



# tricontinental 49



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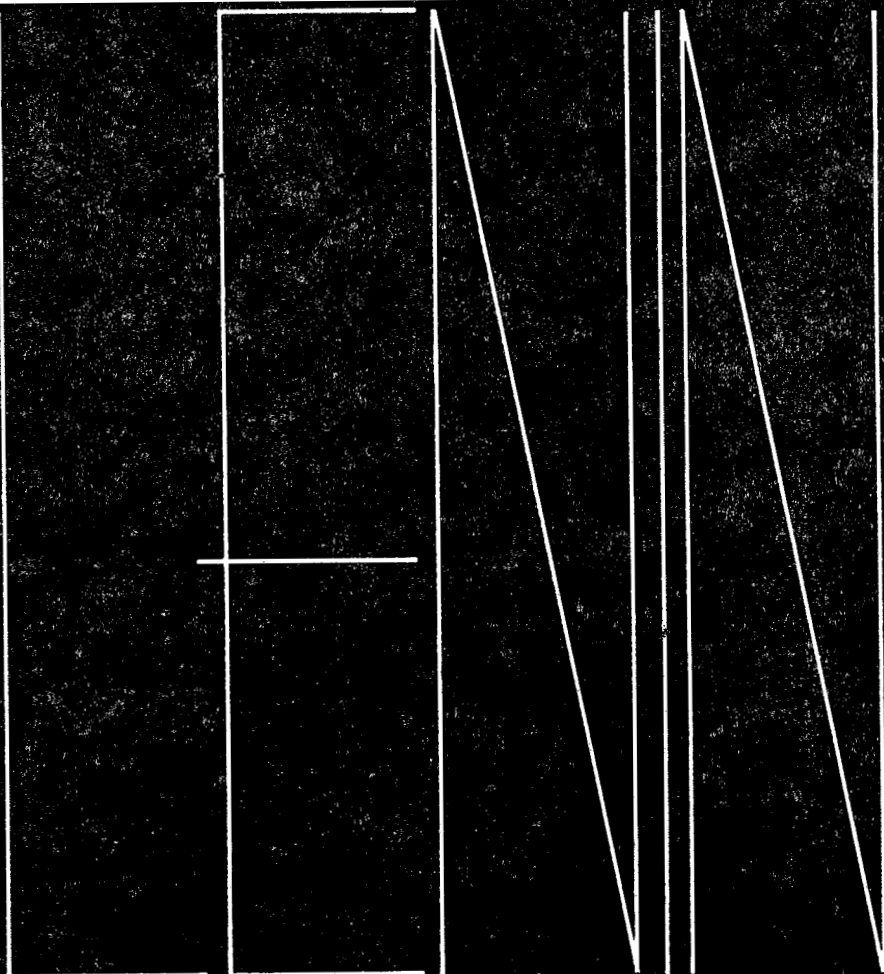
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APRIL 1924

THE SECRETARY OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
MERCHANTS AND TRADERS

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
MERCHANTS AND TRADERS





## LENIN: BRILLIANT STRATEGIST OF THE REVOLUTION

*When on Bloody Sunday (January 22, 1905), thousands of workers were machine-gunned as they begged on their knees for the Cossacks to allow them to see the Czar, the process of the First Russian Revolution was begun. An indignant people immediately raised the barricades, and on June 14, 1905, mutiny broke out on board the battleship Potemkin of the Black Sea fleet, starting the armed struggle. Lenin put into practice the ideas developed earlier by Marx and Engels and maintained a fierce struggle against the opportunistic line of the Mensheviks. He argued that armed insurrection was the chief means of struggle to overturn the Czarist regime and that when insurrection triumphed, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be established. From December 1900, through the newspaper Iskra, Lenin had already devoted himself to a systematic defense of Marxist principles and to the organization of a revolutionary vanguard.*

*The Revolution of 1905 — described by Lenin as bourgeois-democratic in its social content although proletarian in its fighting methods — was destroyed in June 1907, betrayed by the bourgeoisie. Lenin later pointed out the positive aspects of this insurrection and the cause of its defeat. He then emphasized the extraordinary experience it offered for the world revolution and pointed out that it would be replaced by a new revolutionary explosion. Already in 1871, a year after Lenin's birth, the first proletarian state had emerged in the historic experience of the Paris Commune. The Commune was the first state that imposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus. Its first decree was to suppress the regular army by replacing it with an armed people. It placed those factories abandoned by their former owners in the hands of the workers' associations, and took many other measures which benefited the working class and the petit bourgeoisie. Its vital error was in not assuming the offensive against Versailles where the counterrevolutionary troops were concentrated for the attack on revolutionary Paris. Marx later proclaimed that the Commune had been temporarily destroyed but its struggle had merely been postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and indestructible. . . .*

*Forty-six years later, with the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution, directed and organized by Lenin, the cause of the Paris Commune surged forth victorious. Lenin had prepared the working class to struggle with all its energy for the victory of the proletarian revolution. . . .*

*The bourgeois-democratic revolution of February-March 1917, had created alongside the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie represented by the Provisional Government, a workers' government of the Soviets of Deputies and Workers of Petersburg which, though comparatively weak, sought to ally itself with the soldiers and peasants. But the new bourgeois government intensified its sabotage against every revolutionary initiative and prevented by every means, the conquest of power by the people. The bourgeois Provisional Government soon converted itself into the principal counter-revolutionary gendarme and on July 4 (17) 1917, with the complicity of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries within the Executive Committee of the Soviets, it machined-gunned a peaceful demonstration of workers and soldiers.*

*In the face of this new situation, Lenin totally unmasked the Russian bourgeoisie which was ready to betray the interests of the country in order to preserve its class power.*

*These are moments of decision. "History" [Lenin writes at the time] will not forgive us if we do not seize power now." He permits no delays that can postpone the triumph and calls on the working class to carry out armed revolution. While giving out the first orders, he goes to Petersburg to take charge of the insurrection.*

*On October 25 (November 7), the revolutionary forces have already surrounded the Winter Palace. From Peter and Paul Fortresses and the cruiser Aurora, the first shots are fired against the bourgeois representatives'*

lair, One hour later, the people have taken the Winter Palace, symbol of bourgeois power.

On October 25, 1917, in a message to the citizens of Russia, Lenin proclaimed:

*The objectives for which the people have fought — the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the abolition of agrarian property by the big landowners, workers' control of production, and the constitution of a revolutionary government — are assured. Long live the workers', soldiers' and peasants' revolution.*

*During the centenary anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the brilliant revolutionary strategist, firmly committed to the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, we have taken two of his writings which by way of introducing us to an understanding of his life, rekindle in us his insurrectional talent.*

#### THE BOLSHEVIKS MUST ASSUME POWER<sup>1</sup>

A LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RSDLP, TO THE  
PETROGRAD AND MOSCOW COMMITTEES OF THE RSDLP

The Bolsheviks, having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of both capitals, can and **must** take state power into their own hands.

They can because the active majority of revolutionary elements in both capitals is large enough to carry the people with it, to overcome the opponent's resistance, to smash him, to gain and retain power. For the Bolsheviks, by immediately proposing a democratic peace, by immediately giving land to the peasants and by reestablishing the democratic institutions and liberties which have been mangled and shattered by Kerensky, will form a government which **nobody** will be able to overthrow.

The majority of the people are **on our side**. This was proved by the long and painful course of events from May 6 to August 31 and to September 12.<sup>2</sup> The majority gained in the Soviets of the capitals **resulted**

1 Lenin's two letters, **The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power** and **Marxism and Insurrection**, were discussed at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on September 15 (28), 1917. Kamenev opposed the directives on the armed uprising contained in these historic letters and proposed to conceal them from the Party and destroy all copies of them. Kamenev's proposal was rejected. The Central Committee circulated Lenin's letters among the biggest Party organizations.

2 The dates mentioned refer to the following events: May 6 (19) was the day on which the composition of the first coalition Provisional Government was announced; on August 31 (September 13) the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies adopted a Bolshevik resolution demanding the formation of a Soviet Government; September 12 (25) was the date announced by the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies for the convocation of the Democratic Conference. The Conference was held in Petrograd from September 14 to September 22 (September 27-October 5), 1917.

from the people's development toward us. The wavering of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks and the increase in the number of internationalists within their ranks prove the same thing.

The Democratic Conference represents not a majority of the revolutionary people, but **only the compromising upper strata of the petite bourgeoisie**. You must not be deceived by the election figures; elections prove nothing. Compare the elections to the City Councils of Petrograd and Moscow with the elections to the Soviets. Compare the elections in Moscow with the Moscow strike of August 12. Here there are objective facts regarding the majority of revolutionary elements who are leading the people.

The Democratic Conference is deceiving the peasants; it is giving them neither peace nor land.

A Bolshevik government alone will satisfy the demands of the peasants.

\*\*\*

Why must the Bolsheviks assume power now?

Because the impending surrender of Petrograd will render our chances a hundred times less favorable.

And it is not in our power to prevent the surrender of Petrograd while the army is headed by Kerensky and Co.

Neither can we "wait" for the Constituent Assembly, for by surrendering Petrograd, Kerensky and Co. can always frustrate its convocation. Our Party alone, on taking power, can secure the Constituent Assembly's convocation,<sup>3</sup> and will accuse the other parties of procrastination and will be able to substantiate its accusations.

A separate peace between the British and German imperialists must and can be prevented, but only by quick action.

The people are tired of the waverings of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. It is only our victory in the capitals that will carry the peasants with us.

\*\*\*

We are concerned now not with the "day" or "moment" of insurrection in the narrow sense of the word. That will be only decided by the common voice of those who are in contact with the workers and soldiers, with the people.

The point is that now, at the Democratic Conference, our Party has virtually its own congress, and this congress (whether it wishes or not) must decide the fate of the revolution.

<sup>3</sup> The Provisional Government announced the convocation of a Constituent Assembly in its declaration of March 2 (15), 1917; elections to the Assembly were appointed for September 16 (30) 1917. The Provisional Government, however, delayed the convocation of the Assembly and announced the postponement of the elections until November 12 (25), 1917. The Constituent Assembly was opened by the Soviet Government on January 5 (18), 1918, in Petrograd. The Assembly refused to discuss the "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People" and to approve the decrees of the Second Congress of Soviets on peace, the land, and the transfer of power to the Soviets, and by a decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee was prorogued on January 6 (19), 1918.

The point is to make the **task** clear to the Party. The present task must be an **armed uprising** in Petrograd and Moscow (with their regions), the seizing of power and the overthrow of the Government. We must consider **how** to agitate for this without expressly saying as much in the press.

We must remember and weigh Marx's words about insurrection, "**Insurrection is an art,**" etc.

\*\*\*

It would be naïve to wait for a "formal" majority for the Bolsheviks. No revolution ever waits for **that**. Kerensky and Co. are not waiting either, and are preparing to surrender Petrograd. It is the wretched waverings of the "Democratic Conference," that are bound to exhaust the patience of the workers of Petrograd and Moscow. History will not forgive us if we do not assume power now.

There is no apparatus? There is an apparatus: the Soviets and the democratic organizations. The internal situation **right now, on the eve** of the conclusion of a separate peace between the British and the Germans, is in **our favor**. To propose peace to the nations right now means to **win**.

By taking power both in Moscow and in Petrograd at once (it doesn't matter which comes first, even Moscow may begin), we shall win **absolutely and unquestionably**.

