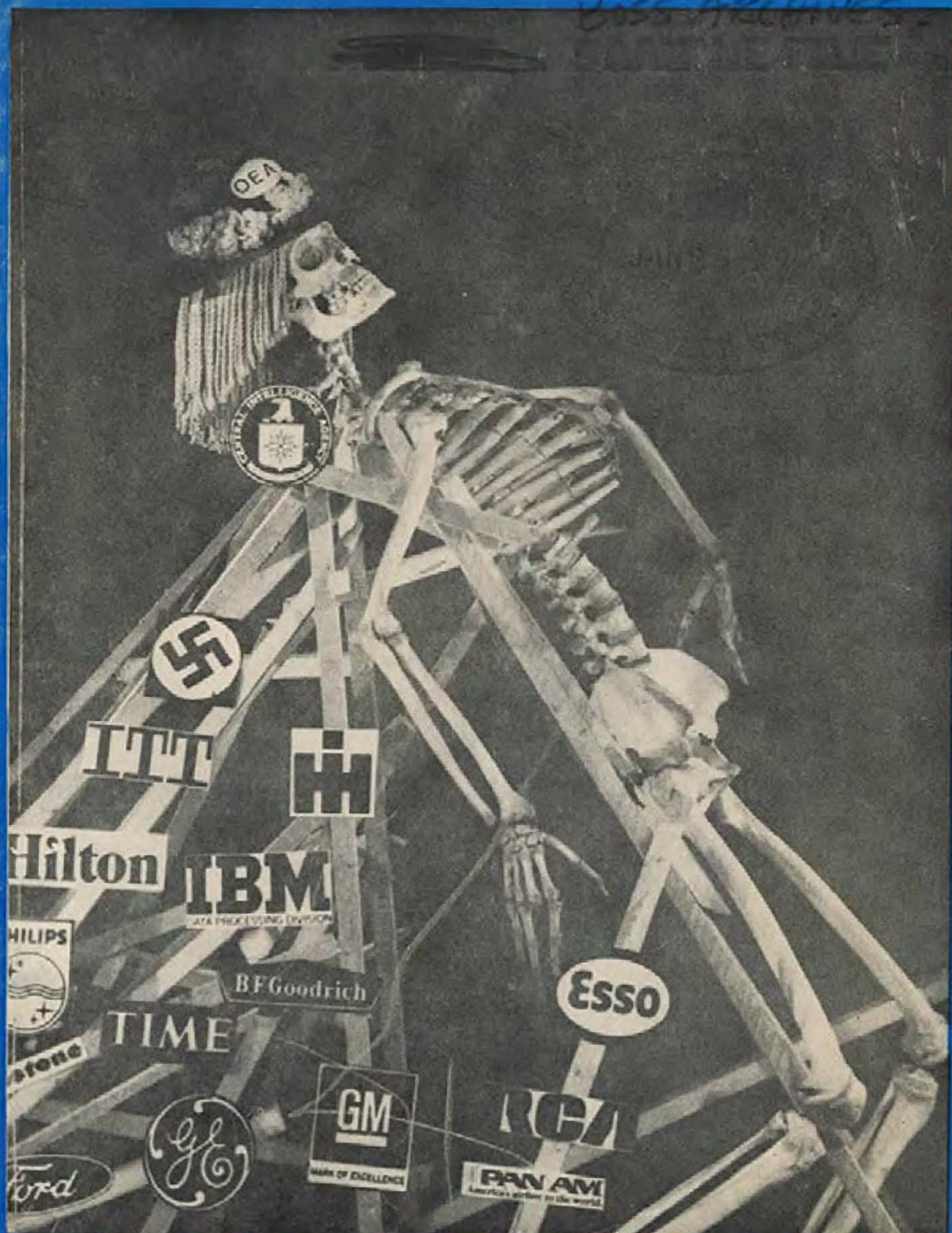




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elements in a FASCIST relationship

Uruguay, a small country of 186 926 km² located in what is called the southern cone of the South American continent, flanked by Brazil and Argentina and with extensive borders along the Plata River, is suffering under an overtly fascist regime today.

From 1971, when Juan María Bordaberry ascended to the presidency as the follower of a repressive line begun back in 1968, the country's whole political, economic and social situation worsened until it culminated in the *golpe de estado* of June 27, 1973.

That *golpe* confirmed as dictator the formerly constitutional president, Juan María Bordaberry.

On that date, the Republic's parliament was dissolved and the outlawing of various political parties continued while the others were prevented from functioning; the National Convention of Workers (CNT) and the Federation of University Students were declared illegal, the opposition press was closed down and individual and public rights were wiped out.

The economic policy of an open door to foreign capital and submission to the decisions of the International Monetary Fund could not provide a solution for a crisis that sharpened from day to day in Uruguay. The country's foreign debt is approximately \$1.3 billion, one of the highest in the world.

B. J. VORSTER, PRIMER MINISTRO DE SUD AFRICA LLEGA EL DOMINGO A URUGUAY

The economic policy can be summed up in the statement by the Minister of Economics that "legislation must be blind and neutral toward foreign capital... and practice no distinction between it and domestic capital."

Parallel to this policy of selling the country to foreign investors is the policy of repression, assassination and torture designed to silence forever by physical elimination, the voices that accuse the dictatorship.



Arribo B. J. Vorster

Se Entrevista hoy con Bordaberry



y Blanco el «Premier» Sudafricano



The number of prisoners in Uruguay is now close to 7000, including women and children. The most modern refinements of technology have been placed at the service of torture and assassination in Uruguay. Hundreds of individuals are in jail, thousands have been held for long periods without trial, and brutally tortured. International organizations such as Amnesty International, have established more than 22 assassinations by the Bordaberry dictatorship. This repressive policy was also denounced by a Commission of Catholic Jurists who visited Montevideo in February, 1976, and noted the general nature of the repression from which no sector of Uruguayan society, even the Catholic Church, is free.

To this picture, stained with the blood of a people who struggle determinedly and unflinchingly for their final liberation, is added the kidnapping of three Uruguayan leaders and the subsequent murder of two of them which took place on May 22 in Buenos Aires. The Uruguayan fascist regime is not isolated from these deeds.

This policy of internal aggression is expressed in an international policy of attack against the most progressive world sectors, against the UN, and in alliances with the fascist regimes of Chile, Paraguay, Brazil and lately with South Africa.

At the very moment when the UN warned Uruguay about its relationship with the Pretoria government, Bordaberry's regime prepared the groundwork for the arrival of that country's Prime Minister in Uruguay.

The Special Committee against Apartheid, at its meeting held on April 2, 1975, examined several press reports according to which the President of Uruguay proposed visiting South Africa. On April 10, a letter was sent to the Uruguayan representative to the United Nations, urging him to request the Uruguayan government to reconsider the projected visit of the head of state to that country, as well as the diplomatic and consular relations it maintained with the South African regime, under the terms of the pertinent General Assembly resolutions.

In his reply of August 7, 1975, the Uruguayan representative indicated that his country had maintained diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa for several years.

The President of Uruguay did not visit South Africa, but Prime Minister Vorster visited Uruguay, in August, 1975.

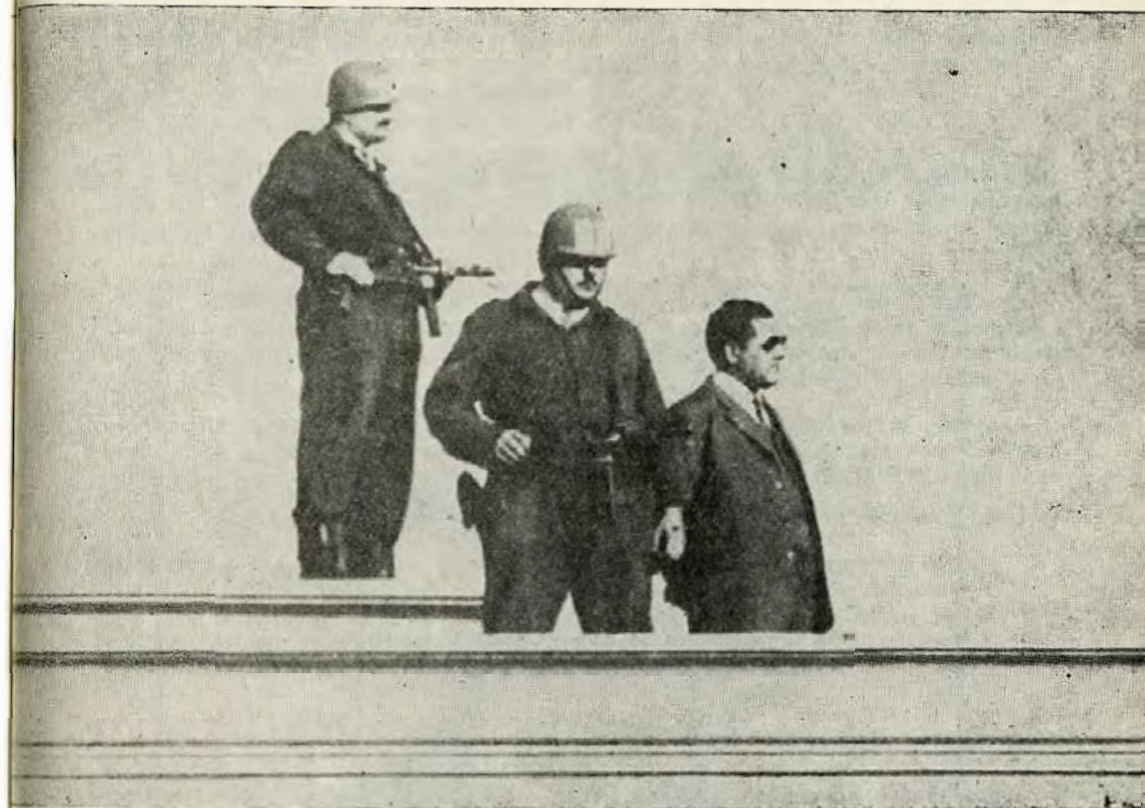
Shortly before that, a high-level South African trade mission visited Montevideo and offered the Uruguayan government technical and financial collaboration in important branches of the Uruguayan economy.

During Vorster's visit, while he was meeting with the dictator Bordaberry, the trade and financial experts who accompanied him met with their Uruguayan colleagues.

At the end of his visit, Vorster said, referring to Bordaberry: "We're the same type of men."

The week before, Bordaberry signed a resolution authorizing the National Administration of Fuel, Alcohol and Portland (ANCAP) to make an agreement with the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd. for \$15 million credit and technical-financial aid for its Portland-type cement plant in the city of Paysandú.

The South African regime had previously invested several million dollars in Treasury Bonds, in the foreign series issued by the Uruguayan government at the end of 1974.



URUGUAY BECOMES A BASE OF PENETRATION FOR THE REGIME IN THE SOUTHERN CONE OF THE CONTINENT

According to reports dated February 16 of this year in the daily *El Pais*, official spokesman for the Bordaberry dictatorship, samples of Uruguayan coal were being tested in South Africa to see whether South African technicians would undertake mining coal in Uruguay. The samples had been collected by the subdirector of the Geological Service of Pretoria, on his recent visit to Uruguay.

On February 18, 1976, the South African Commercial Attaché for Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile and Paraguay visited the editorial offices of this newspaper, *El Pais*, along with the First Secretary of the South African embassy in Uruguay, to explain the activity projected in the area and the intensification of relations between its actions and the Latin-American zone.

On February 29, 1976, *El Pais* published the following:
Dr. Piet J. Hugo, Assistant Director and Sub-Director of the Geological Service of Pretoria in South Africa, was in Uruguay on the basis of a technical aid project. Technical

cooperation in this branch may be extended with the arrival of a hydrologist. This investigation is being made because of the possibility that there may be coal deposits in Uruguay whose exploitation would be handled by South Africa.

On May 4 this year, there was news of a South African mission visiting Montevideo, to negotiate construction and financing of two refrigeration plants for the National Refrigeration Service and the establishment of a refrigeration plant in Cerro. According to the publication, the delegation held interviews with the Director for Economic and Commercial Affairs of the Uruguayan Foreign Office and with various commercial and industrial groups.

On April 8, this newspaper, voice of the dictatorship, under the headline "Pseudo-emancipation of the African colonies" published a series of considerations making clear the objectives and nature of the fascist regime of Bordaberry and its relations with the racist government of South Africa.

According to the editorial, "almost none of the liberated peoples of Africa have improved their material or moral status or elevated their living standard or regained their rights and liberties."

Later it goes on to say:

The European colonizers did not always act out of humanitarian motives, nor were they made up exclusively of missionaries and evangelizers... but it cannot be denied that they imposed peace and progress on uncivilized territories devastated by tribal barbarism, organized the exploitation of natural resources and carried out a work of tremendous scope in terms of health, education, housing, land and sea communications and hydroelectrification,

which means defending such hateful systems as colonialism.

The editorial's intent is clarified still further when it says: "Racism, imputed to more than a few colonizers, originated in Africa..." and continues "with decolonization, racism did not disappear but rather returned to its more barbarous forms."

It ends by referring to the South African nation as "particularly worthy of maximum consideration, as one of the most advanced nations in the world spiritually, intellectually and materially."

This, in summary, is the ideology of a system sustained on the bloody backs of a people who wage daily battle to end this situation, confident and certain that the future will be without apartheid, without colonialism and without any other form of man's exploitation of man.

the cia, washington and the transnationals

Héctor Danilo



International public opinion recognizes unanimously that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is the most diabolical apparatus for political and physical annihilation that has ever existed because of the scope of its activities and the volume of resources at its disposal.

The spine-chilling image of the Holy Inquisition pales before the bare-faced statements by CIA operatives who disclose the most sophisticated plans for murder, espionage and violation of privacy.

A United States Senate committee revealed, in November 1975, a vast program of assassinations designed to behead the international progressive movement by wiping out both heads of state and rising leaders.

According to this report, the entire technological development attained by US science was placed at the service of the Central Intelligence Agency to eliminate, among others, Prime Minister Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders.

The arsenal that the CIA plan brought into play in the Cuban case included poisoned microscopic bullets, ballpoint pens equipped with tiny needles containing delayed-effect toxic substances, which kill without allowing detection of the causes of death; explosives disguised in various ways and other equally exotic and weird items.

In the US, CIA operations are now a serious worry for different groups and sectors of opinion which a few years ago not only tolerated those activities but considered them a vital part of national life.

In recent times, CIA activities, far from serving as an indispensable tool for all power groups, as certainly seemed to be the case previously, have turned into an explosive burden for those economics sectors that are not thoroughly committed to the military-industrial complex and the enemies of detente.

In 1974 and 1975, years that abounded in first-ever events in US history such as the crushing defeat in Viet Nam, the replacement of Nixon as president, economic recession combined with high unemployment, the CIA crisis held the atten-

tion of public opinion both in the United States and abroad.

Three official groups were set up to conduct inquiries into the agency with different goals, ranging from a cover up,—the evident mission of the Rockefeller commission—to determining to what extent its activities—which theoretically are subject only to executive approval—are harmful to other ruling sectors.

A Senate committee under Democrat Frank Church and a House committee headed by another Democrat, Lucien Nedzi, spent months investigating CIA activities inside and outside the US, with the opposition of the media linked to the most militaristic sectors and to the executive.

However, the reports issued so far by the committees or their representatives in no way signify deep-going criticism of the Agency.

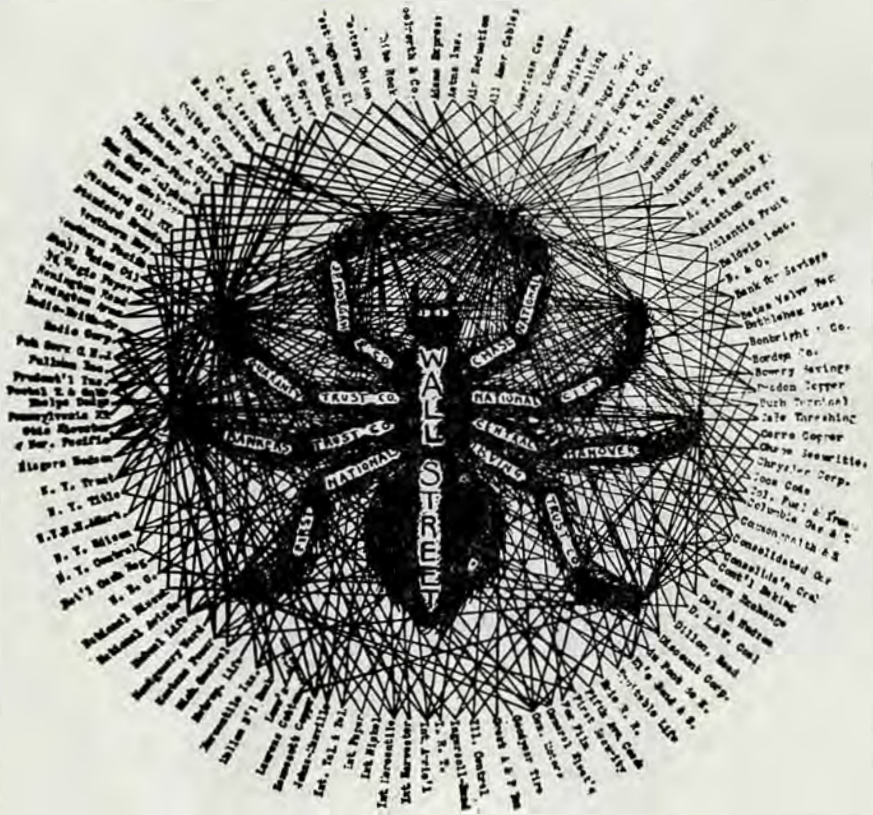
Perhaps the clash of interests among economic sectors as well as an evident structural crisis and the conflicts between the executive and legislative branches of the government have enabled the Church committee to make far-reaching disclosures on the CIA's functions in international life.

