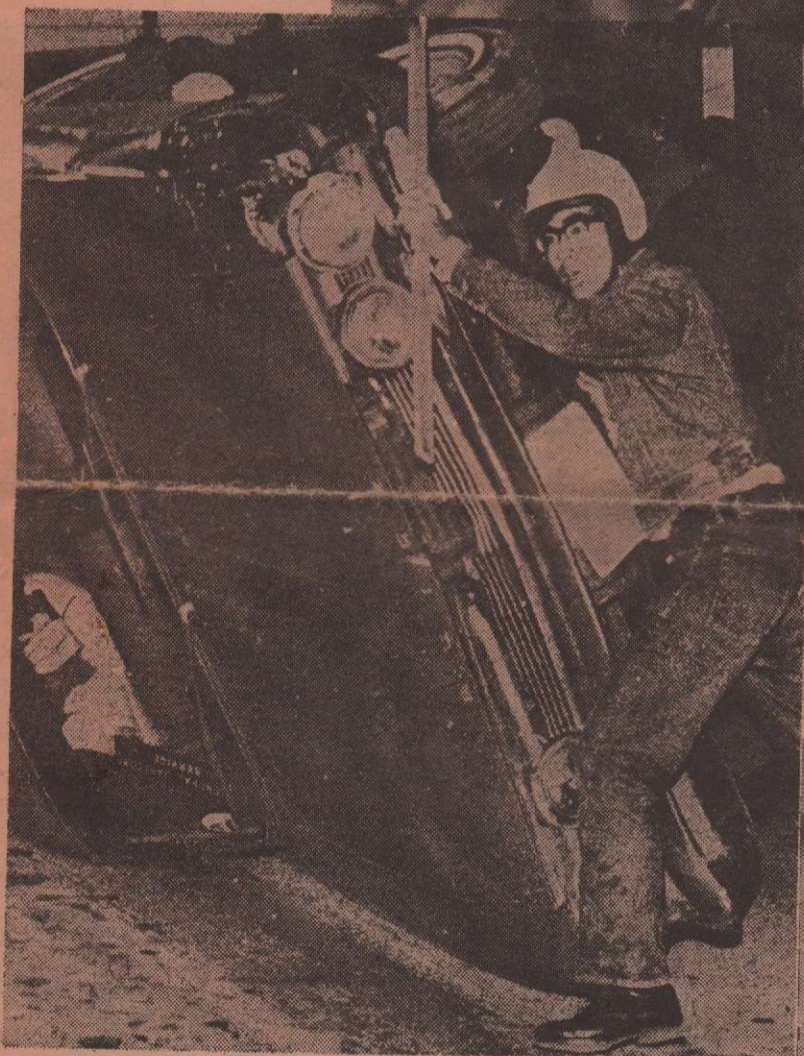


FIRE!

**Bloody
melee**



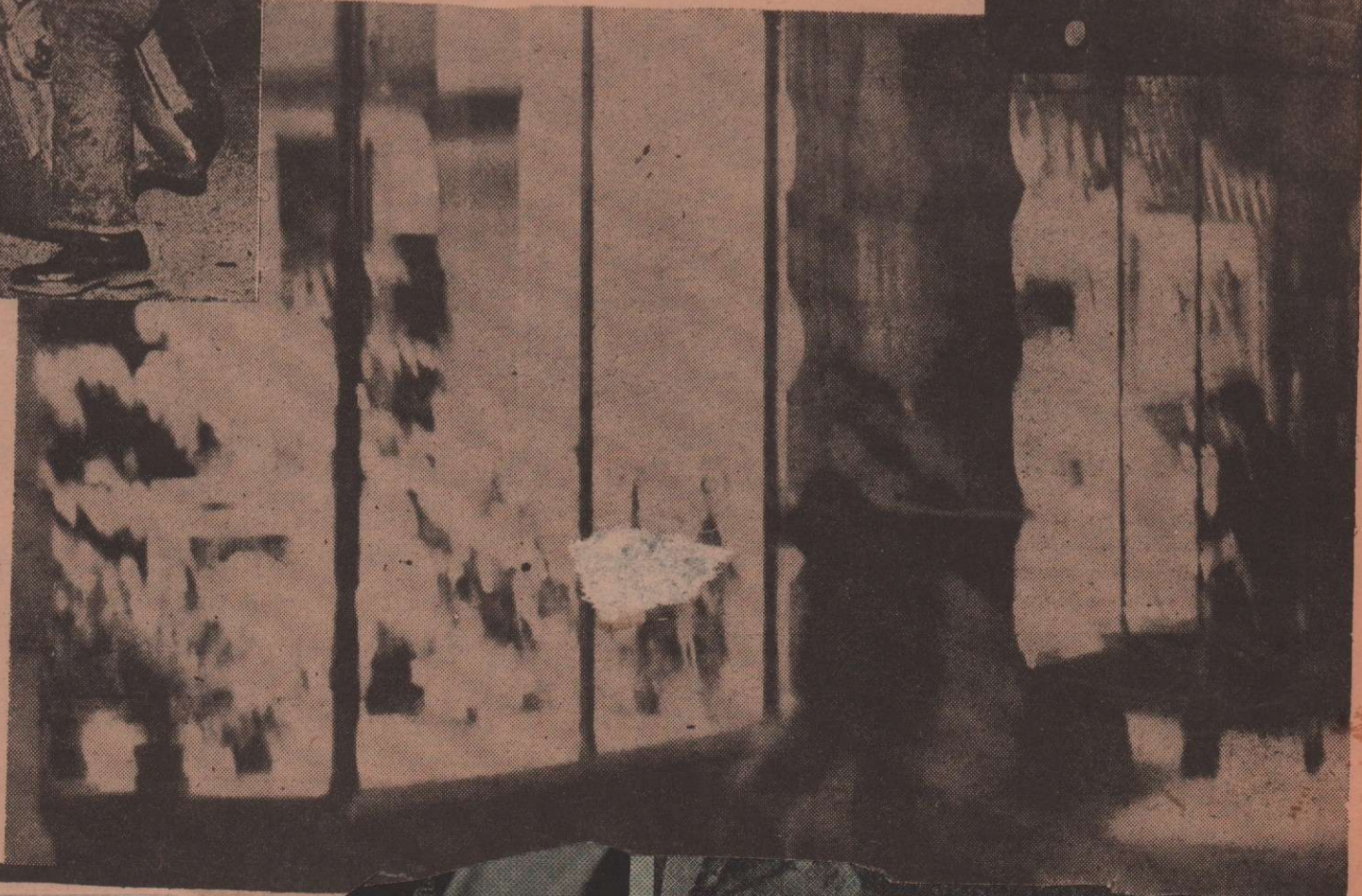
**Rampage
in Loop**



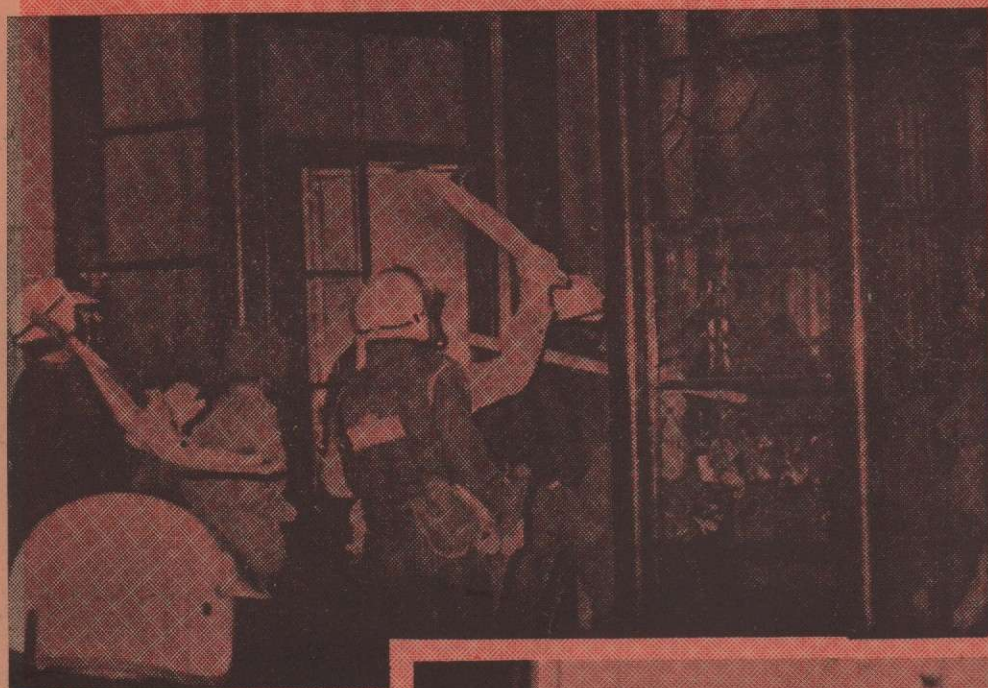
**Windows
smashed**

violent

when you open it up,
THIS PAPER IS
A POSTER!
after you read it,
put it up on the
nearest wall.



YOU DON'T NEED



CHICAGO

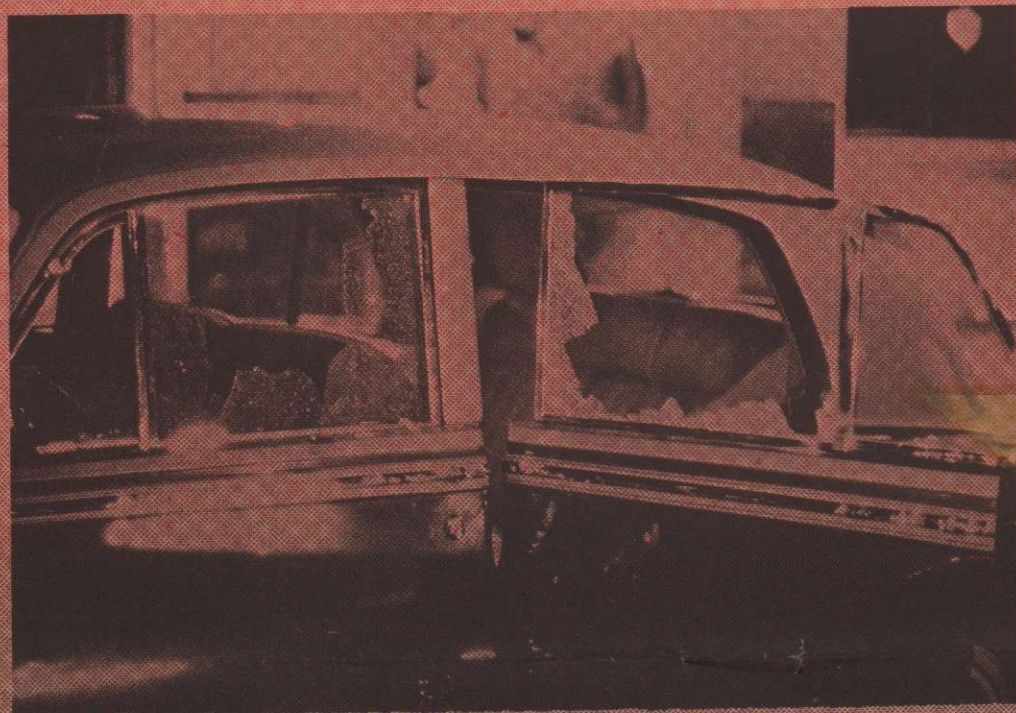
On Monday, October 6, 1969, a pig of Chicago strikers in the Haymarket to bits. On Tuesday, October 7, the Association said that "SDS has declared from here on in it's kill or be killed the war was on. A white fighting pig city.

500 of us moved through the rich flags in front, smashing luxury apartments, ripping apart the Loop, and injuring people. One was critically injured when the brother was snorting around one of the mob clubs battled armed pigs on a march. People were shot, and over 100 were injured and the pigs knew it.

We came to Chicago to join the other people fighting with the VC, the Pathet Lao in Vietnam, and the Black Liberation struggle. We came to pig Amerika and all that it's got—its armies, its fat businessmen, and its police in the road—in the open—so that we could open up a new front, on the basis of a liberation army. We came to attack the things to defend in honkie Amerika: the apartments, the hotels, the TVs—the people of the world. We came to destroy the motherfucker from the top down.

There were only 500 of us, but we forced the Guard to withdraw from the black community and deal with us. We did what we set out to do, and FROM HERE ON IN IT'S ONE BATTLE. WHITE YOUTH JOINING IN THE NECESSARY RISKS. PIG AMERIKA—GROWING RIGHT IN YOUR GUTS, AND WE'LL TAKE YOU DOWN.