N. Lenin

Written September 12-14 (25-27), 1917

First published in 1921 in  
the magazine *Proletarskaya*  
*Revolutsia* No. 2

Collected Works, Vol. 26

#### ADVICE OF AN ONLOOKER

I am writing these lines on October 8 and have little hope that they will reach Petrograd comrades by the 9th. It is possible that they will arrive too late, since the Congress of the Northern Soviets has been fixed for October 10.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, I shall try to give my "Advice of an On-

4 The Regional Congress of Soviets and Soldiers' Deputies of the Northern Areas, called by a decision of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, was held in Petrograd from October 11 to October 13 (24-26), 1917. The Petrograd Soviet took an active part in organizing the Congress and sent a delegation of thirty to it. The Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary Central Executive Committee announced that the Congress was a private meeting and recalled its delegates. Some 23 Soviets were represented, including those of Petrograd, Moscow, Kronstadt, Revel, and Helsingfors. Of the 94 delegates at the Congress, 51 were Bolsheviks. The agenda contained the following items: 1) Reports from Local Soviets; 2) The Current Situation; 3) The Military-Political Situation in the Country; 4) The Land Question; 5) The All-Russian Congress of Soviets; 6) The Constituent Assembly; 7) The Organizational Question. The Congress elected an Executive Committee of the Northern Area with 17 members — 11 of them Bolsheviks. Lenin addressed a letter to the Congress: "Letter to the Bolshevik Comrades Attending the Regional Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region" (see pp. 471-76 of the present volume). The decisions of the Congress called on the masses to rise up in arms; the Congress played an important agitational and organizational role in preparing the uprising.



looker" in the event that the probable action of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd and of the whole "region" will take place soon but has not yet taken place.

It is clear that all power must pass to the Soviets. It should be equally indisputable for every Bolshevik that the revolutionary-proletarian power (or the Bolshevik power which is now one and the same thing) is assured of the utmost sympathy and unreserved support of all the working and exploited people all over the world in general, in the countries in the war in particular, and among the Russian peasants especially. There is no need to dwell on these all too well-known and long-established truths.

What must be dealt with is something that is probably not quite clear to all comrades, namely, that the passing of power to the Soviets now means in practice armed uprising. This would seem obvious, but not everyone has thought or is thinking over the point. To repudiate armed uprising now would be to repudiate the chief slogan of Bolshevism (All Power to the Soviets) and revolutionary-proletarian internationalism in general.

But armed uprising is a special form of political struggle, one subject to special laws which must be attentively thought over. Karl Marx expressed this truth with remarkable clarity when he wrote that "insurrection is an art quite as much as war."

Of the principal rules of this art, Marx noted the following:

1) Never play with insurrection, but when beginning it firmly realize that you must go all the way.

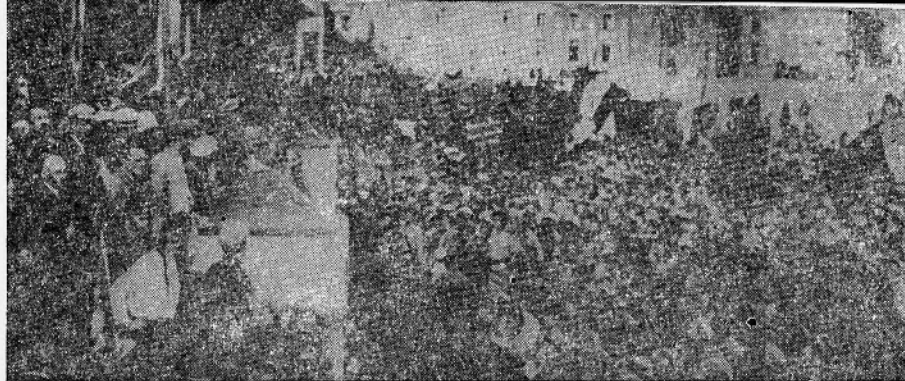
2) Concentrate a great superiority of forces at the decisive point, at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organization, will destroy the insurgents.

3) Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest determination, and by all means, without fail, take the offensive. "The defensive is the death of every armed rising."

4) You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.

5) You must strive for daily successes, however small (one might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain the "moral superiority."

Marx summed up the lessons of all revolutions in respect to armed



uprising in the words of "Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known: *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace.*"<sup>5</sup>

Applied to Russia and to October 1917, this means: a simultaneous offensive to Petrograd, as sudden and as rapid as possible, which must without fail be carried out from within and from without, from the working-class quarters and from Finland, from Revel and from Kronstadt, an offensive of the **entire** navy, the concentration of a **gigantic superiority** of forces over the 15 000 or 20 000 (perhaps more) of our "bourgeois guard" (the officers' schools), our "Vendée troops" (part of the Cossacks), etc.

Our three main forces — the navy, the workers, and the army units — must be so combined as to occupy without fail and to hold at any cost: a) the telephone exchange; b) the telegraph office; c) the railway stations; d) and above all, the bridges.

The **most determined** elements (our "shock forces" and **young workers**, as well as the best of the sailors) must be formed into small detachments to occupy all the more important points and to **take part** everywhere in all important operations, for example:

To encircle and cut off Petrograd; to seize it by a combined attack of the navy, the workers, and the troops — a task which requires **art and triple audacity**.

To form detachments from the best workers, armed with rifles and bombs, for the purpose of attacking and surrounding the enemy's "centers" (the officers' schools, the telegraph office, the telephone exchange, etc.). Their watchword must be: **"Better die to a man than let the enemy pass!"**

Let us hope that if action is decided on, the leaders will successfully apply the great precepts of Danton and Marx.

The success of both the Russian and the world revolution depends on two or three days fighting.

Written October 8 (21), 1917  
First published November 7, 1920  
in the newspaper Pravda No. 250

Signed: An Onlooker

Collected Works, Vol. 26

<sup>5</sup> Frederick Engels, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," Section XVII,



## tricontinental scene



### Neo Lao Haksat



**T**HE foundation of the Patriotic Front of Laos (Neo Lao Haksat) in January 1956, has its origin in the Laotian peoples' long struggle against foreign aggression, first French and then North American.

In 1946, when the French colonialists began their war of reconquest in Indochina, rebellion immediately broke out in Laos. But the struggle was weak, its actions sporadic and its

activity spread through the mountainous region which had no overall unity.

Four years later, in these circumstances, a group of patriots led by Prince Souphanouvong, Kaysone, Sithon, Faydan, Phoumi Vongvichit, Nouhad, and others, after long and patient work, convoked a National Congress of Laos on August 13, 1950, which decided on the foundation of the Neo Lao Itsala (Liberation Front for Laos).

The objectives of the new fighting front were outlined in the political report from the Congress: "to unite the entire people, all nationalities, all religions, all political parties, to fight for national liberation."

The 12-Point Action Program of the Neo Lao Itsala also made known immediate and future objectives: to fight for national liberation, and an independent Laos, the formation of a national coalition government; confiscation of the properties of colonialists and native traitors; abolition of colonial taxes; economic development; better working conditions; eradication of illiteracy and subsequent education; foundation of a national army; equality among nationalities and unity with the peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia in the common struggle.

The Neo Lao Itsala guided the Laotian people's struggles along these lines

up to the culmination of the Geneva Conference of 1954 whose Agreements recognized the right of independence, sovereignty, liberty and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Laos.

When the Agreements were ignored by the United States and its lackey traitors, the Laotian people had to begin the struggle anew. In January 1956 a new National Congress of Laos was held which decided to expand the Neo Lao Itsala. The Neo Lao Haksat was thus born, and included much broader sectors of the population, among them intellectuals, monks, and people organized in various groupings inside the region controlled by the United States and lackey Vientiane regime.

The Geneva Agreements of 1962 put an end to the civil war unleashed by North American intervention, ratified the fundamental national rights of the Laotian people and provided for the creation of a tripartite national coalition government. Therefore, the Neo Lao Haksat efforts have been directed toward the defense of new conquests since then: strict application of the Agreements, support of the tripartite government and the achievement of its political program.

In April, 1964, when the United States had sabotaged the new Agreements, the Neo Lao Haksat approved a program of action based on ten political points and five concrete tasks, all directed toward the continuation of the struggle against North American imperialism until final victory is won.

The action program demanded the fulfillment of the Geneva Agreements,

and advocated a policy of peace and neutrality internally. Externally, it announced itself for an independent policy based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

At the same time the program focussed on the objective of the development of an autonomous and independent economy; raising the level of the people's lives, the formation of a national army and a unified police corps. It also guaranteed the exercise of the rights of man and of democratic liberties, as well as equality between men and women.

In its new program, the Neo Lao Haksat promised to respect the throne, to build and consolidate the united national bloc, and to practice a policy of national accord and unity.

In October 1965 — the 20th anniversary of the Laotian revolution — the National Political Conference of alliance between the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces took place. As a consequence of the union of these two forces, the People's Liberation Army of Laos was established.

On October 31, 1968, on the occasion of the Extraordinary Congress of the Neo Lao Haksat, the political program was approved, outlining the directives for unification and the struggle of the entire people to defeat the "Special War," and US neo-colonialism, to overthrow the traitors and puppets, to build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos and contribute to the restoration and maintenance of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia, and the world.

The Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat has as its president Prince



Souphanouvong, and as Secretary-General Phoumi Vongvichit.

The new 12-point political program can be summarized as follows:

1) To consolidate and extend the United National Front and actively mobilize all the forces of the country to defeat North American imperialist aggression and overthrow the traitors who are its puppets.

2) To achieve equality in all areas, solidarity and mutual aid among the various nationalities for the purpose of fighting together against the imperialists, for national salvation, and the construction of a life of common well-being.

3) To respect and preserve the Buddhist religion and unite the various religions to contribute to the achievement of the unity of the entire people and the strengthening of the national forces in the anti-Yankee resistance for national salvation.

4) To assure the complete realization of the peoples democratic rights and liberties.

5) To achieve sexual equality; to develop the role and the capabilities of women in all aspects of the struggle.

6) To establish a democratic administration of national unity, guaranteeing national sovereignty and serving the interests of the people.

7) To create truly patriotic and popular armed forces and security forces capable of insuring the country's defense and also its internal order and security.

8) To build and develop a national and sovereign economy and finances; to improve the people's standard of living.

9) To develop a culture and an education with a national and progressive character; to raise the cultural and scientific level; to develop public health and improve the sanitary conditions of the population.

10) To guarantee the rights and interests and conscientiously watch over the people's living conditions.

11) To protect the interests of Laotian citizens abroad and guarantee the legitimate rights of foreigners living in Laos.

12) To apply a peaceful, independent, and neutral foreign policy; to establish ties of solidarity and friendship with the peoples and governments of the peace-loving and justice-loving countries of the world.

## The Comoros: Encounter With Their Reality



**T**HE archipelago includes four islands: Grand Comoro, Anjouan, Mayotte, and Mohéli, located at the northern entrance of the Mozambique Canal between  $11^{\circ}$  and  $13^{\circ}$  south latitude and  $40^{\circ} 30'$  and  $43^{\circ} 10'$  east longitude. It is 500 km from Madagascar and approximately 300 km from the eastern coast of the African continent. Volcanic islands, they are very fertile; green all the year round. Like every tropical country they have only two seasons: one a dry season from May to October and the other a wet season from November to April (great torrential rains). They enjoy alternately both the monsoon and the trade winds, and their highest point is Karthala, whose peak rises to 2500 meters.

The archipelago of the Comoros has a median temperature of  $27^{\circ}$ . There are no large savage animals.

