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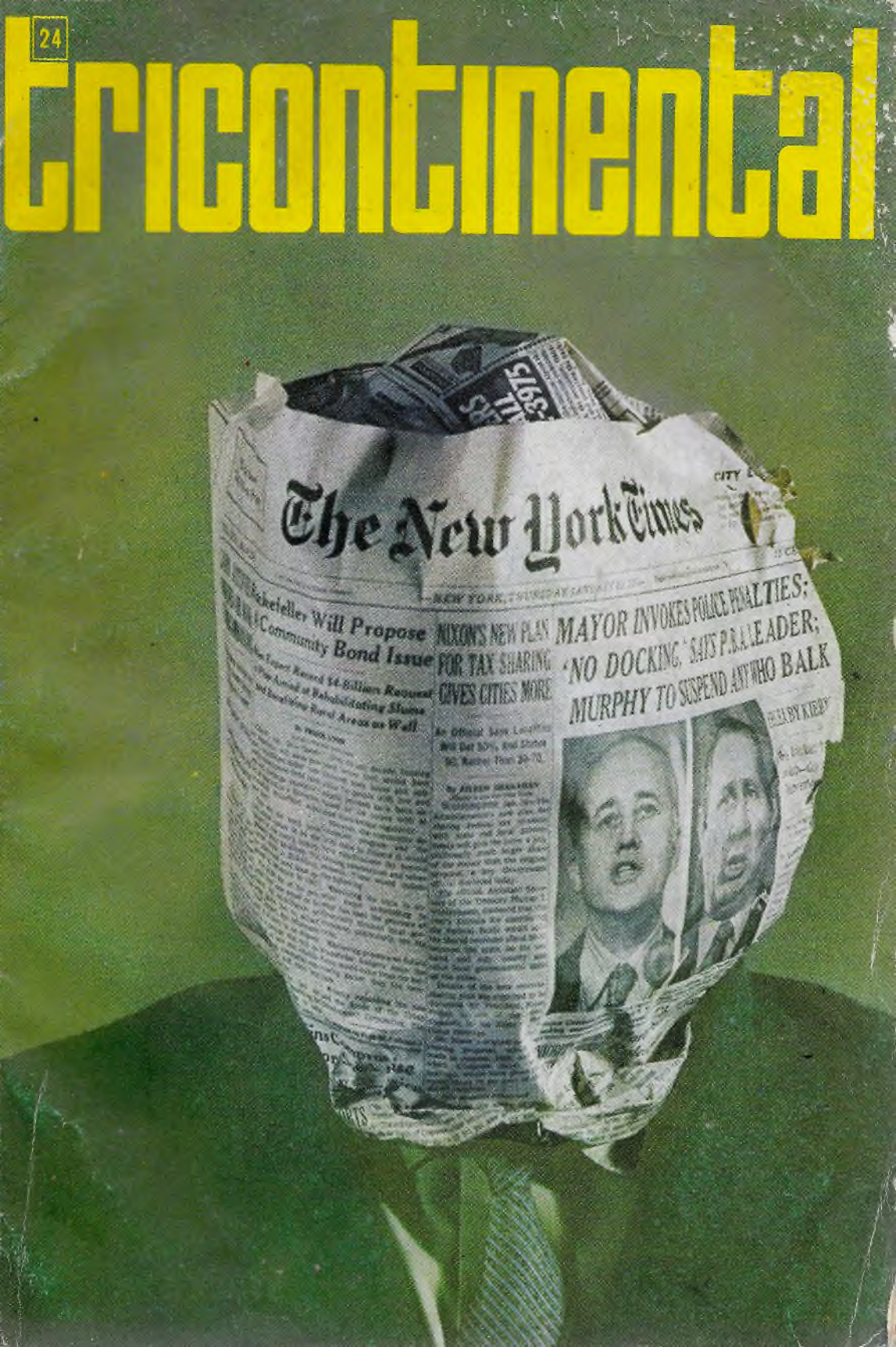

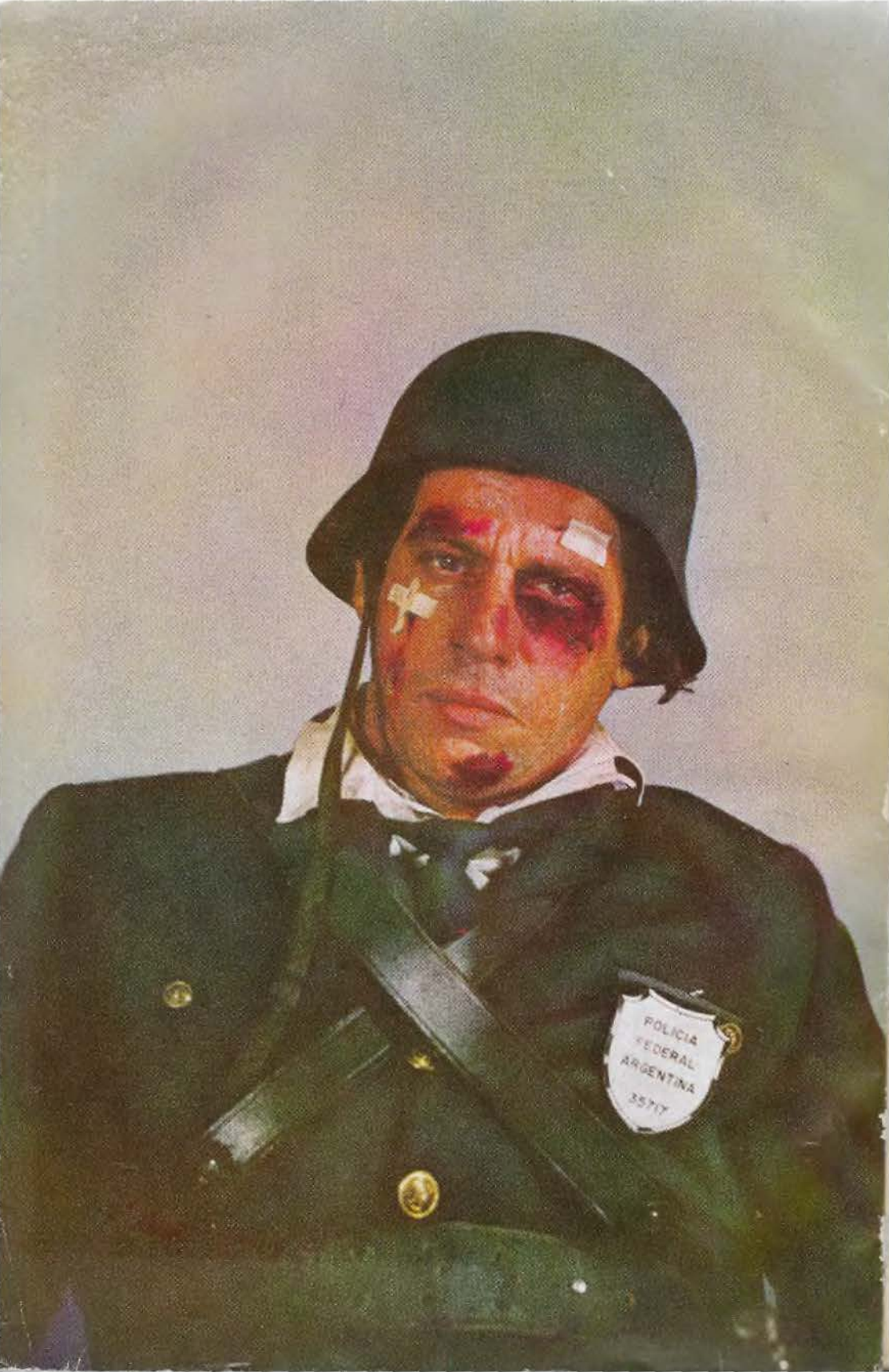
POLICIA
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MONTENEGRINA

to the reader

Our cover exemplifies the pseudo-information world public opinion receives with the penetration of the great volume of imperialist mass communications, which with all their technical weight are vehicles for narcotics, distortion and negation of reality reaching the citizen cloaked in the greatest ignorance of all: that of presumed knowledge. To one part of this world — the American — for the quantity and the variety of works on this theme, this number 24 of Tricontinental *is dedicated. In the third decade of the century, Sandino represented, above all, the most impressive anti-imperialist action in Latin America. It was in great measure due to his intuitive genius that positions were concretized later, such as the successful possibilities of armed struggle. Written by Carlos Fonseca, maximum leader of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), the article "Sandino, Proletarian Guerrilla," which appears in* Land of Ideas, *presents new facets of the heroic founder.*

British colonialism has shown itself to be as cruel or more so than the Spanish and, at the same time, has proven itself to be more astute. Thus, after more than a half century in which no Spanish political or economic colony any longer exists in America, Great Britain maintains almost intact its economic or political control over innumerable Antillean islands and zones where, as a natural successor, North American imperialism has now extended its network. Frank McDonald, North American writer with direct experience in this Anglicized world which is the Caribbean British Commonwealth, has written the article in Starting Points *titled "A Necklace of Colonies," an analysis of the situation, relations, structures and personalities in this complex though not extensive region.*

TRICONTINENTAL

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The query as to what Peru is today, the demand for a possible definition of a structure in which there has already been evidence of action by a new type of military, far from the class tradition in Latin America, and already in various points of contradiction with North American imperialism, is answered from two different points of view: by the Cuban journalist Gabriel Molina with his article "The Discrepant Military" and Pedro K. Higa, Peruvian journalist, in "Peru, A Step," both in the same section, Experiences and Facts.

In Notes for History *two important documents are presented. The South Korean Revolutionary Party for Reunification, breaking through the repression that exists south of the 38th parallel, has launched its manifesto and program of ratification and support of the people of South Korea for the revolution that has taken place in the North of Korea, which we present under the title "Across the 38th Parallel." And "A People's Victory" is the speech by Houari Boumedienne, President of the Republic of Algeria, on the 5th anniversary of the creation of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA). In this speech, among other themes, President Boumedienne has singled out and explained exhaustively the latest measures for nationalizing Algerian hydrocarbons, which signifies a great economic and political development for the Algerian revolution.*

In Argentina there has been a growing popular resistance for some years now and a change on its part to the offensive. "Chronology of Violence" in Meridian Liberation *details this growth in terms of time and the multiplication of armed political groups.*

The Chilean journalist Hernán Uribe, who has contributed to Tricontinental *on previous occasions, offers in "Chile, From Yesterday and Toward Tomorrow", an interview for* Man and His Word, *the causes and the development of the triumph of People's Unity and examines its possibilities in power.*

The sweep of the FRELIMO struggle, the international solidarity it has aroused and the proximity of its triumph are noted as the result of a talk with Jorge Vieira of the Mozambique Liberation Front, in the article "FRELIMO: Toward Independence," the first in the section Tricontinental on the March, *which continues with "History and Future of a Right," in which the Palestine leader Shafik Al Hout explains the reason for the struggle of his people and the confidence in the strength of the rebellion in the face of injustice and Zionism. And the section closes with "Where Superman Lost His Power," an article by Ly Van Sau, member of the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam to the Paris Conference, in which he exposes the total demoralization of Yankee power in Indochina and the position of the Vietnamese and the other peoples of Indochina.*

The Uruguayan María Esther Gilio has written the book, The Tupamaro Guerrilla *which brought its author the 1970 Casa de las Américas Testimonial Prize, from which we have selected for* Books of Today, *the valuable documentary chapter "With the Bullet in the Chamber," a full description of the seizure of Pando, carried out by the Tupamaros on October 8, 1969, as the method by which this organization chose to honor the first anniversary of the death of the immortal guerrilla Che Guevara.*

TO THE READER

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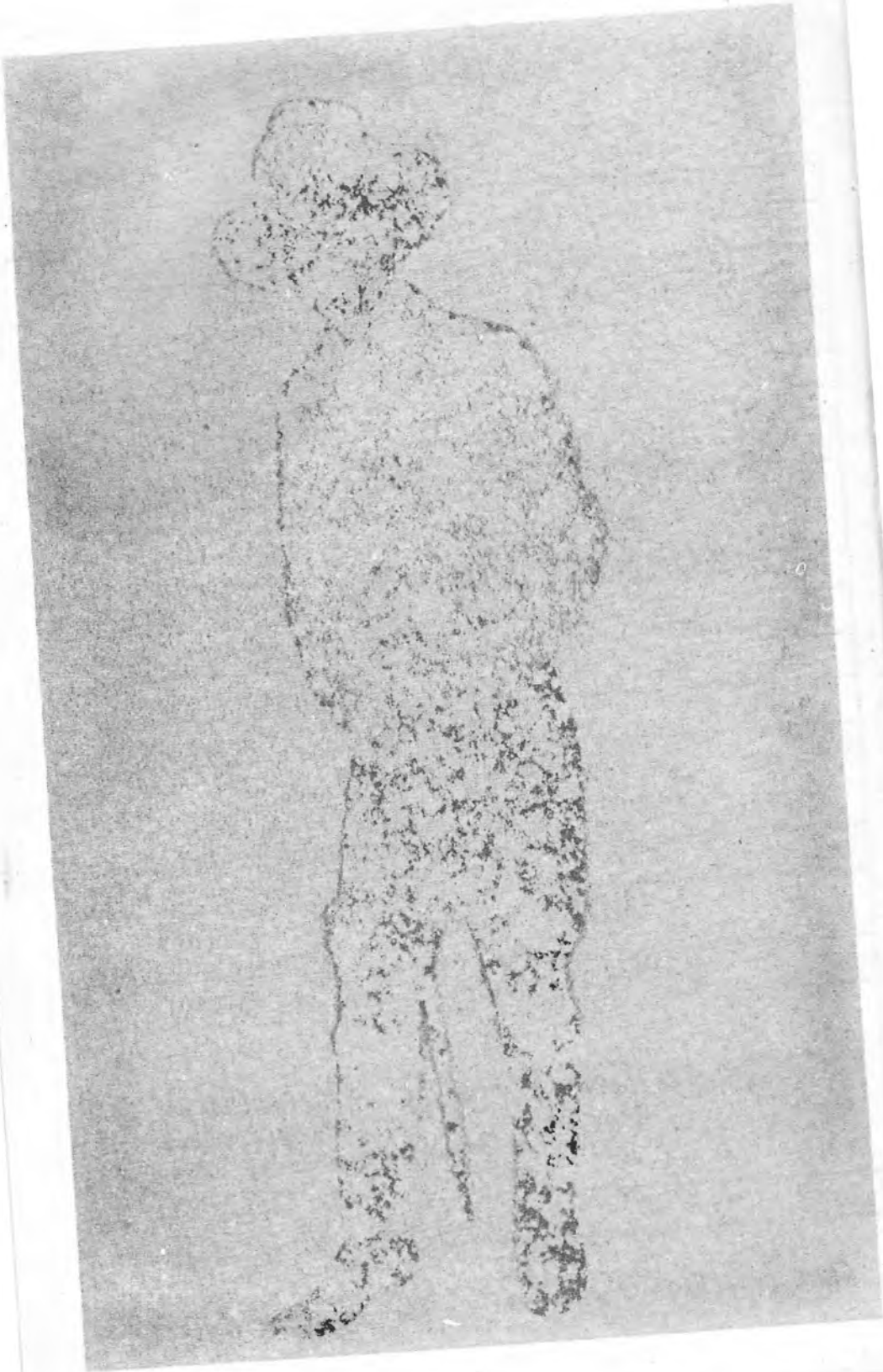


Sandino, Proletarian Guerrilla

Carlos Fonseca

For seven years, the General of Free Men and his Army for the Defense of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua, decimated the interventionist hordes of the big stick empire which, under the pretext of "safeguarding the lives and homes of North American citizens," trampled Nicaragua and committed every type of crime and murder against the people.

From May 4, 1927, the red and black flag of national liberation was carried through the Segovian mountains by the Sandinists who, with boldness and valor, confronted the sellout oligarchists and the expansionist Yankee imperialists who sought the Nicaraguan isthmus territory because of its proximity to the frontiers of the metropolis, and in order to build an interoceanic canal.

In the face of betrayal and vacillation on the part of the conservative and liberal bourgeoisie who disputed among themselves for White House protection in order to assume the role of lackeys in the puppet government, the worker-peasant Augusto César Sandino began guerrilla warfare in union with hundreds of humble peasants because "the people's sovereignty is defended with arms in hand."

Five thousand men of the US Marine Corps and thousands of mercenary soldiers from the constitutionalist armies and the National Guard, with the most modern weapons of war, were unable to conquer the Sandinist resistance in 515 combats nor prevent popular support of the heroic guerrillas who, in armed struggle, succeeded in expelling the invader troops from Nicaragua and contributed to the demise of big stick interventionist policy in Latin America.

The military defeat suffered by the Marines in the small Central American country and the revolutionary dawn of the decade of the 30s on the Latin-American continent due to the economic depression that afflicted the financial coffers of Wall Street, led the governing rulers of the United States to use other nefarious methods that permitted the continuation of their neocolonial domination in the land of Rubén Darío and prevented the ascent to power of the Sandinist movement.

On February 21, 1934, the general of the mountains is assassinated by express order of the Yankee consul in Managua fulfilling his mandate from Washington. After that began the era of terror and repression by the Somoza dynasty which for 37 years bloodied and impoverished the country, becoming a base of imperialist aggression against various Latin-American peoples and a familiar feudal stronghold of **"los Tachos"** who retained the exploitation of national wealth along with other oligarchic clans and the North American monopolists.

"If we should die, our cause will continue to live because others will follow," said the precursor of Nicaragua's second independence, and his war cry against the apostates of the country and the enemies of the people sounds again in the conscience of the revolutionary youth of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation (FSLN) which once again fights with arms in the Sandinist manner to destroy the bureaucratic and military regime of the Somozaist dictatorship and to establish a social system which will rid the rebel Nicaraguan people of oppression and misery.

The top leader of the FSLN, Carlos Fonseca, who was recently liberated from a Costa Rican prison in exchange for four United Fruit officials, writes the present article for **Tricontinental** on the political thought of the hero of the Segovias, who achieved continental stature as a brilliant strategist of the people's war and as a foresighted leader of the revolutionary struggle of Latin America.

Augusto César Sandino is the Nicaraguan guerrilla hero whose name has come to be a symbol of the now secular struggle of the peoples of Latin America against Yankee imperialism.

The First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America raised Sandino's picture on its dais as representative of a traditional anti-Yankee Latin-American heroism. Expression of the guerrilla genius of the masses, Augusto César Sandino is the worthy precursor of the new epoch being forged by the subjugated peoples today, which has as its supreme example the heroic Ernesto Che Guevara.

Ernesto Che Guevara today, Augusto César Sandino yesterday, mark with heroism the indispensible guerrilla route that the peoples who are victims of imperialism must travel to achieve absolute control of their own destiny.

AUGUSTO César Sandino, the worker of peasant origin who fought with arms against the North American invaders in Nicaragua, was born in Niquinohomo on May 18, 1895. From his childhood he worked in the fields. His natural intelligence allowed him to learn to read and write in spite of the hostility of his social surroundings. From the time he was very young, he knew about intensified Yankee intervention in the country. In 1912, near Sandino's birth place, the band of patriots led by the hero Benjamín Zeledón, fought the Yankee invader.

In 1921 he travelled outside the country in other lands as did thousands of Nicaraguans. He knew various Central American countries, Mexico and the United States, and from the latter he returned to Mexico, where one could still smell the powder of the shots fired by the first oppressed peasants that the guerrilla Emiliano Zapata led.

In Mexico he worked in Cerro Azul, Veracruz, as a mechanic on the installations of the North American Huastecum Petroleum Company. Rejecting the privilege of his status as a skilled worker, he decided to return to his aggrieved country and occupy a place in the struggle.

He landed in Bluefields, on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, center of the armed movement against the puppet government installed by imperialism. From here he left for Segovia, the mountainous zone in the North of Nicaragua.

On October 26, 1926, Sandino, along with a group of workers, stole dynamite from the warehouses of the North American enterprise that was exploiting the gold deposits of San Albino, and began to fight against Adolfo Díaz's conservative regime established by the Yankees. In the Guanzapo zone in the extreme North of Segovia, he established his rebel camp. On November 2, 1926, the ragged troops sustained their first armed encounter with government elements in San Fernando. The scarcity and inefficiency of the arms this small group of patriots had, obliged San-

dino to undertake a march toward the far-off Puerto Cabezas, situated on the Atlantic coast, where the liberal command had its seat and modern arms for the war it was waging against the conservative government. The liberal command had been forced by the Yankee marines to establish itself on the land of the Bragman's Bluff Lumber Company.

Sandino and his comrades traveled across 1000 km of river and forest on their trip, going and coming up mountains and along the coast. The sly foxes of the liberal command, wary of the "strange" ideas that Sandino held, refused him arms and, moreover, tried to force him to halt his operations in the North. But with the aid of some women in the port, Sandino obtained close to 40 weapons that had been abandoned by the liberal troops.

On February 2, 1927, Sandino and his comrades returned to Guanzapo and developed an offensive campaign from the North to the Central part of the country in the course of which he repeatedly routed the forces of the conservative government. The interventionist Yankee force controlled a series of points in the country and, moreover, the United States made available to the puppet government 3000 rifles, 200 machine guns and 3 000 000 rounds of ammunition.

After taking the city of Jinotega, Sandino and his Segovian column of 800 men, many without arms, went into the center of the country where they occupied the town of San Ramon in Matagalpa Department. Afterwards, he continued the march to where they met the forces of the liberal command, menaced by the conservative enemy. The final battle of the war between liberals and conservatives was approaching.

Bloor, the Yankee military attaché, has said that in those days, 1600 liberal rebels faced 3400 conservatives. At that moment, the battle of Las Mercedes, near Teustepe, took place and General Sandino's column obtained a decisive strategic victory; this battle was commanded by Sandino because of the fame for bravery he had gained in the course of his rebel career. With good reason did he say that "the last shots of that constitutional war were those of my cavalry."

"A Danger for Their Naval Communications"

The country was on the eve of very important events at the beginning of 1927. The US Department of State had announced that Henry L. Stimson would go to Nicaragua as special representative of President Coolidge.

In Taft's cabinet Stimson had occupied the position of Secretary of War. After his mission in Nicaragua, he was Governor of the Philippines and Secretary of State in the Hoover government. At the time of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Stimson was Secretary of War.

The book **American Policy in Nicaragua**, which Stimson published after his trip to Nicaragua, expresses explicitly North American policy toward the strategic and tiny country: "... all the US wanted was that peace and stability — political as well as economic — should reign, with the objective that there should never be any danger to US naval communications in the present or future, since they were its most vital interest."

Referring to "naval communications," Stimson tied United States policy to a potential canal in Nicaragua as well as the proximity of this country to the Panama canal

and also to North American territory itself. An accentuated and continuing colonial greed becomes evident because of Nicaragua's geographic position and the isthmus.

In January 1927, North American forces composed of 3900 soldiers, 215 officers and 865 marines had disembarked in the port of Corinto. Among the crimes committed by the Yankee invaders was the occupation of the University of Leon, where the teaching apparatus was destroyed, and the cathedral of Leon, the most renowned church in Latin America, which along with the university campus was converted into barracks for the Yankee troops.

Months earlier, Lawrence Dennis, who had been chargé d'affaires in Nicaragua, said: "Many times here, it is thought that we have come to service the interests of one against others, but that is not true; we only serve our own interests."

Betrayal of El Espino Negro

On May 4, 1927, the liberal José María Moncada met with Henry L. Stimson, representative of Yankee imperialism, in El Espino Negro, Tipitapa. Moncada turned traitor, handing over the rebel arms to Stimson. The liberal betrayal pact of El Espino Negro shows that the Nicaraguan national bourgeoisie definitively associated itself with the reactionary and feudal classes. More than ever it justified the popular saying that "five conservative oligarchs plus five liberal oligarchs total ten bandits."

It has to be said that Stimson's offer to Moncada to pay $10 for each rebel arm they had captured at the risk of their lives, produced indignation. Many refused to suffer the humiliation of the scene at Las Manderas, 48 km from Managua.

Sandino, the most outspoken son of the Nicaraguan people, defied the betrayal and continued shouldering arms. Concerning the day on which the Nicaraguan patriots resisted the imperialist invader and the traitors, Sandino declared: "The fourth of May is a national holiday because it was on this day that Nicaragua proved before the eyes of the world that its national honor cannot be humiliated, that there are still sons who with their blood will wash out the stain of the others."

Sandino at the Head of the People's War

Sandino decided to transfer to Jinotega. Among the hundred veterans that had accompanied him in the liberation effort, he selected 30 with the necessary qualifications for the new stage which was begun on May 4. Eight days later he declared in Yali: "I do not intend to surrender my arms when everyone does so. I would rather die with the few who accompany me because it is preferable that we die as rebels rather than live as slaves."

From Yali he went to San Rafael del Norte, where he married a young Segovian, Blanca Arauz. As soon as the marriage ceremony was over he left for the mountains. Before he left he wrote a patriotic message in which he affirmed: "No matter what comes, we shall fulfill our sacred duty."

Later, in the Manifesto of El Mineral, written from the San Albino mine, at the same time that he demonstrates his patriotism, he expresses his class feeling against the native oligarchies and the Yankee invaders, and emphasizes his preoccupation for the oppressed:

> The man who does not demand of his country even a palmful of earth for his burial, deserves to be heard, and not only heard

but also believed. I am Nicaraguan and I feel proud that in my veins I have more Indian-American blood than any other kind, which atavistically encompasses the mystery of being a loyal and sincere patriot.

I am a city worker, an artisan as we say in this country, but my ideal is along the broad horizon of internationalism, the right to be free and to demand justice, although to reach this state of perfection it may be necessary to shed one's own and one's neighbor's blood. But I am a plebeian, the oligarchs or the royal court will say. Never mind, my greatest honor is that I come from the bosom of the oppressed who are the soul and nervous system of the race. The great will say that I am very small for the work I have begun; but my insignificance is overcome by the pride of my patriotic heart, and I thus swear before my homeland and before history that my sword will defend the national honor and will be the redemption of the oppressed.

Come, lumpen drug fiends, come and assassinate us in our own land, where I await you with feet planted at the head of my patriotic soldiers, no matter how many of you there are; but bear in mind that when this happens, the destruction of your greatness will shake the capitol in Washington, reddening with your blood the white dome that crowns your famous White House, the cavern where you plot your crimes.

While Sandino was preparing his courageous guerrillas, the antipeople's government of Díaz remained in power several months longer, until Moncada took over in payment for his betrayal.

