was mainly Japanese and overwhelmingly Third World. By the start of WWII this branch had led the Hawaiian working class almost to the point of a general strike against the white oligarchy. However, at the start of the war, national CP purged its Japanese members throughout the nation. After WWII, the national CP refused to recognize or defend the Hawaiian party branch from the Smith Act raids.

By the early fifties, the CPUSA had lost most of its strongest TW cadre. Its mostly white cadre were isolated and under heavy attack by Nixon, McCarthy, et al. The working class vanguard was destroyed. Reform elements of labor took over. American fascism had entered its third state and was now securely in power. For the next decade the fascist empire was to enjoy the height of its power internationally and domestically.

THE NEW TERROR

However the seeds for the next two decades of anti-fascist struggle had already been planted. The catalyst was the push for democratic rights by middle and

working class Blacks in the late fifties to the early sixties. In the early sixties Malcolm X teachings provided the initial theoretical positions to translate the civil rights movement into the revolutionary Black liberation movement. Malcolm's teachings on human rights, Black nationalism, self-determination, capitalism, socialism and internationalism provided the theoretical base of the Black revolution specifically and the left in general. The year after Malcolm's murder, the working masses of the Black nation grasped the essence of Malcolm's teachings and the old revolutionary teaching, "it's right to rebel." They began a mass struggle against the system of national oppression. The long hot summers which started in '64, showed that the pacification of Blacks and other third world people internally was nowhere near completion. Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Asians also started a series of mass struggles during this period. As students, workers and the poor grew more sophisticated ideologically, revolutionary organizations such as the Brown Berets, Chicano Revolutionary Party, Weather People, Young Lords, Kokua Hawaii, and Red Guards were formed. The model organization, by far the best supported and the most influential of these, was the Black Panther Party. For five years (1966-1971) this was the vanguard of both Third World nationalist struggles and the anti-war movement.



New Orleans police hide behind their war wagon during an unsuccessful attack on the Black Panther headquarters.

As the revolutionary movement in the U.S. grew under the leadership of the BPP, the U.S. was suffering great defeats internationally. The Indochinese had delivered the U.S. a crushing military and economic defeat. Thousands of men were lost and billions of dollars of aid and equipment were wasted in Indochina. Militarily the Vietnamese were sure of success by the time the last American soldier highailed it home. U.S. land, air and economic power all suffered severe defeats. At the same time, the wars of national liberation waged in Southern Africa began winning in some areas. Since the Cuban revolution (1959), the U.S. never could successfully smother the struggle of the people of Latin America. By the late sixties, both rural and urban warfare were well established in Latin America.

Because there was revolutionary warfare at home and abroad, fascism was no longer secure. As George Jackson states, "When fascism is not secure, it is at its most terroristic."

The first targets of the state were Malcolm X and Dr. King. They attempted (Malcolm early in the sixties and Dr. King later) to transform Black people's struggle for civil rights into a revolutionary struggle for human rights. They both became targets of smear campaigns nationally and internationally. Eventually they became targets for assassination. By 1967 the FBI had a detailed plan to disrupt the activities of any serious Black nationalist organization.

The main target of the massive fascist state's terror was the BPP. Misinformation, infiltration and murder were the trademarks of the fascists' attack. The campaign of terror culminated in the first week of December in 1969 with the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and the attempted assassination of the Los Angeles BPP leadership which led to the L.A. shootout. At the same time, organizations such as the Republic of New Africa, Vietnam Veterans Against the War,

were suffering intense police infiltration and attack. While the Black movement was the main target of the attack (Hoover declared the BPP the main threat to internal security), the FBI also had implemented a plan to "disrupt, discredit and destroy the New Left."

Fascism does not allow any dissent when it is not secure. Many see the transition from the relative freedoms (for whites) of the sixties to the violent right-wing terror of the seventies as the transition from a democratic state to that of a fascist state. As we have shown, the U.S. was already a fascist state by the forties. What we are actually witnessing is the transition from a fascist state securely in power to one that is not securely in power.

The difference is crucial. While it might appear that the state is growing stronger, in reality it has never been more vulnerable. The economy is shattered. Even bourgeois economists agree that the country is in the midst of a recession. While not firmly established, a tradition of consistent revolutionary resistance is taking root among the internal third world colonies. The traditional base of bourgeois support among conservative white workers is being eroded because of the economy and the corruption of the government signified by the Watergate scandals.

It is also undoubtedly true that state terror will become even more vicious.

True to the character of a wounded beast, the ruling class is fighting back with all the cunning and viciousness gained through centuries of imperialistic oppression. Chile abroad and the terror directed against alleged BLA and SLA members here are examples of the fascist reaction of the wounded state. The conditions in the prison system are worsening with the resurgence of psychosurgery. Nazis are openly carrying out mass demonstrations, and white assault squads have been operating with police acceptance in the Black communities of northern California. Police departments have developed elite special weapons and intelligence units (SWAT, STRESS, Gang Intelligence, ZEBRA, etc.) that have a reputation of being racist gangs of assassins. Fascist politicians such as Alioto are launching hysterical campaigns aimed at heightening the possibility of race war. In Indiana, retaliatory raids between whites and Blacks killed six people in one week.

We are entering a period when fascism has never been more vulnerable or more dangerous. By reading the rest of the articles in this issue, we can see that the fascist plans aim at nothing less than complete totalitarian rule over the whole country and genocide against the internal Third World colonies. The burning question of the day is what is the correct strategy to defeat fascism. In the next issue, we will discuss both the present and past practices designed to defeat fascism. We know that the struggle to institute revolutionary power will be a long, difficult, protracted war. Brother Jackson points out that a combination of military, party and propaganda units will be the ultimate organizational leadership of the revolutionary movement in the USA. As for the proper attitude of struggle against fascist rule, George states that, "after fascism has been established only he who does not fear death by a thousand cuts can unseat the emperor!"

CODAP

The world situation is one of chaos and disorder. There is a fierce struggle between the imperialist powers, and the struggle of Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow people for national liberation.

"Historically all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces. Some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness. Failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory." -Mao

The fascist corporate state is using an extensive plan to subvert the efforts of revolutionaries here in North America. A war is being waged on third world peoples. Every day we hear of a pig attack on the people or our people's forces, i.e., Operation Zebra, bust of the Muslim Mosque in Sacramento. With the disclosure of Watergate, other plans of disruption have been brought to light. The FBI has admitted to plans preventing the rise of a "Black Messiah", or a Mau-Mau revolution here in America. Plans are being fashioned after counter-insurgency plans for South East Asia, Latin America, and selected parts of Africa (using local or colonial forces). The U.S. fascist state has used the same counter-insurgency programs to kill off the cream of our revolutionary warriors in the ghettos, reservations and barrios of America.

The elements of counter-insurgency programs throughout the world are:

1. Comprehensive intelligence gathering on local populations, particularly those "susceptible" to revolutionary movements or organizations- Operation Zebra.

2. Identifying and controlling strategic Hamlets (32 Indicator Cities, the reservations)

3. Pacification of potentially insurgent populations (drug treatment programs, O.E.O., Job Corps)

4. Control and Isolation of potentially dangerous indigenous leadership (misinformation campaign of FBI against Malcolm and Dr. King)

5. Selective law enforcement as deterrent to insurgent population and as punishment for identified leaders (Rap Brown Law, Nixon Crime Bill, etc.)

6. Strengthening of local government super bureaucracies (Associated Bay Area Governments, ABAG)

7. Technical assistance, training and economic aid to police and armed forces (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration- LEAA, FBI, CIA, etc.)

8. Centralization of police and armed forces under unified command (drug enforcement administration, new national police)

One perspective from which to view the political implications is that the drug strategists have developed a program for counter-insurgency against third world communities. By the use of chemical warfare (heroin) the fascist corporate state has carefully constructed a plan to classify and commit genocide on Black and oppressed people. CODAP (Client-Oriented Data Acquisition Process) is the national computer which collects and disseminates information on clients in all federally funded treatment programs. CODAP originated out of the Special Action Office For Drug Prevention (SODAP is the Agency created by Nixon to coordinate and develop policy for all federally-funded drug programs in the country. It is an executive agency responsible directly to Nixon.)