### HISTORY

The islands' history is largely unknown. According to an Arabic manuscript found in Mayotte, the first inhabitants were Arabs under the reign of the prophet Suleiman Ben Daoud: two Arabs with their women, children, and servants. Later Africans from the East coast of Africa came.

Between 1500 and 1506 there was a Portuguese invasion. But the Portuguese did not stay long, since the wholly Muslim population had nothing to do with the Portuguese Christians. They say that Islam was introduced into the Comoros under the reign of the Omayyads (Ottoman caliph) about 940 a.d.

About the year 360 of the Hégira, the Chirrazianos came to the Comoros. Slave trade which was very much practiced in the Comoros, brought many blacks there from Africa and Madagascar, although it is difficult and almost impossible to distinguish the different groups. There were also Madagascans. These ranges of origins were merged in time to produce the present day Comoro in which the African dominates. Arab characteristics are very strong, especially in the coastal cities.

The Comoro is entirely different from the Madagascan from every point of view: culture, language, customs; on the other hand nothing distinguishes him from the African of the eastern coast.

Before colonization, Swahili and Arabic were the official languages.

Although each island was independent, the sultan or reigning family was the same for the four islands. This proves the ethnic and religious unity of the population of the archipelago. Mayotte was the first island colonized, in 1841. The strategic position, coasts easily accessible in all seasons, and by ships of any tonnage, attracted the greed of France which hastened to sign protective treaties with the sultans, which would then be violated by declaring the islands French colonies. Subjected first to the authority of the Governor-General of Reunion, they served as a base of infiltration for the French colonization of Madagascar (1895) before finally being joined to it in 1912. Recognized from then on as a dependency of Madagascar, the archipelago was turned into a liability.

This annexation was fatal for us also because the taxes on the Comoros and the "aid" from the metropolis was always held in Tananarive. A psychological factor also played a role in its oblivion and that is that the Comoro, with his Afro-Islamic culture and fanatically religious, felt at a disadvantage next to his Asian Christian Madagascan brother; on the other hand the inability of Christianity to penetrate the Comoros worried the French. From that time on the Comoro populations knew and still know the worst moments of depersonalization, of humiliation, and of exploitation practiced by colonialism and feudalism.

From 1946 on, as with all the French colonies, the archipelago has been represented in the French National Assembly and the representation was made by Said Mohamed Cheikh un-

til 1962. At the same time a consultative council was created. All the members were recruited from the noble families of the country (thus feudal) and from functionaries known for their docility toward the administration.

In 1952 the Comoros gained financial autonomy and the Consultative Council became the General Council of the territory, under the authority of a chief administrator who was responsible to the Governor General of Madagascar until 1960, date of the latter's independence which represented the total separation of the islands from Madagascar. It was then that the archipelago was given the status of a French overseas territory with its own administrative organization.

#### POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SITUATION

As a French overseas territory, which covers close to 3000 km<sup>2</sup> and with 500 000 inhabitants, the archipelago juridically forms an integral part of the French Republic, one and indivisible. It is represented in the metropolis by two deputies to the French National Assembly, a senator and a member of the Economic and Social Council. A law of December 22, 1961, amended December 7, 1967, confers on the territory a false administrative autonomy, officially called "internal autonomy" in order to confuse public opinion.

A High Commissioner of the French Republic retains almost all powers:

- a) defense and security, foreign relations;
- b) civil law and common right;
- c) in charge of the protection of the

people's rights and liberties, individual or collective, recognized by the French constitution: money, treasury, credit, foreign exchange and commerce, press, radio transmission, television, citizenship, the police, and higher education (this does not exist). He is qualified to annul or modify the decisions of the local chamber or dissolve it if he judges it necessary because of French interests; he also controls the legality of the actions of local authorities and undertakes nullification procedures; for these reasons, Comoro administrative acts and deliberations are submitted to him before being exercised, published or put into action by the Council of the Comoro Government.

With all these overwhelming powers of the High Commissioner, the law pretends that it wants to give the constitutional organizations (Chamber of Deputies, Government Council) a wider latitude in some cases. We ask which.

The 31 members of the Territorial Assembly, known until then as the General Counsellors, actually have the name of deputies of the Comoros and are elected for five years in a parody of universal suffrage; they have two ordinary sessions a year which do not last more than two weeks and each one earns 80 000 francs monthly (CFA, or the equivalent of US \$320); election is by one list and majority vote for collective candidates, without preferential vote (a law inspired by a French law of 1817, after the fall of Napoleon).

The candidates are designated by a handful of bureaucrats who are part of the native feudalism (families of sultans and nobles) and the colonial bourgeoisie (the French colonials). This group, which enjoys the total support of the administration and of the foreign monopolies (French and India), forms a class of privileged intermediaries between the Comoro masses and the colonial authorities. That is why we have had the same persons or the same families in the Territorial Assembly since 1946. If theoretically any Comoro can be elected, the same is not true for eligibility; in effect, to be elected one must know how to read, write, and speak French well (scarcely 1% of the Comoros speak French).

Practically speaking there is no universal suffrage but rather a pure and simple nomination since the people are kept totally outside of political life; political parties that fight for independence, demonstrations, meetings are prohibited; there is a total lack of press and means of communication, the collaboration of the Comoro oligarchy with the administration created a police state and France rejects every reform that would permit the population to participate democratically in the political life of the country. There is no need to stress the campaign of intimidation and threats which colonialism and its agents take against all popular protests.

#### THE GOVERNMENT COUNCIL

It is composed of six to eight ministers, the number being fixed by law, and is responsible to the Chamber. The President is elected by the Cham-



ber and together with his ministers (whom it is said he himself names) is invested by decree of the High Commissioner of the Republic. This Council is concerned with internal affairs and is presided over by Said Mohamed Cheikh, former Comoro representative in the French National Assembly.

— **Said Mohamed Cheikh, President:** doctor in the local medical service (AMI), left the medical school of Tananarive in 1926; selected by France, represented the Comoros in the Bourbon Palace from 1946 to 1962.

— **Said Ibrahim:** or Prince, as he calls himself, son of the Sultan Said Omar, who signed with France the protectorate for the island of Grand Comoro; former native governor, Deputy to the French National Assembly, also President of the Chamber.

— **Ahmed Abdallah:** big landowner and trader; Senator in France and Deputy to the Chamber of the Comoro Islands.

— **Mohamed Ahmed:** royal family of Anjouan; former native governor, Deputy to the French National Assembly and the Chamber of the Comoro Islands.

— **Marcel Henri:** native of Sainte Marie (Madagascar); former functionary, member of the Economic Council (he is for a departamentalization of the Comoros).

— **Said Mohamed Dahalani:** nephew of Said Mohamed Cheikh; former regional chief, Minister of the Interior, and Deputy from the Comoros.

— **Said Mohamed Djohar:** nephew of Said Mohamed Cheikh, former pri-

mary school instructor, Minister of Social Affairs.

— **Affane Mohamed:** nephew of Ahmed Abdallah; former primary school instructor, Senator, Deputy from the Comoros, and Minister of Public Works.

— **Salim Ben Ali:** brother-in-law of Mohamed Dahalani; ex-notary, Deputy, and Minister of Public Affairs.

— **Ahmed Dahalani:** nephew of Said Mohamed Cheikh; Administrative-Secretary, Deputy from the Comoros, former Minister of Economy, is currently Prefect of Grand Comoro.

— **Mohamed Djaffar:** son-in-law of Said Mohamed Cheikh and nephew of Said Ibrahim; Secretary of Administration, Deputy, and former Minister of the Comoros.

— **Nakib Said:** brother of Said Ibrahim; Administrative-Secretary, Deputy from the Comoros.

— **Said Omar M. Saidi:** nephew of Said Ibrahim; primary school instructor, Deputy of the Comoros.

— **Mohamed Chanfi,** nephew of Said Mohamed Cheikh; former regional chief, Deputy.

— **Prince Bourhane Hamid:** nephew of Said Mohamed Cheikh and of M. Djaffar; deputy functionary.

— **Mohamed Elarif:** nephew of Said Ibrahim; chief of the Chadhouli Confraternity of Anjouan, big trader, Deputy.

— **Hector Rivière:** french colonel, monopolist.

— **Legrand:** french colonel, Deputy, monopolist.

— **Toybou Dada:** Indian, primary school instructor, Deputy.

This is a brief account of the present "leaders" of the Comoros.

The action of the members of the local chambers who have not belonged to a political party like those of the Government Council, is not governed by any principle and they are at the mercy of the Administration. We should add that the Colonial Administration and its agents exploit religious fanaticism against every demand and accuse the nationalists of being communists.

For her part, France is preparing to construct a military base on the island of Mayotte. The plans have been under way for three years. The Minister of State in charge of overseas affairs in Courve de Murville's Cabinet, M. Inchauspe, confirmed it in his speech during a trip to the Comoros, March 25 to 28, 1969. There are more than four French regiments, mostly legionnaires, in the Comoros. To underline the strategic importance of this island, it is enough to note that in 1942 when Petain compromised himself with the Germans, the British army occupied the Comoro islands, with Mayotte as its headquarters to prevent German infiltration through the Mozambique canal (evacuation in 1946).

Moreover, France indulges in the maneuver of divide and conquer: this is what she did in December of 1967 in amending the famous law of 1961 which created what is called the personality of each island, seizing on the fraudulent elections of 1958 to oppose the idea of the country's independence. We cite the declaration of Bil-

lote, former Minister of the Territories and Overseas Departments, before the French Parliament on December 7 at the time of the debate on the amendment:

**We need not hide the fact that we are reaching the final stage and the modifications that have been proposed will permit its achievements; over and above this we will emerge from the mark of the Republic in which in 1958 the peoples of the archipelago chose to remain . . . . The project itself answers the four concerns that inspired its development . . . to define the conditions which will express the personalities of the different islands of the archipelago, each forming a subdivision with its own affairs.**

MOLINACO vigorously opposed and denounced these proposals whose only purpose is to prevent our unity which is ethnic and religious (100% muslims) and hold back the activities of a general movement of struggle for independence. This reform is also conceived to favor procolonialist feudalism on each island.

Before continuing with the chapter on the economic and social field, let us emphasize that if the members of the Government Council are physically autonomous, their cabinets are directed by the French in the guise of technical advisers.

#### ECONOMIC SITUATION

The sources of the country are exclusively agricultural at the present time. From an exceptionally fertile soil, the archipelago produces various tropical products:

- 1) Vanilla: 145 119 tons (second place following Madagascar)
- 2) Coconut fibre: 4 178 249 tons
- 3) Essence of perfume: 70% of the french production, according to official figures
- 4) Sisal: 525 800 tons
- 5) Cocoa, cloves, coffee, pepper
- 6) Wood
- 7) Earth (lava for construction) 2846 tons.

These statistics are from 1967.

The food crops are bananas, tapio-  
ca, sweet potatoes, yams, bread fruit,  
and various fruits in considerable  
quantity. The horticultural cultiva-  
tion is found around the large cities.

Nevertheless, the undernourishment  
of the people reaches an alarming ex-  
tent due to the fact that three-quarters  
of the cultivable area belongs to for-  
eigners (French and Indian), as well  
as to the bourgeois feudalists who  
wholly control the industrial products  
(for exportation). This obliges the  
territory to import many of its food  
products, especially rice.

As a main example we mention the  
figures of the National Statistical in-  
stitute of Economic Studies (INSEE,  
a French organization):

"In 1962, Anjouan Island, more  
than 100 000 hectares:

Percentage without food:

Morning: 52.8%

Mid-day: 33.8%

Night: 7.3%

there is an absence of milk, fish is  
a scarce food, meat in the nature of a  
luxury."

