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LAIKAKOTA,

A FIGHTER'S NOTES

by Eduardo Díaz

AUGUST 21

Eduardo Díaz is a Bolivian journalist who was witness to and participant in the events that culminated with the overthrow of the government of Juan José Torres in Bolivia and the installation in that country of the present fascist regime.[1] Díaz wrote this account on the strategic Cerro Laikakota, a small elevation of gray earth located a short distance from the big Miraflores Barracks.

[1] See *Tricontinental* Bulletin 68, November 1971. (Ed. Note)



"SHIT! Didn't I tell you that the only thing those military are good for is to be presidents or traitors? If Torres had only given us arms yesterday, things would be different today. Yesterday..."

My comrade in arms was never to finish his sentence. A bullet pierced his lung. A bullet with the message of death, submission and repression.

As these thoughts passed through my mind, fratricidal bullets whistled sinister songs. Songs that were not Bolivian, songs that could not be identified with the poncho.

Right now, we are some 50 fighters, armed with the few rifles we managed to take from the War Armory in Miraflores. Behind us are the unarmed revolutionaries, waiting to seize a rifle from the first man who falls.

Hell! To think that such a brave people should be ruled by the military!

We are ready to give our lives for the revolution. Now there's no more theory, practice is beginning...

Laikakota

Once we had got hold of the arms, we made our way up the slopes of Laikakota hill. I had never paid much attention to that gray-looking mound. Now I saw in it a symbol of our country occupied by a mercenary army that was simply blind to the hunger and misery around it.

The enemy soldiers — the gorillas — were on top of the hill. There must have been more than a hundred. Ensconced in their trenches they received cover from the sharpshooters of the Castrillo Barracks. Equipped with modern armament "Made in USA" and "Made in Brasil," the soldiers — for the most part simple peasants — hid trembling in their trenches while the "glorious military" from the rear yelled at them that "if they didn't shoot" they would be "wiped out for the good of the country."

For months socialism hadn't given a quiet night to the military.



Minister of Interior Jorge Gallardo said he had sent about 50 men to help us capture Laikakota hill. It simply wasn't true. Gallardo was a traitor, or else his men didn't obey his orders.

Radio Illimani, which was in the hands of the revolutionary miners, broadcast the battle slogan to the people. The assault began. Laikakota was soon a mass of wounded.

We tried to climb the hill, but a counterattack of heavy machine gun fire prevented us. We managed, however, to inch our way forward bit by bit.

It was 5 pm. None of us had eaten. The revolution came first. From the height above, the gorillas of the Castrillo Barracks bombarded us with mortar fire.

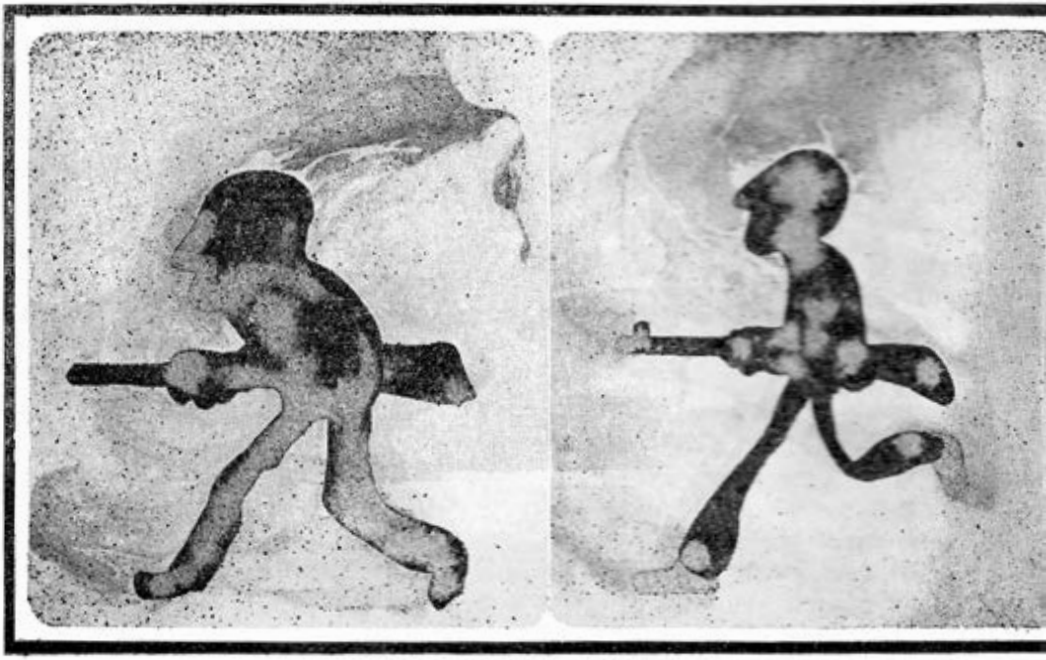
In the midst of the fighting a girl crawled along bringing us water. As we drank in turn, she told us that Major Rubén Sánchez had ordered the Colorados regiment to open fire on General Headquarters. She also said that Chato Peredo and the Army of National Liberation (ELN) were organizing the resistance and fighting in the front line.

Just at that moment we heard Radio Illimani broadcast a communiqué from the ELN, that the people were not alone and that the vanguard army was fighting for the oppressed people and the suffering rank-and-file.

Rubén Sánchez himself seconded the message, adding this statement: "We revolutionaries will fight to the end" and "Victory or Death!" He was obviously not a typical specimen of the military gorilla breed. We had no news as to the whereabouts of General Torres. We presumed he was in hiding. In the end he hadn't given the people the arms he had promised. This only proves that gorillas don't fight each other.

There was savage firing on civilians. It looked as though the soldiers would get a pay raise for each person they could shoot down. The bastards!

The hours went by slowly. We finally got possession of the greater part of the hill. Some 50 soldiers were dead. A lieutenant lay sprawled in a bloody mess, his face lying near some excrement — surely that was a fitting symbol of the system he had fought and died for. The surviving soldiers took to their heels panic-stricken. We didn't shoot at them



for they belonged to the people. The Miraflores General Headquarters was on the point of capitulation and many high-ranking officers of the garrison had already fled.

The Air Force

Radio Illimani reported: "The Air Force is with the people and any moment now it will start bombing Miraflores General Headquarters."

We heard the planes taking off. They were on their way to join us... How happy we were! Fists above our heads, we waved our easily-identifiable red scarves. Yes, we were identified straightaway, only to be savagely massacred by the AT-6s mercilessly machine-gunning our ranks... the traitors!

I ran to take cover with the others, thinking how that same Air Force had sworn to stay loyal to the Bolivian revolutionary process.

They soon recovered Laikakota and most of us had to get out while the going was good and look for ammunition for our old Mausers. The snipers took advantage of our plight and hunted us pitilessly. They even fired on the ambulances. It's said that Father Mauricio Lefèvre was shot dead while attending a wounded youth. Snipers got him in the back, and the machine guns of the mercenary troops finished him off.

After their dastardly attack the planes flew off making for the Milluni mining region, from which a force of 300 was coming to our aid.



The tanks

The Air Force had betrayed us. Laikakota had fallen completely into the hands of the gorillas. Radio Illimani gave the alarming news that the Tarapacá Regiment had changed sides and was bringing seven armoured tanks to attack us. The words of my dead comrade crossed my mind: "If Torres had only given us arms yesterday, things would be different today."

At 8.30 pm, with the Air Force gone, we seized the opportunity to assemble our forces, which numbered several thousand, and launch another attack on Laikakota hill, determined to win it back. This time we were able to hit hard. Our heavy shooting gradually unseated the gorillas and soon, very soon, Laikakota was once again in the hands of the people.

Our next objective was the Miraflores Barracks. We set out in that direction, after leaving some of our men stationed on the hilltop to keep guard. When we reached the Plaza San Martín, Radio Illimani stated that seven tanks were on their way to Miraflores, already moving along the city's Avenida Camacho.

Radio Illimani went off the air with the announcement, "the time has come for us to join the fighting. Victory or Death!".

The roar of gunfire came closer; the tanks arrived. They immediately set about "cleaning-up." Careening around Stadium Square they fired on the vulnerable barricades, but themselves remained unassailable — I fired my M-2 on one of them, but the tank went right on. The turrets spun round to spot the revolutionaries. I thought desperately of Radio Illi-

8



mani's instructions: "To destroy the tanks, use Molotov cocktails." How the hell could we? Where were they? Militants of the Falange Socialista Boliviana (FSB) and the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR) suddenly appeared. They yelled at us, "the revolution has triumphed."

Meanwhile, Radio Illimani had gone off the air for good.

Withdrawal

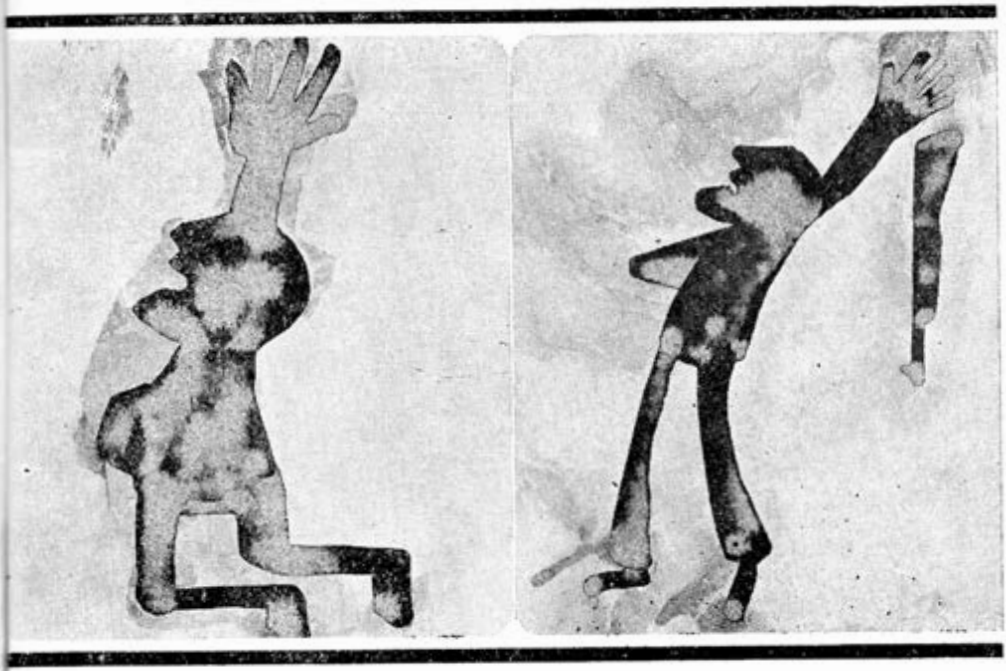
The situation had become unbearable. We were helpless against the tanks. Demoralization spread. People started crying. Others preferred to die in an attempt to blow up the tanks.