Stimson left Nicaragua on May 16 in the armed ship **Preston,** but not before having received an honorary degree from the University of Granada. That month the government of the United States had the cynicism to demand of its Nicaraguan puppets $8 000 000 in reclamations for the damages suffered by US property owners during the war. According to the law of imperialism, it provokes the wars and then arrogates to itself the right to collect for the destruction it has caused.

The Guerrillas Against the Empire

On July 12, 1927, the Yankee commander Hatfield, in charge of the military site of Ocotal, sent an ultimatum to Sandino. The hero of Segovia answered the following day: "I received your communication yesterday and am apprised of it. I will not surrender and I await you here. I want my country free or death. I am not afraid of you; I have the patriotic ardor of those who accompany me. Homeland and Freedom. A. C. Sandino."

Four days later, in Ocotal, 60 of Sandino's men confronted a more numerous enemy, which was even accompanied by air support. In this battle, which lasted for 15 hours, the patriotic column applied the method of being accompanied by unarmed peasants whose mission was to expropriate from the resident merchants and latifundists in the area. The chief of the patriotic high command, Colonel Rufo Marin Bellerini, fell mortally wounded and before dying exclaimed: "Tell General Sandino that I died as I wished: fighting against the Yankees."

Although Sandino's optimism never left him, he did not hide the difficult situation of his small army. Days after the battle of Ocotal, he wrote the following words: "The flaming struggle continued and

there were two alternatives, we would win or they would conquer us."

San Fernando, El Jicaro, they were adverse encounters for the patriots in the first stages of the Sandinist campaign.

Organization and Structure of the Sandinist Guerrilla

In general the guerrillas came from the peasant population of the areas of combat and for this reason were thoroughly acquainted with the terrain. To this advantage was added the collaboration given them by the rural population which informed on the enemy's movements.

There was a strong network of peasant espionage that provided the information the guerrillas needed. For this reason the invader and the "dogs" (members of the national army) saw the enemy in every peasant. To be a peasant in the Sandinist regions was in those years a crime as far as the enemy was concerned.

The Sandinist guerrillas were severe with those who aided the enemy, both informers and traitor latifundists. Whoever was able to escape guerrilla justice was punished with the destruction of crops and household goods. Thus the Sandinists instilled confidence in the peasant population which affectionately called the guerrillas "the boys"; for their part, the guerrillas among themselves referred to each other by the word "brother."

The Sandinists handed over to the same peasants who accompanied them, food, animals, clothing, shoes, medicines, utensils, etc., that they had expropriated from the rich. In this way they strengthened and assured themselves of the support of the peasant population. Throughout the guerrilla operation, Sandino enforced an order whereby it was considered categorically to be a crime for the rural population not to accept what the guerrillas distributed. This distribution of material goods was justified because of conditions in which the patriotic resistance developed, including political backwardness in the zones where the guerrilla army operated.

Constant vigilance was a principal factor of the Sandinist war. At different distances from the encampments there were guard posts located at from a half hour up to one or more days away on foot. Fulfilling the guard mission was a primary duty whose infraction was punishable by death at the first repetition.

Sandino's soldiers, whom the enemy categorized as "bandits," dressed in rags. Frequently they wore nothing more for blankets than layers of banana leaves to resist the cold on the Segovia peaks.

The North American journalist Carleton Beals visited the Sandino camps on March 29, 1928. In his reporting, he refuted the unfounded lies that the mercenary press printed against the Nicaraguan guerrillas. Beals wrote about a guerrilla whose shirt "fell in strips" and whose bare feet were placed in stirrups made of sticks attached with laces of crude hide, while the saddle was nothing more than a couple of pouches.

In the face of the scarcity of food, the guerrillas satisfied their hunger with snails which they pulled out of the brooks, and with the palm leaf or palm heart of **maquengue.**

In spite of the material privations, the Sandinists fortified their spirit of sacrifice. The invader, on the contrary, committed all sorts of vandalous acts. On one occasion, after the victory of El Bramadero, the Sandinists found in a Yankee knapsack, a gold custodian that the

invader had robbed from the church of Yali. The Sandinists returned the object to the temple.

For their part, the peasant women played a relevant role as fighters and in auxiliary tasks of the guerrilla group. Along with the guerrillas, many peasant women marched with their young children on their backs. They attended to the wounded and to the ill who lacked professional doctors, and cooked the food for the Sandinists.

The guerrillas used not only the arms they obtained in combat against the invader, but they also made rudimentary grenades or bombs with dynamite extracted from the mining centers. They placed the dynamite, along with pieces of nails or metal, in the empty sardine cans the marines abandoned, or in pieces of leather they were able to obtain in the region. In the same way, they used ingenious methods to confuse the enemy military officers. On the El Chipote highlands, they once placed "scarecrows of hay" to distract the attention of the Yankee airplanes, while the guerrillas went in the opposite direction.

Among the arms in the guerrilla arsenal there were Krag, Infume, Winchester, Springfield rifles, Thompson and Browning machine guns, pellet rifles, Lewis machine guns and a small cannon called "la Chula."

On the steep slopes of El Chipote the guerrilla training camp for the recruits functioned. At the same time, the camps or various columns communicated with each other by means of secret trails or footpaths.

In the initial stage, the Sandinists operated in the zone of Pueblo Nuevo, Somoto Grande, Quilali and Ocotal, a region whose extremities were at least 50 km apart. Gradually the guerrilla zones were extended.

In 1932 the guerrilla zone covered the major portion of the rural areas of Nicaraguan territory. The guerrilla zone of operations included regions along the Atlantic coast, Chontales, Matagalpa, Jinotega, Nueva Segovia, Esteli, Managua, Chinandoga and Leon. For a certain time, one column operated in the Department of Rivas, located in the extreme Southwest of the country.

The territory that the Sandinists controlled had a perimeter of more than a thousand kilometers whose outermost points were Chichigalpa to the West, San Francisco del Carnicero and Santo Domingo de Chontales on the South, Puerto Cabezas and Cabo Gracias a Dios on the East and almost the entire border with Honduras on the North!

The ambush was the fundamental guerrilla tactic for attacking the invader armed forces and their "dogs." According to the distinguished Sandinist guerrilla chief Santos López, they let them penetrate into the mountains for two days. Here they attacked them; the Yankees retreated and in their retreat the guerrillas attacked them at various points along their route at the entrance and departure. They had no recourse except to retreat, with their dead and wounded. Various North American planes were also destroyed by the guerrillas when they criminally bombed the civilian population.

According to the report — incomplete by any standards — which was made by the commander of the United States Marine Corps, the battles in which the Sandinists took part reached a total high of 510, broken down as follows: 73 encounters from May 4, 1927, to the last day of December 1929: 120 encounters in 1930; 141 encounters in 1931; 176 encounters in 1932. Such a recapitulation was practically unknown until today. Included in the famous works on the Sandinist operation published by the Argentine

author Gregorio Selser, there is the tendency to claim that in 1930 there were very few encounters, which definitely was not the case.

The impotence of the invader in annihilating the heroic guerrillas was turned into cruel reprisals against the defenseless population. Small children were hurled into the air so they would fall, impaled on the fixed bayonets of the Yankee soldiers; these beasts pulled open the legs of peasant children and tore them apart.

The Compromise Between the Liberals and Conservatives

While the Sandinist guerrillas kept the invader under control in the mountains, the oligarchs of both bands agreed to share the booty of the puppet government.

On December 22, 1927, imperialism agreed with the liberals and conservatives to create a mercenary armed force called the National Guard. Its principal immediate mission was to exterminate the Sandinist patriots. During its first phase, the National Guard had only North American officers.

One little known aspect of the guerrilla process in Nicaragua was the uprising of native soldiers of some units against their Yankee commanders. They were the object of every kind of reprisal by the despotic Yankee officers. Uprisings occurred in the following places: Somotillo, Paso Real, El Jicaro, Somoto, Quislaya, Quiluli, San Isidro, the Managua presidential guard and twice in Talpaneca. In such places the Nicaraguan subofficers used their arms against the Yankee chiefs and various rebels joined the patriotic columns.

In the electoral farce of November 4, 1928, Moncada became President. The election was presided over by 45 North American officers and 432 subofficers. The president of the "national" electoral commission was General Frank Ross MacCoy.

That month, aboard the ship **Maryland**, US President Hoover met with the liberal José María Moncada and the conservatives Emiliano Chamorro and Adolfo Díaz. During this meeting President Hoover said: "A solution has been reached which merits the profound gratitude of all our peoples and for which we wish to congratulate the leaders of the Nicaraguan nation."

The new liberal president designated as secretary of the General Command (stepping-stone for the leadership of the National Guard) and as temporary head of Foreign Relations, an obscure individual who would later achieve notoriety: Anastasio Somoza García. In agreement with the Yankee command, Somoza was named head of the National Guard at the end of 1932.

Juan B. Sacasa approved the betrayal of El Espino Negro and was designated by Moncada as his government's representative to the United States.

Sovereignty Is Defended with Arms

As soon as Moncada had assumed the presidency, Admiral D. F. Sellers sent a communication to Sandino in which he sought to call on him to end armed resistance. The guerrilla chief answered him. "The patriotism on which you call is what has kept me fighting force with force, absolutely rejecting any interference of your government in the internal affairs of our nation, and demonstrating that one does not discuss a people's sovereignty, one defends it with arms in hand."

In addition to his courage and profound patriotism, he had the fortitude to withstand any type of privation and material difficulty. In

June of 1930, shrapnel from a bomb dropped by a Yankee plane over Saraguasca hit him in the left leg. Without medical attention he recovered from the wound, cared for by his comrades-in-arms. In his personal conduct, sobriety was the norm. On one occasion he was offered a shot of liquor to toast, and he declined saying that "the clear mountain water is the only thing I have had to drink in these last years."

In simple language he explained to the peasant guerrillas that the people would definitely destroy Yankee imperialism. The veteran combatant Simón González recalls that he heard him say: "Some day the Yankees will have to be completely defeated and if by chance I am not able to see this finale, the ants in the ground will come and tell me about it in my grave."

Although he did not have a chance to attend school, Sandino was by his own account self-educated. In the mountains, according to what he himself said, he read by firelight. Among the books he read was *Don Quijote*, from which he memorized entire paragraphs.

The Nicaraguan hero referred to a Colombian who had joined the guerrilla ranks and who helped him with his cultural instruction as "my mentor."

It must be pointed out that the constant intervention of Yankee imperialism in the Caribbean countries was met with an increase in the patriotic struggle, in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela and other places.

The dawn of the social ideas that budded during these struggles was projected in the political ideas of the Nicaraguan guerrilla hero.

Nevertheless, the conditions that the nascent character of the people's anti-imperialist modern movement imposed, did not allow Sandino's correct military strategy to coincide with a correct political strategy that guaranteed the continuation of the revolutionary process.

It must be noted that the Nicaraguan hero was clearly aware of the determining role of armed struggle in the success of final national independence and, moreover, identified himself with the advanced ideas of social rights.

Throughout the years of his struggle one can see in Sandino an idealist who wants social transformation and this is reflected from the beginning to the end of the resistance. In 1933 the Spanish journalist Ramón Belausteguigoitia writes in his reports that in Sandino's training camp they sing the proletarian hymn, "The International."

His understanding of the decisive role of the workers and peasants in guerrilla combat is reflected in a declaration he made in 1930:

> Up until the present, our army receives the support that sincere revolutionaries have provided for its arduous struggle; but with the sharpening of the struggle, with the growing pressure on the part of the Yankee bankers, the vacillating, the timid in character who fear struggle, abandon us because only the workers and peasants will go on to the end, only their organized strength will win the victory.

Two years later he stated: "Our army is prepared to take the reins of our national power so that we can then proceed to the organization of great Nicaraguan workers' and peasants' cooperatives which will exploit our natural riches for the benefit of the Nicaraguan family in general."

The guerrilla chief also was disposed to start the battle on other soil. He said that "It would not be

strange to me and my army to go to any country in Latin America where the assassin invader is establishing his bases for an act of conquest."

Solidarity and Isolation

The international solidarity of the peoples with the Sandinist guerrilla force was expressed through the participation of Latin-American fighters on the Nicaraguan barricades, among them the Venezuelan Carlos Aponte, who fell on Cuban soil beside the anti-imperialist leader Antonio Guiteras. Also at the side of the Sandinist guerrillas was the Salvadoran communist martyr Farabundo Martí, whom Sandino regarded as a brother until the very end.

In addition to the physical presence of certain revolutionaries within guerrilla ranks, prominent anti-imperialist figures urged solidarity with the Nicaraguan rebels.

In 1929, Sandino went to Mexico looking for solidarity, but he encountered only the perfidy of the Mexican bourgeoisie with their anti-imperialist demagogy.

The lack of understanding of these so-called revolutionaries was complete, and they even placed in doubt the patriotic nature of the Nicaraguan armed resistance on the basis of absurd conjectures that arose from a deviationist discussion. Imagine, Mexico at this time was one of the main centers of the revolutionary workers' movement in Latin America.

Sandino understands the isolation and solitary position his struggle was being made to suffer. While in Mexico in 1929, he writes: "The silence, the isolation, the desperation of remaining ignored overwhelms us. The world should know that we are still in the fight... the fight has gone on in Nicaragua as intensely as before, but North American money has bought silence against us."

On December 15, 1931, he says from the mountains that, for more than a year, he has received no news of Zepeda, at that time Sandino's representative abroad.

Ignominious Withdrawal of the Enemy

In January 1933, Juan B. Sacasa becomes head of government. The guerrilla columns now have some years of tenacity and heroic resistance by armed force. It has been impossible for armed intervention by the powerful Yankee empire to defeat the Army for the Defense of Nicaraguan National Sovereignty.

At the end of 1932, the intellectuals Sofonías Salvatierra and Salvador Calderón Ramírez send the victorious hero messages proposing peace in the country and the hope for a consolidation of national sovereignty.

The patriot chief answers Salvatierra and, although he leaves the door open for conversations, he energetically criticizes Sacasa. When the interview between Salvatierra and Sandino takes place in January 1933, the guerrilla presents him with the document known as the "peace protocol." In this document, the Nicaraguan hero proposes, in a few paragraphs, that Juan B. Sacasa, during the four years of his administration, "absolutely prevent foreign interference in Nicaraguan finances, and states his position with respect to the so-called National Guard." He also demanded that "by initiative of the Army, the Nicaraguan National Congress should decree the integral maintenance, in the new Department of Luz y Verdad, of the war equipment that the Army for the Defense of Nicaraguan National Sovereignty has used during its worthy war for our

National Honor."

The hero added in the document that "the National Congress should decree the removal and burning from the national archives, of all those documents which describe as banditry the patriotic actions of our army" and that "the final peace covenant must make clear that the Army for the Defense of Nicaraguan National Sovereignty requests the revision of the Bryan-Chamorro treaties because of the notorious fact that they were signed by a Nicaraguan Government imposed by North American intervention."

The guerrilla chief opposed a peace in which the former fighters would be deprived of their arms. And he also denounced the economic intervention that continued to weigh on the country, as well as the treaties that damaged the dignity and sovereignty of the nation.

Faced with the fact of these negotiations, the latifundists in the North of the country expressed their open disassociation and demanded an immediate persecution of the patriots who remained armed in the mountains.

For its part the enemy propaganda issued calumnies about the Sandinists, stating that what least interested them was fighting Yankee armed intervention, and that this was only a pretext to devote themselves to committing crimes. This type of attack could have no effect on a population lacking a correct political orientation. The participation of the patriots in the negotiation contributed to destroying the anti-Sandinist propaganda.

The hero agreed to sign an accord with the Sacasa government only after the ignominious withdrawal of the Yankee invaders from Nicaraguan territory. Thus withdrawal was the culmination of a great military victory for the Sandinist guerrillas.

The patriotic protest in various parts of Latin America and particularly in the Caribbean countries, which placed in relief the stubborn Sandinist struggle, forced the North American Government to announce its "Good Neighbor" policy, which was a promise not to intervene militarily in the countries of Latin America.

One month after the withdrawal, in a proclamation to the guerrillas, the hero says: "Our Army, through the magnitude of its struggle, constituted a continental moral authority, and in the atmosphere of sympathy our Army enjoys throughout the world, caused the complete expulsion of the North American pirates from Nicaragua."

Sandino in Managua

On February 2, 1933, the hero leaves for Managua for discussions with the Sacasa government. The opportunity to see this living symbol of patriotism represents a jubilant event for the people of the capital city. The same day the accord is signed specifying the agreement reached by the delegates of the two traditional parties with the guerrilla representatives. Signing the document for the liberal party is Crisanto Sacasa, who in coming decades will be better known for his services to the antipeople's regime.

In discussing the conditions, Sandino completely rejects the disarmament they attempt to impose on him and only accepts a gradual disarmament which permits him to keep a certain number of guerrillas under arms. Moreover, the accord refers to "maintaining by all rational, adequate and legal means the resplendancy, in all its magnitude, of the sovereignty and of the political and economic independence of Nicaragua."

Although Sandino routs the Yan-

kee imperialist military intervention, it is not possible to prevent the continuing economic domination and political intervention. In a letter sent to Señora Lidia de Barahona, he points out: "It is with regret that I state that our government is still not autonomous, because political and economic intervention exist and cannot disappear while the government belongs to the present parties..."

At the same time, in a letter sent to his comrade-in-arms, Francisco Estrada, Sandino warns of the danger to national interests represented by the National Guard, armed mercenary force which the aggressors left organized: "Nicaragua's situation is the following: the National Guard is an institution contrary to the laws and Constitution of the Republic; it was created by an accord between the liberal and conservative parties directed by North American intervention."

On a second trip to Managua, May 13, 1933, the guerrilla chief agrees to the formation of a new political party in the country, the Autonomous Party, which for the first time would offer an opposition to the two traditional parties which had controlled the political life of the country since the first decades of the 19th century.

The objectives of the new political organization are explained by the Sandinist guerrilla Francisco Estrada in a letter in which he notes that "this will mean an end to past sectarianism, since it will forge together all the units that exist in the country."

On August 1, 1933, there is an explosion in Campo de Marte which reflects the sinister maneuvers on the way .The development of events indicates that the explosion has been provoked by the chief director Somoza to make it seem that a supposed danger and instability exist in the country, accentuating the tendency on the part of the reactionary classes to favor a military government controlled by the National Guard.

In the first days of December, Sandino makes a third trip to Managua. Out of this trip comes the plan to form a new political party which in no way is to be understood as a renunciation of the formation of a distinct political force, which he now explains: "We will limit ourselves to maintaining Sandinism with all its prestige of moral authority, in order to be a decisive factor in the nation's destiny on the first occasion that presents itself."

Thus the immediate nonformation of the party meant only a change of form in the aspiration to establish an independent political movement to win a determining influence in the future situation in the country. It is important to point out that as of May 4, 1927, Sandino had broken the ties that bound him to the liberal party.

After the expulsion of the Yankee aggressors, the political military gang made up of the two bands of the oligarchy, came to be headed by Anastasio Somoza García. As head of government, Sacasa signifies in the functioning of simple rivalries, the civilian tendency of the reactionary sector. The discrepancy between Somoza and Sacasa lacks any decisive class content since both represent the interests of the oligarchy and of imperialism.

The Infamous Crime

Both the Yankee embassy and its agents in the oligarchy agreed in their fear of the national prestige of Sandino, who enjoyed popular support.

Ambassador Bliss Lane, who had replaced Hanna, declares in no roundabout manner, in a telegram

sent to the Secretary of State that, as far as Sandino is concerned, he has told Somoza to beware of "precipitation." This explains why it was necessary to allow a year to pass from the initiation of negotiations before perpetrating the crime. The term "precipitation" clearly demonstrates that Yankee imperialism had condemned the hero to a treacherous death but that, at the same time, it wishes to avoid the repercussion that the guerrilla survivors would take just vengeance, and would continue the resistance against the mercenary National Guard.

On February 21, 1934, Ambassador Bliss Lane communicates with Somoza on two occasions. The same day he meets with the Yankee lackey José María Moncada, an intimate of Somoza. At midnight the crime is carried out. Augusto César Sandino and his brothers-in-arms, Francisco Estrada, Juan Pablo Umanzor and Sócrates Sandino are assassinated.

Among the details known about the attitude of the hero before his murderers, there survive the words that he hurled at them when they proceeded to take his wallet: "I don't have a single cent, for I have never taken funds from the nation."

The vile assassination of the Nicaraguan hero is the culmination of 25 years of crimes committed by the Yankee aggressors and their sell-out oligarchies from the time that imperialist intervention began in 1909. Over a quarter of a century of sadness and fighting, 25 000 sons of Nicaragua fell on the sacred soil which will some day, inexorably, flower with liberty and justice.

In August 1934, liberals and conservatives, in common accord, decree an amnesty in favor of those who were implicated in the assassination of the hero.

Two year later, Juan B. Sacasa quietly resigns as front man and Somoza directly assumes the reins of power. Following an electoral farce, the hired assassin Somoza officially occupies the presidency on January 1, 1937.

After Sandino's assassination, the guerrilla chief Pedro Altamirano, "Pedrón" to his friends, stayed in the mountains for several years at the head of a small and isolated troop until, in 1939, he died in enemy hands in Garnacha.

The tragedy that befell Nicaragua with the crime of February 21 has extended over several decades and still today affects the life of Sandino's people.

With the victory of the Cuban Revolution, the Nicaraguan spirit of rebellion recovered its resplendency. The Marxism of Lenin, Fidel, Che, Ho Chi Minh, was seized by the Sandino Front of National Liberation, which has taken the difficult guerrilla path again. From the last months of 1958, year after year, on more than a hundred occasions, there has been a guerrilla combat which will lead to final liberation.

The national and social emancipation of Nicaragua will be won through armed action supported by the people's masses and guided by the most advanced revolutionary principles. The enemy tricks of the past will be defeated now, should they repeat themselves. In the new period not only are numerous peoples in rebellion against Yankee imperialism, but they are all united in a growing and unanimous battle leading to the defeat of the dollar empire. Viet Nam, Cuba, on opposite sides of the world, are peak examples of the people's decision today. In this new battle, the young Nicaraguan generation, loyal to the legacy of Augusto César Sandino, proves with its blood that it is occupying an honorable position.

starting points

A Necklace of Colonies

Frank McDonald

Tricontinental offers, for the first time, the subject of the English-speaking Caribbean (territory controlled by England in this area).

The article was written for us by Frank McDonald, a young North American research graduate from Notre Dame, a university located in Indiana, USA.

The analysis has a political focus and copious information concerning this little-known world, which contribute to the reader's better understanding of the area.

THE COMMONWEALTH Caribbean consists of 17 territorial units. Fifteen of these are islands or groups of islands. Two are mainland states. Together, these territories encompass a total land-mass of 105 325 square miles and a population of five million people. British Honduras (Belize), on the Central American mainland, marks the western outpost of the region. Then, east into the Caribbean Sea, a cluster of islands comprise the central grouping of the English-speaking states: The Bahamas, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the Cayman Islands and Jamaica. Then, again a thousand miles east, a chain of nine island states — flanked by Anguilla in the north and Trinidad in the south — lie toward the South American mainland and the Republic of Guyana, the southern outpost of the Commonwealth Caribbean. As a geographical unit then, the region forms a vital landline between the two American continents, a link that gives to the area a preeminent economic and strategic value.

In terms of size, apart from the two mainland states (Guyana with 83 000 square miles and Belize with 8 000 square miles) the island components are diminutive. Jamaica, for example, is the largest of the island territories but measures only 4 441 square miles. Trinidad is half that size (1980 square miles). And Anguilla, the smallest of the island states, is only 16 miles long and 2.5 miles wide.

The constitutional status of the region's states varies from full independence to colonial dependency. Twelve of the territories are internally self-governing states, four of the 12 are fully independent and have full membership in the United Nations (Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica); six others are called Associated States and are internally self-governing but dependent upon Great Britain for foreign affairs and defense (Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada). Two others, Belize and The Bahamas, are internally self-governing, but will soon become fully independent. Four other territories, all very small, are still classic colonies (Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands and Montserrat). Finally, there is tiny Anguilla, whose status is complicated as a result of its secession from the federated state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla in 1967.[1]

The racial composition of these 17 territories is extremely heterogeneous. The region incorporates Mayan Indians, Carib Indians, Amerindians, East Indians, Chinese, Syrians, Europeans and Africans. Although there has been a great deal of miscegenation, particularly in Trinidad and Guyana, the predominant racial group of the region is African. These people, descendants of the 11 million men, women and children brought to the Americas in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, today total roughly 77% of the region's population. As a result, the Commonwealth Caribean is, as West Indian economist Lloyd Best says, "a house with an African personality."

Historical Patterns

Commonwealth Caribbean history throughout has been a story of some form of exploitation. Essentially, the theme has been a mix of white-controlled capital and cheap black labor brought together for the benefit of metropolitan interests. This history of exploitation breaks down, roughly, into three periods: first, 200 years of colonization (1623-1834) during which the London-based merchants, a colonial plantocracy and slaves serviced the industrial revolution of Great Britain; second, one hundred years of Crown colony rule (1835-1940) when the post-emancipation West Indians suffered under the harsh conditions of tenant labor and laissez-faire; and third, the contemporary period (1944-present) when the development of trade union movements and universal suffrage resulted in constitutional advancement without any concomitant change in the traditional white capital, black labor mix that still operates for the almost exclusive benefit of the North Atlantic economies.

Colonialism

The British colonialists first came to the Caribbean 300 years ago, when, in 1623, Scottish, Irish and English deportees migrated to St. Kitts, Antigua, Barbados and Jamaica. In these islands, they first cultivated tobacco without great success. Sugar proved to be more suitable, attracting higher prices on the London market. In order to secure markets and profits, however, a large supply of cheap labor was required. For this reason, patterned after the Portuguese, the British colonialists began importing slaves from Africa. The first company chartered by the British Crown, The Royal African Company, began trading an average of 3 000 slaves annually in 1663. By 1791, there were over 40 companies shipping slaves from Africa to the Caribbean, exchanging them for sugar and bartering the sugar in London brokerage houses.

Slave labor alone was not enough, however, to ensure a high rate of profit return for the island planters. Competition from

other colonies, particularly from India, cut into the West Indian profit margin — so much so that the planters sought protection in the form of tariffs from the British Government. In time, loans were also required to expand the acreage planted in sugar. For both of these needs — increases in tariffs and capital — the West Indian planters sought out London merchants who could act as lobbyists and financiers. By performing both these functions, the London investors and merchants inevitably assumed control of the colonial sugar industry, eventually all financing, shipping and marketing. In short, the focus of economic power gradually shifted from the Caribbean colonies to the brokerage houses of London.

