

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 15 OF 16

FOLDER 15

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES MISC
MATERIAL

*A Call
to a National Demonstration,
at Madison Square Garden,
on October 27 in Support
of the Independence,
of Puerto Rico*



We, residents of the United States, support the United Nations' resolution recognizing the right of self-determination and independence.

Because: PUERTO RICO IS A CLASSICAL COLONY (without an autonomous political status, ceded to Puerto Rico by Spain in 1898. The U.S. has jurisdiction over eighty-five vital areas of Puerto Rican political, economic, social, labor relations, communications, postal service, military bases.) In 1917, Puerto Ricans were deprived of their right to self-determination.

THIS POLITICAL CONTROL IS DEEPENED BY ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE. North American corporations control 85% of all industry in Puerto Rico. These corporations, exempt from taxes and benefitting from the low wage-scale, extract huge profits. A dramatic example of this economic colonialism is the escalating investment in the petro-chemical industry on the island over the last 15 years. Puerto Rico now refines a significant amount of the oil used in the United States. Thus, the ecologically hazardous refining process remains under full control of U.S. oil interests without endangering the North American continent.

For the Puerto Rican people this means that industrial development is based on the needs of North American industry. Puerto Ricans produce what they cannot consume and consume what they do not produce. In fact, Puerto Rico is the fourth largest market for U.S.-produced goods in the world!

U.S. control of Puerto Rico has created a life and death crisis for this nation of four million people, with a history of more than four hundred years. U.S. domination stifles any real economic development on the island, bringing starvation wages and a cost of living even higher than in the U.S., and causing chronic unemployment for 30% of the workers. Forced to look for work, over one and one-half million Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States. Those who leave face brutal racist oppression on the mainland, live in the

*tates, declare our support for the
recognizing "the inalienable, right of
pendence" & demand a Bi-Cent*

*COLONY OF THE UNITED STATES. This has been true since the
ain a year earlier. Although Puerto Rico today supposedly has its
political and economic life. These include migration and emigration
maintenance of an army, and military use of land (13% of Puerto
hts of a nation and forced to become U.S. citizens, in time to be d*

worst slums or migrant camps, and find only the lowest paying jobs available.

The corrupt government of Puerto Rico, unwilling and unable to resolve the people's problems, and losing popular support, has become more repressive. Five political prisoners, members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, have been in U.S. jails for more than twenty years. Today there are mounting political arrests, constant police brutality, and threats on the lives of political activists. Right-wing groups, with proven financial ties to the CIA, have been linked to several bombings of *Claridad* a pro-independence newspaper, and attacks on the offices of both the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

THESE REALITIES HAVE NOT GONE UNCHALLENGED. From the very beginning at the time of the Spanish invasion, Puerto Rico has had a long history of anti-colonial struggle, with traditions of courage and resistance. Today, the Puerto Rican independence movement is growing by leaps and bounds. Labor strikes this past year—on a national level—have halted all trucking, municipal transportation, school services, sanitation collection, electrical and power utilities operations. The student movement, the most militant sector of the independence movement since the early sixties, has closed down the University twice this year—once in support of labor struggles.

e December 1973, history-making t of the people of Puerto Rico to ntennial Without Colonies.

*the 1898 invasion by United States troops, which violated the
s its own government and constitution, in fact the U.S. Congress
ration, citizenship, currency, trade relationships with other
erto Rico's best agricultural land is occupied by U.S. military
be drafted into the World War I army.*

This resistance brought the colonial condition of the Puerto Rican people to the attention of the nations of the world. Last year, after listening to Ruben Berrios and Juan Mari Bras, the leaders of the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, in a precedent-setting moment the United Nations approved the resolution which declared that Puerto Rico has the right to independence and instructed the United States and the corporations under its jurisdiction to refrain from any measures—economic or social—which might serve as an obstacle to decolonization. Current U.S. plans for building a superport petroleum complex and massive strip mining for copper in the central mountain range clearly show that the United States intends to ignore this resolution.

The United States government continues to deny the existence of the massive independence movement. The mass media maintains a conspiracy of silence about it, promoting the myth that Puerto Rico is the “showcase of democracy.”

In 1976, the United States will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. It is a farce to speak of celebrating the 1776 revolution against colonialism while denying freedom to another people. The millions of Americans who rejected U.S. domination in Vietnam must join in demanding an end to U.S. domination of the courageous Puerto Rican people.

continued on back

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee is a nation-wide committee of all peoples and nationalities in the United States. Its purpose is to demonstrate support for the independence of Puerto Rico. The Committee has branches in major cities across the country. The National Board of the Committee includes:

Ramon Arbona, Puerto Rican Socialist Party*

Ella J. Baker

Fran Beal, Third World Women's Alliance

Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement

Father Phillip Berrigan

Ben Chavis, National Alliance Against Racist and
Political Repression

Noam Chomsky, M.I.T.

Burt Corona, CASA, Hermandad General de
Trabajadores

David Dellinger, Liberation Magazine

James Forman

David Garcia, Priest-in-Charge, St. Mark's Church

Corky Gonzalez, Crusade for Justice

Arthur Kinoy, Interim Committee for a Mass
Party of the People

Mary Kochiyama, Asian Americans for Action

Antonio Rodriguez, National Committee to Free
Los Tres

Irwin Silber, Guardian

Cora Weiss, Women's Strike for Peace

***Organizations given for identification only**

all labor donated

What You Can Do

First, you or your organization can sponsor the action. Add your name to the sponsor list of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee.

Second, you can become a sustainer. Your contribution of \$100.00 (made in one payment or several) for a special seat on the garden floor will help us to raise the funds that we need to finance the event.

You can buy a block of tickets. Mobilize your friends and associates, your organization, your work place. Buy tickets in blocks of 50!

You can send a contribution as "kick-off" money to get our office going and our Committee off the ground.