Finally, most recovered their self-control. The watchword went out: "Collect what arms you can and hide them. What you can't take with you should be destroyed."

We did this. Some had to be taken from our dead comrades who had fallen with guns still in hand, comrades with whom we had fought shoulder to shoulder just a few minutes ago.

We then set out loaded with guns which we were determined to hide. They would serve for the next fight — the final fight to come one day.

I knew of a "safe house" where we could hide and conceal the arms. There, we were given coffee and stale bread. We gave vent to our disgust with Torres for his half measures and shilly-shallying over giving us arms when we needed them. We also spoke of Reque Terán, whom we termed a panderer to the CIA. I personally considered him a deep-dye traitor.



In total darkness we listened to the sounds coming from the neighboring houses, where the "falangistas" and "movimientistas" were busy sacking, murdering and raping. One suffers but one learns.

Later we heard that the house of a left-wing journalist was bombed. His wife and two relatives were placed head down in a tub full of water. They were all but drowned.

Banzer, Gutiérrez, Paz

It was 2 pm. Sunday. The fascists stood on the balcony of Government Palace. With pale faces and eyes glittering from "the triumph of nationalism" these sinister personages exuded the stench of blood. They had murdered 100 students in Santa Cruz. In La Paz they had arrested 200 university students — boys and girls.

The thugs were gloating over their victory. They were waiting for the arrival of the prime thug of all thugs — MNR leader Víctor Paz Estenssoro, famous for his robberies of the national treasury and for the concentration camps where the "falangistas" — now his allies — had been tortured in the past.

Now the dark ages are back — repression, and the sale of our country's patrimony. Soon we'll be seeing the Marines and the Peace Corps. Soon the oil industry will be denationalized, as well as the Matilde Mines... everything.

To give a false idea of progress, large impressive buildings will be erected in the urban centers. But misery will remain in the districts of the poor.

We will go underground. We will fight with whatever means left to us. The people won't tolerate for long such criminality in the name of "nationalism." The fight will continue.

THE OIL ORGY

by Jaime Galarza

Of Ecuador's four regions, there is only one — the archipelago of Galapagos — in which the monopolists have not planted their flags. In all the others — the Coast, the Sierra and the East, — they are firmly entrenched.

On the Coast, the most important of the concessions granted in recent years is that handed over to Standard Oil of New Jersey, the rich Gulf of Guayaquil, key to the Guayas river basin, one of the potentially richest sections of the country, with an area of 30 000 km², where technicians calculate that 10 000 000 persons can live and work, a figure that surpasses by 4 000 000 the present Ecuadorian population.

The Andes region, at least up until now, does not offer the same panorama of territorial ravishment as the Coast except for one of the concessions of Pacific Brad Co., part of which is located near Quito.

The area that suffers most from this avalanche of concessions is the East, situated in the great Amazon basin, where 66 000 km² out of a total of 110 000 have been given away. This handing over has occurred within the last ten years.

THE Ecuadorian petroleum "festival," as some international circles call it, is not so much a festival as an orgy, in which the biggest oil companies of the capitalist world take part, as do many governments, including those of the United States, Great Britain, Holland, Japan, etc.

Amid obscure machinations, various mechanisms and pressures, Ecuador's oil orgy has been notable for the systematic violation of the country's laws and the constantly increasing squandering of this underdeveloped country's great oil resources.

The international press has ventured the information that Ecuador will soon be able to produce 5 million barrels per day, thus becoming the world's second largest producer and the largest exporter. No one has been able to confirm or deny this. However, we do know that in less than three years the eastern part of the country, which had never produced a single barrel of oil before, is now producing 60 000 barrels daily from 50 wells, an average of 1200 barrels from each well, compared to a daily average of scarcely 14 barrels per well in the United States.

Moreover, drilling has taken place in only two of the almost 50 concessions in the country, which cover the whole eastern area and most of the Pacific coast. Wells have been drilled in only a small area, while the amount of land conceded to the oil companies equals more than 90 000 km² — more than a third of the whole country.

A well-kept secret

For 40 years the country has been accustomed to a routine which raised no suspicions: the coming and going of oil companies that obtained concessions, and later left, declaring they had not found oil either in the East or on the Coast, except for the deposits on the Santa Elena Peninsula, which did not amount to very much according to the Anglo-Ecuadorian Oilfields Company, which traditionally was given the concession in this area.

Important chapters in the mysterious history of Ecuadorian oil include the eastern concession of 2 500 000 hectares given in 1931 to the Leonard Exploration Company, and the concession of 10 million hectares given in 1937 to Anglo Saxon. The Leonard Company was simply a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Anglo Saxon of Royal Dutch Shell, the big Anglo-Dutch company.

The results of surveys done by the Leonard Company over a period of six years were never made known, and Royal Dutch Shell, profiting from the economic hegemony and influence that British capital had in Ecuador then, took over from Leonard in 1937.

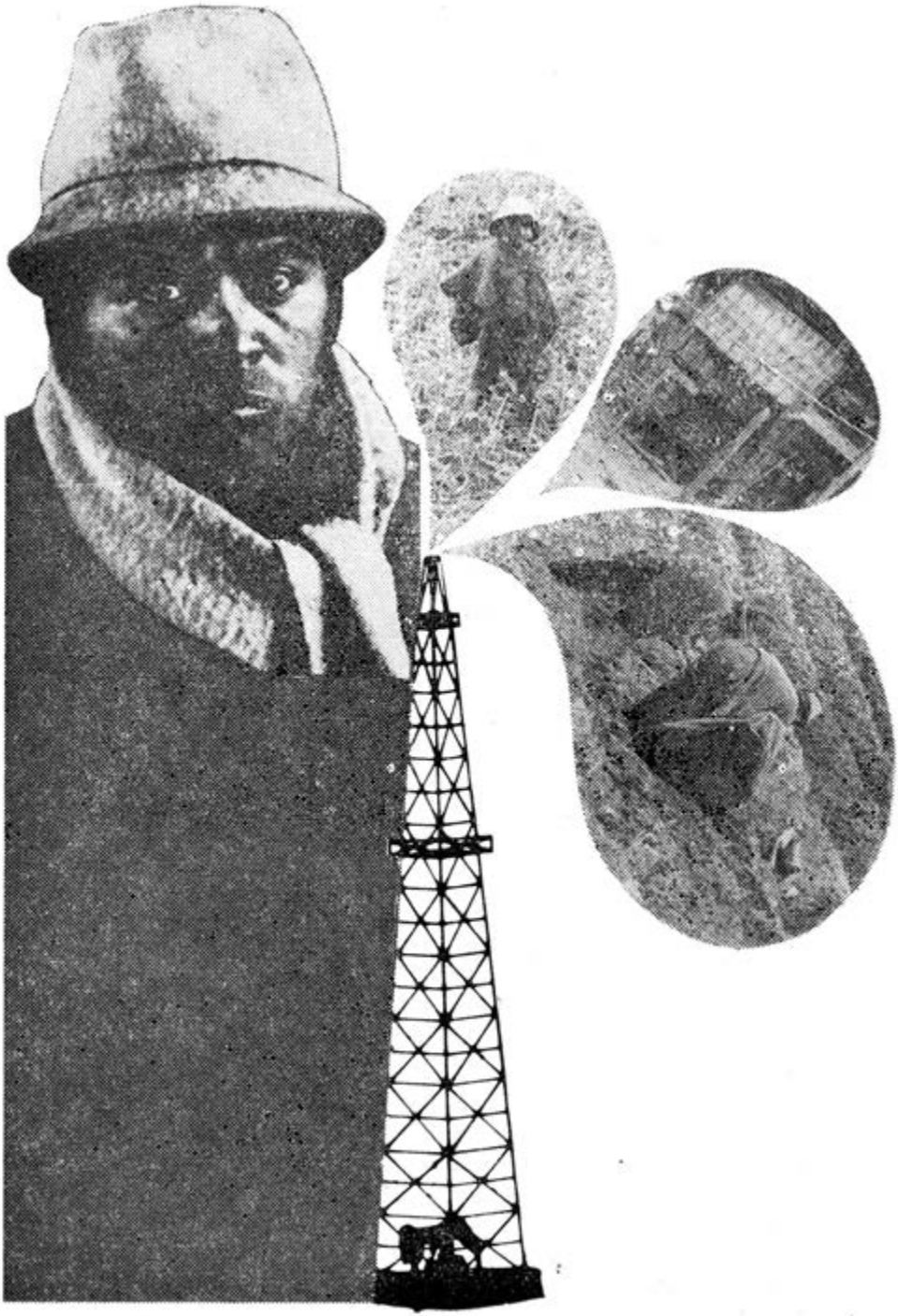
When Leonard's contract was cancelled because it had not carried out the required agreements, Anglo Saxon took over with all its equipment, and later transferred its concession to the Shell Company which, after 11 years of surveying (they had the right to explore for only five years), calmly declared it had found no oil in the East.