The dynamic of protectionism and the mercantilist system rendered the West Indies totally dependent upon metropolitan interests, a dependency that has established the adverse, economic patterns which persist, in more subtle forms, until today. First, intra-island and intraregional commercial exchange was, in effect, prohibited because the only lines of trade allowed to develop were those between the individual plantations and the mother country. Second, as a result of metropolitan interests and Balkanization, only a single-crop economy was encouraged — land diversification discouraged — since industrial goods and other commodities were imported from, and were a source of profits to, the mother country. Third, the plantations produced sugar in a raw, muscavado form only, further processing being reserved for metropolitan industries. Fourth, capital was not accumulated in the Caribbean, but rather in London where the merchants or absentee-owners were compensated for their investments. Nor was this capital reinvested in the colonies but rather in the industrial developments of the metropolis. Fifth, as a result of protectionism and slavery, the island economies became increasingly inflexible. Little or no structural transformation or innovation occurred within the sugar industry since, if markets expanded, more slaves were imported and more crops cultivated. If markets contracted, rationing for the slaves and other devices were used to cut costs and overhead.

Laissez-faire and Crown Colony Rule

What was then called the Golden Age of Sugar ended in the middle of the 19th century when the British Parliament abolished slavery, emancipated the slaves in the colonies and legislated against the protective tariffs granted the British colonies in the Caribbean.[2] Such parliamentary action was not, however, the result of any humanitarian sentiment in Great Britain. On the contrary, British manufacturers, labor unions and politicians lobbied for the development of free trade and free labor because they were convinced that protectionism and slavery prevented the expansion of Britain's

markets and trade with other European powers. Economists such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and others from the Manchester School argued persuasively that free trade or laissez-faire would assist England's industrial development, that expanded markets would be good for manfacturer and laborer alike.

In the colonies, however, changes brought about by laissez-faire left the island economies languishing. For the postemancipation West Indian population, there was little difference between the servile conditions of slavery and the oppressive treadmill of tenant labor that persisted after 1846, a system in which the black population remained on the plantations and worked in payment for estate-owned housing and commodities bought in estate-controlled shops.

In terms of political rights, the black West Indian was no better off than he had been in the preabolition society since property qualifications and other obstacles kept him disenfranchised and subject to Crown colony rule. This period, lasting a hundred years (1836-1940), was, officially, a time of preparation toward the day when, sufficiently groomed, the people of the Caribbean would be able to assume the responsibilities of self-government. Until that time, the Colonial Office viewed itself as the main instrument for instructing the people in parliamentary democracy, and as "arbiter" between the interests of the old plantocracy and the needs of the newly emancipated population.

In reality, however, the doctrine of Imperial Trusteeship[3] and its institutional expression, Crown colony rule, masked a British rejection of black West Indian franchisement, a racist fear of the idea of black rule and a consequent collapse of the socioeconomic status quo.[4]

Constitutional Independence

Following a century of Crown Colony rule, however, even the British Colonial Office recognized that the West Indian territories could not remain colonies forever. This was recognized when, in 1934, the price of sugar fell to five shillings a hundredweight and massive unemployment, food shortages and discontent spread throughout the Caribbean. Then from 1936 to 1938, in St. Kitts, Trinidad, Jamaica and other islands, a wave of popular unrest, demonstrations, riots and strikes showed that a breaking point had finally been reached.

As the discontent spread, West Indians in every state from both lower and middle classes arose to organize these spontaneous uprisings. Whoever had enough charisma, courage or ability, who could reach the pulse of the people's nationalism, became heroes for the crowds. Men such as Grantley Adams in Barbados or Alexander Bustamante in Jamaica began channeling that national-

ism and energy, first by organizing trade union movements (over a seven-year period more than 60 trade unions were formed), then by founding political parties that eventually formed governments. For it is one of the most persistent themes in Caribbean politics that those men who, in the late 1930s, filtered through the crowded streets, emerged from the crowds and organized the people, were also those who subsequently led the movement for constitutional independence and (with one or two exceptions) have dominated the politics of the Commonwealth Caribbean states ever since.[5]

As a consequence of the spontaneous actions of the West Indian population and the subsequent development of trade unionism in the region, the British Government, after the Second World War, initiated a series of study groups, Royal Commissions and constitutional conferences directed toward establishing a form of self-government suitable for the Caribbean colonies. Discussions held over a 14-year period (1944-58) finally resulted in what was intended to be the principal mechanism for regional independence — The West Indian Federation.

This Federation, composed of ten colonial territories, incorporated the major part of the West Indian population. Officially inaugurated in April of 1958, ten territories formed a political union governed by a Federal Parliament, ministers elected by the region's four million inhabitants and an administrative superstructure intended to coordinate the economic development of the Commonwealth Caribbean. However, after four years, because of a lack of support from the masses of the region and numerous other personal, geographical and administrative difficulties, the Federal experiment collapsed. The major event in this regard was the 1961 decision of the Jamaican people to withdraw from the Federal Union, leaving Trinidad and the other eight island states of the Eastern Caribbean to carry on alone. At this point, Trinidad's Prime Minister, Dr. Eric Williams, decided to abandon the Union as well, expressing his conclusions regarding the fate of the Federation in a single pithy remark: "Ten minus one leaves zero."

With the collapse of the West Indian Federation in 1961, Great Britain was obliged to grant each of the larger territories its individual independence. Jamaica, the first West Indian state to achieve independent status, became sovereign in 1962. Trinidad followed shortly after in the same year. By 1966, both Barbados and Guyana had also become fully independent and members of the United Nations. For the remaining territories, a semi-independent status (Associated Statehood) was established, in which the islands became internally self-governing but remained dependent upon Great Britain for foreign affairs and defense. Written into each of the constitutions of the Associated States, however, is the proviso that, at any time, following a referendum and six-

months notice, that state may ask for, and be granted unilaterally, full independence.

Yet constitutional independence has not altered in any significant way the economic dependency of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Oppressive material poverty and external control of the region's resources persist today. And the political leadership that governs has been unwilling or unable to do anything about it. On the contrary, what development policies have been undertaken by the various governments of the Commonwealth Caribbean have only reinforced such conditions.

Contemporary Society

The acquisition of constitutional independence in the past decade has brought self-government to the majority of the region's population. Each state has its election every five years, has its House of Assembly or Parliament, its Prime Minister or Premier, representatives, opposition party, flag and national song.

Nevertheless, political independence has not greatly affected the traditional colonial class structures that have persisted since the days of slavery. In spite of the election of black politicians in every Commonwealth Caribbean state, expatriates or West Indians of European origin still exercise almost total control over the levers of economic power. The structure of the societies in each of the Commonwealth Caribbean states clearly reflects this fact.

At the top are the expatriate managers of the economies, those who own and control the major commercial and industrial components of the region: the managers of the Tate and Lyle sugar estates; the managers of Geest's banana industry; the directors of Kaiser, Alcoa and Reynolds bauxite operations; the managing personnel of the various expatriate-owned hotels, night clubs and tourist facilities; the hundreds of bank managers for Barclays, Nova Scotia, Royal Bank of Canada and Chase Manhattan.

Then there are the local West Indian elites; very few and principally white, they share in, and often represent locally, the interests of the expatriate investors. Perhaps the most important man in this regard, the classic example, is Sir Neville Ashenheim in Jamaica. Sir Neville is the owner or controller of no less than 45 different corporations or businesses including four insurance companies, six development companies, one bank, two public service corporations and Jamaica's only daily-circulated newspaper, **The Daily Gleaner.** In addition to his business interests, Sir Neville is also a Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance and Planning, leader of government business in the Senate and former Jamaican Ambassador to the United States. Then there are the other Ashenheims in Jamaica, and Matalons and Issas who together control over 75 companies, hotels and development projects. The

pattern is repeated throughout the region.

Next are the middle-class professionals and technocrats, primarily of mixed racial origins and employed in middle management positions within the business sector or else as civil servants for the various governments.

This class is very small, overworked and caught in the undesirable position of knowing what the majority of the population must endure below while acquiring a reasonable share of the benefits, goods and services that come from above. As teachers, doctors, lawyers and technicians, these West Indians represent the intellectual elite of the regional society and from among them most often comes the leadership of the movement for radical change.

Then there are the 20-25 000 industrial, mining and petroleum workers that are employed by the multinational corporations such as Kaiser Aluminum in Jamaica, Texaco Oil in Trinidad and Reynolds Metal in Guyana. These workers, totalling only 2% of the entire regional labor force, form what one trade union leader called an "aristocracy of labor," a highly skilled and well-paid work force that receives wage and fringe benefits that are about equivalent to those obtained by the average European worker. Usually, the company provides these men and their families with housing, free medical care, insurance programs and recreational facilities, which, as a result, sets them apart from the mass of ordinary West Indian workers.

There is then the remaining 98% of the regional labor force which breaks down as follows: the nonelite, yet fully-employed workers that number approximately 515 000 or 28% of the total labor force; the underemployed workers, numbering 900 000 and representing 50% of the total labor force; and finally, the unemployed that number at least 350 000 and represent 20% of the total labor force of the region.

These West Indians and their dependents are almost entirely of African or East Indian origin and total 90% of the total population of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Yet the physical conditions of their lives reveal a level of material poverty that is at the core of the Black Power movement.

From the Bottom Looking Up

From the viewpoint of 90% of the Commonwealth Caribbean's population — that is, from the impoverished bottom looking up — what is immediately apparent is the amount of wealth and economic power, largely expatriate-owned, concentrated at the top.

Sugar: This industry, traditionally the largest employer of the region, is so structured that only a few British-owned firms control over 60% of the region's cultivated acreage and over 85% of the production process. One of the major producers in the region is Bookers, which owns 11 of Guayana's 13 sugar estates. The other

two are owned by Jessell Securities Ltd., a London-based investment firm that also owns a Guyanese rum distillery, an investment company and a development corporation. Another major sugar producer is Tate and Lyle of Great Britain. Tate and Lyle has full or controlling interests in the largest sugar estates operating in Trinidad, Jamaica and British Honduras.

Bananas: The second agricultural industry in the region, bananas, is also expatriate-controlled. Elders and Fyffes, a subsidiary of United Fruit, has effective control of the shipping and marketing of Jamaica's annual banana production. Geest Industries Ltd., also a British firm, owns the largest estates, and the shipping and marketing facilities of the entire banana production of Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vicent and Grenada.

Bauxite: The Caribbean bauxite industry, providing 80% of the basic raw materials of the North American Aluminum Industry, is also owned by five, multinational corporations headquartered in North America: Kaiser, Alcoa, Reynolds and Anaconda in the United States; Alcan in Canada. These five companies together mine over 14 million long tons of bauxite from Jamaica and Guyana each year and account for over 50% of their annual export earnings.

Oil, petro-chemicals and natural gas: These industries, located primarily in Trinidad, are entirely American-owned. Texaco, which operates the fifth largest oil refinery in the world in Trinidad, processes — together with Shell Oil's refinery — an average of 157 million barrels each year. This oil represents 25% of Trinidad's gross national product and 80% of the country's total exports. Trinidad's petro-chemical industry, centered in San Fernando at Federation Chemical, is owned by W.R. Grace and Co. of New York. The nation's newly discovered natural gas deposits (now producing 500 million cubic feet per day and expanding rapidly) are already bargained away to Pan American Oil, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana.

Tourism: Reflecting the patterns of the other major industries, the Commonwealth Caribbean's tourist facilities are also foreign-controlled. For the smaller island states, dependent almost exclusively on their tourist industries, the domination of expatriate-owned hotels is almost complete. In St. Lucia, for example, 11 of the island's hotels are owned by North Atlantic interests. Over 50% of the Jamaican tourist industry is in foreign hands — the other half controlled by a small Jamaican élite. In The Bahamas, the situation is even worse, since its tourist facilities are simply an appendage to Miami Beach and in many instances quietly controlled by another American export, the Cosa Nostra.[6]

Land Development: Paralleling the regional tourist industry, hundreds of North Americans have capitalized on the Caribbean sun and sea by buying up almost every piece of beach land avail-

able. At last count, there were at least 300 different real estate schemes through which North Americans could exchange Caribbean property totalling 100 000 acres of prime beach land. The profiteering is on a large scale, and in a short period, roughly 250 000 North American buyers will have rezoned this land and built their winter homes on it.

Transport: The regional transport facilities, particularly the air services, are also owned by North Atlantic interests. Bahamas Airlines is 80% percent controlled by the London-based Swire Group, a family firm that owns the largest regional air carrier in the Far East — Air Cathay Pacific. Air Jamaica is 60% owned by Air Canada. And the major air carrier of the Caribbean, British West Indian Airways, has recently been sold, in part, to a New York investment group, Caribbean International Corporation. Today, two of three BWIA board members are North Americans.

Manufacturing: Throughout the past decade, employing an "open strategy" of industrial development — most often called the Puerto Rican model of industrialization[7] — the Commonwealth Caribbean has received approximately $300 million of direct US investment from more than 500 American corporations. These companies, provided with regionally sponsored incentives, have been attracted by the same conditions that were available in Puerto Rico during the 1950s: monopoly rights, freedom from fiscal controls, tax-free holidays, protective tariffs, low wages and even government assistance in locating or building factories.

Communications and Mass Media: Throughout the region, television, press and wire services are dominated by North Atlantic corporations. CBS and NBC have contracted most of the television programming and have large shares in the local affiliates. Daily newspapers, with few exceptions, are owned by British interests; and the only wire services operating in the region are Reuters, AP and UPI. Eighty per cent of the films shown in local theaters are American made.

The Role of AID

Concomitant with the expansion of American corporate investment in the Caribbean, a significant increase in United States development loans, technical assistance and other related projects has occurred. These assistance programs have been channeled almost exclusively through the Agency for International Development (AID) — an arm of the United States State Department. For fiscal years 1970-71, for example, AID will provide the Commonwealth Caribbean with loans and other assistance programs totalling 24.7 million dollars.

The impact of these AID programs is significant — not, however, for their positive value, but for the negative effect they have had

on the Caribbean economies. For essentially, the result of AID programs in the past has been to make the need for more aid inevitable; that is, instead of assisting the Commonwealth Caribbean states toward greater economic development and independence, the AID programs have in effect increased regional dependency upon the United States. Moreover, it has not been the Caribbean peoples who have chiefly benefited from the millions of dollars AID has channeled into the Caribbean, but the American corporations that have been provided enormous investment assistance.

Specifically, AID funds are designed to perform one of three basic functions: to assist the underdeveloped country in modernizing infrastructure and administrative facilities so as to be more receptive to, and provide inducements for, US investment; to assist the US investor in gaining access to the recipient economy by locating, evaluating, underwriting and insuring a given capital investment; and third, to assist the host government in establishing the political climate.[8]

Modernization

To modernize regional infrastructure the Commonwealth Caribbean has received a total of $55 million from USAID since 1963. Guyana, for political reasons, has obtained by far the greater share. As a result, $37.7 million has been authorized to build the Atkinsen-MacKenzie highway, which connects the North American bauxite mines with the capital, Georgetown, and the sea to the north. AID funds have also helped to modernize Guyana's airport, water systems, agricultural facilities and other highways throughout the country. For American investors, however, the future is in the underdeveloped interior; so as a result, $8.5 million has been authorized to "lay the base for economic and political development of the sparsely populated interior, to relieve congestion on the coastland and possibly reduce unemployment." In addition to infrastructure, AID is also concentrating on administration, particularly within the public services. Consequently, AID funds have been channeled to the Guyanese Government "to make needed improvements in the administration of development programs, particularly in such areas as tax collection."

In the Eastern Caribbean, AID loans totaling $10 million have been granted to assist regional tourist development and economic integration in other areas. This will provide North American developers and investors with access to a better organized tourist industry and, with economic integration, a larger market for US products. Another AID-funded project is a study, now under way, to "provide the island governments with a blueprint for regional economic planning, including the identification of priority pro-

jects for external financing and AID is prepared to assist in developing investment proposals within the regional priorities."

In Jamaica, AID is also interested in helping the Government there to "reorganize and improve the income tax administration in order to improve tax yields and more equitable burden sharing." A full-time AID-funded consultant and $106 000 have been authorized for this project.

Besides assisting the US investor with a more developed infrastructure, AID loans have directly financed millions of dollars of American export commodities. This is a consequence of loan conditions that force borrowing governments of the region to buy goods produced in the United States. Since 1964, this tied aid has been even more advantageous to the American exporter since "additionality" has been part of the AID contract. Thus, not only is the recipient of an AID loan obliged to buy US goods with that money, but he is given a selected list of products that tend to be poor international competitors and therefore in low demand. In this way, even the noncompetitive, American exports benefit from AID programs.

The Base of the Triangle Is Labor

US corporations and AID programs, however, represent only two sides of a triangular penetration of the Commonwealth Caribbean economy. The third side, without which the ease of this process would be severely threatened, is the organized "Americanization" of the Caribbean trade union movement's role in Caribbean politics, a region where, with the sole exception of Trinidad, most major political parties are rooted in a labor union and where the vast majority of premiers, prime ministers and even leaders of the opposition are themselves, trade unionists. Thus, the axiom holds that the politics or ideology of the trade union movement will reflect the policies of the regional governments, and that the more receptive Caribbean labor is to the presence of American investment and management patterns, the more so will be the regional politicians.

In this regard, the most effective programs designed to Americanize or in the more subtle jargon of its enthusiasts, "to strengthen and develop a free trade union movement in Latin America and the Caribbean" are those implemented by the Washington-based American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Founded in 1961 by President Kennedy and George Meany, and since then a channel for approximately $100 million in AID, American Federation of Labor and corporate funds, the AIFLD has become, as Senator William Fulbright has said, "the primary, if not exclusive, instrument for implementing US labor policy in Latin America" — a recognition justly deserved.

The men and money behind AIFLD are an ironic combination of the US Government (once funded by CIA, AIFLD now receives 90% of its grants from AID), the AFL-CIO (George Meany's International Affairs Directorate pumps 20% of its budget into AIFLD in the form of loans) and US corporations (over 70 American companies have contributed to AIFLD programs).

Since its inception AIFLD's goal of "strengthening and developing free trade unionism" has been partly accomplished by training 148 515 local trade unionists in regional seminars held throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. From this group, 1000 men have taken an advanced course in trade unionism at the Institute's Font Royal school in Washington. This course, lasting three months, also supports the selected trade unionist for nine months on his return to the local movement. Finally, a select few, numbering 70 to date and averaging 20 each year, are given a year's course in labor economics at Georgetown University in Washington, DC.

In the Caribbean alone, 5000 trade union leaders have participated in these AIFLD-sponsored seminars held in Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad; and a core group of 75 trade unionists, including the current leadership of the Caribbean Congress of Labor, have attended the labor college at Font Royal and been supported for a year on their return to the Caribbean.

Indeed, AIFLD's work has been varied. In 1963, for example, the AIFLD's Serafino Romualdi and Arnold Zander of the Public Services International (one of 17 International Trade Secretariats linking US and third world trade unions) were responsible for channeling CIA funds and personnel into a strike committee composed of antigovernment elements attempting to overthrow the popularly-elected government of Cheddi Jagan in Guyana. The result in the end was a series of race riots and a general strike lasting 80 days that has left Guyana a racially divided nation ever since.

AIFLD's presence in the Caribbean is perhaps best personified by Trinidadian Gaston Benjamin, a member of AIFLD's twelfth Font Royal graduating class and of its second labor economics course. Today, he is Secretary-Treasurer of the influential Caribbean Congress of Labor; labor member of the Dolly Commission appointed by the Trinidad Government Commission and chairman of the Small Business Council. With Benjamin in so powerful a position, AIFLD has reason to consider its program a success; for left to him, there is little hope that organized labor will be at the forefront of any movement for radical change. An indication of this comes from Benjamin's own remarks presented at the thirty-second class graduation from Font Royal in August of 1970.

> ...I can say with a large measure of conviction that I know each one of today's graduates is quietly imbued with the desire

and the belief that like Julius Caesar all he need do is reappear. on the Brazilian or Caribbean labor scene and it will be a case of "I came, I saw, I conquered." Consequently, I respectfully urge upon them the watchword of "caution." Too often, the newly returned enthusiast expends his new found ideas and hopes in trying to break through walls of complacency, indifference and, at times inefficiency... There is, however, no need to despair for walls can be bypassed, surmounted or tunneled. And, certainly a most integral part of the training and learning process would have been gearing for effecting change without unduly rocking the boat. On the other hand, it must be accepted that change is a natural corollary of growth and that our labor movements will inevitably stagnate if the refreshing winds of change are not allowed to blow away the humidity of inaction and the foul air of stagnation. At the same time, it is our duty to realize that the wind of change can easily become the hurricane of revolution which because of the unreasoning nature of hurricanes tends to sweep away all in their way....

Society in the Caribbean is in turmoil; the values — social, political and economic — are being challenged and it is a challenge of ominous significance, a challenge of critically destructive proportions in which the element of constructive criticism is running a poor and distant second. As one of the major factors in the Caribbean scene, the labor movement must not, indeed, it cannot ignore the outbreaks of Black Power idealism and Black power concepts which pervade the society today....

Origins of Black Power

Black Power has come to the Caribbean, or rather, surfaced in the Caribbean. For the idea of Black Power has been indigenous to the region for 50 years — primarily because of the legacy of two men: Jamaica's black nationalist, Marcus Garvey and Trinidad's pan-Caribbean populist, C. L. R. James.[9] Together, these two represent the source of Commonwealth Caribbean radicalism; and their achievements, acknowledged or not, persist today in the substance of the movement for regional liberation.

The contemporary Black Power movement began in Guyana during the early 1960s, where a group of Guyanese intellectuals, motivated in part by metropolitan attempts to overthrow the government of Cheddi Jagan, gathered to form the New World Group. Within a short period, their discussions appeared in the Group's journal, the **New World Fortnightly.** Circulated throughout the Caribbean, the **Fortnightly** eventually sparked the development of similar groups in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and the other smaller islands. Then, together with the Guyanese group,

"associates" from other Caribbean states fused and started publication of another journal, the **New World Quarterly**, containing contributions from various groups and written from a pan-Caribbean perspective.

In the **Quarterly**, the group's economists, such as Maurice Odle and Clive Thomas in Guyana, Lloyd Best in Trinidad, or George Beckford and Norman Girvan in Jamaica, presented critical work on all aspects of the Commonwealth Caribbean economy: for example, plantation economies, the mechanics of the Puerto Rican model of industrialization and the structure of foreign control of the contemporary economy. Political scientists within the Group — James Millette in Trinidad or Trevore Monroe in Jamaica — focused on neocolonialism and demonstrated how current Caribbean politicians had failed to alter the political impotency of the postindependence society. Historians such as Elsa Goviea, Woodville Marchall and Douglas Hall reinterpreted Caribbean history from the black West Indian's perspective; and sociologists such as Orlando Patterson probed the devastating heritage of colonial culture and slavery.

The February Revolution

The most significant show of radical power to date has been in Trinidad where, for eight weeks (February 26-April 22, 1970), a small activist organization called the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) led a mass movement of thousands that nearly brought the first sucessful Black Power revolution to the Caribbean. Starting with only a nine-man demonstration, on the afternoon of February 26, NJAC's leadership was able to mobilize ten thousand followers within a week, and ten times that number within six weeks.

Led by Geddes Granger, a recent graduate of the University of the West Indies, NJAC called for an end to economic colonialism and attacked the white power structure that controls the Caribbean.

> Our movement is working towards the day when each black person will be able to get a fair deal, be he of African or East Indian descent, will be able to feel that he has a stake in the future of our society. We are therefore against the present system in Trinidad which can only result in the perpetuation of the status quo. In Trinidad we have a black government which is not working in the interest of the people, for they strive to perpetuate a system of capitalism, a system which serves to provide huge profits for the foreign firms like the Royal Bank of Canada, Alcan, or Texaco Trinidad. We cannot and indeed will not allow our black people to be further dehumanized. And I say to you, there must be change.

For eight weeks, demonstrations numbering 8 to 20 000 Trinid-

adians kept the country in a perpetual state of protest. Granger with his arms uplifted pleaded with the crowds to rise up and rid Trinidad of its white oppressors. Meanwhile, the local press and government agreed that there was need for change, that the black population had been short-changed but, that violence or revolution were not the answers. Yet Granger kept marching — and with him the population. The middle-class, threatened as they have never been, began to panic and packed their bags to leave for "vacation" in Barbados — a haven for the middle-class whites of the Caribbean.

Finally, by the second week of April, the movement was ready to peak. Granger's NJAC, university students, East Indians, thousands of unemployed blacks and even labor (led by George Weekes' Oilfield Workers Trade Union) appeared to be ready to ask the Government to resign. A mass rally and general strike was called for April 22 to spearhead the movement's demands.

On the night of April 20, however, Dr. Eric Williams declared a state of emergency, imposed martial law on the country and had most in prison by the next morning. In spite of the Government's action, half of Trinidad's Army rebelled as they were issued arms by their officers, seized the main arsenal and held it for four days before surrendering to loyalist troops and police equipped with $80 000 worth of arms and ammunition provided by the United States Government. Over a hundred soldiers and civilian militants have already been condemned for sedition or treason.

Meanwhile, as the tribunals and trials begin in Trinidad, other Commonwealth Caribbean states have also taken action against the region's activists. The Government of Barbados has banned all Black Power spokesmen from the state and introduced a Public Order Act preventing public discussion of Black Power. In Grenada, Premier Eric Gairy has doubled the island's police force and over the radio, explained that Grenada did not need Black Power as in the United States since in the Caribbean "power is already in the hands of black people." In St. Vincent, scores of names are on the island's "undesirable aliens" list, names that are associated with the movement in the Caribbean. In Belize, two Black Power advocates, members of the United Black Association for Development, were charged with seditious conspiracy after their newspaper, **Amandala**, published demands for an end to economic colonialism. In St. Lucia, the Forum has been prevented from going into the villages of the island to talk to the people about Black Power. In Dominica, similar actions have been taken by the government and in Jamaica, even the writings of black leaders such as Malcolm X have been confiscated. It is getting to the point when, as C. L. R. James has recently said, "even the writing of Dr. Eric Williams will have to be banned in the Caribbean."