We need your support to make this action a success. Please fill in the coupon below, detach and mail to:

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee
P.O. Box 319, Cooper Station
New York, N.Y. 10003
(212) 673-0540

- I/my organization wish(es) to sponsor the demonstration at Madison Square Garden. Please use my name on your sponsor list.
- I/we wish to be a sustainer of the Committee. Here is my check for \$100, which entitles me to a special seat on the garden floor during the activity.
- I/we wish to purchase a block of tickets. Send information.
- Here is a contribution for "kick-off" money.
- I/we would like to contribute some time. Get in touch and put us to work.

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____



madison square garden

Pennsylvania Plaza, 7th Ave., 31st to 33rd Sts.

THE MOMENT OF UNITY IS HERE. It is up to us, people living in the U.S., to make the government stop its illegal and immoral activity in Puerto Rico, to pull out its troops and stop its repressive intervention—to get out of the Puerto Rican people's lives.

On May 1, 1974 the Puerto Rican Socialist Party called for a massive demonstration of support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence in New York on October 27, 1974.

WE CALL ON THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO SHOW CONCRETE SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE IN THIS MASSIVE NATIONAL MOBILIZATION.

There, 20,000 of us—Puerto Rican, white and Afro-American, Mexican, Chicano, Asian, Native American—will demand:

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

A BI-CENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES!

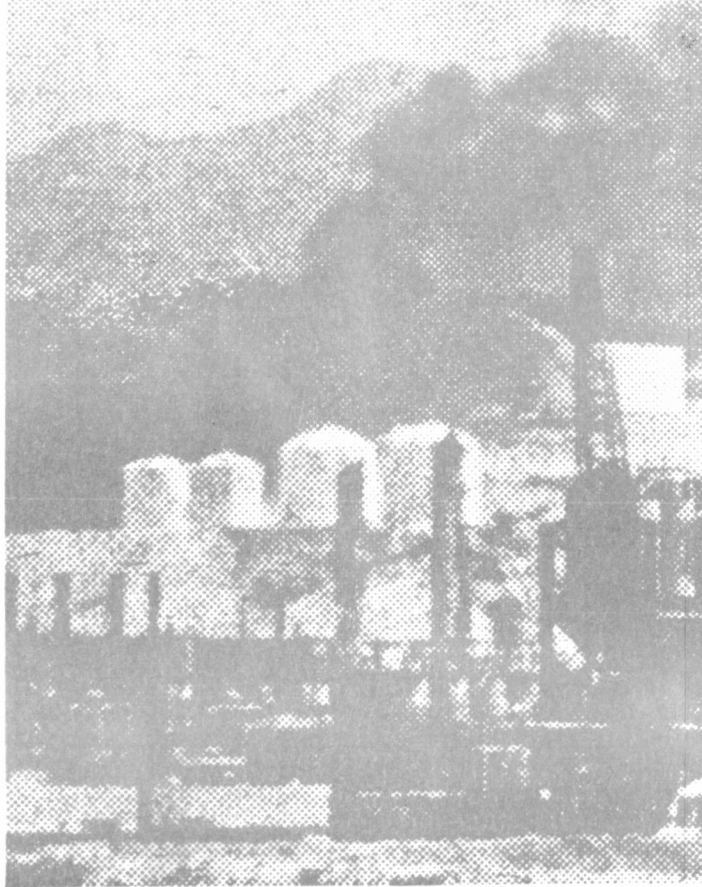
We who are making this call are the National Board of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee and the Committee's local chapters and support committees.

New York,
May, 1974



On July 4, 1973 25,000 angry Puerto Ricans marched through Aguadilla, Puerto Rico to protest the construction of a superport and oil refining complex on their islands. What is in the new master plan for Puerto Rico's economy which has caused this unprecedented reaction and in turn created a mass movement against it? Why do the Puerto Rican people see this plan as a threat to their existence as a nation?

a superport means.....



A Superport—What Is It?

A superport is a deep-sea port that has the necessary off-shore depth to dock huge tankers or supertankers, used primarily to transport oil. Major U.S. oil companies have recently claimed that there is an oil shortage in the United States and that we must increasingly depend on massive imports from the Middle East. Investigations, however, show that the United States has large oil reserves, but that domestic development does not bring in the huge returns which have resulted from Middle East investments. Furthermore, evidence shows that the "energy crisis" has served to force up prices

.no more pue

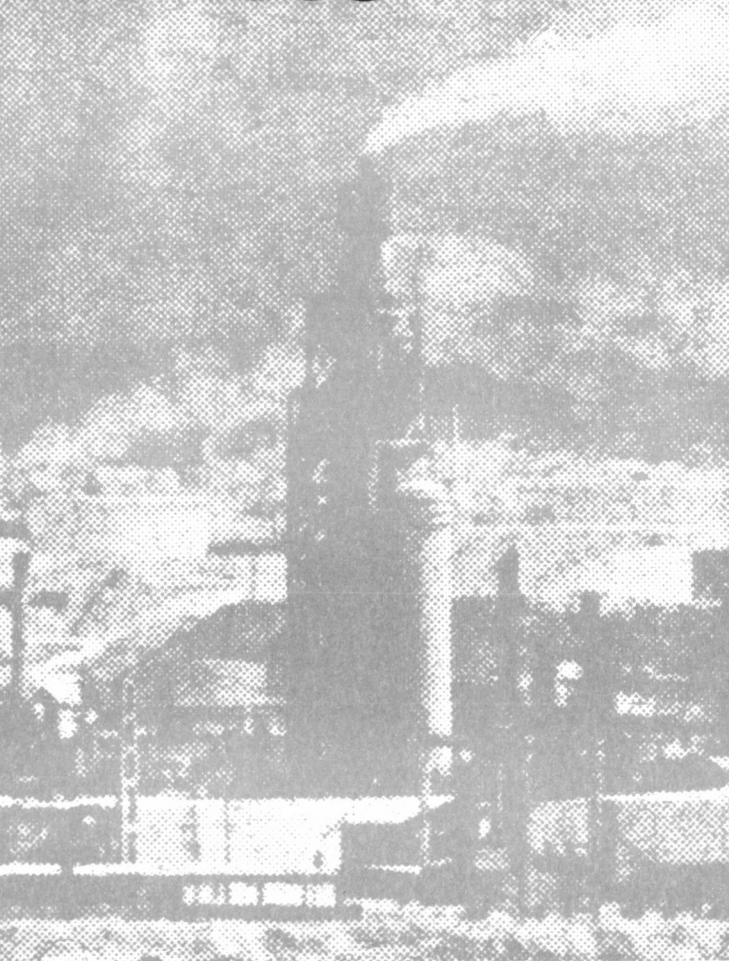




Partial view of Rotterdam superport.