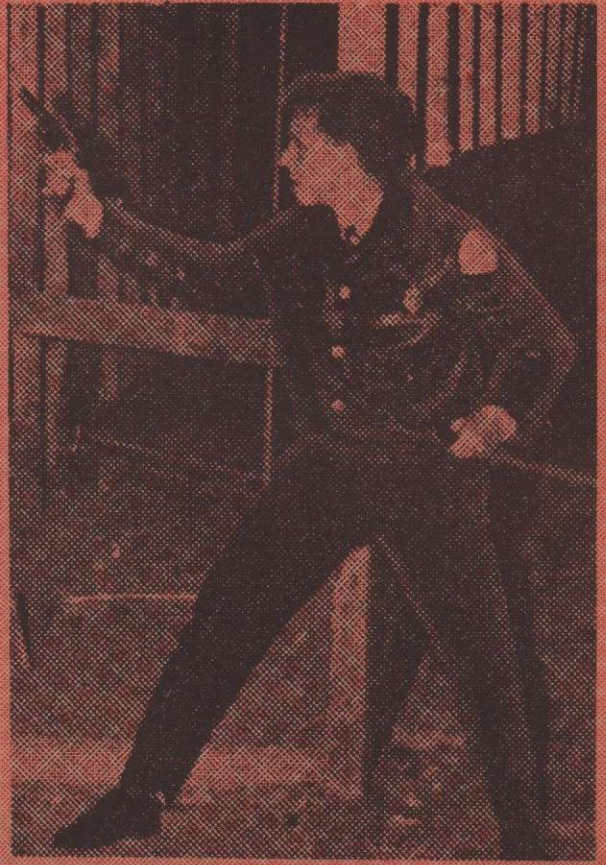
DID THAT PIG SAY KILL



TO KNOW



A WEATHERMAN



GO 69

pig statue honoring the murderers
Market Massacre of 1886 was blown
the head of the Chicago Pig Sergeants
clared war on the Chicago police—
killed." On Wednesday, October 8,
g force was born in the streets of

chest sections of Chicago, with VC
partment windows and storefronts,
scores of pigs. An undercover pig
thers and sisters found him rooting
ovement centers. SDS women with
ch to an induction center. 8 of our
re busted. It was war—we knew it

ther side—to stop talking and start
in Laos, the Tupamaros in Uruguay
. We came to do material damage
about—its school-jails, its pig
s greedy empire. We came to do it
t white Amerika could dig on the
irth of a new brigade in the world
k—because we know that the only
are the privileges—the cars, the
that we've gained off the sweat of
e to vamp on those privileges and
e inside.

we forced Pig Daley to call in the
w some occupation pigs from the
in Evanston and in Lincoln Park,
and in the process turned a corner.
TTLE AFTER ANOTHER—WITH
IE FIGHT AND TAKING THE
—BEWARE: THERE'S AN ARMY
AND IT'S GOING TO HELP BRING

LL...OR BE KILLED?





When we used to ask for an end to wars, before we started the fights ourselves, there was a kind of protection we got from the man. When people got busted in actions, or beaten up, the pig held back some. While 30 Panthers were being murdered by pigs this year, the man let us "protest". While Ahmed Evans was being sentenced to burn in the chair, we got slapped on the wrist. While black people were daily being busted by occupation pigs in the street, in the schools, everywhere—nobody in the "white movement" had to do a lot of jail time. Our people haven't gotten offed yet.

But we've changed. We're not trying to end wars. we're starting to fight a war. Bringing the war home. We came back to Chicago to open up a front, to tear the mother-fucker down. We're on the offensive. Not waiting to be vamped on anymore. Taking care of business first and then dealing with the pig when he comes down on us. Sisters and brothers moving together, fighting, digging on survival. Ready.

The pigs know that. They're trying to irame Brian Flanagan on a charge of attempted murder in the paralyzing of Tricky Dick Elrod—Pig Daley's top legal oinker. The pig press reported that Brian had attacked pig Elrod with a club, a brick, a lead pipe, and his fists. What they didn't report was the true story—Pig Elrod living up to his role, trying to attack demonstrators

and help finger leadership, saw Brian running through the streets and tried to tackle him, breaking his own neck when he hit the pavement. Elrod is now paralyzed—hopefully for life. He won't be so quick to play pig next time.

In jail, Brian was beaten, told he would get the chair, placed in solitary and fed pig lies about being abandoned by SDS. Like all of the brothers and sisters, he knew that being in jail is part of the struggle—that as we attack harder, the frames are going to be heavier, the bails higher, the risks greater. He came out of jail with a fist raised, ready to go again.

That same understanding is being shown by the 75 sisters and brothers still being held in Cook County jail. The pig press was given a tour of their tiers and freaked over what they saw—organized political meetings, study groups, karate classes, people hanging tough, building themselves into revolutionaries. At the same time, an offensive has been launched in the pig courts. Our people are defending themselves, asking for immediate jury trials, messing up the court schedules and putting pig city up tight. One pig judge was so freaked that he snorted "I feel like there's a mob action going on in this courtroom."

Dig it—the battle goes on: from the streets to the jails to the courts and out again. An army is getting itself together—right under the pig's snout.



FIRE!

VOLUME I

NOVEMBER 21, 1969

NUMBER 2



by Marion Delgado

Since I vamped on the spy pig in the New York Movement Center during the National Action, I've been forced to spend most of my time in hiding. Though I have managed to bomb a lot of shit (see Page 12) and even direct some struggles over these past six weeks, my life in the under has given me a lot of time to think about the needs of our movement coming off of Chicago and now Washington. I've made some decisions and communicated them to the up-front leadership of SDS. Involved in all of this is the Winter National Council Meeting, which will be held December 26-31, place to be announced. The leaders told me it was very important to explain these decisions (to them), so they asked me to write this article. (Actually I can't write, but I've gotten my three-year-old sister Elysia Delgado—who's much quicker than I am and whose article appears elsewhere in this publication—to put my thoughts down on paper off of an invisible tape which I am recording at this very moment.)

Due to my small size (I hardly exist at all), I was able to move freely around Washington November 14-15 without being seen by the pigs. One thing that really blew my mind was the incredible number of kids who were paying no attention at all to the Mobe's march and rally. Not just the 10,000 or so kids who trashed up the city Friday and Saturday nights and Sunday morning. There were tens of thousands of others who weren't into violence yet—maybe they weren't sure or were scared—but they knew that standing around looking stupid while some dude told you how beautiful it all was just wasn't where it was at.

Washington, the Chicago Action, and even the October Moratorium point to the resurgence of a mass movement in this country. The ruling class knows this and is moving like a freight train trying to co-opt it and control it, from "immediate withdrawal" to youth culture. But the crest we're riding now is real different from the last one in 67-68. What distinguished liberals from radicals then was ideas, slogans, words. They said "Stop the Bombing, Negotiate", we said "Get Out Now". The two most militant and significant actions involving white people during that period—the Pentagon and Columbia—were both limited to our seizing turf and waiting to be busted.

But now we exist on different levels, heavier than ever before. There are still mass parades, building takeovers,

sds n.c. December 26 - 31

and revolutionary rhetoric. Now we're not just for immediate withdrawal; we support the VC. But what's most important is that the new mass movement is taking place in a totally different context—we're moving toward armed struggle in this country. That's what the Chicago Action was about, what the South Vietnam Embassy and Justice Department actions in Washington were about, what the wave of bombing over the last month has been about.

People say what's the point of trashing windows—that won't win the revolution. The criticism seems to come from the left, from a struggle angle that we should be doing more. We should be doing more; we will be; and we already are. Two, Three, Many National Actions is not a strategy for state power. But we've got to dig that the criticisms of the Action, of the violence in that the criticisms of the Action, of the violence in Washington, of "terrorism" are coming from the right, because what they're saying—often in so many words—is that we shouldn't be ripping up, trashing rich people's homes, wasting pigs. They're saying it's a bad thing that Hog Elrod broke his neck. They're saying we shouldn't be moving toward armed struggle.

The highest level of struggle always defines all the others, puts them in perspective, helps people at the other levels figure out what they're about. When the statue of the Pig in Haymarket Square came down just before the National Action, it set the pace for the whole four days. When I beat up the pig Friday afternoon, it helped define what Saturday was all about. The whole National Action, coming at the beginning of the wave, set the terms for Washington by showing white kids that they didn't have to relate to a system they hate—hate, for every reason—by being docile robots of the Mobe. The character of the whole mass movement is being shaped by the existence of white people who are self-consciously internationalist, following the lead of the Black Liberation Struggle and the Vietcong, moving toward armed struggle.

But it's not enough that armed struggle and mass movement exist side by side. They have to be the same, consciously supporting and building each other. So far this year that hasn't happened. In fact, never picked up on the highest levels of anti-struggle that have existed in this country and into organization, not after the Pentagon, Democratic Convention. We have to begin off of Washington. We can no longer be simply student organization that carries out some good struggle. We have to start seeing ourselves as part of the developing armed struggle in this country. One of the things that hurt the MIT struggle this fall was the lack of consciousness within MIT SDS and the November Action Coalition of how the research labs fit into a national strategy building toward power. As a result, the struggle died out (at least temporarily) shortly after it had begun because the leadership didn't see what point there would be in escalating once the pigs were used in force. Unless SDS consciously identifies with the more violent stuff going on—and begins to move toward it—we will always see our limits defined by the first entrance of the pigs onto the scene.

Chicago and Washington have clearly shown that the ante is going up. A mass revolutionary youth movement exists already in this country with the potential for being the critical force in the destruction of American imperialism from within. This possibility defines some serious responsibilities for us in SDS. SDS must become an organization that engages in ideological struggle around an analysis of what's happening and a strategy for what is to be done, builds struggles that transform people into revolutionaries, and gives political consciousness to the growing revolutionary youth movement here in the mother country.

The December National Council meeting marks our first opportunity to start struggling with these necessities. We can build SDS into a national organization

continued on page 3



This is a double issue of FIRE! The center eight pages are a separate mass distribution paper, available in bulk from the National Office. Orders should include your address and telephone number, and be prepaid at the rate of 10¢ per copy. They will be shipped to you Greyhound collect. No bulk orders under 100 copies! In case you hadn't noticed, the name New Left Notes has been dropped, and publication is now bi-weekly. The next double issue will be published early in January. Propaganda Power!

- REP Raps.....2
- Weatherman Replies.....3
- Palestine, the Arabs, and Zionism.....4
- 8 PAGE MASS ISSUE INSIDE
- ROLLING STONES.....VIETNAM.....WASHINGTON
- AND FOUR PAGES OF CARTOONS!

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P69
RICHARD OCHS
4704 DELAWARE STREET
COLLEGE PARK, MD, 20740

COMMUNICATION TO THE MOVEMENT

by the REP collective

Many movement people have been confused by the 1969 SDS national convention and subsequent events within the organization. It is time to begin clearing up this confusion so that we can continue building a mass movement against US imperialism. In order to do this we must evaluate what has happened in SDS during the past year. Most importantly, we must sharpen our understanding of the political principles which are at the base of the struggles within SDS. It will then be possible to distinguish between legitimate criticism and criticism which is based on ignorance, opportunism, or mere anti-communism. Likewise we must distinguish between revolutionary and revisionist evaluations of the current struggle.

PART I: HISTORY

The past year of struggle has produced great changes in SDS. No longer an organization loosely composed of liberals, anarchists, and radicals of all persuasions, SDS has moved to define itself as a revolutionary socialist movement of young people. In the process of this self-definition, the Progressive Labor Party has been expelled from SDS, with RYM II and Weatherman emerging as the two most prominent factions. We must understand the development of these two positions in their own right and in the context of the struggle to defeat PL. What are now different political analyses and strategies were at one point a unified, explicit set of ideas differing sharply from PL.

By pushing a particular class analysis in SDS more clearly than other individuals and groups had done before, PL challenged SDS to develop a class conscious, anti-imperialist position. By organizing the Worker-Student Alliance caucus within SDS, PL pushed the non-WSA part of SDS to realize the value of collective discipline in political work. (See the "Critique of PL" by the Old Mole, published by REP, for a summary of PL-WSA politics.) Under the demands of the growing radical movement and the objective conditions in the US, SDS would probably have adopted a class analysis and a tighter form of organization at some future time, but undoubtedly the response of SDS to PL helped speed this process.

The passage of the original Revolutionary Youth Movement resolution at the December 1968 National Council indicated increasing disagreement with PLP's program. Although PL emphasized working class organizing, its theory and practice were inadequate. PL had already run into opposition when, in October, the National Council meeting at Boulder, Colorado voted down the PL-sponsored resolution "Toward a Worker-Student Alliance". The December RYM proposal was an attempt to defeat and discredit PL by providing an analytically-sound alternative to PL's program. It was presented by a group centered in Chicago including Mike Klonsky (then National Secretary of SDS) and Les Coleman (from Chicago Region SDS).

The passage of the resolution came after long and serious debate. During the debate, a unified faction emerged whose support for the RYM resolution rested on the principles of struggle for international proletarian unity and for a broad anti-imperialist youth movement. This constituted a challenge to Worker-Student Alliance politics which did not admit any legitimacy to the notion of youth as a critical force in making revolution.

From December until the March 1969 National Council meeting in Austin, Texas, the cleavage deepened between the unified RYM faction and PL-WSA, especially on the questions of blacks and women. A PL-sponsored resolution on racism passed at the December NC was reversed with the passage of a resolution that recognized revolutionary (socialist) nationalism as a progressive force in the black liberation movement. This was accomplished over PL's protest that "all nationalism is reactionary". Although no women's resolution was debated at the Austin NC

workshops demonstrated that PL-WSA did not recognize that women are subject to any oppression and exploitation beyond that of the working class as a whole.