1 There was a British invasion of 300 paratroopers and 60 Metropolitan police.
2 Slavery was abolished in 1804 and the emancipation of all slaves was legislated by Parliament in 1832. Mercantilism became inoperative as a result of the Sugar Duties Act of 1846.
3 Imperial Trusteeship was first developed by the Tory Parliamentarian, Edmund Burke.
4 During the 1840s, a major debate among intellectuals of the day was the "Colonial Question." Many of Britain's leading thinkers argued for retention of the Caribbean colonies. Thomas Carlyle, in his **Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question**, argued for a return to slavery. Anthony Trollope, the English novelist, ridiculed the notion that West Indian blacks could govern themselves. And James Froude, then professor of Modern History at Oxford University, taught that black rule in the Caribbean would be a disaster: "An English Governor would be found presiding over a black council, obliged to read speeches written for him by a black Prime Minister .... No English gentleman could consent to occupy so absurd a position."
5 With the significant exception of Dr. Eric Williams in Trinidad [an intellectual educated in the US where he held a university chair], the majority of Commonwealth Caribbean statesmen today have risen through the trade union movements: Hugh Shearer in Jamaica; Forbes Burnham in Guyana; Erroll Barrow in Barbados; Eric Gairy in Grenada; John Compton in St. Lucia; Vere Bird in Antigua; Robert Bradshaw in St. Kitts; and Lyndon O. Pindling in the Bahamas. In many instances, the opposition party is also headed by a trade union leader.
6 The North American Mafia, which achieved its highest level of organization with Al Capone and "Lucky" Luciano. It is famous for its control of crime in the United States and its influence over North American politics. Beginning with the postwar period, it began to extend its influence through the Caribbean. (Ed. note)
7 In brief, the Puerto Rican model as it was promoted by its earliest advocates — for example, West Indian economist, Sir Arthur Lewis — aimed at opening up the Caribbean economy to metropolitan investors for three reasons: first, to create 420 000 jobs for the unemployed work force; second, to shift the burden of employment away from the traditional agricultural, mining or public service sectors of the economy; and third, to promote a local entrepreneurship that Sir Arthur Lewis then argued would develop because "the local people would have learnt the job, built up their own savings, and in one or two generations, go right in."
[According to the results it has had in Puerto Rico, the destiny of the Commonwealth Caribbean in relation to the North American monopolies is discouraging. In Puerto Rico there has been no resultant industrialization, the Yankee monopolies maintain absolute control over the economy and enjoy all the privileges. In sum, the so-called industrialization of Puerto Rico, far from resolving existing problems, has worsened the situation by a total economic colonization of a truly classic type. (Ed. Note)]
8 AID itself will soon be phased out of existence. Its individual programs, all of the ones outlined here, will be shifted to other agencies. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation will assume responsibility for most of them.
9 During the 1920s, Marcus Garvey stressed racial pride, the dignity of blackness and attempted to organize black nationalist groups in Jamaica and the United States. In the 1950s, C.L.R. James tried to mobilize a pan-Caribbean nationalism based on full economic and political participation of the West Indian masses. Both men encountered hostility in their respective islands and both subsequently chose some form of exile.

The Discrepant Military[1]

Gabriel Molina

At the end of his abortive 1969 diplomatic mission through various Latin-American countries, for an understanding of the continent's socioeconomic conditions, the plutocrat Nelson Rockefeller declared that "the United States must act rapidly to prevent a revolution in the countries of the hemisphere, and it is not a question of a radical change but of a change that is out of our control."

That year the North American monopolists reached a record profit of $552 million in their commercial balance with Latin America, the all-time high achieved by the US metropolitan center in the history of the economic dependence of Latin America.

From 1950 to 1968, Peru was the country that provided Yankee imperialism with the highest percentage of profits on its investments (15.6%). This South American nation was more serviceable to the monopolistic interests of Wall Street than all the capitalist countries of Europe. The net investment of $391 million in the Peruvian economy produced profits worth $1512 million representing a return of 386%. During these 18 years, through false "imperialist aid," the decapitalization of Peru reached a total of $965 million which was sent to the vaults of the dollar empire.

In October of 1968 a group of colonels along with army General Juan Velasco Alvarado, overthrew President Belaúnde Terry, who had reached an agreement tying national interests to the North American International Petroleum Company (IPC), subsidiary of International Standard Oil of New Jersey.

"We are not the perpetrators of a military coup," said General Velasco Alvarado, who was designated President of the Republic, "we are the instigators of an antioligarchic revolution. We come from the people and dedicate ourselves to their cause. The people and the armed forces are united and in this unity the greatness of the fatherland will be based."

Six days after their assumption of power, the new military government began to follow the lines of its economic-social policy, with the nationalization of the IPC.

In this article, written by the Cuban journalist Gabriel Molina after his trip to the millennial land of the Incas, the Peruvian process is analyzed and evaluated, from the time the nationalist militarists came to power, injecting a social impulse that has brought, as a consequence, a shaking of the pillars that underlie an underdeveloped economy.

[1] The author visited the land of Tupac-Amaru for several days in October 1970. This work was carried out at that time.

PERU IS A surprising country.

Ten years ago, in Talara, one could be surprised by the strength of the Peruvian bourgeoisie.

In this oil city, so residential and exclusive in the North American section and so boringly uniform in the part where the Peruvian employees of the International Petroleum Company (IPC) lived, a variation of the Drive-In Movie so widespread in the West had been invented. There, a diligent priest — who was also the UPI correspondent — had seized upon the happy idea of giving his mass outdoors, in a park where the rich could come quietly in their automobiles and listen, relaxing in their comfortable seats. Thus they met their religious obligations, airconditioned, without getting out of their cars. The Drive-In Church had been invented.

However, 95% of the faithful — Indians not of the middle class — stoically withstood the sun and the hard ground as they knelt. The alert father-correspondent, sanctioned by progress, had accomplished the scarcely disguised objective of keeping the distances. And the categories.

This seemed as incredible as when, ten years later, a group of the Peruvian military with uniforms and medals just like any others, interrupted life in that same Talara to nationalize the International Petroleum Company and begin a process of reforms so often promised and never fulfilled by liberals and pseudo-leftists. For reform in Latin America which affects the interests of the empire, has to be revolutionary.

And it is scarcely possible to conceive of an oligarchy as hypocritical as the Peruvian.

Just the blazing highway to the resort Ancon.

The audacity of the modern architecture at the beach. The comfort of the houses. The chrome of the most luxurious US cars. The harmonious though flashy color in the countryside, the people, the clothing. The whole scene, it could be said, left little to be envied of the world's best resorts.

But one day there was consternation. Clouding the view of the fine bourgeoisie of Ancon, at a rhythm worthy of a better cause in their opinion, the mestizos from the area had begun to build a miserable village, a marginal neighborhood. Some poor little huts.

They came with their string of children, their discolored ponchos, their suspicious gaze and, above all, with their dirty hunger, to break the tranquillity and aesthetic scene of Ancon.

Alarm changed to indignation until someone thought of a brilliant solution that would avoid antitourist scandals. Today you can see in Ancon a high, almost circular wall without any apparent reason for being there. But there is a reason. And important: it keeps their own and the foreigners' eyes from the strain of a countryside different from that of opulence and beauty.

It hides the misery of the other Peru.

Because as has been said and as any accustomed observer can appreciate, there is a civilized, modern awakened Peru of 2 500 000 inhabitants. And another primitive, exploited, hungry and shameful Peru of several million Indians, blacks and mestizos.

But it is also surprising that a general from the same military post in which yesterday the antipeople's repression was forged, should seize control of the military command and from the presidency, be the one to bare the reality and try to change it:

> ...a degraded ruling class is sinking Peru, for gold and for power, into misery and into exploitation... while we were separated [the army and the people] that obscure alliance between imperialism and plutocracy prevailed... the reactionary oligarchy will have to be convinced that its power over Peru has ended forever...

Is it not perhaps surprising to see 15 stiff generals on a platform, acclaimed by the people of Peru?

Have the people understood that the son of the sugar baron who drives around in a luxurious Ford Mustang from the Plaza de Armas to the Plaza San Martín, will defend with his last breath the facility for acquiring that Ford Mustang; and that it is at once the challenge and the symbol of that "obscure alliance between imperialism and plutocracy?"

Or have the Indians who come down from the mountains to live in the belt around the city in huts without water, electricity or any other comfort now realized why they hurl themselves into the streets of this Lima which are so like those of Paris and of Brazzaville at the same time? So like those of Madrid and of Tegucigalpa? Along with other workers as disinherited as they?

Lima is to Peru what Washington is to Latin America. But as a submetropolis, finally, without exploitative potentials that the capital of the empire has.

A Macrocephalic Country

From the colonial period, the Spanish aristocracy concentrated in the urban areas. The Indians were the majority, but subordinate and confined to the rural areas, used by a group of merchants, colonizers and conquerors based in the capital, Lima, and other cities.

After independence the export of wool, guano and nitrates to England created a flourishing period for the Peruvian ruling class and brought Peru into the British orbit. This is what first brought industry and banking to Lima and augmented the process of urban expropriation of the surplus of the interior which, in reality, was nothing more than the fruits of exploitation since the Indians continued undernourished and miserable.

As a result of the Chilean-Peruvian war, Peru's guano and nitrate were lost. In the decade 1890 the expansion and concentration of land in favor of sugar and cotton production and exportation began in the coastal zone, along with mining in the sierra.

A few landowners took advantage of the difficult situation caused by the war. Outstanding among them are the Larco brothers and Juan Gildemeister who purchased properties shaken by the lowered price of sugar.

The Larco brothers, Italian immigrants, rented the extensive Chiquitoy lands in 1872 and expanded the cultivation of sugarcane. With their profits they succeeded in purchasing the Tulape and Cepeda lands and rented the Mocollope land.

Gildemeister, a German immigrant, after making a fortune as importer, founded the Casa Grande Agricultural Company Ltd. He purchased various lands in the Chicama valley including Casa Grande. Later, through association with German capital, he increased his financial leadership enormously.

Later a third important landowner appeared, the Cartavio Sugar Company, subsidiary of W. R. Grace and Company.

The result of this process was that the Gildemeister group, for example, wound up possessing a half million hectares of the best lands and became one of the biggest latifundia in the world.

Moreover, the means by which these companies grew are unconscionable. One was to appropriate the water for irrigation, thereby ruining the small proprietors.

The Indians and the peasants were a constant obstacle to expansion, but the landholders sought the complicity of the government and its military protection for the economic expansion they carried out.

After the Second World War, the principal source of foreign capital switched from British to North American.

The first exploiter of copper was the firm of J.P. Morgan and Associates in the district of Pasco. Toward 1929 Peru was the most important producer of gold and silver in Latin America and then began the exploitation of zinc and lead.

At the same time the United States controlled the Peruvian sugar and cotton markets, thereby assuring itself of an indispensable political hold over the sugar and cotton barons, the Power Elite. Then when they needed capital, the Peruvian Government turned to New York, compromising itself more all the time.

The writer Michael Locker points out that the Peruvian export industries thus integrated the country into the world capitalist market, and the satellite economy became more and more subjected to the expansions and contractions of the system.

North American direct investment mounted from $71 million in 1940 to $605 million in 1967.

On the other hand, penetration into mining was facilitated by a mining code that reduced taxes on utilities and promised no increase for 25 years. The pro-North American government of General Odría also instituted a system of "free exchange" with unlimited conversion of profits and the repatriation of capital.

Thus, between 1955 and 1965, private North American firms extracted a total of $524 million of which $386 million — 72% — was returned to the United States in profits while $138 million was reinvested.

North American control of the mining industry reached 80% of production in 1968. Banking also fell into the hands of foreigners and the 40 families that were considered to make up the Peruvian ruling class served rather as agents for the penetration of foreign capital than as agents of national development. The Peruvians were also invaded with "made in USA" consumer products.

The complicity went deeper with investments of the 40 families in manufacturing industry. Far from creating a contradiction with North American capital which existed in this industry, it reinforced the dependence since the importation of raw materials and intermediary products came principally from the United States. During 1966 this branch ascended to $341 000 000.

Peru has some 5200 factories. The most important are textiles and mineral processing. They also have beverages, tobacco, shoes, wood and furniture, paper, rubber and others.

And so while Peru is an under-

developed country, the world wars and especially the second one, favored a partial advance in its economy. An equitable distribution of its wealth would raise the millions of disinherited Indians and peasants to an acceptable level of life. The resources of the country would permit this.

Peru has made a great advance, for example, in its fishing industry. It has come to be the chief world exporter of fish meal and has 155 factories to convert it.

The potato harvest of 1968 reached 1 700 000 tons; rice, 275 000 tons; corn, 590 000 tons; wheat, 150 000 tons; fruits, 1600 tons and vegetables, 570 000 tons. It also produces pork, beef and fowl. Nevertheless, the structure of its production has prevented the development of these branches and it is forced to import the major portion of what is needed, especially meat, milk and its derivatives.

Peru's principal exports in 1968 were sea products amounting to $234 million; copper worth $233.9 million; $55 million in cotton; $63 million in iron; $62 million in sugar; $67.9 million in silver; $29.4 million in lead; $33.1 million in zinc; and $35.7 million in coffee. The chief imports are consumer goods, raw materials and intermediary products, capital goods such as material for construction, transport, etc.

From 1965 to 1967, imports were greater than exports with an average deficit of $55 million annually. Nevertheless, the measures of control of imports dictated by the government of General Velasco Alvarado have created a favorable balance of trade.

The concentration of this wealth in Lima made the Peruvian capital, like others in Latin America, a deceptive showcase of neocolonialism.

This appearance has been attractive to certain American and Asian countries without understanding, or in spite of knowing how the system provokes a constant increase in social differences and a false and antinational concept of development.

The best example of such an economic and social system of all the countries of Latin America, and an African country, is South Africa. Except for different shadings, more evident in the Vorster regime, the Africans in the Republic of South Africa are the Indians of Latin America.

Colonialism and Neocolonialism

The economic, cultural and political dependence that the countries of the Third World have in relation to their metropolises, the developed capitalist countries, are similar in themselves. But there are great differences between one continent and another and many shadings, within the same continent, between one country and another.

The fundamental difference consists in the historic stages the continents of the Third World pass through. While the larger number of African and Asian countries obtained their political independence in the last or previous decade, at most, the Latin-American countries gained theirs in the last century. Colonial exploitation, of course, is still more brutal and inhuman than neocolonial.

In Asia and Africa, North American imperialism is in an incipient stage of neocolonial penetration, competing with decadent English and French empires. In Latin America, on the contrary, the process dates several decades back and has gone much deeper in the economy as well as in society and politics. This is why the Organization of American States (OAS) is said to govern like the Ministry of Yankee Colonies. They are systems of equal exploitation but with different

characteristics today.

On this Latin-American continent traditionally, the church and the army have been natural allies of imperialism. On the contrary, in Africa and the Middle East, the Army has eventually played a progressive role and one can almost say that the advent of a revolutionary military government is not news.

It is for this reason that the analysts that try to place the Peruvian military government fail. Nasserism responds to a different historic, economic and political reality. By the same token, all the Afro-Asian labels one may wish to apply are unacceptable.

Because, starting from realities, including the closest geographic realities, there have been attempts to compare the Peruvian process with that of Cuba. And it is certain that in 1958 Washington exercised in Havana a similar influence in all areas to that which it exercised in Lima in 1968. The forms of financial and cultural domination were also similar.

But the genesis of Cuban power is radically different from that in Peru and this conforms to each one's manner of existence.

The struggle of the Cuban revolutionaries was made with the unanimous support of the masses against a rightist and pro-North American military dictatorship. When Fidel Castro took political power in Cuba he was free of commitments that were not with his people; he could immediately destroy the corrupt old military apparatus, end its crimes and embezzlements, and prepare to launch the struggle to seize economic power.

When General Velasco Alvarado assumed the Government of Peru, on the other hand, despite the fact that President Belaúnde Terry had been slowly losing prestige, the military movement was almost unanimously condemned as one more gorilla coup on the continent.

Even with the nationalization of the International Petroleum Company, decreed during the first days of the government, the general reaction was rather one of skepticism. Very few analysts pointed out that to affect a vital strategic interest of the United States, such as oil, should characterize the Peruvian Military Junta as being of a different stripe.

The firmness with which the Peruvian generals resisted the attacks of the IPC and Washington, to the point of adopting a combative attitude when menaced with application of the Hickenlooper Amendment, through which economic sanctions would be applied to Peru, began to make it clear that these were generals of a new type, a kind of neomilitarism.

This impression later became more noticeable when they decreed the agrarian reform, one of the most profound such acts on the continent; also when they stated the laws of Industrialization and Industrial Collectivity, that of the exploitation of mineral resources: they nationalized the commercialization of fish meal and minerals; the government acquired the People's, International and Continental banks; they established control of exchange to prevent the indiscriminate flight of currency; they dictated the Law of Forced Expropriation of lands for urban expansion and the laws of free press and reorganization of judicial power.

A Company That Did Not Pay Taxes

The nationalization of the International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of Esso Standard Oil of New Jersey, owned by the Rockefeller family, as is known, was one of the most important steps toward recovering national sovereignty.

The most valuable parts of the expropriation are La Brea and Pariñas deposits, situated along the northern coast of Peru, which produce approximately 25% of Peruvian oil. The expropriation also includes 50% of the great oil field of Lobitos, the important Talara refinery and a chain of wholesale and retail distribution that held a dominant position.

The North American magazine **Fortune**, representative of big capital, recognized indirectly in March of 1969, how much reason the Peruvian people had for being indignant with the International Petroleum Company, by simply relating the company's history in Peru.

The "right" of IPC came from a concession made to the Quintana family by Simón Bolívar and the Peruvian Parliament in 1826. IPC acquired the property title to 416 000 acres of deposits and began to operate differently from the other companies, that enjoyed concessions "outside the system of taxes under which all oil companies operate", to quote **Fortune** magazine.

In 1967 the Peruvian Parliament threatened to file suit against IPC for the sum of $144 000 000 it had to pay in taxes on profits, like the other companies. It was out of this that the famous Talara agreement with the Belaúnde Terry government arose, by which the state forgave the debts in exchange for the company's agreement to incorporate itself within the normal system of concessions from that time on.

But the president of the state oil enterprise, Carlos Loret de Mola, resigned and denounced the government for the agreement. The accusation that the famous page 11, hiding other aspects favorable to IPC had been lost, became a political disaster for Belaúnde. His vice-president and presidential candidate, Edgardo Seoane, broke with him and denounced him publicly.

For this reason, when the army took over the government, it was at least received with less hostility, and when days later it nationalized IPC, the explosion of joy was general. This was a very popular issue.

Velasco later rejected Washington's pressures and its threats to invoke the Hickenlooper Amendment and discounted the indemnification for the expropriation of IPC effects by the $690 000 000 which, according to the Peruvians, the Esso Standard subsidiary owed for the 44 years it had operated without paying taxes on the fabulous profits it had made.

A sentiment of new pride began to be born in the Peruvian because of the firm position his government took toward the North American company. This reached its high point when Lima declined to accept a visit from Nelson Rockefeller, owner of Standard Oil, during the trip he took around Latin America on special assignment from President Nixon.

Patrimony: Poverty

International public opinion wondered how it had been possible for this progressive current to arise within the Peruvian army.

The analysts offer four explanations:

1) The Peruvian Army is possibly the only one in Latin America in which access to high positions is not completely closed to men from the poorest sectors of the population. The normal practice is that the officers' academies accept only the sons of the bourgeoisie, but because of a certain lack of interest within this group, this flood-gate had been partially opened to other members of the army. Velasco Alvarado himself likes to tell how he entered the army as a simple soldier to alleviate the economic situation at home

which was dependent on his mother's earnings as a laundress.

2) The creation of the Center for Advanced Military Studies (CAEM) which included among its courses the study of Latin-American economy with professors of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), contributed to awakening interest in the causes of continental underdevelopment and commercial relations with the United States. Nevertheless, of the former members of CAEM, the only one that remains in the Council of Ministers is Foreign Minister General Edgardo Mercado Jarrín. CAEM had its 20th anniversary in 1970.

3) Sending young officers to nonaligned countries such as the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

4) Peru's social convulsions provoked what was perhaps the most important cause for the upsurge of this current. The army was given the criteria that, in order to combat "subversion," an understanding of its causes was indispensable. This task was assigned principally to the Army Intelligence Service, which established itself within the trade unions and peasant communities for on-the-spot study of social conflicts that could lead to armed struggle. The contact with the misery in which the vast majority of the Peruvian people lived strongly impressed the officers, who began to change their concepts of "subversion." Today's Minister of Energy and Mines, General Fernández Maldonado, was the first chief of Intelligence Service who had this task.

The effect of these contacts appeared clearly in the recent law of political amnesty decreed to free guerrillas such as Béjar, Hugo Blanco, Gadea and others, when it was announced last July that "they had fought in the past from different political camps for the same ideals that today our revolution is making a reality."

In President Velasco Alvarado's speech of last October, completing the second anniversary, this internal influence was also evident:

> Anyone who has been through the countryside, the cities and towns of Peru knows very well that millions of Peruvians have had for their patrimony only an immense poverty. In great part, ours was a country of rags and sorrow. Where in many places the peasants were accustomed to being sold with the land that was always another's. Let the fine men of the oligarchy, of the great reactionary publications, go there too and see how hard, how inhuman, how unjust and how immoral is the condemnation to poverty in which the poor people of Peru live.

The military movement of October 1968, set itself up in the government as well, by means of a council composed of General Velasco, who presides over it; Lieutenant General Gilardi, of Aviation; Admiral Las Casas, of the Navy; and General Montagne of the Army, who is also Prime Minister of the Government. Rear Admiral Manuel S. Fernández Castro later replaced Admiral Las Casas in the council and as Naval Minister.

A very important organization operates under the appointment of the presidency of the republic providing direct advice to the Chief of State in the conduct of general policy. This is the Advisory Committee to the Presidency (COAP), formed according to the magazine **Actualidad Militar,** official organ of the Army, with a general officer who "directs, coordinates and controls the work and presents the studies, projects and recommendations directly to the President of the Republic." This COAP chief, who is General Graham, holds the rank of Minister of State, and has

a participating voice in the sessions of the Council of Ministers. Moreover, he makes the high level coordinations with the ministers and other public and private organizations.

The assistant head of COAP, General Leónidas Rodríguez, acts as coordinator general. The advisory team is composed of army colonels and two from the Military Judicial Corps (CJM); moreover COAP has an administrative secretariat composed of two majors and military and civilian administrative personnel.

Each colonel has his responsibility with respect to specific sectors of public administration, and the CJM colonels provide legal advice. One of them has the title of secretary of the Council of Ministers which the other lawyer also carries out in a supplementary way.

The ministers send COAP the legal projects and legal decrees for coordination and study, and COAP prepares the definitive project.

When it is necessary "COAP solicits the advice it needs from civilian technicians according to their specialty, whether they belong to the public or the private sector, **without discrimination as to political shading, and always in an honorary position.**" (Author's emphasis.)

With this governmental structure the Revolutionary Military Junta, after nationalizing IPC, set itself to effecting a thoroughgoing agrarian reform. In contrast to many of those known in Latin America which legislate against the barest, least productive land, the reform for the most part applied to the rich valleys in the north of the country.

The other new aspect is that the high level officials themselves went to the sugar centers, talked in their shirtsleeves with the peasants and personally intervened in taking over the rich sugar complexes.

The Minister of Agriculture, General Jorge Barandiarán, disclosed in a speech that more than 65% of the stock of the sugar companies was in the hands of foreign citizens and enterprises.

The expropriation of agricultural-industrial complexes [said the minister] not only implies rights for our peasants, but also the reestablishment of national sovereignty over the natural resources themselves and the guarantee of the reinvestment of a great quantity of the resources that were formerly taken out of Peru in the distribution of profits and deposited abroad.

Thus the most important agro-industrial lands devoted to the cultivation of sugarcane were taken over: Casa Grande, Pomalca, Paramonga, Cartavio, Laredo, Pucala, Tuman, Cayalti, Chiclin, Chiquitoy, Sintuco, Andahuasi, Ingenio, and San Jacinto.

Minister Barandiarán told the workers that they were the real owners of the land and of the modern industrial installations.

Barandiarán visited Cartavio, property of the North American Grace company, with COAP Colonels Leónidas Rodríguez and Arturo Valdés.

You will pay for the land [said General Barandiarán] and the installations, in annual quotas beginning with the third year of this intervention. You will pay for the property in 20 years. The cooperative will pay the state an identical tax to what the company paid before, with the objective of providing help for their brothers in the Sierra. They must provide a fund for reinvestment.

Colonel Valdés later explained in an interview why agrarian reform began in the most productive area of Peru:

Our idea was to break the back of the Peruvian oligarchy and

break their political influence, which had been evident throughout the entire history of Peru. On the other hand, we wanted the considerable wealth in sugar to pass immediately to state control. With sugar resources we could finance the general agrarian reform, which cannot wait for more than a year before it is implanted in various regions.

The intervened sugar complexes total 76 000 hectares planted with cane that produces 725 000 metric tons, and their respective industrial plants.

The investments were turned over to the workers, grouped into cooperatives, and individual units of exploitation. According to the law, they must guarantee:

1) the inviolability of the unit of exploitation;
2) the continuity of the administrative technical groups and workers;
3) the adequate participation of the workers, employees and technicians in the directorship, administration and control of the enterprise;
4) the economic participation of the workers in the capital of the enterprises; and
5) the participation of the workers in the profits of the enterprise, in accordance with principles of cooperativism.

Certain incidents with the owners of the land at the moment of intervention forced the military to use armed force to dislodge them. For the first time in Peruvian history the army threw out the landowners instead of the humble workers.

In announcing and applying the law, great preoccupation was evidenced to maintain levels of production. Nevertheless, because of the drought, according to official data, 1969 production after the occupation was 632 810 tons against 752 132 tons the year before.

Capital and Work

The third important reform carried out by the revolutionary government of the Peruvian armed forces was the Law of Industrial Collectivity. The method was taken with the objective of social justice and in its execution as well as its spirit, it evidenced an intention not to discourage foreign or national private investment, but to subject the extraction of profits to more precise national limits.

The law tries not to adjust itself to the usual patterns and its most direct executor, Rear Admiral and Minister Jorge Dellepiani, refers to it as a Peruvian solution. It has a kind of eclectic quality in its mechanism of slowly augmenting the participation of the workers, both in the distribution of profits and in the operation and management of the enterprise.

Thus the Peruvian leaders hope to achieve their objectives of "strengthening the industrial enterprise through the united action of the workers in its operation, in the productive process, in the industrial management and in the reinvestment, as well as through the stimulation of constructive forms of interrelation between capital and work."

Rear Admiral Dellepiani himself, in an interview, characterized the law as "a form" of bringing together all the workers of the enterprise in a unified manner so they can have the opportunity to work homogeneously down to the last man, and at the same time give them the opportunity to have some influence over the conduct of the work they are doing.

The workers of each center where an industrial collectivity is constituted will have a representative in the management of the enterprises and their representation — according to the provision of the law —

will go on increasing in accordance with the number of shares they continue to acquire over the course of time.

From these efforts, the industrial community will receive annually 15% of the profits, that is to say, profits before paying taxes to the nation. By reinvesting this 15% in the industry, the industrial collectivity will go on increasing its participation in the management until it reaches 50% of the social capital. The workers receive stock according to the agreement based on the number of days worked during this time.

