



# SEIZE THE TIME



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"Neither Lawyer nor any other chief had authority to sell this land. It has always belonged to my people. It came unclouded to them from our fathers, and we will defend this land long as a drop of Indian blood warms the hearts of men."  
Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces

## Inside This Issue:

Native American International Treaty Conference.  
Centerfold Section: On Ideological Clarity in  
The Black Liberation Movement.  
NCDPP Statement to Sixth Pan African Conference on POWS.  
On Self Defense.  
Statement from Ruchell Magee.  
Chicano Activists Assassinated.  
Phoenix Project in the U.S.  
Why We Bombed Gulf; Statement from the Weather Underground.  
How Armed Struggle Started In South Vietnam.  
On Supporting Political Prisoners.  
New Feature: CLASS STRUGGLE.



"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 flunkysim, Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-reliance in the economy and self-defense in national defense -- this is our stand."

## INTERNATIONAL TREATY COUNCIL

"A long time ago my father told me what his father told him. There was once a Lakota Holy Man called Drinks Water, who visioned what was to be; and this was long before the coming of the Wasicus. He visioned that the four-legged were going back into the earth and that a strange race had woven a spider's web all around the Lakotas. And he said, "When this happens, you shall live in barren lands, and there beside those gray houses you shall starve." They say he went back into Mother Earth soon after he saw this vision and it was sorrow that killed him."

Black Elk-Oglala Sioux Holy Man

The United States of America has continually violated the independent Native Peoples of this continent by Executive Action, Legislative fiat and Judicial decision. By its actions, the U.S. has denied all Native people their International Treaty rights, Treaty lands and basic human rights of freedom and sovereignty. This same U.S. Government which fought to throw off the yoke of oppression and gain its own independence, has now reversed its role and become the oppressor of sovereign Native people.

Might does not make right. Sovereign people of varying cultures have the absolute right to live in harmony with Mother Earth so long as they do not infringe upon this same right of other peoples. The denial of this right to any sovereign people, such as the Native American Indian Nations, must be challenged by truth and action. World concern must focus on all colonial governments to the end that sovereign people everywhere shall live as they choose, in peace with dignity and freedom.

The International Indian Treaty Conference hereby adopts this Declaration of Continuing Independence of the Sovereign Native American Indian Nations. In the course of these human events, we call upon the people of the world to support this struggle for our sovereign rights and our treaty rights. We pledge our assistance to all other sovereign people who seek their own independence.

The First International Treaty Council of the Western Hemisphere was formed on the land of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on June 8-16, 1974. The delegates, meeting under the guidance of the Great Spirit, represented 97 Indian tribes and Nations from across North and South America.

We, the sovereign Native Peoples recognize that all lands belonging to the various Native Nations are clearly defined by the sacred treaties solemnly entered into between the Native Nations and the government of the United States of America.

# JUCHE

We, the sovereign Native Peoples charge the United States of America with gross violations of our International Treaties. Two of the thousands of violations that can be cited are the "wrongfully taking" of the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Nation in 1877, this sacred land belonging to the Great Sioux Nation under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The second violation was the forced march of the Cherokee People from their ancestral lands in the state of Georgia to the then "Indian Territory" of Oklahoma after the Supreme Court of the United States ruled the Cherokee treaty rights inviolate. The treaty violation, known as the "Trail of Tears" brought death to two-thirds of the Cherokee Nation during the forced march.

The council further realizes that securing United States recognition of treaties signed with Native Nations requires a committed and unified struggle, using every available legal and political resource. Treaties between sovereign nations explicitly entail agreements which represent "the supreme law of the land" binding each party to an inviolate international relationship.

We acknowledge the historical fact that Independence of the peoples of our sacred Mother Earth have always been over sovereignty of land. These historical freedom efforts have always involved the highest human sacrifice.

We recognize that all Native Nations wish to avoid violence, but we also recognize that the United States government has always used force and violence to deny Native Americans basic human and treaty rights.

We adopt this Declaration of Continuing Independence, recognizing that struggle lies ahead--a struggle certain



to be won--and that the human and treaty rights of all Native Nations will be honored. In this understanding the International Indian Treaty Council declares:

The United States Government in its Constitution, Article VI, recognizes treaties as part of the Supreme Law of the United States. We will peacefully pursue all legal and political avenues to demand United States recognition of its own Constitution in this regard, and thus to honor its treaties with the Native Nations.

We will seek the support of all world communities in the struggle for the continuing independence of Native Nations.

We the representatives of sovereign Native Nations unite in forming a council to be known as the International Indian Treaty Council to implement these declarations.

The International Indian Treaty Council will establish offices in Washington, D.C. and New York City to approach the International forces necessary to obtain the recognition of our treaties. These offices will establish an initial system of communications among Native Nations to disseminate information, getting a general consensus of concerning issues, developments and any legislative attempt affecting Native Nations by the United States of America.

The International Indian Treaty Council recognizes the sovereignty of all Native Nations and will stand in unity to support our Native and international brothers and sisters in their respective and collective struggles concerning international treaties and agreements violated by the United States and other governments.

All treaties between the Sovereign Native Nations and the United States Government, must be interpreted according to the traditional and spiritual ways of the signatory Native Nations.

We declare our recognition of the Provisional Government of the Independent Oglala Nation, established by the Traditional Chiefs and Headmen under the provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty with the Great Sioux Nation at Wounded Knee, March 11, 1973.

We condemn the United States of America for its gross violation of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty in militarily surrounding, killing, and starving the citizens of the independent Oglala Nation into exile.

We demand the United States of America recognize the sovereignty of the Oglala Nation and immediately stop all present and future criminal prosecutions of sovereign Native Peoples. We call upon the conscionable nations of the world to join us in charging and prosecuting the United States of America for its genocidal practices against the Sovereign Native Nations; most recently illustrated by Wounded Knee 1973 and the continued refusal by the United States of America to sign the United Nations 1948 Treaty on Genocide.

We reject all executive orders, legislative acts and judicial decisions related to Native Nations since 1871, when the United States unilaterally suspended treaty making relations with Native Nations. This includes, but is not limited to, the Major Crimes Act, the General Allotment Act, the Citizenship Act of 1924, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Indian Claims Commission Act, Public Law 280 and the Termination Act. All treaties between Native Nations and the United States made prior to 1871 shall be recognized without further need of interpretation.

We hereby ally ourselves with the colonized Puerto Rican People in their struggle for Independence from the same United States of America.

We recognize that there is only one color of Mankind in the world who are not represented in the United Nations. And that is the indigenous Redman of the Western Hemisphere. We recognize this lack of representation in the United Nations comes from the genocidal policies of the colonial power of the United States.

The International Indian Treaty Council established by this conference is directed to make application to the United Nations for recognition and membership of the sovereign Native Nations. We pledge our support to any similar application by any aboriginal people.

This conference directs the Treaty Council to open negotiations with the government of the United States through its Department of State. We seek these negotiations in order to establish diplomatic relations with the United States. When these diplomatic relations have been established, the first order of business shall be to deal with U.S. violations of the rights of those Native Indian Nations who have refused to sign treaties with the United States.

We, the People of the International Indian Treaty Council, following the guidance of our elders through instructions from the Great Spirit, and out of our respect for our sacred Mother Earth, all her children, and those yet unborn offer our lives for our International Treaty Rights.

# CHICANO ACTIVISTS ASSASINATED

REPRINTED FROM EL GRITO NEWSLETTER (June, 1974)

On May 27, 1974 in Boulder, Colorado, a car exploded killing 3 people: Paul Martinez, Ashley Una Jaakola and Neva Romero. On May 29, in the same town and within 48 hours, a second car exploded killing Florencio "Freddie" Granados, Francisco Luevano and Heriberto Teran. Antonio Alcantar, also in the car on May 29, was critically injured. In both bombings, the victims included well-known Chicano activists. They were similar, with both explosions being centered in the front passenger part of the car. The explosion of the first car had a terrible force, scattering pieces of bodies as far as 150 feet from the car. In the second, the bodies remained in the car and were horribly burned.

There was a deliberate news blackout on the bombings in New Mexico. The tragedy began on Monday and on the following Sunday we still had very little news. The press in Colorado, where the leaders in "yellow journalism" are the Denver Post and the Rocky Mountain News, didn't use the blackout technique--instead they used smear tactics. Even before the bodies were identified, the press was pushing the police line that the victims had apparently been assembling some bomb in the car, or they accidentally set off one that was already assembled.

Investigators all but ruled out the possibility that the 7 were victims of attacks by others--then contradicted themselves. "If there were time bombs (set by others), they were well-concealed," one investigator said, "because they were in the passenger compartments, not under the floor or in the engine compartments." This was apparently based on the fact that the front passenger section was totally destroyed by the explosion in each case while the backs of the cars were not so badly damaged. But the investigator went on to say, "That such bombs might have been planted under the car seats hasn't been ruled out." Antonio Alcantar, the only survivor of the second bombing, said that he had not seen any type of bomb in the car.

The police, through the press, went on to persecute the victims by searching certain homes and claiming to find all sorts of materials for explosives and "literature". Search warrants are public information once they have been issued, but the police first refused to show the

warrants to reporters and then claimed the warrants had been "mislaidd", couldn't be found. Police searched the homes of ANTONIO ALCANTAR, Heriberto Teran and Mrs. Frieda Bugarin. Mrs. Bugarin worked with Freddie Granados at the Platte Valley Action Center and had apparently lent her car to him on the night of May 29 to attend a meeting; this was the car that blew up.

There are contradictions in the press reports on the searches. On May 30, the Denver Post stated that police had found Teran's house vacant; the next day, the Post said that news clippings on the first explosion had been found there. "Corky" Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice had reason to call the search warrants "illegal" and to protest "the fact that the victims, who are speechless and defenseless forever, are the ones who are further victimized while their homes are searched...are the dead the guilty parties?"

The press also made much of the fact that there seemed to be contradictions in the story of Antonio Alcantar, who said he had just hitched a ride in the car on the night of May 29. Alcantar, with one leg amputated and half-alive in the hospital, is currently "under suspicion" and might be indicted for the second bombing. This attitude has been typical of the press, which acted as both judge and jury



TERROR BOMBINGS IN COLORADO  
1973 police attack on movimiento activity

on the victims; smeared their names constantly, and showed no regard for the feelings of the victims' families.

The press also played on public hysteria with constant reminders of other recent bombings. In Boulder this year, there have been several other bombings: at the Flatirons Elementary School; the Colo. Univ. campus police station; and the Hall of Justice. (There were no casualties in those incidents.) The press referred to those earlier bombings in a way to suggest that the victims of May 27 and 29 were somehow responsible for them.

Five of the 7 victims were well-known Chicano activists. Probably the best-known was Reyes Paul Martinez, brother of Francisco ("Kiko") Martinez. The press emphasized that Kiko is a "fugitive," wanted on state and federal charges of sending dynamite letters to a Denver policewoman, a member of the Denver School Board and a Denver business. Kiko is another victim of police/press persecution, who had to go underground. He is a Chicano lawyer who was very active in defending his people and represented the Falcon family at the trial of Ricardo Falcon's racist killer. It is known that Kiko was preparing a case to present to the United Nations on the oppression of Chicanos as a people. Like his brother, Reyes was a lawyer and defender of Raza. He traveled around Colorado representing the poor, never asking for pay. He led the campaign in getting his brother's name cleared and was once arrested because he resembles Kiko (but the press reported that he had been arrested on suspicion of possessing marijuana.)

Would a man who was trying hard to get his brother's name cleared of being a mad bomber take the chance of getting caught with explosives himself? The mother of Reyes and Kiko opened her remarks at a press conference after Reyes' death by speaking of "our hour of sorrow as we prepared to bury a son and perhaps in a few days more, another."

In the words of Mrs. Pita Melgares, sister of Reyes and Kiko, "...it is highly probable that Reyes and the others were murdered by a horrible fascist act intended to flush his brother out from underground. It's a conspiracy to keep to a handful the number of Chicano attorneys who have dedicated their lives to the people."

Francisco "Freddie" Granados, another well-known Chicano activist, was a former student at Colo. Univ. where he served as  
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## EDITORIAL FROM CLARIDAD

By Ramon Arbons, Editor of Claridad, a Puerto Rican independence newspaper

Those of us who struggle in this country against oppression have received another blow. Six Chicano companeros were assassinated this week, within a space of three days, when bombs placed in their automobiles exploded.

These cases resemble only too closely other murders perpetrated in Latin America and other parts of the world. An expert places a bomb in the car, somehow connects the detonator to the vehicle so that it explodes when the ignition key turns, or when the car reaches a certain speed or is jolted by a pothole in the road. The technique is perfected in the CIA schools, such as the International Police Academy. Colorado, the state where these political murders have just been perpetrated, has enormous open spaces where training in those techniques is carried out.

It doesn't take exceptional intelligence to realize that two identical explosions, some 24 hours apart from each other in the same city and in cars driven by Chicano activists known for their struggle on behalf of their people's rights, are part of a plan. And that sort of plan is not carried out by just anybody. Evidently it is a well coordinated plan to intimidate and destroy the Chicano movement, an attempt to halt the work of its more militant sectors.

The same enemy that persecutes fighters everywhere lurks behind these crimes. The assassination of leaders and fighters is just one more aspect - one of the more brutal aspects - of the entire repressive network against a rising movement. Campaigns to discredit and thus isolate a movement from the masses, intimidation perpetrated by bosses in order to starve a militant into defeat, police ambushes, the sabotage of revolutionary work, the fabrication of legal cases and so many other cloak and dagger operations, all weave a repressive net in which right-wing terrorism plays a growing role. But right-wing terrorism is also a result of hysteria, and we must not forget this. It is the typical action of a retreating right wing that despairs as it sees that its more subtle techniques fail to protect its privileges.

Those are the techniques with which they would halt the rising tide of liberation among oppressed peoples. To the same degree that liberation struggles emerge victorious in other parts of the world, to that degree oppressed peoples in this country are organizing their rebellion and transforming it into struggle, into actions that break bonds of oppression.

The common enemy of all the oppressed peoples of the world unleashes right-wing terrorism wherever it sees its interests threatened. Its hand appears as it did this week in Boulder, in San Juan, Los Angeles, Mexico, Guinea or Buenos Aires, with the same fierceness and with the same goal. And until they are totally wiped from the face

of the earth, their blows in many cases will be too brutal. Today such actions have them in power in Chile, in Brazil, in Greece and the Dominican Republic. They have been enjoying the sweet life for years in Spain, Nicaragua, and Paraguay. But they also once ruled in Havana and are now in Miami.

And we will see to it that one day the day that humanity is victorious - there will be no more Miami left.

In the case of Boulder we know that we can expect nothing from official investigation made by the agencies of the very government that is directly responsible for such actions. The only way to halt right-wing terrorism is to heighten struggle, make it more effective, more massive, more powerful, more coordinated.

And in keeping with our Party's commitment to the Chicanos, the solidarity we have always extended to the Chicano people and its organizations will now reach higher levels. We will not hold back our support. An attack against a Chicano fighter is an attack against us; we will coordinate revolutionary actions daily against the common enemy.



The staff of SEIZE THE TIME endorses this editorial of support for the Chicano Liberation fighters who made the highest sacrifice in the struggle for freedom. May the deeds of our lives be worthy of their sacrifice.

# PHOENIX PROJECT FOR THE U.S.

The Phoenix Project is the code name for a massive CIA directed murder operation in South Vietnam during the sixties. Spin-off programs continue in disregard of the Paris Peace Agreement of 1973. Similar projects exist in Paris Peace Agreement the Philippines, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile-countries where people have formed organizations to resist imperialism and exploitation, to defend the lives of the people and build a new society based on the concrete needs and desires of the people.

The basis for a "Phoenix Project" inside the USA exists at this moment. For those who struggle for liberation inside of the USA, the Vietnamese version of the Phoenix Project provides a timely lesson. We must be familiar with its strategy, its successes and failures and its probable form in the USA. But, remember that the CIA has had time to "field-test" this counter-insurgency program in Vietnam and now is refining its technique in Latin America, etc. Progressive and revolutionary people here should learn what the people of Vietnam did and do some refining of their own, and avoid costly mistakes.

The heart of the Phoenix Project is (in the CIA's own words) "the identification, apprehension and neutralization of member of the Vietcong infrastructure (VCI)." The CIA use "VCI" to describe the National Liberation Front's "shadow government in the countryside, the political cadre who lived and worked among the people."

The NLF was far more than a small military force which could be easily isolated from the Vietnamese people. It was a front of all organizations and social strata opposing Thieu's fascism and US intervention. It used all forms of resistance from vigils by Buddhist professionals to armed attacks on pacification outposts by national minorities.

When the US Command discovered that technology and military superiority alone could not destroy the liberation forces, it turned to the CIA to establish some kind of program to lessen the political and organizational authority of the NLF. The apparatus created for this purpose emerged in May 1967 as CORDS (Civil Operations and Rural Development Support). It was formerly under the Military Command and is now under "civilian" authority of the as part of the State Department Directorate of Resettlement and Reconstruction (Thieu's government). William F. Colby, formerly director of CORDS, was appointed by Nixon to be head of the CIA.

Phoenix was part of a development/resettlement/reconstruction agency because the CIA understood that the NLF had to be cut off from the people and vice versa. This meant either enclosing the people into fortified villages and screening them one by one, or if the people were too close to the NLF controlled zones, relocating them to secure areas and again screening them. Diem and Thieu had New Life Villages, Rural Development, Resettlement Services and City Embellishment programs. The US has New Towns (strategic hamlets), Rural Development (a Nixon Bill), Relocator Services and Urban Beautification programs. Thieu and the U.S. government have both told their subjects that these programs were to:

- provide security from criminal elements. In San Francisco a high rise housing project called the "Pink Palace" is being used to test out a security system complete with elec-

tronic gate, pass cards for residents and armed gate guard. It is for the "safety of the residents," according to the Housing Authority. If it works, the system will be used throughout the country.

-provide better social services. Nixon submitted a "better Communities Act" to Congress in 1973. The only section of the Bill to speed through Congress and have a significant impact on the local level was the law enforcement section. The social services provided by Relocation are designed to disperse Ghetto residents (see Vol 1 #2 Seize the Time, Redevelopment).

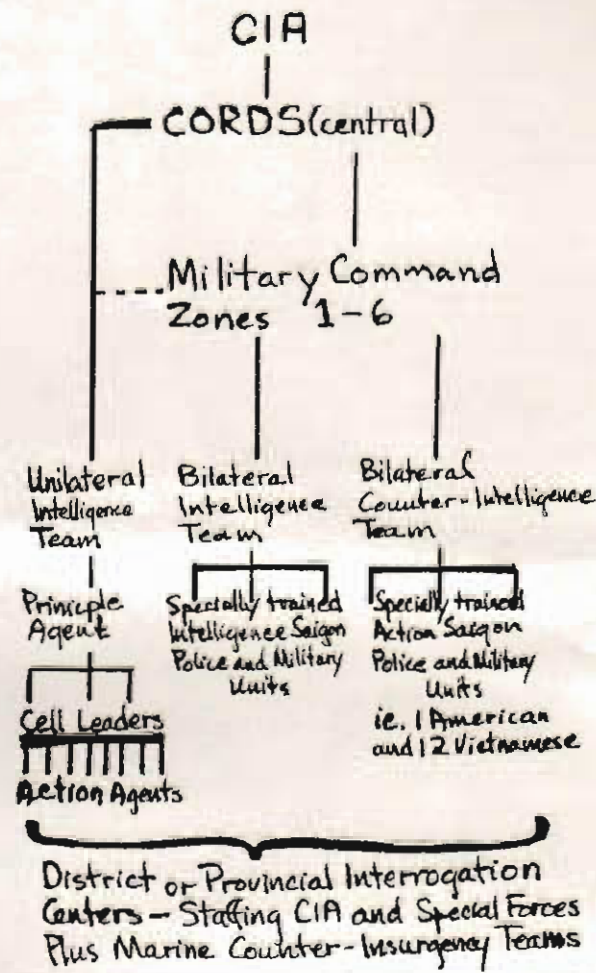
-gather information to improve services. Various computer banks and surveys have been or will be set up to "identify drug and crime prone populations" (CODAP, ETC) to aid Redevelopment Agencies, to improve welfare programs, etc. They are tied into each of the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency's computers.

In Vietnam, these programs to separate the NLF from the people were failing because the NLF was so closely connected to the people and represented their desire for liberation. The cadre of the NLF were swept into the strategic hamlets along with their fellow villagers. Although political work was more difficult inside these enclaves, the NLF expanded. More people became active against the Saigon regime as corrupt officials, sadistic guards and the unprovoked imprisonment and murder of loved exposed Sai Saigon's true intentions.