At the same time, as the struggle with PL heightened, differences within the group which had favored the RYM resolution began to emerge. Divisions were developing over questions of the role of the schools and the more general question of the role of the white proletariat in the US. In Austin, people who had been united in December in support of "Revolutionary Youth Movement" found themselves on opposite sides in regard to two proposals: one by Les Coleman, "The Schools Must Serve the People", and one by Marilyn Katz, "Mayday" (which called for mass working class actions). The authors of the RYM resolutions supported both of these proposals, but many who had allied with them in the fight with PL now opposed these documents.

By the time of the National Convention in June, differences within RYM were expressed on a theoretical level as well as on the level of tactical proposals. Jim Mellen's article, "More on the Youth Movement", was published in May, and Coleman's reply, "Notes on Class Analysis: Some Implications for the RYM", appeared at the National Convention in Chicago. Two other basic documents circulated at that meeting were: "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" and "RYM II". Although it was clear that these papers had basically different political thrusts, the people who supported both papers came together once again in the struggle with PL.

At the convention many people recognized the necessity of expelling PL in order for SDS to do organizing outside a solely student constituency. In addition, so long as PL was part of SDS, constructive relations with the black liberation movement would not be possible. (Important black groups, such as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the Black Panther Party, had been repeatedly attacked by PL. PL branded black proletarian organizing as "racist", and in several campus struggles it had undermined the work of black groups by organizing against open admissions demands and black studies programs.) Another consideration was that during the previous year PL's practice had proven that its members did not operate within SDS on the "unity-criticism-unity" model, described later in this paper. Instead, PL pursued the course of all criticism and no unity. It deliberately worked to prevent the exchange of ideas which is necessary to maintain a strong and principled political organization. It can be said that PL was, in a sense, responsible for the formation of the two main tendencies in SDS now, for both RYM II and Weatherman developed out of opposition to PL. At the same time, the struggle with PL kept those (and other) tendencies from becoming distinct forces in their own right. This latter reason is why people who had opposed one another in March could unite in June, with little political discussion, to expel PL from the organization.

Expelling PL from SDS was consistent with "unity-criticism-unity". For unity, in this sense, does not mean simply "joining" two groups together; it does not mean an emphasis on organizational unity. It does require a basic understanding of different political tendencies, criticism of different positions, the formation of new positions, and the winning of the people to these new positions. It is possible to begin a meaningful stage of criticism now that political differences are emerging and can be clarified. This was not possible while PL was in the organization. On the other hand, expelling PL from SDS did not mean reading PL out of the Left. PL will be around for years, and we will have to criticize and deal politically with PL as we would with any other group on the Left.

done in an unprincipled manner. An alliance was formed of those who opposed PL, but different groups had different reasons for wanting PL out. Thus, RYM II and Weatherman each opposed PL, but also differed from each other. Due to the pressures of the struggle at the convention there was not adequate discussion of the principal disagreements between the two, nor of the potential for a principled alliance. Much of the debate that did take place centered on PL's practice, and people seemed to steer away from political discussion which would raise the tensions within the non-PL alliance. The lack of such discussion was probably deliberate. Supporters of the "Weatherman" proposal were strong at the convention, but needed some temporary allies in the fight against PL. Thus, they were willing to work with supporters of "RYM II" for a short while, but were not willing to debate the differences between Weatherman and RYM II. Supporters of RYM II also allowed this to happen by withdrawing the five principles of unity which they had proposed (as reasons for expelling PL), rather than spending time debating them in the group.

Weatherman has been elected to control of the National Office of SDS. After PL was expelled, Weatherman ran candidates for all the national offices and made little attempt (at that point) to gloss over their differences with RYM II. In the months since the convention Weatherman has attempted to consolidate its position in the organization.

PART II: POLITICS


Before suggesting the main principles surrounding the new struggle in SDS, it is important to mention the progressive aspects of the original unity that later branched into the Weatherman and RYM II positions. The progressive aspects are present in both the Weatherman and the RYM II proposals and in papers circulated before and after these two main proposals appeared. They include: the desire to concretize politics through practice and to develop cadre; a recognition of the potential role of youth as a "critical force" in the revolutionary process; internationalist perspective of support for wars of national liberation against US imperialism; the realization that women's oppression derives from superstructure (male supremacy) as well as from direct economic oppression; and a willingness to engage in organizing in the community rather than confining organizing to the point of production. All these positions were important advances beyond both the eclectic politics of earlier days of SDS and the dogmatic errors of PL.

In recognizing these advances we should also reject opportunist criticism which various individuals and groups have levelled against, particularly the Weatherman tendency, although most critics ignorantly lump all SDS tendencies together. All criticism of tactics which neglects the political thinking behind tactics, all criticism of militancy per se, all criticism which feeds anti-communist reflexes by making accusations of "Stalinism" without precisely defining the word, all such unprincipled criticism must be rejected and attacked. The formation of organizational alliances on the basis of such thinking must be discouraged.

behind the new debate within SDS following the split with PLP? The struggle has developed over a few basic and weighty questions. What is the US proletariat? What intermediate classes exist between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and what are their importance? What is the role of the US proletariat in the socialist revolution in this country? What is the relationship between the black and brown section of the proletariat (subject to colonial oppression as well as purely economic exploitation) and white workers? What is the relationship between the struggle of the US proletariat and that of the proletariat of oppressed nations under imperialism—that is, what is the significance of nationalism and of wars of national liberation for the proletariat of the oppressor nation? What is the nature of women's oppression and how does this relate, in practice, to colonial and class oppression? What is the character of the class struggle within the oppressor nation under imperialism—that is, can other classes in the US be brought into a united front under proletarian leadership against US imperialism? Is the US in a revolutionary or a pre-revolutionary stage at this time? These are questions to bear in mind while thinking about the debate in SDS. In addition, we should ask what class line is articulated by each faction.

We will not outline here the different ways Weatherman and RYM II answer these questions. However to make clear our perspective we shall briefly outline the REP collective's position and what we believe to be the main issues surrounding this new struggle.

We believe that if socialism is to be built in the US, it will be the result of a proletarian revolution. We understand that the proletariat includes those who work for wages in production, transportation, service, and communication industry. It specifically does not include students qua students, though some students are members of this class. We do not believe youth is a class; we do believe that the special oppression of youth of all classes makes possible their role as a critical force in the revolutionary process. As with the black and brown, and women's movements, it is vital also for the youth movement to follow proletarian leadership. We recognize the oppression of blacks and browns in our country as a dual oppression encompassing exploitation as workers at the point of production and colonial oppression as nations. We support the right of self-determination for the black and brown nations, recognizing also the crucial position of their national liberation struggles in the overall struggle to liberate the entire working class and build socialism in the US. We understand that the socialist revolution in this country must proceed under proletarian leadership, and that in order for united proletarian leadership to develop, the treacherous nature of white-skin privilege must be recognized and repudiated by the white section of the proletariat. We believe that women are oppressed through their role in the family in addition to the exploitation faced by working women. Their oppression comes not only from the economic base which oppresses all the proletariat (black and brown women especially), but also from the superstructure, from male supremacy. Women must be organized to fight against their own oppression, and this



FIRE is published bi-weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874). Second-class postage is paid at Chicago. Subscriptions are \$5 included with the SDS membership fee or cost \$10 for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of writers; unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editor, Marion Delgado. FIRE is affiliated with Underground Press Syndicate and Liberation News Service.

Mark Rudd, National Secretary; Jeff Jones, Inter-organizational Secretary; Bill Ayers, Education Secretary

principles, schminciples



WEATHERMAN REPLIES

by Howie Machtinger

It is always insightful to point to all the important political questions that confront us, search for "political principles which are at the base of the struggles within SDS", and then facetiously quote Mao about unity-struggle-unity!! All this avoids what it's all about.

Political questions are questions of strategy. Strategy is about winning; about, in this case, smashing US imperialism. The reason white people in this country have to be internationalist is not that it makes us more moral to share our privilege with the people of the world, but it's how we're gonna win, how we will be part of the worldwide resolution of the worldwide contradictions between the oppressed nations and US imperialism. The strategy for winning is "two, three, many Vietnams", more and more wars of national liberation won by the oppressed peoples of the world.

The way Americans will aid the victory of the people of the world is to materially support these wars of national liberation by helping to create a front in support of black and brown liberation here, and by tearing up in the gut of the monster. Destroying the bureaucracy, the pig army, showing initially that the US not only can't hold together an empire, but can't even hold together white people.

So, in America, the central task of the left is the development of a detachment of the international army. Which primarily means winning the people to the side of the NLF, the black liberation struggle, and moving to armed struggle as soon as

possible. For the world revolution is already happening, and every leap in the development of our struggle hastens incredibly the victory of the people of the world. It is in this light that we must look at questions of adventurism, beating the people, and blah blah blah.

REP's principles and searching questions obscure much of this. What does "we understand that the structure of US imperialist involvement in the world demands that proletarian internationalism be developed within the US working class" mean? Is that Lenin talking about the British workers, or Che speculating about America? It makes a difference. The five Ignatin principles of unity presented in June were more fog than sunshine, and they attempted to turn differences in into agreements on discrete issues, teaching us that politics was a set of "Bye-bye, liberal boys" on various questions rather than a strategy for winning. The REP paper tradition.

But as usual the opportunism of "principles" is not enough to hide which of course is tied to defeatism. "Finally we understand that the US is in a pre-revolutionary stage." But the world is in a revolutionary stage, and more important for understanding how US imperialism will come down than an understanding of US revolutionary motion which separates what we do from the motion of the people of the world.

What is even more revealing is that nowhere amongst its weighty questions does REP raise the issue of armed struggle, and specifically how to build an army of white people ready to undertake armed struggle. It is the question of armed struggle against capitalism which separates revisionists from revolutionaries everywhere: Russia from Cuba; all kinds of CPs from some kinds of guerrillas.

This question of any kind of force is raised only in the boring shrill that the Weatherman doesn't love the people because it beats the people. This is, of course, the silly babbling of people who don't think enough of politics and people to tell greasers that they dig the NLF and that they're Commies. Which in white America often means a fight. But REP tells us all this so as to convince us that Mao is a liberal. They desire a higher unity in the movement. Unity of the struggle is important if it brings us closer to revolution, not if it means we must be revisionist to come together. The unity Weathermen seek is around our politics, which we happen to think are "essentially correct".

Not only is REP's political position incorrect, but even more important at this point is that their analysis of SDS completely misses the point of the tasks we face. The problem is not one of identifying "political principles", but one of answering strategic questions. The central question is how is American imperialism being smashed? And from that, where are we now, where do we have to go, how are we going to get there? On the worldwide level it's clear that we are not in a "pre-revolutionary" stage; we are in the middle of a world war, escalating and opening new fronts every day. It is this world war which will smash imperialism for all the peoples of the world, including white Americans.

The last SDS convention was about sketching out the answer to the question "Where do we have to go to?" The answer we gave was an organization of white people who are capable of carrying out armed struggle within the US on the side of the people of the world. This is the role however vague at this point, which white people must play in the world revolution against imperialism. The legitimate questions facing SDS all derive from how we can get closer to this stage.

It is this central strategic question which is the real context of the struggle. Of course a revolutionary organization must consider the questions REP poses, but it's only when they are considered in the process of moving white revolutionary forces toward armed struggle that a meaningful solution can be found.

What REP proposes in place of this strategic discussion is a context which basically says "Let's struggle for unity." As REP would agree, unity in SDS is not always the highest priority for the revolution.

continued from page 1

that defines and acts on a coherent strategy for revolution. Some of the resolutions proposed to do this include a general analysis and programmatic direction for SDS, resolutions of support for Cuba and the Venceremos Brigade, Al-Fateh and the Palestine Liberation Movement, and a history and statement of support for the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. People with other resolutions that they would like published before the NC should mail them in to the National Office as soon as they are ready. The NC will open with a NIC meeting and a two-day Educational Conference December 26-28. The NC plenary starts December 29. Each chapter gets one delegate for each 25 national members or less (five is the minimum number of members a chapter can have). So if a chapter has 5-25 national members it gets one delegate; 26-50 two delegates; 51-75 three delegates, et cetera. Delegate names should be authorized by chapter officers and sent to the NO by December 20.

The NC is open to all SDS national and local members, not just delegates. Follow FIRE for place and details.



rip off

The pigs have ripped off our chapter contact list (which was many months out of date anyway). The NO needs to know the names of one or two people from each chapter whom we can keep in touch with to know what's happening, send literature and speakers, et cetera.

We've been getting lots of requests for speakers and lit lately. Chapters who would like national officers to speak on their campus, meet with the chapter, et cetera should get in touch with the NO right away (1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612, 312-666-3874).

Palestine, the Arab

by Tabitha Petran
reprinted from TRICONTINENTAL

first of two parts

The Arab case on Palestine is straightforward and obvious. It is understood and supported by colonial liberation movements everywhere. Few in the West ever bother to think about it, and an extraordinary double standard prevails. It is not difficult to imagine the reaction of Western opinion if in the June 1967 war the roles of Israel and the Arabs had been reversed, if the Arab states had made a blitzkrieg attack on Israel, if Arab armies had forcibly evicted Israelis from homes and land in Israel as the Israeli Army ruthlessly evicted Arabs from their homes and lands in occupied Jordan, Syria, Gaza, and Sinai, and has continued to do ever since.

