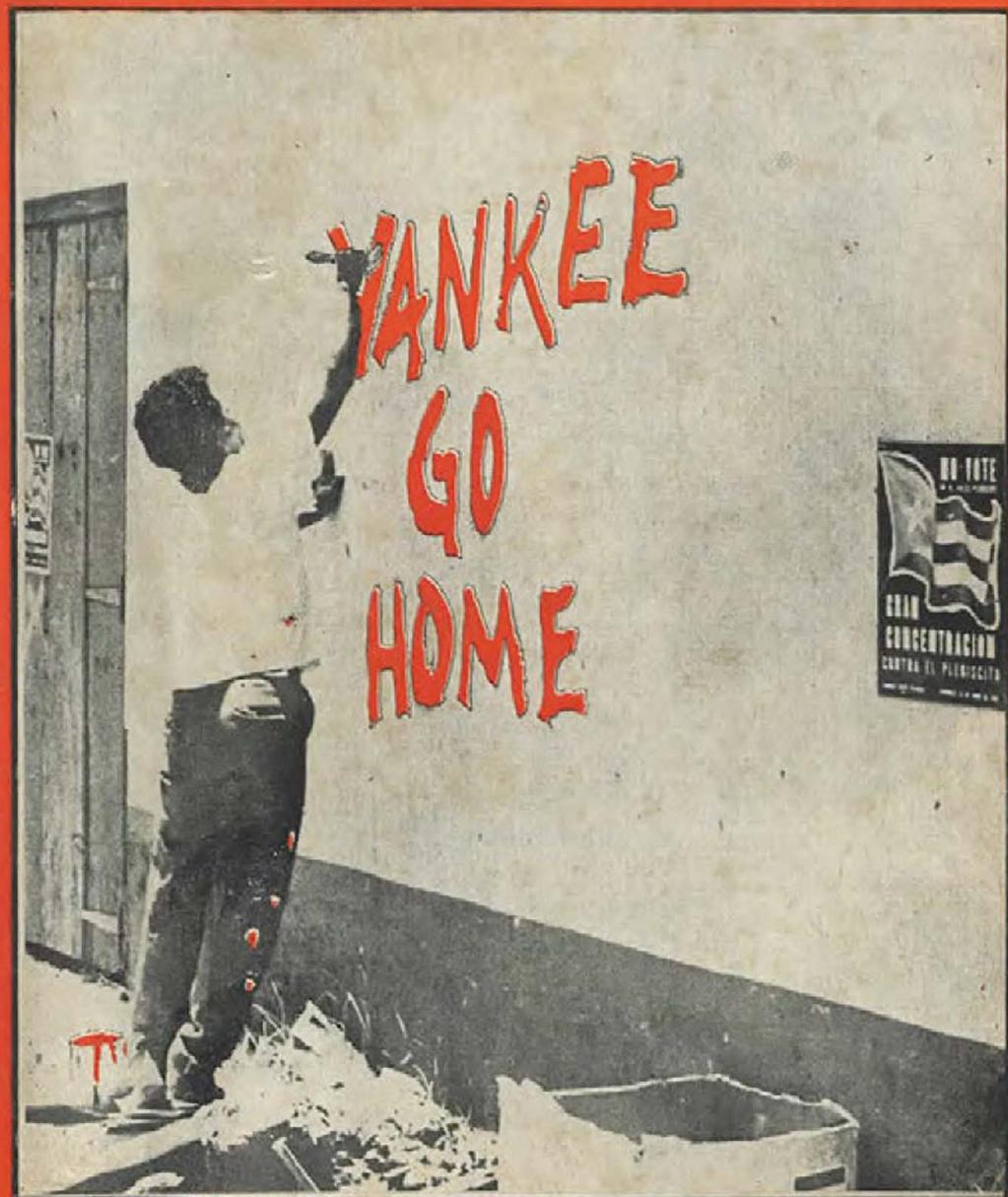




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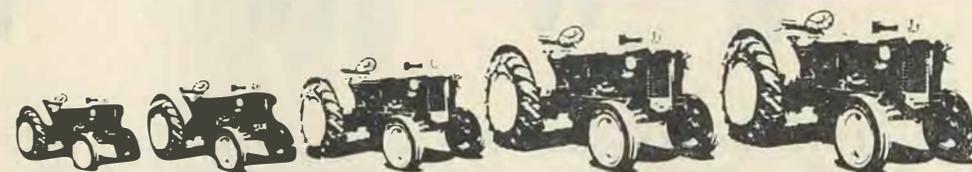
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CHILEAN AGRARIAN REFORM:

new perspectives

by Luis Ignacio López



For Chilean agrarian reform, May 5 ended the stage of expropriations according to the plan of the People's Unity government. In 16 months there have already been more than 2000 farms expropriated by the Agrarian Reform Corporation (CORA) compared to the 1408 in which CORA intervened over the six years of the previous Christian Democratic administration.

The present Minister of Agriculture, Jacques Chonchol, announced that "the end of latifundism" is a goal that has already been fulfilled by the people's government. Nevertheless, the agrarian process now faces new problems. On the one hand, the urgency of organizing production programs, and, on the other, to try to resolve the questions raised by the new social structure which replaces the almost liquidated latifundism.



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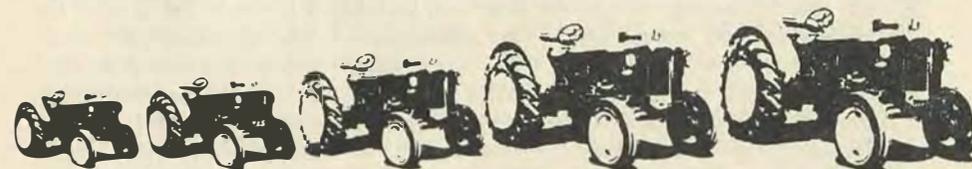
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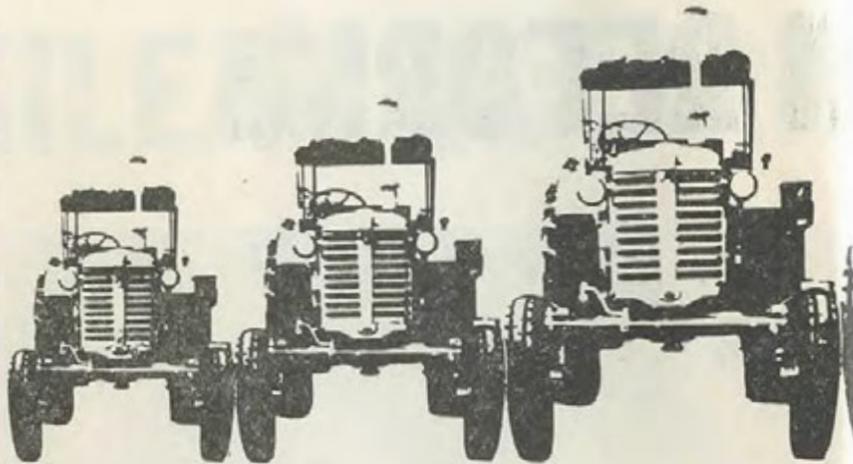
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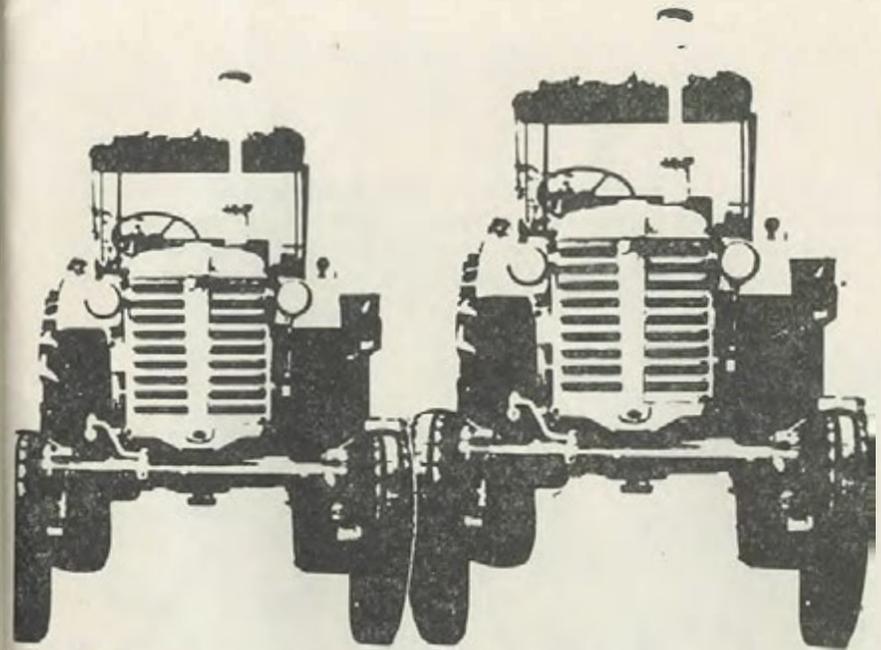


WITH the period of planting and rotation which initiated the agricultural year 1972, in May, the deepening of agrarian reform, announced by Salvador Allende's government in its basic program, closed its cycle of expropriations. The People's Unity plan was to reach a figure of 2000 farms under agrarian reform in 1971 and 1972, along with the 1400 from the previous reformist administration of Eduardo Frei which obviously had little interest in accelerating the process of real changes in Chilean agriculture.