The Phoenix project was designed to go into these villages, supposedly controlled by Saigon, identify the NLF leadership and cadre and either assassinate or imprison them after interrogation. Specially trained U.S. intelligence officers and agents were at the top of the Phoenix organization. Some agents related to the regular military command only through intermediaries and couriers. The country was divided into zones, and each zone was assigned three parallel teams: bilateral intelligence collection, bilateral counter-insurgency and unilateral intelligence collection. Bilateral teams were composed of both Americans and Vietnamese agents. The unilateral teams was just Americans using Vietnamese civilians and supposedly was unknown to the Saigon administration. Teams were usually small, about five members.

The unilateral teams worked through specially trained units of the Saigon regime's police and military. The unilateral teams recruited pro-American Vietnamese, anti-liberation civilians as their principle agents. They in turn recruited three cell leaders. They in turn recruited so called action agents.

The lowest level of agents would attend mass demonstrations or pose as woodcutters, merchants, etc to identify VCI suspects. The suspect would then be apprehended by a military unit or by the Special Branch of the National Police. At this point, the suspect is either assassinated or held for questioning and detention. Once detained the suspect has no legal rights. He/she is generally held at district or provincial interrogation centers for up to two months. Torture is used to extract information and confessions. If the suspect does not break, they are generally killed. An American agent said that "if they were to turn someone back into the countryside it would just be multiplying NLF followers." If a suspect did confess, he/she is tried by mili-



Note: Since the Peace Agreements, American involvement has become much less open. Agents have been retrained toward more political warfare techniques, ie infiltration of organizations, development of covers toward political ends, etc.

tary tribunal and imprisoned. If there is not enough evidence, they are held for two year renewable terms.

Already in the U.S. there are similar specialy trained police and National Guard units (SWAT, STRESS, ZEBRA, ZEBRA, riot control and tactical squads). Already we have had planned police and paid agent assassinations (Fred Hampton, Bunchey Carter, Malcolm X and many others.) Already we have had planned National Police (FBI) plans to infiltrate, disrupt, discredit progressive, revolutionary and particularly Black organizations.

Already we have had U.S. Military support and proposed involvement in domestic counter-insurgency (Mark Essex, the urban rebellions, also see the Wounded Knee article on pg. 6). The foundation for a Phoenix project exists. What is lacking is the coordination of all these activities across the USA in one central office. Nixon tried to institute such a coordination council but Hoover blocked it because he felt he would lose control over his own agency (FBI).



# DEFENDING OUR COMMUNITIES

(Editor's Note: This article was written to deal with murderous foreign invaders who may one day invade our communities, kill our youth, pay us poor wages, and in general exploit and murder us. These tactics should be used only against enemies of this type.)

"The object of war is specifically 'to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy' (to destroy the enemy means to disarm him or deprive him of the power to resist, and does not mean to destroy every member physically.) In ancient warfare, the spear and the shield were used, the spear to attack and destroy the enemy, and the shield to defend and preserve oneself. To the present day, all weapons are still extensions of the spear and shield.

Attack is the chief means of destroying the enemy, but defense cannot be dispensed with. In attack the immediate object is to destroy the enemy, but at the same time it is self-preservation, because if the enemy is not destroyed, you will be destroyed. In defense the immediate object is to preserve yourself but at the same time defense is a means

of supplementing attack or preparing to go over to the attack. Retreat is in the category of defense and is a continuation of defense, pursuit is a continuation of attack. Attack, the chief means of destroying the enemy, is primary. While defense, a supplementary means of destroying the enemy and a means of self-preservation, is secondary."

Chairman Mao tse-Tung from "On Protracted War"

If we take a look at our communities we will find that they are occupied by a foreign enemy who kills our youth, forces us to work for slave wages and live in inhuman conditions. The Rockefellers' rule is enforced by their army, the first line of defense.

We in the oppressed Third World communities are at a state of war (constant threat of violence). "We must be prepared. The Guerrilla must know his territory, both by day and night. This cannot be overestimated. Make yourself acquainted with road ways, shortcuts, alleys, fences, trees, ditches and streets. You must know the general street plan of your city, know every entrance and exit, not only main roads and trails but every side street & pathway. This means taking notes. This does not mean carrying a pencil and paper but memorizing as much as possible. A good way to practice is walk into a room, remain there 2 or 3 minutes noting contents. Then go into another room, and write out every object you remember seeing. Another point to bear in mind is to memorize every 'dead ground' (territory which by its

natural conformation is shielded from the enemy's view and fire. This ground is suitable for luring the enemy into prepared traps where we can work without being observed."

We must know which houses/apartments etc, that can be used as observation posts and safe-houses. Selection should not wait till the day of need but an analysis of location, security, etc. should be made beforehand. Since much of the fighting will be done in major urban areas, we must know how to enter buildings of importance without using the main entrance, but using convenient secondary exits; note the blind side of the building.

Not only must we get to know the territory, we must get to know the people. This is primary! "The army must be one with the people so that they will see it as their own army," -Mao. The first step in winning support is letting large numbers of people be aware that you exist. This can be done by illegal leaflets, newspapers and armed propaganda. Remember that word-of-mouth is a powerful and swift communications network. The news of a practical joke on the invaders (ie. a wild goose chase by police for an illegal broadcast unit that ends up in the trunk of the chief's own car) will spread like wildfire and give boldness to the people's resistance. This is the central purpose of the guerrilla fighter - to release the vast energies of the people for their own liberation, to give impetus to the formation of a People's Army.

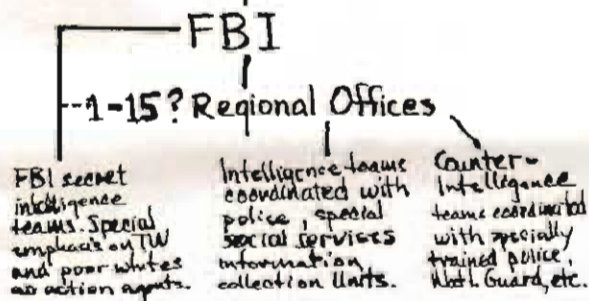
Material for this article was mainly drawn from Yank Levy's Guerrilla Warfare, Penguin 1942.



## PHOENIX

When the USA institutes a Phoenix project (not to say they haven't already) it may look something like this.

National Security Coordination Council  
(CIA, Military Command, FBI)



The Vietnamese Phoenix project has several major faults. First, it had to depend on the rich landholders, the Saigon military and the French trained bureaucrats all of whom the people despised for the principle agents. These were the only people who saw imperialism and the American presence as beneficial. The people resisted the project from the start. This fault cannot be corrected in any refinement of the Phoenix project here. The imperialists lack any real arguments to counter the political philosophy of liberation!

Secondly, the principle agents (pro American, anti-liberation) often used the Phoenix Project to eliminate their traditional foes who had nothing to do with the NLF. Many of the high level Vietnamese

## U. S. A. (CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE)

agents belonged to the Catholic Vietnamese Nationalist Party (like Chiang Kai Shek's Chinese Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang). They would often report that a Buddhist (their traditional foes) leader or youth association was really part of the NLF when in fact they were not. Eventually this drove many Buddhists to the NLF for protection and to join the NLF's battle for democratic rights and religious freedom. The CIA did not want this to happen because it gave false intelligence and extended instead of eliminated the NLF.

In the USA, the CIA will be more aware of this problem. There are also fewer independent, traditional organizations among the oppressed peoples of the USA. We have been more thoroughly colonized than the Vietnamese. However something like that could happen with local redneck police agencies attacking progressive organizations and individuals who at first are not directly involved in the concept of liberation.

Lastly, the Vietnamese Phoenix Project depended on lower level agents whose primary motivation was money. To make more money, they would exaggerate reports, upgrade a suspected NLF follower to suspected NLF leadership, torture prisoners to extract confessions, etc. As Colby puts it:

"If you want to get bad intelligence, you use bad interrogation methods. If you want to get good intelligence, you had better use good interrogation methods. You will get what the fellow thinks you want to hear if you use the wrong methods. This is the lesson we have been trying to put over with the people with whom we work."

The US Phoenix will still have this problem. Other than fascists,



they will have to rely on the gangster element that would sell their mother for a few dollars. "Black" Agent Louis Tackwood of the L.A. PD is a good example. Unfortunately there are more brainwashed pro-American agents here than anywhere else. We will face ideologically motivated agents at even the lowest levels of the US Phoenix Project.

The NLF was able to defeat the Phoenix project for three reasons. First is their political program for liberation and reconstruction. It truly expresses the just aspirations of the vast majority of Vietnamese people. Secondly the NLF cadre were dedicated to serving their countrymen. They were not paid agents or rich landowners but workers, peasants, concerned teachers and religious leaders.

Lastly, the NLF was strong enough organizationally and militarily to coordinate the activities of the political cadre inside the Saigon controlled villages and towns with the military units fighting in the mountains and jungles. Many villages were liberated by internal uprisings coordinated with guerrilla attacks.

As Phoenix projects are developed in the USA, we must learn from the methods, strategies and victories of the Vietnamese people in destroying their Phoenix Project.

## July 4th BLA Communique

All Power to the People, comrades and revolutionary brothers and sisters.

Recently in Jacksonville, Florida, there were a series of executions carried out by people under the name of the Black Liberation Army.

When they first came to our attention, we took the position all revolutionaries are supposed to take when they don't understand something; we decided to investigate. After investigation, we are prepared to take a position.

First of all, it should be clearly understood what the Black Liberation Army is and is about. The BLA is an army of urban guerillas, who fight the fascist and capitalist ruling class with arms, using unconventional methods; an army full of ardent revolutionaries who fight for the liberation of their people, who are friends of the people and friends of freedom.

The brothers and sisters who make up the BLA have made a conscious decision: that they would rather fight and die, if necessary, to free their people from an oppressor that racially oppressed and economically exploited them for over four hundred years right here in Babylon than to fight and kill people of color in Viet Nam, etc., who have done them no harm.

The BLA knows and understands that the only way we, as a people, are going to obtain our civil and human rights is to bring the present corrupt capitalist ruling class of the U.S. to its knees and begin to rebuild our society.

The execution of police officers, expropriation of banks and arms have been some of the tactics used by the BLA in its attempts to win the revolution in America. But never has the BLA advocated or taken part in senseless murder of innocent members of the community.

The BLA uses the expropriation of banks as a tactic for a twofold reason. One, the maintenance of the guerilla and the revolution. And two, to strike blows at the nerve center of the capitalist system. Because the tremendous costs of the revolutionary war must fall on the big capitalists, on imperialism and the governments, city state, and federal... In other words, they pay for their own destruction.

Police officers have been a major target in the past because they are immediately recognizable agents of the oppressor in our communities. They not only oppress us at will, but are licensed to oppress and are exempt from most of the laws of moral decency. A vivid example of their exemption was the recent acquittal of pig Thomas Shea of the April 28th, 1973 murder of ten-year-old Clifford Glover. Need any more reasons for their execution be cited?!

The BLA has been in existence for a number of years, and on numerous occasions it has attempted to communicate to the masses of oppressed peoples the reasons for its existence and purposes, but on a major level, this communication has been blocked, and we understand why. Because the corrupt ruling class of this country realize that the BLA is not just a gang of thugs, as the *Amsterdam News* calls us or a group of cop killing fanatics and bank robbers, as the rest of the ruling class-government controlled major media refers to us. They know that we are revolutionaries that are motivated by great feelings of love for the people and outraged at all the atrocities be-



ing heaped upon the heads of the poor and oppressed people in Babylon. The counterrevolutionary propaganda campaign of the ruling class in these United States has been designed to sabotage and ultimately destroy the BLA and all such revolutionary groups through the use of character assassinations, stirring up the dislike and the stress of the people-making the people fear the army and creating distortions as to its politics and purpose.

The executions that took place in Jacksonville are the result of the ruling class distortions of the BLA and Black and other oppressed peoples' struggles to obtain human rights. The fact that the brothers who executed the son of that New Jersey state trooper did so for the reasons that they did it are understandable because we can understand how you can be oppressed in such a way and for so long that all you want to do is strike out. The BLA has long maintained that there will always be a Black Liberation Army as long as our oppression continues, for there will always be freedom fighters riding up and picking up the gun to wage armed struggle against the forces that oppress us. These people know that the Liberation Army exists but, due to the distortions of its politics and intents by the ruling class, we have actions such as Jacksonville, Florida occurring.

The tapes that were sent out following the executions showed people that were so consumed by their hatred for the oppressors that they couldn't see past the skin color of the victim to determine whether he was a friend or foe. We can lay the responsibility for this at the feet of the ruling class.

We do not condemn the brothers who carried out the executions in Jacksonville, Florida for their acts, because we know the motivation behind it... a desire to fight for the freedom of Black people from racism, tyranny and oppression. All Power to the People.

---Black Liberation Army

## FBI and Military Activities at Wounded Knee

### FROM AKWESASNE NOTES

(As the FBI's misdeeds began to be revealed, slowly the trail of high level conspiracy against the native movement implicated the Army, senior administration officials--maybe even the White House.)

An observer of the many months the court has been in session could have trouble determining who the defendants are. It's true the case is titled, "United States of America, plaintiff, vs. Dennis Banks and Russell Means, defendants."

But the roles seems to have been reversed, and the U.S. Government has been on the defensive. The names of the two defendants are rarely mentioned other than in passing. Few of the bevy of witnesses have given evidence directly linking Banks and Means with the crimes charged against them.

About all that has been shown to this point is that the two were among the AIM members who moved into Wounded Knee at the start of the occupation, and apparently had leadership roles.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the prosecution have been getting their lumps, both from the defense and from the court.

Just as the furor over the wire-tapping had settled down and the prosecution was looking forward to

resuming the trial, new issues came up on the use of military force during the occupation of Wounded Knee, FBI intelligence operations against the American Indian Movement, and the authority of federal marshals to be involved.

A document on the Justice Department's response to questions asked by the Senate Interior Committee during the occupation last year came to light. In it, it says, on November 21, 1972, after the Trail of Broken Treaties occupied BIA headquarters, then deputy Attorney General Ralph E. Erickson directed the FBI "to intensify its efforts to identify violence-prone individuals or organizations involved in American Indian activities, particularly the AIM organization."

The FBI is collecting and disseminating information of an intelligence nature" the department said.

Defense attorneys William Knusler and Douglas Hall said the statements reopen the issues of wiretapping and illegal invasion of the defense legal camp that they thought had been laid to rest in the unsuccessful four-week hearing to dismiss charges.

Judge Nichol agreed, and ordered the federal prosecutors to produce more information about the state-

ments, and give the judge a copy of a recently released FBI plan to disrupt the activities of militant organizations.

The plan had been published with the names of the organizations deleted. Earl Kaplan, a Justice Department attorney, told the judge he had read the paper before the names were removed, and that AIM was not mentioned. But Nichol ordered Kaplan to show the complete document to him so he can see for himself. The document also reveals what apparently is a more intensive military involvement in the occupation than the U.S. has admitted until now. The use of U.S. Armed Forces on American soil--against its own people--is prohibited in the American Constitution.

Federal officials have said repeatedly that the U.S. Army's involvement was limited to supplying food, rifles and armored personnel carriers to federal agents at the scene.

The Justice Department told the senators, however, that the department "has maintained regular contact with the Directorate of Military Support, Department of the Army, since February 28," the day after the occupation started. "On March 2, 1973, 1973," the Justice document says, "representatives of the Department of Defense briefed representatives of Justice and Interior (departments)

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# On Ideological Clarity in the Black Liberation Movement

## INTRODUCTION

Over the past year we have heard many cries for unity inside of the Black Liberation movement. This call reflects both a profound need and a recognition that when we are unified we achieve our greatest victories. However, despite repeated calls for unification, we seem to be more disunited than we have been for years. There is confusion about the goals, strategy and tactics of our movement among both cadres and the masses of Black people. Many cadres have either 'retired' from the movement or have buried themselves in localized 'practical' work. Because of the great fragmentation and confusion of the cadres, the masses have turned toward the day-to-day struggles of survival and occasional spontaneous reaction to the increasing repression of the state. Often the FBI/state misinformation, counter-insurgency and assassination campaign is responsible for the disunity and confusion within the movement. The state has dealt the Black Liberation Movement a serious blow with its vicious anti-Black campaign that included the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., Fred Hampton and George Jackson.

However, we must understand as Amilcar Cabral, slain leader of the successful national liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, is that our own weaknesses have led to the present state of confusion and disunity. He says, "...the struggle against our own weaknesses... (is) the most difficult of all, no matter what difficulties the enemy may create.... We know that the development of phenomenon in movement, whatever its external appearance, depends mainly on its internal characteristics." What we understand is that the FBI/state disruption of the Black Liberation Movement can be better viewed as a campaign designed to exploit weaknesses already present in our movement. A FBI memo on how to set up an informer in the top levels of Panther leadership clearly indicates that the state recognized and were exploiting already known weaknesses and divisions within Panther ranks. As George Jackson states, fascism is successful when it is confronted with a weak revolutionary thrust, or as Lenin would say, failure of revolution is the fault of the revolutionaries.

If we take the hard realistic view that it is our weaknesses which are the primary cause of the present state of disorganization and confusion, it becomes clear that in order to rebuild the movement our first task must be to correct the present and past weaknesses that plague us. Among the most serious of our many faults are the lack of good security within the movement, unsystematic propaganda, lack of organizational cohesion, and lack of concrete connection with the masses.

## THE NEED FOR STRONG IDEOLOGY AND THEORY IN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

All of these faults, critical as they are, are not primarily the result of a lack of practical work. Practical work is at a fairly high but sporadic level in many areas of the country. African Liberation Day organizing, POW organizing, community struggles, newspaper work are some of the many forms that organizing and political work is taking in the Black community. The confusion and the disunity in our movement is not caused by the lack of work (although this statement should not be taken to mean that enough political work is occurring in even one area!) Weakness and confusion result from our work not having a coherent direction. There are no clear lines either among the masses or cadres about what a position is on any given issue. Revolutionaries are not drawing clear lines between themselves and the bourgeois right-wing of the Black nation. In Atlanta, mass organizing against police repression is being carried out through a united front of many organizations. However revolutionaries and their organizations are substantially represented. The demand of the front is that the police chief (Inmann) should be fired. This is the demand of the democratic Black bourgeois Mayor of Atlanta (Jackson). This is not only the demand of the front; it is also the demand of revolutionary groups such as Black Workers' Congress.

The demand to remove an official is by itself a reformist demand, if the racism and oppression of the whole system is

not shown. In such cases it is the duty of revolutionaries to educate around as high a level of demand as consistent with the time and place (eg. demands such as community control, police decentralization, armed self-defense, etc.) Not to push issues such as these is to abandon the leadership of the movement to the bourgeoisie. The end result is that the "revolutionaries" find themselves seriously tailing the masses. As Lenin succinctly puts it, "It is impossible to lead from the rear."

We see a severe ideological weakness in the Black Liberation movement. It is well understood by revolutionaries that practice is primary in the dialectic between knowing and doing. What is not as understood is that without revolutionary theory there cannot be successful revolution. Revolutionary theory is the strong light that must always guide our practical work. Without a clear revolutionary ideology, confusion between revolutionaries and reformists, and revolutionaries and criminals will always be present. Without a clear program the masses will be confused on just what kind of change revolutionaries advocate and what road leads to this change. Without a clear revolutionary ideology, revolutionaries will hinder the mass movement rather than push it forward.

What is revolutionary ideology? Revolutionary ideology is the summation of revolutionary struggle over the past century and a half raised to the level of time and struggle tested scientific principles. Stalin explains further the connection between theory and practice, "Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory." As Cabral sums up, "we would recall that every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it is based on perfectly conceived theory, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory."

To begin the task of strengthening and clarifying the ideology of the Black liberation movement, we must investigate the ideology of various organizations and groups claiming a leadership role in the Black Liberation Movement. In the rest of the paper we will compare different levels of unity and organization needed for different levels of work in our liberation movement. The most basic level of unity that we must determine is what forces are part of the Black Liberation movement. The primary contradiction is between Black people and their oppressors. But the most important contradiction within the movement is between revolutionaries and reformists.

## REFORMISM AND THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

When we talk about Black Liberation we are talking about the complete politi-

cal, economic and social liberation of persons of African descent in the United States. There are basically only two approaches to the liberation of our people. There are those who wish to modify the present governmental system so that it will better the lives of Blacks, and there are those who believe that the entire history of Black people in America has been one of exploitation and oppression, and that the only reason that Blacks even exist is to serve as modern day slaves to fulfil the needs of a small and privileged ruling class.

Under the system of monopoly capitalism, this class controls a few giant corporations that control the whole society's means of production, ie. factories, transportation, communications. Using their stranglehold on the economic resources needed by human society, these capitalists extort the labor of poor and working people - selling people back the products of their own labor for more than it costs to make and distribute them.

American capitalism was built on the genocide of Native Americans and the slavery of Africans. It expanded through the subjugation of resource and labor-rich TW countries. These peoples reacted violently against the crimes of capitalism. Meanwhile, the white working class itself was restless, suffering oppression in the hands of the greedy capitalists. Faced with war on two fronts, the ruling class negotiated with union (as "representatives" of white workers) for higher living standards, re-enforcing white supremacy and patriotism. In order to ensure the loyalty of the white working class, the ruling class must systematically deny Black people equal status in this country.