One important aspect of the law is that the workers cannot decide individually, but must do so collectively through the industrial community, whose worker representatives are elected in assemblies.

Minister Dellepiani explained that, moreover, 10% of the annual profits must be distributed to the workers. Half according to the respective remunerations and the other half equally. In the case of stock distribution, this is distributed in an exclusively egalitarian manner corresponding to the number of days worked.

The Law of Individual Collectivity was received by the workers with skepticism at first, but once they learned about its content and purposes the process of setting up the communities has been regularized.

Among the industrialists, naturally, the law was received with hostility. Joining in the criticism were the National Industrial Society, that of Fishing, Mining and Oil, the Chamber of Commerce, and the right-wing press, the Apristas and the Christian People's Party, with the well-known argument that it is a communist measure. But the Peruvian leaders maintain that it must be accepted and carried out in all its measures, and they are confident that it does not dangerously threaten either reinvestments nor investments. As far as foreign investments are concerned, after a period of abstention, a cautious movement is now being felt, not only of North American capital but also of Japanese and European.

The Law of Industrial Collectivity, like that in agriculture, sets forth a structural reform which, while it is not as radical as that against the latifundists, is not lacking in audacity. If one takes into account that it also affects public service industries such as the press, which is already forming industrial communities, one can observe an interesting conjuncture at the moment in which the workers are increasing their participation in the operation.

This prospect has caused alarm even in a private publication which supports the government, such as the magazine **Oiga,** which has already published an editorial titled "The Industrial Collectivity Is Not an Instrument of Class Struggle."

> To insist that the industrial collectivity transform itself into an instrument of working and of class struggle [**Oiga** pointed out] is to deny the most significant meaning of the Peruvian revolution or to create the illusion that our military leaders do not know what they are saying when they express their support of a revolutionary movement which is "not capitalist and not communist" and that the leaders of the Peruvian revolution do not know the meaning of words when they speak of "respect for the dignity of man" and his "freedom to express himself," of nationalism, of humanism. The affair is of grave seriousness and it would be a very great shame to remain blind to the importance that the subject under discussion provides with respect to obvious political problems, in the relationship between the press and the govern-

ment, and that must be resolved by other and distinct means...

The reform project that has caused the greatest polemic in Peru has been education. The Minister of Education, General Alfredo Arrisueño, declared that its fundamental aspect is the formation of the whole man.

Educational reform had already been announced as "a new focus in education which can serve the aims that the Peruvian revolution is pursuing in the process of changing the life of the country."

The controversies arose when a prior announcement was made that it would serve as the basis for legislation, certain of whose aspects were opposed by Catholic sectors. Fundamentally it was said that the project sought to establish lay education in the future and do away with private schools.

Peru is a country in which the Catholic religion predominates. It is considered that 75% of the population is of this faith. It is estimated that 8% of the 3 800 000 students study in religious institutions. The church maintains a total of 1149 school centers of preparatory education as well as primary and secondary schools, with a total of approximately 200 000 students.

The polemic on this subject reached a high point with a critical document issued by the Peruvian college of bishops, during the absence of their Cardinal, Juan Landazuri, who had distinguished himself as a defender of such government reforms as the Law of Industrial Collectivity. Nevertheless, religious figures who participated in drawing up the reform project, such as the Jesuit Ricardo Morales, defended their principles. Other who were detractors of the project included the Aprista Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Religious alarm ceased when President Velasco Alvarado gave the assurance, in his speech of October 3, that religion would not disappear from private schools or colleges.

Another controversial aspect was the use of television as an aid in the educational service. It was said that the project censured the almost absolute private ownership of television and its profit aims with their resulting distortions. The big fuss was over the intention to give educational reform the power of deciding on these measures, but a public declaration quieted fears.

Take It or Leave It

In mining, on the other hand, the government has been criticized from the left within its own ranks.

The discontent in these sectors arose over the signing of the contract with the North American company Southern Peru Copper Corporation, for the exploitation of copper deposits in Cuajone, after long and delicate negotiations.

The government had declared that for Peru the affair in question was one of "take it or leave it" and although the terms of the discussions are not known, observers consider that the final conditions are advantageous. Nevertheless, other analysts, without denying this, point out that the contract is one of deviation from the government's mining policy, apparently under pressures of certain economic and financial circumstances, particularly the failure of certain international calculations and pressures of the country's foreign debts.

In the contract that was signed, Southern will invest $355 000 000 in the Cuajone exploitation in order to begin to produce in six and a half years.

The company committed itself to the construction of a network of roads to carry materials and supplies to Cuajone, to the widening of the railroad line from Ilo-Toquepala

to Cuajone, to the construction of towns for housing the mining work forces, to the construction of a concentrator with an initial capacity of not less than 30 000 tons of crude minerals a day, and the removal of 150 000 to 160 000 tons of rock in order to extract from it the strata of raw mineral.

Over a period of ten years in which it will recover its investment, production must not be less than 110 000 tons of copper annually and it will pay taxes at a combined rate of 47.5% of its profits. They can go as high as 54.5%.

The rates of the Toquepala contract range between 40 and 47%.

The contradiction noted in the government's mining policy lies in the fact that there will be no state participation in Cuajone stock, contrary to the present policy in other copper producing countries such as Chile and Zambia.

But observations of the analysts in the sense that Cuajone is simply a deviation but not a retreat from the government's mining policy were fortified by the later attitude concerning the copper mines of Michiquillay and Cerro Verde when Velasco Alvarado himself announced that they had been returned and would be operated by the Peruvian State itself.

Moreover, in accord with the new mining legislation, the first option for refining copper will go to the state, which will construct a refinery.

Presently the only refinery in Peru is operated by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. Southern has asked permission to construct another with a capacity of 50 000 tons annually. This would raise the refining capacity of the companies to some 90 000 tons annually, while the production in 1969 was 142 000 tons of which only 34 800, were refined in Peru.

The government has let it be seen that the state can take over the entire commercialization of copper so that any contract would be essentially one of services.

Labels and Names

This overview of the principal measures taken by the government of President Velasco Alvarado is necessary in order to again raise the question of the name of the Peruvian revolution and the pattern which can be ascribed to it.

Velasco himself has said that "the unfolding of the revolutionary process will go along in accordance with and redefined by the constant creative action of the members of this future society whose true nature cannot be reflected in the narrow imposition of any stamp, any definition."

But the people have insisted on giving it a label or demanding that the Peruvian militarists give it one themselves.

From the right, the North American press, especially at the moment of the conflict with the International Petroleum Company called them communists.

Internal reaction said the same thing. From the left, they have been called populists, developmentalists, reformists, etc. Others have called them Nasserists, Titoists, etc.

In short, the "ists" have been of all colorations.

But the question is not one of words.

Political phenomena are not simple and it is therefore dangerous to enclose them in a fixed pattern. Since the Peruvian leaders have said that their process is neither capitalist nor communist, many have christened it socialist. But an African leader has already said that in Africa socialism is wearing many varied robes

The question is more complicated. Within the very ranks of the govern-

ment there is no ideological nor political homogeneity, although all its leaders pursue similar goals, but by different roads.

Recently, concerning a political situation as well defined as the Cuban Revolution, the world was witness to how the Minister of Foreign Relations, General Mercado Jarrín, demanded a dialogue with Cuba and initiated action among the Latin-American foreign ministers for its readmission into the inter-American system. Despite this, a few days later, in New York, the Prime Minister of the government, General Eduardo Montagne, declared that Peru "will abide by the OAS agreement of nonrenewal of relations with Cuba while that country refuses to change its attitude of continuing the exportation of violence... On the following day, Montagne lunched with President Nixon.

The day after that, the Minister of Foreign Relations, General Edgardo Mercado Jarrín, was given the responsibility of clarifying that this was not the official opinion of the Peruvian Government, in a declaration which, without contradicting the Prime Minister, phrased the situation in terms more in accord with the official position.

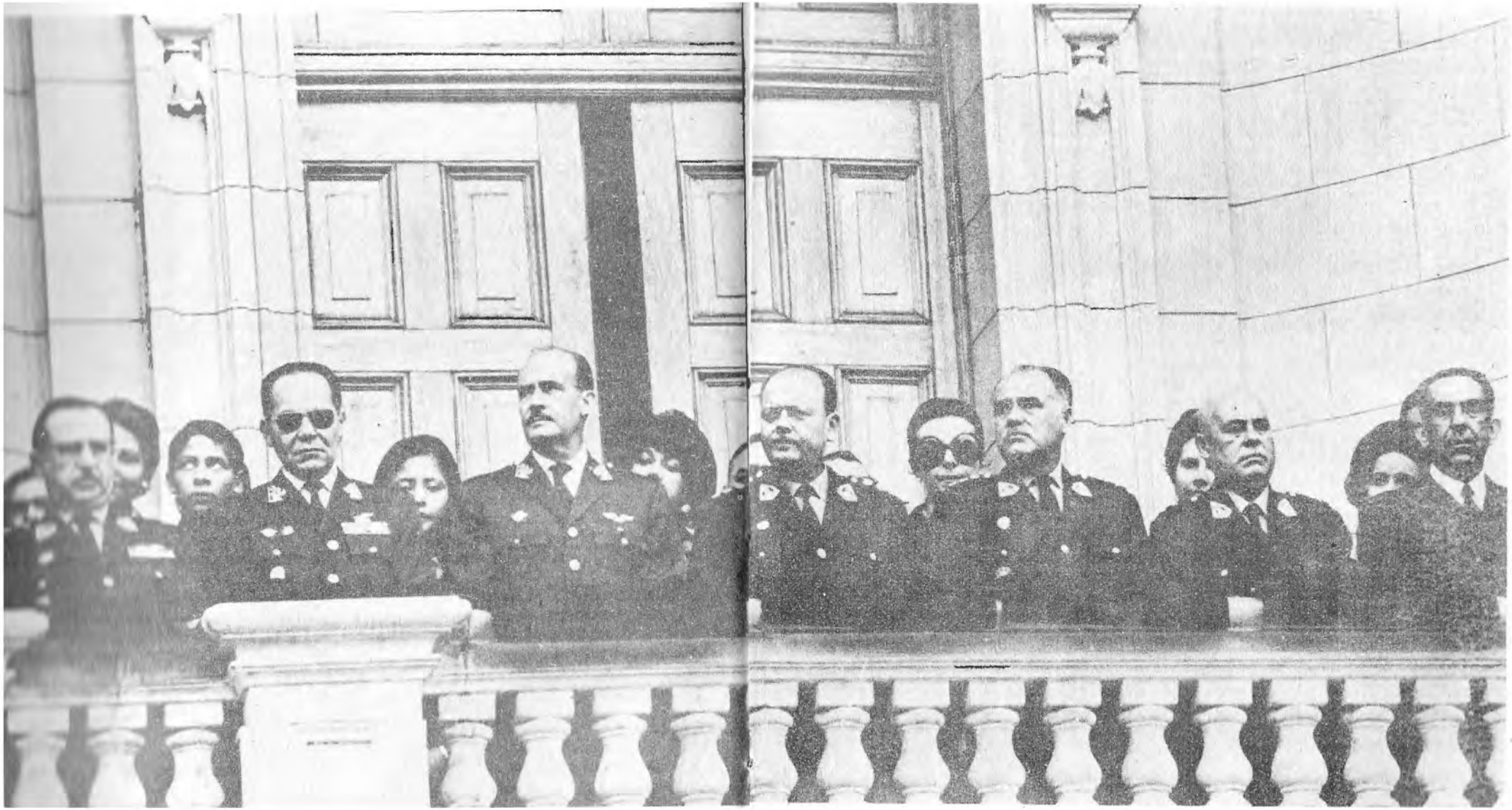
> The declarations of Premier Montagne [he said] reflect the principled position already expressed by the government in the sense that we reject all forms of intervention, such as the exportation of violence or of revolutionary schemes and that we respect the commitments concerning this particular case that the nations of America have made.
>
> These commitments foresee the possibility of entering into a dialogue on an inter-American level which would permit a new analysis of the condition of relations with Cuba. The experience of recent years [he said finally], the dynamics of international policy and the new situations that have come up, make it advisable for the countries of the hemisphere to consider the opportunity for a new examination of the affair, so that conclusions can be reached concerning the renewal of relations among the American states.

Rescue of the National Wealth

In the Peruvian process, revolutionary because its methods have affected imperialist interests and have provoked confrontations with them there is a constant rescuing of national wealth to distribute it more equally. In a heterogeneous movement which still does not even have the organized support of the people, although it has their spontaneous support, and within a most singular international political framework, to pin down its profundity is a task for oracles. Because a determining factor, perhaps the most important, is that of the nature of relations with the United States, the reaction of North American imperialism. And the latter has learned much from the Cuban Revolution and its conversations have not been as brutal as then. And what is still more important, nor have its deeds.

As a general question, it can be said that the deepening and the future of the Peruvian revolution depend to a great extent on the continuation of its reforms, their radicalization and the eventual reaction of Washington. But the contradiction which it now has with the United States is a very important fact in America.

Up until the present, certainly, the Peruvian military cannot be given a name. But at least an adjective: the discrepant military. Because they have created a Latin-American neomilitarism which has caused considerable stir. They are a different military. A dissonant note on the continent.



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FIRST

Peru, A Step

Pedro K. Higa

Several months ago at the graduation ceremony for the cadets of the Naval School of El Callao, the President of Peru, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, declared that "the Peruvian armed forces have contracted the historic commitment to make a revolution that will construct a democratic, just and free society; a society without exploited or exploiters."

In the pursuit of these revolutionary objectives, the military government has promulgated various laws of an anti-imperialist and antioligarchic nature which affect the bases that sustain North American monopolistic exploitation and, therefore, the dominated-dominant oligarchy.

The nationalization of the North American enterprise, International Petroleum Company, the Agrarian Reform Law, the control of the commercialization of minerals and the Law of Industries and of Industrial Collectivity are transcendental landmarks in the Peruvian process that began on October 3, 1968, against the privileges of "those who don't sleep for fear of those who don't eat."

On various occasions, the Peruvian chief of state has pointed out that "the oligarchy and its national and foreign allies are the principal enemies of the revolution."

In an act held to mark the second anniversary of the nationalization of the oil deposits of La Brea and Pariñas, the minister of Energy and Mines, General Jorge Fernández Maldonado, said that "the workers are the backbone of the revolutionary process, and today we are deciding what we are going to do, when and how to bring together the supreme interests of our people."

On October 3, 1970, more than 300 000 workers concentrated in the Plaza de Armas of the capital to reaffirm their support for the nationalist-populist generals in their second year of anti-imperialist and antioligarchic government.

Two months later, on the occasion of the traditional end-of-the-year diplomatic salutation, thousands of workers and people from the poor sections of the capital passed through the Gold Room of the Presidential Palace to greet the President and the ministers.

Together with the people and the Peruvian Government and in the face of imperialist power and its oligarchic lackeys, the journalists and graphic workers of the newspapers **Expreso** and **Extra** have elected to become the defenders and propagators of the revolutionary transformation of the nation of Tupac Amaru, whose banner of struggle, "Peasant, the boss will no longer eat from your poverty," returns to the valleys and mountains of the Inca territory.

Both newspapers, which belonged to a Peruvian reactionary oligarch, were nationalized by the military government, and handed over to their workers, who established a cooperative to maintain the daily publication of the two press organs which are presently contributing to raising the people's revolutionary consciousness.

This article — which summarizes the statements made in an interview for the magazine **Tricontinental** by the journalist Pedro K. Higa, Secretary-General of the Graphic Worker's Cooperative of the newspapers **Expreso** and **Extra,** and his speech at the VII Congress of the International Journalists Organization — outlines the general revolutionary objectives and fundamental features of the Peruvian process which preoccupies and terrifies the reactionary forces and stirs the expectation and the solidarity of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement on the Latin-American continent.

Toward a Society Without Exploited or Exploiters

IN PERU today a new society is being built. A society in which social justice rules, a society in which there are no exploited nor exploiters, a society in which our children can live without the anxiety of an uncertain tomorrow, as the chief leader of the Peruvian revolution has stated. This perspective, sufficiently broad and without limitations, is now in view in our country.

Before October 3, 1968, before the Revolutionary Government of the Peruvian Armed Forces came to power, we were a republic in name only. All the natural wealth was dominated and exploited by imperialism. In its hands it had: the exploitation of wealth, foreign trade, financial and credit systems, commercialization of agricultural products down to the smallest business. The national picture was increasingly deformed.

And this entire apparatus of oppression and alienation kept millions of exploited peasant in an incredible situation, with an abysmal difference between backward and medieval areas and certain urban centers in which the wealth of a few was offensively evident in contrast to the miseries of the marginal population.

Peru's social structure was maintained by an immense peasant population, an incipient proletariat mass, a growing, extensive and dependent additional population employed in providing services according to imperialism's business deals. At the same time, the intermediate bourgeoisie fought to win the political and economic favor of the powerful few in the financial fortresses, from which they dominated the entire structure and life of the Peruvians.

Consequently, the origin of the entire Peruvian drama was to be found in the native and foreign oligarchy, in dependence on the interests of the great international monopolistic groups. To break with this dependency implied beginning to shake the entire structure of internal domination and opening the doors to genuine revolutionary perspective. It is this transition, this process, in which Peru is living today.

In two and a half years of confrontation with the old forms of dependency, the nationalist and humanist government of my country

expropriated and expelled the International Petroleum Company, subsidiary of the powerful Standard Oil, and by having done so, confronted North American imperialism valiantly and with determination.

Peru could have stopped there, with this haughty gesture, but it also expelled the North American military mission when it threatened economic sanctions. And from then on it initiated other deeper changes.

A more profound, radical and revolutionary agrarian reform than most was undertaken. A few hours after the law was promulgated, huge sugar plantations of hundreds of thousands of hectares were intervened and workers' cooperatives began to be organized replacing the former owners.

Incessantly, day after day in Peru, ranches and farms are expropriated and turned over to the peasants.

The process of breaking the ties of imperialist dependency has continued. Foreign trade has been nationalized almost completely. Enormous iron ore deposits and other minerals have been returned to State power. And the State is taking measures to exploit them directly. Refining has been nationalized and the building of refineries has begun.

The State has assumed total control of the circulation of foreign money and has expanded its banking powers, even entering the terrain of private banking.

An industrial reform has turned over basic industry to the State and has carefully controlled the possibility for foreign investments in this and all areas. A basis has been created for foreign investment. Such investments are accepted always and only when they are in conformity with the interests of the revolution.

Industrial enterprise has also begun to be reformed. With the Law of Industrial Collectivity, the workers will progressively become owners of up to 50% of the stocks of the enterprises. This is one more creation of the new society that the Peruvian revolution is building. The creation of this same structure has been announced in mining, fishing and business activities, adapted to the needs of each.

The Law of Industrial Collectivity means real participation by the workers in the enterprise, in which they can own up to 50% of the stock in a short time. The utilities are also shared among the workers and not only among the capitalists. As time goes on, the workers will be able to be owners of industry. Moreover the worker has regained his dignity and is no longer an instrument of work, but is respected for his condition as a worker.

Now the workers participate in the management and control of industry and share in the utilities. The owners can no longer evade taxes nor give fraudulent accountings or fail to report expenditures. Since there is a workers' representative in the management there will be better control of what goes on in the enterprise.

Another important law is the Law of Labor Stability, which established that no worker can be fired from any factory except, of course, if he does something very serious such as coming to work "drunk" or intentionally breaking machinery, but these are very unusual things that may occur. Now they cannot reduce personnel nor throw out people at will as they used to do.

There is also another law which has been passed, the Law of Domestics, giving workers in this sector social security. Never before did domestic workers receive social benefits.

The law I consider to be a revolutionary act of major importance is the Law of General Amnesty which the revolutionary government passed liberating all political prisoners — that is, all those who were participants in the guerrilla struggle.

Freedom of Political Prisoners

The government liberated all political prisoners without condition and without distinction. At the present moment all of them have been released without any special condition. This law was announced at a political point in which there was tranquility and elections were not pending. In many countries, it is a traditional act to grant this kind of amnesty under determined conditions and taking advantage of the approaching elections or other serious internal problems. At present a great tranquility reigns in the country because we are all confident, we have faith that this revolutionary process will deepen, and I believe that this year, as the leader of the Peruvian revolution has said, is going to be the year of the deepening of the process.

There is something which, in our modest understanding, is more important than this law. These are the reasons that the Government gives for liberating the prisoners. The Government says that they are social fighters, that, right or wrong in their tactics, they all had a spirit of freedom and moreover points out that, in view of pleas received, from journalists, lawyers, and many other representations it has acceded to pronouncing this law; in other words, that it is not a paternalistic action which puts the government in the position of being "good guys," no, eminently political reasons are given.

National and Foreign Capitalism's Reaction to the Law of Industrial Collectivity

Inevitably, there was a negative attitude on the part of this group. Why? Because they must always be seen within the context of traditional policy. After 50 years of pseudoindependence, the fact that this group's interests are touched, naturally provokes a reaction of total opposition.

President Velasco, in one of his speeches, said that the line the government was following is not going to be twisted in any way, that it will look for methods to solve all problems, but the line is now defined and the objectives already delineated. We cannot foretell what is going to happen later, when deeds demonstrate that the revolutionary line is not going to be twisted at all. At that point I believe that practice itself will tell what is going to happen.

Present Situation of APRA

APRA has had to fold up. It has practically no influence at present. First because the government hasn't given it any chance to begin a dialogue and secondly because APRA totally and decisively betrayed everything it stood for and this government, without having promised anything, is doing something, and has gone far beyond what APRA proposed.

Naturally it has suffered a tremendous collapse since the moment in which a government, without promising a thing, without any kind of compromise, simply because of historic patriotism, is carrying out this revolutionary process and has permitted no participation and no dialogue with the apristas because

the traitors, the miserable group that has played with the country's interests, cannot participate in this process.

Specifically, then, APRA has no influence and is completely shattered at this moment.

People-Government Unity. Committees of Support for the Revolution

The chief of the Peruvian revolution has said clearly that it is the people who sustain the revolution, and that the indisputable unity of people-Armed Forces already exists in concrete form.

In the public meeting of October 3 of last year, more than 400 000 workers gathered in the Plaza de Armas. It is important to note that there were practically no white-collar workers, all were real workers. So we see that it is the working masses that are deciding things in this whole process.

The Committees of Support for the Revolution had a birth which did not correspond to reality because we did not suffer aggressions from abroad, like the Cuban Revolution, which had to form an entire people's defense apparatus. We didn't have this, it doesn't exist. The Committees of Support for the Revolution were compromised at birth because the mechanisms for creating them had not been planned in advance.

Bolivia Today and the Liberation of Régis Debray

The political situation in the Republic of Bolivia is so changeable that we are despairing or hopeful. It is so changeable that the fact that in less than two days three people have assumed power, indicates the tremendous chaos that exists there. Like every revolutionary, I believe it is important and necessary to carry forward an authentic process in Bolivia.

Some say that in Bolivia they are trying to make a Peruvian-type revolution because the Armed Forces are also in power there. Another fairly singular fact also occurred there. But that there will be a Peruvian-type revolution I do not believe, because historic and social conditions there are not similar to those in Peru. As far as the liberation of Régis Debray is concerned, I believe that this is an act that demonstrates their internal political independence and I believe this is to be respected greatly and is very laudable.

The Triumph of People's Unity in Chile

The triumph of Salvador Allende was received with unbelievable satisfaction and is considered to be a victory for the progress of the people of my country who are the great majority.

I see it as an important event in Latin-American development and it once more emphasizes the Latin-American convulsion or revolutionary process that is going to take place at all costs. It is no longer incredible that a declared Marxist should reach the Presidency of the Republic through the electoral process within a capitalist system. I believe this fact alone is clear evidence of the consciousness of the Chilean people and it is truly admirable.

Diplomatic Relations with Cuba

The Peruvian position is clear and has been reiterated various times, it is that we must propose a fraternal dialogue with Cuba and carry on

a campaign for closer relations so that it will not be Peru alone that reestablishes relations with Cuba, but all the countries of the area so that the mean economic blockade is ended.

People and Government in the Face of Imperialist Threats and Pressures

Imperialism's position anywhere in the world is well known to all of us. It is an attempt to paralyze, to hold back the entire revolutionary process, basing itself fundamentally on counterrevolution which, at present, has no influence in the country. General Velasco affirmed that if the counterrevolution should unleash a civil war in Peru, the first heads to fall would be those of the oligarchies, there would be a blood bath, and the Peruvian army would become the people's guerrilla force. Nixon's present policy is one of complete opposition, it is the usual policy, a miserable policy that means to halt all revolutionary processes because it seeks to retain colonies everywhere. I now believe that what is most important is Peru's attitude of total sovereignty and total independence. I recall one more act of sovereignty apart from having expelled the International Petroleum Company. When the United States threatened Peru, which for us is no threat of course, with the application of the famous Hickenlooper Amendment, Peru gave a concrete reply and expelled the North American military mission.

The Peruvians are disposed to defend this sovereignty on any grounds, one can see it in the streets where there is movement, revolutionary fervor. The people feel more secure than ever and proud of being Peruvian, of the fact that Peru is respected and has dignity, liberty and sovereignty.

Ideological Role of the Newspapers *Expreso* and *Extra*

When the revolutionary government of the Peruvian Armed Forces expropriated these two newspapers to hand them over to their workers, the reactionary press said, among many other lies, that it was not a question of expropriation but of confiscation and that the press would be controlled by the government. Nothing is less true. Nothing was confiscated because we, the workers of **Expreso** and **Extra**, will pay down to the last penny of their real value. And as far as government intervention is concerned, we can say with pride that the journalistic and economic success is due to the responsibility of the workers themselves who, through the Syndicate of Journalists and Employees and the Graphic Syndicate, are responsible for administering the enterprise.

This is what really exists at **Expreso** and **Extra:** absolute responsibility is in the hands of their workers. Without any kind of distinction. From the highest director to the worker who carries out functions at the lowest level of the hierarchy, they are conscious that success or failure depends on them.

And as such they have the job of demonstrating that the workers do not depend on the bosses to conduct an enterprise.

Another of the arguments with which the reaction attacked us was that the expropriation of the dailies signified an attack on freedom of the press. Nothing could be more ridiculous, because events have now demonstrated the opposite and because there is no press more free than that which expresses the workers' ideas.

We consider that the step the government took when it expropriated these dailies and handed them over to the workers signified the beginning of the consciousness-raising process and that it has begun to take hold.

Because in **Expreso** and **Extra,** we must say that we are first revolutionaries, we are workers before we are journalists in the traditional sense of the word.