Costs make up more than 85% of  
incomes. The peasant is an agricul-  
tural worker or sharecropper. The  
lack of any kind of trade union and  
legislation concerning sharecropping  
exposes the peasant to the whim of  
the landowner. Let us stress that the  
peasant is paid 5 francs (CFA; IFF)  
per kilo of flowers picked; to collect  
20 kg a day he must bring his wife and  
children to work, which will earn him  
100 francs (CFA); rice costs 65 francs  
(CFA) a kilo.

To show the domination of the co-  
lonialist and feudal bourgeoisie in  
the country, we use two examples both  
drawn from the report of the French  
Parliamentary Commission of Finan-  
ces, General Economy and Plan for  
the Department of Reunion and for  
the Comoro Territory (1963), and Mr.  
J. P. Tarty:

a) These resources are weak, ex-  
clusively agricultural. Actually and  
above all they are exploited by a  
society, the **Pambao**, which profits  
from a quasi-monopoly whose con-  
cessions, economic, and fiscal system  
seem to us to merit a profound  
study.

b) The existence of a historic Co-  
moro feudalism and the domination  
by certain large associations of the  
Comoro economy. Increasingly, the  
feudal structure serves the great  
French associations which hold the  
archipelago in their dependency.  
Thus the Comores-Bambao Associa-  
tion whose headquarters are on  
Boulevard Haussman in Paris, close-

ly linked with the Nioumakels societies (Angouan), the Commercial Society of the Comoros (Grand Comoro) and the Society of Perfume Plants (Mayotte)... The diverse measures proposed are only secondary if they are not accompanied by a structural reform, that is to say, an agrarian reform. The domination exercised by the large companies must diminish, the local aristocracy must also accept the sacrifices necessary if it wishes to survive... if the aid authorized benefits only one oligarchy, then we frankly say that such aid is useless, [Mr. Tarty concluded in his report]. Is it necessary to cite other examples?

We have more.

#### EDUCATION

This accurately reflects the political and economic situation. Theoretically 11% of the population receives schooling. Secondary education which dates from 1950 is given in a Lycee in Moroni (capital of the islands) with two annexes (one on Anjouan and the other on Mayotte). After elementary preparation or primary studies (Ciclo BE and BEPC) those selected (generally the political proteges) continue their studies and finally obtain the bachelor's degree (since 1966). Last year, 1967-68, ten Comoros passed this examination (the figure has never before been so high).

To enter the university in France or in Madagascar, it is necessary to have a scholarship; this deals the fatal blow to the one or two "intruder" students, sons of the poor plebians who were able to make it to the final

grade. We have less than ten engineers and technical aids; there are no Comoro professors. Technical or professional training is nonexistent as is higher education. 99% of them do not know how to read or write and much less speak French, against the more than 70% who know how to read and write the mother tongue (Swahili) in Arab characters. The Comoros are one of the most brilliant focal points for Islam in East Africa.

Health is taken care of in three hospitals and four medical posts serviced by ten doctors and equipped with insignificant material. The theft of medicines which are sold in the black market is the only pharmaceutical commerce (European) in the territory, and the lack of qualified personnel constitutes a flagrant scandal. Hygienic services, at least for the masses, are nonexistent.

#### MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

After 130 years of French presence, the archipelago has 100 km of asphalt or hard surface roads. There are two flights a week to Madagascar on Air France or Air Madagascar (DC-3 and DC-4); since 1967 there have been two flights a week to Dar es Salaam on the DC-3 of a private company with the false name Air Comoro. Two ships of the Messagerie Maritime Company pass by once every three months and three small ships make the round trip between the Comoros and Madagascar.

The colonial power has never given up its isolationist policy in order to avoid all contact with the exterior. Even the Comoro citizens living

abroad, especially in Africa, are not authorized to return (denial or revocation of passport on the part of the French diplomatic missions). Even after the incidents that the Comoros suffered from Zanzibar they were not permitted to enter their country.

France and its agents fear their return because they now have a political consciousness.

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**THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE COMOROS (MOLINACO)**

It is the political organization committed to the fight for independence. It was created in 1963 thanks to the collaboration and participation of the Comoro citizens in East Africa and its base is Dar es Salaam, since in the Comoros a French law of 1901 and article 80 of the French Penal Code condemn all association or action aimed at independence. This is considered an attack on the integrity of French national territory. The movement is more a front than a political party and tries to mobilize the Comoro masses on behalf of independence and for an authentic revolution of Comoro society which has remained archaic. In effect, isolated and deprived of all political formation and civic spirit, the Comoros must be prepared, informed, and interested in political life (the Comoro representatives in France are always affiliated with the French political party in power, therefore, they are always dependent on the administration.)

The first tasks involve mobilization, information, formation of cadres, and propaganda.

Despite our material and financial problems, we print bulletins in French and Swahili and send them to the Comoros with difficulty, given the censorship and the searching of Comoro passengers. We stress that the bulletins in Swahili should be written in Arabic characters in order to allow them to reach the masses which is after all their wish. But typewriters with Arabic characters are difficult to come by.

Our 45-minute radio program in Comoro and French on Radio Tanzania from Dar es Salaam, an overseas program since 1967, is an effective medium although the time is insufficient; there is still much to do.

In the interior, clandestine cells function, particularly among the youth in the rural areas. But the material difficulties and the lack of cadres constitute a great obstacle; nevertheless, enormous and satisfactory progress has been realized in the field of politicalization and raising the level of the peoples' consciousness concerning independence. In effect, our political program which can be summarized in the following points, is better understood and supported all the time;

- 1) Recognition of the political rights of the Comoro people for independence.
- 2) Democratic electoral reforms.
- 3) A date for independence by referendum under international arbitration.

This program was submitted to the French Government in our three memoranda; April 1966 to the Minister of the Colonies, June, and October 1967 to General de Gaulle.

France, in collusion with the reactionary oligarchy, follows its colonialist policy of oppression and depersonalization.

The events that are mentioned below and the situation that exists in the Comoros effectively demonstrate the role that MOLINACO plays today in Comoro political life, and its perspectives for the future.

In 1967, during the local legislative elections, the population protested for the first time against the existing election system and asked that each canton freely designate its own candidate. This provoked upsets in various regions, in particular the canton of Mboude (the North of Grand Comoro), which was subjected to a state of emergency for six months, and all the administrative offices were closed.

In February of 1968, before the insults hurled at the entire population because of an aviation accident in the Morani airport, the lycee students, at the head of the masses, organized anticolonial demonstrations over three days, had altercations with the French Legion and called a strike and evacuation of an educational establishment for a month. This was a small revolution: homes and administrative cars sacked and three assaults. Balance: 150 students injured, various arrested, 200 definitively expelled out of a group of 400 lycee students; various dismissals in the public and private sector; an increase in the oppressive military force.

Here is how the imperialist press reported it.

**Le Monde**, March 19, 1968:

After a school strike which has been going on for a month and which has expressed dissatisfaction with the authorities, fairly violent incidents took place on Friday and Saturday inside the lycee. 200 students along with some adults, were taken into custody [...] in order to avoid new upsets, the French authorities responsible for maintaining order sent reinforcements to Grand Comoro, principal island in the archipelago....

The paper of the 21st reported the Declaration of Billote, Minister of the Overseas Territories: "the manifestations which have taken place reveal the existence of a certain number of problems concerning internal order. Their solution is naturally incumbent on the territorial institutions."

The local government, caught between popular discontent and the maneuvers of the High Commissioner to endorse the colonialist crimes, had to resign and return three months later. Through it all, the Foreign Legion and the police jailed and threatened in order to "clarify" the situation and make it propitious for the puppets. Here are the declarations of the High Commissioner as reported by **Le Monde** of April 11, 1968:

Mr. Colombani has just defined by communiqué his position in the Comoro governmental crisis which opened Friday afternoon with the dismissal of all the ministers (seven) of the archipelago. [...] As far as maintaining order is concerned, the High Commissioner, in accord with the local authorities, considers it

his duty to put into practice all the supplementary measures necessary to the prevention of disorders. The communiqué specifies that this reminder is intended for a **small number** [our emphasis] of those that speculate on the momentous difficulties that affect the young Comoro institutions and think they can act outside the framework of the law, but also and above all for the Comoro population....

We should add that MOLINACO members arrested on that occasion are for the most part still in prison. In the course of their trial before the Appeals Court of Moroni, the defense was guaranteed by a lawyer from Paris, Mr. Buttin Maurice, member of the Association of Democratic Jurists, and they were given sentences which vary from two to five years in prison and from five to ten years prohibition of residence.

Threatened with death and shaken to its foundations, the Comoro reaction judged it opportune to create a so-called political party aimed at checking the influence of MOLINACO and dividing the masses. So a political party named Democratic Grouping of the People of the Comoros was created (RDPC), whose objective is precisely that of maintaining the French presence and fighting for some reforms and bourgeois liberties. Its leaders are Mr. Mohamed Djaffar, Mouzaoir Abdallah, respectively President and Secretary-General, and also local deputies, as well as Abdou Mdahoma, reactionary and former leader of the realist party of Zanzibar, expelled after the revolution in Zanzibar

and given his position by the French. This party was created last October (see Statute). Exploiting this bourgeois liberty we tried to form another party, the Socialist Party of the Comoros (PSC), which would give our members a chance to meet. But the colonialists and their lackeys, who consider the PSC dangerous, reacted brutally. Under the repression, dismissals from jobs, threats, intimidations, and the problematic material situation, the PSC functions with difficulty.

As for the formation of the cadres, we have a dozen students in the USSR, three in Bulgaria, and one in Yugoslavia.

In foreign affairs, expressing our acknowledgement to the African Committee of Liberation (Committee of Eleven) which grants us subsidiary financial aid, we deplore its attitude of disinterest toward the Comoro question, even if it were only in the press or the listing of the Comoros in the UN as a territory under colonial domination. On this last question, the attitude of the Committee has been prejudicial to us. The resolution of the OAU at the summit meeting in Algiers continues unimplemented despite our efforts and those of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania.

In addition to French imperialism, we encounter the opposition of her African satellites, Madagascar at the head, which (we have every good reasons to believe) promised France when she attained her independence to be her accomplice in the Comoro question. The same Madagascar Govern-

ment is greedy for our island as is very clear from its attitude in the UN and the OAU. But with the support of certain friendly progressive and socialist African countries, we hope to achieve our ends.

Our difficulties are above all material. The distance from the continent is not favorable to us. We have to have a lawyer come from Paris or Madagascar since this type of man is nonexistent in the Comoros. The lack of financial resources makes inter-islands movement difficult, since transportation facilities are only for the wealthy.

#### AID NECESSARY IMMEDIATELY

If because of the dimensions of the archipelago and the distance from the Continent, an armed struggle of a guerrilla nature is difficult or practically impossible to contemplate, a subversive war of terrorism, already successfully tried during the events of February-March of 1968, presents itself as desirable, necessary, and even inevitable in the long run. Consequently, we urgently need material appropriate to the formation of men and the financing of the PSC for its survival, which is necessary for tactical reasons.

—It is vital that we have scholarship students, university and technical graduates in order to prepare the cadres that will pull our country out of its terrible backwardness.

—Educational material, books, notebooks, paper, etc. Published material in latin and arabic characters....

—France must be condemned as a colonialist power.