Such an agency could not have the interest of the people in mind. Nixon received secret campaign contributions from Howard Hughes, owner of Air-America, the airlines which transports heroin in the region of the "Golden Triangle" of Indochina. How

can Adolf Nixon, a personal friend of "Bebe" Robozo, known Mafia figure, head a program in the interest of the people?

CODAP will demand total information from each client: medical, social, personal, legal, economic and use of illegal drugs among friends and family. This information supposedly will assist treatment personnel to be better able to diagnose and cure the case. When sent to Washington, this information will help the government identify where the epidemics are, how they are spreading, whether they are increasing or decreasing, and whether the treatments appear to be able to stop the epidemics.

The oppressed Black, Puerto-Rican, Chicano, Asian and Indian people feel the bullwhip of oppression on their backs, increasingly are driven into unemployment and welfare, are the last hired, first fired when they work. When forced to live in the garbage cans called ghettos it is understandable how we can fall victim to the plague. The governments approach calls heroin use a "medical/law enforcement problem".

The information to be entered on CODAP forms for each participant in a treatment program includes:

-Clinic Identifier: This is an eight character code assigned to each clinic by NIMH which uniquely identifies each clinic.

-Client Identifier: This ten character code is assigned to the client's case by the local clinic. The client's case must always be identified by the same code once it has been assigned. This permits central processing to link up successive reports on the same case for longitudinal analysis: BIRTH DATE, SEX, RACE, ZIP CODE, FIRST TWO INITIALS OF MOTHER'S GIVEN NAME, FIRST TWO INITIALS OF MOTHER'S SURNAME, AVERAGE WEEKLY SALARY OF CLIENT WHEN ENTERING TREATMENT, THE CLIENT'S PRIMARY, SECONDARY, AND THIRD DRUG PROBLEM, EXTENT OF PRESENT USE.

The only way that the government's strategy on drug treatment and law enforcement can be implemented is if all control of implementation of that strategy is centralized in Washington. The "Federal Strategy on Drug Abuse and Drug Traffic Prevention" details how and when that centralization will take place.

Goals of centralization by 1975:

1. Centralization of all drug treatment programs.

2. Centralization of all drug traffic prevention (law enforcement) programs.

3. Centralization of international policy control on drugs.

4. Centralization of all drug program coordination in Executive Office.

5. Creation of Single State Agencies in each state.

6. Centralization of national computers to gather and disseminate information on all aspects of drug use and treatment.

a. CODAP will gather and disseminate information from all drug treatment programs: community, veterans, military and prisons.

b. DAWN (Drug Abuse Warning Network) will gather drug overdose and death and crisis information from all hospitals, crisis centers and coroner's offices.

c. ONNI (Office of National Narcotics Intelligence) computer will gather all information on intelligence, traffic and law enforcement from the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Cabinet Committee, and all foreign intelligence like the CIA. This computer will be in the Dept. of Justice.

Our biggest weapon against this type of systematic racist habits is awareness of the things being done to us as a people. This systematic use of computers has no effect on the problems that we face at the hands of this fascist corporate state but as a way to keep the oppressed people oppressed. As Brother N. Ferguson said,

"Every act, every issue, every contact between the captive African nation and white Amerikkka must be recognized and placed in its proper context as a political/military confrontation, conferences, seminars, books, lectures, arrest of pushers and addicts or any other approach to the so-called dope problem except carefully thought out, and carefully conducted, armed struggle indicates a woeful lack of understanding of the true nature of the problem and the struggle against the ruling class, and will certainly result in the end of the captive African nation, and the entire third world struggle for freedom and independence.

As long as the state exists in its present form, it will perpetuate the genocide of poor people through the use of chemical warfare (drugs). It is immensely profitable to the ruling class (Mafia controlled) as well as being a proven tool for pacification. In China opium addiction was a disease that was vigorously attacked during every phase of the revolution.

This is one war Amerikkka must win if she is to survive. But the same holds true for the captive African Nation and all poor people. Therefore no quarter will be asked and no quarter can be given from either side."

Black Reservations

Cont. from Pg. 5

If we as Black people would stop and truly analyze our situation in this country, and analyze the implications in this report, we should then be able to realize why it is so important that we all unite to become a fiercely independent people. Not as individuals, but as a strong Black Nation. Not only in our independent successes and in our attitudes, but in our daily relevant needs.

The Pentagon has no hesitations about implementing the plans outlined here, should major riots break out in this country as in 1964 and 1965. During the May Day demonstrations of 1972, thousands of white protesters were held without charges in fenced-off stadiums. Black people should expect worse because, we are the reason why these plans have been re-activated and added on to. This country is the only country in the world which has refused to sign the United Nations treaty against genocide. You can believe that this country is just as capable of genocide as Hitler's Germany or as America's white settlers against the Indians.

Today, Black people are "waking up" at a very fast pace to the realities of our lives, why we are forced to live like we do, why things happen the way they do. The conditions under which we live are no accident or "trick of fate" - they are planned. That is why we, as a Black Nation, as Afrikan people, have to unite - we have to be ready and prepared for the worst; for the worst still has yet to come. ARE YOU READY???

STATE	BLACK POP.	BLACK LAND AREA (SQ. MI.)	WHITE LAND AREA (SQ. MI.)	BLACK RESERVATIONS
La.	1,045,000 32.0%	104	44,800	185
Mich.	735,000 9.4%	64	56,900	51
N.Y.	1,500,000 8.9%	105	47,700	190
N.C.	1,100,000 25.4%	110	48,600	255
S.C.	831,000 34.9%	87	30,095	175
Texas	1,100,000 12.6%	84	262,000	176
Miss.	921,000 42.3%	21	47,200	133
Ala.	983,000 30.1%	94	50,600	170
Cal.	1,250,000 8.0%	150	155,400	-
Ga.	1,223,000 28.5%	99	57,900	186
Ill.	1,068,000 10.6%	81	55,600	65

AUTOMATED FASCISM

REPRINT FROM THIRD WORLD EDITION

The massive federal funding in the so-called anti-crime area has accelerated into a modern-day form of automated (computerized) fascism. The Omnibus Crime and Safe Streets Act laid the groundwork for the police-judicial-prison complex to apply for additional federal funds to support its computerized "criminal information."

The Safe Streets Act, passed as law in 1968, allows millions of dollars in grants to strengthen the power of police, prosecutors, judges and prison officials at all levels. Then Att. Gen. John Mitchell made it clear those were his goals. Mitchell expanded federal surveillance of citizens thought to be threats to internal security. Mitchell and his immediate superior, Adolf Nixon then began an information gathering network that grew to be used along with many government and private computer dossiers compiled by credit bureaus, insurance companies, census bureaus, welfare agencies, mental health units, etc. These files threaten an information tyranny that is part and parcel of a systematic attempt to monitor Black, Third World and poor whites in general and particularly any organizations working in the interest of the people's general welfare.

Adding to the fascist nature of this operation is that:

1. there are no federal and few state laws regulating the National Crime Information System or its components
2. any constitutionality that exists is limited and/or narrowly defined.

Thus, the people have absolutely no control over and little or no information as to the operation/existence of this system.

The most extensive funding has been through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). At the national level, the FBI coordinates the National Crime Information Center. This system puts the FBI in direct touch with approximately 40,000 gestapo agencies. LEAA promises that by 1975 computerized criminal history files in all 50 states will be sent to the NCIC network.