All the members of the Single Front of workers of **Expreso** and **Extra** are going through a profound process of consciousness, understanding it to be not only acquiring class consciousness or consciousness of the solidarity of community action, but that what counts is the whole and not individuals.

The bourgeoisie, especially the intellectual bourgeoisie, is always accustomed to believing that one's person, one's ideas, one's decisions are the most significant. And on **Expreso** and **Extra** we have committed ourselves, by our union, to an effort of solidarity, the identification of each individual with the collectivity, as the only manner of self-realization and realization of a revolutionary job. We formed an organization called the Single Front of Workers of **Expreso** and **Extra,** in which journalists, typesetters, employees and other personnel are all one.

At this point, our newspapers have become the newspapers of the revolution, but with sufficient independence to be critical of the government from within the revolution, never outside the revolution. It is an independently critical position, but a position of support at the same time. We believe that at this moment, both newspapers are valid instruments of this revolutionary process.

We have the mission of daily orientation as to how imperialism maneuvers or how imperialism seeks to use its influence to try to lull the masses.

Our work is completely the work of enlightenment, of alerting, of unmasking the imperialists.

We consider that the experience of **Expreso** and **Extra,** with 360 000 copies a day, is not an experience that has to be viewed solely within the Peruvian reality, but that it has world significance, since it is one more proof that the workers can efficiently manage an enterprise and thus begin to be masters of their own destiny.

And moreover it is because the expropriation of **Expreso** and **Extra** and thereafter handing them over to their syndicates, forms an important part of this process that we proclaim with pride that the workers on our newspapers, that is, the journalists, typesetters, employees and other personnel, have been converted into actors — and not simple spectators — in a beautiful historic gesture for Peru and we believe for Latin America and the dominated and underdeveloped countries.

The Single Front of **Expreso** and **Extra** and the papers it administers, are committed to the Peruvian revolutionary process. But our commitment does not become an opportunistic attitude nor one of pleasing the government by surrendering the papers to it. Our commitment is basic.

We are convinced that in Peru a revolution is taking place with its own shape, and responding to characteristics with which we are in agreement. The essence of the Peruvian revolution is nationalist and humanist, two principles that fully describe its ideological content.

meridian liberation

Argentina: Chronology of Violence

In June 1955, when Navy war planes bombarded the multitude gathered in the Plaza de Mayo to demonstrate its support for the Perón government, the gorillas, in alliance with the native oligarchy and North American imperialism, began their policy of "de-Peronization" of the Argentine proletariat which during the decade 1945 to 1955 had participated in the political process of Peronism with its three banners of social justice, economic independence and political sovereignty.

With blood and fire the liberation revolution of the Argentine generals was imposed and the bases of the new regime laid through armed assault on the trade unions and the persecution, torture and death of Peronist militants who proclaimed themselves against the coup d'etat. They also tried conciliation through the direct purchase of certain workers' leaders who supported the conciliation line and the sharing of power with civil sectors who placed their faith in the electoral out.

Both Frondizi's presidential election in 1958-62 and Illía's in 1963-66 represented the cheating and ridicule of the populist aspirations of the laboring sectors. Both governments were unable to complete their presidential periods because of the intervention of military cliques which, with the argument of the Army's preoccupation for the country's destiny, hid the true face of militarism and the beginnings of the assurance and strengthening of the gorillocracy.

In 1966 General Onganía became the new chief of state also responding to the interests of the Yankee monopolists, big capital and the landed oligarchy. The economic formula of civil liberalism had not prevented the penetration of foreign capital which took over the packing houses, devaluation of money for the benefit of the financiers and to the detriment of the workers' purchasing power, and increased dependency on foreign capital.

The incapacity of the government of "outlawed democracy" to find a solution to the country's economic and political crisis was projected to depose President Illía and open the doors to the advance of the militarists who presented a combination of populist demagogy and ruling class interests, in a program that proposed to conquer economic backwardness, stabilize the economy and offer higher living standards for the population.

Nevertheless, in the four years of Onganía's rule, the last social gains

of the workers' movement were eliminated with the consensus of the participationist and dialogist trade union leaders, wages were frozen, the cost of living rose, thousands of poor tenant peasants were thrown off their land as well as merchants and artisans from their small properties. Vigilance and police terror were increased against the inhabitants of some "misery villas" because of their opposition to the dictatorial regime. The universities and trade unions were taken over, the middle classes were economically choked with asphyxiating taxes and huge concessions were made to foreign monopolies.

Police repression was brutally unleashed in the cities to smash student protests and working class demonstrations that opposed the Onganía dictatorship whose fundamental objective was the acceleration of the process of penetration by the foreign monopolies in industry, finance, agriculture and commerce, which invariably caused the subjection of the national economy to the economic, political and strategic military dictates of North American imperialism.

In the last 15 years, Argentina has become an attractive market for foreign investments. The penetration of foreign capital in the country's industry has come about through the low-cost purchase of major stock shares. Today foreign enterprises control more than 40% of the economic branches and represent almost 55% of the value of total production.

In a census taken by the Argentine Industrial Union in 1956 it was noted that 75 of the 100 principal Argentine industries belonged to native capitalists. Ten years later, 50 of these industries were controlled by foreign monopolies which established another 150 new enterprises. In 1966 foreign investment reached $2 billion of which Yankee capital represented 42%.

One North American investor, J. Harriet, pointed out in a secret report to the stock holders of his enterprise that in Argentina, a cellulose factory whose cost was $150 million that came from a national loan, had been acquired for $15 million in foreign capital, a steel plant valued at $80 million was transferred for $20 million, and private banks whose assets fluctuated between $30 million and $40 million were sold for $3 million despite the fact that they offered an annual profit of 30%.

Up until 1955, the Argentine nation had received 1% of total direct investments from imperialism. In an ECLA report it was noted that in the decade 1951-60, of the total direct investments in Latin America, 75.5% had gone to the group of countries composed of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela. Between 1958 and 1960, 80% of the direct investments of the ten-year period previously mentioned were invested in Argentina. In 1959 the Yankee monopolies invested $150 million in industries such as automobile assembly plants, distilleries and bottling works for carbonated drinks.

At the same time, the foreign debt in 1966 went up to $5 billion, livestock production faced stagnation and prices in the international market dropped. Wheat production remained at the same level it had 30 years ago. According to the Frondizi economists, the principal reason for the stagnation in livestock production is the lack of technical progress in the countryside, while the agricultural bourgeoisie argued that the low price of products and the high cost of agricultural machinery caused a paralysis in the eco-

nomic area that supported 90.7% of Argentina's exports.

But the real reason lies in the monopolistic control of livestock processing industries and fertilizer and pesticide factories, the lack of credit for the peasants, and official taxes, as well as the application of the so-called Prussian road of capitalist development to increase livestock production on the latifundia which, according to the National Livestock Census of 1960, represented 74.4% of the area covered. In the province of Buenos Aires, 11% of the cattle producers control 64.33% of the cattle.

Despite the fact that the landowners receive credit support for the introduction of artificial pastures which eliminate the extensive exploitation of the Argentine pampas, they have preferred the mechanization of livestock production which represents a greater productivity per man and dismisses agricultural workers whose labor the machinery can perform.

The conversion of the Argentine nation into a satellite of the US has brought with it economic inflation which the bourgeois classes have sidestepped with a 40% increase in the cost of living, frozen wages and the dismissal of thousands of workers.

The proletarian movement faced the growing capitalist exploitation with strikes and demonstrations that had the solidarity of the student organizations.

The repressive bodies went to extreme lengths to maintain the "order and stability" of the Onganía dictatorship, which worsened in the months of May, June and September of 1969 with the unleashing of proletarian violence in the city of Cordoba, and that which also took place in the cities of Rosario and Tucuman.

During the so-called "Cordobazo" the proletarian masses clashed with the repressive forces of the police and the army, constructed barricades in the streets, paralyzed transportation, occupied complete neighborhoods, threw Molotov cocktails and dispersed sharp shooters to different parts of the cities.

The students participated actively in the people's insurrection while numerous revolutionary and progressive intellectuals issued anti-imperialist and anticapitalist declarations.

After an apparent calm, the hour of the proletariat sounded, demonstrating strongly to the gorillocracy, the oligarchy and imperialism that the workers would have nothing to do with Onganía's policy of participationism but, on the contrary, repudiated its class enemies.

The tricks and frustrations, the demagogy, exploitation and repression have made the dispossessed sectors understand that the conquest of their inalienable rights will be reached by the road of violence and revolutionary struggle.

Various armed commando groups arose during Cordoba which also pushed the revolutionary movements that had already decided to take up arms to carry out the war of national social liberation.

Different armed actions by urban guerrillas maintained the flame of insurrection against Onganíanism, whose police forces were unable to contain the wave of assaults on banks and the seizure of units of the armed institutions.

At the same time, economic contradictions were joined to the political rivalries of the various ruling groups such as the efficiency, the developmentalist and the nationalist tendencies, opening the door to the errors and difficulties of the gov-

ernment in power which, in mid-February, decided to restrict meat consumption. This governmental measure benefited the North American packing house owners, but affected the Argentine cattle raisers, one of the most important oligarchic sections in the country.

Faced with the civilian developmentalists, headed by Frondizi, and the militarists led by the head of the Army, the Onganía regime demonstrated its inability to defend the interests of national capitalism.

In June 1970, the guerrilla commando Juan José Valle, part of the armed Montoneros organization, kidnapped and executed General Pedro E. Aramburu as a "traitor to the fatherland and the people and the assassin of 27 Argentines." Aramburu was the trump card in the government of the oligarchy and the militarists. In an interview published in the magazine **Periscopio,** the old anti-Peronist general had declared that "the country needs a period of reorganization, out of which there will be a resurgence of two great forces: Peronism and radicalism, and around these the whole political life of the nation will be structured."

Those who had confidence in Aramburu's redemptory mission declared themselves against Onganía, who got himself into several difficulties and shady political deals. On the other hand, in a meeting of the military commands, Onganía let it be known that he intended to stay in power ten or twenty years, and he placed the guilt for the kidnapping on "continental extremism" and decreed the death penalty. An Aramburu leader of the United Party of the Argentine People declared that "President Onganía has not been very clear or convincing in his decision to win General Aramburu's freedom."

The head of the Army, General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse, together with the heads of the other armed forces, overthrew Onganía who declared later, "it was a liberal-Frondizist coup that threw me out of power."

A new general ascended to the gorilla throne by the work and the grace of the Military Junta: Roberto Marcelo Levingston, who was military attache of the Argentine embassy in Washington and a member of the Inter-American Council of Defense.

Levingston has a worthy history in the services of military information which has made him one of the pillars of military paternalism, according to the concepts of continental development and integration. His protector, General Lanusse, has recalled that the country is at war and he is one of the proponents of the military integration of reactionary forces on the continent, to combat guerrilla movements in whatever geographic region of Latin America, and one of the defenders of a subsidiary role for Argentina. The confidence man of Yankee imperialism declared that he considered himself "a continuation of the previous dictatorship" although with the difference that the participationism of Onganía sought a political out with two or three political parties that support the theory of developmentalist liberalism.

The new political maneuver of the native oligarchy and Yankee imperialism has not been able to stop the advance and the unfolding of urban guerrilla warfare, whose armed actions for the year 1970 were published in **Cristianismo y Revolución,** and which we publish herewith.

Five revolutionary organizations: Argentine Forces of Liberation (FAL), Revolutionary Armed For-

ces (FAR), Peronist Armed Forces (FAP), Montoneros, and People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), and other armed movements are attacking and destroying the state structure of the gorilla regime, because revolutionary violence is the only reply to the language of bayonets.

The urban guerrillas maintain that the strategy of armed struggle in the cities is the initial stage of the revolutionary war, which will be a total people s war and a prolonged one to win national and social liberation. Moreover, they maintain the internationalist principle that the second independence of the country will be achieved with imperialist defeat on the Latin-American continent following Che's thesis of creating two, three, many Viet Nams, and inspired by the heroic path of the lofty bearers of the independence standard.

January

2: Colonel Conde Regiment 7 of the infantry is attacked in La Plata.

3: A FAP commando captures Villa Piolín, in the capital, and after disarming the guard, distributes toys to the children of the Villa.

11: A bomb is exploded in the Provincial Department of Labor, in Cordoba.

27: A commando group occupies Cintra, in Cordoba. They seizé the arms and uniforms in the commissary and rob the local bank.

30: Four bombs are exploded in Cordoba (Junior Officers' Club, Bank of London, **La Prensa** newspaper, private home of Allende Posse).

February

1: The FAP seize the military post in the Junior Officers' district of Sergeant Cabral, in Campo de Mayo. They take four rifles and a 45 pistol.

25: A police station in Sikniman park in Cordoba is occupied. The commando takes arms, rubber truncheons and a transmitter. The commissariat of El Progreso in Santa Fe is seized and arms and uniforms expropriated.

March

3: In Gate 7 which enters into Campo de Mayo, an armored truck from Banco Italiano is assaulted. The five-man commando, dressed in military uniforms, seizes 20 000 000 pesos, a submachine gun, two revolvers and a pistol.

8: A bomb explodes in the home of the secretary to the construction syndicate.

9: The police department of San Ignacio neighborhood in San Miguel is seized. Arms and uniforms are expropriated. Bomb explosion in La Plata.
Three bombs are exploded in Cordoba (in the home of the western regional commander of the gendarmerie, in General Electric, in the Argentine-North American Institute).

15: The Máximo Mena Commando seizes the police department of section 13 in Cordoba. They expropriate arms, uniforms and documents.

18: A shed used for storage by the Argentine Forces of Liberation (FAL) is discovered. Alejandro Baldú is arrested and tortured to death. The police try to hide his death and say he is a fugitive.

21: Two bombs are exploded (in a construction trade union section and in the Masonic Great Lodge).

23: An armory in Cordoba is raided.

The commandos take ten pistols and revolvers and various packets of ammunition.

24: A FAL commando kidnaps the Paraguayan Consul Waldemar Sánchez, so that a militant of this organization will not suffer the same fate as Baldú. The operation ends successfully and the consul is freed.

28: The Commando for the Liberation of the Peoples places a bomb in a movie house in Santa Fe.

29: The Cordoba Military Hospital guard house is captured. The commando group takes a machine gun and three .45 pistols.
A police guard in front of the Syrian Embassy in this capital is attacked. The Felipe Varela Commando carries out the action and seizes a machine gun.
A commando group attacks police in La Matanza; a .45 pistol is seized.

30: A commando group assaults a train carrying 41 million pesos from the Banco Nación. They also seize a machine gun from the agent on guard.

April

12: The Felipe Vallese FAP Commando takes the National Maritime Headquarters located in Tigre. They sieze three Halcon machine guns, 12 Pam machine guns, four Mauser rifles, four Colt pistols, two revolvers and numerous short arms of various calibres.

15: The Santa Brígida police post in San Miguel is taken. The Evita Commando group seizes arms and ammunition.
A bomb goes off in the home of the administrator of La Providencia sugar refinery in Tucuman.

16: Four bombs explode in Rosario.
Leaflets are spread around by the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP).

17: A police department in the Florida area is taken. Arms and uniforms are expropriated.

18: There is an attempt to capture the guardhouse in the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force.

20: A commando group attacks the police station in the third zone of Merlo. They throw bombs and fire at the station.

21: The guardhouse of the Center of Infantry in Mendoza is hit.

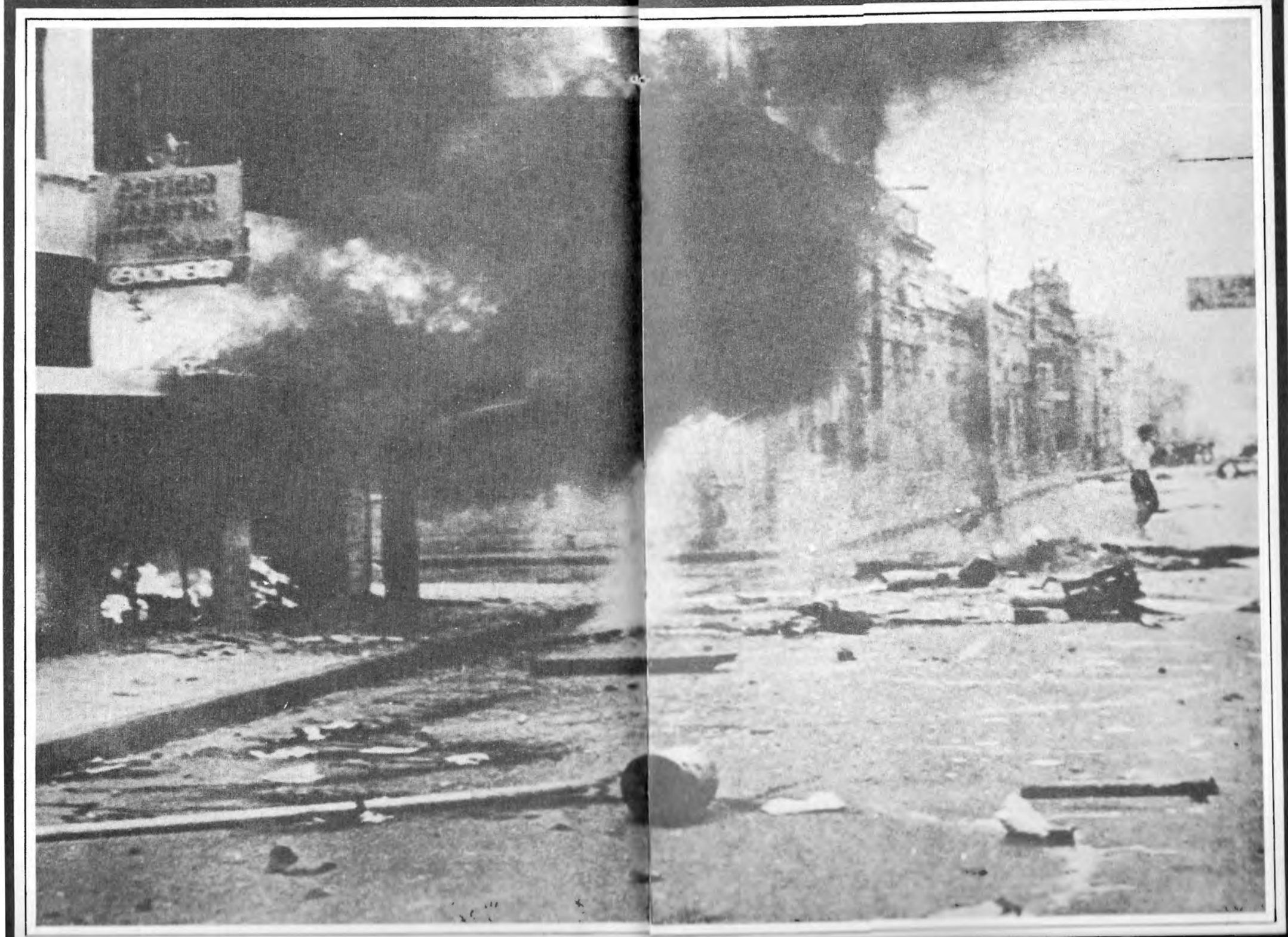
22: The agent on guard in front of the home of General Osiris Villegas is disarmed. Arms and uniforms are taken.

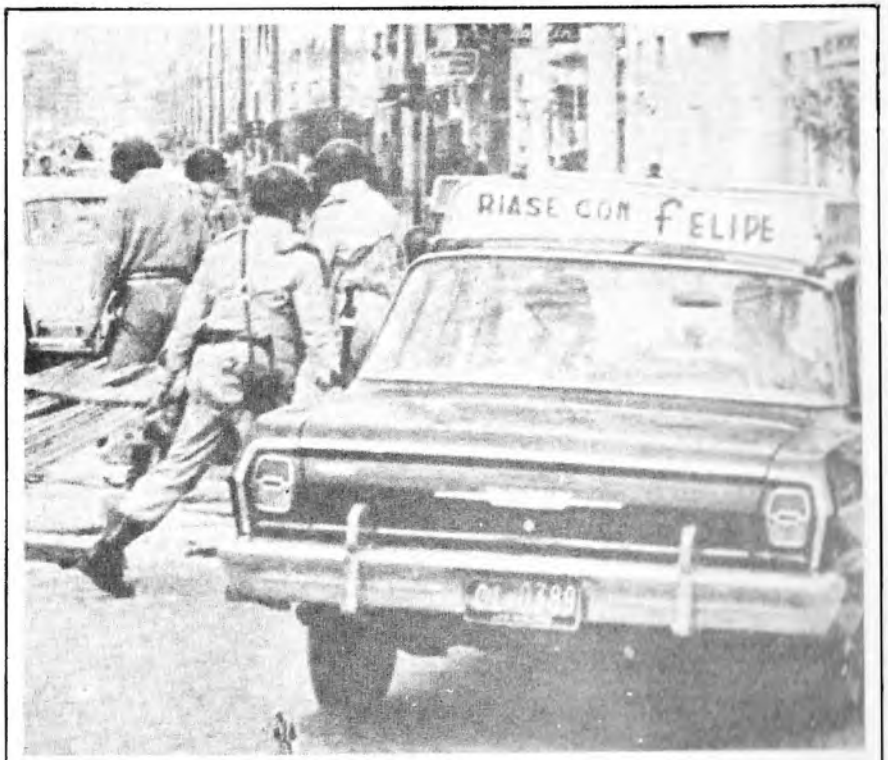
27: The Eva Perón Commando seizes the department of the Quebrada Las Rosas neighborhood in Cordoba. They take two pistols and uniforms.
The Che Commando takes Commissary 20 in Rosario.
They seize a repeating pistol, various .45s and uniforms. As they flee several of their members are arrested and barbarously tortured.

28: A 20-man commando seizes 31 million pesos from the Banco del Norte and Delta Argentino. The action is an outstandingly spectacular and perfect operation.

29: A commando composed of seven men and two women seizes 7 million pesos from the Banco Alemán Transatlántico in El Palomar. Another commando, of four men and a woman, seizes 2 million pesos from the branch post office at 4800 Corrientes Street in this capital.
Police department 7 on Avenida General Paz y Mosconi in this capital is taken over. The Juan José Valle Commando takes four 45 pistols and uniforms.

ARTHUR
MARTIN
cocinas




RIASE CON FELIPE

May

1: Two bombs explode in this capital.

3: There is an attempt to take War Administration 181 in Bahia Blanca.
Bombs are hurled at a Shell supply plant in Rosario.

8: An attack is made on the home of a captain of the Air Force in Cordoba.

10: A bomb is exploded in the newspaper **La Voz del Interior,** in Cordoba.

15: The air-naval base of Río Gallegos is hit.

17: A commando group takes the police department in the Yrigoyen neighborhood in Moreno.

19: A commando group seizes 25 million pesos from the Bank of Cordoba in the Ferreira area. There are ten guerrillas in the group.

22: A FAP commando seizes 602 cases of dynamite. They are transported in a truck going toward Chocon.

26: A bomb explodes in a branch of the Labor Secretariat in Olivos.

27: Three bombs are exploded in as many policemen's homes in Santa Fe. The People's Revolutionary Commando claims reponsibility. A bomb explodes in the Government House in Parana.

June

1: A commando of six men and two women seizes 20 million pesos from an ENTEL office in this capital.

18: A FAL commando seizes 2 million pesos from the Provincial Banco de la Provincia de Cordoba in Union Department.

22: Three groups of commandos carry out what is called a training action in which various vans and a taxi fleet in this capital are kidnapped.

23: A commando seizes various arms from an armory in this capital.

26: A bomb explodes in a police department located on General Paz and San Martín avenues.

27: Two bombs explode in this capital, one in a supermarket and the other in the municipal bank. Another one also explodes in the Lanus administration.
In Rosario the Che Guevara Commando sets off four bombs.
Two bombs explode in Cordoba.

28: Pedro Eugenio Aramburu is kidnapped and executed. The act is attributed to the Montoneros Organization.

29: Three bombs explode in Cordoba.

July

1: The place known as La Calera in Cordoba is occupied. Twenty-five men, representing the Ututuncos, the 29th of May, Eva Perón and San Martín commandos of the Montoneros Organization participate. The bank, the commisary, the telephone center and the post office are occupied. Two guerrillas are captured during the action.

2: A bomb explodes in a commercial office in this capital. The Revolutionary Commando Fidel Castro sets off a bomb in the Nobleza Tobacco Company.

4: Molotov cocktails are hurled at the Police Headquarters of Cañada de Gómez.

7: The Montonero Emilio Masa dies, riddled with bullets during a raid.

9: A Montonero commando seizes 28 million pesos from the Bank of the Interior in Laguna Larga, Cordoba.

11: The wounded ERP militant Mario Roberto Santucho flees from the hospital where he is being held in custody.

19: A commando unit takes the police department of Baron Park in Lomas de Kamora, and seizes arms and uniforms.

21: A sentinel post in the War Command School in this capital is attacked with arms.

26: Four bombs placed in the obelisk, the Cabildo, the Cathedral and the Congress explode. Other bombs explode in the Plaza Once.

27: The FAP Eva Perón Commando occupies the transmission plant for Radio Rivadavia and tries to broadcast a proclamation.

30: In a perfectly synchronized action a commando group of 45 men from the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) succeed in capturing Garin in Buenos Aires province. They seize arms, documents and several million pesos.

31: A seven-man commando group tries to assault an armored truck in Mar del Plata. In the action a guerrilla is arrested. A commando seizes 5 million pesos from the Italian hospital in Rosario; later, several of its members are arrested.

August

8: A FAL commando group seizes a truckload of poultry in Cordoba and distributes them in poor neighborhoods.

12: A commando group attack a police agent in Salta. A machine gun and a .45 pistol are seized.

13: The Emilio Jáuregui Commando group sets off a bomb in the home of the technical secretary of the faculty of architecture in this capital.

A commando made up of three men and a woman seize the arms and uniform of a police agent in this capital.

18: A bomb is set off in Resistencia, Chaco, in the Bunge and Born entreprise. The action is attributed to the Revolutionary Commando group 17 of August.

23: A commando group of the Liberation Army of the North (ELN) seizes several million pesos from the bank of Alicia in Cordoba.

26: A commando group from the Argentine Revolutionary Movement (MRA) takes commissary 16 in Ferreyra, Cordoba. There are 20 men in the group and they seize four machine guns, a rifle, various pistols and typewriters. The police crew includes eleven men.

27: The Executive Commando Emilio Masa kills the trade unionist José Alonso on the street.

28: A bomb is exploded in the Uruguayan consulate in Rosario. Leaflets supporting the Tupamaros are distributed.

31: Three commando groups seize seven cars from various garages.