—The National Liberation Movement of the Comoros must become known to the progressive international and national organizations that can help us.

—We must make our struggle known.

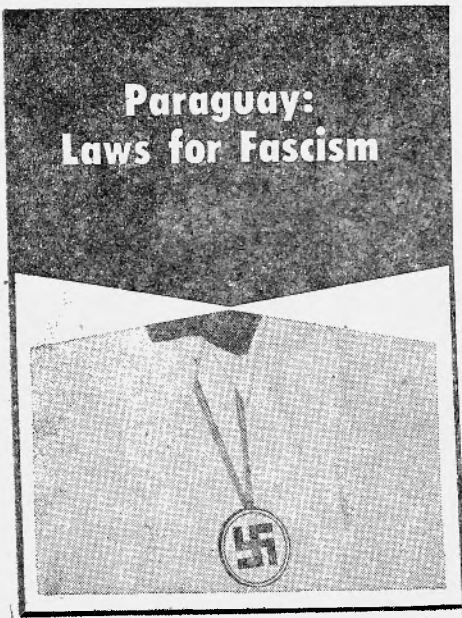
In writing this sketch, we have tried to paint as objectively as committed liberation fighters can, the situation in our country and of our movement. We have dedicated ourselves to informing rather than to making propaganda. We hope that men who love peace, justice, liberty, those committed to the struggle against imperialism, will not remain indifferent to the appeal we have made here. A government can decide that our little islands merit scarcely any attention. A deplorable error. For imperialism there are no small countries. We can also say that there are no inferior human beings, no inferior colonized people.

Oppression and barbarous exploitation, the systematic depersonalization of the African people of the Comoros merits more than an indifferent shrug of the shoulders or a simple condemnation of French imperialism. Not to denounce French colonialism is to make oneself an accomplice in the crimes committed against the Comoro people.

June 15, 1969 in Dar es Salaam

Abdou Sakari Boina,  
Secretary-General

## Paraguay: Laws for Fascism



**P**ARAGUAY, a country of 2 000 000 inhabitants, presents the conditions typical of an underdeveloped country dominated by foreign capital; 76% of its land is in the hands of the latifundists, who maintain a feudal domination over agriculture. According to the agricultural census of 1956 (although the situation has been worsened by the dictatorship established in 1954) there are 109 agricultural farms of more than 20 000 hectares each, while there are 62 256 farms of less than five hectares each.

Even though Paraguay's chief line of exportation is meat, the dietary situa-

tion as far as this product is concerned becomes worse all the time. In 1955 the diet was 5.5% below the necessary requirements and in 1960 the diet of the people had reached a deficiency of 23.1% in this type of nourishment.

Its population is affected by the "brain drain" that the imperialists practice in Latin-American countries which, paradoxically, suffer from a shortage of university-trained technicians. Moreover thousands of starving poor have emigrated to the North of Argentina and lately to Uruguay in search of some opportunity for work. Another large number are the exiles who have been forced to leave the country with their entire families, persecuted by the present regime. Altogether this exodus accounts for one-fourth of the population.

The income level of the people is one of the lowest in Latin America and, according to the latest available figures (the truth is hidden in official propaganda), infant mortality has reached the figure of 52 per thousand. As far as the housing situation is concerned, 70% have earthen floors and straw roofs. Moreover foreign intervention in the educational sphere and within the armed forces must be admitted.

In order to maintain this situation of economic-social oppression, Paraguay for almost a century has been in a permanent state of reactionary violence maintained by a military elite and at times marked by struggles for power among the traditional oligarchic forces: the liberals and *colorados*.

Since 1954, when General Alfredo Stroessner seized power by a coup, there has been a military-oligarchic re-



gime which keeps the people in a state of uncertainty and terror. Dungeons and concentration camps are the method of political struggle. In order to control the popular insurgency manifested on numerous occasions, the repressive organizations perfect their methods of torture and crime.

In 1966, representatives of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin Ameri-

ca, assembled on the occasion of the First Tricontinental Conference, pointed out that "dictatorship and Yankee imperialism have converted Paraguay into a huge prison of persecuted, tortured, and assassinated patriots."

In his fascistic career, Stroessner takes new steps toward the institutionalization of reactionary oppression and

violence. Recently the Executive Power has sent to the Chamber of Deputies a proposed Law for the Defense of Democracy and the Political-Social Order of the State. A law designed to perpetuate the system and the government established in Paraguay. The Paraguayan bishops have publicly announced that this law "abolishes a certain number of rights basic to the free citizens, all of which are universal, inviolable, and irrenounceable, such as the right to information, to one's own opinion, to meet and associate with others, the natural right of peaceful resistance to what is arbitrary and unjust; the right to criticism within democracy. . . . "As an example of the dizzying ascent toward fascism promoted by the present Government of Paraguay, we cite the operative section of this draft:

Art. 1 — Substitutes for Law No. 294 "Defense of Democracy" the present, with the amplifications, modifications, additions, and deletions it contains, whose validity shall be adjusted as follows:

Art. 2 — Those who take up arms against the constituted powers in order to totally or partially supplant the republican democratic organization of the nation with a communist system or any other totalitarian regime, will suffer the penalty of five years in prison. The proposal, conspiracy, and formal instigation to commit this crime will be punished, when accompanied by preparatory acts, by half the stated sentence.

Art. 3 — Those who themselves or organized in any type of association,

group, institutes or sections, spread with subversive intent, ideas which are contrary to the safety of the constituted political and social order of the State, or who participate in such groups or actions, facilitating the accomplishment of their ends, will receive a penalty of two to ten years in prison.

Art. 4 — The following will be punished by three to fifteen years in prison: a) Whoever, alone or obeying directives of an organization of whatever origin, shall carry out, or incite to carry out actions tending to provoke hatred or violent class struggle or to subvert in any way the political and social order. b) Whoever participates in any way in organizations or acts of the nature referred to in the previous clause, collaborating toward their ends, will receive the same penalty.

Art. 5 — Groups of persons assembled with or without the authorization of the competent authority, who during the period of the state of siege, ignore an order of that authority to disperse or end the meeting, will receive a penalty of six months to a year in jail if the act does not constitute a major crime. If the resistance to ending the meeting is prolonged or accompanied by acts of violence, pillaging or damage to property, the act will be considered included in article 4 of the present law and the penalty will be established in accordance with that article.

Art. 6 — The occupation of any establishment during the period of the state of siege by persons who are not owners and persist in the occupation

after having been ordered to leave by representatives of the public order, shall also constitute an offense against the constituted political and social order of the State and will be punished with the same penalty established in **article 4 of the present law.**

Art. 7 — Also considered applicable and included under the present law, the offenses of calumny, defamation, insult, and injury when committed with prejudice toward the President of the Republic, the President and members of the Supreme Court of Justice, Ministers of Executive Power, prelates, the State Fiscal General, members of the appeal courts, justices of the peace and bailiffs, members of the clergy, military chiefs from the rank of captain, and the directors of public offices. The authors of these offenses will be punished with three to six years in prison plus the penalty established in the penal code corresponding to the same offense if it is a common offense. The action can only be considered a suit through denunciation by the offended person or his legal representative and the expressed declaration that they delegate to the State their rights in the suit.

Proof of the cause of these offenses will not be guided by the penal procedure but by the modifications established in the present law.

Art. 8 — Any person who publicly makes a defense for any act or acts considered offenses under the present law, defames or incites to contempt or disobedience of same, will be punished by three to six years in prison. If the offense is committed through modern

means of communication it will be considered an action included under the provisions of article 4 of this law and the penalty will be that announced in said article plus the suppression for a period of one to six months of the means used, the closure of the means of dissemination in case of repetition or recurrence, and the confiscation of the elements used.

Art. 9 — Those who, knowing their purposes, subscribed to publications that disseminate ideas contrary to the safety of the constituted political and social order of the State, will be punished by one to two years in jail.

Art. 10 — A one to two years jail sentence will be imposed on those who display emblems, uniforms, flags or insignias of organizations or groups whose criminal intent are those stated in articles 3 or 4 of the present law.

Art. 11 — The public functionaries in charge of the prevention and prosecution of the crimes anticipated in this law, who deliberately or negligently fail to take the respective measures to avoid the perpetration of these crimes, or who knowingly fail to take necessary measures for the detention and judgment of those guilty, will suffer the penalties of dismissal and six months to five years in jail and absolute disqualification for two to five years.

Art. 12 — Any member of the armed forces or the national police who propagates the communist doctrine or any other doctrine or systems that propose to destroy or alter by violence the republican democratic organiza-

tion of the nation, in addition to the applicable penalties, will be removed from the army.

Art. 13 — No public institution or service maintained by the State or municipalities or companies responsible for public services, can have functionaries, employees or operators who are openly or secretly affiliated with the illicit organizations referred to in this law, or who have committed any of the crimes listed in it.

Art. 14 — The Executive Power will close any private school which does not exclude from its directing, teaching or administrative personnel those who are openly or secretly affiliated with the illicit organizations referred to in this law or who have incurred any of the offenses mentioned in it.

Art. 15 — If the crimes listed in this law are committed in time of war or internal commotion or in a period imminent to either, the penalties will be doubled.

Art. 16 — Naturalized foreigners who commit any of the crimes mentioned in this law, will lose their Paraguayan nationality and can be expelled from the country. This latter measure will be adopted against foreigners who are not naturalized, without in either case prejudicing the imposition of the applicable penalties.

Art. 17 — Public functionaries who incur any of these offenses will suffer removal from their jobs and, in addition to the respective penalties, absolute disqualification for a period double the duration of the sentence.

Art. 18 — The reiteration or recurrence of the offenses referred to in the present law, will be punished according to the pertinent dispositions of the penal code relative to common rights.

Art. 19 — The crimes listed in this law will not allow for provisional release from jail on bond nor the substitution of any penalty except the commutation to exile as determined by the Executive Power.

Art. 20 — Armed resistance by the authors of the crimes described in the present law, in the face of the intervention of the representatives of public order whose function is the re-establishment of constitutional normalcy, frees the latter of penal responsibility. The same rule applies in cases of aggression or imminent danger to the physical being of the lives of the acting functionaries.

Art. 21 — With respect to the proceedings of the state case, its emergency measures and the determination of the sentence, the judges qualified to judge the offenses listed under the present law and exclusively these offenses, will evaluate freely according to their convictions, the evidence presented.

Art. 22 — It is within the competence of the criminal judges to know the offenses listed in the present law according to the turns established. Penal action will be carried out by the respective bailiff.

Art. 23 — We reject all legal dispositions which oppose the application of the present law.

Art. 24 — Communicate these to the Executive Power.

## Laos: Its Five-Point Position



*At a press conference held in Hanoi Phau Phim Phachan, member of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Laos and Director of the Information Bureau of the Front made public the following statement on a political settlement of the Laotian problem:*

**F**OR many years now, US imperialists have carried out a policy of unceasing intervention and aggression in Laos in an attempt to turn it into a neocolony and a military base of the United States in Southeast Asia.

In defiance of its obligations under the 1954 Geneva Agreements and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, the United States has trampled upon the independence and sovereignty and

undermined the peace and neutrality of Laos. Over the past eight years, its intervention and aggression in Laos have grown ever more brazen. The United States, through a military putsch, has toppled the National Union Government which received investiture from the King and recognition from the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and rigged up a stooge Administration headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma and following a so-called policy of "peace and neutrality." By the agency of that Administration, it has conducted a "special war" in Laos, it has launched bombing raids against the Laos territory, and used the Laotian puppet army for repeated nibbling attacks on the areas under the control of the Laos patriotic forces.