Revolutionaries believe that only a complete break with this system of exploitation that has been oppressing Black people for four hundred years is the only viable road to freedom. These people believe that only a revolution (a complete break, overturning the order of things) will accomplish the liberation of our people.

Reformists may at times do positive work for Black people. In history reformists have even played revolutionary roles in the Black Liberation struggle. In the early sixties the Civil Rights movement was essentially a reform movement. The fervor of the struggle acted as a spark that ignited the Black working, poor and middle classes. Marches, freedom bus rides, and sit-ins were some of the many tactics used by the movement under Dr. King's slogan of "Direct Action". However, Direct Action brought the protesters in direct confrontation with white racists and a hostile state. Birmingham and Chicago showed what could happen to peaceful protesters. On the one hand, the Black masses, especially the poor and workers, were getting angry at the lack of real progress being made and the violence against the movement. Cries for self-defense and more rapid political and economic gains became common. On the other hand, the state was becoming disenchanted and frightened by the growing militancy of civil rights activists and organizations (ie. SNCC). The word went out, 'back down and slow up or face repression.' The reformist elements had a choice either to go to the next level of change, the struggle for civil rights to one of revolutionary human rights, or to back down and settle for any token reforms dispensed to a few of the Black elite. The reform movement either must die or transform itself. Most of the leadership (petty bourgeois professionals, businessmen etc.), tended to compromise. Others, like Dr. King and much of the masses, continued the struggle on a higher level.

In the seventies, contradictions have risen to an explosive level. The state has unleashed an unprecedented military (police) and economic (unemployment/inflation) attack on Black people. Police murders of Third World people have become commonplace. Dissent and dissenters are singled out for destruction. The economic reform aspect of the civil rights movement was a complete failure for the masses of Blacks. Unemployment (at least 50%) in the cities is higher than it has been since the sixties. The income gap between whites and Blacks is widening even faster. Since 1972 the Black middle class (\$11,000 yearly family income

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for modest but adequate living by govt. figures) has shrunk from 26 to 24%. We are in the middle of an economic recession that many bourgeois economists believe will become a depression. Blacks will suffer even more economic oppression as we did in the Great Depression(1930's). Reform has failed. The state no longer even attempts to pacify us.

Reforms can no longer be considered a viable strategy for the Black Liberation movement. Liberation means the total freedom of our people. Half liberation, token liberation makes as much sense as "second class citizenship". Our history has clearly shown that our complete liberation will mean the end of the system of exploitation that the state is based upon. The state has consequently tried to destroy all serious attempts at freedom by Black people from Dr. King to George Jackson.

The goals of the revolutionary and the reformist are completely different. One attempts to make the system better. The other attempts to destroy it and build a completely different system. As Cabral shows, revolutionaries, "must accept the principle that the liberation struggle is a revolution, and that it does not finish at the moment when the national flag and the national anthem played. We will see that there is not and cannot be national liberation(in our case, our nation corresponds to Africans in the United States) without the use of the liberating violence of the nationalist forces, to answer the criminal violence of the agents of imperialism."

In the short run, in special cases, revolutionaries and reformists should(must) work together because tactically it is in the interest of the total liberation of Black people to temporarily pursue reform programs. But our ultimate goal of complete freedom and breaking with the present system of exploitation must never be forgotten or compromised. Stalin presents a good summary of the relationship between reform and revolution:

"Some think that (we) are opposed to reforms, opposed to compromises and to agreements in general. This is absolutely wrong. (Revolutionaries) know as well as anybody else that in a certain sense 'every little helps', that under certain conditions reforms in general, and compromises and agreements in particular are necessary and useful. Therefore it is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and, but of the use people make of reforms and agreements.

"To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that rule, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution.

To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a by-product of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating that rule, into an instrument for strengthening the revolution, into a strong-point for the further development of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work and to intensify under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

That is the essence of making revolutionary use of reforms and agreements under the conditions of imperialism.

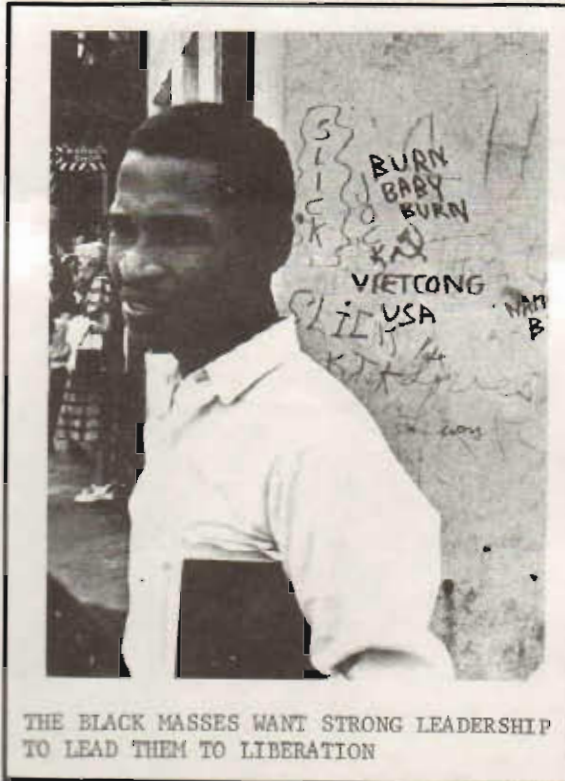
The reformist, on the contrary will accept reforms in order to renounce all illegal work, to thwart the preparation of the masses for the revolution and to rest in the shade of 'bestowed' reforms.

That is the essence of reformist tactics."

#### REFORMIST IN THE MOVEMENT

Presently Black reformers can be divided into two main types. There are those

reformers(ie. SCLC, NAACP, Operation Push) who openly advocate reforming the system. On the other hand there are those who say that they are revolutionaries but whose whole rhetoric and program are reformist. Groups like the SCLC and NAACP show the reactionary side of their nature when officials like Dr. Abernathy accept gifts (\$40,000) from Gulf Oil, the major financier of Portugal's murderous colonial war against southern Africa's freedom fighters. Roy Wilkins(NAACP) similarly betrayed Africans(not for the first time) when he said that the enslaved people of Anzania (South Africa) should not break South African law to gain their freedom!



However, the SCLC demonstrations against the Atlanta police department, do serve the purpose of heightening the contradiction between us and the enemy. The SCLC did support the mass demonstration in North Carolina against the death penalty and psycho-surgery. This type of action cannot but help raise the consciousness of the masses. When we work on short range progressive activities with reformers of this type, we must be principled and freely give recognition to their good work. But we should never cease struggling against their reactionary practices and beliefs with the masses.

The main characteristic of those who call themselves revolutionary but in all other respects are reformers is opportunism(using the movement and masses to further their own individualistic goals). Organizations such as the Communist Party of the USA and the so-called Oakland branch of the old Black Panther Party are examples of this type. While occasionally engaged in work that has some progressive content, their actions are motivated by self-interest and not any concern for the liberation of Black people. When our liberation movement takes a road contrary to their self-interest, they do not hesitate to try and subvert our movement.

The CPUSA's primary interest is furthering the aims of the Government of the Soviet Union whose international policy is detente with imperialism. In Africa(the Congo), Indochina(Cambodia), Portugal(the CP is part of the same government still fighting in Africa), the middle east and countless other places, the Soviet Union that it is not a friend of the African Liberation movement or the liberation movements of the world. This is reflected by their practice in the Black Liberation Movement. They have used deception, lies, misinformation and other tactics in trying to infiltrate the defense movements of both Ruchell Magee and Geronimo(Elmer Pratt). When CP dupe Jarvis Tyner ran for president on the party ticket, he outlined a detailed program for "Black Liberation". His program was one completely of reform. It would not replace but "improve" the present capitalistic economic and political system. The program only offers to improve the conditions of Black prisoners, and does not mention the unfair judicial process that convicted Black and poor people

or the basic laws of this country which are against the interests of the vast majority of people in this country. Revolutionaries must always expose the real intentions of opportunists such as these while at the same time working with them on progressive issues such as the North Carolina POW mass demonstration.

The Oakland Branch is another example of a group which claims that it is revolutionary while practicing reformism in ideology and practice. They have come out in favor of Black capitalism(exchanging white slave masters for ones with Black faces - Haiti is a good example of Black capitalism), called the brutal California prison guards "our class brothers", and have systematically denounced every revolutionary Black action from African Liberation Day to armed self-defense. They have done all these reactionary actions under the slogan of "survival pending revolution", which in reality means no revolution but upper class "survival" for high ranking party members.

Many are afraid to expose these clowns partly because there is still a large degree of emotionalism concerning the Party's exemplary past history of struggle, and many believe that the reforms they are taking are beneficial to the Black community. What many do not understand is that the reforms are being used to legitimize their consistent attack on the Black Liberation movement. Also and most importantly, the crimes of murder, kidnap and torture that were committed against the progressive Black liberation movement under Oakland's orders cannot be ignored. The murders of Robert Webb(dpty. field marshal in NY), turning information over to the FBI, and collaboration in the capture of Geronimo cannot be excused because "they just reacted like street niggers during a fight." Niggers like that must be purged from the Black Liberation movement by whatever means necessary. Countless national liberation struggles from China to the Congo and from Mozambique to Vietnam have denounced criminals like these as "enemies of the People" who must either be reformed or more likely purged.

A large segment of the Black Liberation movement will argue that we should not criticize organizations unless we can provide a concrete organizational alternative. This seems like a valid argument, but unless we understand the weaknesses of past Black progressive and revolutionary organizations, we will make the same mistakes when trying to build the new. It is our view that the reason Black people are not rallying around Black organizations now is because the organizations are not fulfilling the needs of the Black masses. We must build new Black organizations that truly embrace the needs of the people.

#### LEADERSHIP OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

We have defined the Black Liberation Movement as all those who accept that fundamental change(revolution) is necessary for the liberation of Black people. We must what ideological criteria Black revolutionaries must use to determine leadership within our movement. We feel that there are three fundamental criteria for determining what leadership should be. One is that leadership elements of our movement must have a strong line on the independence of our movement. We must take full responsibility for the liberation of our people. This is not a rejection of cooperation with others, but independence is the firm foundation for militant internationalism. The Chinese say that "In wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism."

George Jackson sums up this view, "All efforts to isolate the vanguard community must be resisted. The Black Colony must actively invite other revolutionary people to follow their example, and eventually work out some means to coordinate our operations with theirs at every level. However, we cannot delay our own preparations toward a united Black revolutionary culture. No one will undertake to aid us unless they sense the power of our movement. It is Blacks who must play not only the role of liberating the Black Colony, but



also the leading role in the liberation of the whole city-state. To expect that someone else will take the full responsibility for our own liberation is suicide. We'll be asked to be 'patient' for another 100 to 150 years! We'll get stuck with long theoretical explanations on consciousness or objective conditions when it is clear that consciousness will not grow unless there is someone among us willing to feed it."

One only has to look at the experience of our comrades in the Black Workers' Congress to measure the futility of not maintaining an independent stand. For the past few years this organization has had unfortunate experiences trying to work with two primarily white organizations. After a few years of struggle there was a bitter split between the Revolutionary Union and BWC over the national question inside of the U.S. At that time BWC started working with the Communist League in its attempt to build "a genuinely Marxist-Leninist Communist Party". Recently CL denounced and threw out the BWC from their party building movement. Presently both RU and CL have been attacking the BWC. These white "communist" groups believe that it is impossible to be both nationalist and revolutionary at the same time (it has always amazed us how white racists can completely ignore all the basic lessons of World revolutionary history and Marxism-Leninism in the era of imperialism and its downfall). This episode is one of many from our present and our history showing us the need for independence. We call on the BWC to return to the nationalist movement and engage in ideological struggle with their Black revolutionary comrades!

The second major ideological criteria that must be used in evaluating organizations and individuals is what is their line on the role of revolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence had been key in every successful liberation struggle in the world's history. Chile is a tragic example of what happens when liberation is attempted outside of the context of armed struggle. Many organizations have no program or line on the use of revolutionary violence. This liberalism is criminal. The Black masses are well aware that the system will use savage repression when Blacks move seriously for freedom. The masses demand that any program for liberation present a strong and concrete program of countering the fascists' violence. Without such a program the masses will

developing harmoniously around the axis of armed struggle. Anyone who by now has not grasped these basic facts does not know what liberation struggle is - or is trying to palm off reform for liberation struggle."

The third criteria for leadership of the Black liberation struggle is the class line of organizations and individuals. History has proved to us that class divisions are deep and crucial in the Black nation. All Blacks are not on our side! Niggers sold us into slavery, niggers were overseers on the plantation and tracked down maroons who had escaped from the slave-master. Blacks sold Marcus Garvey down the river and executed the murders of Malcolm, Fred Hampton, Robert Webb and countless others. Also, as Malcolm pointed out long time ago, there has always been "house niggers" who considered themselves better and, for a few crumbs from the master's table, will consciously aid in the economic and political enslavement of their people. This phenomenon is common throughout the oppressed world and is known as neo-colonialism.

But there are still class divisions within the Black liberation movement. In any liberation struggle in which race is a primary characteristic of oppression, many people, professionals and civil servants (the technical term is the petty bourgeoisie), lean towards the liberation movement but are frightened by the oppressor and play a vacillating role. This group is relatively small compared to the masses of poor and working Black people. What we have to realize is that, as Comrade Ho Chi Minh said, "in a revolution of national liberation, it is possible and necessary to form a very wide National Front, united all social strata and classes longing for liberation from the colonial yoke."

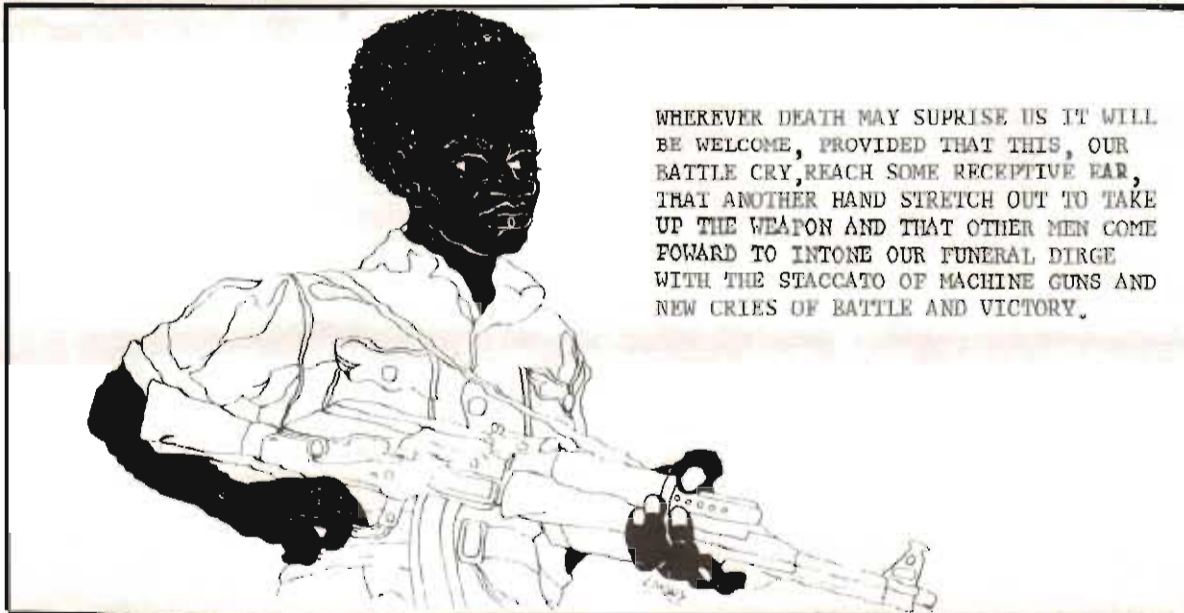
However, the leadership of the Black liberation movement must be firmly ground in the workers and poor of the Black community. There are two basic reasons why we must maintain this clear class distinction. The first is that as a nation of underemployed and fulltime workers under capitalist oppression we suffer working class class as well as national oppression. Consequently our struggle has a strong class aspect which demands liberation as workers and poor people as well as freedom from national (racial) oppression. As we already mentioned there is a very strong neo-colonial (comprador) class that has completely

elites but by the struggles of the people within the context of any historical period. Specifically Black Liberation will not be achieved by a messiah leading us to our freedom or by a small group of "super niggers" who understand everything. Our liberation will come only through the struggle of the masses of Black people for freedom. There is no other road open to us. Chairman Mao sums up the experience of the Chinese and all other successful revolutionary movements when he states that, "the people and the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history... Twentyfour years of experience tell us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably strengthen our ties with the masses, and the wrong task, policy and style of work invariably disagree with the voice of the masses."

#### IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY AND THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The Black Revolutionary Party is the highest organizational form in the Black Liberation Movement. It is the general staff of the revolution - the advanced detachment of the Black masses. What are the tasks of the Revolutionary Party? They are (from the East Coast BPP statement): "The primary objective of the Party is to establish revolutionary political power for Black people. Our Party is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present time the Party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting. Besides fighting to destroy the enemy's oppressive forces, our Party should also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations..." The Chinese view is that, "If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party." Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

The Party must be capable of leading the Front in such vast areas as formulating the correct strategy and tactics of the movement, the development of revolutionary violence, legal and clandestine work, nationalism and internationalism. To successfully accomplish these tasks the Party must have the highest degree of ideological unity and clarity of any body in the Black Liberation movement. The policies of the Party must be based firmly on revolutionary science and the conditions at home. To carry on its monumental tasks, the Party must have iron discipline and unity of will. It must be able to lead the masses and the front through periods of strategic defeat as well as being able to seize the time and lead the revolution forward at the crucial moment. Stalin explains further "the achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat (revolutionary power) is impossible without a party which is strong by reasons of its solidarity and iron discipline. But iron discipline in the Party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete and absolute unity of action of the Party of all members of the Party. This does not mean... that the possibility of conflicts of opinion within the Party is thereby precluded. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presumes criticism and conflict of opinion within the Party. Least of all does it mean that discipline must be 'blind'. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can truly be iron discipline." Chairman Mao sums up, "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." When forming the Black Revolutionary Party, Black revolutionaries must be most critical and discriminating about individuals and organizations and the role they can play in forming the Party.



WHEREVER DEATH MAY SUPRISE US IT WILL BE WELCOME, PROVIDED THAT THIS, OUR BATTLE CRY, REACH SOME RECEPTIVE EAR, THAT ANOTHER HAND STRETCH OUT TO TAKE UP THE WEAPON AND THAT OTHER MEN COME FOWARD TO INTONE OUR FUNERAL DIRGE WITH THE STACCATO OF MACHINE GUNS AND NEW CRIES OF BATTLE AND VICTORY.

label any movement or organization as a bunch of crazies. Liberation is a process that must combine all forms of struggle. Jackson states, "I'm convinced that any serious organization of people must carry with it from the start a potential threat of revolutionary violence. Without it, the establishment forces will succeed in isolating the political organizer and closing down his project before the people can feel its benefits. Self-determination requires a small hidden highly trained army." Martin Sostre, a Puerto Rican POW in NY, eloquently sums up, "However the irrefutable truth is that a liberation struggle is revolutionary war. Revolutionary war is a complicated process of mass struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, legal and clandestine, economic and political, where all forms of struggle are

tied its interests to the white ruling class at the expense of the Black masses. Cabral sums up national struggle against capitalism and neo-colonialism; "The neo-colonial situation, in which the working class and their allies struggle simultaneously against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the native ruling class, is not resolved by (only) a nationalist solution; it demands the destruction of the capitalist structure implanted in the national territory by imperialism and correctly postulates a socialist solution."

There is another reason why we must be clear on the necessity for correct class leadership of the Black Liberation movement. One truth of revolutionary science is that the history of the world is created by the masses of the people. History is not made by individuals or small

THE TASKS OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Black liberation movement is facing monumental ideological and practical tasks. We have dealt briefly with some areas where ideological work must be done. However, "theory divorced from practice is purposeless." Ideological clarity is needed only to further the practical work of the Black Liberation movement. In this concluding section we will state what we see as our movement's practical tasks in the immediate future. We feel that there are four major tasks confronting our movement. They are:

1. Build the Black Revolutionary Party
2. Transform the Black Liberation Movement into a National Liberation Front
3. Support our freedom fighters
4. Coordinate the revolutionary forces within the US

Ideological clarity at all levels is needed to accomplish these tasks. We consider building the Party primary because it will greatly aid in accomplishing the other tasks. However unlike many revolutionaries we feel it suicidal to concentrate only on building the Party. We must not pull out of our practice. If we do, we will lose our connections with the struggle of the masses and lose the key to the revolution. While we are building the Party, we must also continue concrete work around the other three major tasks.