The reports made public in the past two years by *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and other US media in regard to the national and international activities of the CIA are not alien to this political framework.

APOLOGISTS FOR THE CIA

At the same time, the publications closest to the interests of the military-industrial complex have been waging a large-scale campaign in defense of the CIA.

Fortune magazine, regarded as the most important mouthpiece for the US transnationals, devoted its cover and a long essay-type article in the June 1975 issue to showing why the US and each of its citizens need the CIA. *Fortune* even claimed that the very existence of the state apparatus, the life of all North Americans and western democracy have



depended and continue to depend on the Agency's unhampered activities.

The author of the article, Charles J. V. Murphy, expressed alarm that the CIA was at the point of being divested of its secrets at a time when the government needs an "objective, sophisticated, timely and multifaceted" espionage service more than ever.

Fortune favored stepping up the Agency's aggressive operation against the civil rights of US citizens, to neutralize the policy of Third World countries in defense of their raw materials and to revive Cold War policies against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

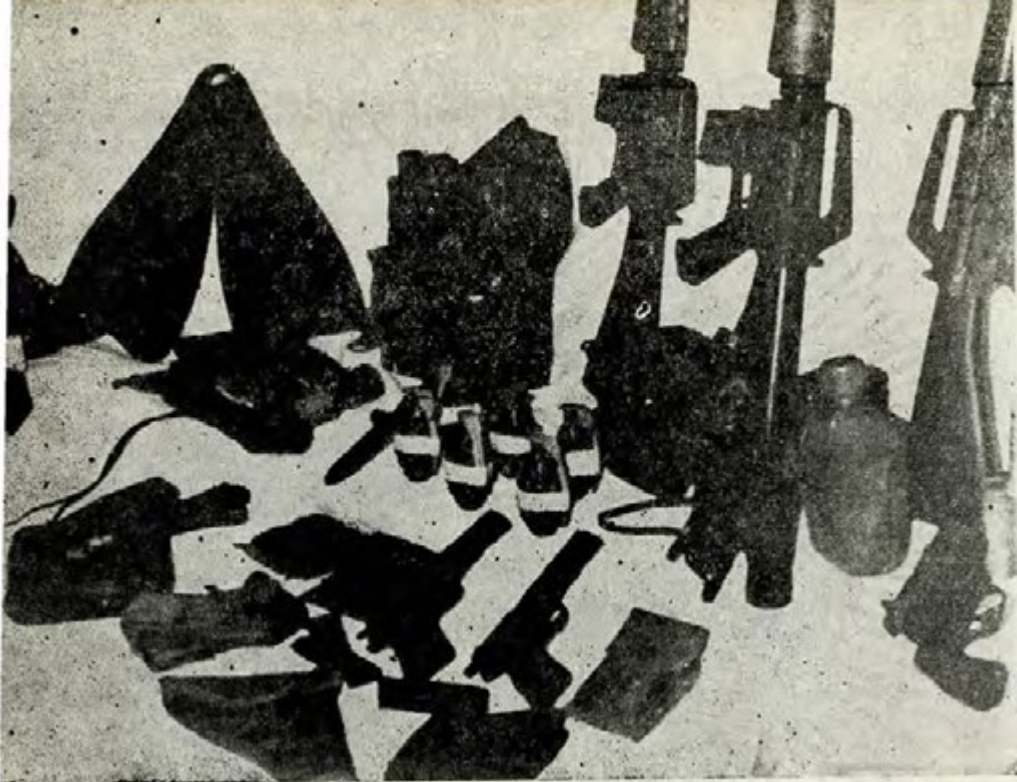
Also in June 1975, the *Miami Herald* carried statements by an agent who pointed out that his "most frequent tar-

gets were the Russians and the Cubans." During the first part of his career he "helped to break Communist-led strikes and once infiltrated an African liberation movement passing as a Cuban Trotskyite."

A few months earlier the same paper carried confessions by another former agent who admitted having been involved in plots designed to overthrow, by assassinating their leaders, the governments of Cuba and Panama, adding that he had worked in the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Haiti.

Murphy, however, criticized the Agency and some of its top officials for having admitted criminal charges under the pressure of public opinion.

In his eagerness to salvage the Agency's prestige, he wrote, (five months be-



fore the publication by the Senate committee of the declarations by the former agents in charge of the plot) that the CIA had never organized any attempt on the life of Fidel Castro. "When the complete story is told," said *Fortune*, "it will become clear that the famous plot to kill Fidel Castro early in the sixties was not hatched by the CIA."

Fortune regards the function of the CIA to be every bit as vital in the economic and commercial sphere as in the political and military. It stresses the Agency's experience in the local wars promoted by the US.

According to the magazine, the CIA must control the efforts of the underdeveloped countries to recover their raw materials, the political realignment around the Arab Gulf and the role to be assigned to petro-dollars.

Fortune invited its readers to reflect "whether the United States can continue to be a free and democratic society without the kind of secret organization that

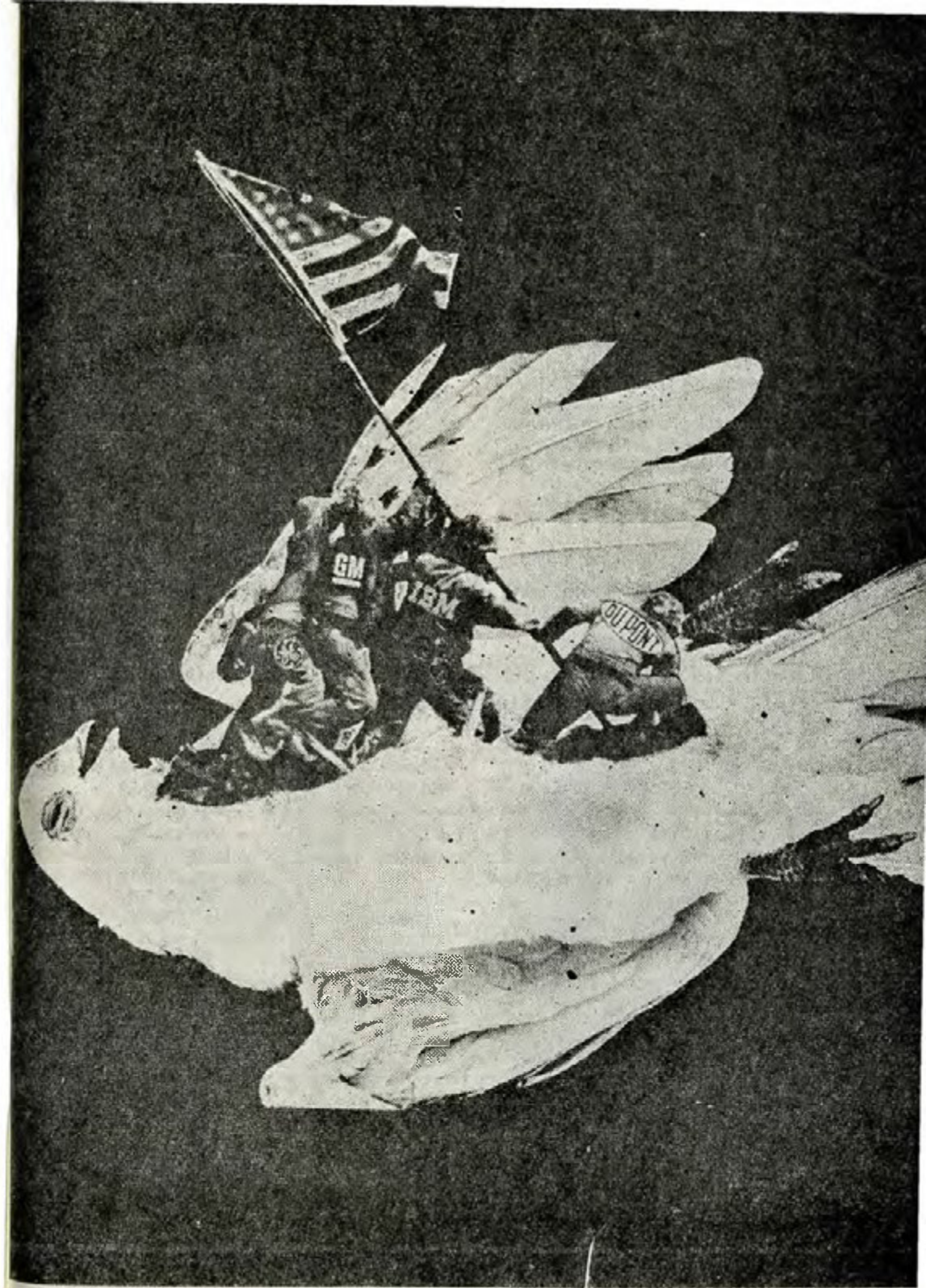
the CIA needs to be if it is to conduct its work effectively." It concludes, after asserting that the Agency's existence is more necessary today than ever, that "this provides a good reason for trying to keep some Congressional hands off the CIA."

However, *Fortune* expressed the view that "in defense of President Ford, it must be said that he does not have enough fingers to plug up all the leaks in the dike."

WHEN AND HOW DID THE CIA EMERGE

Although its apologists say that the establishment of the CIA was nothing more than a reorganization under a single leadership of the several already-existing intelligence services, its performance indicates that the contrary is the case.

The Central Intelligence Agency was set up in 1947, during the presidential



term of Harry Truman, one of the key exponents of the Cold War and the man responsible for the unnecessary atomic genocide against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when Japanese militarism had already met with defeat.

Its creation answered to an interest in perfecting an espionage apparatus that would meet all the political and military requirements of the Cold War and of the military-industrial complex in its moves against the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist camp.

Long before its official appearance, back when the United States was still an ally of the Soviet Union, US General H. Arnold declared in May 1945, ignoring the decisive Soviet role in the defeat of fascism: "Our next enemy will be Russia."

Notorious are the anti-Soviet activities—referred to in the *Fortune* articles—conducted during the war by Allen Dulles, who would later become the first director of the CIA.

In 1949, when the Soviets produced their own atomic bomb and the United States found its military potential matched,

the anti-communist hysteria which enabled the military-industrial complex to step up arms production, one of the devices employed by the governments of the US to inject oxygen into the economy, reached a peak.

In Latin America, the postwar years represented the occasion the US was waiting for to impose the Organization of American States (OAS) and commit the region's armies to its policies through the Interamerican Treaty for Reciprocal Assistance. This was the period in which the CIA began to penetrate the area.

Although *Fortune* stated emphatically that in the US there is no other institution possessing the CIA's resources for providing the executive branch with a reply to national security questions, in practice the documents put out by public offices reveal the proliferation of official bodies in recent years and also indicate that the creation of the CIA was not due to a desire to centralize the intelligence services. Table one corroborates this assertion.

PERSONNEL & ANNUAL BUDGET OF THE US INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

AGENCY	PERSONNEL	BUDGET IN DOLLARS
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)	16 500	750 000 000
National Security Agency (NSA) ^{a/}	24 000	1 200 000 000
Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) ^{a/}	5 000	200 000 000
Army Intelligence ^{a/}	35 000	700 000 000
Office of Naval Intelligence ^{a/}	15 000	600 000 000
Air Force Intelligence: Part of National Reconnaissance: (NRO) ^{a/}	56 000	2 700 000 000
FBI (domestic security)	800	40 000 000
Bureau of Intelligence and Research (State Dept.)	350	10 000 000
Atomic Energy Commission	300	20 000 000

^{a/}: Under the Defense Dept.

Source: *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*
V. Marchetti & A. J. D. Marks

Thus, the Armed Services Committee, which is where important decisions on military matters are adopted, is a bastion of CIA interests and, by extension, of the military-industrial complex. The same can be said of the National Security Council, whose official functions include overseeing the interests of the Agency.

Fortune magazine admits that Congress was and continues to be limited to receiving secondhand information through CIA representatives linked to the armed forces and the specialized committees.

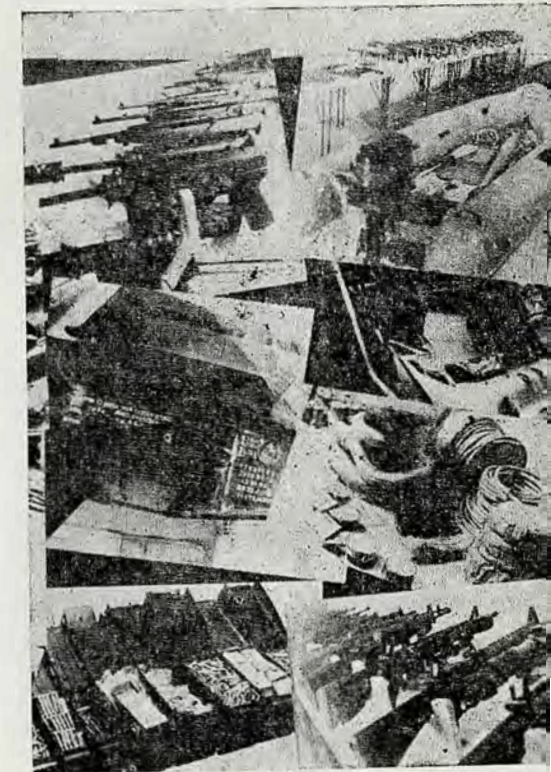
This lack of real Congressional control over the military-industrial complex and the usual legislative clashes with the executive, are a reflection of the contradictions facing the economic groups and transnationals when it comes to pushing bills through Congress. The present ques-

THE CIA AND THE CONGRESSIONAL MILITARISTS

The postwar years enabled the CIA and the militarist group to gain positions in the Congressional structures and key posts in the state apparatus.

The National Security Law passed under the Truman administration, though it states that it was created to gather information, provides in article five for a free hand to undertake operations in response to any situation described by the ruling sectors as a threat to national security.

Inside Congress the groups associated with the military-industrial complex have seen to the creation of mechanisms designed to keep "outsiders" from inquiring into the doings of the Agency and the government's military spending policies.