Let us suppose that Israel was established by agreed decision, that it accepted as final the frontiers laid down by this decision, that the grave injury inflicted on the indigenous Palestine population had been recognized and some compensation offered. This would have been asking of the Palestine Arabs, still more than two thirds the population after half a century of Zionist colonization, an unprecedented sacrifice. Yet perhaps some accommodation could have been reached. At the least the history of the past two decades would have been very different.

For none of these suppositions have a basis in reality.

—Israel was established not by agreed decision but by force, as Israeli leaders are the first to proclaim in boasting that they owe nothing to the UN, and in violating virtually every one of the many UN resolutions applying to the Palestine question.

—Israel has never accepted any frontiers other than those of the Zionist concept of Eretz Israel (Land of

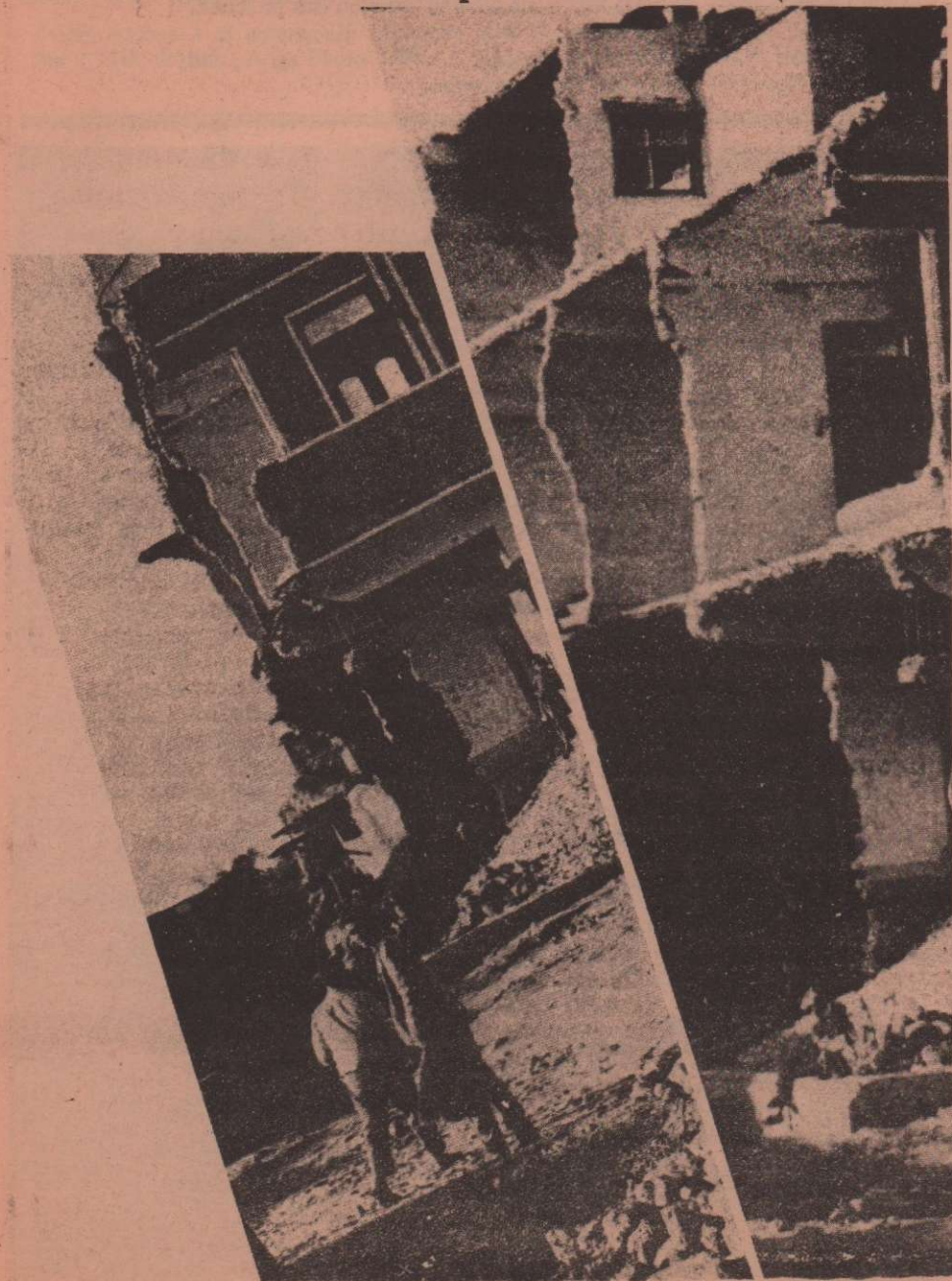


Israel). Herzl defined this as extending "from the Brook of Egypt to the Euphrates", and more significantly asserted: "We will demand the land we need: the more immigrants the more land." Ben-Gurion explained Israel's refusal to define its borders in 1948 by reference to the refusal of the original 13 American states to define the US border and its subsequent expansion to 50 states stretching from the Atlantic to the mid-Pacific. Israel's 1967 conquests still fall short of the minimum territorial goals demanded of the 1919 Peace Conference: these included Southern Lebanon, Southern Syria to the gates of Damascus, Transjordan, and part of Sinai. In January 1967 Premier Eshkol told Le Monde's Eric Rouleau "there remains to us no more than 20,000 kilometers of ancient Palestine," thereby indicating, commented Rouleau, that he considers a part of Iraq, a part of Syria, West Jordan, and Transjordan to be part of "ancient Palestine".

—Israel and the Zionists have never recognized the rights of the indigenous Arab population, have never acknowledged the injustice done to them, and have proved incapable of even one humane gesture in their direction. "What Arabs? They are hardly of any consequence," replied the "moderate" Zionist leader, Chaim Weitzmann, when Albert Einstein, who opposed the Jewish State, asked him: "What about the Arabs if Palestine were given to the Jews?" This is the typical attitude of a racist settler movement.

In the British Imperial Scheme

The Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917, expressed Britain's intention to assist "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people". At that time, Jews made up 7% of the Palestine population. Most of them were opposed to political Zionism. The intentionally-ambiguous 67-word Declaration, presented as the work of the British Government, had been drafted with elaborate care by the Zionists. It dismissed the indigenous Arab majority—93% of the population owning 97.5% of the land—as "existing non-Jewish communities". This was done, wrote J. M. N. Jeffries, "to conceal the fact that the Arabs to all intents constituted the population of the country...to conceal the true ratio between Arabs and Jews and thereby to make easier the supersession of the former." The Declaration guaranteed "religious" and so-called "civil" rights to those so-called "non-Jewish communities", but omitted any mention of



os, and Zionism

political rights. In a memorandum to the British Government, August 11, 1919, Balfour was more frank: "In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country."

The "present inhabitants" had occupied Palestine as Arabs continuously for 13 centuries, "a period of time conveying such evident and absolute ownership that anywhere else in the civilized world a kindred title would only be questioned by lunatics and disregarded by rogues." The Zionists claim Palestine on the basis of a promise received directly from God and an alleged Jewish historical connection which rests mainly on David and Solomon's 73-year rule—some 3,000 years ago—over a part of Palestine. But if remote historical connection is to confer title deeds, these also belong to the Palestine Arabs. A great scholar, Sir James Frazer, asserted that:

"In the opinion of competent judges, the modern fellahin or Arabic-speaking peasants of Palestine are the descendants of pagan tribes which dwelt there before the Israelite invasion, and have clung to the soil ever since, being submerged but never destroyed by each successive wave of conquest which has swept over the land."

The Israelites came to Palestine as invaders; their occupation, never complete, was intermittent and unstable. For centuries before the Romans destroyed the temple in 70 AD—when Zionist mythology pretends all Jews were driven into world exile—the Jews had been emigrating from Palestine of their own choice: influential Jewish settlements flourished in all the great cities of the Roman Empire and Persia, and Jews in Palestine at the beginning of the Christian era numbered but a small fraction of the total Jewish population of the Roman Empire alone. For more than 2,000 years the overwhelming majority of world Jewry lived outside Palestine because it wanted to—and still does. The "longing for Zion" of a part of the Jews was always religious, differing little in character from the attachment of Christians to the Holy Land. The 1881 pogroms in Russia provoked tens of thousands to emigrate annually to the US; a bare few hundred to Palestine. Moreover, Zionist racial theory claiming purity of descent of modern European-American Jews from the ancient Hebrews is demonstrably false.

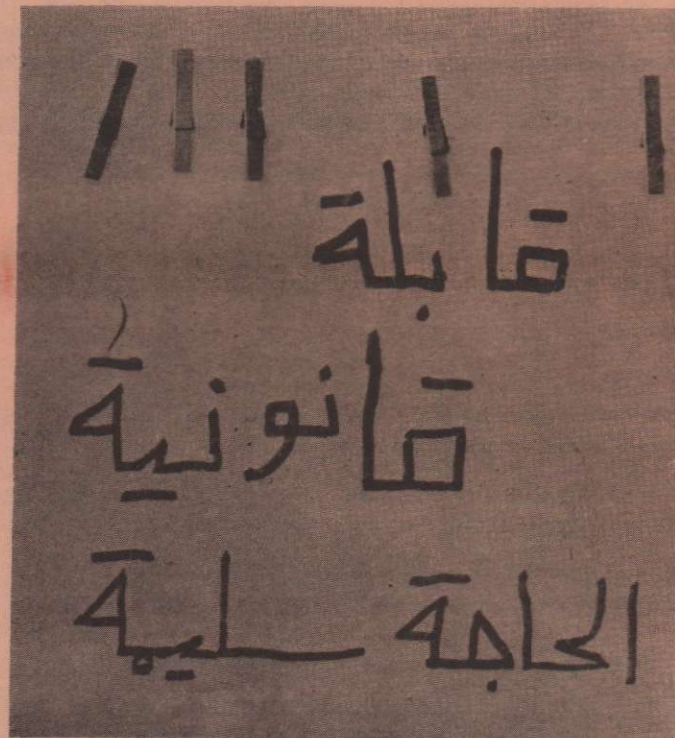
Initially predisposed to Zionism, the King-Crane Commission in 1919 asserted that the Zionist claim to Palestine could not be taken seriously. But this claim provided a convenient pretext for a British presence in Palestine, as Weizmann frequently underscored. The most stalwart imperialists—Leopold Amery, Philip Kerr (later Lord Lothian), General Smuts of South Africa, et cetera—were the most ardent Zionist enthusiasts. Amery, wrote Weizmann, "realized the importance of a Jewish Palestine in the British imperial scheme of things more than anyone else." With the Balfour Declaration Britain created a problem where there was none, assumed responsibility for it, and so secured British claims in the Ottoman Empire and kept France away from the "strategic corridor" protecting Suez.

Under the cover of the League of Nations, Britain assigned itself the Palestine Mandate, all of whose important terms were written by the Zionists. The Mandate sealed the British-Zionist alliance and in effect established a British World Zionist Organization condominium to rule Palestine. Under the Mandate, Britain assisted the Zionists to build a state within a state, since it was understood between them that the "National Home" was the Jewish State in incubation, granted Jews everywhere a passport to enter Palestine

"of right not on suffrage", thus destroying the political status of the indigenous population, allowed the Zionists to build their own military forces, their own racially exclusive school, labor, and co-operative system, and gave them an exclusive concession to exploit all Palestine. In the period 1919-1948, 300 to 350 million pounds sterling (the pound sterling was then worth three to four times its present value) was contributed from abroad to Zionist state-building. This capital transfer amounted to 638 pounds sterling per immigrant—16 times the per capita income of the Arab population.

To the indigenous Arab majority, whose opposition to this European settler invasion was held down by British police and military forces, the British-Zionist condominium denied all political rights and the means of self-defense. Yet Arab uprisings in 1921, 1929, 1933, and 1936-39 testified to an unremitting Arab struggle for the right to self-determination in their own country.

Within world Jewry the Zionists remained a minority. Without the rise of Nazism in Europe the Zionist Palestine venture would almost certainly have failed. The interaction of Zionism and Nazism played a crucial role in the establishment of the Jewish State.



Zionism and Nazism

Arnold Toynbee has pointed out: "Zionism and anti-Semitism are expressions of an identical point of view." This is the alleged "indigestibility" of the Jews. "Each country can absorb only a limited number of Jews if she does not want disorders in her stomach. Germany already has too many Jews." This statement was made not by Julius Streicher but by Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann to a German audience in 1912. Nazi anti-Semitic and Zionist propaganda, writes Rabbi Jacob Agus, popularized the same slogans: that emancipation was a mistake; that the presence of Jews in Europe was disruptive; that all Jews constitute "one folk" and are unique and unintegrable; that anti-Semitism is a natural, hence ineradicable, expression of the "folk feeling" of European nations; and that anti-Semitic ravings are therefore understandable. Benyamin Matovu has documented the fact that direct reproduction of Zionist writings became the pattern of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda. Among the Zionists most frequently quoted by the Nazis were Weizmann, Jacob Klatzkin, and Nahum Goldman, later a prime leader in the creation of Israel and long-time president of the World Zionist Organization, who held that "Germans have the right to prevent Jews from intruding in the affairs of their folk", and already in 1920 advanced the Jewish stab-in-the-back theory to explain the 1918 defeat.