Despite the fact that in 1948 it returned four of the ten million hectares in then held, Shell obtained a new concession for the same amount of land, this time in association with Rockefeller's Standard Oil, which profited from the presence in the government of a man in whom it had great confidence: Galo Plaza Lasso.

The companies were given permission to survey for five years and to exploit for 40 years any oil found. But in 1950 they decided to leave the country, declaring once more that there was no oil in the East.

Defending the withdrawal of the American-English-Dutch company, Plaza Lasso declared at the time: "The East is a myth. It has been clearly shown there is no oil there. It is not even good for agriculture. Ecuador must concentrate on the coastal lands."

Despite these declarations by the companies and the government, unemployed workers, Ecuadorian technicians, legislators and journalists all insisted repeatedly that the company *had* found big reserves of oil, and that about 100 wells had been sealed for later use.



A "*banana republic*"

Having discouraged the country from becoming a producer of oil, and having discredited the East's agricultural possibilities, Galo Plaza opted for the cultivation of bananas, much needed by the US fruit monopolies which had been ruined by the decline of Central American banana growing due to hurricanes and floods.

Making use of her coastal lands in accordance with official plans and foreign needs, Ecuador became the world's foremost banana producer and exporter. This monoculture of one fruit completely deformed the country's economy, and later, when the American market shrank, massive unemployment and financial difficulties followed, with other tragic consequences for the economy.

At the same time, after having been an exporter of crude oil up to 1958, Ecuador became an oil importer, with serious results for its foreign exchange. True, through the years, the oil firms had been importing constantly increasing supplies of by-products, but the importation of crude oil began in 1958 and still goes on.

Is there really no oil? Of course there is and not only in the East, but also in the Santa Elena Peninsula. What is happening is that from the point of view of those who stand to profit from it, it is better for the oil companies to import crude oil and refine it in Ecuador, thus multiplying their profits.

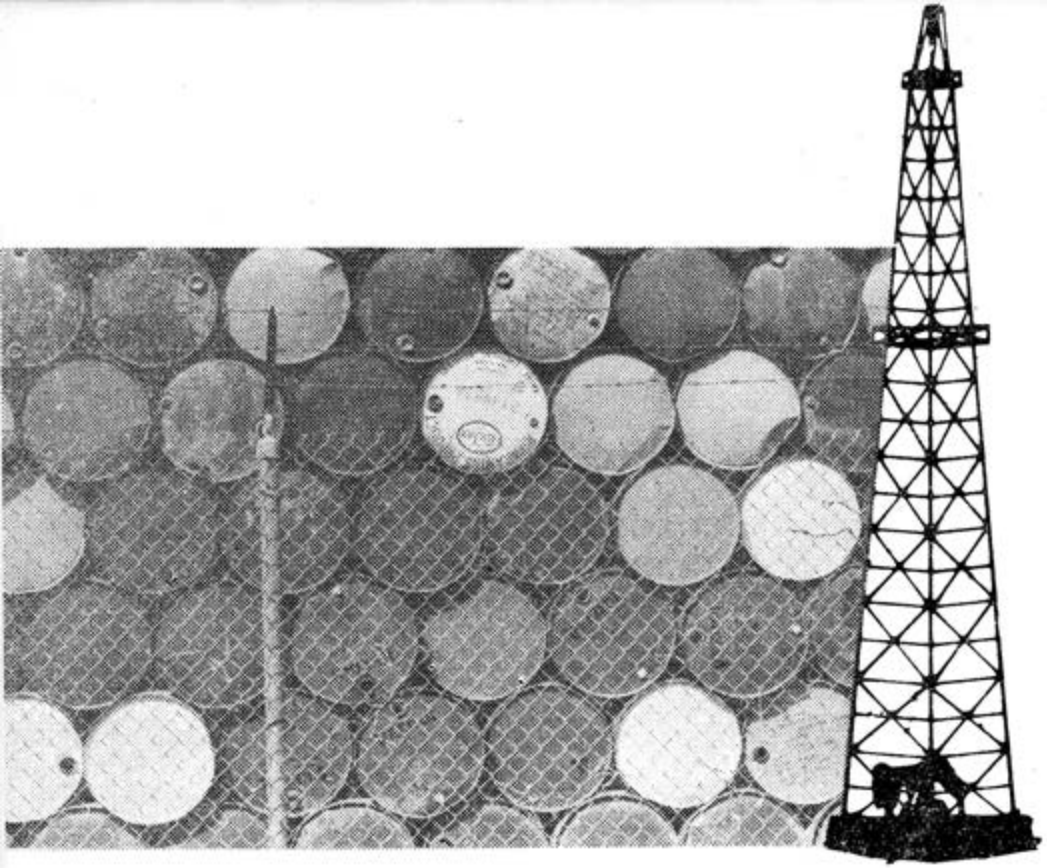
Jacques Boulanger, a French technician contracted by the government, explained this with reference to the year 1963, when he wrote in an official report published by the Planning Board:

> There is evidence that the reason for the country's oil situation is on the one hand the inactivity of many of the concessionaires, and on the other the very limited activity of the producing firms, because for them it is more convenient and more profitable to import oil at present prices, than to drill for it in Ecuador.

Boulanger spoke moderately when he unmasked the policies of the oil firms in Ecuador, but the American Colonel Leonard Clark was very indiscreet when, in 1947, he told the US press that there were oil reserves in Ecuador comparable to those in the Middle East.

Clark certainly was not unaware of his country's international policy; he was head of counterintelligence behind the Chinese lines during World War II.

The strange coincidence between the encouragement of banana cultivation and the discouragement of oil production at the end of the 40s and early 50s was connected with similar calculations about profits envisaged by imperialist monopolies. Up until then Ecuador had appeared as a "reserve country" in the files of the big international oil cartel. Thus for years the cartel's main worry was to keep control of the reserves by obtaining concessions, but the work never went beyond preliminary surveys. Forced by circumstances



to hand over the concessions to other companies, the original concessionaires had to quit the stage and new ones became responsible for continuing the myth that there was "no oil in Ecuador," especially not in the Amazon region.

Three for one

After 1956 the world oil situation changed considerably. That year Egypt closed the Suez Canal, which had been ideal for transporting Arabian crude oil to Europe and the United States. More alarming was the fact that the closing of the Canal was accompanied by angry nationalist noises from Arab and Persian Gulf nations. The oil moguls began to get worried and European and American industry became uneasy. Eventually the nationalists were able (for a short time) to shipwreck the fat juicy oil concessions throughout the area.

Immediately the iron hand of the cartel, which for ten years had been carefully concealed in its velvet glove, moved against Ecuador. In 1957, under the chairmanship of Camilo Ponce Enríquez, the nebulous Leonard Exploration Company returned and received a concession of 9 million hectares in the East, much more than it had obtained in 1931; and this despite the fact that it had been thrown out of the country in 1937 for not having carried out the terms of its contract.

Then the world situation became somewhat more stable. There was no reason for alarm. Ecuador's wells could remain closed for a time. The Leonard Company, as was the custom, returned the area conceded.

In 1960 the oil empire was shaken by two big explosions: the Cuban government's nationalization of the refineries of Texaco, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Shell; and the foundation of OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

By defending the prices the international cartel paid the producing countries for their oil, and by carrying out certain measures to make bribing, boycotts and the usual pressure on the various governments impossible, OPEC — without wishing to (or knowing it was doing so) — caused the cartel to blow the dust from its file on Ecuador, and decide finally to change it from a "reserve country" to the world's foremost oil producer, but naturally within a neocolonial framework.

It should be remembered that the members of the cartel (Standard Oil of New Jersey, Royal Dutch Shell, Gulf, Texaco, Standard of California, Socony Mobil Oil and British Petroleum) are the same ones which have taken Ecuadorian oil. With its national and international consequences, this is the cartel's reprisal against the oil-producing countries after the three defeats it suffered — the closing of the Suez Canal, Cuba and the creation of OPEC.

The shark in action

After the second disappearance of the Leonard Company from Ecuador, there appeared in 1961 an unknown Mining and Oil Company which was given a huge concession — 4 500 000 hectares in the East.

This concession, differing from previous ones in the same area, in a sense marked the opening ceremony of the "oil orgy." The concession allows for a period of surveying and exploiting which will last up to the year 2002. Among privileges offered are free action as regards foreign currency resulting from exportation, the traditional tax holidays and exemption from customs tariffs. In later years this firm handed over its concession to the Compañía Aguarico y Pastaza, a well-known subsidiary of the Texaco-Gulf consortium, which has another concession in the same area. Among the main agents of these negotiations are two Ecuadorians — the Christian-Socialist politician, Manuel de Guzmán Polanco, and Ricardo Crespo Zaldumbide, Galo Plaza's son-in-law.

When everything seemed to indicate that an oil rush was beginning, Velasco Ibarra's government fell in November 1961 and was succeeded by that of Carlos Julio Arosemena. Accused of many errors and crimes, such as "handing the country over to communism," Arosemena was thrown out on July 11, 1963, by a military golpe. But before that, he had dictated Emergency Decree No. 11, according to which the State has the right to organize the importation of oil and its by-products, from which the companies were getting such big



profits. This decree also said that if they wanted to make imports of this type, the government would allow it, but at the same time the companies must invest in production and the finding of new deposits. A real slap in the belly with a wet fish for all the powerful companies which had organized the decisive coup!

With Arosemena overthrown and the main clauses of the Decree annulled, the military junta began the second part of the orgy: the handing over to Texaco-Gulf of about a million and a half hectares in the East, with the right to build pipelines and refineries, export oil and its by-products freely, the usual tax holidays, etc. In case of any disagreement with the State, the contract stated that any problems were to be put into the hands of the World Bank, in which Washington has decisive power and to which Ecuador owes much money.

In its turn, the military junta was overthrown in March 1966 by a movement which represented popular discontent and the maneuvers of a sector of the oligarchy which had been affected by the dictates of the junta.