September

1: A seven-man commando unit disarms two policemen and seizes 13 million pesos from the Bank of Galicia on Ramos Mejía.

2: The Che Guevara Commando unit places a bomb in the provincial Bank of Santa Fe.

5: Four bombs are exploded in the Rural Exposition, in Rosario. A bomb is exploded in the courts in Cordoba.

8: A bomb is exploded in the office of Fabricaciones Militares, destroying it completely.

11: Three bombs are set off in the capital.

The Montoneros Commando Santiago Pampillón relieves two policemen in this capital of their arms and uniforms.

13: The guard post of the Bahía Blanca prison is shot at.

16: Twenty-three bombs explode

successively in this capital, and three in Cordoba. This action is attributed to FAP. An armed group seizes two cars in this capital.

17: The Emilio Jáuregui Commando seizes the arms from two custodial agents in the home of Rogelio Coria.
A bomb is set off in the Sanitary Works building.

18: The ERP Chiquito Barrios Commando captures commisary 24 in Rosario and seizes arms. Two policemen resist and are killed.
The Argentine People's Revolutionary Commando captures the offices for the registration of persons in Rosario and seizes valuable documentation and 300 enrollment cards.
The 17th of October Commando confronts the police in Rosario resulting in the wounding of an agent.
A garage in the Florida area is assaulted.
A six-man commando takes two automobiles.

23: The guard of the Villa Martelli commisary is shot.

25: The FAL Juana Azurduy commando occupies the El Rosario train and seizes 5 million pesos and a machine gun carried by a guard.
A commando seizes 8 million pesos from the Banco Alemán Transatlántico in Villa Madero.
In Tucuman an army truck is shot at.

28: A bomb is exploded in the Julio Korn editorial office.

29: The FAP seize 15 million pesos from the Banco Alemán Transatlántico in El Palomar.

30: In reprisal for the eviction at Villa Güemes, FAP explodes a bomb in the Housing Section and in the Ministry of Social Welfare.
A FAL commando seizes 8000 census forms in a school in this capital.

October

1: A commando group attacks a police station in Olivos and removes its arms.

2: ERP sets off seven bombs in public buildings in Rosario. Another commando from the same organization tries to take Commissary 17, and confronts the police.
Four bombs are exploded in this capital and one in Lanus. In Cordoba, a quarry is assaulted and 25 kilos of dynamite, a box of percussion caps and 60 fuses are taken.
FAP takes Villa Güemes and disarms the guard agents of two machine guns, two pistols and uniforms.

4: A bomb is exploded in the Coca Cola plant in Santa Fe and in two other public buildings.
Fifty navy uniforms are stolen in this capital.
The Santa Federación Commando kidnaps the wife of the assistant head of Thefts and Robberies in Santa Fe.

6: The Federal Police building in Cordoba is fired on.
A bomb explodes in the Institute di Tella. The act is attributed to the Socialist Student Commando.
A FAL commando seizes surgical equipment from the Mayo Clinic in La Plata.

8: Three bombs explode in the War Command School in this Capital.
The Ricardo Masseti Commando dynamites an elevated storage tank of the State Gas Company in Ezeiza.
The ERP explodes four bombs in Rosario.
Two bombs are exploded in Yankee institutes in Santiago

del Estero.

10: The Che Guevara Revolutionary Commando blows up a truck of explosives in front of the Obelisk. Simultaneously another commando group seizes 30 radios from a store. Five bombs are exploded in this capital.

12: A bomb explodes in front of Luna Park.

13: The FAL rural Commando Manuel de Reyes Olea occupies the commissary of El Timbo, in Tucuman. They take arms and uniforms. The civil registry and people's judiciary are also occupied. The Ricardo Masseti FAL commando occupies a private radio station in Cordoba and broadcasts a half hour proclamation.

14: The Che Guevara Revolutionary Commando blows up a truckload of explosives in the Puerto Nuevo zone.

15: The 8th of October FAL Commando kidnaps an airplane in Rosario and drops thousands of leaflets on this city. A police agent is stripped of arms and uniform in Parana.

16: A commando group sets fire to the residence of the US Air Attaché in Martinez.
The Facundo Quiroga FAP commando seizes a milk truck and distributes the milk in a needy neighborhood.

18: Three bombs explode in Parana.
A bomb explodes in the capital.
A commando assaults an armory in Corrientes.

21: A FAR commando assaults all the vehicles in the Cordoba police station with powerful flame throwers. Because of technical failures, only some of them are damaged.
A police department in section 11 of Cordoba is set on fire. The Americas in Arms Commando of FAL seizes money and documents from the home of the Chilean citizen Jorge Yarur.

22: Bombs explode in Rosario, Salta, La Rioja, Tucuman and Cordoba.

25: ERP's 29th of May Commando seizes 700 000 pesos from the ENTEL offices in Cordoba.

28: A police station in Cordoba is stripped of arms and uniforms.
The Emilio Jáuregui FAL commando attacks three police guards in the US embassy in this capital and takes their arms and uniforms.

30: The Assistant of Investigations in Santa Fe is shot.

November

2: A Montonero commando seizes 7 million pesos from the Jockey Club in Cordoba.

4: A commando group assaults a wig business in Cordoba. An armory in Cordoba is assaulted.

5: The Ricardo Masseti ERP commando seizes 40 wigs from a business establishment in Rosario.
A commando group attacks two policemen in a train going to Constitución. They take their arms and uniforms.

7: The ERP Che Guevara Commando enters the monument to the flag, in Rosario, and after disarming the guard, burns the US flag inside.
An armory in Mataderos neighborhood is assaulted.

8: Arms are robbed from a Judicial depository in General Roca, Río Negro.
Numerous long and short arms are robbed from a business in Cordoba.

9: A Montonero commando composed of five men seizes 4 million pesos from a railroad station in Cordoba.

10: The Martín Güemes commando

assaults a truck with 2500 liters of milk and distributes the milk in Pueblo Nuevo villa in Cordoba.

14: The FAL Alejandro Baldú brigade executes the sub-commissar Osvaldo Sandoval, second in command of Political Affairs in this capital.

15: The Máximo Mena and Felipe Vallese MRA commandos occupy detachments 18 and 19 of section 10 of the Cordoba police. Arms and uniforms are recuperated. The ERP 29th of May Commando proceeds to take the commissary and railroad station of Juárez Gelman, Cordoba.

16: An ERP commando seizes 22 million pesos from the Banco Comercial del Norte in Tucuman. Shortly thereafter various militants of this organization are arrested but the money is not recuperated.

17: A commando group kidnaps an Army officer in Vicente López and after interrogating him, lets him go. An armed group attacks a policeman in this capital and strips him of his arms.

18: The guerrilla commando 8th of October, 1967, makes known to the population that on October 7, it carried out an operation in the Harari-Claramut firm in which it seized money and documents that prove a deal with exchange sent abroad.

FAR commandos seizes 30 million pesos from the Bank of Galicia in Gerli. Five men and a woman take part. The Felipe Vallese commando strips a policeman in La Plata of his arms and uniform.

19: An armed group assaults Lieutenant Colonel Mones Ruiz in his home robbing him of arms and uniforms.

A Montonero commando occupies the guard station for the INTI enterprise in Cordoba, seizing three revolvers and four radios.

A bomb is placed near Tribunales.

20: Two bombs are placed in Vicente López, one in the Minnesota firm and the other in the home of a Dupont functionary.

Two bombs explode in homes of officials of the US embassy in this capital.

An ERP commando takes 60 wigs from a shop in Rosario.

21: An FAL commando sets on fire three yachts at anchor in Punta Chica.

A bomb explodes in Fabricaciones Militares in Salta.

23: One of the main federal police officials in this capital is shot.

An ERP commando seizes 16 million pesos by assaulting an armored truck from the Banco Nación and a milk cooperative in Rosario. An armed group intervenes in a wig business in Santa Fe and takes various pieces.

24: An ERP commando rescues one of those arrested for the expropriation of the Banco Commercial del Norte in Tucuman. The fighter is liberated from the Padilla Hospital where he was a patient.

An armed group seizes merchandise worth 2 million pesos from a photographic business in Cordoba.

A commando group attacks Naval Captain Jorge Bassi in his home, obtaining arms and uniforms.

26: A member of the ERP intervenes in a student assembly in Tucuman, and after talking to those present, gives them 200 000 pesos "for the struggle in which

they are engaged."

27: FAP commandos raid three homes of military personnel of the US embassy, in Martinez. They seize arms, uniforms and documents.

28: A commando group seizes numerous identity cards while carrying out an operation in the Chevalier enterprise. An armory in Santa Fe is robbed.

The Descamisado (Shirtless) Commando group enters a movie house in La Matanza and projects a newsreel of Perón after distributing leaflets in the lobby.

30: The ERP 29th of May Commando seizes a truck with 2500 liters of milk, in Cordoba, and distributes the milk in needy neighborhoods.

The María Pacheco Commando of FAL seizes 8 million pesos from the French Hospital.

December

1: The ERP 29th of May Commando attacks a policeman in Cordoba and seizes his arms and uniform.

A commando group seizes 10 600 000 pesos from the Mercedes post office in Buenos Aires province.

2: A commando group seizes numerous arms from a ranch in Tres Arroyos.

The Gerardo M. Ferrari detachment of FAP occupies the Yankee factory Chicago Bridge Argentine and after disarming the guard, proceeds to expropriate documents, machinery and money. Then they dynamite some of the installations.

Another FAP commando strips a policeman in San Miguel of his arms and uniform and seizes two cars.

A commando group seizes arms and uniforms from a police chief and agent in Rosario.

An ERP commando enters a bar in Rosario and after immobilizing various persons, disarms a soldier and takes a gun and a uniform. In Corrientes, another policeman is attacked and loses his gun and uniform. In Cordoba, a commando group seizes a policeman's gun.

3: An agent is tied to a tree in his underclothes and the commando group leaves him there without his gun and uniform.

An ERP commando group seizes a truck of meat in Cordoba, and distributes its contents in needy neighborhoods.

A commando group seizes two vehicles from a garage in Rosario.

4: An ERP commando group distributes 220 cases of milk in Tucuman.

5: The Santiago Pampillón Commando enters the home of the head of security for the IPAKO enterprise in La Plata and after painting slogans, destroys a vehicle.

6: An ERP commando group seizes various mimeograph machines, typewriters and recorders from a Cordoba store.

7: An ERP commando seizes a truck of meat and distributes its contents in Barrio Avellaneda, Cordoba.

A bomb explodes in a confectionary in Santiago del Estero.

An ELN commando seizes 7 million pesos from a construction industry in Martinez.

9: A commando group seizes two vehicles from a garage in this capital.

10: A bomb explodes in the home of Commodore Nestor Palazuelo. A commando group attacks the night watchman at DGI, in Rosario, and takes his gun.

The Angel Bencochea Commando of ERP seizes a custodial agent's gun in front of the Algerian embassy in this capital.
A commando group seizes the gun and uniform of an agent in La Banda, Santiago del Estero.
A commando group walks off with 60 wigs from a store in La Plata.

11: A commando group takes 10 million pesos from the El Chango supermarket in Salta.

12: A commando group machineguns the second in command of operations of the Cordoba police.
The victim suffers considerable injury.

13: A bomb explodes in the Junior Army Officers' Casino in Cordoba.

14: A Montonero commando group takes the civilian registry in Bella Vista and seizes various types of documentation.
A commando unit "empties" a drugstore in this capital. Medicines valued at 20 million pesos are carried away.

15: A FAR commando group seizes 10 million pesos from the Commercial Bank of La Plata. Two policemen are wounded in the action.
The Hilda Guerrero Commando of ERP takes the radio station LW 3 in Tucuman.

16: The Felipe Vallese FAP Commando, made up of 20 guerrillas, occupies the Río Luján detachment in Escobar. In the action, a policeman who resists is killed. The group seizes machine guns, pistols and other arms.

17: A bomb goes off in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.
A FAL commando occupies the Bureau of Motor Vehicles in Caseros and seizes numerous documents.

18: The FAL Pérez Jáuregui Commando takes the Spanish consulate in Rosario, setting fire to a part of its installations and seizing 300 000 pesos. This action is carried out in solidarity with the Basques arrested in Burgos.
A FAL commando occupies the Bureau of Motor Vehicles in Almirante Brown and takes material for the falsification of patents.

19: A commando group enters the foodstore cooperative in this capital and seizes 4 million pesos.
A bomb explodes in the Spanish consulate in La Plata.
A commando unit attacks an agent in front of the Panamanian embassy and takes his gun and uniform.
An ERP commando seizes toys from a business in Rosario and distributes them in a needy neighborhood.
An ERP commando seizes numerous wigs from a Tucuman business.

20: The ERP Cabral Commando occupies a police department on Avda. Circunvalación in Santa Fe and seizes arms and ammunition.
A commando group attacks a policeman in Florencio Varela and seizes his gun.

22: An ERP commando group occupies the guard house of the Fiat factory in Ferreyra, Cordoba, and seizes nine weapons. At this moment there are close to 1000 workers in the industry's patio who applaud and cheer the guerrillas. A member of the commando gives a speech to those present who repeat their applause.
A commando group of 15 men tries to assault a train in this

capital but due to the resistance of the guards has to retreat without achieving its objective, taking with it a machine gun and two pistols.

23: A bomb explodes in the Uruguayan tourist office.
The Pampillón Commando group seizes arms from the home of a policeman in La Plata.

24: A commando group seizes 4 million pesos from a bottling plant in Tucuman.
A 12-man commando occupies the Tiburoncito supermarket in Cordoba and seizes 5 million pesos.

25: A bomb explodes in the Feigh SA, enterprise in Cordoba.
A bomb explodes in the residence of General Osiris Villegas, ambassador to Brazil. The act is attributed to the Montoneros Peronist Resistance Commando.

26: A bomb explodes in the home of the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in this capital.
A commando group kidnaps an industrialist in Tucuman and obtains 10 million pesos for his release.

27: Two bombs explode in Cordoba (in a branch of the naval forces and in a municipal fair).
A commando group assaults a beauty shop in this capital and carries off numerous wigs and cosmetics.

28: A commando group attacks and disarms a policeman in Banfield.
An MRA commando group occupies the offices of the Official Bulletin in Cordoba and seizes typewriters, calculating machines and office material totalling a million pesos.
A commando unit kidnaps two YPF distributors in Cordoba and then obtains the keys to the enterprise and carries off 2 500 000 pesos.
Another commando group seizes 800 000 pesos in the ENTEL offices in Cordoba.
A commando group assaults a beauty shop in La Plata and takes 40 wigs.

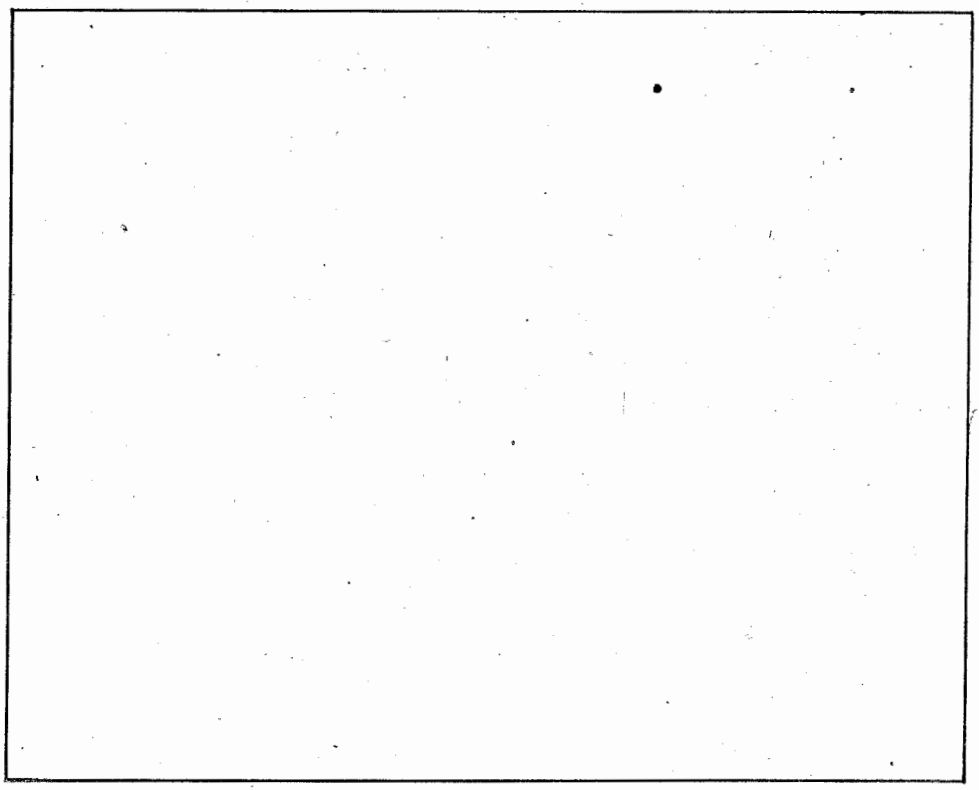
29: The Chacho Peñaloza Montoneros Commando attacks the guard at the presidential residence in Olivos, an action in which the guard dies after resisting.
The guard house is set on fire.
A FAR commando occupies the bank of the province of Cordoba and seizes 800 000 pesos.
Due to the resistance of a guard, there is an exchange of fire and the guard and woman guerrilla die.
An ERP commando unit seizes arms from the home of a TV director in Rosario.
The residence of the Secretary of Information for the Government, in La Plata, is shot at.

30: A Montoneros commando seizes 5 million pesos from the central post office in Cordoba.
A commando group seizes numerous short arms from a business in Rosario. Two policemen from the jurisdiction of commissary 14 in this capital are disarmed. The action is attributed to the ERP commando Angel Bengochea.
A commando unit seizes numerous arms from a business in La Pampa. Two bombs explode in Santa Fe.
An ERP commando, made up of 15 men, assaults an ambulance service in Cordoba and forces it to transport a wounded member of the organization.

31: Two bombs explode in this capital. One in the offices of the Molycote enterprise and the other in a laboratory of the 3M firm.

notes for history

Across the 38th Parallel



MORE THAN 20 YEARS have elapsed since the downfall of fascism and the dawn of the regeneration of humanity. During this period, a great leap forward has been registered in the history of mankind.

For a long time three oppressed continents have existed as dependencies of European and North American powers, and solely for the sake of their prosperity. But at last they have risen in the heroic struggle for national liberation, rejecting their age-long history of oppression and humiliation. Nations big and small have finally set out to achieve national self-determination and national restitution by breaking the shackles of imperialist tyranny.

Plunging into the great turbulence and powerful current of world history, our brothers in the North have made the gigantic socialist change and their amazing progress now places them definitively among the ranks of the advanced nations of the world. Under the tragic circumstances of territorial division and national separation, however, South Korea is still writhing under cruel oppression, unable to shake off its semifeudal, colonial backwardness.

Here national sovereignty is a hollow deception of crafty lip-service to those in power; in reality it has come to mean dependence on foreign forces, subordination, inequality and national humiliation. "Freedom" and "democracy," too, are merely "constitutional" window dressing while in practice, a brutal and despotic dictatorship suppresses the masses of the people. The economy is in a state of bankruptcy, repeating its vicious circle of depression and ruin. South Korea today has the lowest per capita income in the world, and widespread unemployment makes it a wretched hell where famine and disease are rampant. Our national culture, celebrated throughout the world over many centuries, has lost its brilliant lustre and has degenerated into a mixture of decadent North American and Japanese commercialism.

The "commitments of the May 16 revolution" that promised a "clean sweep of injustice and corruption" have turned out to be a big lie to cheat the innocent masses of the people. Theft, bribery, privilege and exorbitant profiteering are shamelessly practiced by a handful of privileged bureaucrats and comprador capitalists. The Pak Chung Hee clique, a band of traitors unmatched in history, has emerged as the incarnation of new evil, far surpassing the old. Behind the facade of "patriotism" and "national spirit" flaunted by the traitorous clique, the Japanese militarist forces, sworn enemies of the nation, are stretching their dark talons for the reinvasion of our political, economic, cultural and military domain. Thus, at the same time that it is occupied by US imperialism, South Korea is being subordinated to Japanese imperialism too.

Meanwhile, poverty-stricken and deprived of all rights, the popular masses live in unspeakable agony and sorrow. Everywhere, our compatriots die before their time, cursing this society

which heaps sufferings on them generation after generation, and has reduced their country to an unprecedented state of national ruin. This is the present reality of South Korea.

What is the actual cause of this deplorable state of affairs?

The cause lies precisely in the military occupation by US imperialism and its aggressive policies, and in the backward semifeudal and colonial social system. Ever since the US imperialist aggressors crept in under the guise of "liberators," they have turned South Korea into their colony and have been its real rulers.

With the aim of stifling our people's burning desire for sovereignty, self-determination and national independence, the US imperialists have imposed neocolonialist policies under the cloak of independence. The "Government of the Republic of Korea" which the US imperialists rigged up at bayonet point is nothing but a camouflage for their colonial domination of our people. In order to continue by force their hateful colonial reactionary control of our country, the US imperialist aggressors squander all the manpower and material resources of our people and cling to a most atrocious dictatorship. The colonial domination by US imperialism and the backward colonial, semifeudal social system it maintains are the source of all contradictions and alienation in our society, and the root cause of all the misfortunes and calamities our compatriots are suffering. Therefore, the only way to free ourselves from oppression and misery and to enjoy genuine freedom and happiness, is to overthrow the present corrupt regime and establish a new social system that is independent and democratic. An exploitative society, by nature, brings about inequality. In our society those who get rich and live in luxury and fame are a handful of parasites of the exploiting class whereas the majority of the people, the oppressed masses, are their victims.

That is why the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges — the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats — put up a desperate resistance to keep the present reactionary regime, whereas the broad masses of the people — the workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, middle class, urban dwellers — are vitally interested in shattering the regime. The contradictions between the two sides can be settled only through a life-and-death struggle of the oppressed masses.

In South Korea revolution is inevitable and indispensable! It goes without saying that the objective cause of a revolution lies in the irreconcilable contradictions within a given society. Revolution can neither be "exported" nor "imported." Therefore, the revolution in the South should be carried out with the active participation of the South Korean people themselves. The oppressed and exploited masses in South Korea should achieve freedom and liberation through their own revolutionary struggle. Revolution is a life-and-death struggle waged by revolutionary forces against counterrevolutionary forces; an armed counterrevolution can be defeated only by revolutionary violence.

The oppressed and exploited masses of our country must prepare powerful revolutionary forces of their own in order to crush the counterrevolution and win victory in the revolution. To organize, foster and develop revolutionary forces, it is of cardinal importance to have a revolutionary party, the organizer and guiding force of the revolution.

Without the party, the popular masses, abandoned in oblivion, cannot be awakened to revolutionary consciousness, nor can they be organized. Only the leadership of the party can raise a spontaneous struggle of the masses to a revolutionary struggle with purpose and consciousness. Without a revolutionary party of their own, the masses are like an army without its headquarters, and the victory of a people's revolution is, consequently, inconceivable.

The failure to bring the heroic April 19 uprising to a decisive victory was due to the lack of a revolutionary party; the failure to check the May 16 usurpation of power by the gangsters and the failure to frustrate the counterrevolutionary offensive of the shameless usurpers, was likewise attributable, in the last analysis, to the lack of a revolutionary party and its leadership.

A party, a revolutionary party capable of embodying the will of the oppressed masses and leading their struggle to victory, is what the masses of the people in this country so eagerly desire for they have seen the truth of revolution and drawn lessons from their repeated unsuccessful bloodshed. Aware of the bloody lessons of history, we, the revolutionaries, long ago began to form local organizations of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification and have been carrying on arduous underground revolutionary activities ever since. Today, to meet the urgent demand of the revolutionary movement that is forging ahead and of the development of the Party itself, we have organized the central leading body of the Party and herewith announce the Manifesto of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification.

The Revolutionary Party for Reunification is a new type of Marxist-Leninist party, qualitatively distinct in its class bases, political parties and groups. Our Party represents and defends the interests of the working class and peasants, the backbone of our society, and the rest of the toiling masses. The Party is organized with advanced elements of the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The working class, peasants and other toiling masses are the creators of material and spiritual wealth and constitute an absolute majority of the population. Without them, the existence of a society or the prosperity of a nation is unthinkable. To defend their interests, therefore, is an essential prerequisite to the realization of social justice, and at the same time it is, in fact, the fullest embodiment of national interests.

The guiding principle of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification is Comrade Kim Il Sung's idea of **Juche**, which is the creative embodiment of Marxism-Leninism in the present era and actual

conditions of our country. The idea of **Juche** represents the Marxism-Leninism of our times, the perfect merit of which has been saliently proven throughout the 40 years and more of severe revolutionary storms. Its vitality is permanent and inexhaustible not only for the past and present, but also for time to come. It brightly illuminates our people's road as well as that of millions of peoples the world over.

Our Party is invincible because it is guided by the great idea of **Juche.** The highest aim of our Party is to build a socialist-communist society, for socialism-communism is the centuries-old aspiration and the noblest idea of mankind. In that society, oppression and exploitation of man by man is finally liquidated and man's yearning for freedom, equality, happiness and civilization will be realized fully and thoroughly for the first time. It is for this reason that the oppressors make frantic "anticommunist" efforts by every means, but the triumph of socialism-communism is inevitable and no force on earth can check it.

The first and foremost task in clearing the way to socialism-communism in the present phase of social development in South Korea is to crush the colonial, semifeudal social system which hinders social progress. Accordingly, the immediate aim of our Party is to carry out a people's democratic revolution to overthrow the corrupt, colonial, semifeudal social system and, on its grave, build a people's democratic system and fulfill our great goal of national reunification, which is the aspiration of our nation.

The Party will throw the US aggressive troops out of our country, overthrow the puppet regime and establish an independent, democratic government of the people. The Party will ensure the people genuine freedom and rights and will resolutely carry out land reform, nationalization of major industries and various other democratic reforms. It will promote the rehabilitation and development of the economy and culture as well as a speedy solution to people's daily living problems. The Party will make all efforts to introduce measures leading to national reunification: mutual visits, correspondence, cultural exchanges and commercial intercourse between North and South. It will strenuously work to achieve the peaceful reunification of our nation through a North-South general election based on our own efforts and rejecting foreign interference.

When the immediate goal of our Party is attained Korea will belong to Koreans and power will reside in the people, the legitimate rulers. Then all that is created will be used for the benefit of the creators themselves, and the land of 3000 **ri** and 40 million people linked together by the same blood will enjoy eternal grandeur and prosperity in a unified country.

The birth of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification as an organic whole is an event of particular significance in the socio-political life of our people and marks a turning point in the advancement of the South Korean revolution.