So what type of information do you think will be (is) placed in this data bank? Only so-called criminal records? No. A variety of federal agencies participate and feed information into this system. Among them are: Secret Service, Internal Revenue Service, Alcohol and Tax Division of the Treasury Dept., Bureau of Customs, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Marshalls, Dept. of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Census Bureau to name a few. The number of files included in the system will be far greater than the 20 million estimated "criminals" by LEAA. Files are kept such as, narcotic or mental commitment records, domestic crimes such as non-support, gambling and others. Besides, the Justice Department claims an absolute right to keep records on persons who are "violence-prone" and persons they consider of national interest.

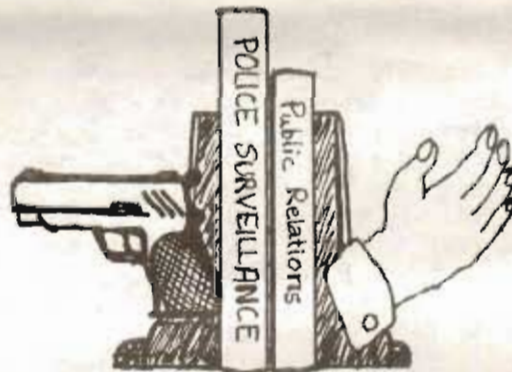
Sen. Sam Ervin (Dem, N.C.) puts it this way, "...all the weaknesses and limitations of the computer as a machine will be operating...to make possible a massive invasion of the privacy of millions.. Decisions affecting a person's job, retirement benefits, security clearance, credit rating or many other rights may be made without benefit of a hearing or confrontation of the evidence." Sen. is right. But there is an even greater threat to the general populace gathering intelligence. The data it collects focuses chiefly on street crimes and offenses that the ruling class causes to be committed by Blacks, third world and poor whites. It includes arrests for suspicion and arrests where a person hasn't been convicted. The NCIC file reinforces the class and racial injustices of the police/judicial system. Arrests for suspicion or investigation are indeed a major form of police harassment against Black and Brown people. The files at present contain much information and are accessible to many agencies, including private business concerns.

Capitalism + Militarism = Fascism. The major companies that comprise the computer industry includes IBM, Burroughs. Communication equipment manufacturers include Motorola and RCA. Guns and weapons include Colt, Smith and Wesson and Federal Laboratories, Inc. LEAA estimated that by 1975, expenditures on law enforcement will reach \$14 billion annually. These firms play an increasing role in providing the cure-all products for crime fighting.

COMPUTERS - By 1971, almost half the police departments in the country were using automated data processing equipment. Many of the fantasies of automated, computer-controlled warfare have been shattered. Police departments across the country are bent on using equipment that has been developed by the U.S. military for the Viet Nam war.

COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT - Police communications consists primarily of two-way radios that transmit and receive messages to and from headquarters. The police communications market is dominated by three corporations; Motorola (50% of the market), General Electric and RCA. The current market is estimated at several hundred million dollars. Some industries spokesmen have put it between \$800 million and \$1 billion. LEAA grants have been used to bolster this demand. The state of Arkansas for instance, spent \$1,054,638 or 37% of its LEAA grants from 1969 to 1972 on two way radios (House Gov't Operations Committee Report).

WEAPONS - There has been a trend for increasing the kinds of non-lethal weapons available (not that lethal weapons have diminished). A.C. Crossen, president of Federal Laboratories, Inc. a major weapons manufacturer stated, "There will be a growing demand for more and more exotic equipment..." He mentioned night surveillance equipment, TV cameras that record on video tape at extremely low light levels and detection equipment for drugs.



LEAA sponsored a conference in January 1972 which examined such non-lethal (yet fascist) weapons as special drugs which upon injection, immobilize the victim to prevent escape; the instant cocoon which releases a plastic spray creating a plastic membrane; the wire gun, which releases coiled barbed wire over a distance of up to 80 feet, a number of sticky substances and liquids including "instant banana peel" and instant mud, instant jungle and rapid rope, a nylon rope for blocking off small areas, LEAA made a \$250,000 grant in the spring of 1972 to the U.S. Army's Land Warfare Lab to test and evaluate non-lethal weapons. The average gestapo on the beat loves the idea of these new chemicals to further abuse of people. The physical effects of many of these new products have not been fully tested; some have the capability to inflict undetermined physical damage. (Ed; note: Of course there is nothing to stop the gestapo from using a lethal weapon after they have caught their victim with a non-lethal one.) Nevertheless, LEAA has encouraged the development and sale of these weapons.

Closed circuit TV - Police departments increasingly invest in reconnaissance and surveillance equipment. For example in Hoboken, N.J. TV surveillance is conducted in the downtown area round the clock. In New York City, on the corner of 43rd and Broadway, a closed circuit TV camera is installed on a traffic light. The City of New York has installed a helicopter-TV surveillance system. According to Frost & Sullivan: "The system com-

prises a TV camera, zoom lens, and microwave transmitting equipment installed in a helicopter. The signal is received at the Empire State Building via antenna. The signal is then relayed via microwave television relay links to police headquarters."

Eugene G. Fubini, former vice president for research at IBM states that the Vietnam war had produced numerous new devices that would allow police to search and frisk individuals. He stated, "...you can put multi-dimensional magnetometers in turnstiles and movie theatres, and lots of other places. Let me try another one. You could put on all bridges and parkways a device which reads license plates and automatically matches them against a list." Fubini continued with his suggestions of the use of powders, scents, markings - procedures developed in the Vietnam war to be used domestically.

J.A. Meyers, seems to top the list though. He has recommended a system that would attach electronic beeper devices (transponders) to all parolees, bailies, recidivists or dangerous persons. According to his theory, the radio signal emitted by the beeper would be picked up by a network of surveillance equipment that would tie in to a computer. This system would enable the police to keep track of all accused or convicted persons and to monitor their activity. Anyone failing to cooperate (removing the transponder) would be guilty of a felony (IEEE Transactions on Aerospace Electronic Systems, Vol. AES 7, No. 1 Jan. 1971). Meyers recommendations include installing these devices on persons awaiting trial also.

Helicopters - Bell Helicopter and Hughes Aircraft provide gestapo troops with air surveillance. Most of these copers contain radio, searchlights, a video-tape camera, siren and a public address system. Over 150 are being used in local police departments across the country. One was recently shot down in Oakland, California.

Night Vision Equipment - These devices are capable of amplifying light level 40,000 times. The major suppliers are RCA, Litton Industries, Sylvania, Zenith, Taytheon and Aerojet General. These devices make it possible for snooping swine to spy on the community from great distances at night. They were developed in the 60's for the military as an aid in fighting guerrilla freedom fighters operating under the cover of darkness.

The use of these devices must serve to awaken the masses that the designs for military control of the population have already been laid. The technology in the hands of the criminally insane serves only one class - the ruling class. One must become aware of these devices, look for them, expose them and if necessary, destroy them because they are another stage of fascist control. Protests should be waged against these methods of invasions of privacy. Failure to do this will result in complete dominance by monopoly capitalists and military authorities.

At any rate, Capitalism + Fascism = Genocide.

ORGANIZATIONS - NEWSPAPERS

Please consider using the center section of this paper as an insert supplement to your own local paper. If you are interested, write us about the number you want and feel free to make suggestions about future content and size. We plan to have a center section in every issue.

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BREAK DE CHAINS

THE BLA JURY -- A BITTER SPLIT

The jurors who deadlocked on whether to convict five men for the murders of police officers Joseph Piagentini and Waverly Jones were angry at one another and also resentful of police and prosecution tactics in investigating the crime.

A majority of the split panel, according to its members, was in favor of acquitting three of the defendants, while a smaller majority were in favor of convicting the remaining two.

The defendants are allegedly part of the Black Liberation Army, accused of plotting the murders of four city policemen and the wounding of several others, and assaults on police in other cities.

The split, the 11 men and one woman agreed, would not have been resolved by further deliberations. Justice Aloysius Melia declared a mistrial yesterday evening.