Then came the government led by Clemente Yerovi. That same year the press reported that a sordid dispute was going on in the National Palace among the aspirants to Ecuadorian oil, including American, English, Dutch, German, French, Japanese and Italian companies. At that time news came out about the huge oil reserves Ecuador had in the East and on the Coast.

Yerovi did not increase the concessions nor the privileges given to the oil companies (nor did he reduce them); but President Otto Arosemena, who replaced him in the last

months of 1966, hastened to hand over the last reserves, giving ten concessions in the East to various subsidiaries of the cartel members, and giving the Gulf Company of Guayaquil to Rockefeller's Standard Oil, which was masquerading under the name of Consorcio ADA.

When Velasco came to power for the fifth time in September 1968, the new government partly revised the concession given to Texaco-Gulf, offering other concessions in the East and the Pacific area. By 1970 most of Ecuador's oil was divided up, after a battle between the State and the companies about building the first important pipeline (which the companies claimed as their property) and later about possession of the refineries planned. The 5000 barrels per day produced by the first well in the East, which was drilled in Lago Agrio, added fuel to the fire.

Climax of the orgy

The participants in this orgy wavered between discreet silences and noisy action. Such is the case with the ten projects envisaged in the new Petroleum Law, produced or suggested — and in each case insisted upon — by the oil companies, so strongly that on October 16 an official declaration concluded: "The contracts will be respected." In other words the new law will not change present concessions.

Now there is talk of 5 million barrels daily, huge new pipelines which will stretch from the East to the Pacific, one of them operated by Anglo (a subsidiary of British Petroleum). The magazine *Vistazo* speaks also of a secret pact between the government and the Somoza dictatorship, its aim being to assure the passage of Ecuadorian oil through Nicaragua before the United States eventually loses control over the Panama Canal.

Many rumors are going about, aggravated by official secrecy. What is definitely known is that the international cartel has taken possession of Ecuadorian oil to do with as it pleases; and that, given the conditions in which this occurred, it apparently believes this oil will be the cheapest in the world, since the companies decide the prices, organize manpower, lower wages (maximum, two dollars per day), enjoy tax holidays for 20 years, pay small token tariffs, and up to now have not had to hand over to the State any of the profits derived from exports.

Thus Ecuador's situation worsened at the beginning of last year because of the higher prices decreed by OPEC for member countries, an increase in which other nonmember Arab countries participated.

The shaking up of the oil empires, the blows given the big companies by some countries, the "need" for the cartel to be sure of a cheap and ample source of oil — all these constitute poor Ecuador's "oil orgy": Ecuador which, from a "reserve country," went on to its new status as oil company.

PORTRAIT OF A NEOCOLONY

THE WORLD BANK

In September 1968 Indonesia was readmitted to the International Financing Company, IFC (Sukarno had withdrawn the country's membership in 1961). The new economic policy, which included the so-called attempts at stabilization which cost half a million communists their lives and 150 000 political prisoners, was the condition necessary for foreign investment, thereby fulfilling the interests of the World Bank. But as Eugene R. Black has put it, "Readjustment to stability calls for sacrifice and discipline." At the fourth conference attended by Indonesia and the "donor" countries, the World Bank presented a 450-page confidential report which judged the political situation in Indonesia to be "most confidence-inspiring" and presented a list of projects costing between $200 and $800 million which the World Bank felt should be given high priority. Among these were the financing of Indonesian investment banks which were to work in the private economic sector dealing in loans to private Indonesian corporations for purchase of foreign capital goods.

McNamara has ordered high priority to be given to Indonesian affairs on the budget of the World Bank. In 1968 the country was promised a loan of 350 million dollars as soon as there was order in the economy of the country. To this end, a permanent delegation of ten economists was appointed to control the economy of the country and to serve as "advisers" to the regime in the preparation of five-year plans.

NATIONAL EMBLEM OF INDONESIA



A garuda, a type of eagle, is the symbol of the people's power of reconstruction. The 17 feathers on each wing and the eight on its tail represent the 17th of August of 1945, when the revolution broke out and independence was proclaimed. From the chain around the bird's neck hangs a heart-shaped medal signifying the struggle in defense of the people and the State. The slogan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity) expresses the fusion of various territories and groups of the population into one big union. What a sad parody that this patriotic symbol, representation of national pride and dignity, is used today by the right-wing generals who overturned Indonesia's liberation process in 1965 under the protection of international reaction directed from Washington; they unleashed the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of sons of the people, the most combative and best citizens, opened the doors to imperialism's markets and established themselves as its front men and its police.

Guilty of betraying history, of crimes and shame for the Indonesian nation, they will pay dearly. The patriotic symbols will be redeemed and will again represent national dignity and pride. The garuda will fly proudly in the free sky of Indonesia.

IN order to understand the functioning of the World Bank in Indonesia, it is first necessary to cast some light on the economic situation.

> The changes within the government since 1966 have led to a new attitude toward foreign capital in Indonesia. The interest is no longer political or ideological, it is now economical. Those of us within the government, as well as those outside, have realized the importance of foreign capital. We have realized as well that state-owned corporations ought to be forced to compete freely with private corporations, domestic as well as foreign, and should no longer benefit from special favors. We have simplified the administrative procedures for export and have allowed export corporations to have a greater part of the profits. We have already taken serious steps to bring our bank system in order. Foreign capital may operate within all sectors with the exception, of course, of military industry [the US has a monopoly in this sector]. Gentlemen, Indonesia is a gold mine of natural resources, no one (not even I) knows the full extent of our riches... I will remind you of the large supply of cheap labor which we can offer you. Our 30 universities and colleges have produced a large number of educated personnel who will serve new corporations with pleasure. Indonesia is waiting for your advance technology, experience, and initiative.

These remarks are from a speech given by the Minister of Economy, Finance and Industry, Siri Sultan Hamenco IX Buwano, Sultan of Djakarta — who even before the change of power had 10 000 servants in his palace — in November 1967, at the Indonesian Investment Conference in Geneva. The conference was held at the initiative of Time, Inc., which has among its board members Eugene R. Black, former president of the World Bank.

The Sultan, who together with General Suharto, General Nasution and Foreign



Minister Adam Malik, formed the leading quartet in The New Order, did not speak to deaf ears. Already a half-year after the coup, it was declared that Indonesia should be neutral, and it was particularly emphasized that American investment should be encouraged and Indonesian-American relations, which had suffered under the anti-imperialist politics of the Sukarno regime, should be normalized. A Law on Foreign Capital Investment was signed on the 10th of January 1967. It stated, among other things, that the state would guarantee to foreign investors and corporations protection from war and war-like situations, including revolution and upheaval, for a period of at least 30 years. It enacted legislation for the legal protection of invested capital, the unconditional right to send full profits to the home country, a tax-free period of between three and five years for foreign investments (depending on the size of the investment) and provision for further tax reductions for up to five years.

Imported machine parts, raw materials, and semi-fabricated goods were made duty free. Foreign firms were permitted to own 100% of their factories. Those corporations which were nationalized under Sukarno were of course returned to their "legal" owners. The plantations previously owned by US Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company were returned to them after December 1966. On New Year's Eve, 1966, Shell, Caltex, Stanvax and Pan American Oil got their oil rights again. The Rockefeller concern signed a contract for 50 million dollars to provide Indonesia with lubrication oil in spite of the fact that the country is richly endowed with oil. Indonesia has its own oil refineries.


THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ONE DOLLAR

Between January 1967 and January 1968, 88 foreign corporations invested a total of $389 million in Indonesia. In 1969 alone, 84 foreign investments were made with a total amount of $704 million, that is nearly double the previous year. The greater part of the investments — $114 million — stem from the United States.

Foreign investments in Indonesia 1969

	Millions of dollars		
USA	114	Hong Kong	11
Canada	75	Panama	9
South Korea	48	West Germany	5
Holland	19	France	5
Japan	17	England	4
The Philippines	12		

Note: The oil and banking sectors have been omitted from the statistics.

Mining

The greatest interest is centered on the exploitation of mining. International Nickel Company of Canada has special nickel mining rights, covering an area about one and a half times the size of Denmark. This involves a strengthening of the Canadian monopoly over world production of nickel, which is an important element in the steel industry (stainless steel) and essential to the weapons industry. Since 1963 Canada has held more than half of the world deliveries of nickel.

US Freeport has gained all rights to *all* minerals in West Irian (42 900 square kilometers). The daughter corporation, Indonesian Freeport, has already begun the mining of copper.

Indonesia has large tin deposits. Tin is already the country's third biggest export product after oil and natural rubber. The tin is mined by Ocean Mining (US), Ocean Science & Engineering (US), Amerada Petroleum (US), Dillingham Overseas Corp., etc. The last-named firm is especially known for its *active* use of aluminum in so-called Portuguese Guinea. Several of these multinational corporations have joined together to assure themselves the greatest possible returns on their investments.

Curbing National Industry

In spite of declarations made by the Suharto regime that investments that serve to strengthen the country's own industries



should be shown highest priority, it is those corporations that export raw materials out of Indonesia to the foreign capitalists' own industries which in practice receive the best investment conditions. Nickel, tin, copper and bauxite are minerals necessary for the building of advanced technological industry. The military regime has wasted all chances to build the country's own industry up by its active support of the international capitalists. As investments increase, the standard of living decreases and for the first time in a very long period there are reports of famine in Indonesia... a famine that is claiming thousands of victims.

Forsaken Agriculture

In spite of this, and in spite of the fact that 70% of the population lives on agriculture, no investments have been made yet in the agricultural sector. Essential projects such as irrigation, fertilizing and equipment are set aside in favor of the interests of foreign capital.

In order to fulfill the most elementary needs — food, clothing and the like — the Suharto regime increases its debt to those countries which are normally referred to as "donating" countries, primarily the USA, Japan and Holland. The country as a whole borrowed $200 million in 1967, $350 million in 1968, and in 1969 the military regime needed $500 million extra to balance the budget.