The need for a party is clear. We must never forget that when the Black Panther Party was a functioning communist nationalist party, our struggle reached new heights. The Black Liberation Movement had never been connected as closely with the masses. We must analyze the mistakes of the Party (such as trying to combine the responsibilities of a Marxist-Leninist Party with the form of a mass organization, not building distinct mass organizations etc.) and proceed from them it left off. Implementing this task will facilitate all other tasks.

We already commented on the need to unite the Black Liberation Movement around strategy and the need to connect the movement integrally with the masses. History throughout the Third World shows that revolutionary struggles of national liberation need National Liberation Fronts to successfully involve all the loyal masses in the day-to-day struggle for freedom. Mao states "The revolutionary war is



a war of the masses; it can only be waged by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." The Front is comprised of party organizations, mass organizations (trade unions, women's organizations, revolutionary religious organizations, etc.) and army units. The Front in the time of revolutionary war is the representative of the people and embraces them and is formed of them. Only by transforming our movement into a solid National Front will we be able to successfully involve the masses and learn from them in our struggle for freedom.

While our political cadre are organizing, our military comrades are fighting and dying, winning and losing and attempting to set up the embryo of the People's Army. We must never forget Mao's teaching that, "without a people's army, the people have nothing." In our work we must support

the Black Liberation Army and all other military forces struggling against imperialism, capitalism and racism. We must learn from our warrior comrades and struggle with them around disagreements we may have. At the same time we must educate the masses around the need for revolutionary violence and show that not only is armed struggle the highest form of political struggle but that it is absolutely necessary form of struggle for freedom. No one else will liberate us, and no one else will defend the sisters and brothers that



George Jackson

are fighting for our freedom. If we cannot protect our warriors we certainly cannot protect the Black Liberation.

Our last major task is coordinating Black people's struggle with other people's struggle against US imperialism. Before Black people can be free, US capitalism and imperialism must be destroyed. Modern revolutionary African leaders in North America from Malcolm to George Jackson have commented both on the need to coordinate as many internal revolutionary struggles as possible to defeat the beast, and the interconnectedness of African Liberation struggles around the world and the World Revolution of oppressed people. Black revolutionaries, while basing their stand on independence, must know and understand the situation of all oppressed people in the United States. Read Prairie Fire! (The Weather Underground statement) We can no longer say that there are no whites who over time have not been tested in the flames of armed, mass and ideological struggles. Read the history of the Indian Wars and reflect on the spirit of a people who have fought and still fight against incredible numerical and technological odds. Ours is not the only revolutionary force in the U.S.A. It is to all our benefits to coordinate our struggles as much as possible.

Conclusion

Comrades! Sum up your practice and let it be known to the rest of us. The time has come for us to come together in a spirit of criticism and self criticism so that we can unite those we can for the long protracted struggle ahead of us. This country is falling apart, but we already know that when chaos comes Blacks and the other oppressed people will be the first targets of the wounded beast. We submit these notes for discussion and welcome replies and criticisms. In the future, we hope to present many theoretical articles on the vital questions of our movement. Struggle, unite, organize and struggle some more. Ex-slave Frederick Douglas taught us many years ago that "struggle yields progress". In the meantime, let's take the words of our murdered Field Marshall George Jackson to heart and "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 of live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your life in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the People."

Build the Party! Build the Front!  
Support the Army!  
Clarify Ideology!  
African Staff of Seize the Time

Critical Youth

Young Bloods  
Walking the shadows  
Of  
Dreary existence  
Wondering: What does my Future hold?  
The Living examples  
Of Age-old  
Failures  
-- the collective mistakes/inactivity  
Of predecessors;  
Casting  
Scorn-eyes,  
But watching, none-the-less  
Silent observers  
Of Self-Crucifixion  
Wondering: What does our Future hold?/  
Stumbling,  
over O.D.'d GHETTO-MATES  
Trippin'  
Off of commercials;  
Partyin' at La Martinique,  
the Tunnel, Iron-horse  
# Alexander the Great  
Victims also,  
of Cultural Imperialism;  
Drifting,  
From one fad  
to the next

Wandering,  
while Wondering: What does our Future hold?  
Ignoring the REALITY  
of OUR existence  
-- Our being  
under white-folks'  
ASS;  
Preferring to be "open--  
-- minded"  
We find  
Even marginal existences  
THREATENED  
-- in larger numbers.  
Every year  
(our)  
Youth enlisting  
In BLACK-RESISTANCE  
Knowing full-well  
What OUR Future holds:  
LIBERATION\* INDEPENDENCE\*  
NATIONHOOD and SELF- DETERMIANTION  
-- through persistent, calculated / arduous Struggle  
Wondering. Instead:  
HOW CAN WE SERVE OUR NOBLE PEOPLE\*  
MORE EFFECTIVELY ???

--AMILCAR ZIMBABWE  
cadre: BLACK LIBERATION ARMY

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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\*\*\*\*\*

# Chicano Liberation Front Attacks Police Chief

**SUBJECT:** Murder of Alberto Terrones, by racist Union City Police.  
**ACCUSED:** Chief William Chann, John Miner  
**CHARGE:** Chief William Chann: charge of conspiracy of attempted coverup of the murder of Alberto Terrones to his family and the Chicano community.  
 John Miner: charge of murder  
**SENTENCE:** It is the verdict of La Raza Revolutionary Tribunal that the accused, Chief William Chann, John Miner, be sentenced to revolutionary justice, for the murder and attempted coverup of the murder of Alberto Terrones. It is the view of the tribunal that they, the accused, be sentenced to death by the peoples' forces.

On the night of Tuesday, June 11, 1974, at 9:33 P.M., at Our Lady of the Rosary Parish Hall in Union City, Cal, the Santos Rodriguez Assault Squad of the Chicano Liberation Front, attempted to carry out the death sentence of Chief William Chann. In this process he and four other Chicanos were wounded. This is war and in war there will be innocent people accidentally hurt.

The time has come and gone when Chicanos will passively sit by and watch our brothers and sisters be murdered & brutalized by racist police in the streets. 148 years, year after year, month after month, time in and time out; we remember 12 year old Santos Rodriguez, Luis Martinez, Antonio Cardova, Rita

Carnales, Alberto Terrones, and countless others. Yes we remember & will never forget. We remember the protests & the demands for justice only to be met with injustice-justifiable homicide. When we asked for jobs we are given training programs with no jobs. When we asked for food & housing we are given welfare that dogs couldn't live on. When we asked for happiness we are given dope. When we asked for decent wages and working conditions, we are met with racist excuses & brutality. Ya Basta!

Throughout our history we, as a people, have always made a defiant stand against our adversaries. This period of history will not escape us. Our enemies must learn and understand that throughout the cry of power, we are not going to be as voiceless & humble as they would want us to be-as these poverty pimps this government is used to dealing with.

Albert Terrones was a brother, a son, a father or an uncle to every one of us. He was and is one of La Raza.

"A death to one is a death to all, so if we die then let us kill."



Union City is in the SF Bay Area of California.. It used to be a farming community, heavily populated by Mexican, Chicano and Latino farmworkers. But since WWII this area has seen a huge population/industrial explosion. La Raza suddenly found themselves surrounded by thousands of new tract-home dwellers-whites who were fleeing the Blacks of Oakland.

On April 15 this year, Mrs. Angelo, a white woman living in Union City, reported to police that a Mexican male burglar entered her home. Her four year old daughter was killed, and her three year old son critically wounded; she claimed that she was raped.

Union City police put out a flyer calling the suspect a "male Mex". The police, city officials and newspapers launched an all out campaign to "bring this brutal murderer to justice."

On April 19, Alberto Terrones Jr. (30) was shot and killed by officer John Miner. Miner suspected Terrones of shoplifting and claims that he lunged at him with a knife when Miner approached him. Besides, Terrones fit the killer's description-a male Mex. Officer's Miner's version was upheld by the District Attorney.

Tensions between the Chicano community exploded. Since Terrones' murder, there have been repeated outbreaks of looting, arson and a rebellion on April 30. On July 12 police chief William Cann called a "public relations" meeting to tell Chicanos "it wasn't so bad, that there was still enough time to reform the system." The meeting was interrupted by gunfire. The police chief was hit several times in the neck and throat. He is now in critical condition, in a coma ever since the attack.

A communique was received the next week by the press. It was from the "Santos Rodriguez Assault Squad of the Chicano Liberation Front". Santos Rodriguez was the 11 year old Chicano child murdered by Dallas police officer Cain. There was some confusion about the communique since the bourgeois press claimed to receive another communique from the CLF disowning the action. However this communique was never released to the public.

After all this, the white woman who reported the "Male Mex" killer went back to police and told police there was no such person. She had killed her own daughter and tried to also kill her son. Mrs. Angelo made up the burglar to cover her own crimes.



gan, stated, "Mr. Gallagher from the Bureau (FBI) advises that the Attorney General (Kleindinst) wants all individuals prosecuted. There is to be no amnesty or bonds set. Identify all news media that are on the scene so that they can testify later as to what they saw. Prosecute everyone of any crimes possible."



Spray-painted slogans on a building at 9th and H streets in Union City



SANTOS RODRIGUEZ  
Handcuffed boy slain

(cont. from previous pg.) concerning certain military contingencies."

Among the papers were, a note written by an Army Colonel, and a letter from President Nixon to Harrington Wood Jr., then an assistant attorney general and temporarily, the chief federal negotiator at Pine Ridge.

Nixon's letter advises Wood that members of the president's staff had told him of the work done by the federal team in achieving a settlement. The one from the Army officer to Wood suggests that Wood seek a public announcement from Nixon granting authority to either take the village by force, or to withdraw federal forces and let AIM and the Oglalas battle it out with the tribal council.

Top-level federal sources have said that one White House option discussed repeatedly at high levels during the occupation was 'use of massive force', meaning federal troops. An "option paper" was developed on this possibility, including the dollar costs of the operation, the methods to be used by the military, and the estimate of how many Indians and how many soldiers would be killed.

The military option paper was prepared at the direction of Kenneth Cole, director of the White House

Domestic Council.

Other agencies involved in the military option discussions were Justice Department officials, key officials from the Pentagon, the White House's man in the Interior Department, and Marvin Franklin, Indian Affairs assistant to the Secretary of the Interior.

The defense contends that since two of the charges refer to "a civil disorder," use of the military would be legal only under a presidential directive. (Ed. Note: Recently the defense has subpoenaed all the White House tapes concerning the Wounded Knee occupation.)

There is also the question about the use of federal marshals. The defense contends that they had to be invited by the leaders of the Oglala Sioux tribe-if not then the marshals were not there legally, and charges that involve marshals should be dismissed. The Justice Department contends that the request was made by the tribal council of the Interior Department to provide law enforcement assistance, and the marshals were chosen to go. But now it contends that the marshals did not need an official tribal request to enter the reservation.

One FBI memo, dated March 1st, three days after the occupation be-

## Message from the Weather Underground



ON MAY 31, 1974, WE ATTACKED THE OFFICE OF CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY GENERAL EVELLE J. YOUNGER IN LOS ANGELES.

EVERY WEAPON OF TERROR FROM THE LYNCH ROPE TO NAPALM HAS BEEN USED TO TRY TO CRUSH THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE. YET THE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE GROWS AND WILL NOT BE DEFEATED.

To our sisters and brothers in the Symbionese Liberation Army:

We want to express the grief and rage we share with you and all freedom-loving people at the deaths of Cinque, Fahizah, Mizmoon, Angela, Willy, Camilla, murdered by the pigs before our eyes. They are revolutionary comrades and heroes of whom we are proud. Their courageous lives inspire us, their deaths intensify our will to resist. This attack is for you and for all frontline fighters.

For Ruchell Cinque Magee:

Ruchell is the survivor of the heroic slave rebellion of August 7, 1970. He has one of the most brilliant legal minds in the country. Because of his revolutionary clarity, he is gagged and chained each time he tries to speak in his own defense. He thunders the irrefutable truth of the right of the slave to rebel against illegal bondage. His example has been a beacon of resistance. This attack is for Ruchell Cinque Magee and all political prisoners of war. Tonight we attacked the office of Evelle J. Younger, Attorney General of the State of California, and key strategist for the policies and programs of the state repressive apparatus. We do this on the occasion of the most recent act of terrorism unleashed by the government against six freedom-fighters from the Symbionese Liberation Army. The California police and prison system is among the most brutal in the country, a model for pigs everywhere. Evelle J. Younger bears direct responsibility for its crimes.

### INDICTMENT

1. Younger is an architect of the policies of brutal police occupation of the ghettos and barrios.

---Under Younger, as Los Angeles District Attorney, the police rioted against the Chicano Moratorium on August 30, 1970. Reuben Salazar was murdered while drinking

coffee at the Silver Dollar Cafe by police using weaponry outlawed by the Geneva Code. No prosecution of the police-murder followed.

On September 6, 1970, we attacked Younger's office on the sixth floor of the Hall of Justice in retaliation for this wanton murder.

---Younger's policies result in regular police murders of unarmed Blacks and Chicanos. Younger bears direct responsibility for these deaths.

2. Younger is a conspirator with the Federal Government in committing murder and denying human rights.

---In the late 60's the Federal Govern-



WEATHERMEN BOMB N.Y. POLICE STATION JUNE 1970

ment and police carried out a conspiracy to attack and attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party. Over 20 Black Panther Party members were killed by police around the country in this period. In Los Angeles on December 8, 1969, under District Attorney Younger, 300 pigs surrounded the Black Panther Party office and initiated a shootout that lasted 4½ hours.

---Younger bears responsibility, along with U.S. Attorney General Saxbe, the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department, for the savage attack on the SLA. Younger

consistently criticized law enforcement agencies for being too timid in the hunt for the SLA; he introduced special legislation to prohibit distribution of expropriated food to the people. The system cannot tolerate the practical humanity of actually securing food for the people.

3. Younger heads the operation of rail-roading people to the state's concentration camps (prisons) and is thereby guilty of wholesale kidnapping and enslavement. ---The California prison system is the largest in the country. The U.S. has more prisons than all other countries combined, and hold over 2/3 million people behind bars. Those sent off to California concentration camps are more than half Third World people and virtually all poor people. Incarceration and the resulting physical and mental torture are based on race and class. Younger, first for L.A. and now state-wide, heads the operation; He is Reagan's right-hand man and an activist for the re-establishment of the death penalty.

---Evelle J. Younger is the main buzzard behind the illegal enslavement of Ruchell Cinque Magee. As Los Angeles D.A., Younger forced a phoney guilty plea against Ruchell's will in the May 1965 trial--a procedure that Younger has used in collusion with public defenders against the vast majority of Third World and poor defendants. Further, Younger suppressed the records of the illegal 1963 and 1965 trials of Magee. Younger is still on Ruchell's case today.

The viciousness of the pigs' tactics reflects the depths of their fears of the emerging people's power. People must intensify the attack against enemies such as Attorney General Younger. The spirit of resistance grows, from the people, through the front-line fighters, to the depths of the concentration camps. "I am Ruchell Cinque Magee, the one who refused to die in the August 7, 1970 rebellion, and one who will keep on refusing to die until I have exposed the truth of...this corrupt Amerikan judicial system."

FREE RUCHELL - FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS OF WAR

AVENGE THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

YOU CAN KILL A REVOLUTIONARY, BUT THE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE IS INDESTRUCTABLE

For The Symbionese Liberation Army

They call it terror

if you are few  
and have no B-52's  
if you are not a head of state  
with an army and police  
if you have neither napalm  
nor tanks  
nor electronic battlefields  
terror is if you are dispossessed  
and have only your own two hands  
and each other  
and your rage  
It is not terror  
if you are New York's Finest  
and you shoot a 10-year-old black child  
in the back  
because you think black people  
all look like they've just committed a robbery

It is not terror if you are ITT  
and you buy the men  
who line Chilean doctors up in their hospital corridors  
and shoot them for supporting the late democratic government of their country  
It is not terror but heroism  
if you were captured by the Vietnamese  
for dropping fragmentation bombs  
on their schools and hospitals  
Only those who have nothing  
can be terrorists

Brothers and sisters, let us choose  
our weapons carefully and humanely  
let us use no torture  
or napalm  
or genocide  
but do not be fooled  
there is no weapon they will allow  
nothing that works will be called legitimate

unless we fight for it  
unless we educate ourselves and others  
unless we separate resistance from oppression

The same editorials that scream terrorism  
screamed mob rule  
at the civil rights marches of the early sixties  
at the anti-war demonstrations  
thousands of busted heads later  
they say, of course  
we always upheld the right of peaceful protest

The attitudes they offer up in print  
with little tabs, cut them out and wear them  
written by men who have not  
seen a jail cell from the inside  
or hunger  
or the face of a duly constituted officer  
of the law as he says  
make one move and you'll be dead  
they say, we cannot condone violence  
but watch out  
for whether they say it  
about murdering prisoners at Attica  
or about kidnapping Patricia Hearst  
about the disinherited  
or about the inheritors

As we find our way slowly  
to use the means available to us  
as wisely as we can  
there will be mistakes  
but do not let  
the enemy define the mistakes  
because he is experienced  
and has ten thousand printing presses at his back  
behind which he hides the tanks and guns  
and he will say, the people don't support you

and saying it can make it so  
if we agree  
he will say, you only turn off  
those you say you are fighting for  
he is helpful  
no anti-war march  
no sit-in  
no teach-in  
but had its helpful editor to say  
how much more we could accomplish by doing less  
or preferably nothing  
while the people of Vietnam  
patiently explained their cause to the world  
but did not stop shooting down the bombers  
for fear of alienating someone  
Watch out  
for what they turn into news  
and what they quietly forget  
What if all the headlines  
and stories about Solzhenitsyn  
had said instead  
Millions of humans  
held in semi-slavery  
deprived of every human and legal right  
families forcibly torn apart  
strikes broken by mass murder  
hundreds of thousands imprisoned without trial  
in Southern Africa?  
(Is it because of their impartial humanity  
that they fear  
the cry of the Russian camps of '47  
but are deaf to the roar of the African  
prisons of '74?)  
Or, 25,000 U.S. troops remain in Thailand  
the war in Southeast Asia  
isn't over but continues  
directed as before by U.S. officials  
and U.S. money

Cont. on 9

# BREAK DE CHAINS

## ON SUPPORTING POLITICAL PRISONERS

We'd like to offer a few comments about supporting political prisoners. The most basic of these is obvious to most people: The dialectical relationship between repression and resistance means that any revolutionary movement is going to produce political prisoners.

In many ways, support of political prisoners is a form of self-defense, for every time the state arrests someone, frames someone, sentences someone, it is, in fact attacking the revolutionary movement. No movement can develop if it does not figure out ways to defend its activists. Our leaders and our cadre have to be able to survive and remain free and active over the years, to have that time to grow and mature with experience. The list of fallen leaders - from Malcolm X to Fred Hampton to George Jackson - is devastating when we think of what their insight and energies could be producing now.

When we fail to develop support for political prisoners we allow the state to achieve its objectives of:

- 1) Isolating People (those who are busted, and
- 2) Intimidating others (those who are aware of the oppression/repression, but who don't see any evidence of resistance to it).

Political repression is just another form of divide and conquer. In order to deal with those divisions, activists have a responsibility to build links with people facing trials or in prison. This is especially true when we consider that one of the most advanced movements in this country exists right inside the prison walls. We also have to fight the fearful rationalization that "the cases is too hot to go near", the excuse that some groups use to avoid supporting different political prisoners. We must recognize that it is precisely those individuals and groups

CONT FROM PAGE 8

U.S. advisors who changed their uniforms into civilian clothes and call it by another name  
or worse, do not call it anything at all but hope the world will forget and let them carry on their dirty business undisturbed  
while solemn conferences are held on what to do  
about the "international terrorism" of the Palestinians  
who disrupt the peaceful prosperity of tourism  
with annoying reminders  
that their homeland has been stolen from them  
and they have been left with nothing but their courage and the justness of their cause  
with which to win it back  
poor enough weapons  
we can help to supply some others  
by shouting and whispering on every corner  
the story of their struggle  
of a people utterly deprived of its homeland  
which the world has tried so hard to forget  
Sisters and brothers, think hard before  
you jump  
onto the bandwagon  
of condemning terrorism  
remember who is making the definitions  
remember not to strengthen the hand  
that will turn in an instant  
against every means of resistance to oppression  
That bandwagon rolls straight toward  
fascism  
do not forget the real terrorists  
that lurk behind the masks of heads of  
state  
do not be afraid to hold strong  
together  
with all who dare to struggle

A SISTER IN THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

who are most controversial, most militant, most advanced, who will be subject to the most severe repression. Part of the reason why a case may seem "too hot" is the simple fact that little support has yet been raised. But to wait until there is some massive outcry is to miss the basic truism that some organizing has to be done before there can be such an outcry.