Nevertheless, the figures have surpassed the expectation of state agricultural organization officials themselves. Last March 25, expropriation number 2000 took place. At the end of April another 700 farms were added and on May 5 — the date set by Minister Jacques Chonchol — more than 3000 lands or farms had been acquired.

Peasant pressure and massive expropriations

THE effective acceleration of the attack on latifundism is due in the eyes of the observer to two sources which have converged — although often with certain tensions. On the one hand, since 1971, the peasant movement appears to have unleashed the fighting energies accumulated since 1960 over ten years of awakening. In recent months, mobilizations have taken place. In the summer of 1971 (January and February), the Indian peasants (Mapuches) of the southern provinces of Cautin, Malleco and a part of Valdivia started a strong fight against the landowners who



had stolen the land over decades. Minister Chonchol travelled through the zone at that time and quickly accelerated the expropriation plans for these provinces, still without having totally resolved the explosive situation in this focus of social struggle, however.

Later, during 1971, other provinces began the peasant struggle. In the central zone, principal nucleus of latifundism, the tension is born out of the reserves that the present agrarian reform law (whose origins are Christian Democratic) permits to the expropriated landowners (a total maximum of 80 hectares, where the best lands are generally located and obviously, the machinery and apparatus that the current law does not allow to be expropriated). Other times, social conflicts motivate the occupation of lands, in certain cases causing more violent confrontations which nevertheless do not lead to the "civil war" periodically proclaimed in the right-wing press by the agricultural entrepreneurs and their spokesmen. A third and very current cause in the central provinces where the major strength of agrarian capitalism lies, is proven production sabotages or even the dismantling of farms that fall within CORA's expropriation plans. (Nearly 300 farms in the zones close to the capital have been intervened for this reason.)

In the months since 1972, CORA's tactic has consisted of massive expropriations, by zones, with the double objective of accelerating the expropriation process and, on the other hand, permitting a rapid reorganization of the reformed sector with a view to putting new production plans into operation to prevent, according to what Minister Jacques Chonchol has stated, the deterioration of production. This strategy has been expressed in recent months in various provinces: Llanquihue (southern zone); Valdivia (south); Bio-bio, Nuble and Malleco (center-south); Aconcagua (to the north

of Santiago). Prior to this, in the central provinces and especially in Nuble and Curico, there had been massive seizures of farms because of the economic and social demands of the workers. On several of them, state expropriation or intervention was also requested because they had been abandoned or the work was bad.

The latifundist's end

IN fact, according to data supplied by the Agrarian Reform Corporation and the National Institute of Statistics, only 5% of the country's agricultural land would be considered expropriable. The reformed area, according to these sources, would include a fourth of the land used for agriculture while 18% remains in state hands as forest reserves or special cases of extensive ranches largely devoted to the cattle business (the case of the expropriations carried out in the southern province of Magallanes, for sheep raising and wool production).

Within the terms of the present agrarian reform law promulgated in 1967 by Christian Democracy, it has now been possible to limit virtually all the larger farms to 80 hectares of basic arable land, the limit set as nonexpropriable. The same law nevertheless permits the acquisition or transfer to the reformed area of those units of less than 80 — but larger than 40 — hectares that have been abandoned or badly administered with respect to productive tasks. In this respect and within the limitations that the current legislation imposes, Minister Chonchol has been sharp: "All those farms of less than 80 and more than 40 hectares that are badly worked will be expropriated; also the totality of lands that one family owns will be considered for expropriation and each will be allowed only the legal limit of 80 hectares."

The industrial trench

IT is obvious that, in this area of conflict, the farms between 40 and 80 arable hectares are those that constitute the contradictions within the present law. The fact that 44% of the agricultural lands are considered to be small or medium-sized properties is matched by the fact that half of this percentage consists of farms larger than 40 hectares. Even Minister Chonchol at the same time that he has shown himself to be a partisan of support to the small and medium farm owner, does not hide his personal interest in reducing to 40 hectares the limit of expropriability.

The Minister's opinion is supported by certain agricultural experts. According to them — and the figures cited seem to support this — the weight of capitalist agricultural power has shifted in recent years to this type of farm or ranch which,



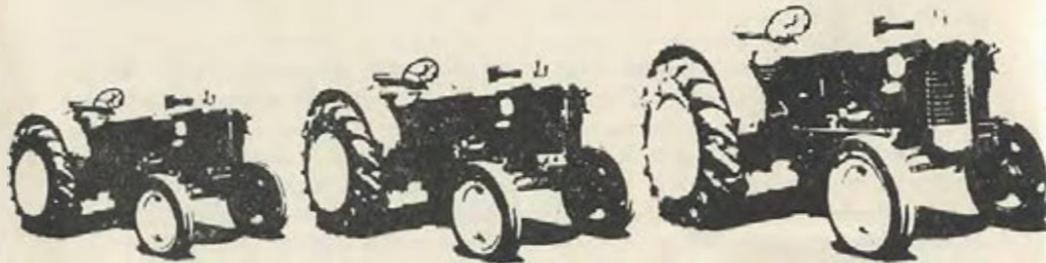
although the law of Christian Democracy considered it "medium-sized property," serves as a base of industrial power formerly personified by the traditional latifundist landowner. In fact, since 1962, when there began to be insistent demands in the air for agrarian reform — which the Alliance for Progress stimulated with a fearful eye on Cuba — the best-advised agricultural enterprises have rapidly subdivided their properties, distributing them among relatives. A later disposition, issued in the most advanced moments reached by the Frei government, prohibited the subdivisions at their starting point; but many farmers, among them the most efficient and modern from a capitalist point of view, have succeeded in dividing their lands and eluding threats of expropriation.

The business frauds continued. Days before, Chonchol denounced the fact that, in the province of O'Higgins, 80 kilometers from Santiago, the owners seized the lands of certain peasants to provoke confrontations with the Agrarian Reform Organization. Along with this, the trade unions which still control Christian Democracy, promoted seizures in the same province and in neighboring Colchagua somewhat to the south, designed to be confused in the public mind with those mobilizations stimulated by the peasant base demanding greater radicalization of the reform process.

An uncertain structure

IF one phase of this remains linked to the massive expropriations of those months, the question is raised concerning the future structure to be imposed on the Chilean countryside. In fact, of the 44% represented by the small and medium landowner of less than 80 hectares, the reform sector occupies scarcely the 25% previously mentioned. If it is considered that, of the 44%, at least half pertains to industrial property of respectable size, and the classic capitalist form of exploitation — with certain technological variations stimulated by the "progressive" sector of the National Agricultural Society, the patron organization most opposed to agrarian reform — the balance of the structure that remains in the countryside has a strongly transitory nature. In this context, Minister Chonchol has repeatedly pointed out "the necessity for sending the Congress a new agrarian reform law that lowers the limit of nonexpropriability and broadens the restrictive provisions of the current law." Among these restrictions the most significant would be the so-called "right to reserve," which permits the latifundists to retain the best land and principal investments of the farm. Another point is the "closed door" expropriation platform supported by the most radicalized peasant councils, various parties in People's Unity and the Revolutionary Peasant Movement (MCR). According to this point, the farm should be acquired with installations, machinery, animals, in such form that it can be worked immediately after intervention (up to now the failure to do this has created serious production problems on certain expropriated farms due to the inevitable delay in formalizing credits and technical assistance through the state).

The transitory situation has also come up with other formulas which, for the moment, solve the problems imposed by the present method of expropriation. To

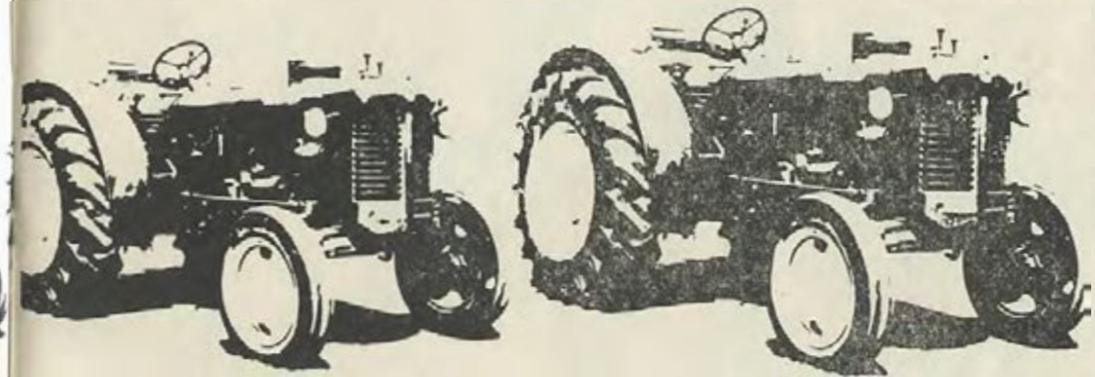


avoid reassigning credit requests and disorder in the plans of the organizations in charge of expropriating the farms because of abandonment or production sabotage, the state replies with a decree of "revision of work and intervention." In this way it has been able to solve labor and productive problems on more than 300 farms and the resulting surrender has seen an effective function of the peasant administrative councils and a production increase on 96% of them.