and profits for the major oil companies, put independent companies out of business, and improve the U.S. economic position in comparison with Europe and Japan.

erto rico



Thus the necessity for the construction of superports becomes clear when seen as an important link in the drive of the major oil companies to maintain and expand their high rate of profit.

Why in Puerto Rico?

Puerto Rico is a U.S.-owned territory which occupies a key geographic position in the Caribbean for transferring oil from the Middle East and Latin America to the Eastern Coast of the United States.

More important than that are the possibilities Puerto Rico offers for building a refining and industrial complex connected to the



superport. Puerto Rico's colonial status gives it particular advantages to U.S. industry such as lack of foreign export tax on refined oil, tax exemption for industry, cheap and often unorganized labor and U.S. control of trade.

What is the Plan?

The superport plan has been developed primarily by U.S. multinational oil companies with the aid of the Commonwealth Government of Puerto Rico. Both the western coast of Puerto Rico and the island of Mona, 40 miles off the coast, have been under consideration as possible sites. In September, 1973, Puerto Rican governor Rafael Hernandez Colón, announced that the colonial government would go ahead with the superport complex on Mona.

This plan is being projected by the colonial government as an answer to the economic crisis on the island. As with Operation Bootstrap in the 1940's, more jobs, more industry and rapid economic growth are being promised. The massive unemployment caused by the postwar development plan forced the migration of one million Puerto Ricans from the ruined agricultural sectors of the island to the cities of the United States. The conversion of Operation Bootstrap into a get-rich-quick plan for U.S. industries, cast doubt on the credibility of the new promises.

The plan envisions the construction of 2 to 4 more oil refining complexes and new and expanded petro-chemical plants, which together would occupy between 11,000 and 22,000 acres of the western coast of Puerto Rico by 1990. U.S. mining interests such as American Metal Climax, Kennecott Copper and Anaconda plan, by strip mining, to exploit 36,000 acres of land in the central western part of the island and to use supertankers to export the minerals. Thermo-electrical plants will be built to provide the power for smelting of iron and steel, and for the refining-petrochemical complexes.

How Will the Plan Affect the Environment?

Plans call for constructing the superport-refining-petrochemical complex on the best arable land of Puerto Rico, land which would be ruined to a large extent by contaminants expelled into the air by the industries. Both fresh and sea-water resources would be



Pollution destroys fish and in turn the livelihood of the people.

critically threatened. Pharmaceutical plants would increase the danger of mercury poisoning and the ocean would continuously be subject to potential oil spills. Strip mining would destroy the natural fauna of the island, leaving in its place deep, barren crevices. Rare wildlife, unique to the island of Mona, would be driven from their natural breeding grounds or killed off.

And the People?

The development of the superport would not only have a severe effect on the health of the Puerto Rican people with the increase of pollution, but it would set into motion a chain of consequences. As oil and petroleum industries are among the least labor-intensive few new jobs would be created, and those that are would require highly trained U.S. technicians. Instead, the superport would seriously inhibit or destroy the fishing and agricultural industries putting thousands of people out of work. Renewed massive migration to the United States, added to the already unprecedented circumstance of 40%

of its population already living in the U.S., would mean the virtual destruction of the Puerto Rican nation.

Puerto Rico—A U.S. Colony

For the past 75 years the U.S. government and U.S. economic interests have determined the destiny of the Puerto Rican people. In order to do this, they have had to keep the American people ignorant of the colonial domination which the U.S. has over the island.

But with the growth of the movement for independence in Puerto Rico, the colonial relationship is harder to hide. What seven decades of U.S. colonialism has meant to Puerto Rico is being discussed in the United Nations and around the world. We know now that the continuation of U.S. domination has very grave implications, and that the survival of the Puerto Rican people hangs in the balance.



Puerto Ricans demonstrate in Aguadilla in July, 1973.

With the future of Puerto Rico at stake we cannot afford to be ignorant. It is time for us to take responsibility for the actions of our government which holds a people in chains without our consent. It is time we put a stop to U.S. oil companies reaping profits at the expense of the health and livelihood of the world's population. It is time for us to say NO! to the superport just as the 25,000 Puerto Ricans marching through the streets of Aguadilla have said NO!

Stop the Superport

The Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization, an unaffiliated group supporting the independence of Puerto Rico, is planning a series of conferences nationwide to organize a campaign to stop the superport. All groups or individuals interested in learning about Puerto Rico and the campaign can contact the CPRD. A slide show which illustrates the environmental effects of the existing petroleum industry in Puerto Rico and describes the implications of the superport is available to community groups, high school and university classes, union locals, clergy groups, political organizations, newspaper collectives—to everyone interested in the future of Puerto Rico.

To organize a conference in your area, fill out the enclosed coupon and send to:

Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization
Box 1240
Peter Stuyvesant Station
New York, New York 10009

_____ I (we) would be interested in organizing a slide-showing on the superport for

_____ 10-25 people

_____ 25-50 people

_____ 50-150 people

_____ I (we) would be able to help pay the airfare for a speaker.

_____ I (we) can not organize a conference but would like to help finance the campaign to stop the superport.

_____ I (we) would like more information.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

SOUTHERN AFRICA - THE NEXT VIETNAM ??????