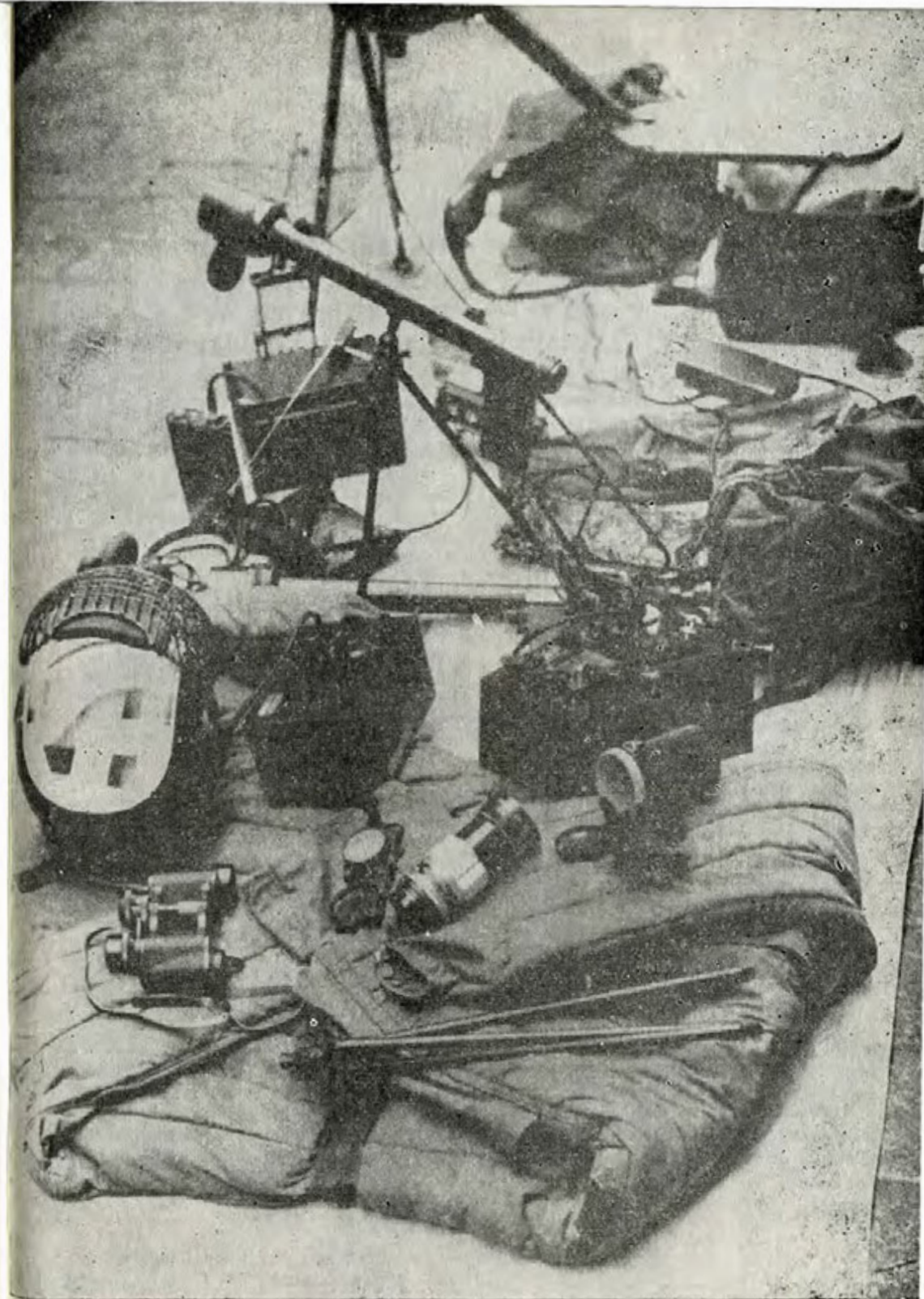
tioning of the role of the CIA and by extension, the military-industrial complex, expresses the degree of antagonism existing among the economic groups, and the visible imbalance of forces within the state apparatus.

The transnationals and the militaristic economic groups have two ways of wielding decisive influence over US policy and of making themselves heard in Congress: the lobbies, or pressure groups, and the electoral process.

The lobbies play the role of shock brigades of the transnationals inside the US

state apparatus. Their mission is to see to it that corporate legislative needs are met at all costs. Right now the most important lobbies represent the oil companies and the military-industrial complex.

This sector and its pressure groups made a show of influence in 1973 when, with the support of Nelson Rockefeller, now the vice-president, they got Nixon to revoke the restrictions on sales of special arms to Latin America imposed by Lyndon Johnson in 1965 due to the needs of the war in Viet Nam.



"In the mid-seventies," reports *Cq Guide* in its spring 1975 issue, "Washington was the scene of a wide range of operations by the interest groups designed to influence Congress and the executive branch."

Perhaps the most scandalous of these actions was the one carried out by the oil companies, which got the State Department to threaten the exporting countries with war if they declared a new embargo on shipments.

The congressional elections and the presidential nominations are other means used by the economic groups to try out their power plays and place their representatives in office.

Because of the extremely high costs involved in a US election campaign—one minute of televised publicity cost \$26 000 dollars some five years ago—it is extremely difficult for people to be elected to the House or the Senate without receiving corporate financial assistance.

Disclosures on campaign contributions by key corporations in the last presidential campaign which arose around the Watergate scandal are eloquent examples of the means used by business to increase its political power in the US.

Yale University President Kingman Brewster declared that the

concentration of economic, opinion-making and political power creates a kind of vicious circle. The politicians must obtain funds from the corporations to pay for the enormous costs of election campaigns, especially for media coverage. And the broadcasting networks must, in turn, win the favor of the successful politicians for the sake of their licenses.

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX BECOMES CONSOLIDATED AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHER ECONOMIC GROUPS

The power amassed by the arms manufacturers, the CIA and the oil companies has been consolidated in recent years at the expense of other economic sectors whose profits are lessened and which feel the impact of the economic crisis in the United States more intensely.

Six giant arms producers—General Electric, Northrop, McDonnell Douglas, LTV, Textron and United Aircraft—earned \$1.55 billion in 1974, three times more than the transport equipment sector; 1.7 times more than the agribusiness corporations; and 2.7 times more than the metallurgical manufacturing sector.

"The manufacture and sales of arms abroad," wrote *The New York Times* on October 20, 1975 "is such a lucrative business that more than 100 US companies take part legally in these operations" though about ten of them really dominate the sector. *The Times* continued:

Many companies survive thanks to the large amount of war matériel that the United States has sold since the end of the Second World War, and it is estimated that since then the value of US military equipment exported amounts to \$100 billion.

In contrast to the other economic groups—which may also be linked with the war industry, but to a lesser degree—only the military-industrial complex has the highest hierarchy of representation in the Pentagon through a select 25 mem-



ber council called the Industrial Advisory Council (IAC).

IAC "suggests" the order of priorities in military expenditures, in keeping with the national defense concept, and guides the policy of arms production and sales. IAC is attached to the Under Secretary of Defense, the military industry's representative in the Pentagon.

The overwhelming US military defeat in Viet Nam and the subsequent collapse of the mythological role attributed to the military complex and the CIA in frustrating the development of the socialist camp and the rise of the liberation movement, has doubtless served as a source of deepening contradictions among the

corporations and a point of reflection for US public opinion when it comes to reinforcing anti-war sentiments.

According to Michael Klare, author of "Arms and Power," the Vietnamese political and military victory produced the following effects for the United States:

1. It diminished the world assessment of US' military might.
2. It reflected one of the most serious causes of the growing deficit of the US balance of payments.
3. It laid bare the insufficiencies of US military strategy.
4. It stepped up domestic anti-war sentiment and erected a great barrier for the executive branch to be able to deploy troops in operations abroad.

A study conducted by the anti-war Public Interest Research Group of Michigan, and entitled "The Empty Pork Barrel," provides statistical evidence of the dislocation of the economy caused by the military-industrial complex at the expense of other economic sectors.

The Michigan group reports that for every billion dollars allocated to the military budget—in 1975 it was \$79 billion—the number of available jobs is cut by ten thousand.

According to the study, while the spending of one billion dollars on defense produces just 55 000 jobs, the same amount earmarked for other lines of the budget can provide as many as 100 000 jobs in federal, state and local governments.

With the cost of an F-15 fighter plane (about \$15 million), adds the survey, 5000 small cars could be purchased, which would mean the hiring of 800 workers for one full week.

The report indicates that the growing sophistication of the military industry



means equally growing investments in equipment, but not in labor, at the same time that it intensifies the regional disparities in the US. The southern and western states, says the report, are the most benefited by the arms industry, while the northern and central states lag behind.

But if the report were not enough to provide an idea of the causes of the present clashes inside the US Congress and the reasons why *Fortune* devotes its cover and a lengthy article to the defense of the CIA and the military-industrial complex, a study of the earnings of the transnationals in recent years would throw yet more light on the matter.

The balance among the different corporate groupings has varied considerably over the past decade. While in the six-

ties, there was a relative evenness in earnings of the main sectors, this situation was sharply altered in the following decade, especially during the Nixon administration and its Ford-Rockefeller successor.

The oil companies and the groups associated with the military-industrial complex obtained outside earnings in 1974 due to the undermining of other industrial sectors lacking the economic and political clout of the former, as a consequence of the economic crisis.

The US Commerce Department's *Survey of Current Business* reported in September 1967 that the total earnings obtained abroad by the US corporations in 1965 came to \$5,816 billion.

This figure displayed a balance in earnings, with the oil companies at \$1.816



billion; manufacturing companies \$936 million; mining and metals \$505 million. Ten years later, the picture was very different.

The *Survey of Current Business* reported in October 1975 that, of a total of \$25.186 billion, the oil companies cornered \$14.500 billion in 1974, while the manufacturing corporations earned \$6.422 billion, less than half the earnings of the oil companies.

An evident indication of the crisis facing the sectors with the weakest links to the war industry is that the top unemployment figures in 1974 were found in furniture (19%), wood (18%), rubber and plastics (18%), textiles (16%) and construction (16%).

For its part the oil industry has just 4% unemployment, with lesser percentages to be found only in non-industrial sectors such as commerce and finances.

Despite the whole contradictory process, there is no reason to conclude that the campaign against the CIA and the

military-industrial complex will lead to any substantial modification of US foreign policy.

By criticizing the CIA, its most discredited apparatus, this campaign could, on the contrary, serve in the long run to enable the war-making groups to cover up for other intelligence agencies, mostly under the Defense Department, which possesses sizeable resources and a less compromised public image.

In its defense of the CIA, *Fortune* wrote that, in recent years and under the direction of James Schlesinger, who later became the Secretary of Defense, there has been a reduction in staff of about 7%, some 1000 agents. "The layer of the most experienced officials was almost exhausted," claimed the magazine. It neglected to refer to the present occupation of the agents, who can hardly be expected to swell the army of the unemployed: they know too much.

LETTER FROM CHILE: our faith is unshakable

DEAR COMRADES:

I WAS HELD "PRISONER OF WAR" FOR 729 DAYS BY THE FASCIST JUNTA. AT THIS TIME I AM NOT GOING TO TALK ABOUT THE TORTURES AND BARBARITIES THE HANGMEN PERPETRATE DAILY BUT RATHER I WILL EMPHASIZE OUR STRUGGLE.

I WAS IN *ESTADIO CHILE*, *ESTADIO NACIONAL*, *CHACABUCO*, *PUCHUNCAVI* AND *TRES ALAMOS*, AND IN ALL THESE CONCENTRATION CAMPS THE PRISONERS DEMONSTRATED THEIR COURAGE, BOLDNESS AND UNSHAKABLE MORALE. EVERY ACTIVITY WE UNDERTOOK WAS TO BREAK THE POWER OF THE JAILERS WHO SOUGHT TO WIPE US OUT PHYSICALLY AND MORALLY. EACH STEP WE ADVANCED IN OUR ORGANIZATION WAS A GRAIN OF SAND IN THE BROAD FRONT THE CHILEAN PATRIOTS WERE BUILDING TO OVERTHROW FASCISM.

"ALL ACTIVITIES ARE SUSPENDED FOR A WEEK AND ANY VIOLATION OF THIS WILL ENTAIL THE MOST SEVERE PUNISHMENT FOR THOSE RESPONSIBLE." THE ORDER, SHORT AND DRY, WAS COMMUNICATED TO US ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 30 BY THE COMMANDER OF THE *TRES ALAMOS* CONCENTRATION CAMP IN SANTIAGO.

IT WAS THE EVE OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY, AND IN SPITE OF PROHIBITIONS AND THREATS, WE HAD ALREADY MADE PLANS TO COMMEMORATE THAT DATE WHICH IS SO IMPORTANT TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. WE KNEW THAT CELEBRATING MAY FIRST IN

THE CONCENTRATION CAMP MEANT BEARING A SERIES OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES. BUT WE THOUGHT OF OUR COMRADES FIGHTING IN THE UNDERGROUND; OF OUR WOMEN WHO, IN A THOUSAND DIFFERENT WAYS, WERE ALSO GOING TO RUN THOSE RISKS, JUST AS THEY FACE THE FASCIST JUNTA EVERY DAY. THEY WOULD ASSEMBLE IN PUBLIC PLACES OR CERTAIN HOUSES, GO OUT AND PAINT SLOGANS ON THE WALLS; IN SHORT, IN EVERY CORNER OF THE COUNTRY THE VOICE OF OUR PEOPLE, THE VOICE OF TRUTH, WOULD BE FELT, POTENT AND AVENGING.

ON THAT DAY THE CARABINEER GUARD IN THE CAMP WAS REINFORCED, BUT WE TOOK VARIOUS SECURITY MEASURES TO PREVENT THE COMMAND FROM LEARNING OUR PLANS.

ABOUT 8 P.M. WE BEGAN TO ASSEMBLE IN THE SO-CALLED FISHING TERMINAL, THE LARGEST CELL, AND SOME 90 COMRADES CROWDED IN. IN A FEW MINUTES ALMOST ALL THE 200 PRISONERS OF BUILDING 2 WERE TOGETHER. THE EXPECTANT AND RESPECTFUL SILENCE OF THOSE PRESSED TOGETHER WAS INTERRUPTED BY THE BRIEF BUT INSPIRING WORDS OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE COMRADE:

TODAY, THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WORKERS ARE MEETING. THE NAME OF OUR PEOPLE AND OUR STRUGGLE WILL TRAVEL TO EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH. WE ARE NOT ALONE. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE PROGRESSIVE WORLD ENCOURAGES US AND REINFORCES OUR STRUGGLE. CHILEAN WORKERS AND DEMOCRATS ALSO MEET TODAY AND REAFFIRM THEIR UNSHAKABLE CONFIDENCE IN THE PROMPT LIBERATION OF OUR HOMELAND. THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN MOVES US. THE SACRIFICE OF SO MANY PATRIOTS HAS NOT BEEN IN VAIN. FOR US, AS PRISONERS, THIS MAY FIRST IS A DAY OF HOPE, OF CONFIDENCE IN OUR WORKING CLASS AND IN THE ANTIFASCIST FRONT.

I OBSERVED COMRADE M. TWO DAYS BEFORE, HE HAD ARRIVED FROM THE *VILLA GRIMALDI* TORTURE CAMP WHERE HE WAS SUBJECTED TO ELECTRIC SHOCK APPLIED TO THE MOST SENSITIVE PARTS OF THE BODY. HE ROSE FROM THE GROUND, DRAGGING AN ALMOST USELESS LEG, APPROACHED THE SPEAKER AND EMBRACED HIM FOR A LONG MOMENT. THEN A POEM BY THE IMMORTAL PABLO NERUDA:

POWERFUL DEATH HAS OFTEN INVITED ME
IT WAS LIKE THE INVISIBLE SALT IN THE WAVES
AND WHAT ITS INVISIBLE FLAVOR SPREAD
WAS LIKE HALF SUBMERSION AND HALF SUMMIT
OR VAST CONSTRUCTIONS OF WIND AND GLACIER...

THEN, AS SONS OF THE PEOPLE, A WORKER, A PEASANT AND A STUDENT TOLD OF THEIR EXPERIENCES.

WE CONCLUDED THE EVENT BY SINGING "THE INTERNATIONAL." AND MANY TEARS RAN DOWN OUR CHEEKS THAT NIGHT.

IN SPITE OF THE PUNISHMENT AND FORCED WORK IMPOSED ON US, THEY NEVER BROKE US NOR DID WE STAND WITH ARMS CROSSED. OUR DIGNITY AS COMMUNISTS, AS PATRIOTS, MADE US RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY THINGS. WE HAD A SO-CALLED COUNCIL OF ELDERS COMPOSED OF FOUR COMRADES WHOM WE DESIGNATED BECAUSE OF THEIR POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY. I REACHED *TRES ALAMOS* FROM *PUCHUNCAVI* CONCENTRATION CAMP THE MONTH BEFORE CHRISTMAS. THROUGHOUT THAT PERIOD, THE CRAFT GROUPS INCREASED TO MAKE GIFTS THAT WE WOULD SEND TO OUR NEIGHBORS: 150 OF OUR SISTERS HELD IN BUILDING 3. WITH TOOLS MADE ON THE SPOT OUT OF PIECES OF WIRE AND TIN CANS, WE CARVED SEA HORSES IN WOOD AND ALSO WORKED ONYX TO MAKE PENDANTS AND RINGS. FORTUNATELY, THE COMRADES RECEIVED THE GIFTS AND SENT US BEAUTIFUL *SOPOROPOS* (RAG DOLLS), FIGURES MADE OUT OF LEFT OVER MATERIAL AND WOOL. AT THE BEGINNING OF 1975 WE INAUGURATED THE SCHOOL WHERE FOUR OF OUR COMRADES WHO HAD NEVER HAD A CHANCE TO LEARN THE SIMPLEST WORDS, WERE TAUGHT TO READ AND WRITE. TECHNICAL COURSES, LANGUAGES AND BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES WERE GIVEN THERE.

WE COMMEMORATED ALL THE DATES THAT HAVE MEANING FOR OUR PEOPLE. JUST AS ON MAY FIRST, I WAS ABLE TO BE PRESENT WITH OTHERS WHEN WE CELEBRATED THE ANNIVERSARY OF OUR COMMUNIST PARTY, OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, THE C.U.T. AND THE TRIUMPH OF POPULAR UNITY.