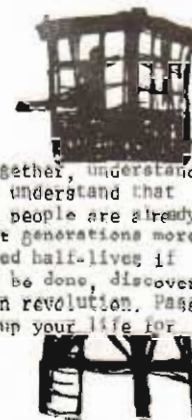
On a more practical level, the following points seem more important in developing support for political prisoners. First, as political people involved in the ongoing work of different organizations or collectives, activists must incorporate support for political prisoners in their mass work. Most significant about accepting this point is that it means that it means that organizations must put aside their sectarian differences and understand that, as a lowest common denominator of political unity, revolutionaries should and must be defended against the state. Political differences over strategies and tactics must be non-antagonistic when we are down to that basic level of a revolutionary spending his or her life behind bars. Mass organizing around political prisoners can always be done at least at the level of attempting to develop an anti-repression, anti-fascist, pro-resistance consciousness.

A more active form of support is going to court. The history of political trials in the past ten years makes clear the impact of public support on juries. Furthermore, going to court is an educational experience, not only about the corrupt legal system, but about repression in general. This was the most dramatically illustrated in the trial of Ruchell Magee, where searches used to intimidate spectators from attending went so far as to include internal examinations for women. Going to court under such circumstances becomes a militant act, a demonstration to the pigs that one is not going to be frightened away, and a demonstration to the jury that the heavy security does not, in fact, reflect the dangerousness of the defendants, but rather the repressiveness of the state.

Some suggestions about going to court: Spectators at almost all political trials nowadays will be searched before entering the courtroom, therefore, people should not carry things to court that they might get hassled over (like pocket knives or slugs). People should try, whenever possible to go to court with a friend. People should also expect that the state will



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.



do everything it can to frustrate you, by postponing the start of the session, arbitrarily barring spectators for periods, and even cancelling the day's proceedings unexpectedly. Be prepared to be persistent and patient when going to court.

As a final suggestion about supporting political prisoners, we believe that it is an effective strategy for activists on the outside to develop relationships with political prisoners, to take responsibility for building links to the outside for those prisoners. This does not mean to act as a pen-pal; political prisoners are revolutionaries. Therefore developing a relationship with someone on the inside involves a political responsibility. Moreover, it is also a fine opportunity to learn from these comrades and engage in political dialogue. Prisoners need political literature and books, money for commissary, legal liaison and/or assistance, and other types of support. If each activist or small collective on the outside would take responsibility for developing such relationship, some very strong links are made to strengthen the struggle.

National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners  
P.O. Box 1184 OR P.O. Box 524  
Harlem, N.Y. Norfolk, Va. 23501



TRIAL NEWS

TRACY, CALIFORNIA - At the Dual Vocational Center (DVI), two Black prisoners are charged with the murder of a guard. Allen and Graham are facing the death penalty even though the alleged murder took place before the January 1st enactment of the California death penalty. The guard was murdered 1 Nov. 23, 1973.

Both men are vocal organizers. The prison officials for the state used this incident to justify imposing lockdowns at San Quentin, Folsom, the DVI and Chino.

Oregon-Black and Brown inmates at San Quentin have been asking about the well-being of white inmate Steve Kessler. Steve is presently imprisoned in Oregon. He was originally sent to prison from Oregon, but he has been shipped to different prisons around the country. He has been in both the Atlanta Federal Prison and San Quentin. No prison wants him because he is considered a very effective inter-racial organizer who can break down the racism of white inmates. Consequently he has been respected by Third World inmates in every prison he has been in. In Atlanta he was able to found a successful inter-racial organization. Consequently he has been marked for death by prison authorities. He is now fighting extradition proceedings to the Atlanta prison. He and another inmate have been charged with the murder of a prison guard in Atlanta six years ago. The first indictment had no dates or other information. They refilled the indictment with the stipulation that the death penalty is applicable. In an interview in July, Steve completely denied any knowledge of the crime and described how the authorities want him dead one way or the other. Letters addressed to Governor McCall of Oregon protesting extradition.

New York City-In the week of July 14, Robert Hayes alleged Black Liberation Army member was sentenced to 35-life for the alleged member of transit cop.

# NCDPP Report to the Sixth Pan-African Congress: On

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS STATEMENT ON AFRICAN PRISONERS OF WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS IN PREPARATION FOR THE SIXTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

When African People who are politically active in the struggle for African liberation in north amerikkka, are captured and imprisoned, there is a need to support them. In all areas of the world, including Africa, the governments of the people in whose behalf the imprisoned activists have struggled, are usually in support by Political Prisoners Defense Committees and community organizations.

Just as the imprisoned activists of the Palestinian Resistance government, being citizens of a displaced nation received support from all Arab governments regardless of ideologies, we urge that imprisoned activists of the African Liberation Struggle in north amerikkka, being displaced citizens of many African nations, be physically supported by all African governments.

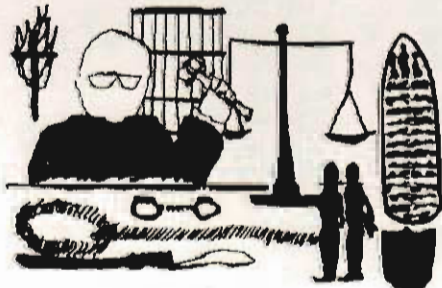
African captivity in the late 15th century was due to the direct military action of the european imperialists who formed village raiding parties and systematically kidnapped, ripping Africans off wholesale from their motherland to slave ships. A conservative estimate of 140,000,000 is commonly acknowledged. This captivity of Africans by the european was sometimes in complete conjunction with African rulers and tribal leaders.

Clearly, the creation of the Displaced Nation of Africans in north amerikkka would have been considerably harder for the european, if not for collaboration and aid from our Moisha Tghombe like ex-brothers. The present African population on the "north amerikkkan" continent are the offspring of those African prisoners of war who were subject as slaves.

We believe that the enslavement of Africans in amerikkka still continues for some of these following reasons:

1. (Taken from the Anti-Repression Program of the Republic of New Africa) - Citizenship of Blacks in Amerikkka

The assertion that Blacks in amerikkka, descendants of slaves, are u.s. citizens as the result of the Fourteenth Amendment or the rule of Jus Soli cannot stand where such slave descendants challenge and reject u.s. citizenship after informed consideration. The rule of Jus Soli cannot operate, without the consent of the ex-slave (or his descendant), because the slave was brought to amerikkka and held here against his will and consent and denied knowledge of his history and rights under international law. The "grant" of citizenship in the Fourteenth Amendment (it must be considered an offer not a grant) fails because it was essentially a unilateral action of the white amerikkkan community without adequate reference (a Plebiscite) to the informed desires of those persons whom the grant/offer was intended to reach.



Importantly, the u.s. congress has not been without power to create conditions for an informed expression of choice by the ex-slave or his descendants. And the congress still has this power. The Fourteenth Amendment - the very article of the united states constitution which makes the offer of citizenship - also includes the specific provision that: this is the only legitimate way to "enforce" the provision of this amendment which offers citizenship.

2. The Thirteenth Amendment (also arbitrarily ratified without the participation of African People) is supposed to abolish slavery in amerikkka while simultaneously permitting slavery in amerikkkan prisons.

Slavery is and has always been the basis of the financial growth of the united states. Industry first appeared in the north where factories obtained their raw materials from the southern slave states. Slave labor made this arrangement very much profitable to the south. With the huge importation of African slaves to serve as beasts of burden, ie. cotton niggers and sugar mules, more and more goods were produced by the south, and they began to export goods outside the united states to england and france. These countries paid higher prices for goods than did the northern states. All these economic factors led to the conflict known as the civil war. With the help of slaves, the tide of the war turned plainly in favor of the south. It became clear to the north that the only way it could obtain victory was through enlisting these same slaves to the battlefield. A shrewd political maneuver took place when Lincoln issued the emancipation proclamation which had no bearing whatsoever on northern states and freed slaves in southern held states: states that the north had no jurisdiction over. This was the final turning point of the war and with slaves fighting for their freedom, the north soon emerged victorious.

The north had committed itself to freeing the slaves but they could not bring themselves to unconditionally condemn slavery in total, because slavery had built both amerikkka and their fortunes. At the same time they could not allow slavery in private hands, as had been practiced in the past. Article 13: Sec. 1 of the thirteenth amendment was written; "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the united states or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Sec. 2 - Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." In effect it "nationalized slavery", for only a government agency could lawfully enforce involuntary servitude. Realizing this important point is realizing the basic premise of the penitentiary system today. SLAVERY.

A modern slave system has built roads and railroads throughout this country. Industries in prisons make uniforms, clothing, shoes, furniture and fixtures of all sorts. There are large farms cared for totally by convicts. There is not a major forest fire in california that convicts do not fight, at the risk of their lives. New drugs and vaccines are tested on convicts and the countless victims rarely make it outside the walls; slaves are expendable. Convict labor, slave labor has been a major work force in amerikkka; it must be emphatically noted that private companies put their labels on goods produced by convicts and then sell them to the public.

Slavery has been brought to public attention by a long line of brave and courageous warriors, from Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, to George Jackson, Ruchell Magee, Martin Sostre and countless others. Events at atikkka (new york, u.s.a.) have shown the world how cruel and inhumane the overseers are and throughout the country, and in fact the World's People are struggling to alleviate these intolerable conditions by whatever means that will be successful. In the 35 year history of the u.s. federal prison system, they have grossed in excess of 895 million dollars in profits from their multi-million dollar slave industries of exploitation, oppression and genocide. In 1970, the state of Michigan accrued \$14 million in profits from penal slave plantations.

As a result, 75%-85% of the approx. 2 million men and women presently incarcerated at these slave plantations are Black; and Third World as you reach the 95% bracket.

1. We submit that we are an African People, born in captivity on a land mass in the western hemisphere, brought to amerikkka in chains to serve as chattel slaves by the white capitalist ruling class of that era. And that our present condition of total dependence in this class and it's lackies, are a result of our exclusion from sharing equitably in land ownership, ie. stifling our right to self-determination through exclusion of ownership/control of the means of production, thus resulting in a state of political powerlessness, cultural and sociological paralysis.

2. Defacto segregation of housing patterns, corralling us in ghettos, totally colonized and policed by the government's repressive political military.

3. Defacto segregation of African People in the public educational system limits their access to acquire the skills to rise above the bottom of the economic strata in the u.s.



Jonathan Jackson, Aug. 7 at Marin Courthouse - African freedom fighters fight in North America too.

4. Defacto segregation of African People in the area of employment creates a situation whereby Africans in the u.s. are either under-employed or unemployed. The unemployed African is often forced to work for wages below that needed to provide for himself and family.

5. The present state of war in amerikkka is supported by:

(a) Attacks and murder upon the lives of Africans in amerikkka continues to the present day.

(b) Statements by high ranking police and intelligence officials to the effect that guerrilla warfare is taking place on the streets of major cities in the u.s.a. - the attorney general of the u.s., Saxbe recently released some confidential documents of the federal bureau of investigation that outlined the search and destroy campaign that was launched in years from 1960-71 against the African Liberation organizations and activists in amerikkka regardless of the fact of whether the politics were radical or liberal.

The assassination of Zayd Malik Shakur, Kimu Olugbala (Anthony White), Ali Changa Olugbala (Woodie Green) and Kakuyan Olugbala (Twymon Myers) in 1973 for the sole reason that they were members of the Black Liberation Army and subsequently issuing of Shoot to Kill warrants for other alleged members of the Black Liberation Army.

Taken from "Malcolm X Speaks" -- An Appeal to African Heads of State, 1964:

"Our problems are your problems. We have lived for over 300 years in that amerikkkan den of racist wolves in constant fear of losing life and limbs. Recently, three youths from Kenya were mistaken for amerikkkan negroes and were brutally beaten by new york police. Shortly after that, two diplomats from Uganda were also beaten by the new york police,

# African POW's and Political Prisoners in America ★★★

who mistook them for amerikkans. Imagine the physical and psychological suffering received by your Brothers and Sisters who have lived there for over 300 years. Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your national dress at all times, when you visit amerikkka, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological humiliation and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

Your problem will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as full human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

Our problem is your problem. It is not a negro problem, nor an amerikkkan problem. This is a world problem, a problem, a problem for humanity. It is not a problem of civil rights, but a problem of human rights."

"A cross section of the Harlem community has been working for some time on the formation of an organization that would transcend all superficial, man-made divisions between the Afro-American People of this country who are working for human rights, and that would in no way compete with already existing successful organizations. I have been requested, and indeed it is my pleasure, to announce the existence of the Organization of Afro-American Unity(OAAU), patterned after the letter and the Spirit of the Organization of African Unity(OAU).

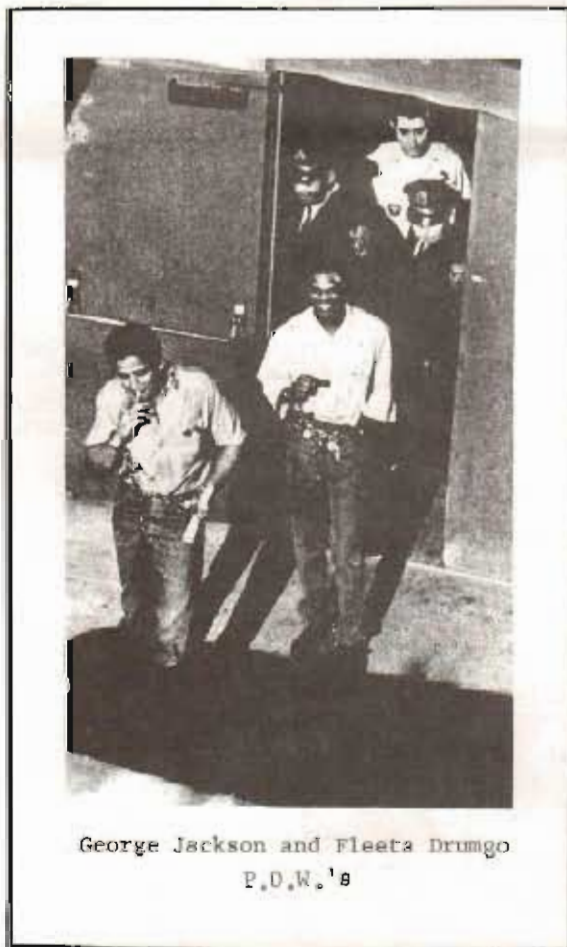
Its purpose is to unite Afro-Americans and their organizations around a non-religious and non-sectarian constructive purpose for human rights".

In the spirit of and in view of the above stated evidence on the status of African Prisoners of War in north amerikkka, we remind all sovereign governments that they have a duty to uphold all the points of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which include:

Article 4 - No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.

Article 5 - No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 9 - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.



George Jackson and Fleeta Drumgo  
P.O.W.'s

Article 10- Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

Article 11-Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charges against him.

Article 14-Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

Article 15-Everyone has a right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality, nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 21-The will of the People shall be the basis of the authority of governments; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

In the past(George Jackson petition on u.s. genocide to the Human Rights Commission to the United Nations, 1972), with African representatives at the U.N., we were at one time told that there could be no involvement with the support of Prisoners of War in the u.s., because it was a domestic problem. Lately we've been told that the reason for their non-involvement is the economic ties the respective countries have with the u.s.a.

If African governments accept the diplomatic rationale that the African P.O.W.'s in north amerikkka are domestic affairs of the united states of amerikkka, then, the same rule should apply...to the other u.s.a., union of south afrikka.

The white government of south afrikka's diplomatic position is that the 14 million Africans in south afrikka are exclusively the domestic affairs of the union of south afrikka.(u.s.a.)

The system of penal enslavement in the united states of amerikkka have become the new system for the housing and maintenance of slaves.

(Approximately 2 million African Political Prisoners). The courtrooms with their systematic discriminating policies of injustice against African People have become the 20th century auction block and the modern day slave raids are the police cars which ride into our communities(colonies), "arresting"(capturing) African Black males and females on a quota basis. (According to the capitalist prison complex). 90% of all urban Black males will be "arrested" at least once during their lifetimes.

### What Can Be Done

1. Political asylum to imprisoned African freedom fighters. (Stipulating that whatever Africans are geographically situated in the world outside of the mother country, the condition is the result of the kidnapping(act of war) of our People by the european/amerikkkan slave trade. And wherever we're situated, we're confronted with the life and death struggle against amerikkkan and european imperialism, colonialism, racism and fascism. Therefore, individuals granted this asylum have a duty to contribute to the struggle of the particular country granting asylum.
2. Work release program for skilled and unskilled prisoners.
3. Dual citizenship for all Displaced African People.
4. Ad hoc committee of African government officials and local community organizations to visit and review prison conditions.
5. Governmental support of All African P.O.W. Day.
6. Exchange of information on plight of P.O.W.'s on the continent(Africa).

7. Government pressure to stop "behavior control" experiments on imprisoned African Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

"No one knows the master better than his servant. We have been servants in amerikkka for over 300 years. We have a thorough inside knowledge of this man who calls himself "uncle sam". Therefore, you must heed our warning: Don't escape from european colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, "friendly" amerikkkan dollarism".

Malcolm X, Chairman



Malcolm X

"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer. In this respect it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labour."

LENIN

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# FROM RUCHELL CINQUE MAGEE

Recorded Statement Transcript - July 1974

First, let me extend greetings to all sisters and brothers in the people's movement, in particular, the SLA, the Black Liberation Army. It is you who have been blessed with light of truth in the fight for freedom. If I was out there, I couldn't help but come down to the rally to support. I would say, those of you in action, unrelenting struggle against injustice and oppression, keep growing. We can't cut off or let the fool pigs cut off the life of what we know is best for us, freedom. Recent Los Angeles events spell the death which we know and continue to live with, but it was no profit for the pig. It adds more clear light for the people to see the coward nasty dogs masquerading as law officers. Six people fighting six hundred snakes with courage, and the insane cowards can't seem to comprehend where it came from. The courage, pig tries to call crazy. The only crazy people are those who submit to the evils of the American judicial system, clique of nasty dogs, the Evelle J. Younger, so-called California Attorney-General. Let me elaborate here on this Younger character. A few people seem to understand, these peoples in these courts and in this judicial system in particular are sadists, verbal sadists, tricksters, liars, dirty thieves, liars and murderers. Their intention is not for justice of the peoples, as they claim. This is what they come in disguise of, to strip a people of everything. When I say, strip, I mean rob, murder, exploit, intimidate, harass, persecute, everything to destroy the mind and the body. They seek to just take a peoples and make them a complete vegetable. They seek to do what they cannot do. They're always looking for something to do they cannot do, because they can't find nothing else to do but go to outer space and things.

This Younger is the same guy that railroaded me in 1965, and prior to that railroaded many others off into the prisons under his law and order thing, with another clique just like himself. They see a poor person, particularly black, as a dollar bill, profit to make off them. They see the minds of, particularly the Black people, as something foolish, peoples are stupid or something, supposed to believe anything they said, do anything they say, even if it means death, die for them, when they're already killing you too. You know, just push you as far up in a corner as they can get you and at the same time try to make you break through the corner. You cannot expect this kind creature to ever provide a people with truth of himself or his clique. You can expect them to lie and deceive and mislead, have a people hating themselves, mothers hating sons and daughters, husbands hating wife, kids, and so forth. This is the nature of him. He's what you call a dollar-drunk creature. You hear him on the radio speaking about Black Liberation Army is not this and its not that and it's criminal and all this, the man is talking about himself in somebody else's name. He knows the words to talk about himself because he's the one that dispenses what he's talking about, he's the one that committed the acts. I was listening on radio once and observing TV and the first thing I see is Evelle J. Younger criticizing peoples who he oppressed, Black Liberation Army, accusing them of criminals, peoples who are fighting for justice, freedom of the peoples, being labeled as crazy, and all this type of stuff. This is something that Younger has been doing all his life, and it's new to him now that a people are standing up fighting back. It's now for him for a Black person to stand up and tell him he's a damn liar in his face and at the same time kick him off in his ass. This is new to him, it's new to all fools like him. So you can expect him to come down with all types of lies and deceptions and trickery, but this is not to discourage you. You must continue to struggle, and when I

say you, I'm speaking to the brothers and sisters that are aware, don't let nothing stand in the way of that duty which you have to perform. That duty is to continue to enlarge the struggle. Enlarge it means to get out, spread information, truth, into the communities, awaken the peoples. You have to show also the peoples how to see the difference in the real and unreal, and how do you do that?

You first get the facts, get the facts, take it into the communities. Then allow the people to go see for themselves. Impress upon them to go see for themselves, not just accept your word and particularly the words over the radio or the words in the newspapers, that which have been controlling their minds for years and years, keeping them submissive slaves. Some people don't even understand what slavery is, they don't know what it is, they can't see that their everyday life is slavery, they have been a slave so long. Vietnam, anything you look at, the so-called jobs have, say for example, the fruitworkers, the industrial workers, jobs of all the working peoples. Who are they working for? Who profits from it? And when they do profit, what do they become? They've been taught to become what, when they get what you call a headstart. The big man, the big man is the pig, ain't giving up nothing, taking everything. This is what capitalism, imperialism, it's designed to bleed a peoples to death.