The food problem is solved by buying surplus food from the USA (in 1967 the country purchased one million tons of rice for $140 million) instead of supporting development programs which could improve the country's own production of food.

Neither is the clothing problem solved by support of the internal textile industry. Large quantities of Japanese textiles are imported, purchased with foreign credit. This has dealt the death blow to Indonesia's own small industries, which were spread throughout the country and which only needed new spare parts and raw materials to survive. These industries' capacities have been reduced by 80-90%, which has caused 500 000 unemployed in that branch and made many of them victims of the famine. Now the market is open for foreign investment and the Dutch textile firm, Koninklyke, has already begun production. According to Dr. Sadli, president of the Indonesian Board of Investment, the foreign investments in Indonesia have only created about 25 000 jobs, which do not even absorb the unemployed from the textile industry who have survived famine.

THE SUPPRESSION OF "CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION"

ON October 7, 1971, without any kind of legal action, elements of the Federal police showed up at the printing establishment, 1345 Muñiz Street in Buenos Aires and, in a showy operation, seized the entire edition number 31 of *Cristianismo y Revolución* and arrested the manager of the printing plant, Mr. Canosa.

This brought to a head the unsuccessful process of intimidation against the magazine *Cristianismo y Revolución* which had taken various forms over the five years of its existence.

The repressive escalade against *Cristianismo y Revolución* is a part of the same repression directed against the Movement

of Third World Priests, with the arrest of its militants and kidnappings and assassinations in cold blood of the militants of Peronist armed organizations and other revolutionary organizations of the country. While on the one hand they speak of democratic elections, on the other, any attempt at popular mobilization or political awareness is brutally repressed. The objective is to reduce the participation of the people to the single instant when they deposit a conditional vote in ballot boxes set up by the regime as a front for traitorous leaders engaged in the game of legitimizing popular genocide through the Hour of the People.

The seizure of *Cristianismo y Revolución* is one more slap at those who, out of loyalty to the people, are not reconciled to the business of the Great National Accord.

In her statement to the press, Casiana Ahumada, director of *C y R*, says:

> The fact of having received this repressive blow in the month of October, anniversary of the most glorious expression of the Argentine working class struggle, and of the transcendent and heroic death of Comandante Ernesto Guevara, commits us to continue struggling for our country's national and social liberation.



THE COURSE OF *CRISTIANISMO Y REVOLUCION*

The first number of *Cristianismo y Revolución* appeared in September 1966. It included Camilo Torres' message to the Colombian people explaining his incorporation into the armed struggle for liberation. Founded by Juan García Elorrio — one of the most important figures in Latin-American revolutionary Christianity when he died prematurely in February 1970 in an automobile accident — the magazine was edited thereafter by his widow Casiana Ahumada.

At the time it appeared, just after Onganía had assumed power, the regime was trying to base itself on Christian values to justify its antipopular policy. The magazine appeared under these circumstances distinguished by its denunciatory character in order to unmask this fiction.

From this beginning it stimulated the new renovating currents in the church, radicalizing its position and carrying them beyond what the framework of the church then offered. *Cristianismo y Revolución* developed its thesis, aware of the importance of the participation of Christians in the liberation process of the great Latin-American homeland and convinced that its role was to take concrete political options according to the reality of each country, and add them to the liberation process of people already on the march.

With this concept *Cristianismo y Revolución* consistently maintained in its pages a relevant place for Christian-Third World problems, at the same time it was definitely assuming the concrete revolutionary option of the Argentine people, Peronism, whose revolutionary militants and organizations influenced the magazine politically, but without sectarianism, and it gave space as well to all the real manifestations of struggle.

Through *Cristianismo y Revolución* the Christian-revolutionary problem and particularly the intellectual development of priests for the Third World was projected to other countries, and its consciousness-raising impact was extended throughout the entire Latin-American continent.

The journalistic course of *Cristianismo y Revolución* won world recognition when its founding director Juan García Elorrio was posthumously awarded the prize of the International Journalists' Organization in January 1971.

The development of the magazine had a dialectic relationship to the development of the people's struggles in Argentina: the first issues of barely 1000 copies gradually increased until at the beginning of 1970, 6000 copies were printed; it continued growing rapidly during that year and 1971, when its latest issues reached a printing of 20 000 and a sale of 18 000. During its five years of existence 20 issues were published, the first of which appeared irregularly. During its last two years, it came out bimonthly and beginning with numbers 30 and 31 monthly publication was insured. *Cristianismo y Revolución* reached into all parts of the country; its articles were reproduced and mimeographed extensively by grass-roots Peronist political groups, and it passed from hand to hand among a mass of some 100 000 readers.

Its role of political consciousness-raising exceeded the limits tolerable to the regime.

SAVE ANGELA

by Ernesto González Bermejo

IN one of Helsinki's dowtown cafes, I chat with Angela Davis' sister Fania. She looks very much like her; tall, light-skinned, her hair very full in a "natural hairdo" ("we blacks are beautiful"), tied with a green scarf; graceful gestures, unaffectedly elegant. She speaks without changing her expression even when she says the harshest things.

Finland is the eighth country she has visited on her world tour (five weeks in Europe) to save the life of her sister. She is going on to other nearby countries.

> There just couldn't have been more warmth, more solidarity everywhere I've gone. In Paris, for example, 60 000 young people demonstrated; in Rome we met with parliamentarians and representatives of every party; protest telegrams never stop arriving at the White House; we have received a great deal of money to cover the costs of the trial, which are very high; I can assure you that millions of people in the world are ready to save Angela.

How is she?

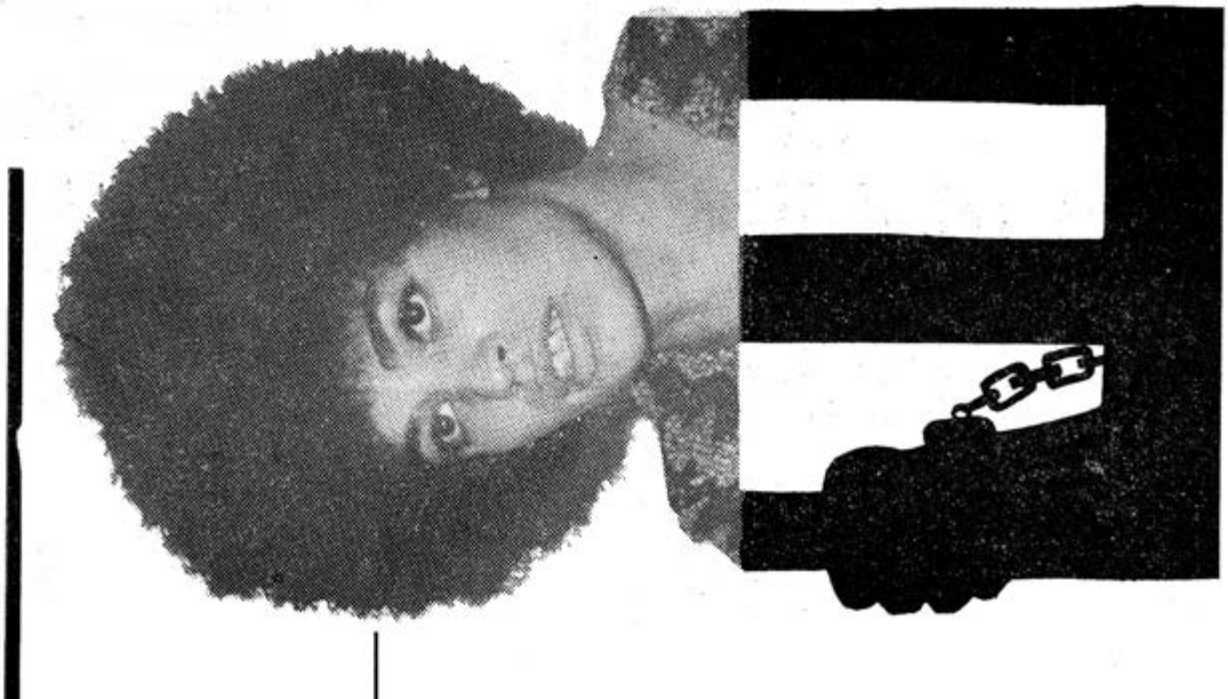
Very thin. Angela isn't beaten in prison like other political prisoners, or assassinated like George Jackson, because world opinion has its eyes on her; but they reduce her diet, they pressure her psychologically, and worse: she has a serious eye disease and risks blindness but they won't let her have medical treatment.

Will Angela handle her own defense?

Yes she will, with the assistance of three lawyers. And this right, which belongs to every citizen, cost her three hours of discussion before the courts. The lawyers will advise her on technical matters.

What will be the main points on which she'll base her defense?

In the first place, Angela will not defend herself, she'll attack; she will put on trial the power of oppression and exploitation that reigns in the United States.





And from a legal point of view, what will her strategy be?

To demand that the prosecution prove its accusation: contribution to the assassination by supplying arms to Jonathan Jackson. The prosecution has absolutely no proof of this. Angela's trial is really a political trial of a black woman and a communist.

She is also accused of carrying arms.

To carry arms is not illegal in the United States; there must be as many arms in North American homes as there are in the arsenals of all the armies of Europe. Angela did in fact carry a gun.

Why?

Because she had from 20 to 30 death threats a day.

The charge also says she was seen with Jonathan Jackson?

That's true; they were friends; on many occasions they participated together in demonstrations for the freedom of the Soledad Brothers. And what does that prove? Will it be illegal in the US to have a friend?

Do you believe the courts have evidence of Angela's innocence and that everything is just a pretext to. . .

Look: a former FBI agent recently told a San Francisco newspaper that organization had proof of Angela's innocence. This agent had undertaken to infiltrate left groups including the Angela Davis Committee itself in order to commit terroristic acts against the police that could be attributed to militants. That's how clean they play.

Is there any hope of impartiality from a California jury?