THESE ACTIVITIES COST US PUNISHMENT, RAIDS, PROVOCATIONS, INCOMMUNICADO PERIODS IN THE *CHUCHO* (THE SINISTER UNDERGROUND HOLE OF THE CAMP'S COMMAND). BUT IT IS POSSIBLE TO BEAR ALL THIS WHEN ONE HAS THE ASSURANCE OF COUNTING ON THE TRUTH OF A HEROIC PEOPLE WHO TODAY IN THE STREETS, IN THE FACTORIES, IN THE TOWNS AND IN EVERY CORNER OF THE COUNTRY, STRUGGLE WITH EVER GREATER UNITY AGAINST THE FASCIST TYRANNY. THE EXAMPLE OF THOUSANDS OF HEROES IN DAILY COMBAT KEEPS THE MORALE OF THE CHILEAN POLITICAL PRISONERS VERY HIGH.

GUILLERMO TORRES GAONA

A HISTORY OF AGGRESSIONS

Susana Seleme

The United States appears destined by Providence to plague America with miseries in the name of liberty

Simón Bolívar

THE FORMS OF INTERVENTION

Just as on the military level, the Liberator understood the need to coordinate the struggle against Spanish domination throughout America as a guarantee for success, he was also the first of the great Latin Americans to understand the danger the United States represented for Latin America and the need for unity in the face of outside threats.

Bolívar's premonitions concerning the neighbor to the North were based on the territorial ambition of the former thirteen colonies, an ambition clearly reflected in the thesis of "manifest destiny" put forward by the third United States President, Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809).

The Liberator was also the only man of his time who appreciated in its correct historical dimensions the content of the so-called Monroe Doctrine, articulated by the US president of the same name but actually drawn up by his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. In practice, the Monroe Doctrine marked the starting point for the true imperialist interpretation of panamericanism. In sum, this doctrine, "America for the Ameri-

cans" (those of the North), consisted in preventing any type of new colonization in America and, in a broader sense, avoiding interventions by other powers into the hemisphere, while leaving the United States a free hand for its goals of expansion and continental domination. If Bolivar's strategy during the independence war was to join efforts in a common offensive against the metropolis, once the colonial ties had been broken, unity was still more important to him against the ambitions of the North and other powers.

Within that context, he pushed for the unity of the Latin-American peoples with a first concrete step: the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, convoked in 1826. Its objectives were to consolidate Latin-American unity in order to defend independence against Spain, to prevent the threat that the United States represented and to organize an expedition to liberate Cuba and Puerto Rico from the Spanish metropolis.

The US government's divisionist maneuvers before and after the Congress —taking advantage of differences that arose among the young Latin-American nations— caused the failure of that first attempt at unity. Three years later, the Liberator wrote his accurate premonition about what Latin America was to expect from the United States.

Meanwhile, on the basis of "manifest destiny" and the Monroe Doctrine, the United States was consummating its expansion toward the west by plundering Mexico: Texas, New Mexico, California, Utah and part of Wyoming. The annexation of this vast Mexican territory to the geography of the United States was accomplished by the force of the Union army and the precocious but no less aggressive foreign policy of the United States.

In 1803, the borders of the former 13 colonies scarcely reached the banks of the Mississippi River, "father of the waters." That year, the United States purchased Louisiana from France. In 1810 it took western Florida from Spain by force; three years later and by the same procedure, another part of the same region. In 1819 it purchased eastern Florida from Spain. In 1836, Texas was annexed; in 1848, New Mexico and California. United States geopolitical expansion took place at the expense of other powers, of the Mexican nation and with the extermination of the native Indian population of the North.

Meanwhile, the Latin-American nations sporadically continued unity efforts against foreign dangers.

In the face of the activities of the filibustering William Walker who invaded Central American territories backed and supported by Washington, the countries of Latin America proposed signing a Confederation of Hispanic-American States. There were other various attempts at integration but the results were partial and had little practical effect.

Three decades before the beginning of the 20th century, the United States had already consolidated the union of the North and South and territorial expansion to the West with the control of the two oceans.

EMERGENCE OF THE EMPIRE

Around 1880, capitalist development of the United States economy was accelerated at a dizzy pace by the immense fortunes amassed by northern speculators during the Civil War (1861-1865); it began to enter its higher stage: capital had to be exported and markets had to be controlled for the benefit of the imperialist economy.

Because of its geographic ties and its economic characteristics, Latin America was the ideal terrain for this project. And from that time on the United States bent all efforts toward "hemispheric integration."



Thus the policy of panamericanism emerged with the blessings of the Latin-American power elite. Bourgeois historiography seeks to attribute the paternity of panamericanism to Bolivar, but nothing could be further from the Liberator's thinking than that policy. The integration he proposed was precisely one of self-defense against the threat of the North which he foresaw with early vision.

The birth of panamericanism and the penetration of monopoly capital into Latin America are two aspects of the same phenomenon: the conversion of the United States of America into the Yankee Empire. Panamericanism, then, answered the need to make certain that the continent was retained as a field for speculation and exploitation by monopoly capital.

THE MOST IMMEDIATE ANTECEDENTS

In order to put its policy of hemispheric domination into practice, the United States invited the Latin-American countries to meet in Washington during the winter of 1889, for what was called the Panamerican Congress. The countries of the continent were represented there by delegates ranging from diplomats to businessmen, including intellectuals.

That first conference laid the bases for the consolidation of United States economic hegemony in Latin America. The main instrument for this was the creation of a system of preferential trade between the United States and the countries of the continent, an agreement that tied them to the northern power.

Of that conference, José Martí accurately stated: "Spanish America knew how to save itself from the tyranny of Spain; and now, after viewing with judicious eyes the antecedents, causes and factors involved, it must be said, because it is the truth, that the hour for America to declare its second independence has arrived."

Out of that first conference also came the institutional vehicle of the new policy: the so-called International Union of the American Republics, later the Panamerican Union.

The other side of panamericanism appeared very soon. Two years before the end of the century, the United States had already openly launched the struggle to acquire increasing hegemony in the world, especially in Latin America: the Cuban-Spanish-United States war (1898) was the first imperialist war in the modern sense, interconnected with the war of liberation in Cuba.

FROM "BIG STICK" TO "GOOD NEIGHBOR"

The Monroe Doctrine acquired new shadings during this period: the United States assumed the role of "international policeman" in the hemisphere, intervening at will in the affairs of any Latin-American country where its interests might be endangered. It was the epoch of the big stick, when the US Marines disembarked in Cuba, Mexico, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. In the last country, the small army of the "general of free men," Augusto César Sandino, fought for seven years against 12 000 United States invaders.

Meanwhile, four panamerican conferences had been held in which the representatives of Latin America seemed unaware, or unconcerned, over imperialism's constant aggression on the continent. Their silence of complicity become the permanent style and attitude, the same silence assumed by the OAS years later.

However, the sixth panamerican conference, held in Havana in 1928, was a surprise: it was the beginning of a crisis in the panamerican system since, after 30 years of constant aggression, many Latin-American governments evidenced their determination not to go on tolerating the existing situation.

The United States understood that one of its most solid pillars of domination on the continent was in danger. So a change in relations with the countries south of the Río Grande was made, foreseeing now the need to keep them on its side in the struggle for world hegemony: the approaching struggle against the rise of Nazism-fascism in Europe, which had emerged as an alleged solution to the long post-war crisis, linked with the general crisis of capitalism.

The United States embarked on a new policy: the no less violent and exploiting "good neighbor" policy. And one of its objectives was to provide a renewed impulse to panamericanism in order to continue using it, with a new facade, as an instrument for buttressing its system of domination. Thus it was that, at the seventh conference held in Montevideo in 1933, the principle of non-intervention was incorporated into the panamerican system. Of course the United States, which voted in favor of the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, added an extensive document in which it reserved for itself the same rights it had been exercising up until then: among them, intervention.

During the next panamerican meeting, the United States proceeded with its plans and it was there that the future consultative meetings among the foreign ministers of the American republics were established with the idea of providing a format for "continental solidarity" which was nothing but the concerted action of the nations of the hemisphere in case of war or a threat to peace.

On firmer bases, through panamericanism, Washington went about creating its institutions to fulfill the objectives of its policy and its strategic plans on a world level.

FROM THE ACT OF CHAPULTEPEC TO THE RIO TREATY

The Second World War gave US imperialism a chance to put its plans into practice. On the basis of the principle of "continental solidarity" and using a possible "extra-continental aggression" from the Tokyo-Rome-Berlin fascist axis as a pretext, the Inter-american Conference on Problems of War and Peace, took place in Chapultepec, Mexico, in 1945. On that occasion, numerous resolutions were passed, three of major importance: the so-called Act of Chapultepec (which ratified the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and continental solidarity of the states of the hemisphere. Another resolution recommended that a treaty be signed stipulating measures for the region to take in case of a threat to peace or foreign aggression. A third resolution proposed the reorganization of the institutions of the panamerican system.

In June, 1945, the San Francisco Conference passed the Charter under which the United Nations Organization was created. That Charter considered individual or collective national self-defense valid against aggression, until the Security Council of the new organization should adopt pertinent measures. That section of the United Nations Charter provided the legal basis for the creation of the interamerican collective security system included in the Act of Chapultepec.

Under these conditions, the next step in United States strategy was the Conference of Rio de Janeiro in 1947, where the Interamerican Treaty for Reciprocal Assistance (TIAR) was signed. Under it, the United States and the Latin-American countries established a military alliance designed to defend the continent against a supposed extra-continental threat or aggression. The mechanisms of TIAR were incorporated into the institutional framework of panamericanism. In practice, it was the first evidence of the Cold War in Latin America. Through TIAR, the United States wound up incorporating the countries of the continent into its aggressive world military strategy.

AN OLD NEWBORN: THE OAS

Within the framework of the resolutions passed at Chapultepec, following the signing of the Rio Treaty, only the reorganization of the institutional structures of the panamerican system was lacking. At the ninth interamerican conference held in Bogotá in 1948, the Organization of American States, the infamous OAS, was formed, a vehicle created following the war and adapted to the new conditions it had brought about, as an instrument of the traditional US policy of domination, plunder and rape in the American hemisphere.

Formally the OAS was presented as a voluntary association of various governments to fulfill specific objectives and which claimed to be a regional organization in conformity with the United Nations Charter. However, a regional organization of the world body must be subordinate to it and have a certain degree of dependency on it. Thus the OAS could only be considered a pseudo-regional organization.

At the same time, the aggressive military nature of the OAS was projected from its birth. Through the Rio Military Treaty, the Latin-American countries were aligned to United States foreign policy, with the commitment to maintain solidarity with United States actions anywhere in the world. This treaty, the essentials of which were incorporated into the Bogotá Charter, goes beyond the formula for legitimate defense included in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

For its part, the structure of the Interamerican Defense Board —a supposedly "neutral" body of the interamerican system with a technical advisory capacity concerning

hemispheric defense— actually represents the political buttressing of military oligarchies under the facade of "military collaboration" and through the exchange of information of a political-military nature.

In practice, OAS action with respect to the creation of its lines of operation is no more than a systematic and unlimited extension of the Rio Military Treaty. The First Tricontinental Conference, held in Havana in 1956, noted:

"That since its shameful complicity with the military aggression of the United States against the people of Korea in 1950, the Organization of American States has followed the same imperialist line of 'anti-communism' and 'Cold War,' becoming a mere appendix of the aggressive North American foreign policy."

FIVE EXAMPLES FOR A THESIS

1. Guatemala: the OAS in defense of the banana empire

It was in Guatemala where, for the first time, after six years of "vegetating," the OAS initiated its role as an accomplice of United States monopoly interests. Guatemala was a banana fief of the United Fruit Company, whose interests President-elect Jacobo Arbenz assailed with agrarian reform.

It was 1945, the period when the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, was also United Fruit's lawyer and adviser, and his brother, Allen Dulles, was head of the CIA. That same year the tenth Interamerican Conference was held in the midst of an intense defamatory campaign against Guatemala, while the argument of the struggle against "international communism" included in that Conference was also directed against the country.

For the first time, that argument of "international communism" invented during the Korean war, became an intra-continental principle among the Latin-American republics. Shielded by it, the United States government equipped and armed the Nicaraguan army, which trained in its own country and in Honduras, to invade Guatemala.

When the invasion took place and the democratic and popular government of Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown, the OAS maintained the most complete silence, violating its own founding Charter by not insisting on respect for the principle of non-intervention included in it. In the face of OAS silence, the Guatemalan government requested a meeting of the UN Security Council to denounce the military aggression fomented by foreign monopolies. Only then did the OAS speak, and it was to state that it was not a matter of aggression but rather of a dispute between Guatemala and Honduras and that the conflict should be resolved within the framework of the regional organization.

In addition to being false, the OAS argument clearly showed that organization's subordination to imperialist interests. Guatemala, victim of military aggression, was within its complete rights to go to the Security Council, according to articles 34 and 35 of the United Nations Charter. At the same time, since it had not ratified the Bogotá Charter or the Rio Military Treaty, the country was not formally a member of the OAS and thus had nothing to discuss within the same organization that had supported the troops invading Guatemalan territory.

2. The OAS against Cuba: its silences and its actions

OAS activity against the Cuban Revolution became evident a few months following the seizure of revolutionary power. At its fifth conference (Santiago, Chile, August, 1959) the Organization considered "tensions in the Caribbean" because of the Cuban people's solidarity with the Dominican Republic in its struggle against the dictator Trujillo. On that occasion, the OAS did raise the principle of non-intervention and declared that "however deplorable, tyranny was preferable to an action that impaired the country's internal sovereignty."