It is not easy now to think beyond the present tragedy in Vietnam. However, already another major conflict is emerging in white-ruled Southern Africa. And the stage is being set for deeper American involvement in this war as well.

Many people have at least heard of the racist policies of South Africa. Few know that guerrilla warfare has already begun. In "Portuguese" Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, in Rhodesia and South West Africa, African guerrilla units fight the white armies of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. South Africa's "buffer zone" is at war. Once again in this century, it seems that the spirit of Nazism with its accent on "Herrenvolk" white supremacy will be put down only after a blood-letting of gigantic proportions.

This war of liberation is being fought on the following fronts:

1. In small "Portugese" Guinea in West Africa, one of the most successful of African liberation movements has expelled the Portugese from 4/5 of the territory.
2. In Angola, the Portugese colony on the west coast of Southern Africa, the war that began in 1961 continues. In northern and eastern Angola, several movements harass the Portugese. Faced with rapid and savage suppression in 1961, Angolan nationalists did not give up. Since 1966 the conflict has expanded - the Portugese are faced with guerrilla action in 9 of the 15 Angolan provinces.
3. In Mozambique, Portugal's east coast colony, approximately 10,000 guerrillas of the Mozambique Liberation Front confront 60,000 Portugese troops. There are liberated areas in the three northernmost provinces. In 1968 a new front was opened in Tete province, and the massive Cahora Bassa hydroelectric project on the Zambeze River, a joint Portugese-South African project, is threatened.
4. In Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) over 2,000 black guerrillas engage 10,000 white Rhodesian and South African forces. The Zimbabwean forces are members of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and Ndabaningi Sithole's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Both leaders have been in concentration camps for over five years as a result of their non-violent political action before the war began. ZAPU forces mount joint operations with the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. ZAPU forces also guide the ANC units until they reach the South African border. In Zimbabwe black South Africans are already confronting white South Africans. The prelude to the full struggle in South Africa

itself is being played out in this "buffer zone."

5. South Africa and South African-controlled South West Africa are so far protected from extensive fighting by the buffer states of Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique to the north. But in South West Africa (Namibia) in which South Africa's trusteeship has been declared void by the United Nations, small groups of African guerrillas are active. And even in South Africa itself, the ultimate bastion of white racism, underground groups of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) are active.

The struggle for liberation is many wars, one may say. But it is also one war. For white-ruled Southern Africa works together. South Africa plays the key role; its outward policy recognizes the importance of the protection provided by friendly states to the north. The "Unholy Trinity" pact of October, 1965 between South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia, made provision for a common integrated defense system against increasing guerrilla activity. South African troops have been in action in Rhodesia and the presence of South African troops and air support has been reported in Angola and Mozambique as well. South Africa has just completed a vast inter-service forward strike base (called Swift Kill) in the Caprivi Strip, just opposite the village of Sesheke in independent Zambia.

The African liberation movements in turn have been forced to cooperate and coordinate their activities. They have the full moral support of all independent Africa, as expected in the Organization of African Unity, and some few African states match their verbal commitment with material aid. More aid comes from the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America.

South Africa and Portugal identify the nationalist movements as communist aggression and justify aggressive anti-guerrilla action, as they justified their suppression of peaceful dissent, by posturing as the pro-western bastion of Christian civilization in Africa. Thus, as the conflict escalates, the stage is set for greater western involvement.

For the war will escalate. The population ratios mean that the forces of white Southern Africa do not have the 10:1 military manpower ratio deemed necessary for successful counter-insurgency operations. And guerrilla forces are increasing in size. But South Africa is an industrial country, rich and fanatical. Its resistance to majority rule is likely to be a long and bloody struggle. Sooner or later Portugal or South Africa may attack the independent African states to the north where the guerrillas gain aid. But whether escalation comes with a jump, or bit by bit as it has so far, the outside world cannot but be involved.

The United States (and its European allies, especially Great Britain) are already tied to white-ruled Southern Africa. Among the most important links are the following:

1. Portugal, as a member of NATO, receives direct military aid and advice from the United States.

2. Under the Simonstown agreement, Great Britain has the use of a naval base in South Africa, and carries out joint maneuvers with the South African navy.

3. Southern Africa, since the closing of Suez, has assumed new strategic importance for the western role in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean.

4. The United States has over \$800 million in investments in South Africa alone: Great Britain \$3 billion.

5. South Africa gold production is key to the functioning of the International Monetary system.

6. White Southern Africa is very "anti-communist" and "pro-Western." It is therefore, by definition, a leading part of the "Free World."

The result of these and other links is clear. Under Kennedy and Johnson, the United States (with other western powers) consistently refused to abide by the U.N. General Assembly resolutions passed by overwhelming majorities condemning South African apartheid and Portuguese colonialism, and calling for action against them. Nominal support for independence and equality has been combined with adamant refusal to break those links, military and economic, which sustain racism and colonialism. Today there is danger of retreat from even the nominal support for African rights. While even Great Britain has cut diplomatic ties with the white settler regime of Rhodesia, the Nixon administration retains the U.S. consulate there. Portugal is hopeful of increased military aid. New investment in South Africa is encouraged.

It may be that no American administration would be quite stupid enough to send American troops to defend the white regimes of Southern Africa. Given past history in other parts of the world, it would hardly be wise to be complacent on this point, however. The excuses are there already: anti-communism, military ties, economic interests. Investment that supports the white regimes is sure to grow, military aid may grow as well. The United States is committed in words to the side of independence and racial equality, while by its actions it is committed on the other side.