Emphatically no. First because President Nixon has already prejudged my sister's case in addressing himself on television to the entire country to thank the FBI for her capture and condemn her beforehand. Next because my sister has a long history of persecution and has already been fired from her work on various occasions. Moreover, the bourgeois press has unleashed a campaign against her designed to create the picture of a terrorist. Besides, North American justice has already given sufficient proof of being an instrument of persecution against blacks.

What is the situation with other political prisoners in the United States?

Horrendous. They beat them, they torture them psychologically; they even go

to such lengths as putting rats and cockroaches in their food.

And what repercussion has George Jackson's case had in the United States?

In the case of George it was clear that the North American government was lying. It sent out four or five different stories as official versions of his death. And no one now doubts that he was assassinated. Something similar occurred with the Attica massacre, where there were more than 40 dead. Officials said the hostages were knifed by the prisoners but the autopsies proved they were killed by police bullets. More and more people doubt official versions. The abyss of mistrust between the government and the people has deepened.

How has the US working class reacted to your sister's case?

Several national trade unions have approved resolutions in Angela's defense. So have the professors and the Organization for Action and Democracy.

Is there likely to be an increase in Nixon's domestic policy of peace and order?

Absolutely. The government has just designated as members of the Supreme Court, two reactionary judges, characteristically racist; more special troops are being prepared to be used against demonstrations; while housing shortages and increased living costs affect the workers, repressive legislation against the trade union movement is under study.

What is the present status of the fight for black equality?

Blacks and whites understand more clearly every day that there is no possibility for equality within the system; that the struggle must therefore be aimed at the destruction of the US capitalist system.

How has US public opinion reacted to the Angela Davis case?

Like the movement against the war of aggression in Viet Nam, Angela's liberation struggle has politicized broad sectors, particularly the youth who are now carrying out various passive resistance actions.

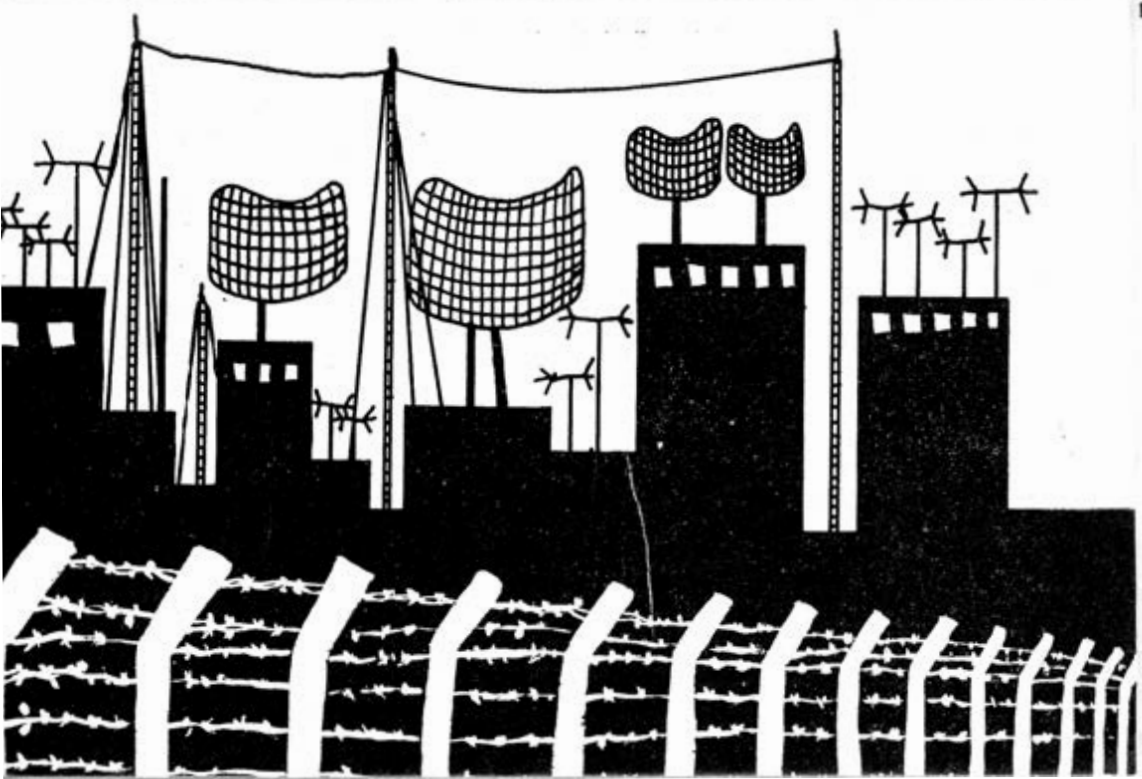
Do you believe there is a relationship between the elimination of George Jackson and the trial against your sister?

I haven't thought about that; I haven't consulted the lawyers. Of course George was to have been an important witness in the trial. But it is also true that they had wanted to kill him for a long time. I think it's more likely they took advantage of the chance to do it.

In summary, how can Angela be save?

Angela Davis isn't just a person called Angela Davis, she is a symbol. It is not just an internal problem within the United States. Her death would be an assassination attempt against humanity; and so it's up to the entire world to save her.

PRESENT AND FUTURE OF A



YANKEE BASE

by Roberto Correa Wilson

ONE morning in 1953, the Eritreans, accustomed to the desolate landscape of a medieval country in mid-20th century, suddenly saw a thick forest of antennae arise, followed by two radar screens which revolved silently from eight-story buildings, cutting off the fresh air of the tableland north of Asmara.

The Eritreans, who throughout the centuries have been attacked and occupied by the Egyptians, Turks, Italians, British, and now by the Ethiopians, associated this American base with the rule Emperor Haile Selassie has maintained over their country under the status of "federation," since 1952.

Although less well-known than the many bases in South Viet Nam and Okinawa and the recently dismantled Wheelus Fields in Libya, the US Kagnew Station in Ethiopia is equally important to US world political and military strategy. And although it does not have the characteristics of a "combat base," like those of Kadena or Da Nang (the latter is the biggest military, naval and air complex in South Viet Nam), Kagnew is vitally important to Washington's huge system of strategic communication.

The Ethiopian government signed a treaty with the American authorities in 1953, by which this radio-communications complex was to be set up in Asmara, capital of Eritrea, two thirds of which is already under the control of the Eritrean Liberation Front (FLE). Two agreements

were signed that year: one for mutual defense and military aid, by which the United States promised to equip and train Emperor Haile Salassie's armed forces, and a second which arranged for the installation of a communications center in Asmara.

The choice of Ethiopia for the building of the base meant, apart from its utility from a geographical point of view, that Washington officially considered the country, which for more than 30 years has been under Selassie's iron rule, to be politically the most stable, not only in East Africa, but on the whole continent.

Kagnew Station, which cost 65 million dollars and is managed by communications specialists from the US Navy and Signal Corps, is the most important of five similar installations in the world. The other four are in the Philippines, Hawaii, San Francisco and Maryland.

Some 7600 feet above sea level, and only 15 degrees north of the Equator, Kagnew Station has an exceptional position in world communications. The unusual combination of altitude and nearness to the Equator means it can offer radio communication service remarkably free from the interference found in other parts of the world.

The huge base is the latest big military installation to be set up in Africa.

According to American experts, Kagnew Station provides instant communication for the American president should he wish to contact the White House during flights over the Eastern Atlantic, Europe and Africa. It can send messages from



overseas American bases to the Pentagon, from Navy warships in the Indian Ocean and diplomatic communications from embassies and military missions in Europe, Africa and parts of Asia to the State Department.

Kagnew also transmits messages to American satellites and plays an important role in the US space program. Many space-ship flights are controlled from it, as are sea operations should the capsule come down in a neighboring area.

The base is also used for US espionage activities. Progressive forces have declared that Kagnew's electronic listening devices monitor the Arab states and extend deep into the territory of the USSR and other socialist countries. Over 1500 American specialists are employed on the base.

Kagnew's importance to the United States is seen in Washington's far-reaching undertaking to supply and equip the Ethiopian armed forces which have suffered many defeats at the hands of the FLE. Israel is also training some of them — for instance, the Israeli police are training an antiguerrilla commando which operates mainly in Eritrea, as well as the imperial secret services. The German Federal Republic is offering a million dollars per year to train and arm Haile Selassie's police force.

"Our aid consists simply of paying the rent for Kagnew Station," said an American official recently. But there was a lot more to it than this, for apart from the million and a half dollars' rent, Ethiopia gets over half of all the military aid the US gives to African countries. According to latest figures, the program has already cost over 100 million dollars.

The 110 officers and soldiers of the American Military Assistance Advisory Group that advises the three corps of the Imperial Armed Forces is the biggest United States base on this continent. High-ranking American officers work in buildings a few meters from those of the Ethiopian chief of staff.

All this helps to perfect and equip the Ethiopian Army (which has about 40 000 men mobilized and has modern artillery and supersonic planes) for the task of containing the growing menace that the Eritrean liberation forces are becoming to Kagnew Station. At present, Washington and Addis Ababa appear nervous about the nearness of the guerrilla forces' operations. The future of this radio-communications complex (which Washington believes "vital for the defense of the free world") depends on what the Eritrean Liberation Front can do in the next few years.

OTHERS WILL



FOLLOW US...

NOVEMBER 22, 1971 — In Nicaragua a report has been released from the reactionary army that speaks of the "suicide" of the student Denis Romero, member of the Sandino Front for National Liberation (FSLN). According to this information, Romero hurled himself from a vehicle in which he was being driven as a prisoner at kilometer 28 of the Pan-American Highway, at Cuesta del Cayol, next to a wooded ravine which has repeatedly been the scene of the tyranny's crimes.

When Denis' family recovered the corpse, the limbs were broken and there was a hole in the head. The Sandinist was clearly subjected to a terrible torture to death.