The reform area

HOWEVER, neither do these solutions answer the problem of the capitalist structure that remains in the Chilean countryside. Nor is the situation very clear in the reform area. On the one hand, in the acquisition that Christian Democracy succeeded in forming during its administration, a new peasant petite bourgeoisie has been born which employs a low-paid work force on its farms and expresses itself politically in concepts close to those of the traditional right in the countryside. These acquisitions, which are grouped in the National Confederation of Acquisitions, currently influence a minority but significant number of peasants and a large number of them still favor private ownership of property.

The present government has replied — always within legal terms — with the so-called Centers of Agrarian Reform (CERA) where in addition to broad peasant participation by all farm workers and their families, a more socialized work system is ensured. At the same time, according to the Minister of Agriculture, this will also be a transitory form, "giving the peasants an opportunity to select between a cooperative form of property and the creation of state ranches." Up until the present, according to the Minister, some 50 centers are functioning and their formation has been limited, depending on a prior preparation of those peasants favored.



Production plans

THUS the definition of agrarian reform will have to wait a while to be resolved. On the one hand, it is impossible this year, in a congress dominated by the opposition, to succeed in passing a new law that corrects the profound limitations of the one now in force. On the other hand—and this has been expressed by agricultural authorities—the problem of production can be aggravated if it is not given preferential attention.

The principal obstacles remain in exports and imports. About this Conchol has said: "For more than 30 years, Chile has had to import more food than it exports, despite the potentiality of its lands. This year we hope to overcome the meagre 30 000 000 [dollars] that we have exported since the 40s." With this objective, the Office of Agricultural Planning, a dependency of the Ministry of Agriculture, has proposed the following tasks, among others:

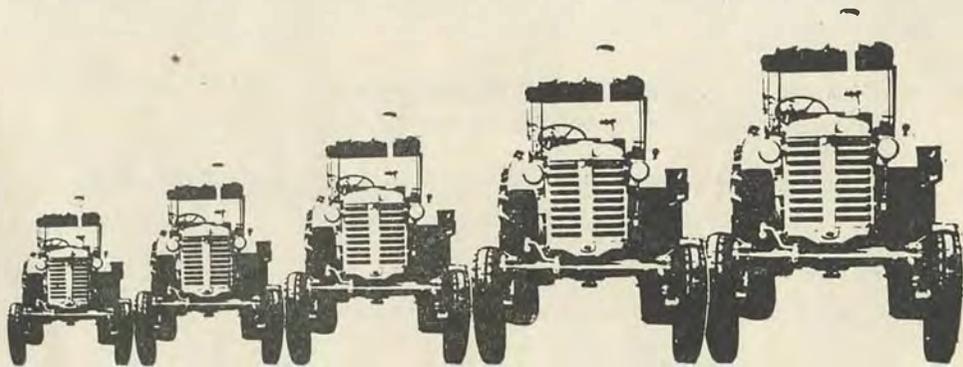


- ⊕ An increase of 8.6% in cattle production in order to meet a 5% increase in the demand. (In 1971 a 10.1% production increase was achieved.)
- Extended use of the soil in the amount indicated and an increase of 10.4% in the intensive cultivation of cereals, horticulture, fructiculture and industrial cultivations.
- ⊕ An increase in machinery by 2000 tractors already contracted in countries in the socialist camp and negotiation for another 4000.
- Restructuring of the 30 agricultural organizations now scattered over five ministries, in a more functional and operative scheme.
- Restriction of certain exports needed for internal consumption and intensification in exportable products (fruits and farm products).
- Constitution of a mixed area in the agro-industrial and viticultural sectors.

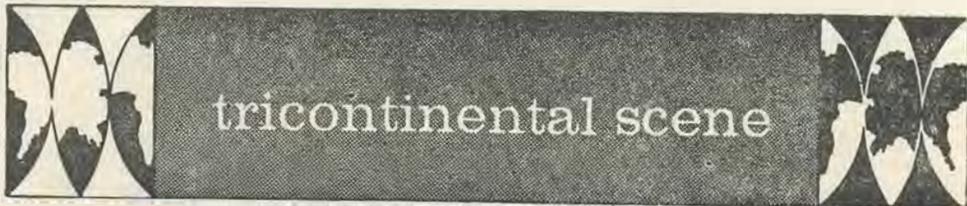
Peasant demands

ON the other hand, peasant pressures on the unstable transitory structure now in operation lead one to believe that there is still a long class struggle in the Chilean countryside. The mobilization of agricultural workers and poor peasants in the MCR and in the peasant bases of parties of the UP already offers certain antecedents which, last December 1971, were shaped into a program called the Declaration of Linares, the province where later in December, there was a parliamentary election in which the UP was defeated. According to the document which caused certain polemics within People's Unity, the peasants, through the peasant council in the zone, proposed points that go beyond the current law, which as is known, is guided by the neocapitalist principles of Christian Democracy.

The program, which today includes growing numbers of bases in the central provinces (in one of them, Nuble, a huge mobilization took place in March) demands among other points the elimination of the right to reserve, lowering the limit on expropriable land to 40 hectares, closed-door expropriation (with machinery and installations). Moreover, within the question of power, it demands the rapid organization of peasant councils, instituted by the government since last year, in order to stimulate through them a structure of "real peasant power" with protection over areas of production, citations of expropriations and functions of local power.



These councils, as well as the CERA or Centers of Agrarian Reform stimulated by the government and supported by the most radical sectors of the peasantry, already constitute a strong seed for future pressures in the countryside which the present law, however effectively it fulfilled the program of expropriations, is unable to resolve because of its own essence. Certain of the signers of the declaration have already clearly stated the demand for socialism and, for the most attentive observers, the councils, in the long run, can become organs similar to the soviets of the 1911 revolution where the changes related to the force of a revolutionary process were registered. In Chile in 1972, some councils are dominated by rich peasants; but in most parts of the provinces, forces representing the most backward sectors of the peasantry and the agricultural proletariat are opening the way, forces which have been developing over the last few years thanks to the capitalist reform of the Frei government itself from 1964 to 1970. On this base, ever more numerous revolutionary forces are organizing and opting for an acceleration which will culminate in the only possible goal for them: socialism.



New Mexico: a colony of the United States

Antonio Córdova, member of the New Mexico Chicano organization The Black Berets, and Rito Canales, also a member, were killed by state police agents on January 29 of this year. Córdova was also a member of the editorial group of the left publication El Grito del Norte and Canales had been in state prison for some time.

Both were to have appeared on a television program in which it was expected they would denounce the subhuman situation of prisoners, the majority of whom are Chicanos.

This article, one of the last written by the young man, analyzes the situation in which the Chicano, the Indian and the black live in the state of New Mexico.

ARE you among those looking for work in New Mexico? If so, your chances of finding any are slight, because of many reasons including the propagandistic argument used by the gringos that "this state is an area with a surplus work force."

This would also be the argument of those who deny the possibility of obtaining a form of subsistence since "in New Mexico the availability of the work force grows at a more rapid rhythm than the creation of new jobs."

by Antonio Córdova

Nevertheless, it is possible that if the color of your skin falls within the "white" classification, you can find work; but for a Chicano, a black or an Indian, the opportunities will be reduced, in the last instance, to involving oneself in some task that the "white" considers degrading and doesn't do for fear of dirtying his hands. Such work as dishwasher, servant, agricultural worker or gas station employee (though of course the owner of the es-





establishment will always be a "white") fall in this category.

According to the most recent official reports, New Mexico is not only "a state with an excessive work force" but it is moreover "an underdeveloped area."

According to the investigations cited, one of the arguments the investors in the state fence with is the still vital question of quarrels over the ownership of lands in dispute between the government and the Indians or Chicanos, which retards the development of capital in the industrial sector.

Faced with this situation, businessmen — one report points out — believe it is better to devote themselves to the exploitation of natural resources in New Mexico than to installing factories or assembly plants or electronic computers.

It is more productive for them to devote themselves to mining coal, oil, uranium and gold or exploiting the forest and water resources to the same degree that industries are developed in other states or outside the country, as for example, in Michigan, Texas, California or Japan.

Nevertheless, for any economist who knows the situation in New Mexico, the conclusion that this state is "an underdeveloped area" is a big lie. What can be affirmed is that this territory suffers from a very common illness that is called "economic deformation."