Distributed by: Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa

STOP RHODESIAN IMPORTS! (ASBESTOS, CHROME, BERYLLIUM)

IMPORTING ASBESTOS & CHROME SUPPORTS RACIST GOVERNMENT

In Rhodesia a government representing the interests of the 5% white minority controls the country. While blacks make up 95% of the population they have no civil rights. The average wage for whites is about \$700 a month, for blacks about \$50 a month. U.S. importation of chrome helps keep this government in power.

IMPORTING RHODESIAN PRODUCTS HURTS U.S. WORKERS

The Rhodesian government has used its policies of racial discrimination to keep the wages of African workers at a low level. This makes it very profitable for the big corporations in the U.S. to close down plants here and move to places like Rhodesia. Since 1971 two ferrochrome plants in the U.S. have been closed. And the companies use the threat of cheap foreign labor to fight demands for higher wages and benefits.

RHODESIAN ASBESTOS IS DANGEROUS TO YOUR HEALTH

Asbestos is the major Rhodesian cargo unloaded in the port of Philadelphia. Working with asbestos exposes workers to lung cancer and mesotheliona (a highly fatal chest and abdomen cancer) and other cancer. These diseases occur in those who work with asbestos on a day to day basis such as Black Rhodesian mine workers, asbestos manufacture workers, and asbestos tile workers. Working with asbestos is also extremely dangerous to dock workers since small and short term exposure to asbestos can also cause cancer. Out of 500,000 Americans now or formerly working with asbestos, 100,000 will die of cancer, 35,000 will die of mesotheliona and 35,000 will die of asbestosis.

IMPORTING RHODESIAN GOODS IS LIKE IMPORTING CONTRABAND

In 1966 and again in 1968 the U.N. imposed economic sanctions against the white, racist government of Rhodesia. In October, 1971 the U.S. Congress, moved by big business, voted to break these international laws. Importing Rhodesian asbestos is like importing contraband.

Don't Unload Rhodesian Cargo — SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION!

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN RHODESIA ?

Rhodesia (called Zimbabwe by the Africans of that country), declared itself independent of Britain in 1965. The move took place after a long dispute about eventual majority rule in that country. The population is 95% African and 5% white. Most of the white settlers arrived only in this century: three quarters have lived in Zimbabwe less than 20 years. Nevertheless the Ian Smith regime which governs the country represents only the interests of the white minority. The laws of the country are saturated with racial discrimination against the blacks including strict racial laws on the ownership and even the use of land.

Several laws have been passed that make it impossible to carry out any political opposition without fear of police repression. Many political leaders are in jail or in detention camps in isolated areas of the country forbidden to communicate with anybody. Further legislation has been passed enforcing segregation of schools, public facilities and land. Major political parties have been banned and there is strict censorship of the press, radio and all other publications.

In 1965, when Britain insisted that the country move toward majority rule, the racist regime refused. Instead, it illegally declared itself independent to continue its racist policies.

Instead of taking the country by force, the international community supported Britain and the struggle for majority rule and self-determination by imposing trade restrictions with Rhodesia. At first, the United States complied with the sanctions but in 1971, the U.S. Congress, under the leadership of Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, passed a bill which permitted the U.S. to violate the sanctions and import "strategic" goods from Rhodesia.

The continued importation of Rhodesian products by the U.S. supports the illegal and racist regime in Rhodesia and makes the struggle for majority rule and self-determination more difficult.

The United States has been the biggest supporter of the illegal racist government in Zimbabwe. U.S. imports of asbestos, chrome and nickel have made it possible for the all-white minority government to survive.

Why has the U.S. followed this policy? Because big business has found it very profitable. Com-



Demonstration in Philadelphia protesting importation of nickel from Rhodesia.

panies like Union Carbide, Foote Mineral and Goodyear Rubber build plants and own mines in Zimbabwe. They make super profits because they pay African workers only a couple of dollars a day. Forced labor is often used. Any attempts of the workers to organize unions are brutally put down by the government police.

Big business and government working together to squeeze the workers. Sounds familiar - like Watergate, wage freezes, the Southern strategy and union busting right here in the U.S.

And it is no secret that companies are using countries like Zimbabwe against the U.S. workers. When large companies get away with paying lower wages to workers in one area, they use this to hold all wages down. They use imports produced by slave labor to threaten us and often they close down whole plants and move to countries where workers are forced to work for almost nothing. Union Carbide is doing this right now - moving its ferrochrome



division to Zimbabwe.

When we support the struggle of Africans in Zimbabwe for freedom, justice and human dignity we are fighting for our own interests, too. Our response must be solidarity with working people throughout the world against racism and exploitation, because while the companies get richer, our children and the children in Zimbabwe go hungry.

Many people in this country have already begun to fight against the chrome imports. When the first ship arrived in New Orleans, black students and longshoremen stopped it from being unloaded. Since then demonstrations have met most of the ships arriving from Zimbabwe.

International Longshoremen President, Thomas Gleason has endorsed the Rhodesian boycott, and in many cities local union longshoremen have refused to unload Rhodesian cargo.

The United Steelworkers Union has opposed the chrome imports "because of that nation's racist political, social and economic policies against its black African population." In Congress the Black Caucus has urged Nixon to "end all dealings with the illegal regime." Twenty-nine Senators have sponsored a bill to cut off trade with Rhodesia.

The response of U.S. companies has been to step up the importing of asbestos, chrome and nickel from Zimbabwe. So far the government has taken no action. Only people can force an end to these activities.

WHAT WE CAN DO

Over the past year, mass support for a boycott of Rhodesian products has grown in cities across the nation. Longshoremen have made it very clear they do not want their labor to support slavery in Rhodesia by refusing to cross picket lines to unload Rhodesian cargo.

We urge Philadelphia longshoremen to refuse to unload Rhodesian cargo. Whenever ships come in we will be there to demonstrate our support.