(continued on Page 8)

at times will mean the existence of separate women's organizations. The struggle for women's liberation is part of the struggle against imperialism, and one which must have proletarian leadership. We understand that the structure of the US imperialist involvement in the world demands that proletarian internationalism be developed within the US working class. Specifically, this means that the US working class must be brought to a position of support for the applied internationalism of wars of national liberation against US imperialism. Following from a class analysis which recognizes more than two classes in US society and which perceives that, as a class, it is mainly the ruling bourgeoisie which profits from imperialism, we understand that classes other than the proletariat must be brought into a united front under proletarian leadership against US imperialism. Finally, we understand that the US is at present in a pre-revolutionary stage. We find the best expression of our politics in the RYM and RYM II documents, which we support.

The debate between RYM II and the Weatherman has at its base some of the most crucial problems facing the movement. We should not, however, allow this struggle to blind us to other important political questions being tested through struggle both within SDS and in other sectors of the movement. Neither should we let the intensity of this struggle become the basis for cynicism toward political struggle and blind us to its importance in the growth of the movement.

"We advocate an active ideological struggle, because it is the weapon for achieving solidarity within the Party

and the revolutionary organizations and making them fit to fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon." (Mao Tse-tung, *Combat Liberalism*, 1937)

The context for ideological struggle must be understood. Our movement needs to develop in practice a way of handling inter-movement differences. We at REP believe an excellent formulation for the proper context of such struggle has been put forward in the "unity-criticism-unity" model. We believe it is necessary to strive for a new unity on a new basis. This is not easy, but it must be a guiding principle:

"In 1942 we worked out the formula 'unity-criticism-unity' to describe this democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people. To elaborate, this means to start off with a desire for unity and resolve contradictions through criticism or struggle so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis. Our experience shows that this is a proper method of resolving contradictions among the people. In 1942 we used this method to resolve contradictions inside the Communist Party, namely contradictions between the doctrinaires and the rank-and-file membership, between doctrinairism and Marxism. At one time in waging inner-Party struggle, the 'left' doctrinaires used the method of 'ruthless struggle and merciless blows'. This method was wrong. In place of it, in criticizing 'left' doctrinairism, we used a new one: to start from a desire for unity, and thrash out questions of right and wrong through criticism or argument, and so achieve a new unity on a new basis. This was the method used in the 'rectification campaign' of 1942. A few years later in 1945 when the Chinese Communist Party held its Seventh National Congress, unity was thus achieved throughout the Party and the great victory of the people's revolution

was assured. The essential thing is to start with a desire for unity. Without this subjective desire for unity, once the struggle starts it is liable to get out of hand. Wouldn't this then be the same as 'ruthless struggle and merciless blows'? Would there be any Party unity left to speak of? It was this experience that led us to the formula: 'unity-criticism-unity'."

Practice within SDS—particularly Weatherman practice—often errs by mistaking "contradictions among the people" for "contradictions with the enemy". Errors have also been made by depending upon coercion or force in the mistaken belief that this is proper struggle. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China represented one of the most intense struggles (on several levels) anywhere in the history of the socialist movement. We should bear in mind their view on how the struggle should take place:

"Correctly Handle Contradictions Among the People"

"A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

"It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary, and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong, and gradually reach unanimity.

"The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning.

Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

"When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

"In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak, and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues."

(Point 6, Decision of the Central Committee, CPC, Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 8 August 1966)

Ideological struggle within SDS during the past year has often erred in regard to such principles. Debate at the June Convention and the previous National Council meetings often did not "present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning". Often it did. However, the trend of the past year has been toward the form of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows". PL's adoption of these practices made it impossible (among other reasons) to work with them in the same organization. Weatherman's similar errors present similar problems. From the perspective of the REP collective, RYM II's errors in this direction are necessary topics for self-criticism.

The Chinese people, in conducting their Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, were hardly anti-struggle. They adopted the policy of "unity-criticism-unity" for handling contradictions among the people, and "criticism - struggle - transformation" for dealing with class enemies. We at REP do not believe the struggle within the movement is a struggle with class enemies (although bourgeois views and practices are reflected in certain positions). We do not believe it appropriate to use the methods of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" (to "kick ass" in Weatherman parlance) in dealing with such differences. We will "kick ass" when dealing with class enemies. We will struggle to achieve a new unity on a new basis when dealing with differences (and they are deep) within the movement.

September, 1969

DRAW CONCLUSIONS ON THE WALL

I. NECESSITY

The average Amerikan cannot help but read several hundred thousand words per day of pig shit in the form of advertising, slogans on police cars, etc. Revolutionary wall painting effectively combats this totalitarian bombardment of the mass subconscious.

"A dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy." — Mao

How can people fight if every head is filled with imperialist propaganda like "STOP" and "Supermarket".

II. PRACTICALITY

Revolutionary wall painting doesn't take time away from other movement activities. It can be done on the way to a meeting, on the way home from a meeting, on the way from one meeting to another meeting. It harmonizes well with projects like high school organizing, since schools have walls. Likewise factories. It is not necessary to plan a "wall painting action". Though RWP is carried out most efficiently by small groups, a single person acting alone can accomplish a lot.

III. BASIS IN MARXIST PRINCIPLE

"From the masses to the masses"

Art—RWP—in Chicago was originated by kids who write on walls all over the city. A gang called the Belois writes things like "XXX GODS" in a

IV. UNIVERSALITY

RWP is as yet unsullied by sectarianism.

V. MATERIAL

Cans of spray pain are available at a nominal cost from local hardware stores. Or they can be ripped off.

VI. TACTICS

Corners are better than the middle of the block; walking is better than driving; brick or concrete walls are best; sidewalks are okay; windows should be ignored or broken; paint washes off. Short slogans are better than long slogans. There's a lot of unfinished "Bring..." and "Power..." around on the walls....

VII. SUGGESTIONS

- PEOPLE'S WAR
- OFF THE PIG
- REVOLT
- JAILBREAK
- FREE HUEY
- RISING UP ANGRY
- THE WORLD IS OURS
- REVOLUTION NOW
- BRING THE WAR HOME
- OFF THE LANDLORDS
- POWER TO THE PEOPLE
- NO RYM II

FE FE, FI FI, FO FO FUM, I SMELL SMOKE IN THE AUDITORIUM

We are about making white people understand the necessity for armed struggle on the side of the people of the world. To develop this consciousness we have to work with the tensions in white kids. They hate and fear pig Amerika but they also hate and fear the Black Revolution. What we have to get them to dig is that the victory of the national struggles of colonial peoples means the smashing of pig Amerika. And that to win our own liberation we must fight on the side of those national liberation struggles. The place this is becoming real for millions of white kids is in the high schools, where the Black Liberation struggle is moving faster every day. Because that struggle will smash anything that stands in its way, the form it is taking is race war. The question for us is how do we get kids who are being vamped on by blacks to fight on the side of the peoples of the world?

At Lane High School in New York, race war has been going on for awhile now. The blacks are winning. They have slowly taken over the school during the past few years. Last year things reached a high point when a pig teacher was set on fire. The local white racists started to move, the school was occupied by the police, and the administration kicked out 700 black students. But a united front of parents and students pushed through the repression and kept on moving. A few weeks ago, black students in an Afro-American studies class hoisted the red, green, and black flag of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) and pulled kids out of classes all over the school to a meeting in the cafeteria to get things together. The principal busted it up and people moved out and ripped up the whole school. The next day the whites, who saw the blacks as the enemy, came ready to fight with chains and knives. They were easily crushed. The whites relied on outside force to try to regain some control, but as the pig scene became heavier the blacks got less and less into fighting the whites and more and more into trashing pigs. The pig force grew to about 100, the schedule was cut to one session to make it easier to keep "outside agitators" out, and the white community is increasing pressure for more black expulsions. But the struggle intensifies even in the face of Gestapo tactics.

What have white kids been doing? Last year the whites dug the way the blacks were together and could easily get into smashing pigs and tearing up all over town when the racist teachers' strike drew the line clearly between blacks and the system. But racism in the kids themselves was never confronted head on, and without solid organization and clear political leadership heavy repression slowed the white movement to a halt and opened up a vacuum for the right wing to move into.

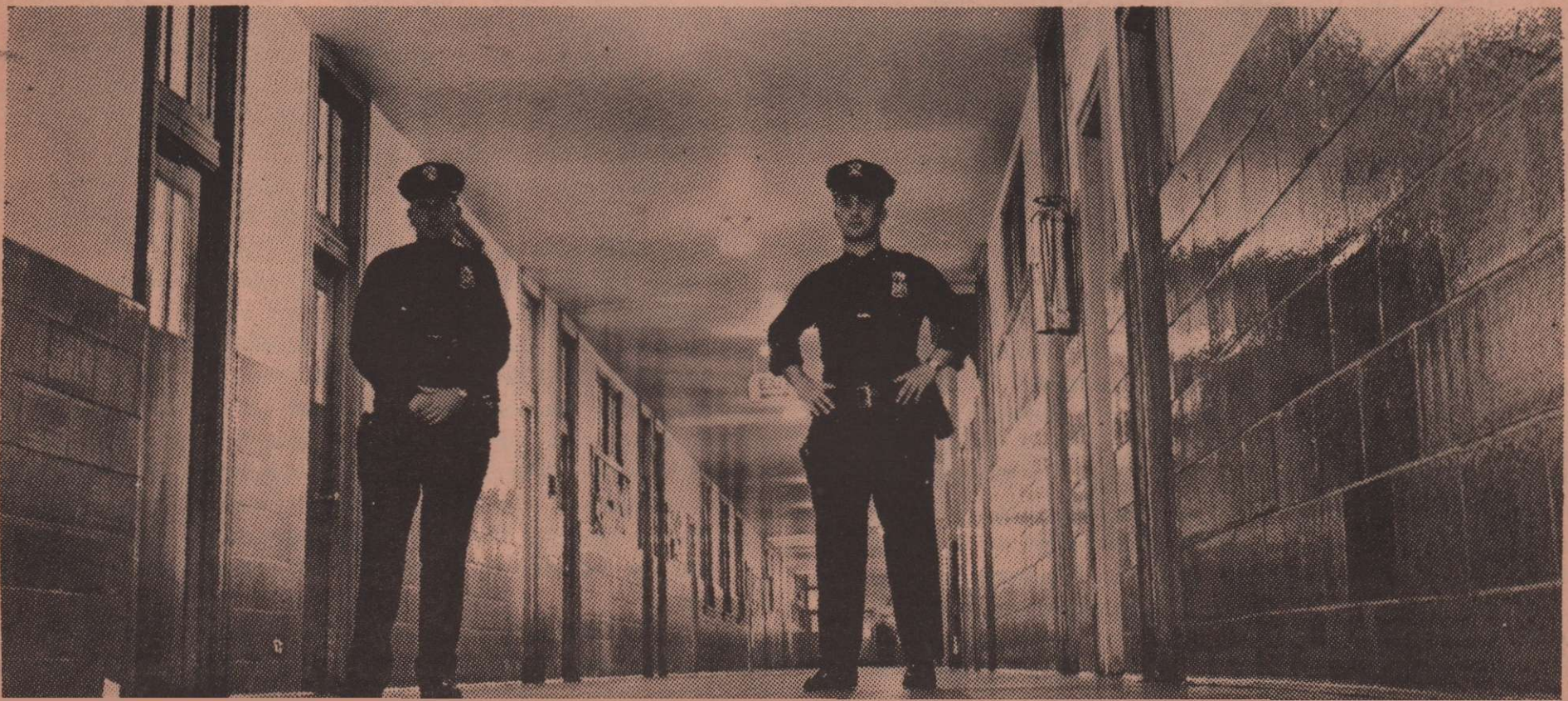
In the past week things started to move again. In Queens, the second most segregated borough of New York, 300 white kids moved on a local draft board and were quick to follow the spontaneous leadership of the 20 blacks who moved to the front. The Student Union is getting together again after falling apart last spring. But all of this motion won't mean a thing unless whites begin to deal directly with the reality of the race war that is coming down in the high schools.

The same kids who dug the student strike last year and are against the war now are afraid of the blacks. Some of them end up fighting blacks, because the blacks are rolling over anyone in their way. As revolutionaries we say "right on" to the blacks. But in the concrete situation, it is difficult to move the white kids to an understanding of the black struggle and the role of white people within the revolution.



We tried to move in a situation that wasn't yet as extreme as Lane. At John Adams High School, the brothers and friends of the white kids at Lane are fighting a losing battle to keep white control of the school. Adams is about 60% white while Lane is about 70% black. The white community is determined that the war won't be lost in Adams the way it was lost at Lane. While the RNA flag incident was happening at Lane, the top leader of the white right wing at Adams attacked a black student for hanging around with a white woman. The fight grew and was taken outside, where the whites had the upper hand temporarily. The next day the blacks organized and attacked in skirmishes with white students and pigs. When we heard about it we decided this was an opportunity for us to deal with white kids on the question of race. Tactical considerations were complicated.