However, one aware can tell when they are effective, especially in struggle against this capitalistic system. You tell by his trickery moves whether it goes into this thing about providing the people with a law to protect them. You see, the struggling people have brought great, great attention to the peoples directing this phoney judicial system. But the Youngers insist upon trying to continue to blindfold the peoples with more of what he calls justice. When you hear him speaking of proposition so forth and so on, or law so and so, to say for example prohibit corruption by judicial officers or law officers, this is but another promise and a blindfold device, psychological. It works on short-sighted peoples, but not the aware. This is where the aware is branded as crazy. The Youngers must label all aware people as crazy or criminals in order to allow himself to continue to manipulate in our communities.

Now let's go to a way of bringing out the facts on Younger. I've seen some people just go into the court. This is not education to a peoples; this is more blindness than anything, because the lawyer and the judges, the prosecutor, and sometimes the jury are shamming and be putting forth a game of deception on the peoples that it's completely incomprehended. You cannot tell sometimes what the



clowns are talking about, because you have the lawyer leading the prosecutor and the prosecutor is rebutting himself, in other words he done prepared overnight just how he want the lawyer to stand up and act stunt man for him. This is where so many peoples get misled and go out into the communities to tell the peoples something that they think be helping a person but they be hurting him, like in my case. Many peoples who thought they was helping me was doing no more than passing information on to the peoples which the pigs wanted them to do. However, that was many in good faith, but the good faith was bad business to me. This is what so many couldn't seem to understand, because of lacking that knowledge that the pig is not with you because he say he's with you or stands up and perform with big words, pause and expression. He can stand up and act like he's mad all day day and don't nothing be wrong with him except he needs his ass kicked, other than that, killing; this is what many peoples fail to understand.

I've noticed another thing where somebody mentioned the work killing the pigs, especially a wrong-doing pig. There's many a so-called revolutionary that have the tendency to back off, start excusing themselves, or finding something else to do. Like, many who I thought was supposed to be revolutionaries with revolutionary pretensions, as soon as the word come up, Black Liberation Army, I began to receive letters criticizing. They don't like their tactics or they don't like what they're doing here or doing there. But, one must understand that you are living in a society at this time of deception. You cannot be perfect in everything you do in trying to move and re-rewriting this society. You gonna make errors, we all gonna make errors. But the point is, is that we must continue to struggle on, fight. We must continue to hit when we can hit. You don't have no mercy when you are after a dog who has committed a wrong or injustice against the peoples. You aim for his goddamn back. This is where it's at. No matter what nobody says nothing to save Emmet Till's life, if you can go back that far, Remember Emmet Till. There's so many Blacks been killed I doubt there are many who know who I'm talking about, Emmett Till. But anyway he was a young kid murdered in Mississippi by a clique of old racist dogs, for nothing. We go to some recently, Dr. King, who killed him? You don't even know who killed him. Listening to the propaganda that the pigs is passing around, Malcolm, you can't say that Blacks killed him. Somebody might have just been used as pawns, but Blacks did not kill Malcolm. The recent killing where we didn't have the black pawn there, we know who killed him. And we know who at this time is trying to make that killing look other than what it was, for the sole purpose of pushing the people's minds further out of position to think for themselves correctly.

Going back to Younger, this guy who has been through what I call the game of politics, deception, this man can lie and smile, while at the same time cutting one's throat, especially when one is Black. This man Younger can steal the sweetness I say out of a gingerbread cake without busting the crust. If one bats his eyes to direct his attention towards what he's talking about, and that's a whole lot of nothing in the name of law and protection of a people. He's forever robbing and stealing everything he can from a people he's protecting, when you look at him correctly. But when you look at him wrongly, you'll be doing him just what you see peoples doing to Nixon when he jumps off a plane, clapping and cheering, honoring the snake. Some peoples fail to understand that the snake is a snake. That is why it's necessary for you to get information to show and compare the snake on the ground that crawls with the possum. Whereas people can see that he needs to be dead, prevented from fighting, biting

Cont. on next page





# BEHIND THE LINES

NEW MEXICO-The brutal slaying of nine native American men (apparently one by one) has turned an already tense situation into explosiveness.

The latest round of killings occurred June 1 near Gallup, New Mexico. The bodies of two Zuni men and another unidentified male were found by police officials. One body had several dozen stab wounds. That same afternoon, there had been a police riot in Farmington where Navajos had gathered to protest the killing of three other men a month earlier.

For several weeks, thousands of native people have gathered in Farmington for a silent march through the streets in an effort to deal with racial prejudice and mistreatment by the non-native townspeople. After 4 such marches, and in an apparent effort to stop them, the Sandoval County Sheriff's Posse, a quasi-official paramilitary group, applied for a parade permit, saying it was their turn to have a march. They were granted the permit.

The Navajos still came to Farmington on Saturday, but this time to line the streets to watch the armed show of strength parade. Many units passed without incident, but as the "Cavalry", a mounted unit, came by, Navajos blocked the parade route, saying that the time had come for the Cavalry to be out of the Southwest.

Police attempted to open the route, eventually using teargas and violent force. Other march units joined in the free-for-all.

It was the same night that three more bodies were found near Gallup.

## A SILENT REMEMBRANCE OF HUSBANDS, FATHERS AND SONS

The earlier Navajo parades had been silent protests-peaceful, yet strong and dramatic. Crowds of people spanned the four-lane street, stretching for blocks and blocks. Stores and bars were closed. In those marches, less than a dozen participants were Anglos-three of them area ministers. Earlier, about 300 Farmington High School students signed a petition condemning the deaths-but they did not show up for the vigil. "Where are all the 35,000 Anglo people?" one marcher asked. "Don't they support our protest?"

John Redhouse, a Navajo, said the killings were not surprising. "for years, it has been almost a sport, a sort of sick, perverted tradition among Anglo youth of Farmington High, to go into the Indian sec-

tion of town and physically assault and rob elderly and sometimes intoxicated Navajo men and women of whatever possessions they had, for no apparent reason other than that they were Indians," Redhouse charged. "There have been too few arrests and charges. Far too many times the police have been ineffective and insensitive to the many complaints expressed by our people."



Article and Picture From Akwesasne Notes  
Mass March in Farmington N.Mexico

BALTIMORE-Early July again saw the rising up of people in rebellion. Black people rebelled in the streets for most of a week. Concurrently, inmates at the Baltimore jail rose in rebellion. Police who were on strike, broke their strike in order to put down the rebellions. The spontaneous movement is again explosive due to the worst economic conditions since WWII. Revolutionary leadership must be provided to give the mass movement direction!

LOS ANGELES-Police arrested a young woman and three juveniles at an alleged school for guerrillas in Black Los Angeles. An "unidentified police spokesman" claimed that police found 15 guns and three "homemade bombs." Arrested were 19-year-old Sister Sandra Taylor, an 11-year-old sister whom the police said had a loaded handgun in her purse. A 17 and a 16 year-old brothers were busted at the house. Police suspect that the house occupants were connected with the Black Liberation Army.

the children, what they fails to see is that the two-legged snake walking around, biting them and the children, they can't see them, because they have a mouth full of honey. This is the nature of this system, capitalism. It don't just attack Black Liberation Army. It may use these words, but attacks the poor white, the Brown, the Black, the Red and all poor peoples. Or if one has any doubt as to what I'm saying, listen to the cry of the people daily. They're not just American peoples. You go to New York, the peoples are crying. Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, New York, Chicago, California, Washington, in every state and in every country where capitalism lies people are crying, screaming. But what do we have here, daily, from our so-called news media? Watergate, proposition so forth and so on, the Supreme Court so forth, all these phoney TV shows, police heroes and all of this, something you never see in reality in a community nowhere. This is another move that should be made by all organizations of peoples struggling for freedom. Do not have the attention focused

on one person as a leader. It must be looked at by the pigs as organization is the leader. In other words, it's not another Malcolm X, it's not another Cinque, it is the masses of leaders, that's struggling. When one falls, do not let this put distress, strain on your mind, because when you do, you are weakened. You can expect death, at this day and time, many a death, but we can also expect when death is on both sides, this is where the weak got to go. The pig proves to be weak, he proved to you that he was weak in Los Angeles. I say, six hundred against six if that wasn't enough proof I don't know what could be enough. And this is another reason why brothers and sisters should not give up or even entertain a thought of doing such, just keep on struggling, keep on fighting, every opportunity that you get to put something on the pigs' ass, everytime he comes, sock it to him, fire-power, and speaking of power, I'm gonna cut it short here. All power to the people.

Ruchll Cinque Magee  
FREE ALL PRISONERS OF WAR!

LOS ANGELES-The Chicano movement is building towards a nation-wide mass demonstration on August 31. It is against the government's current efforts to deport all brothers and sisters from Mexico, Latin America, Jamaica and the rest of the Caribbean. The demonstration in L.A. will be against deportation and repression. Senator Kennedy is one of the bourgeois leaders trying to deport people of color. The weekend before (Sat. Aug. 24) there will be a series of local demonstrations. All concerned people, progressive and revolutionary should support these demonstrations.

SEIZE THE TIME!

MIAMI-The government is trying to deport more than 300 Haitians who have fled the cruel fascist regime of president Jean-Claude Duvalier (Papa Doc's son and successor). The Haitians all fled the Black island to avoid political persecution. The Miami area has welcomed eagerly thousands of fascists fleeing from socialist Cuba, but the Haitians are Black and anti-fascist. Consequently the US wants no part of the fleeing Black exiles. Bourgeois Haitians in the US don't want their countrymen either. A Haitian priest, Jacques Mompremier, head of the "Haitian Refugee Center, is urging deportation for the exiles.

So far, Chicanos and Latinos have been leading the fight against deportations. The Black Liberation Movement (especially in the west we are lagging) should join our Brown brothers and sisters in organizing to top the deportation of Jamaicans, Haitians and other Blacks and people of color.

USA-Birthrates for Third World and poor people declined dramatically in the last decade according to US census figures. Two of the groups which declined the most are Chicanos and rural Blacks. They formerly has very high birth rates. Middle class birth rates are declining at a slower rate than those of poor people. Government birth control programs aimed at the poor and terrible economic conditions are the two main reasons for the declining rates. The government consciously uses birth control on poor and Third World people to "solve" the problems of poverty and discrimination rather than allow redistribution of the country's wealth and political power to poor and working people.

CHILD LABOR - (Salem, Oregon) Gov. Tom McCall asked the U.S. Department of Labor for relief from a new law that prohibits children under 12 from working in berry and bean harvests. Children 12 and 13 can only work with parental permission.

McCall said that 40 million pounds of Oregon strawberries could go unharvested in three weeks time if children are barred from the fields.

ARMS THEFT-"High level professionals" stole machine guns, automatic rifles, various types of grenades, grenade launchers and thousands of rounds of ammunition from a Compton Calif. National Guard armory. Enough weapons were taken in the July 4 action to equip an entire army company (200 men).

SIOUX FALLS An announcement concerning the opening of a Native American embassy in Washington D.C. was made in conjunction with the International Treaty Conference. The embassy will attempt to open up diplomatic relations with other nations including the U.S.A. Many African, Asian and Latin American countries already recognize diplomatically the Great Native American Nation.



# WEATHER UNDERGROUND STRIKES BLOW FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION

WEATHER UNDERGROUND  
BOMBS GULF OIL  
June 13, 1974

If we are fighting together, then I think that the main aspect of our solidarity is extremely simple: it is to fight... You must find the best means and the best forms of fighting against our common enemy; this is the best form of solidarity.

Amilcar Cabral - founder of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC); assassinated Jan. 73

We have attacked the Gulf Oil Corporation at its executive headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa., for their enormous crimes:

- Gulf finances the Portuguese colonial war against the people of Angola in Africa

- Gulf steals bonanza profits from poor and working people in the US

- Gulf exploits the people and resources of 70 countries in the world

## GULF IS OUR COMMON ENEMY

With the recent military coup in Portugal, the colonial wars came home. For ten years, Portugal has maintained a wall of silence around the African wars. Now the liberation forces have to be openly recognized because Portugal is losing in Africa.

The liberation movements in the African countries of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have intensified their armed struggle for independence and freedom, knowing that conditions are now ripe for victory. In Angola, the new Portuguese government has banned demonstrations after thousands of people rallied in the streets demanding immediate independence.

THIS IS A DECISIVE MOMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION, A TIME WHICH CALLS FOR HEIGHTENED SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN MOVEMENTS.

## 1. GULF OIL AND ANGOLA

Angola is a large, beautiful country of 6 million people on the Southwest coast of Africa, 14 times the size of Portugal itself. It possesses extraordinary mineral and agricultural wealth and is the prize "possession" of Portuguese colonialism.

Portugal has systematically forced Angolans into slavery, forced labor, illiteracy and hunger for over 400 years. It has promoted the myth of "racial harmony" in the midst of brutal oppression and, like the US in Puerto Rico, has even denied that Angola is a colony.

In 1956, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) formed. Beginning the armed struggle in 1961, it grew from a small group of dedicated fighters to a people's army of thousands of militants and supporters. Today, MPLA governs the eastern third of Angola and has organized clinics and schools as well as "people's food stores" in each liberated zone. Women take part in every aspect of the fight for liberation.

The Portuguese government has responded to people's war in Angola with techniques learned and perfected by the US in Vietnam. "Search and Destroy" are called "Hunt and Persecute" by Portugal; "strategic hamlets" are called "peace villages" in Angola. Napalm and crop defoliants dropped from US-supplied planes, torture in the prisons, wholesale terror against the population are part of Portuguese rule. Over one million Angolans (20% of the population) have been forcibly removed from their land and homes thru pacification programs.

ALL OF THIS IS FINANCED BY THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE GULF OIL CORPORATION.

Thru NATO, the US provides substantial military and technical support for Portugal. This less direct form of US intervention does not lessen the ultimate responsibility of the US government for the human suffering imposed on the people of Africa.

-----Gulf is the single largest investor in the Portuguese colonies. In 1966, it struck oil off Cabinda Province in Northern Angola. Production of Cabinda crude has now increased to 150,000 barrels per day. Gulf paid Portugal \$62 million last year alone for this concession. This accounts for 60% of Portugal's annual military budget in Angola. Portugal is a small poor country which couldn't afford to maintain colonies in Africa without US corporate support.

-----Gulf guarantees Portugal a constant source of oil for military and strategic purposes. Since the Arab oil embargo, Cabinda Gulf became a main supplier of oil to Portugal and to South Africa (via a subsidy in Mozambique). This enables Portugal to continue its African wars, and gives material support to South African apartheid at a time when it is under severe pressure.

-----Gulf installations in Cabinda are surrounded by barbed wire, spotlights and machine-gun carrying security patrols. Despite these drastic fortifications, Gulf can never be safe from armed attacks. Since 1964, the liberation forces have



THE OLD LIFE UNDER PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM IN MOZAMBIQUE

seriously challenged Gulf's presence in Cabinda. In 1968, during an MPLA offensive, one-fifth of all Portuguese troops in Africa were needed to defend Gulf interests in Cabinda. And as recently as January 1974, liberation forces attacked enemy barracks at Makondo, Cabinda, using automatic weapons and mortars.

Both MPLA and UNITA (another Angolan guerrilla movement) have condemned Gulf's role in Southern Africa;

The MPLA states that with the inevitable independence of Angola all these companies which operate offshore or inland will be chased from our national territory and all their equipment and assets seized.

MPLA Statement, Feb. 1974

Gulf crimes in Angola have sparked intense protests in the US, Canada and Europe in recent years. A nationwide boycott of Gulf has been organized and led by Black activists and other supporters of African liberation. Despite Gulf attempts to hide behind a cloud of slick public relations gimmickry, the slogan "Gulf Kills" is more widely understood than ever.

## 2. WORLD-WIDE EXPLOITATION

Gulf's activities in Africa are a microcosm of its role in the world. Gulf exploits over 70 nations, including Puerto Rico. It is part, for example, of a huge oil consortium working together with the Thieu dictatorship to "develop" oil reserves off the Mekong Delta of South Vietnam. This plan will give huge revenues and strategic resources to the Thieu regime in its continuing war against the

Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. The PRG, on June 3, warned of retaliation against these oil deals.

## 3. GULF AND THE ENERGY CRISIS

Gulf and the giant oil companies use the energy crisis and the suffering of the people to rake in windfall profits. Priorities are upside down. The US military consumes enormous amounts of oil while poor people bear the brunt of their policies: unprecedented price increases, cold homes, unemployment and hardship. Faced with a continuing challenge from the Third World over control of natural resources, the oil companies raised their prices and their profits and used the occasion of the Arab oil embargo to exact a blank check for expanding their control over all energy resources and reserves.

Hiding behind the banner of US self-sufficiency and the search for new resources, Gulf ravages people's way of life and destroys the land. Gulf is one of the companies that plans to devastate 939,000 acres of Native American land in the Southwest in its "search for coal." Gulf already owns 20% of the Four Corners Pipeline Co., which stripmines Hopi and Navajo lands to deliver crude to Los Angeles.

## 4. CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIXON

Gulf was one of the biggest contributors to the Nixon campaign fund in 1972. Along with the contribution of Gulf heir Richard Mellon Scaife, Gulf gave \$1,169,400 to re-elect Nixon. This included an illegal "gift" of \$100,000 which Gulf executives laundered in the Bahamas.

Gulf can afford giant contributions. It is owned by the Mellon family, who stole their wealth from the sweat of the people 100 years ago and are today one of the richest ruling-class families in the US. In addition to owning Gulf Oil, the Mellons control Alcoa aluminum and Koppers United. Gulf Oil itself has subsidiaries including Pittsburgh Midland and Coal, Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp., and the recently acquired Holiday Inn chain. Mellon also has major holdings in about 100 leading companies, like Westinghouse.

Like the struggle against ITT (International Telephone and Telegraph) in the counter-revolution in Chile, Gulf must be stopped from financing imperialism in Africa, and the world, and at home. Gulf must be defeated in order for the people to be free.

"Munga mba wungurina Angola mondi biluka!"

"Tomorrow, or sometime after tomorrow, there will be change in Angola."

-- popular expression among the Angolan people.

BOYCOTT GULF  
GULF AND PORTUGAL OUT OF AFRICA  
STOP GULF'S PLUNDER OF THE PEOPLE



THE NEW LIFE, FRELIMO!

This is the section on Guine-Bissau from our political statement PRAIRIE FIRE which will be released soon.

**GUINE-BISSAU (from PRAIRIE FIRE)**

Guine-Bissau is a small country of 800,000 people on the West coast of Africa. It was from her shores that Portugal initiated the notorious West African slave trade over four hundred years ago. Since 1963, a fierce people's war has been waged by the forces of the African Party for the Independence of Guine and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). They have been fighting and defeating over 35,000 Portuguese troops who have been armed, supplied and trained by the US and other NATO powers.

On September 24, 1973, Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of PAIGC, declared Guine-Bissau independent from Portuguese rule. He announced that the new Republic of Guine-Bissau would continue to battle the Portuguese soldiers on its territory and would also press for the liberation of the Cape Verde Islands. Soon after, the UN General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to extend recognition to the new nation. The US, along with South Africa, Portugal, and Israel, opposed the resolution. Eighty-two nations have now formally recognized the new government.



AMILCAR CABRAL, SLAIN FOUNDER OF THE PAIGC

Revolution has profoundly changed Guinean life. PAIGC has liberated almost three-fourths of the countryside. Many people now attend schools in places where no schools existed before. Health care has become a priority in a country where only one hospital was built by Portugal in over one hundred years. Women have assumed a central role in the revolutionary process, breaking from the limits and oppression of the colonial past. Liberation continues to flower in the midst of battle--this is what PAIGC calls "building the revolution as we fight."

Amilcar Cabral was the leader of PAIGC until his assassination by Portuguese agents in January 1973. Cabral was a powerful, unifying spokesperson for all the African liberation movements. He was one of the truly great, original revolutionary theorists of this era, a dedicated fighter in the cause of liberation. His murder was a cruel blow to Africa and to the world revolution.

Guine-Bissau is the first Portuguese colony to declare independence. Its liberation struggle has had an effect in Africa similar to the worldwide effects of the Vietnamese struggle. It has been a catalyst for the movements in the other Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and has spurred the rise of revolution throughout Southern Africa. At the same time, the liberation movements have won more open support from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which represents a broad range of African states.

In Angola, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has liberated one-third of the land -- territory inhabited by one million Angolans. In Mozambique, the guerrillas of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) have launched a powerful new offensive against the centers of Portuguese power. FRELIMO forces have crossed the Zambezi River, the supposedly impenetrable natural defense line of Portugal in Mozambique. They have challenged Portugal's planned operation of the huge Gaborra Bassa Dam on the Zambezi River. Combined with attacks on the strategic railway between landlocked Rhodesia and the Mozambican port of Beira, these FRELIMO operations have shaken Portugal's hold on the country.