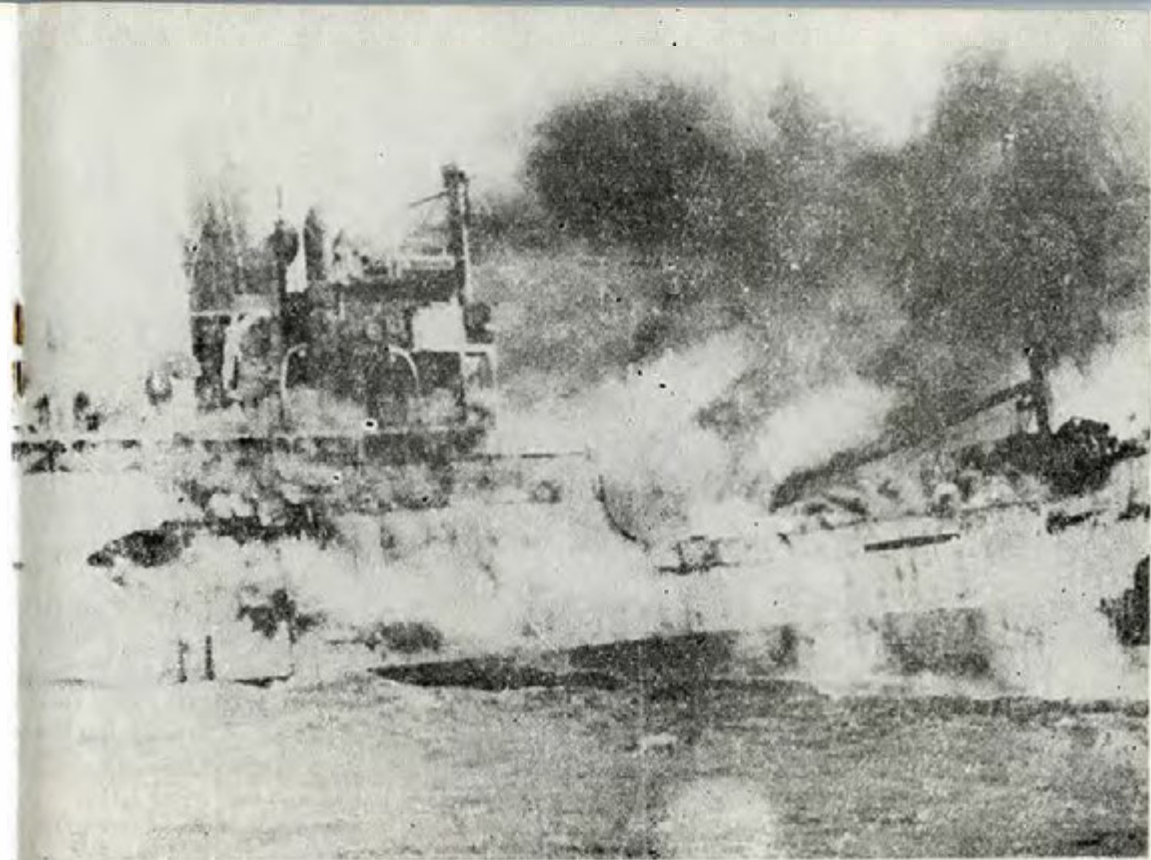
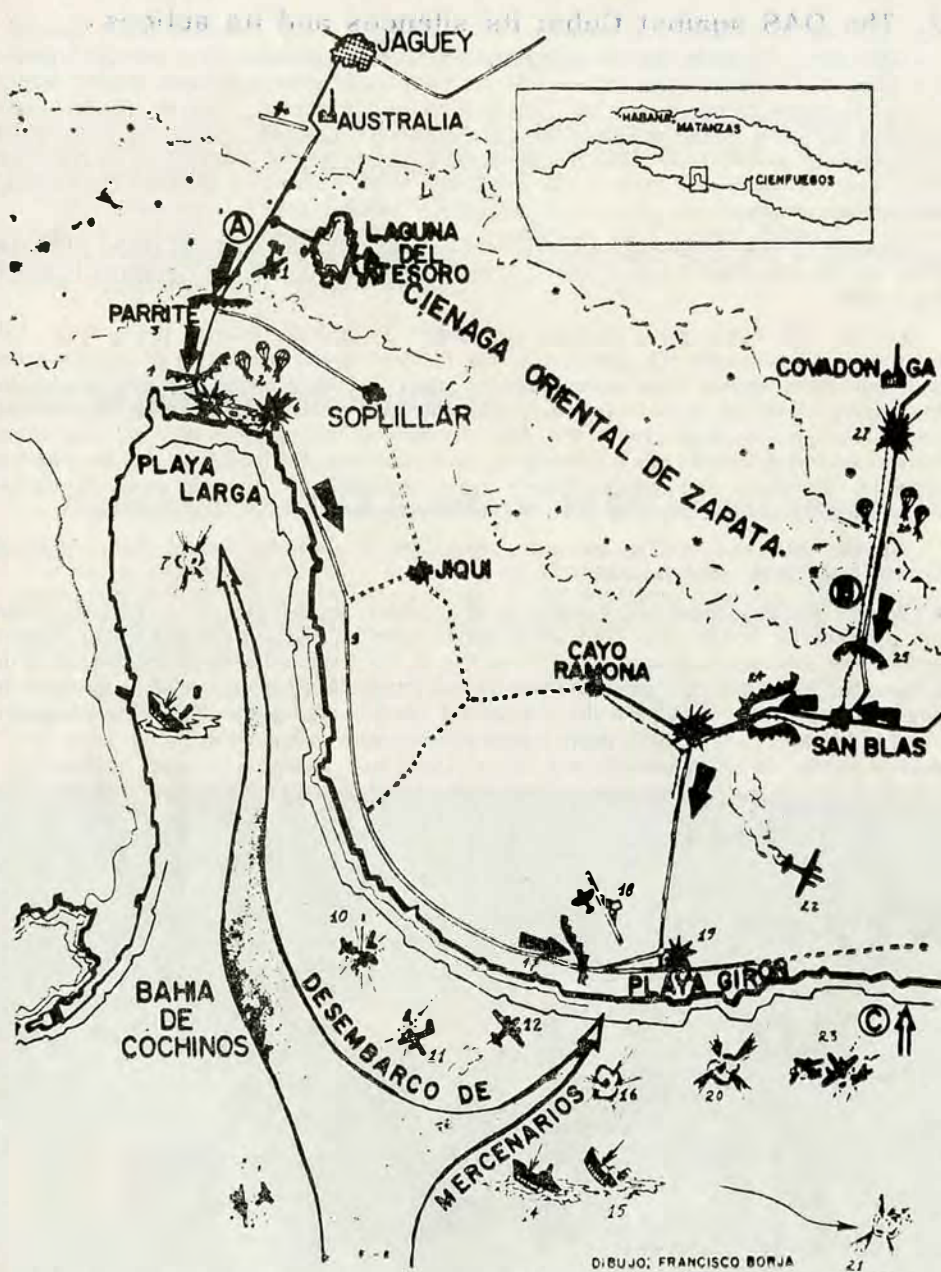
However, when the oil companies boycotted Cuba and the quota of sugar purchased from her by the United States was cut, the OAS adopted its usual posture: it simply kept quiet.

At the sixth hemispheric meeting (San José, Costa Rica, August 17-21, 1960), held for the first time under the auspices of the Rio Treaty, the conditions for future action and aggression against Cuba were prepared when that conference tactically condemned the regime of Rafael Trujillo. Two days after the end of the sixth meeting, the seventh began, also in San José. There the OAS condemned "the intervention of international communism in America" and the Soviet Union's relations of friendship with an American republic. Moreover, the member states were reminded of "the obligation to subject themselves to the discipline of the interamerican system."

But the OAS said nothing about the economic boycott the United States declared against Cuba in October of 1960.

When Cuba denounced the imminence of a military attack against its territory before the UN Security Council, the OAS continued to maintain silence, nor did it say anything against the mercenary aggression at Playa Girón, the same attitude it maintained in the face of the many and just denunciations by the revolutionary government of Cuba of the pirate actions and criminal and illicit activities carried out by the United States government in complicity with other puppet governments on the continent.





As a preamble to the eighth conference (Punta del Este, 1962), Cuba was expelled from the Interamerican Defense Board. At the foreign ministers' meeting, the United States had already proposed the application of collective sanctions against Cuba and her exclusion from the interamerican system on the pretext that "Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the system." That conference, as the Second Declaration of Havana stated, revealed "the corruption of the exploiting classes in whose name their representatives in Punta del Este spoke. The OAS was unmasked for what it is —a Yankee foreign office for colonies, a military alliance, a repressive apparatus to be used against the liberation movement of the Latin-American peoples."

At an informal meeting held in Washington in October of that year, the United States was given the freedom to take unilateral actions without having to use the OAS mechanism. A few days later, the US government ordered the military blockade of Cuba while it exhorted the other countries of the continent to join in the war action begun against the island. Thus the Yankee ministry of colonies served as the permanent instrument of the Cold War.

Finally, the ninth conference (Washington, 1964) passed the resolution of "non-maintenance of relations with Cuba, suspension of trade and maritime transportation" with every kind of sanction against the people of Cuba and some "warnings" in an unprece-



dent act of cynicism, whereby the criminals became the judges who sentenced the country victimized by the aggressions.

3. Panama: once again silence

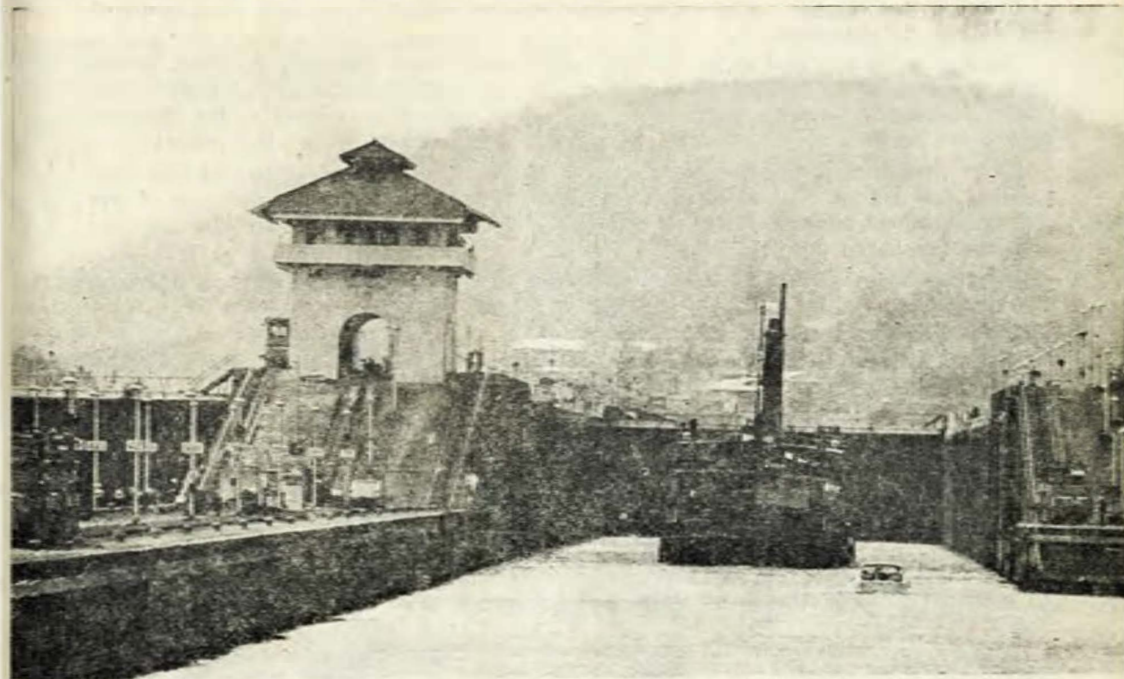
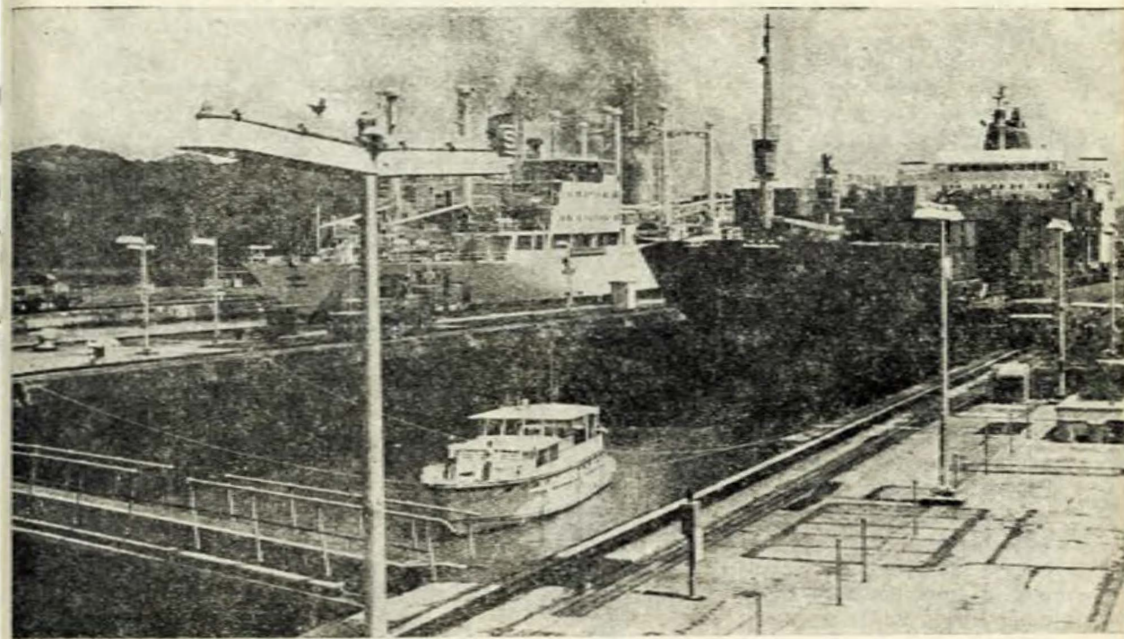
At the beginning of 1964, the OAS again watched in complicitory silence the assassination of young Panamanians who went to hoist their country's flag at a school in the zone occupied and usurped by the United States. The assassination was perpetrated by the US military forces stationed in the Panama Canal zone.

The aggression, which resulted in more than 20 deaths and hundreds of wounded, caused such a furor that the Panamanian government had no alternative but to protest what was evident: a military aggression against unarmed civilians.

The OAS Council was convened for an emergency meeting to study the Panamanian government's note in which United States troops were accused of having engaged in "unprovoked armed aggression against Panamanian territory and the civilian population," and requested that an advisory meeting be called to apply sanctions against the United State in addition to labeling it an aggressor, under the articles of the Rio Treaty.

The submissive members of the Council had no alternative but to listen to a recounting of the events presented by the Panamanian ambassador.

Faced with irrefutable proof that US troops had massacred Panamanian youths engaged in a peaceful demonstration, the US ambassador reacted by accusing the Panamanian government of "inciting the people of its country to attack and violence" and stated that



"United States forces in the Canal Zone had to defend themselves against Panama's aggression."

In spite of the facts and the denunciations, the OAS Council did not call the advisory meeting as requested by Panama in accordance with the provision of the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro. But at the same time, it didn't even abide by form: the Council issued no declaration of any kind on the matter nor did it state its conclusions after "studying" the Panamanian protest note.

To divert attention, the Interamerican Peace Commission, a minor organization within the US-dominated interamerican structure, offered to mediate the question. Thus the OAS was left completely free of any commitment to issue a single word of condemnation against the United States.

4. Dominican Republic: the Marines of the OAS

In May, 1961, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo was assassinated by order of the CIA. Thirty years of iron dictatorship under US adoption was ended.

In December, 1962, Juan Bosch was elected president by popular vote but his nationalist efforts were interrupted in September, 1963, by a military *golpe* arranged by the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency.

A pro-imperialist military Junta, with a flavor strongly reminiscent of the Trujillo dictatorship, was overthrown by a broad popular movement led by a group of young officers, among them Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deñó. The constitutional militarists gave the people arms, with the support of the democratic parties and organizations, in order to defend the popular movement against a new reactionary military Junta sponsored by the US embassy.

Against this background, US President Lyndon Johnson ordered the Marines to land in the Dominican Republic on April 28, 1965, under the pretext of "protecting the lives of United States citizens," although the objective was evident: to prevent the triumph of the democratic movement.

As during the so-called October Crisis, the United States convoked the OAS, not to make a statement on its own military aggression but rather to inform that body of the "serious situation" in the country. Thus the 10th Consultative Meeting of the OAS approved the creation of the so-called "Permanent Interamerican Force" (for peace).

In an attempt to justify the intervention of 40 000 Marines, the OAS landed 2000 men wearing the uniform of that organization in the Dominican Republic, made up of the repressive forces of Brazil, Paraguay and Costa Rica. Marines and OAS soldiers massacred the Dominican people.

The Permanent Interamerican Force had already been established in fact, following the intervention of OAS troops in Santo Domingo, becoming the gendarmes of the people of the continent.

The OAS also had the shameful role of imposing on the Dominican people a provisional government based on the Yankee bayonets of the Interamerican Force.

With OAS "mediation," Washington sought a momentary solution to the stubborn resistance of the people, the pressure of world public opinion and the denunciations issued by the UN Security Council.

5. Chile: latest OAS villainy

Almost a year after the military *golpe* that overthrew the constitutional government of President Salvador Allende, at a time when denunciation of the Chilean fascist military





barbarity was every day heard in the international community, the Interamerican Human Rights Commission (IHRC) released the preliminary results of an investigation made in Chile between July 22 and August 2, 1974.

That Commission went to observe "on site" the state of human rights. The team was composed of well-known jurists who could not be branded "infiltrated communists." The Commission had on it: Justino Jiménez de Arechaga of Uruguay, as president; Luis Reque of Bolivia, as secretary general; Robert Woodward of the United States; Carlos Dunshee de Abranches of Brazil and Genaro Carrión of Argentina.

To the surprise of the Chilean Junta which thought the Commission would behave like the OAS, the investigators made a series of recommendations to the authorities and the media. Among them were: notification of detention and place where persons are held should be given their relatives; modification of the system for detaining minors of one or another sex being held as prisoners in adult jails; special pains should be taken to avoid physical and psychological torture of those arrested and to harshly punish those responsible for it; take measures against the use of forced work and prolonged incommunicado; permit lawyers to act freely; authorize the departure from the country of those who wish it; grant the right of legal protection and with it presentation of the detained before the competent court.

The president of the IHRC, Jiménez, reaffirmed the charges by other international organizations and progressive individuals stating that the Commission had proof of serious cases of torture, physical and moral pressures and other irregularities committed by the Chilean regime.

In his preliminary statement, Jiménez revealed the main proofs collected by the Commission whose final report would be taken to the OAS later:

- detainees' right to defense is very limited.
- the military courts are almost wholly made up of illiterates.
- legal protection practically does not function; not even the simple measure of obliging the authority to physically present the detainee before the judge for him to ascertain whether the person is dead or alive and where he is held.

- the decree that declared the state of war and the consequent application of martial law is generally applied retroactively, making it impossible to individualize the crimes committed prior to the state of war.
- thousands of persons despair of ever learning where their arrested relatives and friends are being held.
- many of those arrested were subjected to physical and moral pressures and forced work on Dawson Island.

At the end of 1974, the IHRC made public a strong 177-page report in which it recognized the serious and systematic violations of human rights by the Pinochet regime. That document was to be a point of discussion at the next Ordinary Session of the OAS General Assembly held in May in Atlanta, Georgia, USA.