Events like this are daily occurrences in Nicaragua. Reactionary violence, general in countries assaulted by imperialism, has reached extremes in Nicaragua. Generally these crimes have remained unknown. It is not unusual outside the country to refer to the repression the Nicaraguan people suffer, but it is certain that the full extent of the terror against the people of Nicaragua is not really known.

In recent years this situation has been demonstrated in cases such as the following.

The student David Tejada, after being tortured and assassinated, possibly while still dying, was thrown into the burning crater of a volcano. The crime was committed by Major Oscar Morales, personal aid of the tyrant Anastasio Somoza.

The university professor Danilo Rosales was assassinated after having been skinned alive.

A peasant whose first name, Esteban, is all that could be determined, was thrown

out of a helicopter with the registration 511 or 512.

Entire families in the countryside are wiped out, accused of collaboration with the guerrillas. The peasant Fermín Díaz and three of his children, for example, were beaten to death in El Congo district.

Persons accused of cooperating with the fighters are captured and reported missing, but in reality they are assassinated and their corpses are never uncovered. This is what happened with Fabián Rodríguez a few months ago.

On repeated occasions the repressive forces launched hundreds of armed mercenaries supported by tanks and planes against Sandino combatants' hideouts in urban areas. The Sandino combatants fight heroically to death. We cite Julio Buitrago, member of the National Leadership of the FSLN, the poet Leonel Rugama and the worker Luisa Espinoza.

In the provinces of Matagalpa and Jinotega concentration camps have been set up to detain suspicious peasants. In recent months dozens of peasants in those camps have been said to have disappeared. The law of runaways and shoving from helicopters and moving vehicles has been practiced. It is not only members of the repressive bodies who participate in these crimes. Anastasio Somoza himself participates personally in the blood orgy. His direct connection with the torture and violation of the young university student Lesbia Carrasquilla is known.

It is preferable that we die like rebels rather than live like slaves.





The tortures suffered by the student leader Doris Tijerino, which were made known in the country as soon as they occurred, shocked the entire nation.

The repression extends not only to persons accused of rebellion but also to members of their families. This is what happened to Esperanza Medina, her daughters María and Eva and several grandchildren who have been jailed for their family connections with the revolutionary Santos Medina. The persecution occurs not only in relation to deeds of armed struggle but also to those of a peaceful nature in which the masses participate. León, Managua, Estelí have witnessed massacres of student marchers.

The examples cited explain why the hated tyrant Somoza is nicknamed The Beast by the people.

The present violence in Nicaragua is a clear extension of the terror practiced in the country during repeated armed US interventions.

Remember that Nicaragua has been suffering such interventions since 1954. Added to this is the fact that in the 20th century the people of Nicaragua have suffered the highest incidence of death in Latin America as a result of US naval attacks.

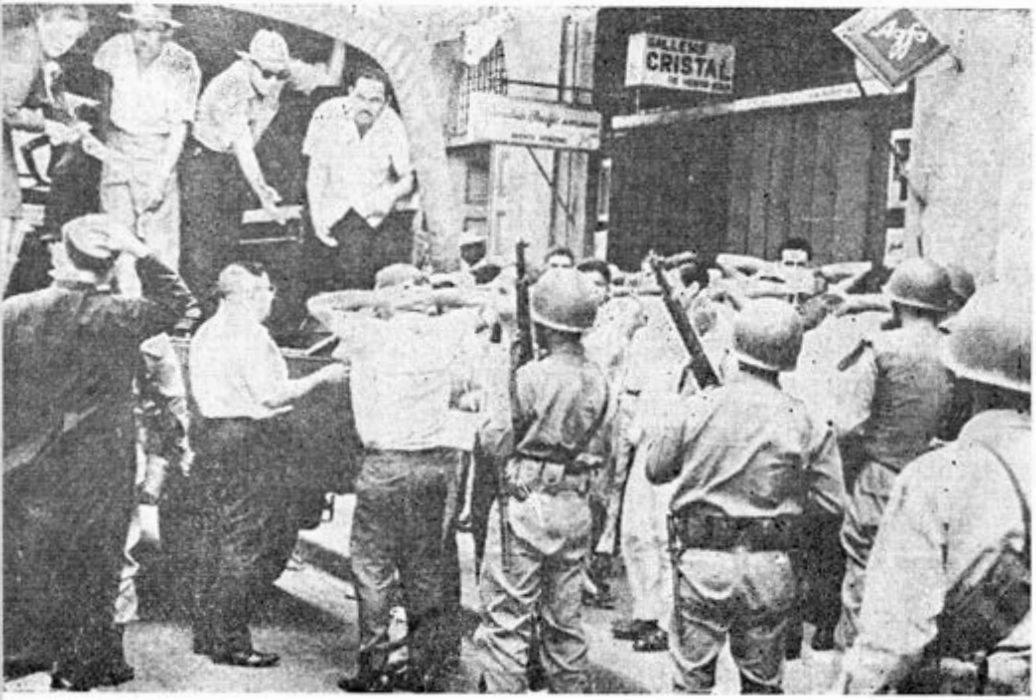
At present the repression is concentrated chiefly against the members of the FSLN because that organization proposes and follows the road of armed struggle in opposition to the electoral farce that the reactionary forces are trying to bring off on the first Sunday in February 1972.

I am Nicaraguan, and I feel proud that American Indian blood, more than any other, runs in my veins and atavistically embodies the mystery of being a loyal and sincere patriot.

Through this electoral farce the reactionary regime proposes to prolong its domination of the country for several years more. Actually it is not only a question of Anastasio Somoza's continuation in power but rather of the sell-out oligarchy's power as well.

Participating in the electoral farce will be the Liberal Party controlled by the Somoza clan and the Conservative Party controlled by the Chamorro clan. The antipeople Nicaraguan regime must be defined as a liberal-conservative regime bathed in blood, that hands the country over to North American imperialism. This question has a special historical importance. The infamous alliance between the two parties goes back to May 4, 1927, the year in which both factions of the oligarchy agreed to share the thirty gold pieces of national betrayal.

May 4 is also the date on which immortal Augusto César Sandino decided to



The oppressed peoples will break the chains of humiliation with which the imperialisms of the earth have tried to hold us down. The trumpets they hear will be the clarions of war, playing the oppressed peoples' hymns of liberation from the injustice of the oppressors.

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head the guerrilla army which offered a tremendous resistance to the US invader.

Liberal and conservative oligarchies share the exploitation of coffee, cattle, cotton, sugar, liquor, the press, the banks, etc.

Elements outside the oligarchy announce their differences with the liberal-conservative agreement drawn up by Turner Shelton, US ambassador in Nicaragua. Such differences as that voiced by the press magnate Pedro J. Chamorro and the millionaire lawyer Ramiro Sacasa, Somoza's cousin, are mere demagogy designed to maintain a trump card for reaction in case the maneuver now underway should fail, which isn't impossible in the convulsive Latin America of today.

The Sandino Front's decision to take up arms continues the new stage of the rebellion begun in 1958. At that time, at the height of the insurrection of the Cuban people led by Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, the first guerrilla movement went into action in the Nicaraguan mountains, commanded by the old veteran of the patriotic forces that Sandino led, Ramón Raudales, whose patriarchal white-bearded figure was shot down by enemy fire on October 4, 1958. Along with the Raudales guerrilla, there were actions by the student movement which, for the first



Central America must unite against the invader instead of supporting governments that enter into alliances with the foreigner.

time, pronounced out loud the name of Sandino, hushed up out of terror until then. With Sandino's name on their lips, students prevented Milton Eisenhower — then visiting the country as representative of the President of the United States, who was also his brother — from setting foot in the University.

In the years since then, students have played an increasing role in the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement.

The role of the student sector has had greater importance because of the political weakness of the Nicaraguan working class. Dozens of students have been killed at the side of peasant militants and men of the people in the Sandino Front's stubborn efforts to forge the guerrilla path that must lead to definitive national and social emancipation.

The progressive incorporation of Nicaraguan students into the people's battle led by the Sandino Front is not limited to the militants who have resolved to take up the guerrilla gun; the student masses have gone into the streets demanding a revolutionary change. The protests since 1958 have been perfectly reflected in the activities of recent months which demanded a halt to the bloody repressions on the part of the tyranny.

The student sector has played a specific role in the dissemination of revolutionary ideas, the ideals of Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh and Marxism-Leninism, firm guide for the exploited and oppressed who yearn for liberation. This has had a profound significance in Nicaragua, a country which, due to certain circumstances, is presently receiving for the first time the influence of the ideas of scientific socialism.

The guerrilla actions in Nicaragua in this new stage have often taken place in

You have the obligation of making the Latin-American people understand that there can be no frontiers between us and that each of us has the specific duty to concern ourselves with the fortunes of every one of the peoples of Spanish America, because we all face the same fortune at the hands of Yankee imperialism's policy of absorbing colonialization.

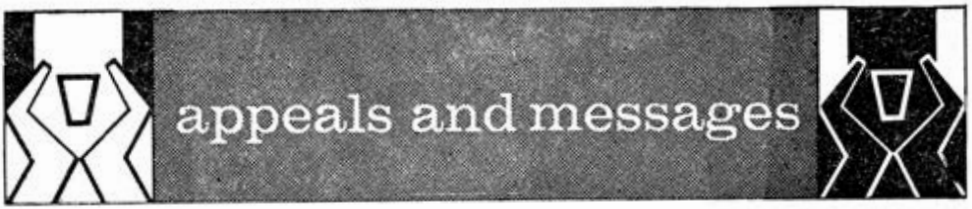
Sandino

isolation without their adequate dissemination abroad. Absorbed in practical local obligations the Sandino Front has not always been able to publicize abroad the continuous actions it has been carrying out since 1958.

When there is mention of the locations of the first guerrillas in this new stage of insurgency through which Latin America is living, Nicaragua is almost never listed. Nevertheless, it has already been explained that, since 1958, the guerrilla gun has been resounding through the land of Sandino; from that time on, year after year, those who have joined the Sandino Front have begun to open the guerrilla breach in the Nicaraguan mountains.