The United States has brought more US and Thailand military personnel, weapons, and war material into Laos, it has strengthened the puppet army and the "special forces" under Van Pao's command, it has launched repeated attacks against many places controlled by the patriotic forces from the North to the South of the country. It has also put into action a modern air force for saturation bombing against the territory of Laos, thus perpetrating extremely barbarous crimes against the Laotian people.

Beginning in August 1969, it mustered about 50 battalions of puppet troops and Thailand mercenaries to conduct operation *Kou Kiêt* aimed at the Plain of Jars-Xiengkhouang area. Meanwhile, it launched several operations against the liberated zone in Central and Southern Laos. What is particularly serious, since February 17, 1970, the United States has used

B-52s and planes of other types for massive bombing against the Plain of Jars-Xiengkhouang area, as well as against Central and Southern Laos, destroying hundreds of villages and savagely massacring the civilian population.

But the armed forces and people resolved to defend the liberated areas, have smashed the attack of the United States and its agents in the Plain of Jars-Xiengkhouang area as well as other places; they have wiped out important parts of the US command and fostered "special forces", and have dealt a heavy blow against the "prestige" of the US Air Force.

True to the Laotian peoples' aspirations for a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified, and prosperous Laos, the Patriotic Front of Laos has always correctly implemented the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. In close alliance with the Laotian patriotic neutralist forces, and with the people, it has exercised its legitimate rights of self-defense, it has resolutely fought against the US "special war," it has opposed the nibbling attacks of the Americans and their stooges, it has inflicted on them fitting blows, and has recorded increasing victories.

While fighting against the US intervention and aggression, the Patriotic Front of Laos has repeatedly demonstrated its good will with regard to a peaceful settlement of the Laotian problem. Its 12-point political program and the maintenance of its representation in Vientiane are clear evidence of this good will.

Yet the United States and the Vientiane Administration have ignored all

reasonable and logical proposals made by the Patriotic Front of Laos. Notably since Nixon took office as President of the United States, the United States has intensified the war in Laos with even greater obstinacy.

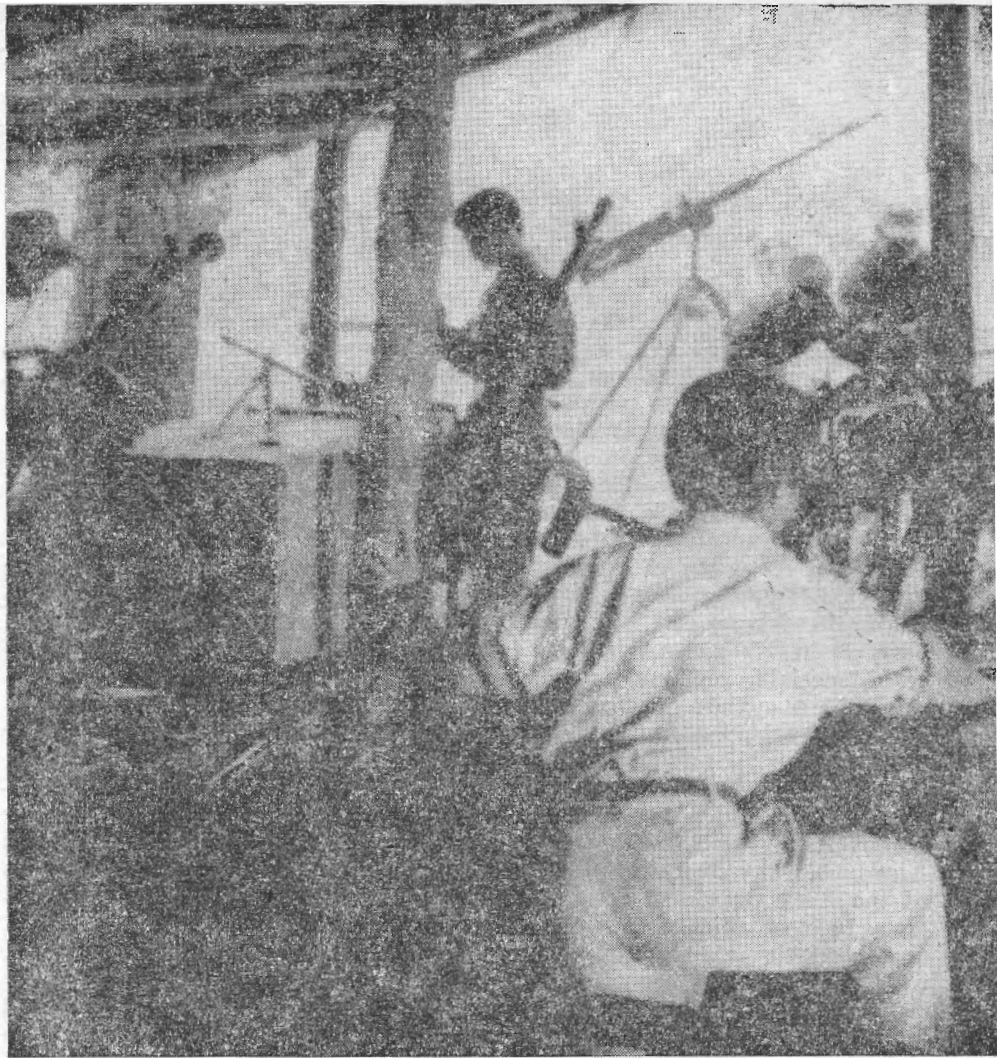
To cover up the Nixon Administration's "escalation" of the war in Laos, the United States and the Vientiane Administration have launched a campaign of slander against the Patriotic Front of Laos and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. At the same time, they have resorted to deceitful allegations about "peace" in an attempt to fool US and world public opinion which is condemning the Nixon war of aggression in Laos.

The Nixon Administration's attempt to "escalate" the aggressive war has brought about the present tension in Laos, and poses an extremely serious threat to peace and security in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

In the face of the tension in Laos, the Patriotic Front of Laos affirms the necessity of ending the US war and finding a political solution to the Laotian problem.

The peaceful settlement of the Laotian problem must be based on the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and on the actual situation in Laos. In more concrete terms:

- 1) All countries shall respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity, and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Laos, as provided for in the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. The United States must put an end to its intervention and aggression in Laos, stop escalating the war, completely cease the bombings of Laotian territory, with-



draw from Laos all US advisers and military personnel as well as all US weapons and war matériel, stop using military bases in Thailand and Thailand mercenaries for purposes of aggression against Laos. It must stop using Laotian territory for intervention and aggression against other countries.

2) In accordance with the 1962 Geneva Agreements, the Kingdom of Laos refrains from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, and from allowing foreign countries to establish military bases

in Laos, and to introduce troops and military personnel into its territory.

The Kingdom of Laos follows a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, establishes relations with other countries in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and accepts aid with no political conditions attached, from any countries. With the other Indochinese countries, it establishes friendly and good-neighborly relations on the basis of the five principles of coexistence and of the principles



of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. With regard to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam, it respects Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity. With regard to the Kingdom of Cambodia, it respects the latter's independence, sovereignty, neutrality, and territorial integrity within its present borders.

3) To respect the throne, to hold free and democratic general elec-

tions, to elect a national assembly and to form a democratic government of national unity truly representative of the Laotian people of all nationalities; to build a peaceful, independent, neutral democratic, unified, and prosperous Laos. 4) During the period from the restoration of peace to the general elections for setting up the National Assembly, the parties concerned shall, in a spirit of national concord, equality, and mutual respect, hold a consultative political conference composed of representatives

of all Laotian parties concerned in order to deal with all the affairs of Laos, and set up a provisional coalition government. The parties shall reach agreement on the establishment of a security zone to ensure the normal functioning of the consultative political conference and the provisional coalition government, free from all attempts at sabotage or pressure by forces from inside or outside Laos.

5) The unification of Laos shall be achieved through consultation between the Laotian parties on the principle of equality and national concord. Pending this unification, no party shall use force to encroach upon or violate the areas controlled by another. The pro-American forces must withdraw forthwith from the areas they have illegally occupied, and resettle in their native places those people who have been forcibly removed from there. At the same time, they must pay compensation for damages caused to them. Each party pledges itself to refrain from discrimination and reprisals against those who have collaborated with another party.

The above-mentioned position of the Patriotic Front of Laos for the settlement of the Laotian problem meets the Laotian people's earnest aspirations and is consistent with the interests of peace and security in Indochina, Southeast Asia, and the world. It is the just basis of a solution to the Laotian problem.

The Laotian problem must be settled among the Laotian parties concerned. To create conditions for the concerned Laotian parties to meet, the United States must, as an immediate

step, stop escalating the war, and stop completely the bombing of Laotian territory without posing any conditions.

The Laotian people deeply aspire to independence, freedom, and peace. If the United States obdurately persists in its aggressive schemes, the Patriotic Front of Laos, the Laotian patriotic neutralist forces and the Laotian people are resolved to fight on till total victory.

The Patriotic Front of Laos earnestly calls on the Laotian people of all nationalities to closely unite around the militant alliance between the Patriotic Front of Laos and the Laotian patriotic neutralist forces, to heighten their vigilance, to stand ready and resolved to smash all military plans and deceitful schemes of the United States and its agents with a view to defending the liberated zone, safeguarding their fundamental national rights, and contributing to the preservation of peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

The Patriotic Front of Laos calls on the peace-and-justice loving governments, the North American people and the world's peoples to strongly support at once the Laotian people's just struggle, and resolutely demand that the United States stop its war of aggression in Laos and, as an immediate step, put a complete end to the bombing of Laotian territory.

With the broad sympathy and strong support of the world's peoples, the entire Laotian people, closely united, are sure to defeat the US aggressors and their agents, and successfully build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified, and prosperous Laos.

## guerrilla fronts

### Brazil: Action Forges Unity



*Editorial note: Onofre Pinto, one of the 15 Brazilian revolutionaries exchanged last September for the US Ambassador in Brazil, Charles Burke Elbrick, has written this commentary especially for Prensa Latina.*

BY ONOFRE PINTO

**L**AST February 20, in Atibaja, the repressive forces of the dictatorial Brazilian regime assassinated the revolutionary fighter, Antonio Raymundo Lucena.

Once more the military dictatorship boasted of having "destroyed ter-

rorism and subversion" taking into account the fact that Lucena was noted for having been "an intimate friend and the right hand of Captain Carlos Lamarca" director of the Vanguardia Popular Revolucionaria (People's Revolutionary Vanguard).

Blind, as always, before the historic necessity of revolutions, the reaction imagines that it can stop the wheels of history with the physical elimination of certain outstanding leaders of the revolutionary process.

Like the Phoenix and with increased vigor, the name of Antonio Raymundo Lucena, example and banner of the struggle, is reborn in the revolutionary action of his comrades and followers in the legend of the VPR Comando which kidnapped the Japanese Consul General in São Paulo, Nobuo Okushi, for the purpose of liberating five patriots and three children who were suffering the most horrendous tortures and moral humiliations in the prisons of the Brazilian military regime, some of them in imminent danger of death.