An example of what constitutes economic deformation can also be found in the state of West Virginia, where the major part of its resources are extracted

and taken elsewhere for their manufacture.

Similar situations to those of New Mexico and West Virginia are evident in Puerto Rico and in other US colonies in America. Thus, despite the propaganda the gringos try to disseminate, New Mexico is not an "underdeveloped area" but rather a colony within the United States.

It falls within this classification not only because it was a territory conquered militarily by the Anglo-Saxons but because of its present situation with respect to the commercial interchange with other states and the federal administration.

New Mexico's raw materials are extracted and developed outside its boundaries while every product that is sold in this state is imported from other regions.

This export of mining wealth and the slow growth of its industry are the basic economic factors that prevent work opportunities from growing parallel to the needs of the population for employment.

This economic reality is aggravated still further by the immigration of whites from other states which adds to the already grave situation another evil ingredient that influences unemployment: racism.

The gringo, conqueror of our lands known before then as Aztlan, did not content himself only with seizing them but also decided that the Indians and Chicanos were not good enough to work with him.

On this problem of racism in New Mexico various instances can be cited,

among them that of the Kennecott Mining Corporation in Silver City, in the southwest of New Mexico.

The enterprise, property of the Mormon Church in Utah, bases its propaganda on conceding equal opportunity to all, but of the 310 salaried employees, only 38 are Chicanos — 13% — and none are Indian. Nevertheless, 47.2% of the population there is of Mexican origin.

A similar situation exists in the Phelps Dodge Corporation constructed in New Mexico by Brown and Root of Texas at a cost of \$38 000 000.

The firm is known in the southern states for its efforts to divide the workers and destroy the trade unions, as well as for its world-wide projects (it is one of the corporations that has benefited from juicy contracts in Viet Nam). It is also known for its connections with ex-President Lyndon Johnson.

Phelps Dodge has in its New Mexico branch some 200 employees of whom 160 are whites brought in from other states. Only 25 belong to the Chicano community, according to a report from the local trade union.

Nevertheless, in New Mexico there is an industry that is developing with gigantic strides and it can be stated that this is the only one in the state: tourism.

In the first place, it must be remembered that this method of obtaining profits occupies a chief place in the negotiations of the metropolis in all its colonies and constitutes one of the signs of "economic deformation."

The gringo tourist arrives in New Mexico attracted by the ancient cities and the color of their natives (that's us), but does not show the slightest interest for the human beings, heirs of those who built those monuments and developed an extraordinary and original culture on these lands.

But the fantastic sums of money spent by the tourists stay in the purses of the rich gringos, owners of the state.

Whatever type of work an Indian or a Chicano carries out during the tourist season will always be of the type mentioned earlier, that is, servants, janitors, dishwashers and gas station attendants.

Add to this discrimination the constant white immigration that contributed to the index of unemployment which, in 1970 alone, rose to 7.8%.

Moreover, as is natural, racism extends also to housing. The poorest neighborhoods of all those in the Southwest are the ones where the Chicanos and Indians live, among them Guadalupe, San Miguel, Mora, Río Arriba, Sandoval and Taos, as well as the area of McKinley.

In these communities the rate of unemployment ranges between 7.2% and 15.5%. These factors are additional elements that conform to a "deformed economy."

Just compare the Chicano communities with those of the "superdeveloped whites."

In Los Alamos, where the white population reaches 89%, there is only 1.9% unemployment.

On the other hand, in Mora, with a Chicano population of 85.4%, unemployment is up to 14.7%.

If a comparison is made of the pay workers receive in both locales, the figures indicate that in Los Alamos 2.1% receive salaries under \$3000 annually while 43.5% earn salaries higher than \$10 000 a year.

By contrast, 69% of the employees of Mora receive wages of less than \$3000 annually.

The state educational system is also another important question in the situation of the Chicano and the Indian in New Mexico and directly influences their possibilities for work.



State education is planned by Anglos, for Anglos and with Anglos. Chicano and Indian children begin to suffer discrimination from the first moment they enter school.

The isolation of the Chicano and Indian child occurs by different methods. The first consists in placing them in the most backward grades because of their lack of knowledge of English.

It continues with the scorn they receive from teachers who deny them the most elemental pedagogical attention.

This is translated into the most brutal racism with the passage of time.

After seven years in this hostile atmosphere, the children usually abandon their studies. Recently the Commission of Civil Rights showed that more than 40% of the Mexican-North American students leave school in the early grades.

The Indians, with an even graver situation, abandon the classroom long before the Chicanos.

The gringos, who know and create this situation, take advantage of it to demand higher requirements of those who go to seek work. In some places they may ask for high school diplomas for work which doesn't even require a knowledge of how to read and write. This operation is carried out with the full knowledge that the majority of Chicanos and Indians do not have the qualifications demanded of them.

This fact is then used as a justification for saying: "We are not racists. There

simply are no Chicanos or Indians who are qualified."

Thus they have a pretext for bringing "whites" from other states, thereby increasing the unemployment of Third World minorities.

There are many Chicanos who try to find work in the state public education system for two reasons: job security and the possibility of receiving acceptable pay.

In New Mexico, some 25.9% of the employees in education are Chicanos. But this figure includes every Chicano who works in education, no matter what work he does.

Of these 19.7% are considered to be in professional occupations, although the reality is that half of the employees in education are service employees, dishwashers and other laborers.

Thus the percentage of this minority in the field of education is much less than the number of workers that the gringos would like to have people believe.

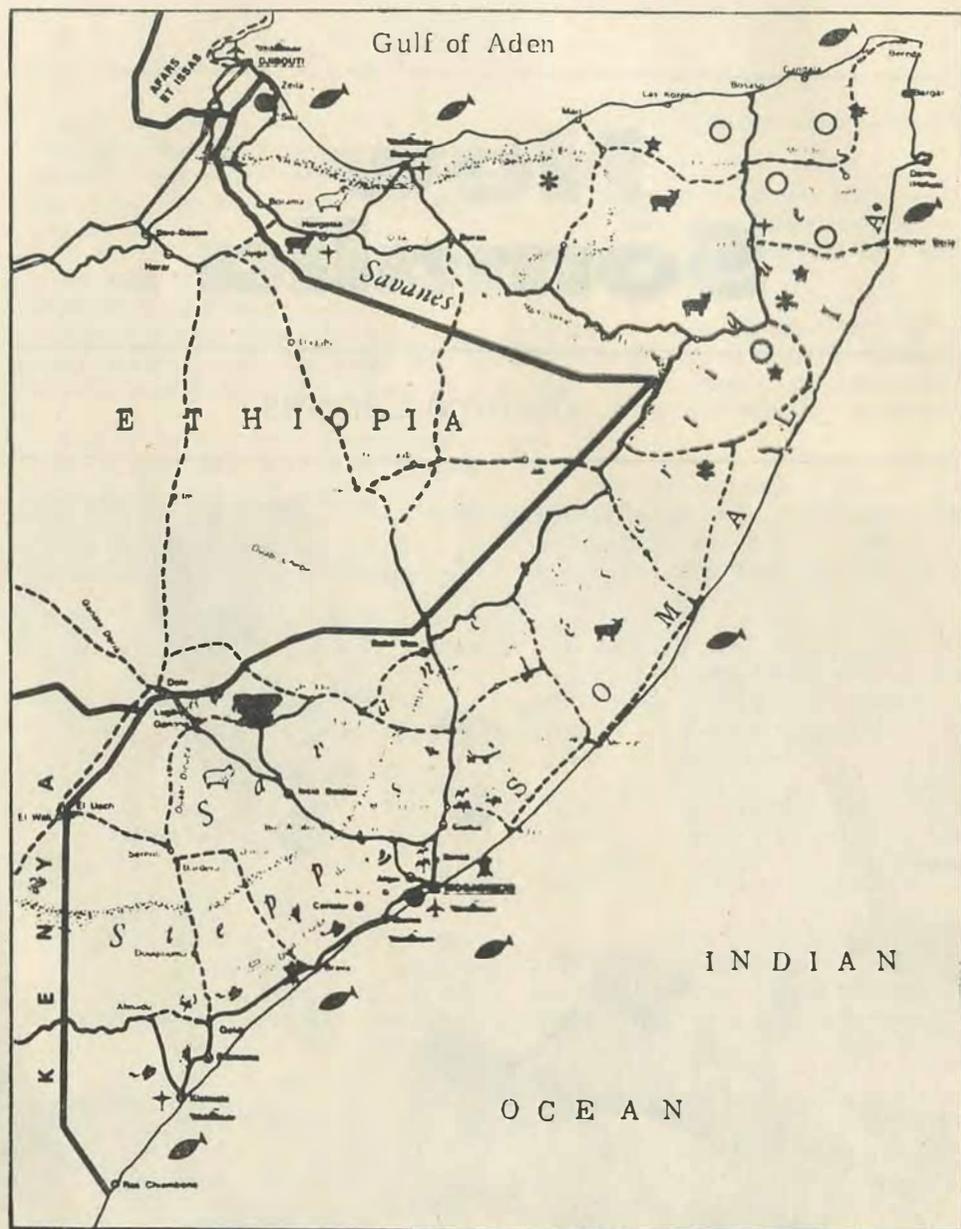
A recent report of the Commission of Civil Rights of the State of Colorado showed that 55.5% of the Chicano workers are in basic manual labor and 50.7% of women face a similar situation.