In its conclusions, the IHRC report points out that the investigators reached the firm conviction that in Chile, sometimes through the work of the government and its official methods and other times through the work of its agents, there have been serious violations of the following basic human rights:

The right to life, the right to personal integrity, the right to personal liberty, recourse to legal protection or habeas corpus, guarantees of due process, freedom of expression, thought and information, the right to assemble, freedom of association, freedom of opinion and equality before the law, political rights.

When the report was to be submitted for debate during the fifth General Assembly in Atlanta, the OAS again showed its true face: discussion of the IHRC report was postponed to another time.

The Foreign Minister of Costa Rica, Gonzalo Facio, in a delaying maneuver, introduced a resolution whereby, considering that the report covered only up to August 2, 1974 and that there was new information "correcting" certain of the IHRC's conclusions, discussion should be postponed until the next General Assembly. Maintaining the forms, Facio requested that the report of the OAS Commission be brought up to date taking into consideration the report the UN Human Rights Commission was going to make after a visit to Chile.

Warmly received by the Junta's delegation and supported by the United States, Facio's proposal meant in practice, filing the condemnatory report away with the hope that the UN report would be more favorable to the fascist Junta.

The IHRC itself, as well as Mexico and other countries, opposed the resolution. The president of the OAS Human Rights Commission, the Venezuelan Angel Aguilar, pointed out that for his part "if his work and his vigilance resulted only in a report destined to be buried, it was preferable to resign." The fate of the IHRC report on Chile was a reedition of the report on the Panamanian case, which the OAS keeps filed away today.

Two months later, the Work Group from the UN Human Rights Commission which was to investigate the state of those rights in Chile, was unable to enter the country. "Reasons of security" was the pretext the Junta gave.

The refusal immediately produced irate reactions among progressive people, governments and organizations in the world. The president of the IHRC, Jiménez, stated that the refusal "simply reaffirms the great success of our work there."

Finally, on October 14, 1975, the Work Group from the UN released its report based on testimonies from former political prisoners and others interviewed outside Chile. It pointed out "its deep repugnance" at having to report on the status of human rights in that country. Fifteen days later, during the debate on that situation, the president of the group, Ghulam Ali Allana, speaking in the United Nations Committee on Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs, said that in Chile "a long and dark night of terror has been instituted."

The exact opposite of what had happened to the IHRC report in the OAS happened to the document of the UN Work Group, and the statement by its president, the Pakistani diplomat Allana, had a deep impact on the majority of countries represented in the international organization. The resolution passed was one of massive condemnation of the Junta in spite of all the efforts it made to deny what it could not deny: the "constant and flagrant violation of basic human rights and fundamental liberties" committed in Chile.

Useless were the arguments with which it sought to undermine the condemnation, a tortuous road taken by the Junta's representatives who declared that human rights are respected in Chile, that there is no torture, that during the Popular Unity government those rights were not respected. Thus the Junta sought to provide a juridical base for its actions, the state of siege and other abuses.

The Latin-American countries that voted in favor of the condemnatory resolution were: Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Jamaica, Mexico and Trinidad and Tobago. Even the United States voted in favor, a rude blow to the Junta, which considers it among its most prized defenders.

The other countries in the hemisphere, those who had approved postponing the debate on the IHRC report, voted against or abstained from condemning the Junta.

But the OAS not only postponed discussion on the condemnatory report by its Commission, it went even further.

The fascist Junta, overwhelmed by the many condemnations of its regime of oppression and its policy in general, redoubled its efforts to improve its image. Among the many measures (useless, it's true) that it adopted was that of offering Chile as headquarters for the sixth General Assembly of the OAS. Without much effort, success was predictable given the composition of the Organization's leadership and the Latin-American delegates represented in it.

On December 11, 1975, in Washington, 14 nations approved the Chilean dictatorship's proposal. The United States was among the seven abstentions and only Mexico and Jamaica voted against.

Faced with the OAS decision to convert the accused country into headquarters and host for the sixth Assembly—at which the IHRC report is to be debated—the delegates of the Commission announced their decision to leave the organization, "disillusioned and discouraged" by the OAS position and in repudiation of the Latin-American country "in which human rights are most violated...."

A CONSISTENT REACTION

This history of aggressions explains the reaction of the people of Latin America against the OAS and the attempts of the most progressive governments on the continent to develop measures designed to achieve a policy that answers to the national needs of those countries according to the finest traditions of Bolivar and Marti.

There is the example of Mexico, Peru, Panama, Venezuela and the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean that stand up in defense of the interests of the region and proclaim themselves categorically for the return of the Panama Zone and Canal to their legitimate owner; at the same time, the progressive reestablishment of relations with the Cuban Revolution proceeds. All outside the OAS.

Also outside it, such integrationist organizations as the Latin-American Economic System (SELA), the Caribbean Multinational Shipping Enterprise (NAMUCAR) and various associations of producers of sugar, bananas, bauxite and other products, all pointing toward a new economic order, independent of the United States: the Latin-Americanist front against an obsolete and dominating panamericanism.

LETTER FROM A HERO

Following the brutal assassination of his son, Santiago Mari Pesquera, who was also a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), Comrade Juan Mari Brás, General Secretary of the PSP, received hundreds of letters, telegrams and messages from various parts of the world expressing solidarity and condemning that infamous and cowardly act.

Because of its political as well as its human interest, *Tri-continental* publishes the letter sent to the General Secretary of the PSP by the nationalist hero imprisoned in the United States for the past 20 years, Rafael Cancel Miranda, as a spur to those who struggle day after day against all forms of oppression and imperialist domination:

DEAR BROTHER JUAN.

ALTHOUGH I HAVE EXPRESSED TO OTHERS THE SORROW AND THE FURY I FELT AT THE VILE CRIME AGAINST CHAGUIN —WHICH WAS ALSO A CRIME AGAINST ALL OF US, AGAINST OUR PEOPLE AND AGAINST HUMAN DECENCY— I HAVE WAITED A WHILE BEFORE EXPRESSING TO YOU AND DON CHAGUITO, AS WELL AS TO PAQUITA, ROSA MERCEDES AND JUAN RAUL, MY SORROW AT WHAT HAPPENED.

I LEARNED ABOUT IT THE NIGHT OF THE DAY IT OCCURRED, WHEN A FRIEND CALLED ME AROUND 10 P.M. —I WAS IN MY CELL BECAUSE WE ARE LOCKED UP AT THAT HOUR— TO TELL ME A NEWS BULLETIN HAD JUST COME THROUGH SAYING THAT A SON OF MARI BRAS HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED. WHEN I HEARD THIS I FELT A THOUSAND TIMES SADDER THAN WHEN I HEARD THE 80-YEAR SENTENCE THE JUDGES GAVE ME. THAT TIME I DIDN'T FEEL A THING —MAYBE BECAUSE IT DIDN'T SURPRISE ME— BUT THIS TIME ALL MY FEELINGS WERE ELECTRIFIED. MY WHOLE BEING SEEMED TO THROB WITH YOUR SORROW AND THAT OF THE ALWAYS KIND AND GENEROUS DON CHAGUITO AND OF MY FATHER AND OF DOÑA PAQUITA, ROSA AND JUAN RAUL. AN HOUR OR TWO LATER I WAS GRIPPED BY AN INTENSE FURY —I WANTED TO DO I DON'T KNOW WHAT TO ANSWER THE VICIOUS BLOW, AND I KNOW THAT IT'S TRUE, MY BROTHER, THAT, IF ONE DOESN'T CONTROL ONESELF, BLOWS LIKE THAT MAKE US (OR AT LEAST RAFAELITO) SAVAGES.

THEY TELL ME CHAGUIN WAS SILENT (HOW SILENT THAT FINE PUERTO RICAN BOY WAS I ONLY KNEW FROM JUAN RAUL AND ROSA MERCEDES), AND, AS I SAID TO RELATIVES OF MINE, CHAGUIN, WHO WAS

SO SILENT, HAS BECOME TODAY A CRY OF LOVE, LIBERTY AND JUSTICE THAT CARRIES ITS VIBRATIONS INTO THE HEART OF OUR PEOPLE, AND ITS ECHO CROSSES THE SEAS, DEMANDING JUSTICE FOR HIS HOMETLAND AND HIS PEOPLE. YESTERDAY HE WAS YOUR SON, TODAY HE IS THE SON OF YOUR PEOPLE. YESTERDAY HARDLY ANYONE KNEW HIM, TODAY MILLIONS CARRY HIM IN THEIR CONSCIOUSNESS AND THEIR HEARTS. WITH HIS HEROIC MARTYRDOM, HE PLACED THE SORROW OF OUR HOMETLAND BEFORE THE WORLD, JUST AS HIS FORCED DEATH ALERTED THOUSANDS OF FIGHTERS. HE HAS PLACED US ON THE ALERT. YES, MY BROTHER, I ALSO CRIED INSIDE (IN THE CRUDE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH I HAVE LIVED, IT ISN'T GOOD TO LET YOUR TEARS BE SEEN) AND INSIDE I CRIED AT WHAT HAPPENED TO OUR DEAR MINGO AND TO FEFEL AND TO TOÑITA AND TO OUR TWO HUMBLE PUERTO RICANS ON THAT DAY OF HOSTOS IN MAYAGÜEZ —AND FOR RAUL, TOO— BUT THOSE TEARS, THE TEARS THE PEOPLE SHED FOR THEIR MARTYRS AND FALLEN HEROES ARE TURNED INTO VOLCANIC LAVA —LET THE ENEMIES UNDERSTAND THAT.

THE PEOPLE LOVE, THEY DO NOT HATE; BUT LET THE ENEMIES UNDERSTAND THAT LOVE MAKES REVOLUTIONS AND REVOLUTIONS PUT AN END TO SCOUNDRELS LIKE THOSE WHO COMMITTED THE VILE CRIME AGAINST CHAGUIN AND WHO CONTINUE COMMITTING CRIMES AGAINST OUR PEOPLE.

MANY ARE THE PEOPLE'S SORROWS IN THEIR STRUGGLES AGAINST OPPRESSION AND SHAMELESSNESS, BUT THEY WIND UP WINNING. OURS WILL WIN, MY DEAR BROTHER JUAN. FORWARD.

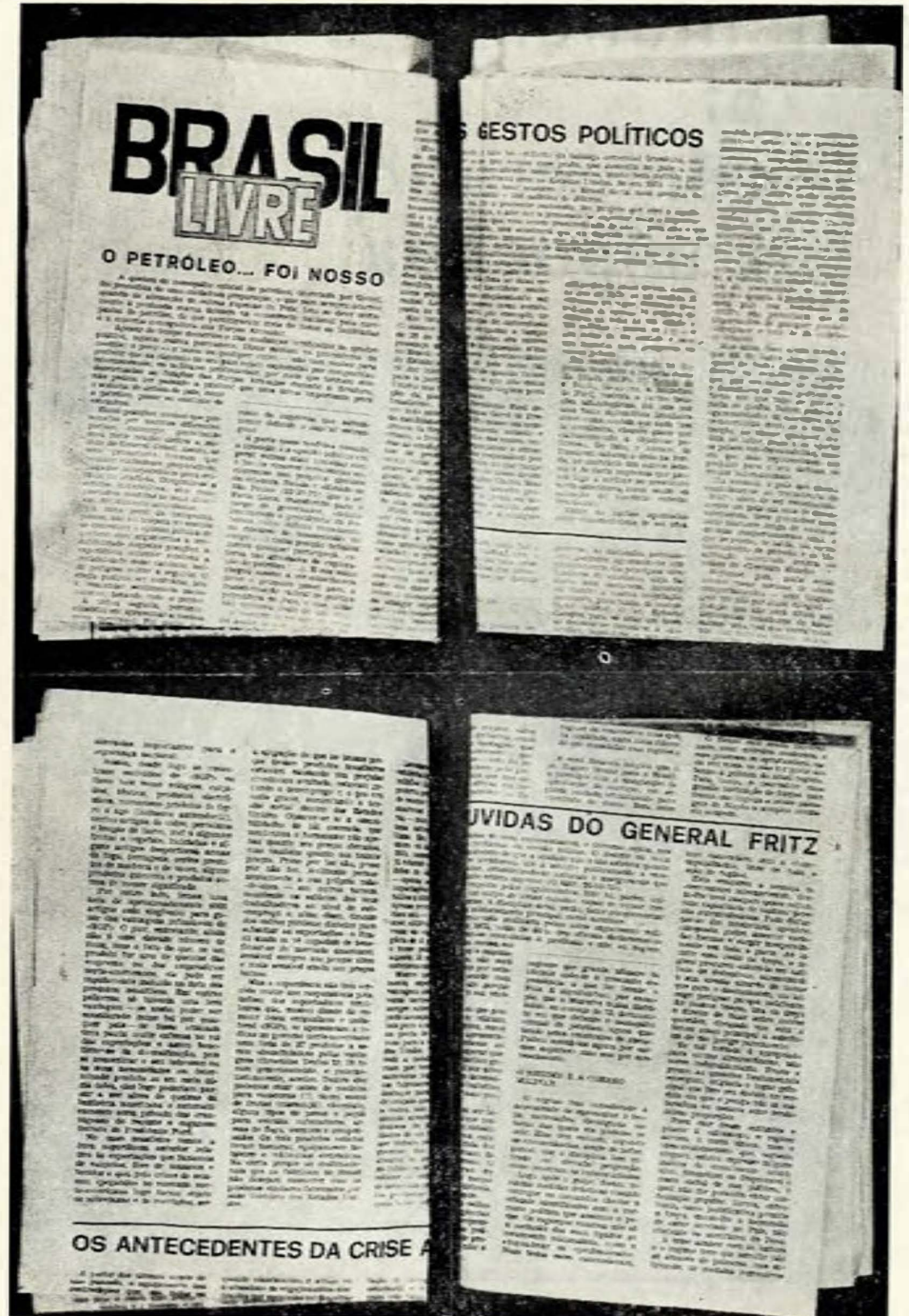
AN EMBRACE FROM RAFAELITO.

A CHALLENGE TO PRESS CENSORSHIP IN BRAZIL

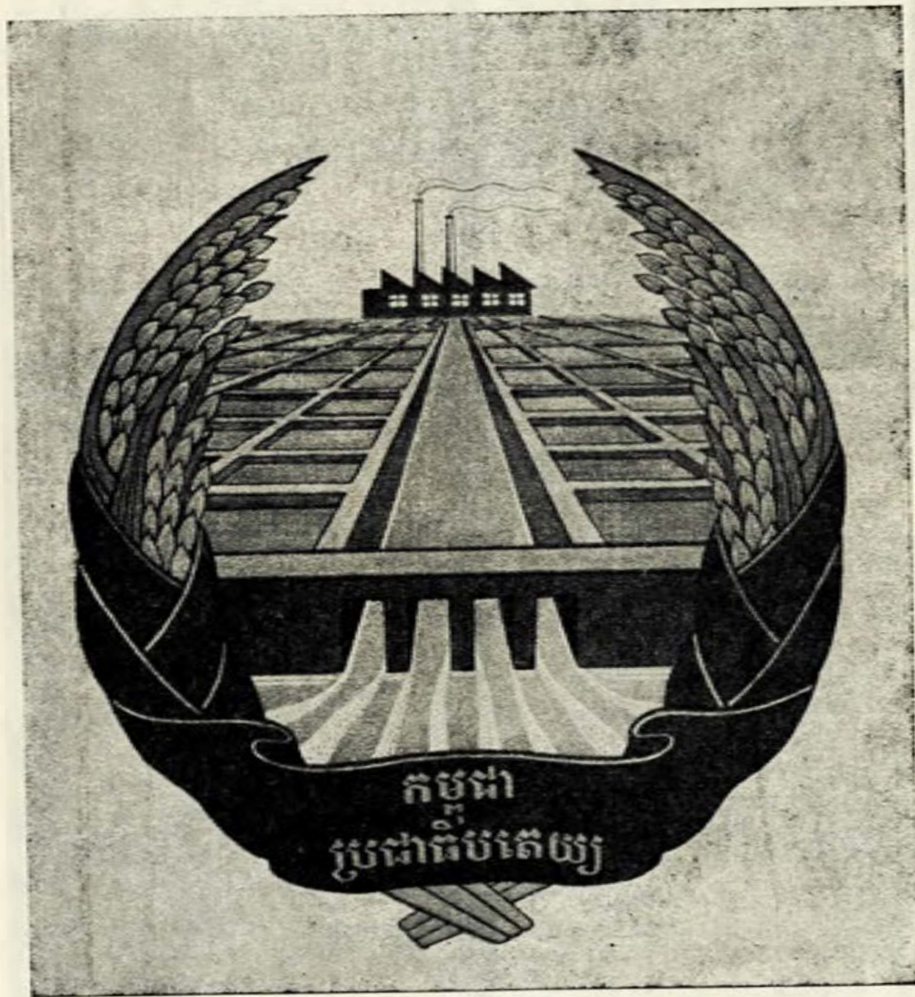
Brazil Livre, in its first clandestine publication, denounces the poisonous effects for Brazil of its economic relations with the United States, as well as the military regime's tolerance in passively bearing the repressions against the country included in the new United States Trade Law.