The A. Raymundo Lucena Revolutionary Command exacted from the government of Garrastazú Medici the liberation of:

Shizuo Ozawa (Mário), director of the VPR, Brazilian of Japanese descent, who for 16 days had been subjected to various tortures following his accidental capture after he had carried out an audacious revolutionary propaganda action over a São Paulo radio station taken by armed attack;

Diógenes José de Carvalho (Luís), a first line revolutionary fighter and leader of the VPR when he was taken prisoner in March 1969, has a long record of revolutionary actions, among them the execution of the Yankee Captain Charles Chandler, and had been barbarously tortured and kept rigorously incommunicado almost continuously;

Octavio Angelo, outstanding member of the Alianza Liberadora Nacional (National Liberation Alliance) metalurgical worker from São Paulo, was arrested at the end of last December when the police raided his residence where they said they found a shop for making machine guns and a deposit of explosives and ammunition. At the time he was arrested, the new Minister of Justice, Alfredo Buzaid, announced "humane treatment" and "intolerance for the torture of political prisoners" which did not prevent Angelo from being subjected to the most refined forms of torture for which the Brazilian repressive forces are justifiably famous in the eyes of the whole world;


Marina Borges, Mother Superior of a Catholic Convent in the city of Ribeirão Preto who was accused of ties with the Frente Armado de Liberación Nacional (FALN, Armed Front of National Liberation) was thrown into the dungeon of the military dictatorship and subjected to such humiliations and tortures that the Archbishop of Ribeirão Preto felt himself morally compelled to confront the regime also, publicly excommunicating two of the principal individuals responsible for the atrocities in that city;

Adamaris de Oliveira Lucena, widow of Antonio Raymundo Lucena, in spite of being the mother of eight children, the youngest scarcely two years old, was arrested with her oldest son, Ariston, when the henchmen of the dictatorship broke into her home and assassinated her husband. While Adamaris was taken to the army prison and submitted to tortures, her three younger sons were placed in a judicial reformatory which has a reputation in Brazil for being a veritable school for the formation of delinquents.

Whatever their political affiliation, the behavior of these comrades and their high level of revolutionary consciousness — demonstrated in the most adverse circumstances that they faced in the enemy jails and that grew even stronger for the continuation of the struggle — were the motivating factors in the action of the A. Raymundo Lucena Revolutionary Command just as they had been previously when the Yankee Ambassador in Brazil, Charles B. Elbrick was kidnapped.

Therefore, it is in action that the unity of the revolutionary movement in Brazil is being forged, stronger every time with the generous blood of those who have died, like Marighella, Marquito, João Domingos, Lucena and so many other martyrs and heroes of this stage of the process for the liberation of the country.

With the successful completion of this action, the A. Raymundo Lucena Revolutionary Command makes a valuable contribution to the revolutionary struggle which will culminate in the victory of the Brazilian people over US imperialism and its internal associates in Brazil.



from the  
executive secretariat



*EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF OSPAAAL*

I welcome your warm message of congratulation on the celebration of the anniversary of the Revolution of the 8th of March as well as your support for the struggle of the Arab people against imperialism and Zionism.

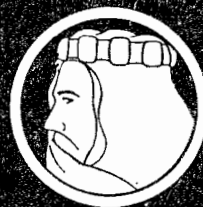
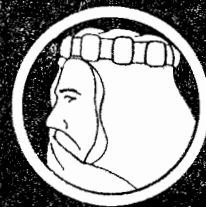
I can assure you that Arab resistance is intensifying continuously and that our revolution will continue to be the fortified bulwark that protects the Palestinian Revolution, aids it with all that is necessary and enters into combat at its side.

We are proud of the support of the peoples of Africa, of the peoples of the three continents in their common struggle against the enemies of liberation and progress.

*DOCTOR NOUREDDIN ATASSI*

Chief of State

President of the Council of Ministers  
of the Arab Republic of Syria

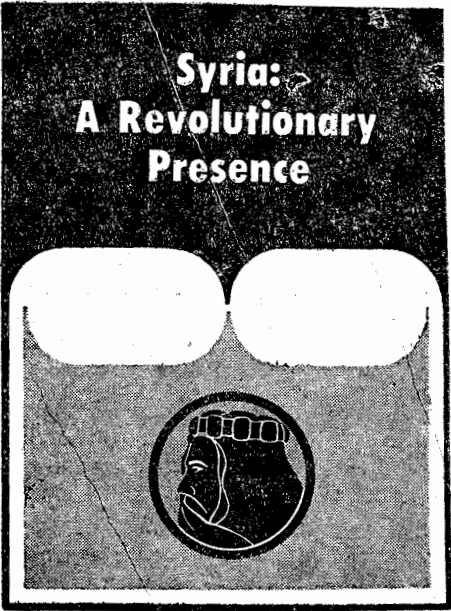




## appeals and messages



### Syria: A Revolutionary Presence



**O**N March 8, 1963 the Arab Republic of Syria was the scene of a political event of particular importance: military units under the command of BAAS officers seized power, overthrowing the bourgeois-feudal and neocolonialist regime that had ruled the country until then.

This action marked the beginning of a process of transcendental changes for the Syrian people and the BAAS Arab-Socialist Party in Syria: changes that also extended their influence to other countries and political movements within the Arab nation.

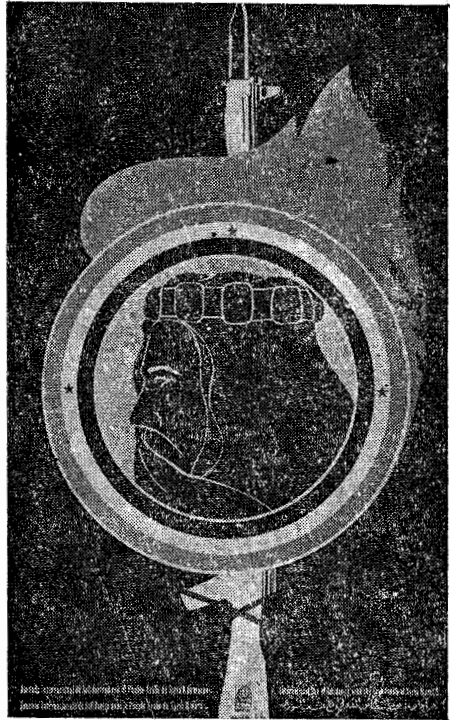
The archaic agricultural structures, the big business and industrial interests linked to the monopolies and the age-long backwardness of the country became targets of the revolutionary process which started with the March 8th action. Revolutionary measures, achievements, reforms, started to change substantially the overall situation. But this took place in the midst of great conflicts and struggles with the feudal, bourgeois, and proimperialist section that tried to oppose the changes and sabotage development of the revolution.

After February 1966, internal reaction and the retrogressive and conservative elements were strongly hit and defeated. The Syrian revolution thus took on clearer and more defined outlines. The victory attained in the conflict with the oil monopolies represented by the Irak Petroleum Company (IPC), the nationalization of banks, big industries, and foreign trade companies, the agrarian reform, the liberation of the oil wealth from foreign exploitation and its subsequent exploitation by the State, the formation of militias, the plans for social and economic development and particularly the stand of political and material support to the Palestinian cause, formed part of this process of radicalization of the Syrian revolution, which won it the hatred of the US imperialists and the Tel Aviv Government as well as the open hostility of the reactionary Arab regimes. The Arab people of Syria had to face underhanded ma-

neuers, all kinds of sabotage, aid to the counterrevolutionary groups and a thousand and one other forms of harassment along the road leading to the consolidation of their genuine independence.

The imperialist-Zionist aggression of June 1967 had set as one of its most important tasks that of wiping out the Syrian revolution, its achievements, of preventing the mobilization of the people and its influence in other areas, and above all its support to the action of the Palestinian commandos. They failed, and the result has been just the opposite of the original objective pursued by the imperialists and Zionists — the Arab people of Syria continue their revolutionary march, attaining ever greater achievements at home and strengthening their position in the face of aggression, while on the other hand the Palestine Liberation Movement imposes on the whole world its own revolutionary personality, achieved in rough battle against imperialism, Zionism, and the sly and uninterrupted maneuvers of Arab reaction.

At present the Middle East area is involved in a huge confrontation of ever-increasing importance. But above all, the so-called Middle East Crisis is a process of confrontation of the truly anti-imperialist forces of all the Arab countries against the imperialist-Zionist aggression, of which the Palestinian Liberation Movement is the vanguard. Syria, its revolution and people, constitute a strong bulwark of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces in this confrontation. To express our solidarity with, recognition and support to the Arab people of Syria and

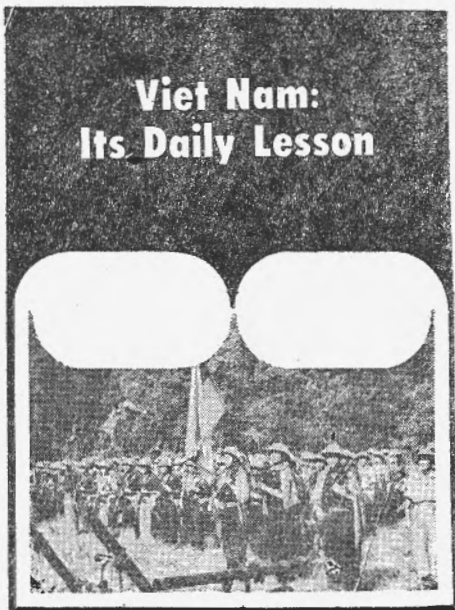


their revolutionary cause is the duty of every revolutionary, of all the anti-imperialist fighters of the world.

The struggle of the Syrian people against imperialism and Israel's aggression is part of the common struggle of the revolutionary forces against colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism, headed by US imperialism.

The struggle of the Syrian people and of all the Arab peoples will win, whatever the course of events in the Near East and in the whole world may be, because they have won a worthy place in the process of the world revolution.

## Viet Nam: Its Daily Lesson



**T**HIS year, the 19th of March — National Anti-US Day of the People of Viet Nam — occurs at a time when the people of Viet Nam are scoring important political, military, and diplomatic victories. Especially in the military field the people of South Viet Nam have forced the enemy to put an end to the offensive phase of their war of aggression and unconditionally to cease their war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, placing over one million American, puppet and satellite troops on the defensive throughout the battlefields of South Viet Nam.

The defeat of US imperialism in Viet Nam is as evident as the light of day. The army and the people of Viet

Nam retain the initiative in all the theaters of operations and are on the offensive with overwhelming impulse, ever ready to frustrate the frantic efforts of US imperialism. However, the Yankee aggressors are not yet resigned to accepting their defeat and stubbornly oppose the holding of serious conversations with the National Front for Liberation and with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam on the basis of the ten-point overall solution; neither are they proceeding to withdraw completely their aggressive troops from South Viet Nam. On the contrary, they continue to wage their war of aggression against the aspirations of the Vietnamese people for peace and the reunification of the fatherland.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL vigorously condemns the obstinate policy of prolonging the war pursued by President Nixon and his reactionary clique of US warmongers; it particularly condemns their attempts to "Vietnamize" the war, holding on to the political corpse of Thieu-Ky-Khiem, as well as their criminal policy of involving the people of Viet Nam in a fratricidal war; it condemns the wholesale use of toxic chemicals, the massacre of numerous innocent people and all manner of savage crimes which day by day these insatiable beasts commit against the Vietnamese people.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL stresses that the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war — a visionary and unattainable conception of Nixon's — originates from the process of repeated failures of the United States in its war of aggression against South Viet Nam. This policy has been

tried out with a growing quantity of toxic chemicals and a whole series of crimes, each day more heinous and shocking, against the people of Viet Nam, aimed at maintaining their military occupation and carrying out their neocolonialist plans in South Viet Nam.