It doesn't matter what method or name they use to try to cover up the situation in New Mexico; all statistics appear to confirm the fact that this state in the southwest of the United States is another victim of colonialism and racism.

New Somalia

By Irma Cáceres





Official name: Democratic Republic of Somalia

Area: 637 661 km²

Population: 2 900 000 rural: 89% (60% nomad)
urban: 11%

Rate of growth: 3.3%

Population density: 4 inhabitants per km²

Date of independence: July 1, 1961

Government: Supreme Council of the Revolution

President of the Council: Mohammed Siad Barre

National money: the somalo (0.14 = US \$ 1.00)

Capital: Mogadiscio, with 200 000 inhabitants

Principal cities: Hargeisa with 80 000 inhabitants

Merca with 62 000 inhabitants

Official languages: English, Italian and Arabic (the national language, Somali, is still not a written language)

Religion: Islam (95% of the population is Muslim)

Ethnic composition: Hamites, 1 500 000 to 1 700 000

Bantus, 60 000

Principal wealth: cattle

Agricultural production: sugar, corn, millet, bananas, peanuts

Labor force: cattle raising, 80%

agriculture, 2%

industry, commerce and transport, 5-10%

Per capita annual income: \$50

Infant mortality: 16 per 1000 inhabitants (1960-61)

Doctors: 1 per 30 000 inhabitants (1966)

THE steps taken two and a half years ago in Somalia toward the construction of a nationalist-type state are today receiving national approbation and that of progressive forces inside and outside the continent.

President Mohammed Siad Barre's governmental measures for social welfare have confirmed the principles announced in 1969 by the then recently created

Supreme Council of the Revolution: to struggle fundamentally for national unity and the development of the backward and weak economy.

Somalia's historic revolutionary process grows out of the struggles waged against the Romans, the Greeks, the Persians and then the English, the Italians and the French. It comes up to today, when the 4 500 000 Somalians are determined to

wipe out the scars left by colonialism and neocolonialism.

Somalia has never been so profoundly disturbed in its nine years of independence as when, in October of 1969, it became known that President Ali Shermarke had been assassinated in a province in the north of the country, and seven days later a military Junta deposed the Prime Minister.



From then up to now, the Somalians have seen, day by day, the construction of schools, hospitals, sports centers, houses—despite the fact that the two basic sources of foreign aid, the United States and the German Federal Republic, had been withdrawn, the first charging use of the national flag on ships bound for Cuba and Viet Nam, and the second recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

From that time on, the government strengthened all its ties with the socialist

countries. Military equipment, technical and financial aid came to Somalia in considerable amounts, from the USSR as well as from the rest of the socialist camp.

The youth attend specialized schools in these countries to become engineers, doctors, etc.

This cooperation has permitted the government to consolidate internal relations with a population that is 60%

nomad and which until a few years ago was divided into tribes that fought among themselves. Later the government's fed ethnic differences to obtain a decisive vote at election times.

When Siad Barre came to power there were more than 70 political parties.

The government organized a commission of experts to work on the creation of an alphabet which the national language did not have. This prevented national history and traditions from being passed down in written form; they were



preserved orally only. Moreover only a minority spoke English or Italian. These two official languages have been taught in the few schools in the country and currently in the university whose center, for the most part, is on the outskirts of the capital. The structuring of the faculty of agronomy is almost completed and the faculty of medicine has been started.

Installations are being constructed in different zones to accommodate these large masses, who, in search of better pastures,

move from one point to another dragging their children and cattle along.

Several refrigeration centers for milk are already in use. Formerly, the nomad lost a large part of the milk and was only able to use a small amount. Now he is able to take care of his cattle and bring the milk to the appropriate establishments.

Other measures put into practice include "urgency programs," farms where youth between 14 and 27 years of age,

mostly peasants, are voluntarily recruited. They work, study and complete their military service at the same time. Several thousand youth are already organized this way. In the district of Merca, 100 kilometers from Mogadiscio, there are camps that house young women as well as young men.

would even be the possibility of electrifying large zones.

The Juba and the Shibeli run almost the full length of the country. At the moment great hydraulic projects are underway and canals and dams are being built.



After two years in the camps, the men can go into the army or continue to work in agriculture. The women — still a minority in this activity — are incorporated into advancement courses as public health workers.

In addition to the agricultural problems there are water problems. The country has two important rivers; by taking advantage of the waters technically, these difficulties would be overcome and there

Another serious inconvenience is the lack of national technicians, typical of countries which have been under the colonial yoke for years. In 1970, the nationalization of the major part of foreign industries — banks, sugar center, small industries and 50% of one of the principal products, bananas — necessitated state formation of its own cadres in a hurry.

Although the theme is treated with considerable discretion, the government

projects the exploitation of uranium deposits discovered in 1968. Its reserves are calculated at a million tons. Shortly after the discovery it was said that its mineral was of better quality than that produced in Canada, considered to be the best in the world.

Presently the United States is building

the Indian Ocean and face the Arab Gulf, an ideal and enviable spot for the aspirations certain countries have over the emirates of the Arab Gulf and their rich oil resources.

Moreover, Somalia has to face all the difficulties noted from foreign aggression by western forces supported by NATO



the Mogadiscio aqueduct in Somalia under an agreement signed at the beginning of 1960. After the triumph of the revolution in 1969, the US company said it would abandon its installation, but the government replied that in such a circumstance it would find itself obliged not to pay for what had already been built.

The construction of the country is not easy, especially with a nomadic population that extends over 600 km² and with a strategic position that permits it to view

which, on various occasions, have tried to penetrate the country by attempting to put an end to the government of Siad Barre and recuperate their lost influence and interests. But the president himself has said: "We are facing all the difficulties of a country building socialism; the reactionary forces and the poverty to which the country has been subjected. Nevertheless we will win the people's confidence because they struggle for their own interests."

Clandestine work force

The fact that clandestine traffic in the work force from African countries currently constitutes a lucrative business for certain capitalist enterprise and organizations, is once more demonstrated by police discovery of a small French village on the Italian frontier.

According to statements from INTERPOL a group of 59 Africans was the merchandise in a hermetically locked and sealed truck that broke down.

This new African slave is recruited in various countries — Mali in this case — en. passing through Tunis and Sicily reaches Rome and is then sent to Paris by truck. Once in this capital the "workers" are

employed by the members of the same organization that recruits them — in factories and enterprises that take advantage of the clandestine condition to pay them low salaries and cheat on social and health legislation.

According to the declarations of some of these Africans, the organization that brings them to Europe and finds them work in Paris takes their first three months' salary for services rendered.

The agent Hussein

A group of Jordanian military advisers is currently collaborating with the Sultan of Muscat and Oman's forces in the struggle against the guerrilla of Dhofar and against the People's Democratic Republic of Southern Yemen.

Thus, less than a year following its devastating action against the Palestine resistance, with its participation in the Arab Gulf, the Jordanian regime confirms a reactionary vocation which has an historic antecedent in the frustrated betrayal by King Abdullah.

The presence of its military experts in Oman and their activity against the Dhofar guerrillas have been noted by the international press.

Oman's Sultan Qabus' recent trip to Amman has been interpreted in political circles as the ratification of this cooperation.

Still more significantly, the government of Amman has named as ambassador to Oman, Mohamed Jalil Abdul Dayem, who was head of the Jordanian Army General Staff in the tragic months of September 1970, and according to Palestinian sources, played a major role in the military smashing of the guerrilla forces.

Sultan Qabus' visit was preceded by a declaration from the Jordanian Cabinet condemning the aggressions against Oman from Southern Yemen.

Actually, it escapes no one that Jordan constitutes an advance base of the US spy services in the Middle

East, principally the well-known and sinister CIA. In Amman there are currently more than a thousand US military advisers and an even greater number of CIA agents at work.

The tranquillity that reigns along the Jordanian-Israeli border is further evidence of Israeli-Jordanian connivence through the above-mentioned US agency.

A satellite telecommunications station was recently inaugurated in Amman, under auspices of the US agency Comsat.

Palestinian resistance has already denounced and declared that it is a substitute for the US spy ships like the *Liberty*, which had an extraordinary participation in the six-day war of 1967.

The Amman satellite station, according to the denunciation, is one of the most modern and was inaugurated by King Hussein himself in Baka. It covers the entire Middle East, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Its equipment permits it to monitor communications of the Arab governments and their embassies, the Palestine commando units, and the Arab armies. It is also scheduled to monitor the communications of the Soviet fleet in the Red and Mediterranean Seas.