Portugal is a poor country, run



since 1924 by a fascist dictatorship. It spends over 50% of its budget on the military and has fielded an army of 250,000 troops to fight in Africa. Like all colonialist and imperialist countries, Portugal is now seeing the chickens come home to roost. Its attempts to crush liberation in Africa have created the conditions for rebellion at home. Over 100,000 youth have fled the country to avoid the draft. Others have deserted from the army. Armed attacks within Portugal have risen -- in April, a troop ship about to sail from Lisbon to Guine-Bissau with 1,000 men aboard, was rocked by an explosion. The action was claimed by the Revolutionary Brigade Organization.

The recent military coup in Portugal reflects the success of the African guerrillas and the deep opposition to the wars among large numbers of Portuguese. It could be said of the ousted fascist government of Marcello Caetano what Cabral said of the death of the previous Portuguese dictator Salazar: "Africa was the disease that killed him." The coup has unleashed a wave of open anti-fascist organizing among the Portuguese people and has also triggered intensified popular pressure to end the African wars.

It is doubtful, however, that the new junta will agree to the only possible solution in Africa: complete independence for Angola, Mozambique, and Guine-Bissau. The junta's leader, General Antonio Spínola, fought with fascists in the Spanish Civil War, served with the Nazi Army during World War II, and was the major Portuguese commander in the losing war against Guine-Bissau. Spínola has floated out visions of neocolonial non-solutions which have been categorically rejected by the liberation forces. Luis Cabral, the new President of the Republic of Guine-Bissau has said that:

Spínola talks a lot and he has been known to make a lot of promises. But we know that the only language he listens to comes from the guns of our forces, hitting him and hitting him again.

Portugal could not sustain its colonial wars without the aid of the Western imperial powers. As a NATO member it receives arms and supplies from the US and Europe. Southern Africa is of great strategic importance to imperialism--a source of valuable raw materials, cheap labor, high-profit investments. Victories for PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA could pose



a serious threat to racist rule in the whole area. Consequently, the battle lines have hardened and the US has more openly supported Portugal and the white racist governments in South Africa and Rhodesia.

In 1971, the Nixon government gave Portugal a \$436 million loan in return for continued US use of the Azores as a military base. US companies have a growing stake in Portuguese success; they are now the third largest investors in the Portuguese colonies. Gulf Oil Company pays Portugal \$62 million a year for its right to oil resources off the Angola coast. In November, 1973, Gulf acknowledged the discover of new deposits in this area which it called "the most prolific south of the Middle East." When the Arab states halted oil shipments to Portugal and South Africa, Gulf helped take up the slack, sending oil to both countries and Mozambique.

Over half of all US African investments are in South Africa, which functions as a junior partner of Western imperialism. South Africa is currently fighting liberation movements in Namibia (Southwest Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and within its own borders. As Portugal loses its hold over Angola and Mozambique, more direct South African intervention is likely.

This is the Southern Axis in Africa -- Portugal, South Africa, the US, the NATO powers, Rhodesia -- lined up against millions of Africans demanding self-determination. The fight for liberation in Southern Africa is a strategic center-point in the battle against imperialism.



ANGOLAN GIRL STUDYING READER PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (MPLA).

The African liberation struggles have been hidden wars, rarely mentioned in the US press. It has taken the concerted work of the Black movement to break the silence in this country. Black organizations have pushed forward boycott campaigns against Gulf Oil and Portuguese products, have identified US support for Portugal and South Africa, and are now demanding US recognition of the new Republic of Guine-Bissau. Longshoremen in Baton Rouge, Baltimore and San Francisco -- have refused to unload shipments of Rhodesian chrome, brought here in violation of a UN ban.

All these activities are important for our movement to support and help build. With the current crisis in Portugal, this is a key time to intensify worldwide support for the African liberation movements. While some movement organizers are now engaged in work around Africa, many more of us should make it a part of our daily work. This involves both commitment to action and to political education: a good place to begin is with Amilcar Cabral's writings -- Revolution in Guine, Return to the Source, Our People are Our Mountains -- and Basil Davidson's Liberation of Guine. Learn from the people. A basis can be laid within the movement for a new level of solidarity with the African struggle.

PORTUGAL OUT OF AFRICA  
NO US OR NATO AID TO PORTUGAL OR SOUTH AFRICA  
RECOGNIZE GUINE-BISSAU

# HOW ARMED STRUGGLE BEGAN IN SOUTH VIET NAM



REPRINTED FROM VIETNAM COURIER

February 15, 1961, in Resistance Zone D, about 60km from Saigon as the crow flies. In a small hut erected beside a stream which flowed through the primeval forest sat a dozen or so people, all clad in black pajamas—the everyday costume of the peasants—but sporting the latest type of American pistol, huddled around a big Saigon army operations map. They were no longer young, with faces sunburnt by long years spent as combatants—some had fought for more than thirty years for the independence and freedom of their country.

The conference was presided over by Tran Nam Trung, Head of the Military Commission of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation which had just come into existence in this same zone (he is now Minister of National Defence in the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam). Taking part in the conference were the leaders of the movement of armed struggle and the liberation armed forces from all parts of South Viet Nam during the fateful days of the concerted uprisings of the overwhelming majority of the South Viet Nam peasants. The conference decided to rally all the liberation armed forces at the time under a unified command.

## Issued from the Working Masses

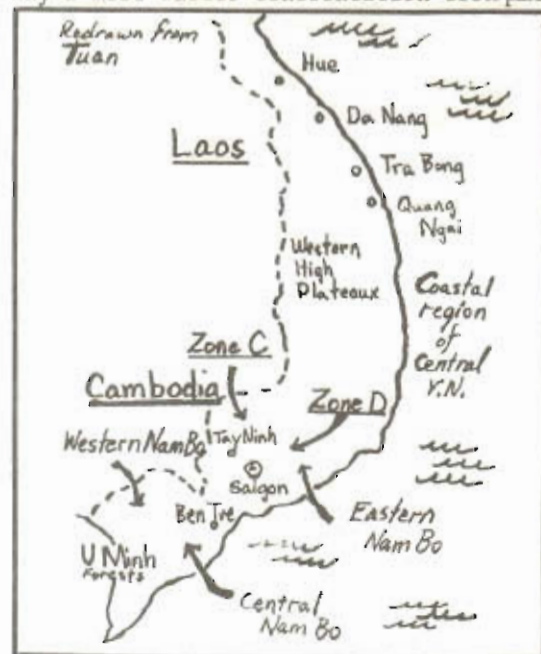
By July 1954, in strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements, all the armed forces fighting against the French colonialists south of the 17th parallel had regrouped to North Viet Nam. The people's administration ceased to exist. The overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people, including millions of persons in the former liberated areas under the control of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam were ready to accept a peaceful reunification of the country through nation-wide elections scheduled for July 1956.

However, right from the start, the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, set up and commanded by the US, had ignored the Geneva Agreements and cracked down on the revolutionary movement of the people, taking bloody reprisals against the patriots and former members of the resistance. A series of massacres were perpetrated throughout South Viet Nam: at Cay Coc in Quang Nam province (Sept. 28, 1954), Tra On in Can Tho province (Oct. 28, 1954), etc. During the 300-day period for the regrouping of the two sides' troops, the people took a high toll: 1,202 killed, 705 secretly disposed of, 4,231 injured by torture and 25,000 arrested, mostly in the countryside especially in the former liberated zone and resistance bases. In the cities, Diem openly repressed the newly founded peace movement. In Nov. 1954 he ordered the arrest and trial of the leaders of this movement, most of them, patriotic intellectuals and personalities who had not been in the maquis. Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, now President of the National Front for Liberation, was among this number. Taking another step in his witch-hunt, July 1955 Ngo Dinh Diem launched large-scale "denounce the Communists" terror campaigns which, phased into several stages lasted until 1958. Arrests, tortures and killings became daily and hourly occurrences in the rural areas. Prisons were set up practically in every hamlet and village. For instance Phu Yen, a small province in Central Viet Nam, contained 109 prisons of all sizes and all types. In Binh Chong village, Binh Son district, Quang Ngai province, with a population of 5,000 the Saigon authorities established five detention houses in five hamlets which at one time kept as many as 300 persons. The machine of coercion and repression was no less brutal in the Mekong

River Delta. A series of big prisons were set up, each holding 5,000-7,000 persons at a time, like Chi Hoa jail (Saigon), Thu Duc jail (Gia Dinh), Phu Loi Jail (Thu Dau Mot), Bien Hoa jail, etc. Not only were democratic freedoms trampled underfoot and peace-aspirations shattered, but the economic gains of the people during the anti-French resistance were also abolished. The people's administration had shared out about 630,000 hectares of land to the peasants (this figure included 564,547 hectares allotted to 527,163 peasants in the Mekong Delta). With Diem's coming into power the old tyrannical landlords who had been driven away by the revolution staged a comeback. Diem's "land reform" created the necessary conditions for them to recover all the land that had been distributed to the tillers. The "denounce the Communists" campaign was a golden opportunity for them to take bloody reprisals against the peasants. An atmosphere of white terror weighed more and more heavily on the villages. Agents of the Saigon administration might at anytime break into the hamlets and arrest anyone charged with "Communist activities" or "Communist connections."

The brutality of the Diem regime went beyond the calculations of the patriots and former resistance cadres. They were faced with a decisive choice, either to limit themselves to peaceful methods of struggle, expressed in purely political forms, and continue to be wiped out in the bloodbath of the white terror, or to combine political struggle with taking the most effective measures of self-defence. The situation allowed no further hesitation and guided by their long experience in combating the oppressors, they chose the second path.

From times immemorial, there has always been some form of self-defence organization of the masses in the Vietnamese countryside: the "tuan dinh" (patrol groups) in the feudal times, the "dan trang" (militia) in the French colonial days, and the militia and guerrilla units in the anti-French resistance. Carrying forward these traditions, able-bodied young men were organized to resist Diem's terror. Thus, the first self-defence teams were gradually formed in the villages, grouping a dozen or score young men in some places and from 30 to 40 in others. They stayed in their villages like the other peasants, working the fields and taking part in political struggles. They armed themselves with everything they could in order to defend the people in their work in the fields or during demonstrations. The more the enemy intensified its acts of terror, the more rapidly the self-defence teams grew, especially in the Mekong delta where every day a most bitter confrontation took place.



From the end of 1955 to 1956, as Diem stepped up his "denounce the Communists" campaign, the hunt for patriots and former resistance members became fiercer. Finding it impossible to live and carry on the political struggle in the countryside the latter fled to former resistance bases such as the Plain of Reeds (southwest of Saigon), the U Minh jungle (between Bac Lieu and Rach Gia provinces on the Gulf of Thailand) or Resistance Zones D and C (north and northeast of Saigon). Diem sent his troops after them. Cornered, they had to organize self-defence together with the local people. In their fight for survival the first units of the Liberation Army took shape, one or two companies in strength in some places and a battalion in others.

Meanwhile, in the cities, the poorest sections of the labouring masses and those without a regular job were being pushed out of the cities during the so-called "city embellishment plan". Many young men forcibly drafted into the army managed to run away. A number of former members of the resistance who had returned to the cities to resume a normal life were also persecuted and finally had to leave. All these men rallied together, formed armed units and occupied some areas to organize resistance against Diem.

At the end of December 1950, more than 600 persons detained in Bien Hoa jail revolted and killed most of the guards, they escaped, taking a quantity of weapons large enough to equip a whole company. After eluding the enemy's posts and pursuit, they arrived in Resistance Zone D and the Plain of Reeds, where they joined the armed units that had been formed there.

Thus, from the struggle against repression and terror to defend the normal life of the people in the countryside as well as in the towns, the first people's armed forces came into existence in varied forms. Their operational bases were mainly the rural areas especially in the deepest hinterlands of Nam Bo.

## REPRESSION OF OPPOSITION RELIGIOUS SECTS

To strengthen his autocratic and fascist rule, Diem used strong-arm tactics against the political groupings that refused to toe his line. He was particularly eager to eliminate their armed forces which formerly had fought in the ranks of the French Army. In October 1954, Diem ousted Nguyen Van Hinh, Chief of the General Staff of the French-created "Viet Nam National Army." At the end of February and in early March 1955, Diem ordered a punitive operation against the troops, numbering more than 1,000 men, of the Dai Viet Party in Quang Tri and Phu Yen and they were virtually wiped out. Again in April and May of the same year, he sent his army to destroy the armed units of the Quoc Dan Dang (Nationalist Party) in Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh and Kon-tum provinces. Diem applied a similar policy towards the armed forces of Binh Xuyen sect in Saigon, the Cao Dai in Tay Ninh and the Hoa Hao (commonly known as "opposition religious sects") took refuge in the countryside. There they met some of the patriots and former resistance members who had also fled from the ruthless repression of Ngo Dinh Diem. Although the two sides had been adversaries in the past the patriots and former resistance members showed the leaders of the opposition religious sects how to survive; to rely on the people's support and return to the former resistance bases to organize a protracted struggle.

In December 1956, in the resistance base of the Plain of Reeds, the leaders of the religious sects met and decided to unify under a joint command named "Cao-

Thien-Hoa-Binh General Staff"(abbreviation for the religious groups of the Cao, Dai, Thien Chua, Catholic, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen). They established contact with, and received financial assistance from the anti-US-Diem forces in exile in France and Cambodia.

The anti-dictatorship armed forces in the years 1956-1957 actually became the prop of the people's struggle. In return, they enjoyed effective help from the people who provided them food and manpower, enabling them to survive and develop. The armed forces of the religious sects, to enhance their reputation among the population and to break the encirclement by the Saigon army, launched a number of operations against military positions and political and economic centres of the Saigon regime around the resistance bases. The Hoa Hao armed forces fought a dozen battles in the neighbourhood of the U Minh jungle. In some battles, they made impressive gains, as was the case of the Cai San battle in April 1956, when they wiped out an entire Saigon company. The Binh Xuyen and Cao Dai forces were active along Highways 13 and 14, winning some resounding successes as at Dau Tieng, Thu Dau Mot province, on October 9 1956 or at Ben Cui village, Bien Hoa province, on October 24, 1956.

The gunfire of resistance against the puppet regime of the US had the immediate effect of maintaining the confidence of the people saw that the revolution was still there, beside them, and this encouraged them to carry on the fight. As a result all through 1956 and until early 1957, the vast countryside in former Cochinchina, more particularly in the Mekong River delta, remained out of Saigon's control. The results of first "denounce the Communists" campaigns were negligible. From their experience, drawn from popular struggle, the leaders in Nam Bo compiled an important document at the end of 1956 entitled: "On the Revolution in South Viet Nam." The gist of this document as follows: The advance of the revolution in South Viet Nam must rely on the force of the masses. Political struggle must be supported by military activities in the fight against the US-Diem policy of repression and terror so as eventually to overthrow the fascist dictatorship in Saigon and win back power for the people.

#### THE DARKEST PERIOD

The road of the revolution in South Viet Nam, however, was not a smooth one. After declaring his rejection of the elections scheduled for July 1956, Diem intensified his "denounce the Communists" campaign.

In its second phase, the campaign switched its priority target to the jungle areas along the Truong Son (the Indochinese Cordillera-mountain ranges) and the Central Highlands. In April 1957, Diem created the "Department for Social Affairs in the Central Highlands" with the aim of co-ordinating military and social actions to realize the plan for the "pacification" of this mountain region. This was to be carried out through terror and repression by military forces on the one hand, and cajolery and deception on the other. But here, Saigon ran into the resistance of the ethnic minorities which culminated in the armed uprisings of the Raglay tribe in Ninh Thuan province, the Bahnar tribe in Vinh Thanh in the western part of Binh Dinh province in early 1958, and the Cor and Hre ethnic minorities in Western Quang Ngai in 1959.

By the end of 1957 and early 1958, the central target of the "denounce the Communists" campaign switched to the Mekong River delta where the enemy had only obtained poor results in the previous campaigns. Saigon sent its most efficient, most experienced agents from Central Viet Nam to the Mekong delta where, in conjunction with the local reactionaries, they launched a campaign to "wipe out the remaining Communist cadre," i.e. patriots and former resistance cadres. The explicit goal of this campaign was to "root out the Communists." Dinh Tuong province (formerly My Tho) was chosen as a pilot province in the campaign which was to spread to the surrounding areas, in particular the form-

er resistance zones. Not only were arrests, imprisonments and deportations multiplied but medieval-type tortures and killings were also widely applied: disembowelling, plucking out livers, burying alive... Such were the methods of reprisal used by the reactionary landlords and the most wicked agents of the Saigon regime who were commonly referred to by the people as "cruel agents" or "tyrants". At the same time Saigon troops conducted sweeps against remote resistance bases in the U Minh jungle, the Plain of Reeds, Resistance Zone D, and other areas.

The revolutionary movement suffered heavy losses. Hundreds of thousands of cadres and people were arrested or massacred. The self-defence organizations in the countryside were broken up. The armed forces in the resistance bases had to be reduced. In particular, the resistance army of the religious sects dwindled into a mere token force.

Naturally, the more the people's self-defence organizations shrank, the more aggressive the cruel agents in the localities became and the bloodier the crimes they perpetrated. More and more cadres were arrested and many more revolutionary organizations in the villages and hamlets were broken up. The South Vietnamese people call this "the darkest period." Though this was a major setback of the revolution, the revolutionaries and the people had learnt the hard way that to survive and wage an efficacious political struggle they could no longer limit themselves to purely defensive methods. The most urgent thing was to punish the cruel agents and tyrants, the most reactionary forces in the countryside. Step by step the self-defence organizations were restored in the form of "armed youth organizations" or militia and guerrilla groups.



By 1958, the punishment of local tyrants and the destruction of the grassroots administration of the Diem regime had become a widely-extending mass movement. Some of the tyrannical agents at the top of the administration at district and even province levels were executed one after another. This encouraged the population and had a sobering effect on the enemies of the revolution.

To provide support for the movement in the villages and hamlets, the regular armed forces of the people and the remaining forces of the opposition religious sects stepped up their activities. Hundreds of young men from various villages in the plains volunteered and joined those armed units in the resistance bases.

The Eastern part of Nam Bo became the centre of the armed struggle. Resistance Zones D and C were strengthened in all fields and extended to the mountain regions inhabited by ethnic minorities known in the French time as the "three border area" (Cambodia, Central Viet Nam and Cochinchina) and further north to the areas bordering on the Central Highlands, parts untrodden by the resistance forces during the years of anti-French fighting. Readily assisted by the tribal groups of the ethnic minorities the people's armed forces could, by putting into use their experience in agricultural production and exploiting the resource of the forests, before long attain self-sufficiency in food. Taking advantage of the rough terrain in the mountain region and applying guerrilla warfare tactics, they foiled major sweeps and attacks by the 3rd, 25th, 7th and 13th divisions of the Saigon army trained and equipped by the US.

The resistance units not only succeeded in preserving their forces but also made successful offensives against many enemy bases, such as Minh Thanh, Thu Dau Mot province (August 10, 1957), Trai Be and Lo Than in Bien Hoa (Sept. 18 and Dec. 12, 1957). In 1958, they achieved still bigger and more significant feats.

In a daring attack on Dau Tieng district town in Thu Dau Mot province (Oct. 10, 1958) they overran the headquarters of a military sub-sector, putting out of action a battalion of Saigon troops, routing another battalion and destroying several offices of the puppet administration. The attacking force took control of the terrain for one day and one night and captured over 200 assorted weapons together with a sizeable quantity of military equipment and food. Following this defeat, the Saigon forces had to evacuate 21 isolated posts in the district. In a surprise attack in Bien Hoa town on Oct. 25, 1958, a small unit of the people's armed forces penetrated into the office of the MAAG (Military Assistance Advisory Group) killing 13 American "advisors and seriously wounding six others with plastic explosives.

After those resounding exploits, the revolutionary armed units were supplied with more and better arms and equipment. With their assistance in cadres and armaments, Bien Hoa, Thu Dau Mot and Tay Ninh provinces founded their own armed units. Thus, right in the "darkest period" a system of military forces of the revolution gradually came into existence in South Viet Nam, comprising several kinds of troops, the regular forces, the regional forces, and the militia and guerrillas in the villages and hamlets.

#### SIMULTANEOUS UPRISINGS

At the end of 1958 and early 1959, Diem's policy of terror had reached its height. He decreed the so-called Law 10/59 set up guillotines everywhere to behead anyone charged with being a Communist and intensified the "rural pacification" campaign. He divided South Viet Nam into different zones to conduct "sweeps", openly launching a unilateral war against the entire population. Units in striped uniforms composed of the most blood-thirsty elements were sent to the countryside to carry out a real white terror there. In Ca Mau province, for instance, the first half of 1959, 800 people were killed. Meanwhile Can Tho province was subjected to as many as 5,000 operations and raids, big and small, while the herding of people into concentration camps disguised as "Prosperity Zones", "Model Villages" and "Resettlement Centres" was intensified.