But whatever the cowardly and atrocious methods employed by the US imperialists, they will never succeed in cowing the indomitable and invincible fighting spirit of the heroic people of Viet Nam. Neither will they be able to emerge from the muddy swamp of their defeat. They will only further expose their criminal face as international gendarme and public enemy No. 1 of all the peoples of the world.

It is evident that the nearer the aggressive beast comes to the moment of its death, the more it will multiply its frantic convulsions. Therefore, now more than ever, it is necessary to intensify support to the people of Viet Nam, so as to stimulate their impetuous thrust in the struggle for the defeat of the US aggressors and their traitorous puppets, and so that they may carry to its successful conclusion the task of liberating their country and contributing in a just measure, to the defeat of world imperialism led by the US imperialists. This will also serve to prove, in a most eloquent manner, that the time when the imperialists could act according to their own will is now past; and that now is the time for the victories of the national liberation movements, for the victories of the peoples who struggle for peace, national independence, freedom, and socialism.



The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL expresses its utmost confidence in the just fighting policy of the National Front for Liberation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and in the attainment of final victory, of which the people of Viet Nam have ample reasons to be certain.

On the occasion of the 19th of March, it reaffirms once more its unchanging stand of resolute and unconditional support to the Ten-Point Overall Solution of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the just Four-Point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

## Zimbabwe: Confronting the White Minority



**A**LTHOUGH it is a fact that the brutality of British colonialism succeeded in overcoming the forces of justice in 1903, turning the African territory of Zimbabwe into a dominion of systematic exploitation, this never meant the defeat of African resistance against the foreign invader: sufficient evidence of this are the Mashona and Ocatabele rebellions in 1895-97; the inception of the Southern Rhodesia Association in 1911, which struggled against tax payment and the eviction of peasants from their best lands; the League of African Voters in 1919, led by Jerry Sabantu; the Bantu Congress,

whose name was the African National Congress, in 1955-56; and finally, above all, the inception of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which since August 1967, alongside the ANC of South Africa, has been engaged in armed struggle against western imperialism whose interests maintain Ian Smith's fascist regime in power.

In 1966 the first battles were staged in the northeastern, northern, and southeastern parts of the country, where the liberation forces inflicted heavy casualties on the mercenaries of Smith and Vorster. In the field of the military operations of the ZAPU guerrillas, the latest military operations may be summed up as follows: on January 5 and 6 last, the guerrillas put a patrol boat out of action in the Zambese River and killed three mercenaries in Makuti. On the 20th, after a successful guerrilla attack on the airport and the military camp of Victoria Falls, in the Wankie area, the Smith regime had to resort to the assistance of 700 mercenaries brought from South Africa. On the 24th the fighters assaulted a platoon of fusiliers killing four mercenaries — including the commander, I. J. Brading — northeast of Bulawayo. In the same zone another battle took place during which seven mercenaries lost their lives. The combatants lost one of their liaison officers; on the 26th of that same month the regime's security staff admitted the death of one of its agents, I. M. Annas, and acknowledged the aggressiveness of the freedom fighters. On more than one occasion ZAPU has denounced the criminal methods of

Ian Smith's soldiers who, before killing them, force prisoners to dig their own graves. Peasants who are suspected of collaborating with the guerrillas suffer the same fate. They run away from fascist repression and 3000 of them have fled to Zambia where the ZAPU takes care of them.

In these first confrontations between the revolutionary forces and reaction, two facts stand out at a single glance: on the one hand, the full support of the rural African population and that of the intellectuals and workers for the guerrillas; in fact, the active participation of the masses in the struggle is general; and, on the other hand, as may be logically expected, the agglutination of every internal and external ultra-reactionary force around Smith's white minority regime, foremost among them the fascist states of South Africa and Portugal and their NATO allies. The systematic bombings of the rural zones; the imposition of terror in the cities; the imprisonment, torture, and murder of the patriots have been the most outstanding features of enemy reaction. In the face of this situation the African people of Zimbabwe have cried: "Crime demands vengeance!"

The establishment of the so-called republic of Rhodesia by Ian Smith is nothing but the confirmation of the intentions of the white minority living in the country and, above all, of the racist leaders of South Africa on the one hand, and of Great Britain, the German Federal Republic, and other imperialist forces on the other, which aim at continuing to grab the wealth

of southern Africa. Hence the establishment of apartheid, the regime of systematic racist discrimination.

Full responsibility for the present situation of the people of Zimbabwe belongs to Great Britain. Its comings and goings through the halls of the UN Security Council will not save it. In this regard the metropolis has accumulated perhaps the most shameful background conceivable in its colonial history, with liberal, conservative as well as laborite governments. Remember Oman and Aden in 1946; Palestine in 1947; Malasia in 1948-59; Cyprus in 1955-59; Britain's role in South Africa against Namibia in 1949; its safari against the Mau-Mau in Kenya and more recently its participation in the Nigerian civil war. In order not to prolong the accusation, it will be enough to recall its unworthy role in the overthrow of Cheddi Jagan's government in British Guiana and its military intervention in a country of 5000 inhabitants, the Island of Anguilla — last year.

In fact, the people of Zimbabwe not only struggle against Ian Smith and Vorster but also confront imperialist monopolies which obtain enormous profits by exploiting the huge mineral wealth and submitting the African workers to an inhuman exploitation, thus enabling South Africa to spend 150 million pounds sterling on its army every year. In fact, the people of Zimbabwe are confronting 300 huge North American, British, French, and German enterprises which are operating in the country and are directed from New York, London, Paris, and Bonn.

## Middle East: Support for the Revolutionary Line



**O**N February 12, Israeli planes bombed several targets on Egyptian territory, including a civilian metallurgical plant where hundreds of men were working. As a result of this criminal action nearly a hundred workers were killed and another hundred wounded, most of them seriously.

By this action Israel scoffs at international public opinion once more and reveals its aggressive and expansionist essence. Besides, it is not by mere chance that this bombing and other actions carried out by Israel against the United Arab Republic in

the last few days coincided with Nixon's statement on the recent delivery of weapons and aircraft, especially Phantom planes, to Israel.

US imperialism and the other imperialist powers continue to arm this agent of aggression and penetration in the Middle East. Obviously, Israel and its imperialist masters are increasingly worried over the growth of the Palestinian people's armed struggle and the strengthening of the revolutionary and progressive process in several Arab countries which threatens to destroy the imperialist and Zionist presence in this area forever.

Siding with US imperialism and Zionism in their aggressive plans, the reactionary forces in the Arab countries are carrying out maneuvers and conspiring against the Palestinian fighting movement and the progressive Arab movements. An example of this are the recent events in Jordan, where the reactionary, feudal and pro-US forces of Hussein's regime tried to destroy the Organization of Palestinian Commandos.

In view of these facts, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL strongly condemns the criminal bombing perpetrated by Israeli planes against a civilian factory in the United Arab Republic and its continuous aggressions against the Arab countries; its also condemns the maneuvers of the Arab reactionary forces aimed at undermining the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, whose action is, in the long run, the most genuine and powerful reply to the aggressors and their supporters: US imperialism and the other imperialist powers.



The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL calls upon the member organizations and all progressive forces to strengthen day by day their solidarity with and support to the just and

heroic struggle of the Palestine people, the progressive Arab governments and all the Arab peoples in their battle against imperialist-Zionist aggression.

## US: Judicial Farce of the Chicago 8



**I**N the United States, one of the biggest frame-ups in the history of that country was recently concluded. Out of the seven men charged with "conspiracy" five have been sentenced to different terms of imprisonment. They are Dave Dellinger, Abbie Hoffman, Rennie Davis, Jerry Rubin, and Tom Hayden. The outcome of this farce has provoked huge demonstrations of protest and repudiation, including violent clashes between the demonstrators and the police, with a balance of several people wounded and arrested.

To the five convicted men we must add the name of Bobby Seale, Chair-

man of the Black Panther Party, who originally was one of the group known as the "Chicago 8." Bobby Seale was separated from the group, sentenced, and still faces other charges and sentences prefabricated by the Department of Justice, the State Court of Justice, and the Police Department.

The background of the case of the "Chicago 8" is well known. Along with thousands of North American men and women they met in Chicago to express their repudiation of the policy of aggression of the US imperialist government, condemn the rising wave of police repression in the country, and manifest their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and of the Afro-Americans. These protest actions were carried out at the time of the Democratic Party Convention to elect its presidential candidate for the 1968 elections.

The events in Chicago were recorded in hundreds of photos, films, and US television broadcasts. The events of those days had a common denominator: a brutal and indiscriminate police repression which is characterizing the history of the Yankee empire.

No "conspiracy" took place in Chicago as the US judicial authorities invented. Had it existed, it would have been the only recourse left to the North American people in the face of a system which prevents the exercise of the most fundamental rights. There were protests and demonstrations, as there had been others before and just as they are now taking place almost uninterruptedly throughout the length and breadth of US territory — even

within the rank and file of the army — with increasing popular backing, despite police repression and as an expression of a completely new situation in the United States.

But the criminal character of the US imperialist system, which is expressed not only in Korea, the Dominican Republic, and Viet Nam, but also, and with additional force, within the very United States, prompted it to be merciless with its new victims. This, and no other, is the motivation of the frame-up of the "Chicago 8." It is the same farce of arrest, imprisonment, and conviction as that of Huey P. Newton, the Defense Minister of the Black Panther Party; of David Hilliard, also a Panther leader; the same as in the cases of Eldridge Cleaver, Benjamin Spock, and hundreds of antiwar, pacifists and anti-imperialist and revolutionary fighters, just like the systematic murder of dozens of militants and leaders of the Black Panther Party.

The "Chicago 8" do not represent a "sect of conspirators." They are men of different origin and ideas in many aspects; they represent — one way or the other — the protest movement and the anti-imperialist struggle in the United States, brought together in a single action of anti-imperialist condemnation, of outraged protest in the face of the aggression, of solidarity with those who are fighting for their liberation. To them the struggle for the end of the aggression in Viet Nam, for the withdrawal of US troops and those of its satellites, for the removal to all its bases, and for the victory of the Vietnamese people in their just as-

pirations, constitute one ideal, the same slogan, just as it does in every corner of the world.

The case of the "Chicago 8" may seem closed, but in the eyes of the progressive world, particularly in the United States, and in the eyes of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist fighters of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, it remains open as proof of the growing resolve to fight and of anti-imperialist solidarity in the United States, and also as proof of the criminal repression and aggressiveness which has characterized the US imperialist system against those who challenge its might in active struggle.

At present the men sentenced have been set free on bail by a Court of Appeals. But this is just a transitory circumstance of legality. The dozens, hundreds of antiwar people, Afro-Americans and students who have been finally convicted after being bailed out and after going through all kinds of appeal, confirm the fraudulency of the present situation. By their provisional release they are also trying to appease somehow the huge popular movement against the war in Viet Nam, imperialist aggressions, and repression.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL denounces the farce of the trial of the "Chicago 8," denounces the false charges, brutalities, and pressures brought to bear against these organizations and the appearance in court of Bobby Seale tied up to a chair by hands and feet and gagged. We condemn this judicial farce because we consider it is part of the same campaign of



repression that, under various forms and means — ranging from outright murder to false and prefabricated charges — is now spreading throughout the United States as a reply of the US imperialist system to the increase of the antiwar and revolutionary movement within the United States.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL calls upon all its member

organizations and progressive forces of the whole world to express their solidarity with the people sentenced in this farce, and to denounce by all means possible the internal campaign of repression launched by the US imperialist government, of which the case of the "Chicago 8" is an outstanding example.

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