Jordanian intervention in the Arab Gulf, principally against a sovereign and independent country, the People's Democratic Republic of Southern Yemen, presents Jordan with a new face as an interventionist and Middle Eastern gendarme.

During the last commemoration of Jordanian Army Day — which coincided with the nationalization in Iraq of the international company IPC (owned by the United States, England and France) — General Zaid Den Chakeer said, in a clear allusion to Syria and Iraq, that the Jordanian army could now face various Arab armies together.

North American imperialism, by arming Jordan and training its forces as it has been doing also with Saudi Arabia and Iran, has reactivated old regional military pacts against the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

In order to sow internal divisions, Jordanian agents have entered into contact with tribal chiefs in Iraq and Syria and have proposed to establish direct relations with them.

A little more than five years after the imperialist aggression against the Arabs, the strategy of the United States and its Jordanian,



Saudi Arabian and Iranian allies stands out with complete clarity. Its objectives are the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon, the liberation struggle of the people of Dhofar in the Gulf and the elimination of the revolutionary example of the People's Democratic Republic of Southern Yemen, and in the rest of the Middle East, to attack Iraq and Syria, whose interests have just been dealt two serious blows.

And the conquest continues

"Until the Indian begins to move, America will not begin to move well."
José Martí

THE trial of Villavicencio, whose verdict absolved seven of the 12 confessed assassins of 16 Cuiba Indians, has awakened the consciousness of the Colombian people and is now having international repercussions.

This clever trial which reached its climax at the end of June, constitutes a typical and impressive proof of the corruption that affects class justice in Colombia.

On December 26, 1967, in the cattle ranch of La Rubiera, located in the territory of Arauca, along the Venezuelan border, there occurred what the journalists now call "the death supper."

A group of 18 Indians of the Cuiba tribe were "kindly" invited to eat. According to the confessions

of those who committed the genocide, they lured them cleverly, with hypocritical arguments and premeditated cunning.

The sly hosts served their guests abundant plates of meat and vegetables and then toasted them with drinks. It was a sumptuous supper, prepared with refined skill.

When the gluttony promised to become a celebration because of the copious and continuous libation, the Indians were taken by surprise and attacked with astonishing cruelty, and slaughtered with impunity.

Men and women, children and old people, without the slightest distinction, fell riddled with bullets in the most cowardly fashion and were then chopped up with hatchets. Their destroyed bodies were thrown into a common pit along with the bones of the cattle slaughtered on the ranch.

In the midst of the confusion caused by the atrocious massacre, two young Cuibas succeeded in escaping and later denounced the collective crime. Then, at the beginning of the trial, they identified the assassins in the prisoner lineup.

Ten men and two women — among them two Venezuelans — are the protagonists of this horrible massacre.

Colombian justice delayed almost five years before staging the trial in Villavicencio, a city of 80 000 whose people are happy, whose climate is warm, an important center of cattlemen and latifundists located on the eastern plains.

Before a varied and unusual assembly of anthropologists, missionaries, jurists, heads of various indigenous communities and journalists, the criminals openly confessed their crime without evasion and with apparent ingenuity.

In minute detail they argued cynically that they do not believe the Indians are human beings.

They argued that "to kill an Indian is like killing a dog." One of them affirmed innocently: "I had no idea it was a sin to kill an Indian."

During the hearing, which lasted for three weeks, unheard of deeds were revealed: that actual "safaris" to hunt Indians are frequent; and there have been cases of the export of aborigines' skins to Venezuela where they have been sold at a good price.

Faced with a premeditated assassination carried out with extreme cruelty, the jury in its verdict,

affirmed textually that "it was committed in complete good faith, out of indescribable ignorance and an essential error in deed and in law which did not spring from negligence."

The defense thesis, that 20th century laws could not be applied to individuals whose mentality corresponds to the 13th century, prevailed.

This disconcerting verdict produced stupor in the chamber and a clamor of repudiation throughout the country.

A sizeable group of left anthropologists, in an open letter to the Attorney General of the nation, expressed in few words the entire secular content of the drama of the Indian, of the slow death over almost five centuries that the aboriginal tribes of Colombia and the entire continent have suffered.

"The history of our country and the rest of the American nations is the history of the genocide of the Indian," the anthropologists' document argued.

"Among the most notable facets of the so-called Indian problem in Colombia [the letter stressed]



is the direct or indirect participation of official prosecution in massacres — whether denounced or not — that seek to exterminate the aboriginal population."

The letter emphasizes that these massacres take place "at the will, not only of the latifundists but now

of the imperialist enterprises as well."

The trial has not ended.

Its epilogue remains in suspense.

The Attorney General has ordered an investigation of anomalies and the district attorney in the case requested that the Higher Court annul the verdict because of counterevidence.

Formally, the government and the church request punishment of the guilty ones. But the church and the government are authors and executors, in alliance, of the monstrous Covenant of Missions, an appendix to the Concordat of 1887, the anachronistic, medieval absurdity that keeps Colombia dominated under the criterion of being "a country of barbarous tribes."

The trial of Villavicencio is a bare pretext held to demonstrate a panorama of ignominia, a chain of crimes similar or worse than that of La Rubiera.

An isolated episode is debated, which can be the spark that marks the initiation in the near future of a great people's trial of all who commit genocide, pillage and slavery against the Indians.

guerrilla fronts



CAL:
“our combat
is anonymous
and armed”



In Puerto Rico, US enterprises receive a 40% profit on their investment while in the United States they receive only 12%.

Despite the fact that production per manhour is the same in the Puerto Rican colony as in the Yankee metropolis, the island worker receives a third the monthly salary of a New York worker and the cost of living is 15% higher.

By exploiting the Puerto Rican work force, the investors from the north — who control 85% of the island's imports, and 95% of its exports — have acquired 80%

Four million dollars in material losses was the cost of the fire in which the Armed Liberation Commandos (CAL) re-initiated armed struggle "in order to wipe out the rich foreign exploiters who live by our sweat through an attack on the fundamental and determining base of their colonial power: the economic factor."

The head of CAL, Alfonso Beal, declared in an interview that "we are the fighting arm of the Puerto Rican independence struggle and our actions are designed to undermine the stability and colonial peace of the imperialist invaders."

Liberty must be paid for at its just price and it is written with the heroism and sacrifice of the purest and most noble of our nationality.

Pedro Albizu Campos

of industrial production, 50% of livestock production, 40% of retail trade, 100% of communications and of air and sea transportation.

The value of the island's monopolistic properties reaches more than \$6 billion, which represents more than half the total US investments on the Latin-American continent.

In September of 1967, various US-owned stores located in the commercial center of Santa Rosa de Bayamon were destroyed by fire.

Other sabotages were carried out by the guerrilla organization which, in its first phase, set out to cause North American enterprises losses of \$100 000 000.

A financial crisis took place among the insurance companies which began to refuse fire protection policies for Yankee firms until the colonial government promulgated a law establishing official subsidies for the insurance companies.

In its first clandestine bulletin, CAL stated that "direct action is the principal task and abundantly strengthens our ef-

In Puerto Rico:

- The annual personal income of three fourths of the population is 500 dollars.
- 700 000 persons live in deteriorated houses in the outskirts of the principal cities.
- For a population of more than 2 750 000 there are only 3000 doctors and 138 hospitals; 52% of the doctors live in San Juan.
- Unemployment affects 30% of the working population.
- In five years the deficit in the balance of payments rose 57%.
- In one year (1969-70), the deficit in the commercial balance rose 43.8%.
- The foreign debt, public and private, grew 30 times in 20 years. It is currently \$6 861 000 000.
- The net income earned by the agricultural sector dropped from 31% to 4% in 30 years; 13% of the best cultivable lands are occupied by the Pentagon's military bases.
- More than \$2 500 000 in merchandise comes from the United States at a price that exceeds that of the world market by 20%; 50% of the food products consumed are US-made.



forts; our actions are already commented on by the public to whom we orient ourselves scientifically in the difficult art of clandestine war in order to place imperialism's interests in our country in check until they leave."

The first zone of guerrilla operations was in Condado, located in the city of San Juan, where US gangsterism and Cuban expatriots control gambling, prostitution and drug traffic.

One of the explosions that shook this area took place in September 1971, when the governors of the United States were meeting on the island.

On that occasion, CAL noted that the action was in protest against the presence

of foreign functionaries, and affirmed that "there is nothing that can deter our pledge to drive the Yankees out of Puerto Rico."

Two shops belonging to the chain New York Department Store were also destroyed by bombs in response to the rightist terrorists who had made several attempts on the lives of Puerto Rican independence fighters and in solidarity with those on strike against that commercial entity.

In a communiqué issued the day after the sabotage of the electronic switchboard

It was to this end that they blew up the refrigeration system of the General Electric branch in Palmer in support of the work stoppage that was being boycotted by a traitor group.