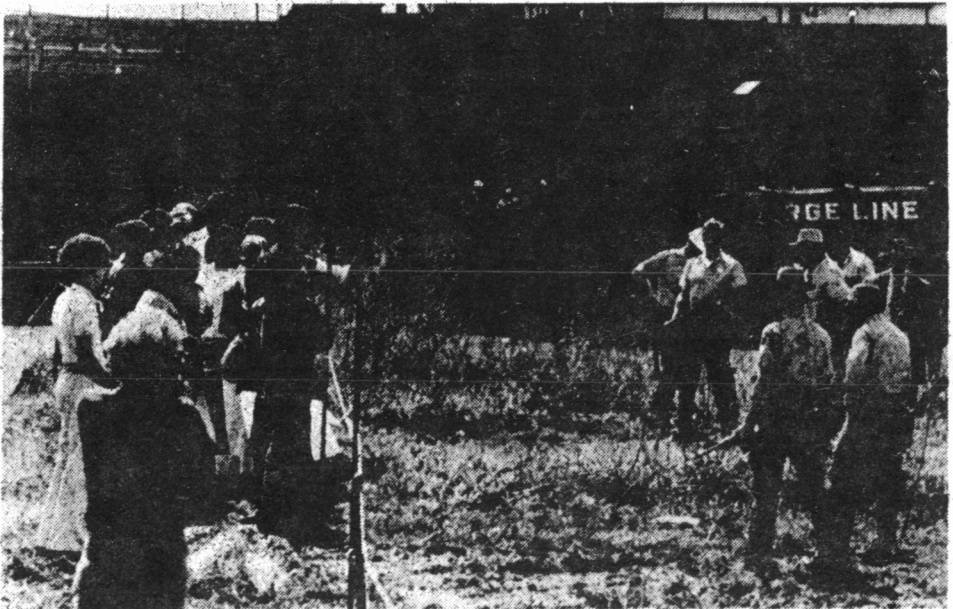
The struggle of the Rhodesian people is our struggle, too. Imports from racist Rhodesia must be stopped.

WHO WE ARE

The Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports is a group of people from the Philadelphia area, - - Black, white and Puerto Rican, - - both working people and students, united to stop Rhodesian imports.

For more information, call:
LO 3-9372, Ext. 207 until
5 P.M.

After 5 P.M. call' GA 3-3161
or 222-2758.



Black students from Louisiana's Southern University demonstrate against U.S. imports of Rhodesian chrome, March 1972.

THE CONTINENTAL REVOLUTION

In February, reporters from Cuba, Britain, Le Monde and the New York Times were secretly taken to a three-hour press conference held in a suburb of Buenos Aires by representatives of the National Liberation Movement (MLN—Tupamaros) of Uruguay, the National Liberation Army (ELN) of Bolivia, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) of Chile and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) of Argentina. They announced the formation of a joint revolutionary council to coordinate the struggle against imperialism throughout Latin America. The following document is the presentation of their political analysis and strategy.

This event is significant because it represents the determined effort of the armed left to combat the continental strategy of the United States, exemplified by the imposition of brutal military governments in country after country as the only option left to stopping the people's just struggle against foreign domination.

In the midst of violent repression characterized by arrests, assassination and torture, these organizations have not only survived, but have been able to develop a broader analysis and a common strategy. In spite of past differences and experiences in their own countries, they have now united in the call for combining the clandestine and public forms of struggle against imperialism under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, and that this struggle of necessity means the building of socialism throughout the continent.

These organizations, with long histories in their respective countries, have come together under the shared symbol of Che Guevara, whose internationalist spirit and strategy (which included forming the ELN in Bolivia) set the guidelines for the revolutionary council. They refer back to the period of the anti-colonial wars against Spain and Portugal, where the people fought together under the leadership of Bolivar, Artigas (from the region now known as Uruguay) and San Martin (from Argentina). The document also names representatives of U.S. imperialism: Maj. Ralph "Pappy" Shelton, the Green Beret who tracked down Che in Bolivia; Dan Mitrione, an advisor to the Uruguayan police force involved in torture training, who was executed by the Tupamaros in 1970; and Ernest Siracusa, who was the ambassador to Bolivia at the time of the 1971 coup against the nationalist military government of Juan José Torres, and who in April 1973 became ambassador to Uruguay.

TO THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA

"This is the road of Vietnam; this is the road that the people must follow; this is the road that America will follow with the special characteristic that the armed groups will be able to form councils of coordination to make the repressive task of Yankee imperialism more difficult and to aid our own cause."

Che Guevara, Message to Tricontinental

The National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros) of Uruguay, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) of Chile, the National Liberation Army (ELN) of Bolivia and the Peoples' Revolutionary Army (ERP) of Argentina, issue this declaration to let it be known to workers, peasants, urban poor, students and intellectuals, Indians, and the millions of exploited people of our suffering Latin America, our decision to unite in a Junta for Revolutionary Coordination.

This important step reflects a deepfelt necessity to bring our people together organizationally to unite the revolutionary forces against the imperialist enemy in order to carry out more efficiently the political and ideological battle against reformism and bourgeois nationalism.

This is the culmination of one of the major strategic ideas of Comandante Che Guevara, hero, symbol and precursor of the continental socialist revolution. It is also significant because it renews the fraternal tradition of our people who joined together and fought as one against the oppressors of the last century: the Spanish colonialists.

OUR STRUGGLE IS ANTI-IMPERIALIST

The people of the world live under the permanent threat of the most aggressive and rapacious imperialism that has ever existed. They have witnessed, not with indifference, the genocide organized and led by Yankee imperialism against the heroic Vietnamese people. In this unequal war, whose flames still burn, the warlike, treacherous character of U.S. imperialism has been exposed. But this war has shown once more, the weakness of the system and its military power, when faced by a people determined to fight and be free.

The Latin American people, from the past century to the present time, have borne the heavy colonial or neo-

colonial yoke of the imperialists. They have suffered repeatedly from military intervention and wars which have been unjustly waged or initiated by the Northamerican army or the multinational corporations.