Tight Security

Security at the trial of the five alleged members of the Black Liberation Army was tight, particularly after an attempt was made to free two of the defendants and another man from the Tombs on April 17. The attempt failed, apparently because a blowtorch used by those trying to free the prisoners ran out of fuel just before a hole was cut in a metal wall that separated inmates from visitors.

The trial opened on March 26 and deliberations began last Monday afternoon. Most of the jurors interviewed after the mistrial was declared asked that their names not be used, and the juror who other panel members most adamantly supported conviction left the courthouse quickly, refusing to make any comment.

I didn't trust the cops because they put the eyewitnesses under too much pressure, particularly the little girls," said Clarence Reeves, explaining the viewpoint of those who favored acquittal.

Another juror shook the hand of defense lawyer Robert Bloom and said "You sure made (assistant district attorney Robert) Tanenbaum look sick," grinning in apparent satisfaction.

Summary of Evidence

The evidence in the case included testimony from a girl -- 16 at the time of the slaying -- who identified Anthony Bottom as one of the gunmen and who said that Bottom and another man who she could not identify were lounging against a car just before they shot the two cops to death.

Police fingerprint experts testified that finger and palm prints found on the car matched those of defendant Herman Bell.

The three other defendants, Albert Washington, and Francisco and Gabriel Torres, were said by the prosecution to have been hiding near the ambush site, the Colonial Park housing project at Harlem River Dr. and 159th St.

Evidence against them came mainly from Gabriel Torres' wife, Linda, Francisco Torres' woman friend, Jacqueline Tabb, and Mrs. Tabb's sister, Karen Parks.

Women's Version

The three young women agreed that the five defendants had left the Torres' Bronx apartment on the night of the slayings and returned later that evening boasting of having "offed two pigs."

All the women said that police officers and assistant district attorneys had threatened them with jail and the loss of their children if they refused to cooperate with the prosecution.

All spent more than a year either in civil jail or in "protective custody" in apartments or hotel rooms provided by them and their children by the district attorney, guarded 24 hours a day by police.

Their treatment was a sore point with several jurors.

When Bottom and Washington were arrested in San Francisco four months after the shootings here, they had, by Washington's admission, the gun stolen from the body of one of the policemen.

"Guns have a way of getting around in this society," Washington, who acted as his own lawyer, told the jury, and most members of the panel said they refused to accept ownership of the guns as conclusive proof of guilt.

The jurors -- six of whom were black -- also disagreed as to the import of the defendants asserted behavior after the slayings.

When Bottom and Washington were arrested in San Francisco and Bell was seized in New Orleans, all had a variety of false identification, much of it using the names of persons which were similar to the defendants, but who had died as infants.

The murders of Piagentini and Jones followed by two days the near-fatal machine-gunning of two other officers, Thomas Curry and Nicholas Binetti, as they rode in their patrol car on Riverside Drive near the apartment of the late district attorney, Frank Hogan.

Richard Moore, also an alleged member of the Black Liberation Army, was convicted of that shooting and has been sentenced to life in prison.

Melia set May 28 for a hearing to set a new trial date in the present case.

Even should a second trial result in acquittal none of the five defendants will go free as they face 20 years for bank robbery and Washington and Bottom 25 years for attempted murder of a San Francisco policeman. Bell is to be tried for two alleged bank robberies and attempted murder.

★★★

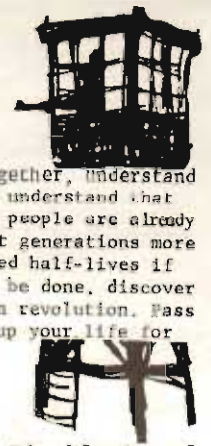
BULLETIN: Two members of the Crusade for Justice were assassinated by bombs placed in their cars. The Denver Chicano organization has been under heavy police and vigilante attack for the past year.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE: *Seize the Time* will do a special report on the Crusade for Justice and on the trial and political writings of Ruchell Magee.

★★★



GEORGE JACKSON



Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch, Join us, give up your life for the People.

San Quentin Six ... Six black and brown prisoners charged with the murder of three guards and two trustees who died along with George Jackson, August 21, 1971. On January 17, 1974, a retired superior court judge handed down an unprecedented decision throwing out the Six indictment on the grounds that the Marin County grand jury which indicted them was unconstitutional because it systematically excluded blacks, browns, working people and young people. The state is currently appealing that decision, and the state parole board ("adult authority") continues to deny the Six parole dates despite the recent dismissal of charges. However, the Six have filed a suit in federal court challenging the Department of Corrections use of the "adjustment center" housing unit, where many of the men have been held for up to four years without exercise, inadequate medication, and barbarous harassment from guards. That suit is expected to commence in June before U.S. District Judge Alfonso Zirpoli in San Francisco. Names of Six: Johnny Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez, David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate. For more information, contact the San Quentin Six Defense Committee, 3169 16th Street, San Francisco -- (415) 626-0690.

★

The DVI Two ... Ernest Graham and Eugene Allen have been charged with the murder of a white guard, Jerry Sanders, killed at the Deuel Vocational Institution at Tracy last November. That alleged murder resulted in the immediate, unprecedented lock-down of every maximum-security prison in California (DVI, San Quentin, Soledad, Folsom, and Vacaville). Graham and Allen were said to be members of the "Black Guerilla Family," or BGF, who prison officials say planned to kill one guard at every prison in the state in memory of George Jackson. Right now, they are receiving little publicity as their case moves forward in Stockton (San Joaquin County superior court). They would like to hear from the people --

Ernest Graham/B-32320
Eugene Allen/B-45816
Post Office Box 600
TRACY, CA 95376

★

Veronza Bowers ... Convicted in April of the murder of a park ranger in Point Reyes National Seashore in Marin county. A former Panther and director of a class in Marxist/Leninist theory with factory workers in the East Bay. Convicted on testimony of Allen Veale, who turned state's evidence and was granted immunity on all charges of murder. Bowers (also known as Daud Bey) will be transferred soon to a federal penitentiary. For information on his appeal, write to Doran Weinberg, Pier 37/The Embarcadero, S.F.

★

Elmer Davis ... A black man currently held in Folsom Prison. Was originally charged with the break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, a crime President Nixon now admits to having authorized. Davis has filed a million-dollar suit against Nixon, Ehrlichman, Hunt, Liddy and others charging them with violation of his civil rights and for using him as a scapegoat to cover up the Ellsberg burglary. He needs money to handle the suit (he is a self-trained writ-writer and is handling all the complicated legal work himself). Write to him at:

Elmer Davis
Post Office Box B-3677
Represa, CA 95671

Report from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES

The balance of forces existing at the present time between the resistance movement and the enemy camp, together with the various existing objective conditions, make the masses the only force capable of challenging this for the benefit of the revolution. The mobilization of the masses and the release of their combative potential is a basic necessity for confronting this difficult situation.

Mobilization that is based on emotions and radio propaganda does not and cannot turn the masses into a solid revolutionary force which knows no despair. On the contrary, a mobilization based on verbalism and emotionalism leads, in most cases, to the creation of illusions about our capabilities, to the dissipation of emotional promises (based on unfounded enthusiasm which itself gives the illusion of a quick and easy victory.)

What is required now is the mobilization of the masses through revolutionary political consciousness and the organization of their vanguard in the party. The broad bases of the masses must also be grouped into various popular organizations and trade unions. This should enable each citizen, man and woman, young and old, to contribute daily and effectively to the battle. This will increase the strength of the revolution, deepen and consolidate it. The organized masses will then be able to fight the enemy forces, weaken them and demolish their support.

Revolutionary violence - military action - should not appear in our confrontation with the enemy and its plans as an alternative to the mass movement. Such an alternative would lead us to conceive, analyze, and plan the battle in purely military terms, i.e. to evaluate all the problems and possibilities (including the balance of forces) militarily. Revolutionary violence and military activity must be the crowning of the mass movement and not an alternative to it.