During the strike of 2000 workers at Puerto Rico Telephone, subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), CAL carried out actions that caused a million dollars' worth of material damages against the imperialist monopoly and paralyzed internal and external communications on the island including those at the

We feel proud because we have been able to do something for the independence of our homeland. The organization of a small guerrilla army seemed like an impossibility several years ago but today it is a reality.

We now have this army and our actions are ever stronger against the enemy: the North American empire. Our discipline is of iron. Our fighters are well trained, they carry out their actions correctly and no one is able to seize them. We have explosives, ammunition and arms to expand the war far beyond what the enemy imagines.

We believe that the creation of a liberation army is indispensable to the conquest of independence and we will not cease improving and expanding it constantly.

Alfonso Beal, leader of CAL.

in El Comandante hippodrome, the armed commandos stated that "the struggles that our proletariat is waging for better working conditions are an example for all of us because many of us are members of the working class" and they also reaffirmed their commitment "to cooperate in every way possible with the workers' struggles."

air base of the US Strategic Command, in Ramey.

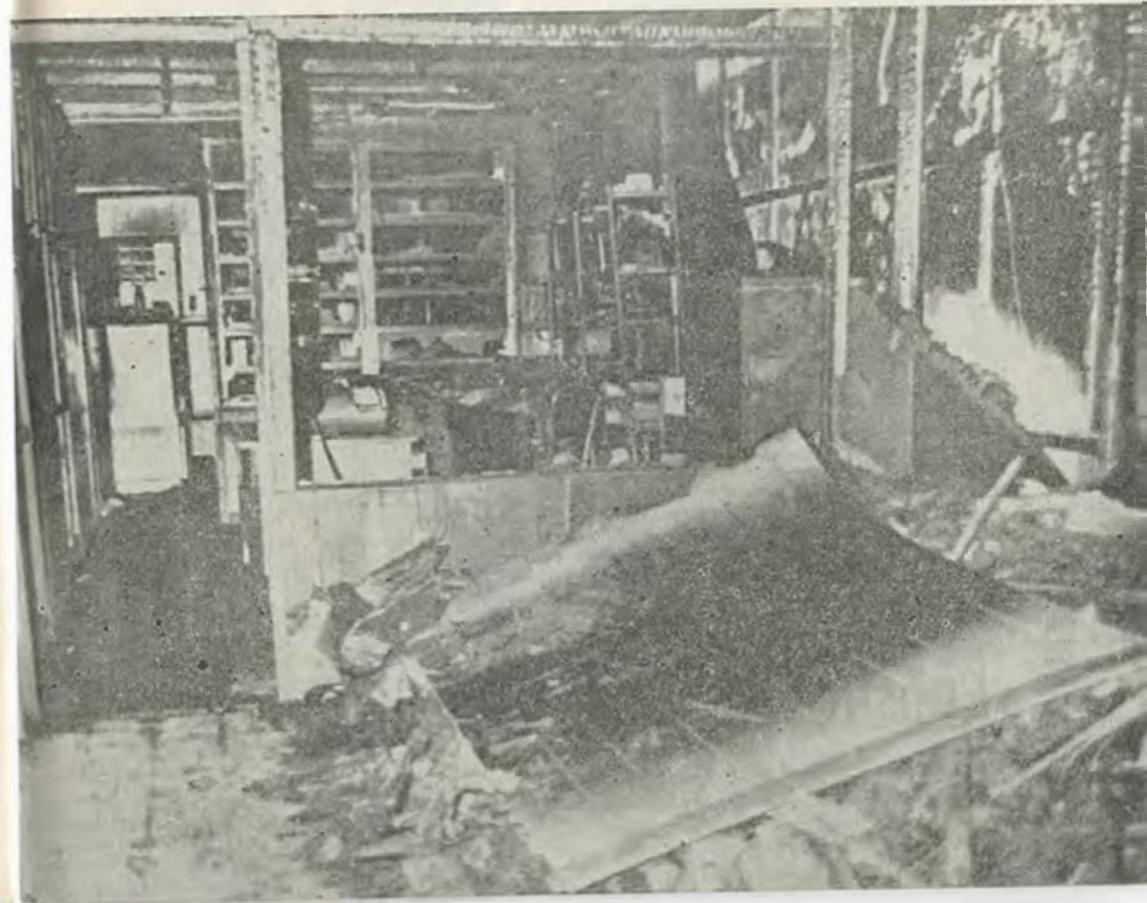
After that, the demands of the workers of *El Mundo* were supported by the urban guerrilla with the destruction of five helicopters belonging to the Helicopter Rental Service which were to be used to transport strike breakers to the building where the reactionary daily is housed.

Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States for two fundamental reasons:

1) Because it can be used by North American imperialism as a base of political penetration and military aggression against the countries of the Third World.

2) Because of the high economic benefits that the US monopolies take out due to the colonial capitalist system that rules on the island.

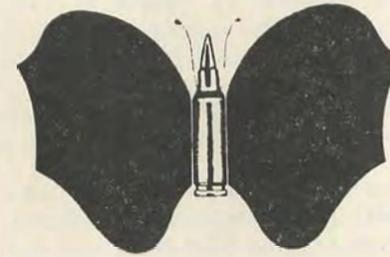
"Our combat is anonymous and armed but we seek the power of the working class, independence and socialism."
[the Armed Liberation Commandos state]



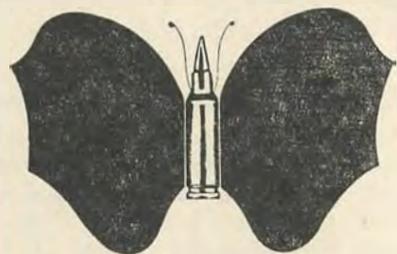
This is nationality intervened and we must give life to the defensive war to which we have a right.

Pedro Albizu Campos

Inspired by the Grito de Lares of 1868 and the Jayuya Revolution of 1950, the Puerto Rican guerrillas attack the cornerstones of colonial power in a war of destruction which "we do not desire but which the enemy imposes on us," as Che said, and which is moving toward the conquest of independence of the homeland of Betances, Hostos and Albizu Campos.



**In the
front line
against
the Yankees**



EXACTLY 18 years ago the Geneva Agreements on Indochina were signed recognizing and guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the three countries: Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

Over these years, brutal and reactionary US imperialism, brain of the world counterrevolutionary forces, main impulse of capitalism and imperialism, with its gigantic economic and military empire, savagely anticommunist, in its attempts to dissolve the revolutionary movement, has resorted to numerous cunning maneuvers against Viet Nam, but, at the same time has suffered the most serious and ignominious defeats there.

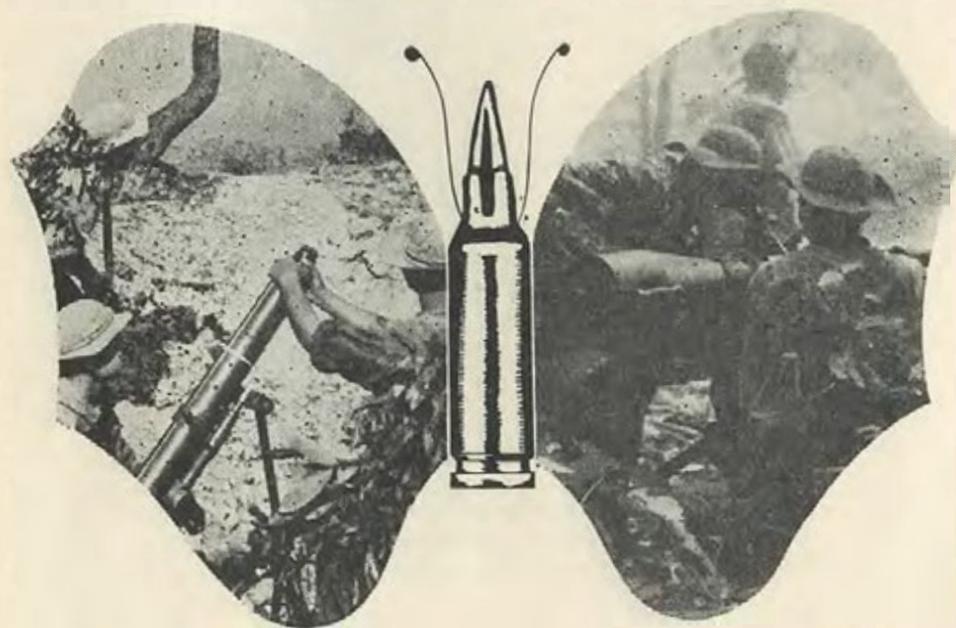
In South Viet Nam United States neocolonialist policy, disguised with multiple tricks of infinite cunning, has been unmasked since its inception and the simultaneous overwhelming uprisings of the people of South Viet Nam have smashed the neocolonial attempts of US imperialism.