The struggle of the people of all strata was at its fiercest. The political struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and the improvement of the people's living conditions, and against terror and repression was stepped up. In Western Nam Bo, within the first six months of 1959, about 2,134 struggles were recorded with 500,000 participants. There was also an increase in violent action to destroy the puppet administration's grassroots organizations in the countryside, such as demonstrations and demand for the resignation of Diem's agents and the dismissal of local authorities. As a result, there were 326 cases of puppet administrators overthrown in such a "legal way." Besides, armed actions to do away with cruel agents and spies and in support of the political struggle also increased. The number of subversive activities in Bac Lieu, Ca Mau, Rach Gia and Can Tho provinces in Western Nam Bo, averaged from 50 to 60 monthly. In Bien Hoa, Thu Dau Mot and Tay Ninh provinces not a day passed without a cruel agent being punished for his misdeeds.

In the second half of 1959, many peasants' uprisings broke out against the administrative machine in the countryside. In June in the provinces of Western Nam Bo - the scene of many of the fiercest operations and raids conducted by Diem troops - the provincial revolutionary committee issued an appeal to the peasants to rise up to smash the coercive organizations and eliminate die-hard cruel agents. In Eastern Nam Bo, in October 1959, the peasants in Chau Thanh, Duong Minh Chau and Ben Cau districts of Tay Ninh province rose up to break all the coercive organizations in the villages and hamlets. After this, people's uprisings spread far and wide throughout this fertile and populous delta area. Of particular interest was the peasants' uprising in Ben Tre province beginning Jan. 17, 1960. There, notwithstanding the absence of big armed units and the security of firearms

# CLASS STRUGGLE!

A Scientific Understanding of the Role of U.S. Trade Unionism Is Absolutely Essential to Communists Doing Trade Union Work and Workplace Organizing.



Graphic by hrs

## AFL-CIA

The strategies of monopoly capitalism for control and containment of revolutionary struggles include the use of trade unionism---accepted, encouraged, and even advocated by the ruling class since the 30's. This strategy has paid off well for monopoly capitalism. The only mass organization of the working class has become the most effective means for its control and repression.

Labor gangsters from John L. Lewis to George Meany have served as effective agents of monopoly capitalism in shaping the labor movement according to its interests, purging it of socialist tendencies, and utilizing its resources in the interests of counter-revolution.

In fact, the institution of trade unionism today serves monopoly capitalism so well that since its birth the CIA has financed and operated through international organizations of the AFL-CIO in every foreign neo-colony where the forces of national liberation and socialism rise up. The use of U.S. trade unionism has become a key strategy in these nations to prevent the motion of the oppressed peoples into revolutionary war. Here too in the U.S. it must be said that this is an essential role of the unions.

The use of unions for the control and containment of the working class is a tribute to the sophistication of US corporate fascism. Fifty years ago, for example, when farmworkers dared to organize, the owners called the cops and hired goons. Now, when the farmworkers dare to organize, the owners call in their own union, the Teamsters.

## "LABOR" IN GOVERNMENT AND CAPITALIST POLITICAL PARTIES

The common characteristic of the state of monopoly capitalism is the attempt to create the illusion of the "corporate state"---the state representing the supposed common interests of all classes(National chauvinism has always been a handy means to enhance this illusion). The bourgeois-democratic state uses the myth of being above and outside of the class struggle. As the state extends its role into society and expands strategies of total social control, it loses this cover and is forced to pick up a new myth to conceal its class nature. It attempts to present itself as including the legitimate leadership of the working class. From the 1930's to the present "labor leaders" have played this role. Today, however, as corporate fascism is on the defensive against the rising tide of revolution, the Brennans and the Fitzsimmons and the Meany's stand more than ever before exposed as servants of fascism.

Election trends point toward many future Democratic administrations at the state and national level where Republicans now sit in power. This will surely mean even more participation by trade union leaders in government both directly and indirectly. The mere fact of this participation serves to expose the fascist role of these leaders, since much of the working class already clearly sees that the state is entirely in the hands of its enemies.

## THE INSTITUTIONAL ROLE OF US TRADE UNIONISM

But the role of US trade unionism in controlling the proletariat is not limited to the actions of the top leadership. Forty years of rampant monopoly capitalism has shaped a unionism which is literally a part of monopoly capitalism. Through unions corporate fascism attempts to define the content of workers' demands in the interests of the ruling class, then

to channel the actual class conflict into "institutionalized" forms of struggle. This is a consciously formed and frequent-stated strategy of monopolists.

## CONTROLLING THE CONTENT OF WORKERS' DEMANDS

US trade unions limit workers' demands to more money whenever they can get away with it. As Karl Marx showed in CAPITAL, the sale of our laborpower is the transaction which lies at the heart of capitalist relations. And that's one of the main jobs of "labor leaders"---to sell our labor and with it our control of the value we produce. (Of course, you can be sure that when they sell us, they take their cut. The pimps) Their very nature is to be automatic "sell-outs", as the apt expression goes. And the union contract, the bible of the trade union movement, is really nothing more than a bill of sale. A receipt.

The economist demands of unions are always presented as ends in themselves, rather than as demands which expose the inhumanity of capitalism and the need for socialism.

Excluded from the demands of the workers are all things threatening to monopoly capitalism: democratic rights for workers on the job, control of production, political demands, etc.

In addition, the issues of national chauvinism and national liberation are held by unions to be totally out of bounds. In the workplace, it is always the boss who is "leading the battle against racism" by jive affirmative action charades,

it is national form which causes the intensity of oppression of Black and Chicano Nations, and it is national form which gives their struggle its force and direction. So it is not surprising that national forms of organization are greatly geared by trade union leaders, who expose themselves as champions of white national chauvinism by their opposition, (just as certain "revolutionary" organizations similarly expose themselves in the movement), Nationalist workers organizations can unleash powerful forces of class struggle in the union and in the workplace, and can open the door to international unity of the proletariat based on the revolutionary alliance.

## CONTROLLING THE NATURE OF THE BATTLE

Through US trade unionism the actual struggles of the working class are institutionalized: they are made a part of the system. Games are played in which both sides "play by the rules" and share the same overall objectives. Because union demands never go beyond the relations of monopoly capitalism the union sees the longterm "health" of the industry as its own concern.

Grievance resolution too has been increasingly bureaucratized. Instead of settling the beef on the workplace floor and thus acquiring awareness of and ability to exercise their power, the workers find their grievance written up in legal terms and stuck into long slow process which moves towards binding arbitration. And the law handed down by the arbitrator is fundamentally the law of capitalist relations---pure injustice to the working class.

Organizationally too unions reflect their roles in capitalism today. Like every other monopoly capitalist organization, they are anti-democratically organized, in a bureaucratic manner, with all power and information concentrated at the top, leaving the rank and file isolated, uninformed, and powerless.

## THE NEED FOR A PARTY

This sad state of affairs in the on-

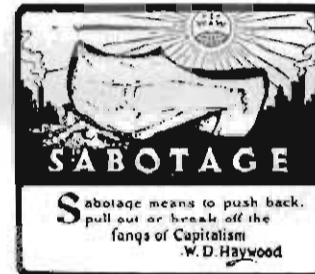
ly mass organizations of the working class shows clearly the crying need for a Leninist Party(ies) and an organized revolutionary movement.

But the strategies described above to shape the demands and control the struggles of our class can only be effective if capitalists are willing and able to deliver the goods on the economic demands, and only to the extent that the conditions of life and work under capitalism are bearable.

Today more than ever since WWII this is not the case. As the quality of life is deteriorating, the cost of living outstripping puny wage increases, the force of fascism becoming ever more blatant; the demands for national liberation and socialist revolution begin to explode through all the clever strategies for control and cooptation devised by the corporate fascists!

We communists are the organizing agents of this explosion. This is our job. Under these conditions it is our duty to raise the genuine demands of the working class and lead the forces of revolution forward in the battle for socialism and national liberation. Any so-called communists who try to confine the demands of the working class to economism or who otherwise ally with the agents of monopoly capitalism in the working class organizations are themselves agents of fascism.

The above view of unions and trade unionism is already commonly held by much of the working class. In this respect the masses are already far ahead of many so-called communists. What is lacking is the awareness of an alternative---in theory and most especially in practice---the leadership of a Leninist Party(ies).



★  
STRIKE WAVE!

On the week ending July 15, 588 strikes broke out or continued within the United States. A total of 230,000 workers were on strike. At this time last year there were 279 strikes and only 70,000 striking employees.

There are currently more strikes in the country since any time after the great strike wave following the second World War. Among the groups of striking workers were; state and city employees, transit, steel, chemical and auto workers, airline mechanics and police men - just to mention a few.

Bourgeois economists from "liberal" Paul Samuelson of M.I.T. University to conservatives are deeply worried by the strike wave and Nixon's economic policies. Nixon's "anti-inflation" campaign calls for a large increase in unemployment, lower wages, worse safety conditions and higher corporate profits. The Wall Street economists say that these policies which have hit Third World people hardest will certainly bring race war and eventually "will raise the sleeping dogs of class war". Communists have been predicting this strike wave for the past few years. If they do their job right, revolutionaries have a good opportunity to raise the consciousness of the working class and strengthen both national and class struggle.

## MOBILE STRIKE BREAKER

Mid-June saw a wildcat strike in Warren Michigan close down a Dodge truck plant. The workers were protesting racism, health and safety hazards, harrassment and dangerous speedups. Naturally, the United Auto Workers' Local 140 officials opposed this progressive strike. Strike breaker, Judge Hunter Stair, rode a Dodge flatbed truck to the picket line in his robes and started busting the picketing workers on the spot. Strikebreakers like this must be dealt with in a revolutionary way!

cont on 19

cont. from pg. 3

CAR BOMBINGS

President of UMAS (United Mexican American Students) in 1972. He ran on the Raza Unida ticket for the Board of Regents at C.U. Freddie often suffered repression from C.U. officials because of his militancy. He was with Ricardo Falcon when Ricardo was shot in Oro Grande, N.M.

In October, 1972, Freddie was a leader in the movement to recall Denver City Councilman Eugene DiManna, a known Mafioso, with a petition campaign. In other words, Freddie had enemies in the words, Freddie had enemies in the Establishment and the underworld. As "Corky" Gonzales said after the explosions, "Organized Crime fears us more than it fears the police. They know they can buy the police. They can't buy us." DiManna has continuously harassed and threatened anyone who dared to challenge his power. In the summer of 1972, he was responsible for police attacks on a Denver park that had been liberated by Chicanos and re-named La Raza Park.

The other victims of the car explosions included known activists and others not known for movement activities:

Ashley Una Jaskola, 24, from Rochester, Minn. was the woman friend of Reyes Martinez. She seemed to be politically uninvolved until she began to date Reyes and even then she apparently wasn't involved very much. She had a double degree in sociology and psychology from C.U. where she probably met Reyes.

Neva Arlene Romero, 20, from Ignacio, Colo. was the daughter of Ignacio's Mayor and a junior at C.U. majoring in bi-lingual and bi-cultural education. Neva chose this field because she deeply felt that Chicanos were not getting the education they should. As an active member of UMAS, Neva led an hour-and-a-half takeover of the Boulder Valley School Board when the board rejected a bi-lingual, bi-cultural program for 3 elementary schools.

Neva did not limit her criticisms to the Establishment but extended them to Raza when she felt it necessary. In 1972, she spoke out against Tijerina's policies at the Congreso for Land and Cultural Reform in Albuquerque, and demanded that he give up his control of the Congreso. This summer, if Neva had lived, she would be working with youngsters and senior citizens in Ignacio.

Francisco Luevano (Dougherty), 22, formerly of Laredo, Tex. was being sought by police for failing to appear at a probation hearing. He had been sentenced to 3 months in jail for disorderly conduct in connection with a C.U. "disturbance" in August, 1973. Kiko Martinez was his lawyer; later Reyes represented him.

Francisco was one of 10 persons arrested at Columbus (La Raza) Park in Denver during summer, 1972. Along with Freddie Granados, he was active in the campaign to recall Mafioso City Councilman Eugene DiManna.

Heriberto Teran, 24, formerly of Laredo Tex. was a counselor for the Colorado Pinto Project--a job program for ex-convicts in Boulder. Heriberto was a poet and published a book of poetry.

After the killings, there were strange rumors about internal conflicts as the cause of the explosions. "Corky" Gonzales is no reason to suppose either of the bombings resulted from a factional fight within the Chicano community." He ended that statement by saying, "We have reason to suspect that we are dealing with highly skilled killers, who have access to the most technical and sophisticated resources and materials. Their methods have been used in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cambodia, Africa, Asia, Chile and across South America... We intend to survive no matter what the odds against us are. We will continue our work and encourage our people to continue the struggle

for liberation despite coercion, threats or death."

Hasta la victoria siempre, companeros!



HOW ARMED STRUGGLE BEGAN IN SOUTH VIET NAM cont. from pg 17

and explosive weapons for self-defence, the peasants in four districts rose up and using strategems, seized isolated posts, captured puppet administrators, executed the cruellest agents, and set up local power in the area. With the weapons captured from the enemy they organized guerrilla units to repulse enemy attacks. The woman who directly led this uprising was Mne Nguyen Thi Dinh, now Deputy-Commander of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Armed Forces.

To give a strong impulse to the concerted uprisings, part of the liberation armed forces in the base area in Eastern Nam Bo joined the local forces to step up activities in support of the peasants. Meanwhile the major portion was deployed to strike at a key enemy position so as to produce a strong impact on the area and at the same time to seize the enemy's weapons and distribute them to the local forces. The position singled out for attack was Tour 2.

This was the French name of a former colonial army post. Now also called Nguyen Thai Noc fortress, Tour 2 was a forward position facing the Cambodian border, 5km north of Tay Ninh provincial capital. The enemy force here included nearly two regiments and consisted mostly of recruits still under training with an armoured squadron and an artillery company both of which belonged to the 13th division of the Saigon army. On Feb. 26, 1960, a battalion from the forces of the religious sects, started attacking the barracks. Taking advantage of the enemy soldiers' preparations for the Lunar New Year Festival, a group of patriots secretly entered the barracks and attacked from within, while a bigger force struck from outside. The enemy troops were taken by surprise and put to rout within a few minutes. Those who tried to resist were wiped out. The major part of the recruits surrendered. The revolutionary forces seized a munitions dump and used the enemy trucks to take away a large quantity of weapons. In spite of the interception of an enemy re-

lief force from Tay Ninh provincial capital which took back half the weapons, about 1,200 assorted guns and rounds of ammunition remained in the insurgents' hands. All told, 400 enemy soldiers were killed, including a colonel and a lieutenant-colonel, and 500 others captured.

After the attack on Tour 2 position, the Saigon General Staff had to strike the 13th Division off the roll. This victory had a great psychological impact on the people as well as on the enemy troops and gave a strong impetus to the concerted uprisings in the rural areas of Nam Bo.

Shortly afterwards the anti-US-Diem armed forces in Eastern Nam Bo (including the people's forces and the forces of the religious sects) were merged under a joint command - "the High Command of Eastern Nam Bo Liberation Armed Forces" - and in the provinces a military command system at all levels ranging from villages through districts to provinces was set up. After that, in Central and Western Nam Bo - the centre of the concerted uprisings - similar military commands were established.

In 1960, the armed forces in Eastern Nam Bo recorded resounding victories, destroying the enemy in many district capitals and military sub-sectors in Bien Hoa, Thu Dan Mot, Tay Ninh and other provinces. The peasant uprisings spread throughout the rural areas of Eastern Nam Bo. It was in the flames of these concerted uprisings that the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation came into being on Dec. 20, 1960, and on Feb. 15, 1961, the patriotic armed forces of South Viet Nam were merged into the People's Liberation Armed Forces.

February 1974  
TA XUAN LINH



Ho Chi Minh  
Father of the  
Vietnamese Revolution



## WORLD REVOLUTION NOTES



**PARIS-** At the conference of the European Left, the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) of Chile announced the beginning of guerrilla warfare in both the rural and urban areas. In the same announcement the MIR called for unification of the entire Chilean left to begin active armed propaganda.

**SOUTHERN AFRICA-** Military victories and right-wing terror are rising in Mozambique and Angola. Right-wing terror against Africans and their supporters has led to the massacre of 20 African protesters by the colonial army in Angola. PRELIMO is mounting an ever victorious offensive which has resulted in both the cutting of communications to the Cabora Bassa dam and occupying the richest agricultural area of Mozambique. Under international and internal pressure, Portugal has announced it will support Guine-Bissau's admission into the UN. However, the Cape Verde islands and their NATO bases remain a stumbling block in negotiations between the PAIGC of Guine-Bissau and Portugal.

### MILITANT STRIKE ACTION!

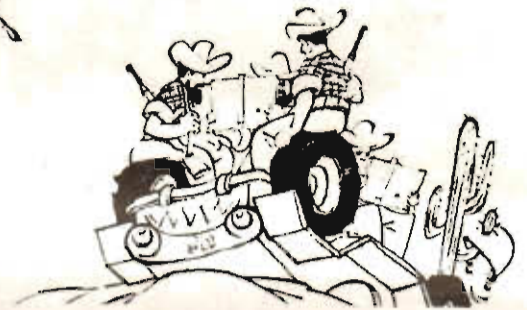
Kern County, Calif. - Mid-June also saw workers at the Borax plant in Boron deal with stalling management tactics in a decisive manner. When management negotiators started hedging, 500 striking workers of the International Longshoremen Union (ILWU) stormed the plant. The outraged workers burned the personnel office, a guard shack and several other buildings and railroad cars. They also fired on the police and two Borax helicopters. No arrests were made. This plant is the world's largest Borax plant.

**INDOCHINA-** PRG forces launched a drive against the Da Nang military enclave of the Saigon regime. 30 bases and outposts in the liberation forces. In the meantime US news sources revealed that the Communists control more land than they did in 1965. All of the areas but one (Chu Lai which is completely surrounded) defended by US soldiers (Khe Son, Hamburger Hill, etc) are now far behind PRG lines.



**ARGENTINA-** Violent class warfare has been building since the death of president Juan Peron in July. Right-wing terror is on the upswing. A labor leader, who was from the left-wing of Peron's Party was assassinated by elements from the peronist right-wing and military. At a mass funeral and march of several thousand poor and working people for the labor leader, police and military units attacked the procession. Street fighting broke out with dead and wounded on both sides. However the people were hurt more since they bore the brunt of of the unprovoked first attack. Meanwhile the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) has been fighting back. In one action the People's Army occupied a town, cut communications and completely liberated the bank of its funds and the police station of its weapons. The guerrillas escaped without casualties. The ERP has recently co-founded the LATIN AMERICAN JOINT COORDINATING COUNCIL with Chilean, Bolivian and Uruguay revolutionary parties.

毛主席說：一切反动派都是纸老虎。看起来，反动派的样子是可怕的，但是实际上并没有什么了不起的力量。



# Long Live the Victory of Mao tse Tung Thought

## The United Fruit Co.

When the trumpet sounded, it was all prepared on the earth, and Jehovah parceled out the earth to Coca-Cola, Inc., Anaconda, Ford Motors, and other entities: The Fruit Company, Inc. reserved for itself the most succulent, the central coast of my own land, the delicate waist of America. It rechristened its territories as the "Banana Republics" and over the sleeping dead, over the restless heroes who brought about the greatness, the liberty and the flags, it established the comic opera: abolished the independencies, presented crowns of Caesar, unsheathed envy, attracted the dictatorship of the flies. Trujillo flies, Tacho flies, Carias flies, Martinez flies,

Ubico flies, damp flies of modest blood and marmalade, drunken flies who zoom over the ordinary graves, circus flies, wise flies well trained in tyranny.

Among the bloodthirsty flies the Fruit Company lands its ships, taking off the coffee and the fruit: the treasure of our submerged territories flows as though on plates into the ships.

Meanwhile Indians are falling into the sugared chasms of the harbors, wrapped for burial in the mist of the dawn: a body rolls, a thing that has no name, a fallen cipher, a cluster of dead fruit thrown down on the dump.

by Pablo Neruda  
Nobel Laureate, Poetry

### From The Song of the Fighters

They rob us of our land and put it under their ploughs,  
They raze our homes and build military outposts.  
Crying will not dissipate our anger,  
Imploing pity will not open the way to salvation.

Guns and bombs are not our way of life,  
We have never been friends of war;  
But they have come armed to the teeth.  
Shall we resign ourselves to slavery? Never!

Night after night under the palm trees,  
Our land stirs, our people prepare for attack.  
Our fighters' eyes shine in the darkness,  
Watch the stars embrace the immense vault of heaven.

Forward we march singing passionately  
Of our beloved land. Our blood and bones  
shall be the ramparts!

Tbanh Hai

Companeros del arado  
yde toda herramionta  
nomas nos queda un camino  
¡agarrar untrenta-treinta!

Comrades all, of the plow  
and working implements  
there's only one way now:  
the rifle in our hands!

Song of the 30-30  
Carbine  
From the Mexican  
Revolution

### Advice to Oneself

Without the cold and desolation of winte,  
There could not be the warmth and splendor  
of spring.  
Calamity has tempered and barded me  
And turned my mind to steel.

Ho Chi Minh