Zenica, La Virgen, Yaosca, Rota, Posoltega, Jinotega, Las Delicias, El Redentor, Santo Domingo, La Ermita, Cuesta del Diablo, Pancasán, Quirragua, Yúcul, Ulusse, Ayaspal, the Bocay River, the Coco River, San Esquipulas, Peñas Blancas, the San Juan River, Poteca, El Dorado, Las Bayas, Chachagón, Yamale, Pueblo Nuevo, Raití, El Chaparral, Yaule, are some of the geographic names that are witness to the Sandinist decision taken by the new Nicaraguan generation.

The Nicaraguan activity faces many obstacles. The traditional terror in Nicaragua can be measured by observing that a third of the population lives outside the country, which has a density of only 14 inhabitants per square kilometer, making it one of the least populated areas in the world. To terror must be added the presence of what are today decadent and sectarian traditional parties, the legacy of more than a century of North American interventions: the nation's habitual ideological obscurantism.



From The Laos Committee of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian People

To The Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in Havana, Cuba

On the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Venezuelan people (October 21), we have the honor to send our warmest greeting of militant solidarity to the National Liberation Front of Venezuela and the Venezuelan people, through the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Faced with the great advance of the democratic national movement of Venezuela, the United States and its lackeys have resorted to maneuvers of subterfuge and bloody repression in order to impose North American neocolonialism. The Venezuelan people have courageously undertaken the revolutionary struggle against the violent oppression and brutal exploitation of US imperialism and the ruling clique in the country, and have wrested important and successive victories.

The Venezuelan people's fight to recover and preserve their fundamental national rights constitutes an active contribution to the movement of common struggle for national independence, peace, democracy and social progress of the peoples of the world. The Laotian people, struggling under the leadership of the Patriotic Front of Laos against the barbarous aggression of Yankee imperialism, the common enemy of the peoples, reaffirms its unshakable support and firm solidarity with the Venezuelan people. We are firmly convinced that their just struggle has the growing support

of the peoples of Latin America and of the peace and justice-loving peoples of the world and will indubitably triumph.

May the friendship and solidarity between the Laotian and Venezuelan people develop and strengthen more every day.

Liberated zone, October 19, 1971

Laos Committee of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples

President Phoumi Vongvichit

OSPAAAL

Havana

Cuba

Desperate in the face of the great victories won by our party in the course of this year the Portuguese colonialist criminals are frantically preparing to use toxic chemicals to destroy our crops before the coming harvest with the evident objective of starving out our struggle. We urge that all measures possible be taken to denounce and condemn this monstrous crime against our people, Africa, and humanity. Our highest consideration

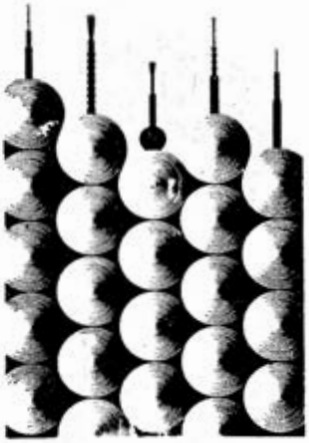
Amilcar Cabral

THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES ARE NOT ALONE

We wish, first of all, to offer fraternal and militant greetings on behalf of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and to thank you in the name of the Executive Secretariat for the invitation to attend this Fifth Conference.

Permit us to express out thanks as well to the Afro-Asian Committee of the Arab Republic of Egypt and to the government, led by President Answar el Sadat, for their hospitality and at the same time, to express our solidarity and support of the just struggle they are waging with the Arab





peoples and the heroic Palestine people against North American imperialism's launching pad in this area, the base of international Zionism: Israel.

Fourteen years ago the First Afro-Asian Conference was held in this very capital; since that date many revolutionary events have taken place to strengthen our peoples' decision to struggle.

Also on this date, we commemorate the sixth anniversary of the First Tricontinental Conference, an event of major significance which, for the first time, permitted delegations from the revolutionary forces of 82 organizations on the three continents to establish an exchange of experiences and initiatives and to create an organization to unite, coordinate and stimulate the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism headed by North American imperialism.

The present period is marked by extraordinary successes achieved by the revolutionary movement. The intrinsic aspirations of the peoples to win their freedom and full independence are being fulfilled today, and the final stage of the confrontation begun several centuries ago between the exploited and the exploiters — which celebrated its first victory of the oppressed in the October Revolution led by Lenin — is now a broad reality.

The revolutionary and progressive forces are stronger. The countries that in other times were the preserves for domination by the great metropolises, have been transformed into an incontinent swell of struggle and action against imperialist domination, exchanging their passivity for an offensive and determined force to wipe out all forms of domination.

The best representation of this conversion is found in the heroic and selfless struggle of the Vietnamese people and their Laotian and Cambodian brothers who, out of their just desire to maintain independence, sovereignty and national integrity, have had to face an unjust war of extermination directed by the imperialists, particularly the United States, which has only been placed in a state of crisis because of the action and the decision of an entire people to win or die.





Within the framework of a perfectly defined global strategy, US imperialism, center of world reaction, engages in as many actions — however criminal and cynical they may be — as it considers useful to its dreams of domination and survival.

In its plans of plunder, exploitation and crime, imperialism respects neither the geographic area nor the historic characteristic of any country to obtain its ends, whether economic, political or military. That is why, in collaboration with other imperialist powers, such blocs as NATO, SEATO, as well as Japanese militarism and other military and economic groups, are organized and serve as loyal instruments of its aggressive world-wide policy.

Impelled by a crisis that prevents it from operating freely, and ever closer to its total defeat, Yankee imperialism, which has assumed the role of international gendarme, intensifies its criminal violence and utilizes all instruments and all paths to attack the people.

Comrades, permit us to assure you that the struggle of the Afro-Asian people does not stand alone, that your struggle is joined to the struggle of the Latin-American revolutionary forces which, in another geographic location, are also meeting the objectives of confronting this imperialist domination.

The struggles of the combatants of the so-called Portuguese colonies against the domination of the decadent government of Portugal have the the same objectives as those of the Puerto Rican patriots for their independence from Yankee colonialism.

In Africa, imperialism's support to the fascist regimes of Mobutu and Vorster, and the aggressions and maneuvers against the Republic of Guinea, the People's Republic of the Congo; in Asia, the occupation of the southern part of Korea by Yankee imperialism, the aggressions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; or those in Latin America aimed at the Republic of Cuba or Chile; all are alike, since the interests of imperialist





domination are common; and the reply of the legitimate governments and their people are also common: struggle or death against the aggressor.

Transitory reverses on certain occasions are only sorrowful experiences that can offer the people lessons to begin the struggle. What matters is being convinced that final victory belongs to the peoples whose aroused will knows no truly insurmountable obstacle to the conquest of this victory.

At this meeting we can proclaim our conviction that the liberation movements are growing and that in the midst of vicissitudes, of difficult battles against powerful enemies, some peoples have achieved victory, others have begun their struggle and many others are getting ready for the fight.

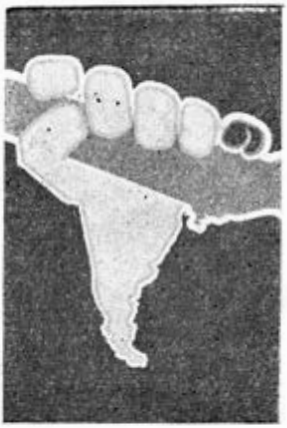
In many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, imperialism has imposed on the people as the only alternative for their national liberation, the road of revolutionary violence.

On our continents, many countries have achieved their independence at the cost of great sacrifice. The responsibility of the leaders and revolutionaries of these countries is not only to preserve their sovereignty against various forms of imperialist aggressions, but also it is the responsibility of the revolutionary leadership to establish the condition for independent economic and cultural development in the face of different forms of penetration by the enemy of the peoples.

The survival of these sovereign states and the guarantees of their future progress is closely related to the struggle against imperialist domination being waged on the three continents. The responsibilities of revolutionary solidarity oblige the organizations and parties in power to offer the support necessary — in different forms — to the revolutionary organizations that are struggling for their legitimate rights.

Today, while we hold this conference, the US imperialists, though they talk about ending their commitment in Viet Nam, their withdrawal from Viet Nam, continue intensifying the aggressive war in this part of the world through Nixon's plan of "Vietnamization" of the war. In recent days they





have begun savage bombing of many densely populated zones, hospitals and cities in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, cynically defying the increasingly strong opposition of the peoples of the world and even those of the United States, who demand that Nixon put an end to his dirty war in Viet Nam.

From this tribune OSPAAAL energetically condemns the Yankee imperialists' piratic acts against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and demands that Nixon call an immediate and definitive end to these vandalous acts, specifically that he immediately halt the plan for "Vietnamization" of the war, withdraw all his troops and armaments from South Viet Nam, cease providing aid to the Saigon puppet regime headed by Nguyen Van Thieu, and let the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia resolve their own affairs without foreign interference.

Comrades, we wish to salute this Conference which brings together representatives of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and which assembles for the purpose of making common agreements concerning their aspirations, inspired by the combatants who are currently fighting on different fronts in defense of the cause of our underdeveloped peoples, giving their quota of blood to achieve the just hopes of the peoples for obtaining complete liberty and independence.

Comrades, from this tribune, in memory of our martyrs and following the luminous example of Lumumba, Ben Barka, Ho Chi Minh, Ernesto Che Guevara, we raise our receptive fists to speed the definitive blow for the disappearance of imperialism.

Down with colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism headed by Yankee imperialism!

Only revolutionary offensive pitted against imperialist offensive will give us final victory!

Long live the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America!

This great humanity has said: Enough! and has begun to move forward!

(OSPAAAL speech at the V AAPSO Conference)


API NAN TAK KUNDJUNG PADAM