The Yankee policy of force has been broken in Viet Nam. They deploy to the maximum their aerial and naval supremacy and mobilize an invincible expeditionary force, but they come up against the persistent and brilliant struggle of the Vietnamese people. The world is witness to an unprecedented occurrence: a nation, small in population and in territory, capable of defeating the biggest and most powerful of empires. The fallacious US policy of escalation of the war and all its blackmail tricks has failed in Viet Nam. Neither force, money or lying arguments have been capable of cowering, buying or deceiving the people of Viet Nam.

The current North American policy of "Vietnamization" of the war is the application of the Nixon Doctrine to Viet Nam and the countries of Indochina in order to free itself from a situation of defeat and stagnation, facilitating a position of force designed to maintain neocolonialism in South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and experiment with new strategies aimed at repressing national liberation movements throughout the whole world.

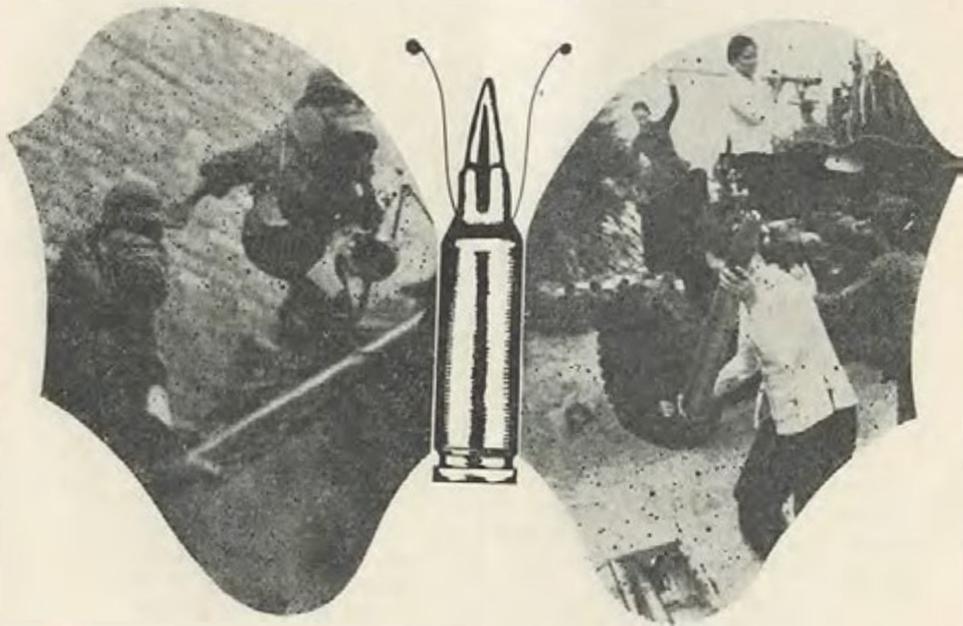
The US imperialists have carried to the maximum possible points their plan and force in the "Vietnamized" war, in order to obtain key military victories and achieve the radical change in the war in favor of the United States. They nourish the hope that, with their fabulous volume of "hardware" and the corpses of the puppet and mercenary soldiers, they would be able to strangle the patriotic forces of Indochina and create safe conditions to cover the withdrawal of the US troops, in a manner that would not affect US neocolonialism in South Viet Nam.

The Nixon gang, holding modern and deadly weapons in its hands, acts frantically in order to avoid the total crumbling up of the "Vietnam-



ization" policy, although not even the most desperate actions will ever be able to save it from final defeat. The Vietnamese people have obtained great victories during the offensive and the present uprisings in the southern part of the country, while in the north they have faced and given due punishment for this second war of destruction reinitiated by this clique.

Nixon attempts to ruin the north of Viet Nam, weaken the fighting possibilities of the South Vietnamese people and oblige the people of Viet Nam, by using bombs and missiles, to accept the conditions he proposes for putting an end to the war. However, the Nixon gang has made a mistake. The more savagely it develops its war, the more clearly it shows its criminal nature, the greater the number of crimes it commits, the greater is the hatred it generates and the punishment it will receive from the Vietnamese people and the world. Faced with the stubbornness and unprecedented savage actions of the Nixon gang, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia become more closely united day by day, frustrating the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war and dealing telling blows to the Yankee aggressors and their puppets.



Forged in the midst of the long struggle against US imperialism, the people of Viet Nam have achieved great and brilliant victories, and with the uncontrollable thrust of the offensive and the popular uprisings are now marching toward final victory.

The Vietnamese people, possessors of a glorious tradition of struggle throughout thousands of years, have remained firm in the face of the most difficult trials; at present, firm in the first anti-Yankee line, they have given worthy contributions to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL highly values the achievements, increasingly greater, of the armies and the peoples of both the north and south zones of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, which during the 18 years that have elapsed have foiled all the successive perfidious maneuvers of Yankee imperialism and of its puppets, directed to violate and ignore the Geneva Agreements; likewise it expresses its total confidence in the forces and the possibilities of the peoples of Indochina to defeat definitely the US aggressors and their lackeys.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL rigorously condemns the Nixon gang, which regardless of the serious defeats it has suffered, continues in its obstinate position and evil attempts to escalate the war against both zones of Viet Nam; mining and blockading the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, savagely attacking the communication systems, both terrestrial and maritime as well as air facilities; the economic and cultural base; the schools; hospitals; cities and highly populated zones, and what is even a more criminal procedure, indiscriminately bombing the hydraulic system and the dikes, endeavoring to provoke floods and hunger in open defiance of international laws and agreements, in an attempt to weaken the fighting will of the Vietnamese people.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL severely condemns the intensification imparted by the United States of the "Vietnamization" of the war and the use of airplanes, among them the B-52s, and the Seventh Fleet, to attack violently the highly populated zones and the cities of South Viet Nam which have been liberated by the patriots.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL energetically condemns the stubborn attitude of the Nixon gang in its sabotage of the Paris Conference and its refusal to undertake serious negotiations regarding the problem of Viet Nam, on the basis of the Seven-Point Peace Initiative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, whose two key points have been stressed.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL totally supports the appeal of President Ton Duc Thang and the declaration of the Central Committee of the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, on the occasion of July 20, 1972, highly praising the decision and inflexible position of the people of Viet Nam in their war of resistance against the Yankees and for national salvation; it also applauds the Seven-Point Initiative presented by South Viet Nam, which it considers as the only base for the solution of the Vietnamese problem.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL vigorously demands of the Nixon administration the total, immediate and unconditional ceasing of all acts of war against the two parts of Viet Nam, as well as of the blockade, the mining and bombing of populous regions and of the dike system and the hydraulic works of North Viet Nam. It likewise demands that the Nixon gang put an end to its strategy of "Vietnamization" of the war; withdraw totally all US and puppet troops from South Vietnamese soil; cease sup-



porting the traitor Nguyen Van Thieu and accord real respect to the right of the people of Viet Nam to their self-determination.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL emphatically condemns the crimes committed by the Nixon clique in Laos and Cambodia, and vigorously demands from the Nixon administration that it put an end to its aggression against these two nations, as well as to the strategy of "Laotianization" and "Khmerization" of the war, fully respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of these nations, on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, and of 1962 on Laos; the Five-Point Declaration of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, dated March 23, 1970; the Five-Point Peace Solution of June 6, 1971, and the Two-Point Proposal of June 22, 1971, made by the Laotian Patriotic Front.

At this time, when the Nixon gang is escalating the war to a point totally unknown before in defiance of all laws, conventions and international public opinion, thereby provoking world tension, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL forcefully calls on all the governments of all nations, the organizations, the political, social and religious personalities as well as on all lovers of peace and world progress and also on the people of the United States, to stop, before it is too late, the Nixon beast whose bloody hands destroy the dikes in North Viet Nam and who uses B-52s and the Seventh Fleet to murder the innocent dwellers of both the north and south zones of Viet Nam, and to demand the return of the United States to the Paris Conference for serious negotiations based on the Seven-Point Initiative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Any delay or indecision will only serve to aid the Nixon gang to commit even more murders against the peoples of Indochina. The hour for action has arrived.

Forward friends: Let us unanimously unite ourselves with the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia to defeat the most brutal and bloody murderer of this era, to save the people of Indochina and humanity from this present disastrous war!

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL reiterates once more that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as all humanity including the North American people will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Indochina, and that they will fulfill, in accordance with their maximum possibilities, all the demands of the peoples of Indo-



china so that, together with the peoples of these three nations, they may defeat the common enemy, who are the imperialist US aggressors and their traitor puppets.

Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia will win!

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, of the whole world and Indochina, united will win!

Yankee imperialism will be thrown out of Indochina!

Declaration of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL on the occasion of the XVIII anniversary of the Geneva Agreements on Indochina (July 20)

U.S. COAST GUARD BASE
HEADQUARTERS
GREATER ANTILLES SECTION
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

U.S. NAVAL STATION
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

YANKEE

STOP
PARE

GO

HOME