We dug that a few things were crucial: not to undercut the nationalist aspect of the struggle (by playing "Mighty Whitey to the Rescue"), and not to determine the level of struggle for the blacks (by triggering a situation in which blacks would be forced to deal with the consequences). We also dug that the racist ideology and leadership had to be smashed before we could give these white kids a revolutionary explanation of what they saw and felt. And more than an explanation, we had to show them that there was another direction to turn their anger—against the real cause of it: pig Amerika. If the whites clearly massed for an attack, we would have to attack the white leadership. The attack would show these kids that there were other white kids just as angry as they were, but fighting in exactly the opposite direction. Once they had seen this, we could talk. As it turned out, the right-wingers couldn't keep up their bullshit without the pigs, who held a "cool it" assembly and have been sticking around ever since. For the kids it's been a standoff. The main point to remember is that if whites are going to be a relevant fighting force (Chicago and Washington show us it's happening), then they are going to have to be prepared to find concrete ways of smashing racism and materially supporting the black liberation struggle in its concrete manifestations.



Asking whether "the Zionist program and philosophy" contributed "decisively" to the Nazi extermination of six million Jews, Rabbi Agus concludes that on the basis of present knowledge "it is impossible to answer his question." Nonetheless, he emphasizes that:

1) Zionist propaganda "could not but reinforce the basic anti-Semitic assumption of the Jews as an eternal alien...";

2) the usefulness of anti-Semitism depended on its appeal to the large uncommitted middle class, and this class "was neutralized and paralyzed in Central Europe by the feeling that Jews were alien and would-be emigrants by their own admission";

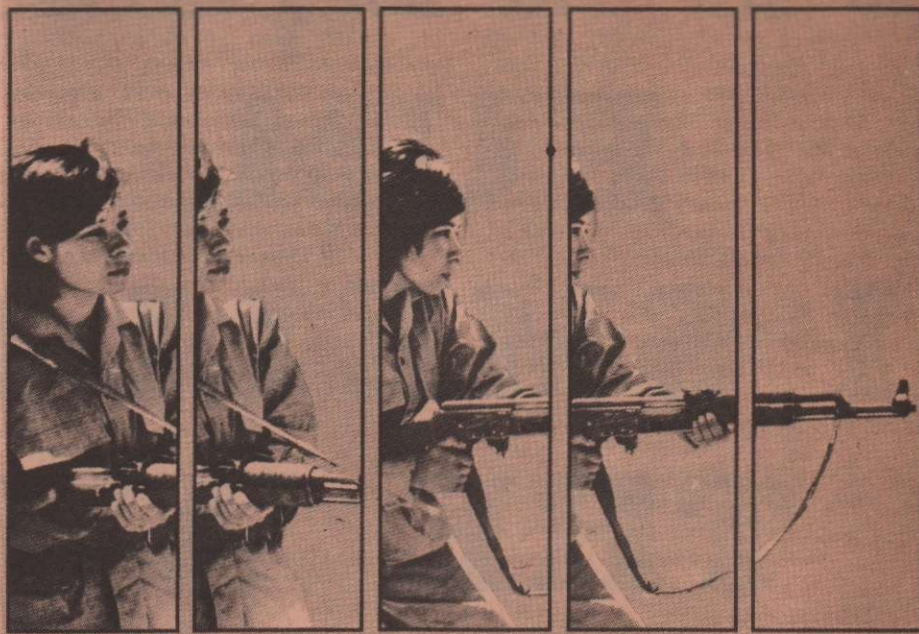
3) when Central Europe was opened to democratic ideas after the First World War the Zionist orientation of the Jews put liberal opponents of anti-Semitism on the defensive;

4) in countries where Jews were Zionist-oriented they were "marked for slaughter with hardly a ripple of protest, while in Western countries... where Jews were distinguished by religion only, concerted efforts were made to save them...."

There is more, however, to the Zionist-Nazi story than the identity of Nazi and Zionist propaganda about the Jews. In the tradition of Herzl, who held anti-Semitic governments to be Zionism's best ally, German Zionists welcomed the Nazi rise to power as the death blow to assimilationism. Zionist leaders offered the Nazi Government their co-operation in finding a solution to the Jewish question, urged Jews to wear the Yellow Star six years before the Nazis ordered it, and capitalized on their position as the only Jews able to associate with the Nazis to discredit non-Zionist Jews. The Nazi Government and the Jewish Agency for Palestine concluded an agreement under which Zionist-selected Jews were permitted to emigrate to Palestine and transfer their property to be exchanged here against British pounds: Palestine was flooded with German goods while American Jewry tried to organize a boycott of Nazi Germany. Zionist emissaries came from Palestine—in the words of the Zionist Kimche Brothers—not "to save German Jews; that was not their job." Their job was to select "suitable material", and they talked openly of "mutual interests". They were even allowed to set up "training camps" for Palestine under Nazi auspices. Zionists invited Eichmann to Palestine, and when the British refused him permission to enter, Histadrut representatives journeyed to Cairo to visit him.

The price for this Zionist-Nazi collaboration was, as Doctor Hannah Arendt has emphasized, inevitably paid by non-Zionist Jews, who found "themselves confronted with two enemies—the Nazi authorities and the Jewish authorities." The Nazi Government dropped its pro-Zionist policy in 1939, but organized Jewry's collaboration remained "the very cornerstone" of its Jewish policy. Without it, writes Doctor Arendt, the "final solution" would not have been possible. "Without Jewish help in administrative and police works... there would have been chaos or an impossibly severe drain on German manpower."

The trial in Israel in which Zionist leader and high Israeli official Rudolf Kastner, backed by the full power of the Israeli Government, tried (unsuccessfully) to clear himself of charges of having assisted Eichmann in the slaughter of nearly a million Hungarian and Polish Jews; Ben Hecht's *Perfidy*, based on sworn evidence at this trial; Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*; Saul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews*—these clearly documented how Jewish Agency leaders withheld from the masses of Jews in Eastern Europe the fact that they were marked for shipment to death camps... (and) clearly suggest that by maintaining the Nazis' secret, the Zionist leadership, inside and outside Hitler's Europe, made unlikely a mass uprising of the Jews and enabled the route to the gas chamber to remain unblocked by the desperate rebellion of doomed men. In return, some hundreds of Zionist leaders were permitted to escape to Palestine.



Zionist leaders themselves insisted that their first concern was not rescue of the Jews but establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. In 1943, at the height of the exterminations, Itzhak Greenbaum, head of the Jewish Agency Rescue Committee, declared: "If I am asked could you give from UJA (United Jewish Appeal) moneys to rescue Jews? I say 'No; and I say again, No.' In my opinion we have to resist that wave which puts Zionist activities in the second line."

American Zionist leader Rabbi Abba Silver stated in 1946 "that the rescue of a certain number of refugees, however vital and urgent, is not Zionism, and that the clear purpose of Zionism was and is to give the Jewish people the status of a nation." Richard Crossman, a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, wrote: "Another important point has gradually emerged from the Zionists' own statements. Their main preoccupation is not to save the Jews alive out of Europe, but to get Jews into Palestine and establish a Jewish State."

In line with this policy, the Zionists deliberately sabotaged all rescue efforts not directed to Palestine—among others, Roosevelt's plan to rescue 500,000; projects for settlement in Alaska, Australia, and Surinam; and a British parliamentary resolution for temporary refuge during the war. "Who can tell how many thousands of Jewish lives might have been saved if these anti-Jewish pressures exerted by Jews had not been effected?" asked the Freeland League. Erskine Childers, writing of this successful Zionist campaign to close the doors of other countries to Jewish refugees, found it "incredible that so grave and grim a campaign has received so little attention on the account of the Palestine struggle—it was a campaign that literally shaped all history."

Behind this grim campaign was Zionist determination to persuade the world, and especially the US—to which Zionism had moved its power base during the war—that there was only one solution to the refugee problem: the creation of a Jewish State. "For while many Americans might not support a Jewish State," wrote Richard Stevens, "traditional American humanitarianism could be exploited in favor of the Zionist cause through the refugee problem. Indeed... the refugee problem had to remain unsolved in order to insure the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine." This Zionist campaign linking the refugee problem to the creation of the state was enormously successful in the US.

The Nazi chapter in Zionist state-building suggests answers to crucial questions concerning the effect upon the Jews themselves of Zionist racial and collaboration policies and of overriding Zionist power ambitions in Palestine. That Zionism contributed to the almost universal collaboration of organized Jewry with the Nazis and to the general absence of resistance can hardly be denied. The late William Zukerman pointed out:

"The heroic men and women who died on the Warsaw barricades belonged to a section of the Jews who held that their home was in the countries where they had been born, had worked, and had contributed to wealth and culture... to them the future of European Jews, after the war, lay in Europe in the homes they had loved and fought for."



Washington November 15, 1969

The most important tension in the march on Washington last week wasn't over the war. Washington was really all about the question of violence. The people who organized the demonstration and the pigs, from Nixon on down to the mobilization pig marshals, built their whole thing on having a peaceful and "reasonable" protest march. Even when the thing was happening, when the richest parts of Washington DC were trashed three days in a row, they fell off their chairs trying to isolate, denounce, and finally ignore what was coming down. A lot of people were saying how important it was that a lot of people stood in the cold all day and that 45,000 kids marched in the parade of death. They said it was "America's Finest Hour". But what we dug about Washington was the violence.

A lot of the kids who were into the pacifist thing said that they couldn't get into violence because it was morally wrong, that war itself is a bad thing, and that "fighting fire with fire" would make us just as fucked up as the man. They said that people have to show how well-meaning they are by doing "legitimate" moral acts. But that's a whole utopian trip. It's crazy to think that because we walked in front of their gouses with a peace sign, the rich fuckers in power would somehow see how they rip people off, and that the people whose power is staked on imperialist wars and forces like teachers and pigs would destroy their own positions to give it all back.

So 45,000 kids walked five miles single file, not rapping for 36 hours. Each one dropped the name of a dead GI into a coffin. All between two rows of pigs. That was the parade of death.

But there were a couple thousand kids who couldn't dig it. We were the people our parents warned us about. We moved through the streets in groups, marching, dancing, running, chanting, singing, downing jugs of

we knew well and trusted a lot. We carried VC flags and used the flagpoles as weapons. Trashing windows and pig cars. Setting fires at streetcorners.

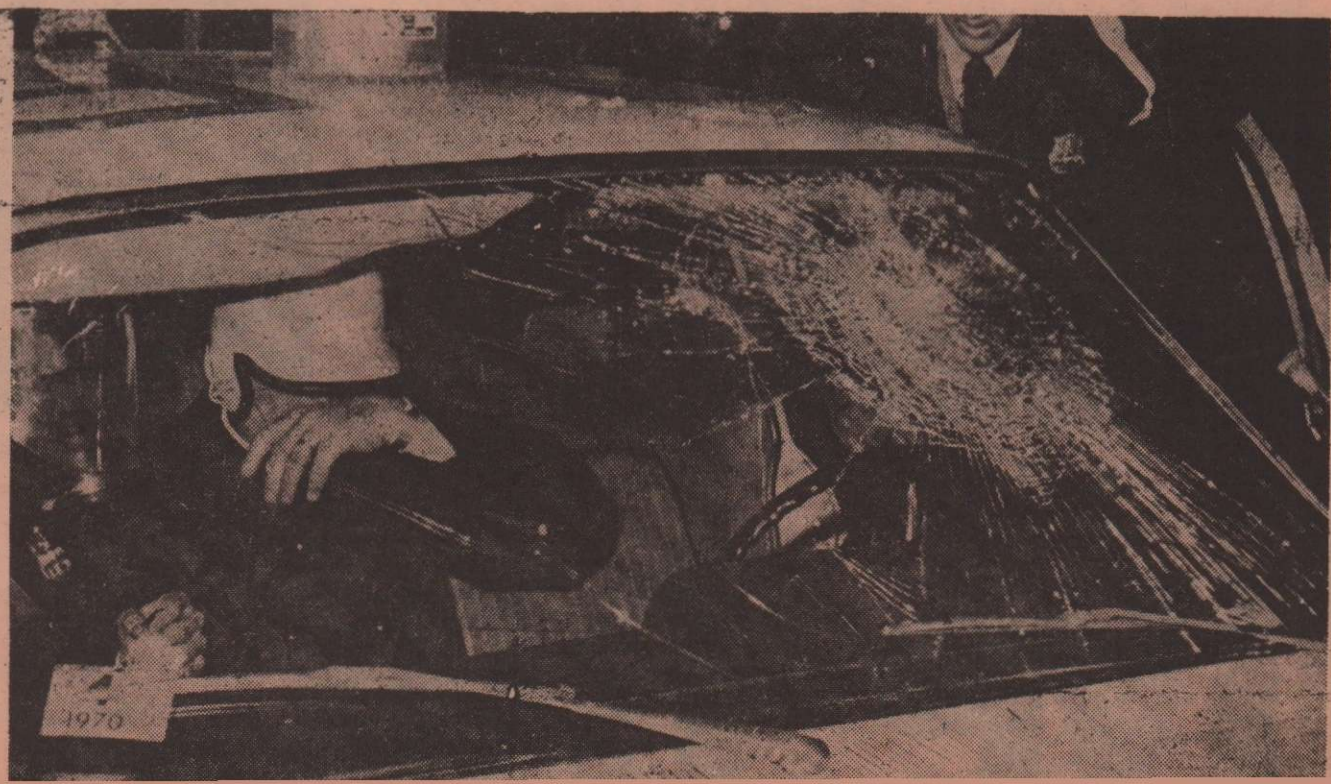
THE VIETNAM WAR ISN'T THE ISSUE ANY MORE. Mainly because the war is over. The Vietnamese people have won a military victory over the most powerful empire in the history of the world. They have regained control of the entire countryside and most of the cities, while the American troops have retreated to a few of their most highly defensible bases (40% of the US troops are now stationed in Saigon). The only thing left is for Nixon to find the American ruling class a diplomatic way of admitting defeat.