And so you have the plundering of Mexico, the occupation of Puerto Rico, the intervention in Santo Domingo, the Bay of Pigs and other acts of war which our America will neither forget nor forgive.

And you have Shell, Esso or Standard Oil, United Fruit, ITT, the money of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Ford. You have the CIA, which, with its Pappy Shelton, Mitrione and Siracusa, has left indelible imprints of the powerful United States against the popular movement in Latin America.

LATIN AMERICA MARCHES TOWARD SOCIALISM

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution on the first of January, 1959, began the final march of the Latin American people towards socialism, towards true national independence and towards the collective well-being of the people.

This is the just and open rebellion of the exploited of Latin America against a barbaric neocolonial capitalist system imposed since the end of the last century by European and Yankee imperialism. By force, deceit and corruption, they seized our continent. The cowardly bourgeois "criollos" and their armies were unable to honor the revolutionary legacy of the glorious anticolonial struggle of our people, who, led by heroes such as Bolivar, San Martin, Artigas and so many others, won independence, equality and liberty.

The ruling classes, defending their group interests, united with the imperialists, collaborated with them, facilitated their economic penetration, and progressively handed over control of our economy to the insatiable hunger of foreign capital. Economic domination led to political and cultural control and domination. The neo-colonial capitalist system, which came to exploit, oppress and deform the working classes of our continent for the past one hundred years, was established in this way.

From the beginning of this century the working class began to rise up against that system. Unfurling the then little-known flag of socialism, united with the banner of national independence, they promoted the awakening of the peasants, of the students, of all that was revolutionary.

among our people. Anarchism, socialism and communism, as organized working class movements, were the energetic and heroic forerunners of the mobilization of the people, the trademark of the revolutionary struggle. The legendary Nicaraguan leader Augusto Cesar Sandino, a metallurgical worker, led one of the most heroic of those battles when his guerrilla army held and defeated U.S. troops in 1932. In the 30's our people throughout the continent developed a movement which was able to halt Yankee imperialism, the number one enemy of the people of the world.

But that formidable revolutionary mobilization of the people was not victorious. The direct and indirect political and military counterrevolutionary intervention by Yankee imperialism, together with the deficiencies of anarchism, of the socialist currents, and the Communist parties, resulted in a temporary defeat. The majority of the Communist parties, the most conscientious and organized of that period, reverted to reformism. Some of them, such as the heroic Salvadoran Communist Party, suffered cruel defeats, with hundreds and thousands of martyrs. As a result, the spontaneous uprising of the people left the revolutionary path and fell under the influence and leadership of bourgeois nationalism: a dead end to revolution and a demagogic tool wisely used by the ruling classes to prolong the functioning of the neocolonial capitalist system.

Beginning with the formidable triumph of the Cuban people who, under the skillful and insightful leadership of Fidel Castro and a group of Marxist-Leninist leaders, were able to defeat the Batista army and establish the First Latin American socialist state at the very doorstep of imperialism, the people of the continent strengthened their revolutionary faith and began a new, massive mobilization.

By trial and error, our people and their leaders launched with determination the anti-imperialist fight for socialism. The decade of the 60s saw the emergence of great popular struggles, violent guerrilla battles, powerful mass uprisings. The April war, a general uprising of the Dominican people, forced the direct intervention of Yankee imperialism, which had to send 30,000 soldiers to put down that uprising with a massacre [in 1965].

The legendary figure of Comandante Ernesto Guevara personified and symbolized that entire period of struggle. His heroic death, as well as his exemplary life and development of Marxist-Leninist strategy, opened up the new revolutionary movement which grows daily in power and strength. The movement springs from the factories, from the towns, from the countryside and the cities and is spreading throughout the continent without restraint.

This is the definitive awakening of our people, with thousands and thousands of workers on their feet, which goes forth inevitably towards the Second Independence, towards the elimination of the unjust capitalist system and the establishment of revolutionary socialism.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

The revolutionary road is not easy or simple. Not only must we confront the barbaric economic and military might of imperialism, but more subtle enemies and dangers lie in wait to attack the revolutionary forces and their efforts to carry out the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle.

Given the particular characteristics of the continental revolutionary struggle at present, we refer specifically to two currents of thought and action which forcefully conspire against our efforts. They are the same enemy: bourgeois nationalism and reformism.

At times closely united, both attempt to take over the leadership of the people's movement and impose their mistaken ideas which will only end by restraining the revolutionary movement. Thus the uncompromising ideological and political struggle which we revolutionaries must carry out against these currents acquires a strategic dimen-

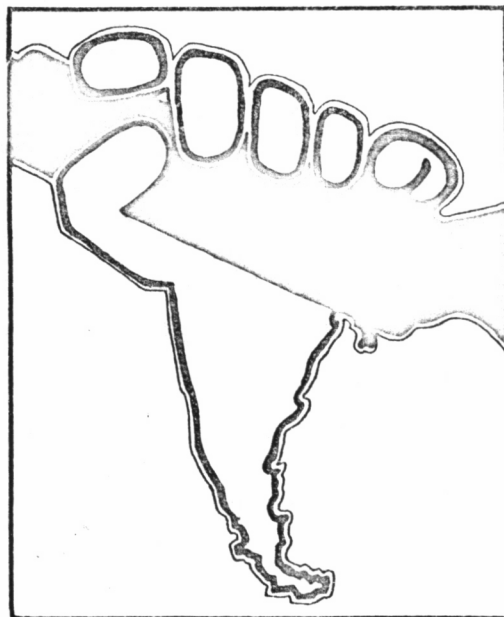
sion: we must gain the leadership of the people's struggle in order to provide it with a coherent revolutionary direction and guide it with perseverance, intelligence and ability, toward victory.