As much as it is very important to affirm the line of revolutionary violence as the main method of confronting the enemy (an enemy whose domination and exploitation of our country and people cannot be eliminate except by military force, it is also basic, at the same time, not to give this violence an adventurist form which can easily be terminated. Violence must have, to sustain it, the mobilized masses which form the solid base and the main support for a long-term popular war of liberation. It is through this, and through this alone, that enemy forces can be weakened and the unconquerable power of the masses consolidated.

The practice of violence must emerge from the subjective picture which complements the basic requirements of victory (as has been proved by the experience of peoples and by popular wars of liberation of this century); for the revolutionary party leads a broad patriotic-national front surrounded by popular organizations through which the masses are mobilized in such a way that revolution becomes a huge historical enterprise in which millions of people engage through their daily effort. Such efforts are expended continuously for the building and development of strength and for the increase of the combative and fighting abilities. This, simultaneously weakens, fragments and annihilate the main pillars of the enemy forces.

The mobilization of the masses, in this sense (and with the aim of creating the strength necessary for changing the existing balance of forces to enable the resistance to find a way out of its crisis) requires

a transformation in the style of our work and practice. What is required is not simply the repetition of the word "masses" and verbal emphasis on the popular line of the party, but a change in the way we behave which aims at translating such words into action. We should make it a central tradition in our work to be always among the masses, to think with them and to subject our programmes to their interests, capabilities and energies.

This means providing the masses with the facts about the new political situation, explaining to them our analysis of it, the reasons that led to it, and finally how we see the way out of this crisis. We should listen to their views and understanding of things. We should also ask their opinion about the programme of action.

This should make it clear that this battle is the battle of the masses and that the cause is their own. It will also become clear that all the designs of the enemy which we talk about are designs that aim at keeping their situation as it is and, therefore, at continuing the injustice, exploitation and dispersion in which our people live. Thus they are required to think responsibly about this situation and its solution. The following should become an essential tradition of our work; we cannot think or plan or fight without this creative dialectical relationship between us and the masses.

The mobilization of the masses, as explained above, does not depend on the use of the mass media (radio and press). The basic means of propaganda are those members of the political organization who work deep among the masses and hold diverse group meetings which explain to the people their responsibilities and demand from them fulfillment of these. They also demonstrate to the people how to transform their spontaneous patriotic and class feeling into revolutionary struggle which is the only method capable of realizing their ambitions and aims.

The main key to the mobilization of wide sections of the masses so as to deal violently with their national and class enemy, is by pointing out the relationship between the problems of their daily lives, and the political struggle which aims at liberation and the establishment of a democratic power working for the interests of the classes of the revolution. It is through the clarification of this relationship that an objective link is established between the people's daily struggle to solve their problems - a struggle which they are especially prepared to wage - and their struggle with-

in the strategic framework of a popular war of liberation which aims at finding the radical solution to all these problems. This affirms the importance of the popular organizations and trade union, and also the importance of the political programme that the revolution puts before the masses. It is through this programme that these masses see clearly the link between their daily struggle and the political struggle which aims at liberation, democracy and Arab unity.

It is natural for these political programmes, through which the masses are mobilized, to be, on the one hand inter-linked because the camp of the enemy is one, and on the other hand, separate because of the specificity of the political structure within which the Arab masses live in each of the Arab states or political structures.

REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

The three previous prescriptions (i.e. the building of the party, the patriotic front, the mobilization of the masses) must not be understood or practiced at the expense of revolutionary violence and its necessary continuation against the Israeli enemy and the reactionary Jordan enemy. On the contrary, these prescriptions should aim at increasing the capacity and effectiveness of armed struggle against these enemies. Moreover, the practice of violence should aim at the creation of conditions that facilitate the process of building the party and the patriotic front, and mobilization of the masses.

This is not due to emotionalism based on a romantic attachment to weapons nor to any adventurism. It is due, firstly to the strategy of people's popular war of liberation which is the only road to liberation. It is necessary secondly because of the serious historical consequences that might result should the existing phenomenon of armed struggle come to an end with its subsequent reflection on the mass movement. It is due, thirdly, to the position that the enemy would be in if it were to succeed in totally crushing the armed struggle and take complete control of any mass political and unarmed action. For in such a situation any activity of this kind will remain at the enemy's mercy and confined to the limits set by it. Such activity can never accomplish liberation. Finally, the process of building a party in such a situation will simply become a traditional one. The masses will not support anything of this kind and will only be attached to revolutionary violence where it feels that its struggle may be worthwhile and where it feels that it is able to reply to the violence practiced by the enemy.

The practice of revolutionary violence drives the adversary into using the cruellest forms of force and oppression. Given the existing military balance of forces, the acquisition of advance knowledge regarding the rules, methods and experiences related to the practice of violence in such a situation, become a basic issue. Apart from emphasizing the importance of revolutionary violence as a political line in the new situation, it is equally important to affirm the necessity of acquiring the fundamentals of revolutionary violence as a military science to be practiced with the highest degree of ability, experience and competence. These fundamentals can be summarized as follows:

- a) The avoidance of major military confrontations.
- b) The use of quick and sudden attack followed by complete disappearance.
- c) Selection of enemy targets which receive the support of most of the people and which do not create conflicting interpretations about their legitimacy and the appropriateness of their selection.
- d) Proficiency in issues pertaining to the security of the revolution. This is in order to protect the revolution, its members, cadres, leaders and weapons from an op-



Palestinians raise their flag in the debris of a refugee camp in Nahatoli, Lebanon, that was devastated by Israeli warplanes. Victory to the just aspirations of the Palestinian people.

cont. from page 8

pressive police apparatus which is well advanced in the arts of repression, terrorism and infiltration into revolutionary organization.

- c) Raising the political, fighting psychological level of the fighters.
- f) Deep familiarity of all principles and tactics of the art of guerrilla warfare. We must also acquaint ourselves with the huge wealth of experience that had been provided by people struggling in the rural areas and those working clandestinely in the cities, and which is relevant to the nature of our struggle.
- g) The minimization of ostentatious display in armed struggle and a higher level of understanding of weapons and collective fighting linking this with genuine appreciation of the people and their aims and preparing to sacrifice for these, instead of glorifying death in itself.

The resistance movement remains weak in its knowledge and practice of the principles, methods and necessary fundamentals of revolutionary violence in the early stages of revolution. Therefore, the study of this subject, as a science and an art, should become a principle concern to the leadership, cadres and fighters of the resistance at this stage.

The revolution today is in a strategic defensive state. Its main aim is to build and preserve its existence. Consequently the practice of violence in this state, is not directed at liberation through major military battle by which the forces of the enemy are eliminated within a short periods of time; the aims of this violence is the establishment of an iron-strong party, the patriotic front, and mass mobilization which can, gradually change the balance of forces towards the strategic interests of the revolution. We shall, therefore, continue to limit the practice of violence until we are able to utilize this process in the building of the mass revolutionary situation capable of achieving victory.

Revolutionary violence, at this stage, plays a very important role. This is so despite the fact that this violence cannot realize a strategic victory over the enemy. Its importance stems from its establishment as the only line capable of solving the antagonistic contradiction between our masses and imperialism along with its agents. It also, at this stage, prevents the enemy from achieving victory. This is so in accordance with the equation that imperialism discovered from their defeat in Indochina, and which says that the inability to defeat the revolution, at a certain stage, is in itself a victory for the revolution.

This fact consolidated the line of revolutionary violence as a popular tradition. It also accelerates and deepens the process of building the revolutionary fighting party and its leadership of the patriotic-national front and develops gradually to the level of achieving total victory over the enemy.

ACTION

Any view which sees the Palestinian resistance as a liberation movement existing on its own, lacks understanding and the strategic outlook necessary for the victory of the liberation struggle. Consequently such a view remains incapable of providing any real solution.

It is essential to realize that the struggle, in its totality, is the struggle of the Arab national liberation movement against imperialism. It is from this perspective that we should view the resistance movement and its problems.