The Vietnamese didn't defeat the Americans by staging peaceful demonstrations. They won when their entire population mobilized and fought a People's War for their freedom. They fought, like we are beginning to, for power. And they won power through armed, violent struggle.

What we say when we demonstrate about the war isn't that the US should

end the suffering or brutality. We tell people about how the VC have won. It's not so much that we're against the war; we're for the Vietnamese people and their victory. And their struggle has shown us and people all over the world that it can be done, the monster can be smashed, the people can win.

Violence by itself is neither good, bad, right, or wrong. The thing to get a handle on is what's necessary to build a revolution in the world. We've got to start looking at things in terms of winning, seeing our actions as part of a strategy for the struggle. We've got to see the connection between the sabotage of the imperialist's office buildings in New York, the SDS riot in Chicago, and the violent motion that came off of Washington. We know that the only way the fat cats who run the country are going to give up anything—the Vietnam war or their whole power to suck off everyone else—is when people take it back from them. The VC dig that; that's why they're doing it. Dig it? Do it!



It's moving in the streets, digging sounds, smoking dope, hating schools, downing the army, tearing up, fighting pigs. It's not being caught up in the lies—it's supporting blacks in their right to freedom, digging the vietcong, not trying to "make it", not stepping on everyone else to move on up yourself.

For lots of us our whole life is a defiance of Amerika. Everything we do and have—our street actions, our friendships, our ideas—all show our contempt for the pig death culture of this country. That's why, when Mick Jagger snarls out Satisfaction—all about our lives—we dig it in a special way.

The Stones are touring Amerika this month. Everywhere they go, kids move with them. In San Diego last week 2,000 busted into the concert moving to the tune of Street Fighting Man. In Denver kids fought their way through security pigs to get in. In Chicago, Mick introduced Street Fighting Man with the words "This is for all of you and what you did to your city." Kids were in the aisles, hassling security pigs, dancing, and smoking dope.

The Stones always close with Street Fighting Man. What they're saying to us is—Revolt! Tear it down! Rip it up! Chicago, Washington, and Your Town USA. The time is right for fighting in the streets! The time is right for violent revolution!



live on!



SOUNDS OF VICTORY

The Vietnamese have won their war against the United States because every person in the whole country fights against Amerika's attempts to run their country. Some of the best fighters are the Vanguard Youth—kids who form up into brigades and leave their home villages to go where they are most needed. Some get special training in shore cannon and anti-aircraft artillery (every village has men's and women's militias to operate heavy artillery—every person in Vietnam has a rifle and knows how to use it). Many brigades repair roads and bridges, even in the middle of bombing raids, so that communication and supplies are never cut off. They break up stones and bricks from the ruins of their old homes, and make new roads to rebuild their country. Other brigades go to teach in schools that have been evacuated from the cities or to work in huge underground factories, working wherever the revolution needs them. They have learned to turn their hatred of the United States into the energy to fight to drive her out and control Vietnam themselves.

The energy they have freed has changed their whole lives—everything they do is part of their struggle. They sing songs all the time—in the fields, after they shoot down American bombers, in underground tunnels and factories during bombing raids—one of their favorite sayings is: "Our songs will ring louder than the sound of all of America's bombs!" As they rebuild roads and bridges they make up music about the beauty of Vietnam and how much more beautiful it will be when America is driven out. Their music is strong and joyful, because they know that the United States could never have won the war. They chuckle when they speak of American war strategy, and their songs mock the stupidity of Nixon and his generals.

Every village has a number of different cultural groups where young Vietnamese make up and perform their own music and poetry and plays for the rest of the village. During the bombing raids they put on shows in the tunnels and schools underground, reading poetry and newspapers aloud, drowning out the sound of bombs with news of Vietnamese victory.

The Vietnamese people have created a revolutionary culture out of their struggle to survive and defeat

Amerika. They are fighting for their own freedom against the same enemy as the rest of the world, transforming their lives and culture through the fight. Like them, we can change our hatred of Amerika and the way of "life" offered to us into the energy to fight to change that Amerikan system, winning our own freedom and an end to Amerika's murder and oppression of the rest of the world.

HATRED INTO ENERGY!



OUR SONGS WILL RING LOUDER THAN

THE SOUND OF ALL OF AMERICA'S BOMBS

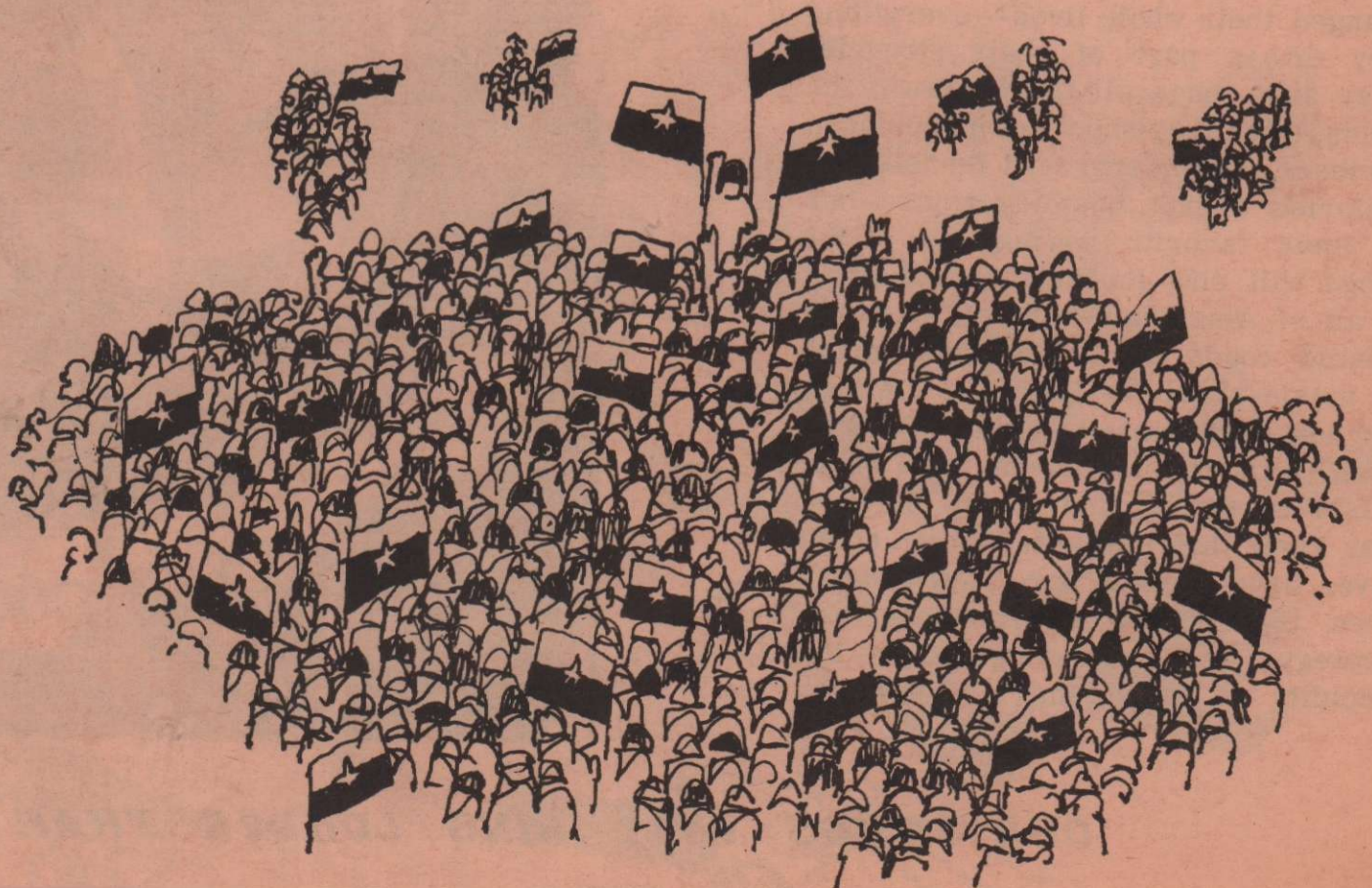


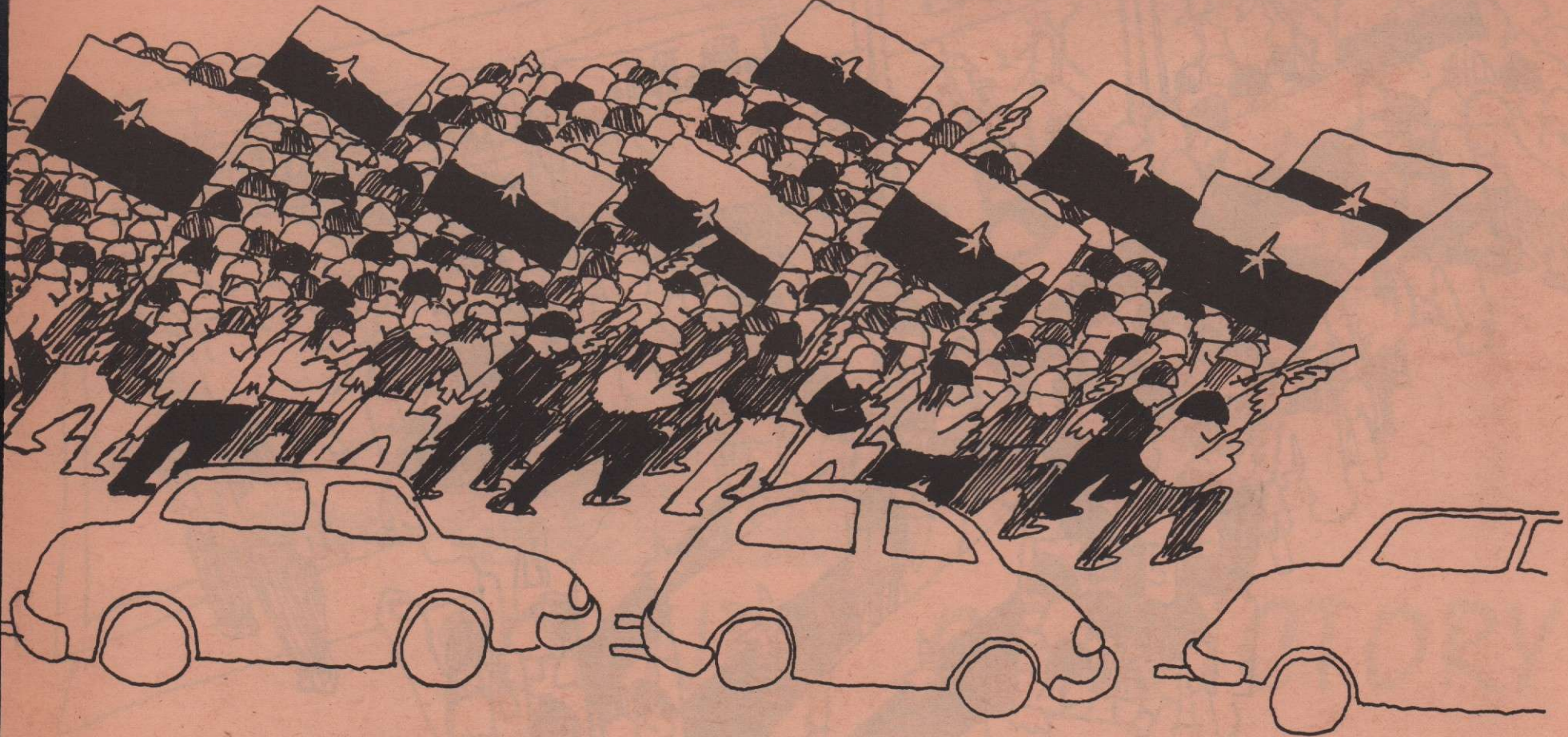
There were those who came to Washington to protest the war, in the tradition of the past 10 years of peaceful demonstrations.

Then there's us.
 The Revolutionary Contingent.
 White youth who know
 what has to be done.
 Digging and loving every
 second of being part of
 the winning peoples war,
 going on all over this
 world. The Viet cong,
 Cubans and Koreans, have
 shown us the only way
 to beat pig Amerika -
 Violence and armed struggle.



Friday night we rallied at
 Dupont Circle, for a few short
 speeches.





Then we moved out on the Saigon and other pig embassies. It was a great feeling moving out. Our people were chanting, singing and laughing with the thought of what was to come. The pace was fast. Everybody was anxious for what was to happen.