Bourgeois nationalism is favored by imperialism because it can distract and divert the peoples' struggle when counterrevolutionary violence has lost its effectiveness. Its social base consists of pro-imperialist bourgeoisie who compete with the traditional oligarchy for the favors handed out by imperialism. Bourgeois nationalists present themselves as firemen who will put out the flame of revolution with their influence and ability to negotiate before the people can become mobilized. In their politics of deceit, they brandish a verbal anti-imperialist position and try to confuse the people with their preferred nationalist thesis: that they are the third option. However, in reality, they are not anti-imperialists, and actually give in to new and more subtle forms of foreign economic penetration.

Reformism, on the other hand, is found among the working people and reflects the fear of confrontation on the part of petty bourgeois sectors and union aristocracy. Its rejection of the necessity of using revolutionary violence to attain power characterizes its abandonment of the Marxist concept of class struggle. Reformism spreads out harmful pacifist and liberal ideas among the people; it embellishes the national bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary armies with whom they constantly seek to ally themselves; and it exaggerates the importance of legality and of constitutionality. One of its favorite arguments is the need to avoid violence and make contact with the bourgeoisie and the "patriotic military" in search of a peaceful road towards socialism. This argument is painfully refuted by facts. Wherever reformism has imposed its conciliatory, pacifist politics, the enemy and its armies have carried out the greatest massacres of the people. The recent Chilean experience, with more than 20,000 men and women murdered, makes further comment unnecessary.

The armed banner is raised in constant ideological and political struggle against bourgeois nationalism, reformism and other currents of lesser importance. This revolutionary banner gains strength daily in the hearts of the people, increasing its influence, improving its political and military capabilities, becoming a real option for achieving national independence and socialism.

The four organizations signing this declaration have decided to form the Junta of Revolutionary Coordination precisely to contribute to the strengthening of that revolutionary banner on a continental scale. We call upon the



vanguard of all popular and workers' revolutionary groups in Latin America to organize around this Junta and its national organizations, and to struggle together.

THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS

The Tupamaros (MLN), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), in the course of our patriotic and revolutionary struggle, have understood the necessity of uniting; we have discovered through our own experience the international nature of our struggle, recognizing that we must oppose the united imperialist, capitalist enemy with the strongest unity of our people.

Bound by the similarity of our struggles and our positions, we four organizations first established fraternal ties, exchanged experiences, and increasingly worked together so that now we can take this decisive step. There is no doubt that this coordination and collaboration will result in our people waging a more effective struggle against the common enemy.

The further development of our organizations, and the strengthening of our internationalist orientation and experience, will allow us to more effectively build a revolutionary force. This force will be able to defeat once and for all the capitalist reactionaries, to annihilate counter-revolutionary armies, to expel European and Yankee imperialism from Latin American soil, country by country, to initiate the construction of socialism in each of our countries and to achieve complete unity in Latin America.

Attaining this sacred objective will not be easy: the cruelty and strength of imperialism will make a prolonged revolutionary war necessary, as Commander Guevara foresaw, and will turn Latin America into a second and third Vietnam. Following the glorious example of the heroic Vietnamese people, we Latin American workers know how to fight without becoming discouraged, and with growing efficiency. The strength of the people will crush Yankee imperialism and its agents, contributing to the destruction of the principal enemy of the international working class, of socialism and of all the people of the world.

OUR PROGRAM

We are united by an understanding of the following: that no viable strategy exists for Latin America other than the strategy of revolutionary war; that revolutionary war is a complex process of struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, in which all forms of struggle develop around the axis of the armed struggle; that for the victorious development of the entire guerrilla process, it is necessary to mobilize all the people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat; that the leadership is to be held by a Marxist-Leninist party of proletarian character, capable of centralizing, leading and uniting all aspects of the popular struggle in a single powerful unit, thus guaranteeing a just, strategic leadership; that under the direction of the proletarian party it is necessary to build a powerful

popular army, an iron-clad nucleus of revolutionary forces, which will be united with and nourished by the people; that the material condition of the popular army will ensure the total annihilation of the counterrevolutionary armies; that it is also necessary to build a massive workers front which will mobilize all progressive and revolutionary people, various popular parties and unions and other similar organizations; that is, the broadest front of people whose common struggle converges with the military action of the popular army and with the clandestine political action of the proletarian party.

Our response must be armed struggle, as the principal factor in the polarization, agitation and final defeat of the enemy. However, we do not exclude all possible forms of struggle: legal and clandestine, peaceful and violent, economic and political. All of these forms play an effective role in the ARMED STRUGGLE, according to the specific situation of each region and country.

The continental character of the struggle is indicated fundamentally by the presence of a common enemy. U.S. imperialism is developing an international strategy to stop the socialist revolution in Latin America. The imposition of fascist regimes in countries whose rising mass movements threaten the established power of the oligarchies is not purely coincidental. The continental strategy of the revolution corresponds to the international strategy of imperialism.

This struggle is not short. The international bourgeoisie is determined to use any means to prevent this revolution, even in just one country. The bourgeoisie possesses the official and pseudo-official weapons, both military and informational, to use against the people. Therefore, our revolutionary war in its initial phases is one of wearing down the enemy, leading up to the formation of a popular army stronger than that of the enemy. Although slow, this process paradoxically is also the shortest, least costly path to attaining the objectives of the disposed classes.

PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA: TO ARMS

We are living decisive moments of our history. Therefore, the National Liberation Movement (MLN-Tupamaros), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) call upon the oppressed workers of Latin America, the peasants, the urban poor, intellectuals and students, Christian revolutionaries and all elements of the exploited classes who support the just popular cause, to take up arms with determination, to incorporate themselves actively in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and on behalf of socialism; a struggle which already spreads throughout our continent under the banner and example of Comandante Guevara.

LIBERTAD O MUERTE (MLN-TUPAMAROS)
A VENCER O MORIR POR LA ARGENTINA (ERP)
PATRIA O MUERTE VENCEREMOS (MIR)
VICTORIA O MUERTE (ELN)

