

# Declaration of the Council of Revolutionary Co-ordination



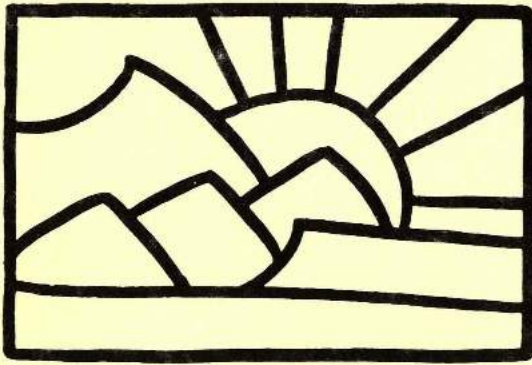
Joint Communique from

MIR (Chile)

Tupamaros (Uruguay)

ELN (Bolivia)

ERP (Argentina)



**TO THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA:**  
**Joint Declaration**  
**NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT**  
(Tupamaros) of Uruguay  
**MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY**  
**LEFT (MIR) of Chile**  
**NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (ELN) of**  
**Bolivia**  
**PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY ARMY**  
**(ERP) of Argentina**

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**TO THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA:**

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

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

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

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

#### **OUR STRUGGLE IS ANTI-IMPERIALIST**

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

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

#### **LATIN AMERICA MARCHES TOWARDS SOCIALISM**

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

being of the peoples.

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

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

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

But that formidable revolutionary

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

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

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





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

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

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

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

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

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

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

Therefore, the intransigent ideological and political struggle that revolutionaries must wage against these currents assumes

a strategic dimension. We must expose them in order to win the leadership of the broadest masses, in order to thereby give our people a revolutionary leadership that can consistently, intelligently, and effectively show us the way to final victory.

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

Reformism, by comparison, is a current that nests among the working people themselves, reflecting the fear of confrontation of the petty bourgeois sectors and the labor aristocracy. It is characterized by narrow rejection of just and necessary acts of revolutionary violence as a fundamental method of the struggle for power, thus abandoning the Marxist conception of the class struggle. Reformism spreads harmful pacifist and liberal ideas among the masses that embellish the national bourgeoisie and the counterrevolutionary armed forces with whom it constantly seeks to ally itself, and that exaggerate the importance of legality and of parliamentarism. One of its preferred arguments—that it is necessary to avoid violence and become involved with the bourgeoisie and the “patriotic military” in search of a peaceful road that will keep the masses from shedding their blood on the road to socialism—is roundly and painfully refuted by experience. Where reformism has imposed its conciliatory and pacifist politics, the enemy classes and their armed forces have carried out the greatest massacres against the people. The

freshness of the Chilean experience, with more than 20,000 men and women workers assassinated, makes further comment unnecessary.

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

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

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

#### THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS

The MLN (Tupamaros), the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the National Liberation Army (ELN), and the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP), in the course of their revolutionary and patriotic struggles, have learned it is necessary to unite, have affirmed through their own experience their internationalist conception, comprehending that the imperialist and capitalist enemy is united and organized and that we must oppose it with the firmest and tightest unity of our peoples.

Bound by the similarity of our struggles and political line, the four organizations first established fraternal ties, and have gradually proceeded to an exchange of experiences, to an increasingly active mutual collaboration, up to this decisive step that will accelerate our collaboration and coordination and will without any doubt

result in greater practical effectiveness in the bloody struggle that our peoples are waging against the ferocious common enemy.

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

To achieve this sacred objective will not be easy; the cruelty and force of imperialism will make it necessary, as Comandante Guevara envisioned, to develop a bloody and protracted revolutionary war that will make of the Latin American continent the second or third Vietnam of the world. In addition, following the glorious example of the heroic people of Vietnam, the Latin American toilers will know how to do combat without dismay, with growing efficiency, displaying in everything their intensity, the unbeatable energy of the masses, and crushing Yankee imperialism and its agents, thus winning our own wellbeing and contributing powerfully to the destruction of the principal enemy of the international working class, of socialism, of all the peoples of the world.

#### OUR PROGRAM

We are united by the understanding that there is no other viable strategy in Latin America than the strategy of revolutionary war; that this revolutionary war is a complicated process of mass struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, where all forms of struggle are developed harmoniously around the axis of armed struggle; that for the victorious unfolding of the entire process of revolutionary war, it is necessary to mobilize the entire people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat; that the proletarian leadership of the war will be exercised through a



Marxist-Leninist combat party, of proletarian character, capable of centralizing and giving leadership and uniting in one powerful fist all the aspects of the popular war, guaranteeing a correct strategic direction; that under the leadership of the Proletarian Party it is necessary to structure a powerful popular army, the nucleus of steel of the revolutionary forces, which, going from the small to the large, and intimately united to the masses and nourished by them, will erect an impenetrable wall against which all the military attempts of the reactionaries will be smashed to bits, and this will be in material conditions that ensure the total annihilation of the counterrevolutionary armed forces; that it is necessary to build in the same way a broad working class and popular united front of the masses to mobilize all progressive and revolutionary people, the different popular parties, the trade unions, and other similar organizations, in one word, the broadest possible masses whose struggle runs parallel, converging at all times strategically with the military action of the popular armed forces and the clandestine political action of the proletarian party.

The answer should be clear and no other than that armed struggle, as the principal factor in the polarization, agitation, and

finally, the destruction of the enemy, is the only possibility for victory. This is not to say that all possible forms of organization and struggle should not be used: legal and clandestine, peaceful and violent, economic and political, all converging with greater effectiveness in the Armed Struggle, in accordance with peculiarities of each region and country.

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

The road to cover in this struggle is no short. The international bourgeoisie is ready to prevent the Revolution by any means, even if it is only in one country. They possess all the means, official and officious, of force and of propaganda, to use against the people. For that reason our revolutionary war will wear away the enemy in its first phases, until a popular armed force is formed that is superior in strength to that of the enemy. This process is gradual, but

paradoxically it is the shortest and least costly path to reach the strategic objectives of the down-trodden classes.

#### THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES: TO ARMS

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

...Y HABRA TRABAJO PARA TODOS.



And there will be work for everyone .



LNS