The unbearable agitation the US transnationals cause in the Brazilian economy with their unrestrained policy of promoting obsolete technology and other cast-offs from their main plants, in order to raise profits, is another interesting subject treated in the bulletin.

Within the obvious limits that clandestinity imposes, the new publication plans to release periodically to international public opinion, brief studies on economic and social conditions in the country under the current fascist dictatorship, in order to attempt to bridge the gap the official press leaves because of the iron censorship that has been imposed since 1964.



constitution of democratic kampuchea



THE FUNDAMENTAL AND SACRED ASPIRATIONS OF THE WORKERS, PEASANTS AND OTHER LABORING PEOPLE, OF THE FIGHTERS AND CADRES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA

Considering the preponderant role played by the people, particularly by the workers, the poor peasants, the less affluent middle peasants and other field and city laborers who constitute more than 95% of the entire Kampuchea nation and who bore the major weight of the war of people's national liberation, who without respite accepted the greatest sacrifices in human lives, material goods and feelings in serving the Front, and unhesitatingly sent tens and hundreds of thousands of their sons and husbands to fight on the battlefield:

—Considering the immense sacrifices accepted by the three categories of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who, in the burning flames of the people's national liberation war, fought bravely day and night, during the dry season and the rainy season, suffering every kind of difficulty and privation and lacking everything: food, medicine, clothing, ammunition:

—Considering the aspirations of the entire people of Kampuchea and of the entire Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, who want an independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned Kampuchea, sovereign in its territorial integrity in a society where happiness, equality, justice and true democracy reign, without rich or poor, without exploiting or exploited classes, a society in which all the people live in harmony and great national unity and join to participate in productive work, building and defending the country together:

—Considering the resolution of the Special National Congress held April 25, 26 and 27, 1975, which solemnly proclaimed recognition and respect for the abovementioned aspirations of all the people and all the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea;

The Constitution of Kampuchea stipulates the following:

CHAPTER I: THE STATE SYSTEM

—Article 1: The State of Kampuchea is an independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned, sovereign and democratic state in its territorial integrity.

The State of Kampuchea is a state of workers, peasants and all other sections of the laboring people of Kampuchea.

The State of Kampuchea is officially named: "DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA."

CHAPTER II: THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

—Article II: All important means of production are the collective property of the popular state and the community of the people.

As for articles of current use, they remain the individual property of their private owners.

CHAPTER III: CULTURE

—Article III: Democratic Kampuchea's culture has a national, popular, progressive and healthy character in order to meet the tasks of defense and construction of an ever more prosperous country.

This new culture resolutely fights the depraved and reactionary culture of the various exploiting classes, of colonialism and of imperialism in Kampuchea.

CHAPTER IV: THE PRINCIPLE OF LEADERSHIP AND OF WORK

—Article IV: Democratic Kampuchea applies the collective principle in leadership and in work.

CHAPTER V: LEGISLATIVE POWER

—Article V: Legislative power belongs to the Assembly of the Representatives of the workers, peasants and all other laboring sectors.

This Assembly is officially known as: ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA.

The ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA

has a total of 250 members representing the workers, peasants, other laboring sectors and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, divided as follows:

- Representatives of the peasants 150
- Representatives of the workers and other laboring sectors 50
- Representatives of the Revolutionary Army 50

—Article VI: The members of the ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA are elected by the people in general elections, through direct and secret vote, every five years.

—Article VII: The ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE votes on laws and defines the various domestic and foreign policies of Democratic Kampuchea.

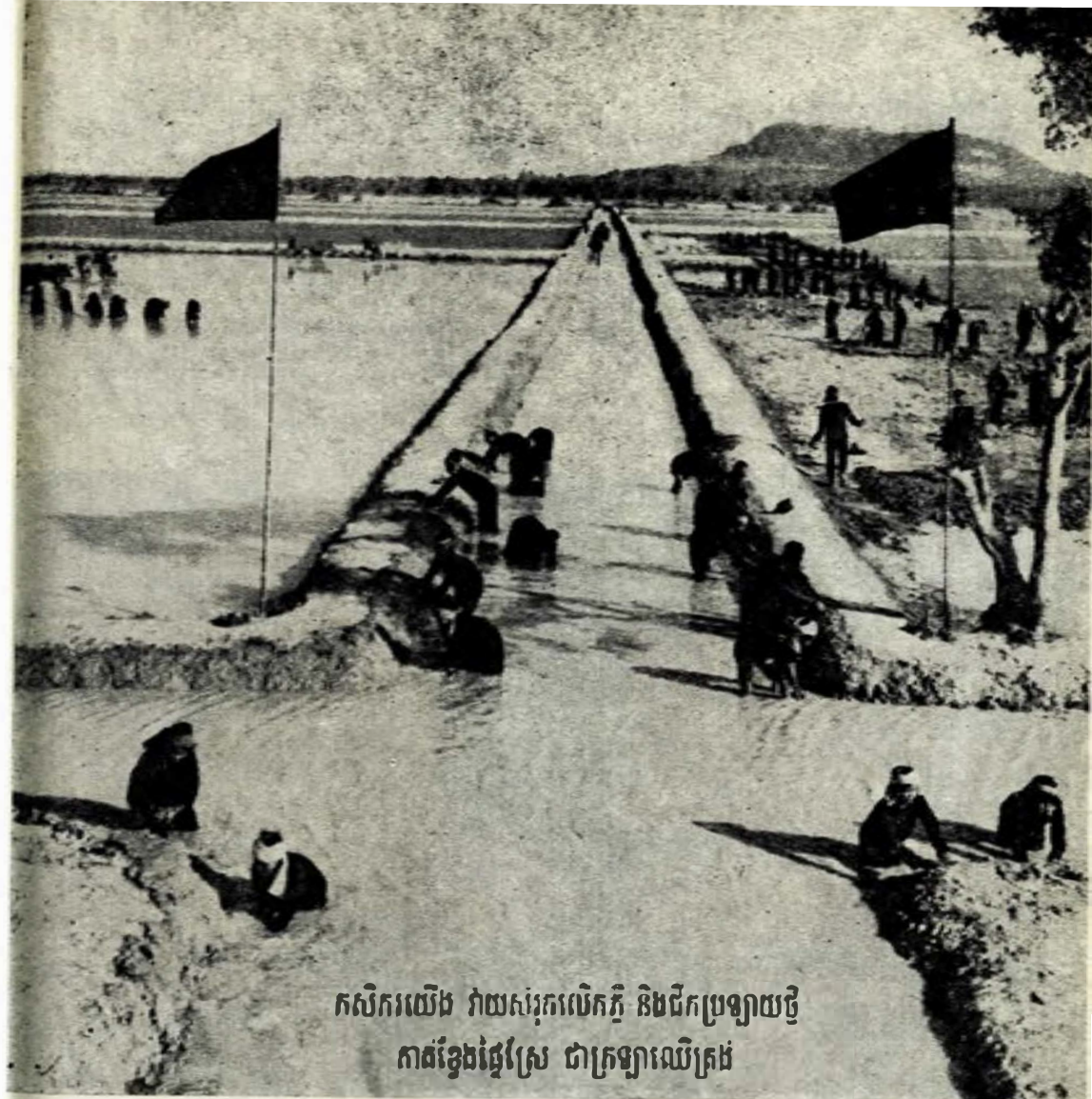
CHAPTER VI: THE EXECUTIVE BODY

—Article VIII: The Government is a body in charge of executing the laws and applying all the political decisions taken by the ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA.

The Government is named by the ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA. It is responsible to the Assembly for all its activities inside and outside the country.

CHAPTER VII: THE JUDICIAL BODY

—Article IX: The judicial body is established by the popular courts that represent and defend the people's justice, defend the people's democratic liberties and punish all acts against the popular state and those that violate the laws of the popular state.



កសិករយើង វាយសំរុកលើកភ្នំ និងជីកប្រឡាយថ្មី
កាត់ខ្សែបង្កើនស្រែ ជាត្រឡាឈើត្រង់

The various courts are elected and named by the ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE.

—Article X: Acts that violate the laws of the popular state are the following:

—Systematically hostile and destructive activities that place the popular state in

danger are punished with the most severe penalty.

—Cases that vary from those mentioned above are handled by reeducation within the framework of the state bodies or popular organizations.

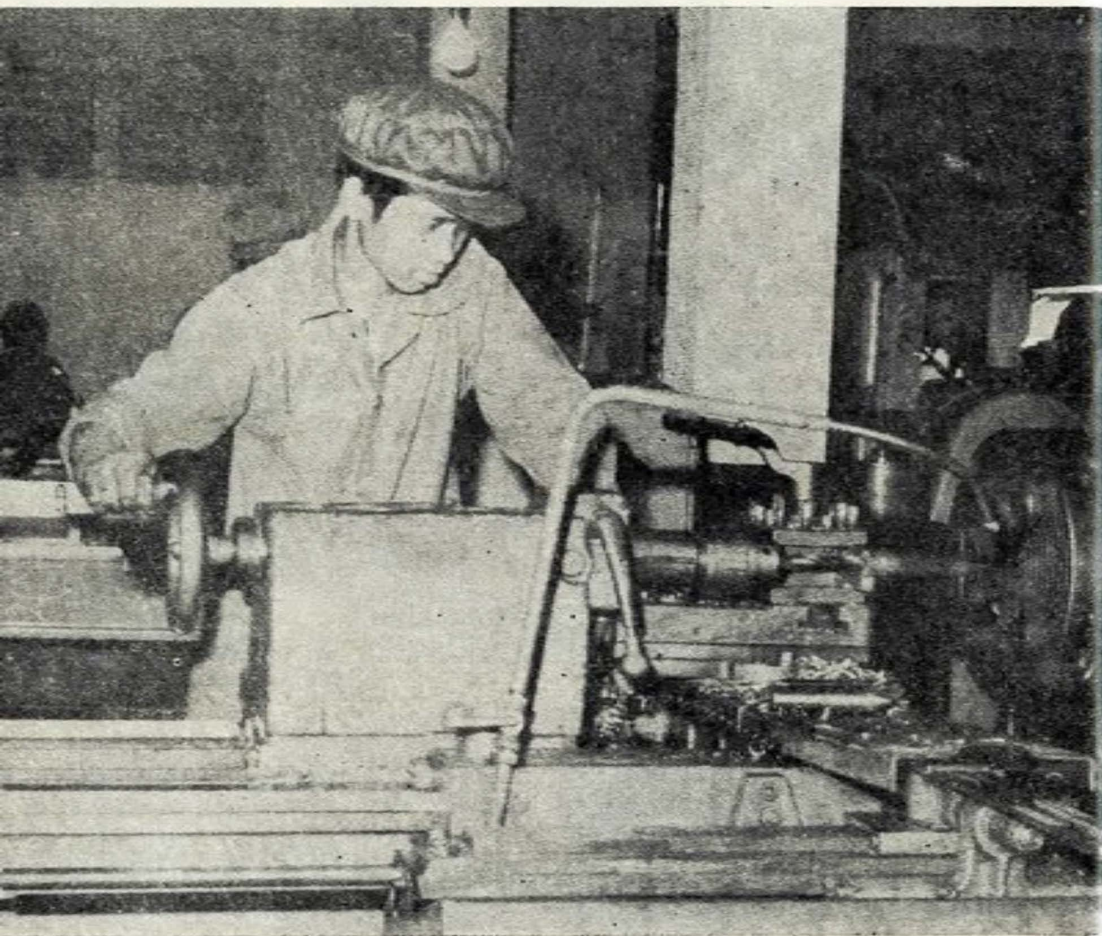
CHAPTER VIII: THE STATE PRESIDUM

—Article XI: DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA has a State Presidium elected and named every five years by the ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA. The State Presidium's main task is to represent the State of Democratic Kampuchea inside and out-

side the country within the framework of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea and in conformity with the laws and the political positions defined by the ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA.

The State Presidium is composed of:

- A President
- A First Vice President
- A Second Vice President



CHAPTER IX: THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF A KAMPUCHEA CITIZEN

—Article XII: Every Kampuchea citizen fully enjoys the right to a continuously improving material, moral and cultural life. Every Kampuchea citizen is fully assured of all means of existence.

- Every worker is master in the factory.
- Every peasant is master in the rice-fields and in the countryside.
- Workers in other fields all have the right to work. There is absolutely no unemployment in DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA.

—Article XIII: Complete equality must exist among all citizens of Kampuchea in a society where equality, justice, democracy, harmony, and happiness reign within great national unity to defend and build the country together.

Men and women are equal in all areas. Polygamy and polyandry are prohibited.

—Article XIV: Every citizen has the duty to defend and build the country according to his abilities and possibilities.

CHAPTER X: THE CAPITAL

—Article XV: The capital of DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA is PHNOM PENH.

CHAPTER XI: THE NATIONAL FLAG

—Article XVI: The Kampuchea national flag has the following design and significance:

Its background is red and it has the symbol of a yellow three-towered monument in the center.

The red background symbolizes the revolutionary movement, the resolute and brave struggle of the people of Kampuchea for national liberation, defense and construction.

The yellow monument symbolizes national tradition and the people of Kampuchea who increasingly defend and construct a glorious country.

CHAPTER XII: THE NATIONAL EMBLEM

—Article XVII: In the national emblem there is a system of dikes and irrigation canals symbolizing modern agriculture, a factory symbolizing industry, separated by two arched bundles of rice stalks with the inscription "DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA" below.

CHAPTER XIII: THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

—Article XVIII: The national anthem of DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA is "GLORIOUS APRIL 17th."

CHAPTER XIV: THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA

—Article XIX: The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea with its three categories: regular, regional and guerrilla, is the Army of the people whose fighters—men and women cadres—are the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other laborers. It defends the power of the people of Kampuchea, it defends inde-

pendent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned, sovereign, democratic Kampuchea in its territorial integrity, and at the same time, participates in the building of an ever more glorious country, in the constant raising of the people's increasingly prosperous living standards.

CHAPTER XV: CREED AND RELIGION

—Article XX: Every Kampuchea citizen has the right to any creed or religion and



the right to have no creed or religion.

Any reactionary religion aimed against DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA and against its people is strictly prohibited.

CHAPTER XVI: FOREIGN POLICY

—Article XXI: DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA is firmly determined to maintain close relations of friendship with all the countries that have common borders with it and with all the countries of the world,



near and far, on the strict basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA adheres to the policy of independence, peace, neutrality, non-alignment. In no case does it permit a foreign country to establish military bases in its territory. It resolutely opposes any interference in its internal affairs; it struggles resolutely against all subversive and aggressive acts from abroad, whether military, political, cultural, economic, social, diplomatic, or those that occur in a supposedly humanitarian guise.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA does not mix in any way in the internal affairs of other countries. It scrupulously respects

the principle that each country is sovereign and has the right to direct and determine its own affairs by itself without foreign interference.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA remains resolutely in the great family of non-aligned countries.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA extends all its efforts toward developing solidarity with the peoples of the Third World, in Asia, Africa, Latin America and with all the peace - and justice-loving countries of the world and in actively promoting mutual aid and support in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, for independence, peace, friendship, democracy, true justice and progress in the world.

RACISM:
social
roots
and
apologists



For the racists the entire history of humanity is reduced to the struggle between the "superior races" and the "inferior races" and on the basis of that unscientific "theory," they impose the most cruel and inhuman form of exploitation and violence.

As is known, race applies to a group of mankind united by community of origin and certain hereditary peculiarities: the races emerged in primitive times when human groups lived widely separated, and under the influence of certain natural conditions, acquired a number of specific characteristics of a secondary nature.

The biological unity of all mankind, without exception, has been proven by science, so that a "pure race" does not exist, nor can there be "superior" and "inferior" races, nor "privileged races" and "non-privileged races" nor "supermen."

The concept of racial superiority was systematized as a "theory" in the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, with hindsight, when capitalism began to establish itself as a world system, and it was stepped up at the beginning of the transition to its higher phase, imperialism, taking on greater force with the exportation of capital to the colonies and other countries where it became evident in the area of paid work, in bourgeois historiography and philosophy.

The racists maintain various positions, but on that gamut of absurd and brutal theories, whether they are called *Nazism*, *apartheid* or *Zionism*, the common denominator is nothing more than territorial expansionism and man's exploitation of man.

Friedrich Nietzsche, author of the "superman theory" on which German Nazism based itself in order to incorporate into its ideological program the "superiority of the Aryan race," conceived what he called the "superior species" as the only one able to establish an objective and obtain it, even if the human race had to be destroyed in order to be replaced by "supermen."