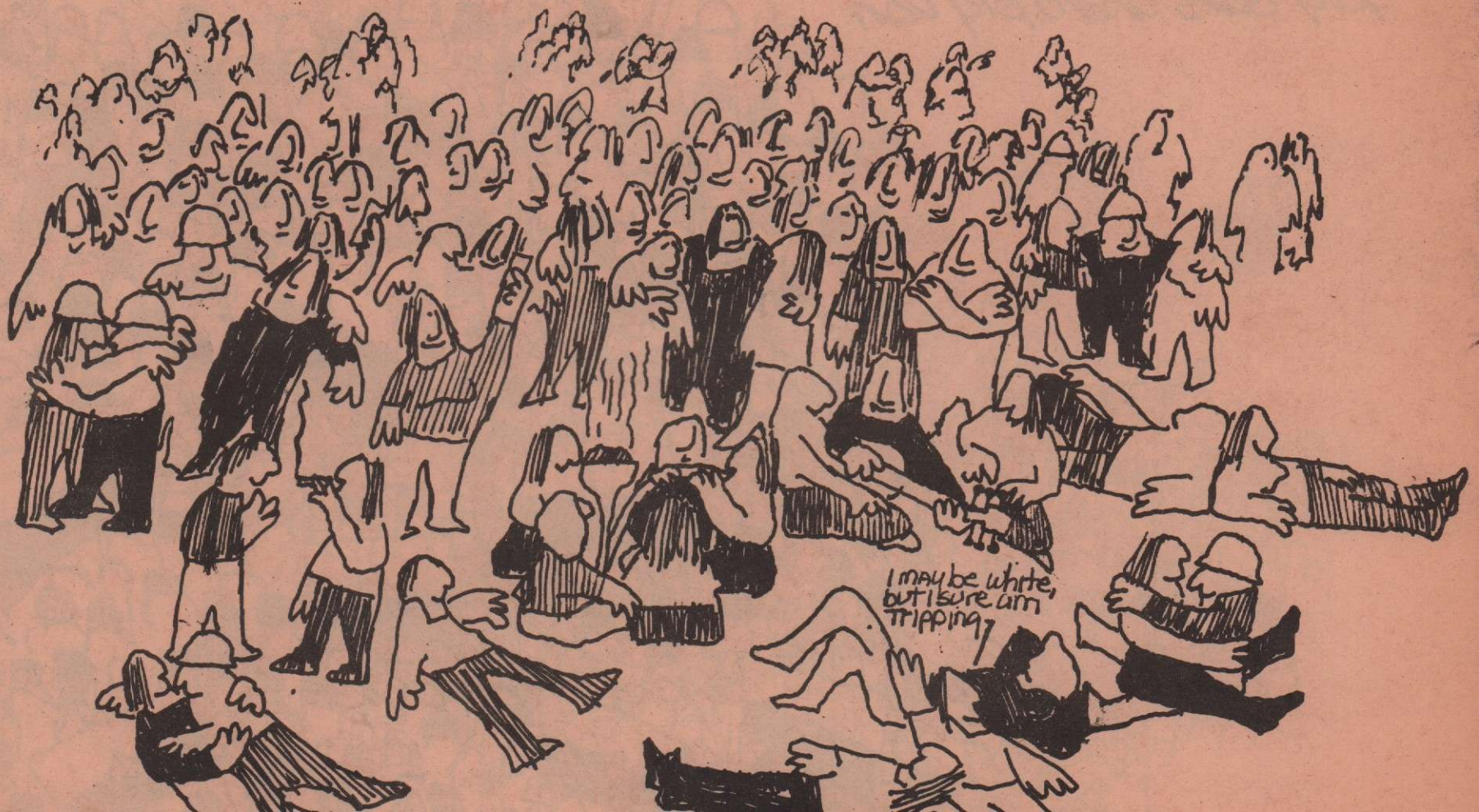
The pigs were in position when we got there. We started trashing windows in the embassies and the pigs attacked with tear gas. We moved up Massachusetts Ave. on the way burning a pig motorcycle, trashing pig cars and a pig van.



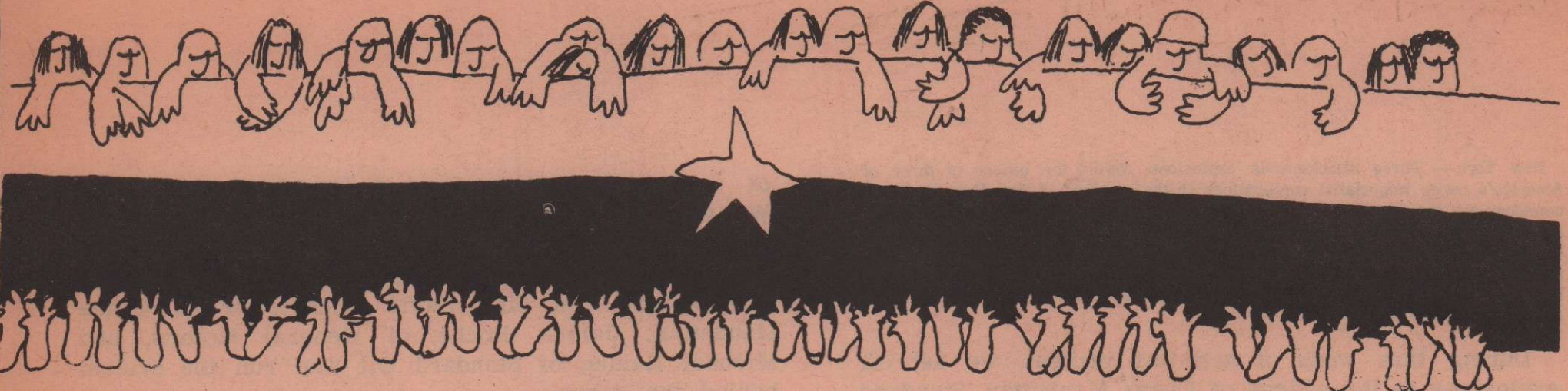


We moved
on to Connecticut
avenue trashing
pig Washington.

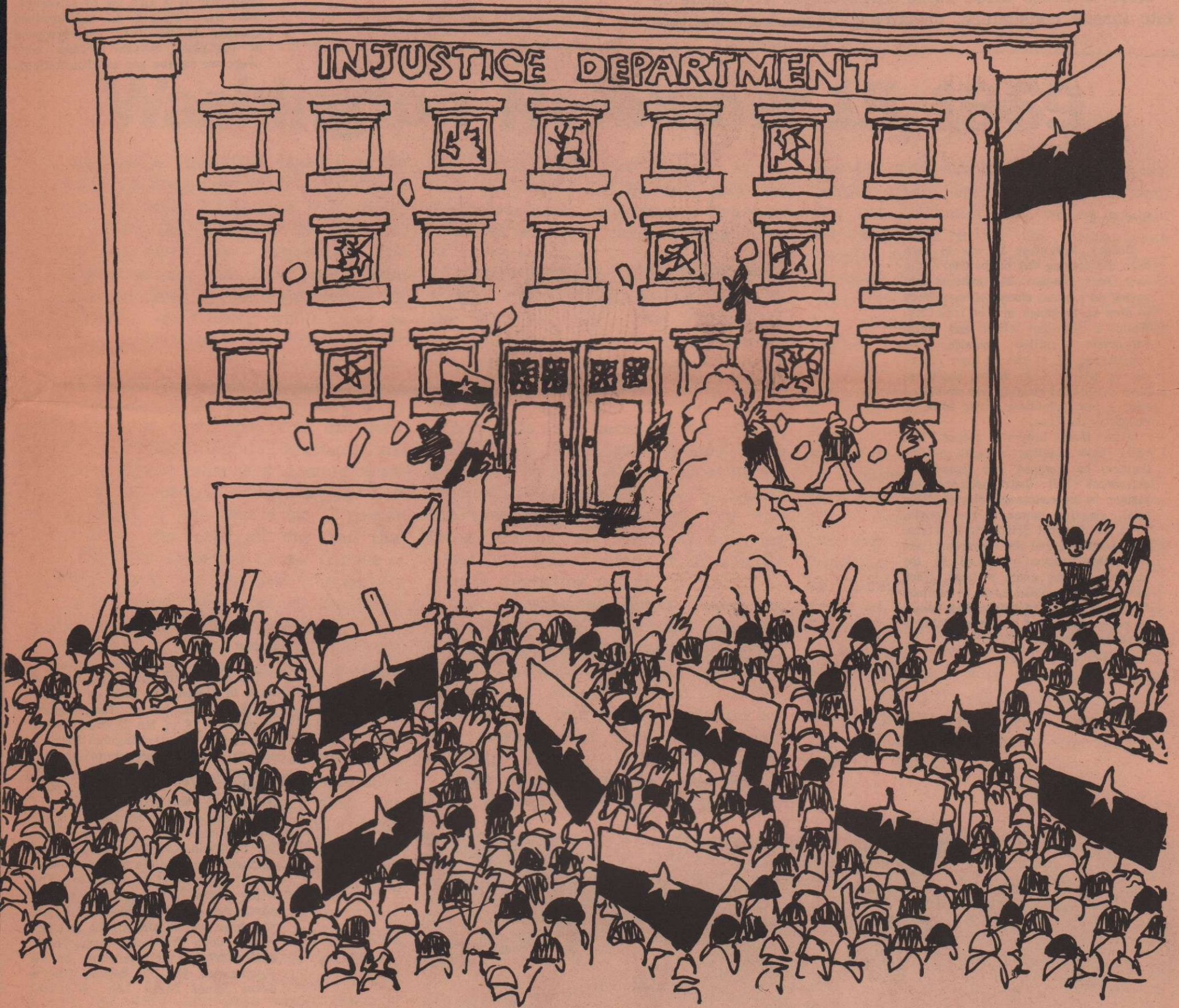
later we did all those
things the pig says are bad.



I maybe white,
but I sure am
tripping



After a relaxing sleep, we moved on the injustice department



We trashed windows, exploded red smoke, and stoned mobe marshal pigs. The pigs attacked with gas. We dispersed, regrouped and launched another attack. This time along with the trashing we lowered the American flag and raised the N.L.F. flag. The pigs attacked again with gas. We moved out into the city trashing, barricading and setting fires as we went.

INSURRECTION!

New York — Three simultaneous explosions rocked the offices of three of America's major imperialist corporations on the morning of November 12. These bombings are the latest in a series of terrorist activities that have been increasing and will continue to do so. Other targets have included Guard Armories and federal buildings in cities across the country, banks, munitions factories, and transportation and communications facilities—in brief, all the apparatus the monster needs to feed his face. Following is the text of a letter received by the pig media in New York shortly following the three bombings:

During this week of anti-war protest, we set off explosives in the offices of Chase Manhattan, Standard Oil, and General Motors. Guards at all three buildings and news offices throughout the city were telephoned 30 to 60 minutes in advance to insure that the buildings would be clear of people.

The Vietnam war is only the most obvious evidence of the way this country's power destroys people. The giant corporations of America have now spread themselves all over the world, forcing entire foreign economies into total dependence on American money and goods.

Here at home these same corporations have made us into insane consumers, devouring increasing quantities

of useless credit cards and household appliances. We work at mindless jobs. Vast machines pollute our air, water, and food.

Spiro Agnew may be a household word, but it is the rarely-seen men like David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan, James Roche of General Motors, and Michael Haiden of Standard Oil who run the system behind the scenes.

The empire is breaking down as peoples all over the globe are rising up to challenge its power. From the inside, black people have been fighting a revolution for years.

And finally, from the heart of the empire, white Americans too are striking blows for liberation.

Hanover Fire

On November 11, a munitions plant in Hanover, Massachusetts was destroyed by a fire set by saboteurs. The fire released an undetermined quantity of the tear gas produced at the plant. Several firemen were overcome by the gas and hospitalized.

New York

Monday, November 17 was to have been the opening day of the trial of the New York Panther 21, indicted last spring on a phony charge of conspiracy to blow up buildings in New York City. While a thousand black and white supporters rallied outside the courthouse, 14 of the 21 (four others are in jail in other states, and three have never been caught) were presented with a new indictment adding some 20 counts to the case.

When their lawyer's request that bails (now totaling several million dollars) be lowered was denied, the defendants and their brothers and sisters in the courtroom disrupted the trial, chanting power to the People, Free All Political Prisoners, et cetera. The judge cleared the courtroom, and the demonstration continued in the hallways of the court building. When asked how they pleaded, the 14 replied: "We plead guilty to being black people in racist America." The new trial date is set for December 15.



Boston

The man totally blew his cool last week in Boston with raids on three of the Weatherman houses. They managed to pick up 18 of the 26 brothers and sisters they were looking for. They are charged with conspiracy to murder, attempted murder, criminal anarchy, sedition, and a bunch of other trumped-up charges.

Pigs say that the 26 had been part of a plot to blow up a Boston pig station. But the 8 who were not caught reminded us that it is complete bullshit to think that it takes all of 26 people to rip off a pig station! The pigs don't want to admit that there are people in Boston who have had it with all the shit that comes down from the man. They'd rather try to pin everything on the Weathermen, just like they did with the Jesse James Gang! Live on Jesse!

FIRE! Forces of Internationalist
Revolutionary Energy

SDS 1608 W. Madison, Chicago 60612

Send me more stuff! NAME _____

Boston

On Tuesday, November 4, shitting on the man's court injunction, close to a thousand students, faculty members, and supporters joined together in the November Action Coalition, marched behind NLF flags to shut down the Imperialist Center for International Studies and the administration offices at MIT. On the next day they also forced work to stop on the Missile Guidance System in the Instrumentation Lab. In the face of over 700 riot pigs, folks learned to fight back when attacked. The slogans heard most were Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, the NLF Is Gonna Win. 6-5-4-3 Let's Smash MIT. Get Off Your Ass. Get Out