It is clear that any view of the Palestinian problem must take into serious consideration the essential role that imperialism and reaction plays in the totality of the Arab world. It must also consider the basic role of the Arab masses in fighting these enemies. Any view which does not do this, remains incapable of understanding the mechanism of imperialist domination, its methods of control

and its horizons in the Middle East.

It is essential to see the resistance movement as an organic part of the Arab liberation movement. This is necessary not only in order to know the possibilities of the future and to deal with these, but also in order to analyze and explain what happened in the previous period which dates from June 1967 to July 1971.

The failure of the resistance's leadership to understand the essential role of the Jordanian masses in the Palestinian revolution as one of main reasons which led the resistance to its present degree of retreat. But the failure of the leadership to understand the role of the Arab masses and the relationship of the resistance with the Arab liberation movement is no less serious a reason.

If these mistakes have led to the retreat of the preceding stage, then the resistance should make dealing with these kinds of mistakes in a revolutionary manner the most urgent task in the coming stage. This stage will, undoubtedly, be harder and more complex.

The resistance movement will remain in a difficult situation if it faces alone the camp of Zionism, imperialism and reaction. It is not logical, realistic or scientific to demand from the Palestinian people to achieve, alone, final victory over Israel and its military establishment the agent regime in Jordan with its military establishment and their backers, world Zionism and imperialism with all their power and potential.

The real and historical way out of the crisis of the resistance depends on the growth of the Arab national liberation movement. This would enable the resistance movement to become a part of a movement of the Arab masses which possesses the human and geographic depth necessary for victory.

The resistance movement will remain in a difficult position as long as the Arab national liberation movement stays within its present limits. As such the latter's moral and material support to the resistance is limited.

The bourgeois Arab national liberation movement is no longer capable of continuing the national democratic revolution. Consequently this movement needs radicalization to renew its bases, continue its development and realize the tasks of the national democratic stage.

These tasks cannot be fulfilled without a strategy for a popular war of liberation which aims at uprooting imperialism, Zionism, Israel and reaction from our homeland. Only such a movement can mobilize millions of people so that the resistance movement can become part of the Arab mass movement. Only the Arab mass movement can destroy all forms of imperialism and reaction. Their destruction undoubtedly provides an essential contribution to the tottering of the Israeli existence.

Nevertheless, we must realize that the radicalization of the Arab national liberation struggle and its re-establishment is a huge historical operation. The basis of this involves a radical change in the structure of this ideological and class movement together with its method of confronting the national and class enemy.

The leadership of the Arab national liberation movement must be based on a proletarian party which can mobilize the Arab working class to lead the alliance of the workers, peasants and the petite-bourgeoisie. This will be accomplished by a wide national front. The front will mobilize all the revolutionary masses in the light of a political programme derived from a scientific study of the political, economic, social and regional reality. Such a front must be oriented towards the movement of the Arab masses. It must use revolutionary violence within the strategy of popular war in its struggle with imperialism, Zionism, Israel, reaction and all the forces that obstruct the practice of this programme.

The resistance movement, by correcting its subjective conditions, can become one of the factors for such a movement. At this time the resistance movement

cannot represent the Arab national liberation movement, or consider itself directly responsible for its radicalization or establishment. Nevertheless, it has the right and duty to aspire to facilitate the birth of such a movement and to coalesce with it as soon as it emerges. This would be the embodiment of the principles of the unity of the instrument of Arab revolution; the revolution of one nation.

The fact that the resistance movement has a vanguard role in this respect must not be understood in terms of putting up a fence between it and the Arab national liberation movement. On the contrary, its vanguard role obliges it to affirm and deepen its dialectical relationship with this movement.

The left-wing of the resistance and the Popular Front in particular, is required to play an essential role in this sphere. This is based on the understanding that the Arab national liberation movement aims at realizing the unity of the Arab working class and the dominance of its leadership and programme against its class and national enemies.



Cont. from Page 3

block, or confronting an individual on the street.

Each of us needs to be armed, trained in safety and use of weapons in order to defend their homes. We must develop a community self-defense organization that individuals can turn to with problems before they have to call the police.

Community defense organizations are not set up to be vigilante groups or to take over police functions. Instead they are there to do two things:

1. help with problems when neighbors ask for help.
2. to be prepared to defend the community from armed attack from anyone.

SUCCESSFUL SELF-DEFENSE IS MOST OF ALL AN ORGANIZED COMMUNITY READY TO MOVE!

WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BLACK COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BLACK SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS THAT ARE DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BLACK COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. (1966 BPP PROGRAM)

Defend Our Youth!



A "peace officer" on the job.

Declaration of Council of Revolutionary Coordination



TO THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA:

"It is the road of Viet Nam; it is the road that the peoples should follow. It is the road that America will follow with its special characteristics. The armed groups should be able to form something like Councils of Coordination to hinder the repressive tasks of Yankee imperialism and facilitate our cause."

Che Guevara

Message to the Tricontinental

The National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros) of Uruguay, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left of Chile, the National Liberation Army of Bolivia and the People's Revolutionary Army of Argentina sign the present declaration to make known to the workers, the poor peasants, the poor of the cities, the students and intellectuals, the aborigines, and the millions of exploited workers of our suffering fatherland, Latin America, their decision to unite in a Council of Revolutionary Coordination.

This important step is a product of a deeply felt necessity to build cohesiveness among our people in the area of organization, of unifying the revolutionary forces to confront the imperialist enemy, and to more effectively carry forward the political and ideological struggle against bourgeois nationalism and reformism.

This important step is the implementation of one of the principal strategic ideas of Comandante Che Guevara, hero, symbol, forerunner of the continental socialist revolution. It is also a significant step, that tends to revive the fraternal tradition of our ancestors who were united and fought as one against the oppressors of the last century, the Spanish colonialists.

OUR STRUGGLE IS ANTI-IMPERIALIST

The peoples of the world live under the permanent threat of the most aggressive and predatory imperialism that has ever existed. They have not been indifferent to the organized genocide directed by Yankee imperialism against the heroic people of Viet Nam. In this unequal war, whose flames are still not extinguished, the belligerent and treacherous character of U.S. imperialism has been fully exposed. But in this war it has once again been shown that in spite of all their military power, their system is weak when confronted by a people prepared to fight and be free at whatever price.

The Latin American peoples, from the last century until today, have endured the heavy colonial or neocolonial yoke of the imperialists; they have suffered a string of military interventions and unjust wars executed or fomented either by the North American armed forces or the multinational monopolies. There was the plunder of Mexico, the occupation of Puerto Rico, the intervention in the Dominican Republic, the Bay of Pigs, and many other bellicose acts that our America does not forget and will never forgive. There is Shell, Esso, and Standard Oil, United Fruit and ITT, the moneys of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Ford. And there is the CIA which, with Papy Shelton, Mitri- one, and Siracusa, left indelible evidence of the enslaving and overpowering policies of the U.S. against the popular movement in Latin America.

LATIN AMERICA MARCHES TOWARDS SOCIALISM

On Jan. 10, 1959, the triumph of the Cuban Revolution initiated the final march of the Latin American peoples toward socialism, toward real national independence, toward the collective well-being of the peoples.

This is a just and open rebellion of the exploited of Latin America against a savage, neocolonial, capitalist system, imposed since the end of the last century by Yankee and European imperialism which took possession of our continent with force, deception, and corruption. The cowardly native bourgeoisies and their armies didn't know how to honor the revolutionary and liberating heritage of our glorious anti-colonial struggle, which led by heroes like Bolivar, San Martin,

Artigas, and many more, obtained independence, equality and liberty.

The ruling classes, defending the measly interests of their clique, united with the imperialists, collaborated with them, facilitated their economic penetration, handing over more and more control over our economy to the insatiable greed of foreign capital. Economic domination led to political and cultural subordination and control. That's how the neocolonial capitalist system that has been exploiting, oppressing, and deforming the laboring classes of our continent for 100 years was founded.