To justify the practice of racism, certain of its apologists compare the general laws of nature with the laws of humanity's social development and try to make it appear that, as in nature, the strongest human beings and the best adapted dominate the less strong and less adapted, and that this also occurs in society where the "superior races" must dominate the inferior races; and they even claim that the capitalists, by nature, are superior and intelligent human beings while workers, lacking that superior intelligence, are born to work for the capitalists, in this way justifying man's exploitation by man.

In his major work *Capital*, Karl Marx scientifically analyzes the biological concept of human society—as the racists view it—and defines it as "inadmissible," since processes typical of the life of one or another animal cannot be transferred to human society's activity for the simple reason that human society knows what no animal knows: work, which belongs exclusively to man. And in *Who Are the Enemies of the People?* Lenin says: "so-



cial laws cannot be reduced to biological laws" because society is a qualitatively different organism from animal organisms."

Other racists, such as the French Vaucher de Lapug, who became infamous for his report to the World Eugenics Congress held in the United States in 1921, in which he proposed the "annihilation of the colonial and dependent peoples by biological measures," deny the class struggle and state that "the whole history of humanity is reduced to the history of the struggle between superior and inferior races." His primitive racist arguments are based on the concept that "the development of present day humanity is subject to the clash between the brachycephalics (with a round cranium) and the dolichocephalics (with a long cranium)" dividing it into "blond" and "brown" groups, so that, according to the theory, "certain racial groups (the blonds) annihilate the others (the browns) or convert them into their slaves." And in order to justify private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of the proletariat by the capitalists, he adds that "the workers and peasants are biologically destined by their very nature, for forced work in the service of the capitalists and landowners."

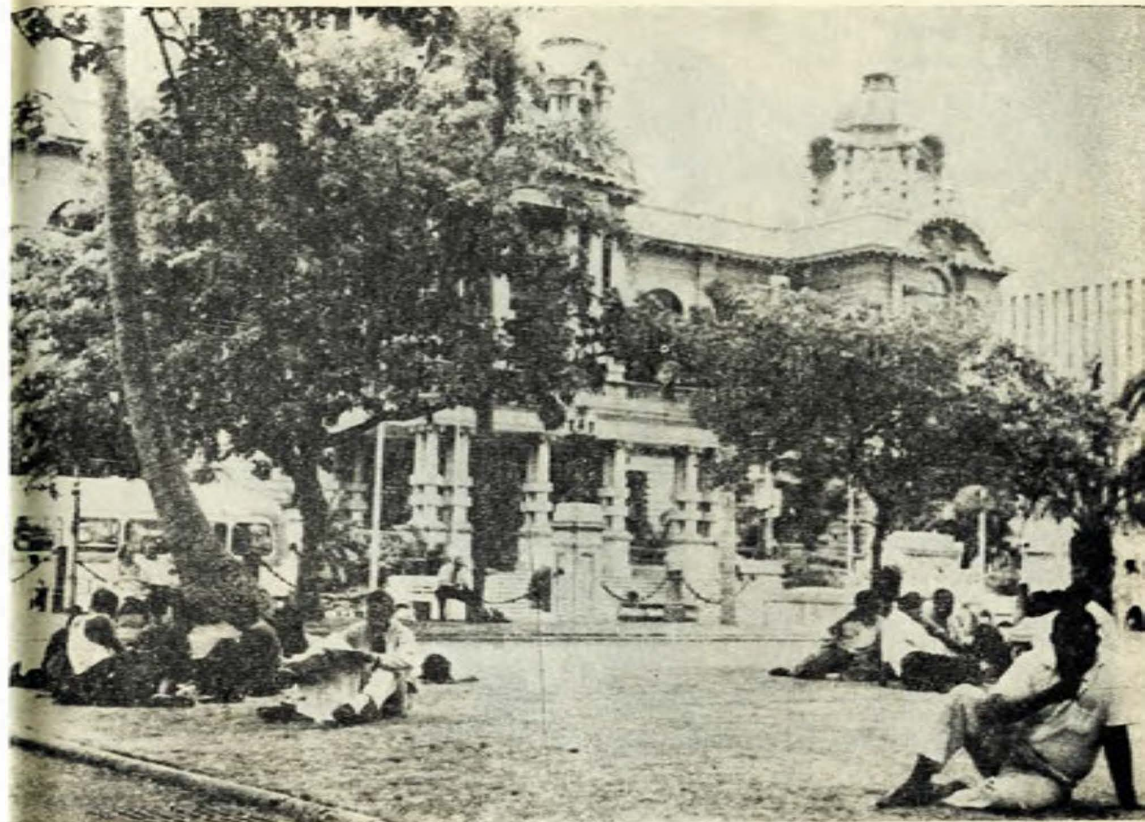
Ludwig Gumplowirsz, typical racist, of Austrian nationality, seeks to deny the class struggle in his book *The Struggle of the Races*, and in his violent racism he makes the monstrously unscientific statement that the struggle of social classes reveals the "struggle of biological groups joined by the unity of blood," and reaches the absurd conclusion that "the capitalists and landowners belong by Divine Right to the race of rulers" and the

"workers and peasants to the inferior race."

In his book, *Experiences on the Inequality of the Races*—devoid of any scientific value—Count Gobine, French aristocrat and vigorous enemy of social change, tries to explain the march of humanity's history by starting with the peculiarities he arbitrarily attributes to races and people and maintains that "racial purity"—for him the pure race is the white race—"is decisive to people's psychic and physical qualities." Permeated with the hatred of the ruling class to which he belongs, he predicts the collapse of civilization because of the "fatal influence" exerted by the mixture of races.

Adapting geography to US imperialist expansionism, E. Huntington maintains that climatic conditions in such countries as India, China and the Soviet Union, do not permit the development of "true culture," and that such culture can only arise under the climatic conditions of the United States. He also claims that people, because of their psychic, are aggressive in some cases and peaceful in others and declares that aggressivity and the aspiration to conquer far-off lands constitutes the "supreme and eternal principle of the dominant races," so that the destiny of the "superior race" (white) is to reduce the number of the "inferior races," in short, to exterminate them. Observe that the racism and the geopolitics this reactionary Yankee preaches are indissolubly linked to United States imperialism's aspiration for world domination.

Racism adopted one of the most horrendous and reactionary forms with German Nazism, considered by history to be a crime against peace and humanity. For that crime, the chief criminals of the Nazi



war were tried and condemned to death and executed in Nuremberg.

In spite of racism and racial discrimination having been condemned by the United Nations Organization (UN) and other international organizations as a "crime against humanity," the imperialist bourgeoisie maintains numerous centers of racist and colonial power where the most cruel and inhuman forms of oppression and exploitation reign.

Among those centers of imperialist power are the United States of America, Israel and the regimes of the Republic of

South Africa and Rhodesia, a quartet closely linked by common interests of domination and exploitation.

As the facts show, in the United States racism is institutionalized and organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan enjoy impunity in several states in perpetrating any type of crime against the black population from the assassination of black babies to the bombing of schools and churches in the black communities and even the murder of citizens who protest against those social injustices of which they are victims.



The UN condemned *Zionism* —official philosophy of the state of Israel— as “a form of racism and racial discrimination” because of its exclusively expansionist and colonialist content. This confirms decisively the racism and racial discrimination practiced by *Zionism*; its hostility is not only leveled against the Arabs and Palestinians, but is also exercised with equal brutality within the Jewish communities inside Israel itself where *Zionist* laws classify and differentiate among Jews according to their place of birth and the social class to which they belong.

According to the law passed March 10, 1970, by the *Zionist* parliament, only the son of a Hebrew mother can belong to the “promised land,” to “God’s chosen

people,” which determines the level of “Hebrew purity” demanded in order to aspire to a social and economic level above the other Hebrews living in the state of Israel.

Within the text of that law, terminology is used to differentiate among the Jews and grant economic and social privileges according to their place of birth, classifying them as follows: the so-called “Sabra Jews,” native to Israel, are the direct descendants of the first families who lived in Palestine; the Ashkenazim who come from Europe; the Sephardim who come from the Maghreb, the Middle East and Spain; the “proscribed Hebrews,” so-called because they are denied the right to establish themselves in Israel without hav-

ing contributed the quotas the *Zionist* organization assigns them for maintenance of the Israeli government’s aggressive campaigns: and finally, there are the “black Hebrews,” from the African countries. The Sephardim and the “black Hebrews” are the ones who most suffer from *Zionist* discrimination, which has led to violent mass protests brutally put down by the Israeli repressive bodies.

Just as the Nazis proclaimed the superiority of the “Aryan race,” so the *Zionist* governors maintain rigid and inflexible “legal norms” so that “Hebrew purity” retains all the attributes and privileges that the laws in force give it.

Officially the South African regime proclaimed in 1948 that:

the history of the Afrikaner (white) reveals a determination and exactitude of objectives that make anyone feel that the state of the Afrikaner is not the work of man but the creation of God. We have the Divine Right to be Afrikaner. Our history is the supreme work of the Architect of the centuries.

The regime of Balthazar Vorster officially proclaims that “blacks are taught to keep their place,” or that “a black is inferior to a white.” This practice of integral racism and absolute superiority of whites over blacks, is consecrated in the National Constitution.

For violating the “laws of apartheid” in one single year (1968-1969), more than 500 000 South Africans were condemned. As a consequence of the imprisonment of women, 187 children were born in the concentration camps during the period mentioned. The exact number of men and women assassinated is not known. A conservative newspaper such as the *Times* of London, recognized that “it is not possible to ascertain the number of deaths through torture.”

The Rhodesian government presents a similar picture under the tyranny of Ian Smith who, by blood and fire, imposes his brutal racist policy so that the extermination of the black population constitutes one of the most horrible genocides recorded in contemporary history.

The persecution of blacks by the Ian Smith regime has reached such a point that, in 1967, Parliament approved a law that provides the death penalty for any black who possesses arms and “attempts to provoke public disorder” to justify the fact that there are more than 10 000 patriots in jail while another 5000 have been sent to do forced work in the concentration camps outside of Salisbury, capital of the country. Racism is a very important weapon in the bourgeoisie’s arsenal of resources for use against the proletariat, and its widescale application is designed to divide the people and maintain the domination of capitalism.

SOUTH AFRICA: WHY SOWETO

APPEAL OF OSPAAAL FOR THE DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Events continue to be adverse for Vorster. After his unfortunate Angolan adventure, precisely at the moment he was preparing to reinitiate the diplomatic offensive recently undertaken to make South Africa attractive to the capitalist countries considered as friends, allies or recuperable, and when according to well-informed sources, he thought he had finally found the magic formula in his conversations with the ubiquitous North American Kissinger, for solving the thorny problem of Rhodesia—which in strategic terms is called hiding behind a smokescreen—it turns out that he lands in Europe not with his agenda full of good promises but with his hands dripping with the blood of more than a thousand dead Africans, victims of pitiless police repression. The South African Prime Minister could not have chosen a worse moment for his conversations with the head of the West German government and with the US diplomacy-maker: after the announcement of the sale of two nuclear centers by France at the end of May, the involvement of the western powers with the most abject den of racism became more evident than ever. That miniature fascist seeks the shadow of his natural protectors with increasing desperation.

The manifestation of monstrous violence that exploded on June 16 in the black ghetto of Soweto—where the work force charged with making the white factories of the white city of Johannesburg function in behalf of the white minority live crowded under inhuman conditions—and extended like a brushfire to different regions of South Africa, are eloquent proof of the level of exasperation on the part of the black masses. Hence—and the racist government was not wrong in this—the attempt to impose on the black schools of Soweto the teaching of certain materials in the Afrikaans language was merely the spark, not the underlying reason for the disturbances. The underlying reason has to be sought in the system of apartheid, in which blacks have fewer rights than animals.

The defeat in Angola of South African troops heretofore considered invincible awakened the South African black masses, and no tank, no police dog, no machinegun belonging to Mr. Vorster will be able to lull them to sleep. He can kill them, it is true—unrestrainedly, as was proven recently—but he cannot prevent them from rebelling, from organizing and from wiping out once and for all that socio-economic and political system condemned by history.

In order to put this possibility off as long as possible, the South African racist regime creates an internal and external strategy. Internally, outside of some small patches on

apartheid which only deceive the naïve, there is notable fortification of the repressive arsenal. On May 7, the government presented Parliament with a draft law for promoting state security, which can be extended to Namibia, expressly projecting the permanent detention without trial of all those suspected of disturbing public order or of acting against state security, in other words, the police will be able to arrest anyone, without a precise reason, and keep that person incommunicado for as long as they see fit.

Externally, there is an intensification in Vorster's great efforts to commit the western powers still further with his project of "continental gendarme." And Vorster does not hide this. On June 9 he said during an interview:

I think they (the United States and its allies) must be particularly aware of what is happening in the Indian Ocean where communist bases and the communist military potential are increasing alarmingly. I consider an allied naval presence that will balance that reinforcement to be a vital necessity... All we ask is that the United States and other countries that appreciate liberty become aware of the strategic position of South Africa and not place it in danger when it adopts a firm position against communism on the African continent.

It is thus to defend "that precious liberty" that the major supplier of arms to South Africa just signed a 5-billion-franc contract on May 28 to turn over two nuclear centers which, in spite of the good faith denials by the parties involved, will permit the racist regime to produce 500 kilograms of plutonium a year in a short time, enough to manufacture 100 atom bombs of the Hiroshima type. Of course it is known that, thanks to the efforts of West Germany, which two years ago became its chief trading partner, South Africa is capable of manufacturing those atomic bombs, as South African strategists have bragged on various occasions.

The Angolan adventure and the terrible repression of the Soweto demonstrations (June 22, more than 1000 African dead) are evidence of the savagery that racist South Africans are capable of when they are cornered, when it is a question of defending their interests and those of the "free world" with which they identify. The enormous increase in the military budget in recent years is a threat to the exploited South African masses and the entire African continent.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL energetically condemns the bloody massacre organized by the South African government against the masses who rightfully demand an end to apartheid as well as a majority government.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL calls on all its member organizations, all governments and all revolutionary and progressive people to intensify their solidarity with the South African people brutally repressed by the racist regime; to intensify campaigns to energetically condemn the involvement of western capitalist powers with the apartheid regime which has been denounced by all humanity, to openly reject military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa; and also to do everything possible to provide material and moral aid to the South African population struggling to create a society free of racism and oppression in their homeland.

OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat

Havana, June 25, 1976.

"THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID ENOUGH! AND HAS BEGUN TO MOVE"

URUGUAY: LIBERTY FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

APPEAL FROM OSPAAAL IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF URUGUAY

Three years after the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in the homeland of Artigas, the struggle of the Uruguayan people continues undefeated and undiminished.

On June 27, 1973, the people, organized through the National Convention of Workers (CNT), responded with the heroic general strike that lasted 15 days. Fifteen days of great effort that permitted consolidating the isolation of the dictatorship and creating conditions of popular resistance, deepening the unity of all the people.

The dictatorship has had to resort to terror, torture and death to sustain itself. After October, 1975, Uruguayan fascism stepped up the repression seeking the physical elimination of all those who fight for people's unity.

Within this context, Zelmur Michelini, Senator for the Broad Front, and Gutierrez Ruiz, President of the Chamber of Deputies and leader of the National Party (PN), were assassinated in Buenos Aires. There were also the kidnappings of Jaime Pérez, communist leader, worker and deputy, under arrest since October 1974; of José Luis Massera, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, distinguished mathematician of world renown and member of the World Peace Council; of Wladimir Turiansky, well-known communist leader, vice president and forger of the CNT; of Rita Ibarburu, journalist and editorial secretary for the magazine *Estudios*, theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Among the political leaders still being held are those of the stature of General Liber Seregni, President of the Broad Front and candidate for the presidency of the Republic, as well as his collaborators, General Victor Licandro and Colonel Carlos Zufriategui, along with 7000 additional patriots, including old people, women and children who have been barbarously tortured.

Meanwhile, the surrender of the country to Yankee monopolies, to the dictates of IMF, AID and the CIA continues. The imperialist eagle has transformed Uruguay into a base of aggression, gathering native fascism under its wings and fomenting a policy of attacking the progressive movements of the world.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL calls on revolutionary organizations, democratic governments and the progressive forces of humanity to express their active support for the Uruguayan people.

International solidarity with the struggle of the Uruguayan people must be evident on this International Day of Solidarity with Uruguay, with greater force than ever, demanding guarantees for the lives of all patriots held prisoner, for the reestablishment of liberties and rights, for the elimination of torture. To save their lives, to demand their liberty and also to struggle for the elimination of fascism in Uruguay is an immediate task for progressive humanity.

Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL

Havana, June 27, 1976.

"THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID ENOUGH! AND HAS BEGUN TO MOVE"