Since the beginning of this century the working class has begun to rise in revolt against this system, unfolding the then little known banner of socialism, indissolubly united with national independence, furthering the awakening of the peasants, the students, of all that is sound and revolutionary in our peoples. Anarchism, socialism and communism as organized movements of the working class have led and directed with energy and heroism the mobilization of the broad masses. There were many memorable steps of the revolutionary struggle. The legendary Nicaraguan leader Augusto Cesar Sandino, a metal worker, led his small country in one of the most heroic of those battles when his guerrilla army held at bay and destroyed the invading North American troops in 1932. It was in that decade of the thirties that our peoples throughout



the entire continent reached the crest of a mass struggle which put in check the neocolonial domination of Yankee imperialism, enemy number one of all the peoples of the world.

But that formidable revolutionary mobilization of the masses was not crowned by victory. The active political and military counterrevolutionary intervention, direct and indirect, of Yankee imperialism, together with the deficiencies of anarchism, the socialist currents, and the Communist parties, were the causes of a temporary defeat. The majority of the Communist parties, the most conscious, influential, and organized in that period, fell into reformism. Some of them, like the heroic and combat-hardened Salvadorian Communist Party, suffered cruel defeats with tens of thousands of martyrs. For that reason, the impetuous surge of the masses was deflected from its revolutionary road and fell under the influence and leadership of bourgeois nationalism, a path of death for the revolution, but for the ruling classes an intelligent and demagogic way to use deception in order to prolong the strength of the neocolonialist capitalist system.

At the beginning of the formidable triumph of the Cuban people - who under the skillful and visionary drive of Fidel Castro and a group of Marxist-Leninist leaders attained the destruction of the Batista army and established on the island of Cuba, in the very teeth of imperialism, the First Socialist State in Latin America - the peoples of the continent saw their revolutionary faith fortified and they initiated a new and profound united mobilization.

With successes and mistakes our peoples and their vanguards decisively launched the anti-imperialist struggle for socialism.

The decade of the sixties witnessed an uninterrupted succession of large popular struggles, violent guerrilla combats, and powerful insurrections of the masses. The April war - the general insurrection of the Dominican people - forced the direct intervention of Yankee imperialism which had to send 30,000 troops to choke off that magnificent uprising with a massacre.

The legendary figure of Comandante Ernesto Guevara personified and symbolized all the struggles of that period. His heroic death, as well as his exemplary life, and his clear, strategic Marxist-Leninist conception, opens and illuminates the new revolutionary wave among our people, which grows day by day in might and stability in the factories, the towns, the countryside and the cities and is irrepressibly unfolding throughout the continent.

It is the conclusive awakening of our peoples that is setting into motion millions and millions of workers and that is moving inexorably toward the Second Independence, toward the definitive elimination of the unjust capitalist system and the establishment of revolutionary socialism.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

But the revolutionary road is neither easy nor simple. We need confront not only the barbarous economic and military force of imperialism. More subtle enemies and dangers are always waiting to ambush the revolutionary forces, to crush their efforts to efficiently and victoriously wage the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle.

Today, given the particular situation of the continental revolution, we should concern ourselves specifically with two currents of thought and action that conspire powerfully against the revolutionary efforts of Latin Americans. These are: an enemy, bourgeois nationalism, and an erroneous conception in the popular camp, reformism.

Both, at times tightly united, are intent on climbing on the revolutionary wave of our peoples, capturing its leadership, and imposing on it their erroneous and self-seeking conceptions that ultimately will wind up in holding back and castrating the revolutionary impetus.

Therefore, the intransigent ideological and political struggle that revolutionaries must wage against these currents assumes a strategic dimension. We must expose them in order to win the leadership of the broadest masses, in order to thereby give our people a revolutionary leadership that can consistently, intelligently and effectively show us the way to final victory.

Bourgeois nationalism is a current sponsored by imperialism, which supports it as a demagogic variant to distract and derail the struggle of the people when counterrevolutionary violence has lost its effectiveness. Its social nucleus is comprised of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, or an embryo of it, that aspires to enrich itself immeasurably, squabbling with the oligarchy and the traditional bourgeoisie to win the favors of imperialism by the trick of presenting itself as the fireman of revolution, having popular influence and the ability to negotiate in the face of any mobilization of the masses. In their politics of deception they brandish a verbal anti-imperialism intent on confusing the masses with its preferred nationalist thesis: the third position. But in reality they are not anti-imperialist; rather they pave the way for new and subtler forms of foreign economic penetration.

Reformism, by comparison, is a current that nests among the working people themselves, reflecting the fear of confrontation of the petty bourgeois sectors and the labor aristocracy. It is charac-

terized by narrow rejection of just and necessary acts of revolutionary violence as a fundamental method of the struggle for power, thus abandoning the Marxist conception of the class struggle. Reformism spreads harmful pacifist and liberal ideas among the masses that embellish the national bourgeoisie and the counterrevolutionary armed forces with whom it constantly seeks to ally itself. Those ideas exaggerate the importance of legality and of parliamentarism. One of its preferred arguments is that it is necessary to avoid violence and become involved with the bourgeoisie and the "patriotic military" in search of a peaceful road that will keep the masses from shedding their blood on the road to socialism. That argument has been roundly and painfully refuted by experience. Where reformism has imposed its conciliatory and pacifist politics, the enemy classes and their armed forces have carried out the greatest massacres against the people. The freshness of the Chilean experience, with more than 20,000 men and women workers assassinated, makes further comment unnecessary.

As against bourgeois nationalism, reformism and other currents of less importance, and in constant ideological and political struggle with them, there is rising the armed alternative, the revolutionary alternative that day by day consolidates itself deep within the masses, increasing its influence, improving its political and military capacity, converting itself more and more into a real option for national independence and socialism.

Precisely to contribute to the strengthening of this revolutionary alternative on a continental level, the four organizations signing this declaration have decided to constitute the present Council of Revolutionary Coordination. The Council in turn calls on each one of its national organizations and on the revolutionary working class and popular vanguards of Latin America, to organize themselves and struggle together.

This naturally means that the doors of the Coordination Council are open to the revolutionary organizations in the different Latin American countries.

THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS*



The MLN(Tupamaros), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left(MIR), the National Liberation Army(ELN) and the People's Revolutionary Army(ERP) have learned in the course of their revolutionary and patriotic struggles that it is necessary to unite. We know that the imperialist and capitalist enemy is united and organized and that we must oppose it with the firmest and tightest unity of our peoples.

Bound by the similarity of our struggles and political line, the four organizations first established fraternal ties. We have gradually proceeded to an exchange of experiences to an increasingly active mutual collaboration, up to this decisive step. This step will accelerate our collaboration and coordination and will undoubtedly result in greater practical effectiveness in the bloody struggle that our peoples are waging against the ferocious common enemy.

The greater development of our organizations, the strengthening of their internationalist conception and practice, will permit a greater utilization of the potential of our peoples to establish a powerful revolutionary force capable of finally destroying imperialist-capitalist reaction, annihilating the counterrevolutionary armed forces, expelling Yankee and European imperialism from Latin American soil and initiating socialist construction in each of our countries in order to bring about that future day of a completely united Latin America.

To achieve this sacred objective will not be easy. The cruelty and force of imperialism will make the development of a bloody and protracted revolutionary war necessary. As Comandante Guevara envisioned, the Latin American continent will

become the second or third Vietnam of the world. Following the glorious example of the heroic people of Vietnam, the toilers of Latin America will know how to do combat without dismay, with growing efficiency, displaying in everything their intensity and the unbeatable energy of the masses. We will crush Yankee imperialism and its agent, thus winning our own well-being and contributing powerfully to the destruction of the principle enemy of the international working class, socialism and all the peoples of the world.

OUR PROGRAM

We are united by the understanding that there is no other viable strategy in Latin America than the strategy of revolutionary war. This revolutionary war is a complicated process of mass struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, where all forms of struggle are developed harmoniously around the axis of armed struggle. For the victorious unfolding of the entire process of revolutionary war, it is necessary to mobilize the entire people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletarian leadership of the war will be exercised through a Marxist-Leninist combat party, of proletarian character, capable of centralizing and uniting in one powerful fist all the aspects of the popular war, guaranteeing a correct strategic direction. Under the leadership of the Party a powerful popular army must be structured. It will be the nucleus of steel of the revolutionary forces growing from small to large, intimately united to the masses, and nourished by the masses. The army will erect an impenetrable wall against which all the military attempts of the reactionaries will be smashed to bits. This will be in material conditions that ensure the total annihilation of the counterrevolutionary armed forces. It is necessary to build in the same way a broad working class and popular united front of the masses to mobilize all progressive and revolutionary people, the different popular parties, the trade unions, and other similar organizations - in one word, the broadest possible masses whose struggle runs parallel, converging at all times strategically with the military action of the popular armed forces and the clandestine political action of the Proletarian Party.

The answer should be clear and no other than that armed struggle as the principle factor in the polarization, agitation, and finally, the destruction of the enemy, is the only possibility for victory. This is not to say that all possible forms of organization and struggle should not be used. Legal and clandestine, peaceful and violent, economic and political, all converging with greater effec-

tiveness in the Armed Struggle, in accordance with peculiarities of each region and country.

The continental character of the struggle is fundamentally determined by the presence of a common enemy. North American imperialism carries out an international strategy to hold back the socialist revolution in Latin America. The imposition of fascist regimes in the countries where the rising movement of the masses threatens the stability of the powerful oligarchies is no accident. The continental strategy of the revolutionaries corresponds to the international strategy of imperialism.

The road to cover in this struggle is not short. The international bourgeoisie is ready to prevent the Revolution by any means, even if it is only in one country. They possess all the means, official and officious, of force and of propaganda, to use against the people. For that reason our revolutionary war will wear away the enemy in its first phases, until a popular armed force is formed that is superior in strength to that of the enemy. This process is gradual, but paradoxically it is the shortest and least costly path to reach the strategic objectives of the down-trodden classes.

THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES: TO ARMS

We live in a decisive moment of our history. In that light, the MLN (Tupamaros), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the National Liberation Army (ELN), and the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP), call on the exploited Latin American toilers, the working class, the poor peasants, the poor of the cities, the students and intellectuals, the revolutionary Christians, and all those elements arising from the exploiting classes ready to collaborate with the popular cause, to decisively take up arms, to actively join in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for socialism that is already taking place in our continent under the flag and example of Comandante Guevara.

Liberty or Death
(MLN-Tupamaros)
To Win or Die for
Argentina(ERP)
Fatherland or
Death-We Shall
Win(MIR)
Victory or Death
(ELN)



WORLD REVOLUTION NOTES



SOUTH AFRICA - African workers at the Harmony mines revolted in early June. Separated from their families by press-gang tactics for up to a year and a half and forced to work under extremely deadly conditions, the miners burned administration buildings and raided the company stores on June 8. White police fired on the miners and killed three workers. This brutal action did not stop the rebellion, and it continued into the next day.

CAMBODIA - Two officials of the Lon Nol regime were killed by their own police forces. The two, Cambodia's education minister and his top aide, were being held hostage by rioting students.

American and neutral observers refute reports by the government that the students tortured their hostages and killed them when police rushed the high school that the students had barricaded. Several students were killed by police fire.

The students were demonstrating against the regime's corruption and its economic policies. They demanded the release of 15 students and 4 teachers arrested earlier by the Lon Nol regime. The regime charged them with being held in military prisons, because they were to be tried by military courtmartial.

MOZAMBIQUE/LONDON - Officials from both the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau and the liberation movement, FRELIMO from Mozambique are holding talks with the Portuguese. The liberation movements are not negotiating independence but are trying to convince Portugal to formalize what is already fact. On the battlefield FRELIMO destroyed a heavily armored convoy to the Cabora Bassa dam, and destroyed a strategic hamlet and captured many weapons. Meanwhile Portuguese troops are refusing to fight throughout the continent.

SAIGON - The PRG delegation returned to the Joint Military Commission talks June 8 after the Saigon regime restored the PRG's diplomatic rights. The Saigon regime had cut phone lines and utilities, banned news conferences of the PRG and surrounded the PRG-DRVN compound with military units.

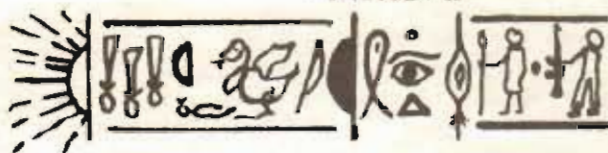
However, international protests and drives in the US to reduce military aid to Saigon pressured the regime to reverse its actions. Meanwhile fighting continues just 25 miles north of Saigon.

MALAYSIA - The head of the national police was assassinated by machinegun fire June 7. He was the fifth such official executed in the last six months. Government officials blame communist rebels for the executions.



"We must launch a Cultural Revolution to unbrainwash an entire people....Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle."

- Malcolm X



ODE TO SIX SLAIN SOLDIERS

For those who bore the hopes and the future of the people, your guns faithfully expressed the voice of freedom.

Zoya, Gelina, Camilla, Willie, Fahiza, we watch you as America's children, standing on the outer perimeter of our base camp. We wonder if you would ever come and join us to sit around the campfire, to share the pains and the sorrow of revolution- and then one night you approached us. We knew not whether to trust you for you bore the trappings of white skin. Would you fail to pick up your comrades and wash their painful wounds? Would you leave your comrades in the urban war zone and run safely back to Suburbia? We mourn for you now but we know that you are one of us and are with us. Our doubts prevented us from embracing you as comrades, but your courageous display of comradeship has united us forever. You were given a feeding by the Manchild, Jonathan, nurtured from the blood of Fieldmarshall George Jackson. You grew into maturity on the merits of your own strength. Brother, Comrade, Soldier of the People, General Field Marshall Cinque who taught them well, you chose to die with your troops. Your example has sunk deep into the hearts and the minds of the people. We will remember you as a brother who taught by example. We embrace you. We embrace your Comrades. We mourn your death, but we smile with joy knowing that America's children have come of age.

Signed, Chaka, Delegate of the Revolutionary Nationalist Pan-African Organization. Death to the Fascist Insects who prey on the life of the People.



This poem found in an abandoned SLA crashpad on 84th Street in L.A. is believed to be the work of Camilla Hall or Angela Atwood:

Reality/you're hard to find
we've looked a long time
A new born babe could tell/they bid you
farewell
and stuffed/Ones of five in your place
Face it, comrade/Now's the time/we're all
alive!
Eat it, Pig/in our minds
the bigger the trigger/the better the
target!
the cool/calm plan/will smear heavy on
the hit
Sucker Pay -
MALCOLM/ we're here to stay!

Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun

ON POPPING BUBBLES

You say
Sing to me of love, of love
of times far-off
that we both dream of
when birds floated and tried
and we loved as we willed
AND NO EVIL TEST
could enter our nest
though they tried and tried
to make us like the rest...
but we won...

You say speak to you not of
of killing machines
and fantastic dreams
of piggish screams
all up and down the avenue,
where we used to walk
hand in hand
on our own land
before the man
JUST CHUMPED OUR HAND

Don't speak, you say
to you this way,
but listen, mouma
it IS this way!

We sing and dance
and play around
while pigs are planning
to grind us down,
while shuckin' and jivin'
we're cryin' and dyin'

Now I really NEED
to see THEM bleed!

So ask me not
to stay my hand
but more to fight
and bleed
and maybe
even
die.
So long as we win.
Understand?

I, A. Al-Hanif
'73