Our people now have a revolutionary headquarters, a genuine defender of their rights and interests. They have a great banner for their struggle — a centripetal force of unity and cohesion. The struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses in South Korea has at last emerged from its blindness and nonorganization, and is now in a position not only to move forward in the right direction, but also to develop the struggle into a dynamic revolutionary movement under the unified guidance of the Party. Ours is not the royal road, of course. It is inevitable that difficulties and obstacles will block our way under the present circumstances in which not a trace of freedom or democracy remains and where all advanced ideas and progressive movements everywhere are barbarously repressed.

The enemy runs amok, brutally murdering our patriots and revolutionaries on charges of "treason" when they rise up in the struggle for our nation's independence and self-determination, and for the freedom and liberation of the people. They seek to bury our sacred cause of anti-US national salvation and the reunification revolution. But theirs is nothing more than the deathbed convulsion of those whose days are numbered.

The executioners may deprive our ranks of some of our comrades-in-arms, but they cannot extinguish the revolutionary sparks already set off, nor will they be able to suppress the raging flames of revolution that will sweep over them before long. We will never sit with folded arms while the dirty boots of the Yankees trample down the sacred land of our forefathers, soil stained with the blood of our patriotic fighters and safeguarded from generation to generation.

At all cost, we will wipe out the brutal aggressors and traitors and build a paradise for the people on our ravaged land, and reunite the divided country. Just is the cause of our revolution and inevitable is its triumph!

The South Korean revolution is rooted in the glorious traditions of the Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle led by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the outstanding leader of the present age. Its path is brightly illuminated by the great idea of **Juche** — revolutionary truth and historic beacon. The enemy of the revolution is a very small minority whereas tens of millions of the masses, with inexhaustible strength, stand on the side of the revolution.

Despite the endless difficulties within and without, our people have preserved their national sagacity and patriotism and have resolutely fought against aggressions and treachery.

Our sacred cause is firmly guaranteed by the unconquerable revolutionary base in the North, the bulwark of the nation-wide revolution, and it enjoys the comradely support of our brothers in the North. Trends in the international situation are turning in favor of our revolution. US imperialism, the main enemy of our revolution, is trembling in the violent revolutionary storms furiously raging at home and abroad. The Yankees are now perpetrating

aggressions and stimulating war all over the world, but all this is no more than the frenzied effort of a beast caught in a trap. US imperialism has long been on the decline and it is now faced with imminent doom.

We are in an era of change in world history, in which the chains of international capital are being broken one after another, and in which socialism is triumphing. It is an era of struggle in which the oppressed nations of all countries have risen up in a decisive battle for liberation against imperialism, after emerging from long, drawn-out darkness.

The future is bright and the victory of our revolution is certain, as it forges ahead in the powerful current of our times. The revolution is now maturing, the decisive moment is approaching!

The spirit of the people of this country who have stood up to fight for freedom and liberation against tyranny and starvation is mounting to raging waves of revolution. At this solemn moment, the Party calls you, the oppressed masses and patriotic people, to the great sacred struggle to annihilate the oppressors.

Submission means death, hesitation invites defeat.

Let us all rise up bravely in the great cause of the anti-US national salvation and the revolution for reunification!

All patriotic, democratic forces, unite firmly under the banner of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification!

Down with the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges!

Long live the people's democratic revolution in South Korea!

Long live Comrade Kim Il Sung's great idea of **Juche!**

Program of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification

The US imperialists who replaced the Japanese imperialists after the Second World War, occupied South Korea militarily with the aim of realizing their aggressive ambition against our country, harbored for over a century, to establish a bridgehead for aggression on the Asian continent. They made their appearance as new colonial rulers, resorting to suppression at bayonet point by their occupation forces, and mocking us with honeyed words of "independence" and "aid."

The only change that has taken place in South Korean society since then is the fictitious "national" front and the window-dressings of "democracy" added solely for ornamentation. In reality the history of colonial slavery which started at the beginning of the 20th century still continues.

It is proclaimed that a "sovereign state" exists and that the "power resides in the people," but these words are meaningless because the US imperialist aggressors have become the real rulers, holding all political, economic and military power in South Korea. The so-called "Republic of Korea" is nothing but a cloak for the hateful colonial domination, and its "government" is a colonialist tool propped up and manipulated by the US imperialist aggressive

forces and "dollar aid"; it is a puppet regime of traitors that betrays the country and people.

The present Pak Chung Hee "government" is made up of a bunch of stooges spawned by US and Japanese imperialism; it is an agent of aggression and plunder, faithfully executing the directions of the masters.

The US imperialists have strangled the South Korean economy in the noose of "aid," seized its mainstays and reorganized its structure so as to effectively implement their colonial domination. By granting various "special favors," they brought forward, on the one hand, the comprador capitalists who would serve as agents to dispose of US surplus goods, as guides to the infiltration of monopoly capital and as conspirators in the plunder of the masses. On the other hand, by enforcing the deceitful "agrarian reform," they gave protection to the indigenous feudal landlords to provide the social basis of their colonial rule. As a result, the monopoly capital of the US imperialists and their appendages, i.e., a handful of new emerging comprador monopolies bleeding our nation now holds sway over the major branches of industry in our cities, and the feeble national capital is being driven into bankruptcy everywhere; in the rural areas the landed proprietor system and the feudal exploitation based on it, have been preserved intact, fragmenting the agricultural economy and causing the ruin of a large number of farmers with small holdings.

Consequently, the South Korean economy has been barred from independent development and reduced to an economy of subordination, an economy serving merely for unbridled colonial plunder, and as a military appendage, retaining the fetters of premodern backwardness. Worse still, Japanese militarist circles have stepped up their reinvasion scheme with the backing of US imperialism since the conclusion of the treacherous "ROK-Japan treaty." As a result, our country is being subordinated doubly to the USA and Japan. The social system of South Korea today is colonial and semifeudal in its nature. This decayed social system, maintained only by the bayonets of the US imperialist aggression army and by the fascist tyranny of their stooges, is actually the incurable cancer eating South Korean society and the root-cause of all the diseases of this society.

The economic ruin, political confusion, social unrest and mass impoverishment increasingly aggravated under the domination of foreign forces of aggression and their running dogs, and the injustice, corruption and degenerate social evils that prevail throughout the society — all this appalling plight conclusively proves the antinational, antipopular nature of the existing social system. It is absolutely incompatible with the independent democratic development of the country.

The overthrow of the existing system by revolution is a historical demand of the nation as it heads toward independence and sovereignty. It reflects the will of the masses of people who aspire

to freedom and liberation and it is an objective necessity for South Korea's social development. The South Korean revolution brewing within the colonial, semifeudal society is required to carry out simultaneously the anti-imperialist national liberation tasks and antifeudal democratic tasks. These historic tasks can be fulfilled only through an acute struggle between the two forces which cannot coexist.

The US imperialist aggressors, the comprador capitalists, the landlords and the evil bureaucrats who behave despotically and enjoy wealth and fame based on the existing power structure and economic foundation, desperately resist revolutionary changes in the society. They are the antinational, antidemocratic forces that trample underfoot the rights and interests of our nation and run counter to the democratic progress of our society. Therefore, they constitute targets of the revolution that must be destroyed.

US imperialism, chief of the counterrevolution and patron of the domestic reactionaries, is the main target of the revolution. Against this enemy the masses of workers and peasants and rank-and-file soldiers, progressive youths and students, intellectuals, urban petite bourgeoisie, and conscientious national capitalists, who are always exploited and oppressed under the colonial, semifeudal social system, have vital interests in the social revolution. Linked by a national, democratic bond, they are the propelling force for social progress, and constitute the motive force of the revolution. Especially, the working class is the most advanced and revolutionary, and, therefore, it is the leading class destined to play the vanguard role in the revolution.

The South Korean revolution is a people's democratic revolution aimed at socialism under the leadership of the working class. This revolution provides the way to a genuine regeneration of South Korean society. The Western capitalism of the 19th century is already outdated. It cannot lead a backward colonial nation to the final accomplishment of its national democratic task. In today's historical circumstances in which capitalism finds itself at the stage of imperialism and the termination of its peaceful development, it can only lead to imperialist subjugation and drive the majority of the popular masses into poverty and maltreatment, repeating the present history of national tragedy. The people's democratic revolution is the only way to firmly guarantee sovereignty for this country, bring complete freedom and liberation to the people and attain the great cause of national reunification.

In the North, after the August 15 Liberation, under the sagacious leadership of the great leader of revolution, Comrade Kim Il Sung — sun of our nation and peerless world hero — the workers, peasants, intellectuals and the entire people victoriously carried out a people's revolution, built a rich and powerful sovereign state of independence, self-sustenance and self-defense and have set up a paradise where the once oppressed, hungry and maltreated

people enjoy all rights and happiness.

The people's democratic revolution to be carried out by the patriotic, progressive forces of all strata will sweep away from this land, too, all the social filth that has been accumulated for a long time and will open a proud new epoch in our history. The Revolutionary Party for Reunification, the vanguard detachment of the working class and other toiling masses, representing the national interests of the entire South Korean people, takes upon itself the lofty mission of fulfilling those revolutionary tasks and thereby establishing a new social system, a people's democratic system for the country and the people, and of creating a glorious history in which the masses of the working people will become masters.

With a view to overthrowing the cursed colonial, semifeudal social system, ensuring the national, democratic progress of South Korean society and achieving the great cause of national reunification, our Party announces the following 12-point program and will fight courageously for its realization:

1) To overthrow the colonial rule of US imperialism and establish an independent democratic government.

Colonial rule shall be overthrown through the anti-US national salvation resistance of the entire nation, rallying all the patriotic forces. The aggressive troops will be thrown out, the military bases dismantled, the US imperialist military occupation ended. The US machinery of aggression here will be smashed and the shackling agreements and treaties rendered null and void.

Political independence will be achieved by overthrowing the puppet regime and establishing an independent people's democratic government which will represent the interests of the people of all sections of life including the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, urban petite bourgeoisie and conscientious national capitalists.

2) To liquidate the fascist dictatorship and achieve democracy in sociopolitical life.

The Central Intelligence Agency with its accessories, police, judiciary, prosecution organs and other repressive apparatus shall be dissolved; the "national security act," the "anticommunist act" and all other reactionary antipopular laws will be abolished; the fascist ringleaders who have murdered patriots and innocent people will be executed, and the "political criminals" released unconditionally. A people's security force will be organized, and democratic institutions of justice and prosecution established so as to safeguard the revolutionary gains and protect the lives and properties of the people.

Any encroachment upon the democratic rights of the people

will be strictly prohibited and the democratic freedom and rights of speech, press, assembly, association, demonstration, religion, etc., ensured in practice. The freedom of choosing any progressive idea and propagating it, the freedom of forming democratic political parties and organizations representing the rights and interests of all walks of life and the freedom of their activities shall be firmly guaranteed.

Freedom of choice as to residence, change of residence, and choice of occupation, the inviolability of the person and dwelling and the privacy of the mails shall be strictly ensured, and the right to elect and to be elected shall be granted to all citizens from 18 years of age and above except a handful of traitors.

3) To carry out a democratic land reform and to eradicate poverty in the farming and fishing villages.

A democratic land reform shall be carried out to radically solve the land problem and to emancipate the peasantry completely from feudal oppression and exploitation.

Rice fields of three **chongbo** and over and dry fields of five **chongbo** and over which are owned by landlords or tenanted, shall be confiscated without compensation and the small-size tenanted lands belonging to small landlords and rich farmers shall be purchased with compensation, and redistributed without any cost to the peasants who have little or no land. The lands owned by patriots who have made contributions to the cause of anti-US national salvation work shall be purchased with compensation regardless of size. Forestry and irrigation facilities shall be nationalized to promote the public interests of the peasants.

The lands requisitioned by the military shall be derequisitioned, the arable lands along the truce line rehabilitated and the tidelands along the west coast and the lands in mountainous regions extensively reclaimed, also for redistribution to the peasants and hired hands so that the acreage of land per farm household may be increased to 1.4 **chongbo** minimum, and the land problem for the impoverished peasants radically solved.

The fishermen shall be free from the medieval system of exploitation, the freedom to fish ensured, and their livelihood stabilized. Fishing boats, fishing tackle and fishing funds will be furnished by the state to the impoverished fishermen, state fishing enterprises set up, and at the same time, fishing cooperatives will be widely organized on a voluntary basis with the material and financial support of the state to improve radically the status of the fishermen.

4) To nationalize major industries and build an independent national economy.

The factories, mines, banks, business firms, etc., owned by the

US, Japanese and other foreign monopolists and comprador capitalists shall be confiscated and nationalized to be utilized for the development of national industries as well as for the benefit of the people. At the same time economic control by foreigners and economic monopoly by a handful of men belonging to privileged circles will be eliminated. Business activities of national capitalists, handcraftsmen and small traders are to be protected, and their spirit of initiative stimulated so they can contribute to the building of the national economy.

The colonial lopsidedness of the economic structure shall be remedied and firm foundations laid for an independent national economy. The vicious consequences of US "aid" will be wiped out of every field of the economy, the influx of foreign capital stopped and foreign trade controlled by the state to protect the national economy from the economic pressure of foreign powers. Domestic resources will be fully explored and utilized, and independent national industries relying on our own raw materials, funds and technique will be developed to rid the economy completely of foreign dependence.

Military expenditures and administration outlays will be drastically cut to increase investment for production and at the same time economic intercourse and trade between North and South will be realized to strengthen economic cooperation and to undertake a balanced joint development of the economies of the North and South.

5) To enforce a democratic labor law and improve the socioeconomic status of the workers.

A new democratic labor law shall be enacted to ensure the democratic rights of the workers to take an active part in the state administration and economic management. The system of the 8-hour day, minimum wages, 2-3 weeks of annual paid leave, social insurance paid by the state and the enterprise shall be effected, and all working people provided with stable jobs to eliminate full and partial unemployment.

The anachronistic employment system will be swept away, working conditions improved, and measures for labor safety and labor protection fully ensured. Unwarranted dismissal and delayed payment of wages will be strictly prohibited, job stability ensured, and special remuneration provided for harmful and dangerous work or overtime.

6) To ensure the rights and interests of women and enhance their social status.

Women's equality shall be established by a law emancipating women from feudal bondage, and giving them equal rights with men in all areas of political, economic, social and cultural life.

Human traffic, licensed and unlicensed prostitution and concubinage shall be forbidden.

Practical conditions for women's social activities shall be provided. Special protection shall be given to mothers and infants, a 6-hour workday provided for the working mothers engaged in state enterprises, and more than 70 days of paid maternity leave given to all working women. Nurseries, kindergartens and maternity hospitals will be widely established to ensure conditions for women's sociopolitical activities and for their work.

7) To develop a flourishing democratic national culture and ensure the livelihood of the intellectuals.

Flunkeyism, national nihilism, corrupt North American and Japanese ways of life shall be rejected, and our country's traditional cultural heritage shall be cultivated to develop a democratic national culture based on the spirit of **Juche,** the spirit of national independence and patriotism.

The state will guarantee jobs for the intellectuals engaged in the fields of press, education, science, technology, culture and the arts, and stabilize their livelihood. The number of cultural and scientific research institutions will be sharply increased to improve conditions for creation and research; intellectuals will be encouraged to use their talents to make a positive contribution to the building of the new society.

Cultural intercourse between North and South will be established, to promote a uniform development of national culture, and advanced foreign culture, science and technique will be introduced and digested.

8) To renovate education and enforce the system of free education and scholarship for the sons and daughters of the working people.

The reactionary educational system of US worship and anticommunism shall be eliminated, and the contents of education completely renewed on the basis of democratic ideas, and the people's education shall be advanced. The militarization of schools, profiteering and political control of education will be strictly banned and democracy will be ensured in schools.

The working people will be freed from the burdens of educating their sons and daughters, and all the youth and children will be afforded opportunities for learning. Universal compulsory secondary education at state expense will be enforced, various miscellaneous free and forced contributions abolished, and at the same time, state scholarships granted extensively to self-supporting students and to students in high schools, colleges and universities. The state will provide jobs for graduates of schools at various levels, who have reached working age.

9) To establish an advanced public health service system and enforce the system of extensive free medical care.

The commercial money-making health service shall be reformed, and a popular public health service system established in which all the inhabitants enjoy the benefits of free medical service, free from worries about fees. A medical insurance system will be established in which all or a part of medical expenses are paid by the state, and completely free medical care will be provided to the workers, poor peasants and urban poor.

Prevention of epidemics and sanitation work will be intensified to exterminate various kinds of epidemics and endemics, and to promote the health of the working people. State medical institutions will be expanded on an extensive scale so that clinics may be set up in every **myon** and **ri.**

10) To establish national self-defense armed forces.

All the aggressive military agreements shall be abrogated, the military advisory system abolished, the prerogative of supreme command of the armed forces restored and an independent system of national defense established. The "ROK" army shall be reorganized to found the national self-defense armed forces composed of patriotic young people. A very small number of evil high-ranking officers who betrayed the country and people will be severely punished, and the officers who took part in the cause of anti-US national salvation work will be promoted.

The forced conscription system and the homeland reserve force system shall be abolished and military training for students stopped, a voluntary service system established and the whole military structure reformed. Enlisted men will be permitted to take an active part in military administration, and their human rights will be defended. All practices of personal insults — including the enslavement of and disciplinary violence to enlisted men — shall be strictly prohibited, and the disciplinary confinement system abolished to make democracy prevail in the service and to create an atmosphere of unity between officers and within the armed forces. The enlisted men shall be given better treatment and the state shall assume responsibility for ensuring their dependents a stable life and guaranteeing employment and livelihood for demobilized soldiers.

The quality of the armed forces will be improved so that service strength may be reduced to 200 000 or less and the burden of military expenses on the people may be drastically lightened.

11) To practice an independent diplomacy and promote friendship with the anti-imperialist peace-loving countries.

The humiliating diplomacy infected with treacherous flunkeyism

and dependence on foreign powers shall be done away with, and independent foreign policies that are fully in accord with the idea of national **Juche** shall be carried out, and relations with democratic friendly countries shall be promoted on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and noninterference.

The aggressive policies of US imperialism and the revival of Japanese militarism shall be opposed, and the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations of the world encouraged and actively supported.

The common ties of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle with the peoples of all countries who are opposed to imperialism and colonialism shall be strengthened, active contributions made to peace in the Far East and the rest of the world, and the nation's prestige enhanced throughout the world.

A claim shall be instituted for all the manpower losses and material damages inflicted upon our people by the US imperialists during the whole period of their occupation. The "ROK-Japan treaty" will be scrapped, and our relations with Japan fully readjusted on the basis of the complete liquidation of the sanguinary crimes committed by Japanese imperialism during its past colonial rule here.

12) To achieve the independent peaceful reunification of the country.

"Anticommunist reunification" or "UN-supervised reunification" shall be rejected, and peaceful reunification of the country shall be realized relying on the basis of the independent democratic will of the people in the North and South and on the nation's own efforts without any foreign interference.

National splits that inspire antagonism and fratricide between the North and South shall be rejected, tensions relieved, a peaceful atmosphere for national reunion promoted, and every effort shall be made to open the way to talks between the North and South. There should be mutual contacts, interviews, personal visits, free movement, cultural and material exchanges and a nationwide movement unfolded for the peaceful reunification.

When the revolution triumphs and the independent people's government is established, North-South negotiations shall be open without delay, and by agreement between both sides, there shall be a peace declaration on the termination of the state of war and on the abolition of the truce line.

A nationwide general election shall be held under the joint administration of the government of both sides, on the basis of ensuring the freedom of political activities both in the North and South, to set up a unified central government. Thus shall we achieve the great cause of reunification of the country, the supreme task of the nation.

A People's Victory

Houari Boumédienne

DEAR BROTHER WORKERS,

I feel especially happy to greet you in the name of the Revolutionary Council and the Government, on the celebration of the 5th anniversary of the creation of the UGTA. This anniversary, in commemoration of which the entire Algerian people join you, recalls a memorable occasion in our liberation struggle, namely, the institution of Algerian syndicalism as a new and dynamic element, which considerably strengthened our liberation revolution as it continued on to victory and independence.

On this occasion I should also like, in your name, to dedicate our profound thought to the memory of our brother workers who fell on the field of honor for the ideal of liberty, and to ask God to bless them. Our brothers who made the supreme sacrifice were conscious of fulfilling not only their duty toward their country but also of freely accepting martyrdom in order to permit the birth of a happy and rational society, a socialist community forever free of all forms of exploitation.

For this reason I invite you, on the occasion of our celebration of this glorious anniversary, to go back a little and evaluate the progress made since the reconquest of our independence, the major decisions taken as well as the objectives achieved in carrying them out.

Our country did not wait long after reconquering its freedom to begin its construction and radical transformation of the situat'on inherited from colonialism, once that evil was definitively expelled from our soil after one of the most terrible wars that has occurred on this planet during the course of this century.

Actually, it did not take long for Algeria to show its true nature, such as when colonialism tried to impose certain conditions on us under difficult circumtances. After several years, our country succeeded in rubbing out the traces of the destruction perpetrated by this colonialism on our territory and avoided falling over the precipice that threatened after the massive and sudden evacuation of the Europeans.

We were able to face victoriously the almost general sabotage, because we did not spare any economic, administrative, social and cultural sectors. Millions of Algerians had been displaced, some had been forced to take refuge in rural zones, others had been moved to "regroupment centers" or had been sent to prisons or concentration camps. Still others had joined the guerrillas as ALN fighters or members of the ranks of the FLN.

But thanks to its powerful and unanimous cohesion and determination to recuperate its sovereignty and its independence, our people were able to annihilate all the forces unleashed by imperialism in an effort to divide and debilitate their ranks.

One Sole Colonialism

Algeria had to confront one sole colonialism both under the fourth and the fifth French republics. It has always fought the same adversary which is so ferocious, so determined to destroy.

All the forces of colonialism failed, thanks only to the unshakable will of our people and the unity they were able to maintain in their ranks.

On this day, anniversary of the creation of the UGTA, we must once more recall this past in order to draw from it the strength and will necessary to persevere in our struggle today.

A lucid appreciation of the present situation in our country, characterized by a reconquered independence, security, stability, and serenity reestablished throughout the national territory, requires that we link ourselves ceaselessly to the immense sacrifices of our people. Thus will Algeria develop its tremendous talents day by day.

We can say that the year 1971, which is the second year in which our Four-Year Plan has been in operation, represents a constructive stage.

The Four-Year Plan, which has survived so many polemics, is now on the road to realization. This very year 1971 will celebrate the renewal of certain institutions whose construction we began in 1967 under the principle of returning to the base, of decentralization, and of assigning responsibilities, all of them reforms designed to associate the people closely with the administration

of their affairs. In so doing we remain loyal to the revolutionary ideal of the first of November: "Revolution by the people and for the people."

We cannot help but note with satisfaction and legitimate pride the overwhelming enthusiasm manifested by the Algerian public over the course of the past weeks during elections for representation to the comunal people's assemblies. This enthusiasm proves — if that is necessary — the adherence of the people to the policy followed by our country. It is established, moreover, that our people already have a certain experience in this field, having participated in numerous electoral processes. With such a massive vote and one of the highest percentages of participation recorded up to the present, you are also aware that this is authentic and in no way fictitious, as is the case in some countries that do not hesitate to announce participation by 99.99% of the electorate. If we also realize the profound meaning of these elections, taking into consideration the present social situation of our people and our internal structures, and recognizing the fact that women's participation was not as strong as had been predicted, we can say that this percentage is a record that guarantees future success in new communal people's assemblies. This adherence of the people's masses at the same time represents an effective and practical support of the revolutionary line of conduct our country has chosen and from which it will never deviate.

The Year for Recasting Industrial Structures

This year will also be the year for recasting industrial structures of socialist enterprise, because if we have noted under various circumstances that the commune constitutes the basic cell and cement of the building of state, today we are reaching other stages in this area.

After the renovation of the APC [Municipal People's Assemblies] we will immediately have to participate in new elections, those of the workers' assemblies at the overall level of socialist public enterprises. We will immediately have to complete the development and adoption of statutes for these enterprises and expend all our efforts to make sure that the texts that rule the future are finally perfected over the course of these next weeks. We must push ourselves to make certain the workers can elect these new assemblies before summer.

It is a question of a promise and a date that each must be aware of. After the experience of the APC, despite the weaknesses that existed, after the experiences of the APW [Provincial People's Assemblies] we have reached the moment for going on to the following stage so that all sectors have their councils elected first of all by those concerned, that they be councils of the working masses endowed with broad powers and prerogatives, and functioning on a democratic basis, that they assume their share of respon-

sibilities and respond in their actions to the people or the workers. This is the entire significance of the participation of the people.

Before today and in this same area, I had the occasion to discuss this question and propose problems of control, principally after the decisions taken in the course of the last five years — that is, from the time of the nationalization of the mines up to the nationalization of economic enterprises, passing through the nationalization of banks and insurance wthout mentioning what is even more important, namely, those industries under construction, these industrial bases being broadened, these enormous investments undertaken within the framework of the Four-Year Plan. All this has insistently forced the problem of basic control and not within its classic meaning: I say that classic control is utterly useless. Control will only be efficient if we open the doors of our enterprises, all of them, to those who are primarily concerned, so that each of them can be controlled and will avoid total ruin. In the past we have given priority to the authority of the directors since our sick economy needed greater firmness at the top. Today we are reaching a level at which the problem of control is insistently before us. The profits and goods do not belong at all to individuals.

That is why I beg the brother workers to prepare themselves to carry out their role in this area, a role of control in all enterprises in order to cast out forever the idea of the salaried worker. The workers must become the responsible administrators, with the same title as directors and subdirectors. For these profits and these goods do not belong to any individual, any group of individuals or any family, but to all, they are the people's property. And the most effective method must be found to guarantee the participation of a majority of Algerians whether or not they belong to the ranks of workers.

Dear brothers,

This year is also the year of the agrarian revolution. The hour has come to take new measures in this area, concrete measures of application. Some will ask why we have opened so many fronts at the same time. Personally I think that this is the proof of the level of power our revolution has reached and of its capacity to engage in many battles in all areas, since the revolution is one. Certainly the revolution must go through stages, and we have always taken this principle into consideration. This is the reason why neither the ideas nor the principles defined in 1965 and put into practice at that particular time can be identified with those of the year 1971.

In effect, the concretization of the Four-Year Plan implies having opened new stages such as the realization of the agrarian revolution to which we are committed in such a manner as to make this plan an overall effort destined to encompass all areas of activity in our country.

Here then, dear brothers, is a new revolutionary battle and not

one of the minor ones, that we must carry out with determination. If I stress that it is a question of one of the most decisive revolutionary battles, it is because it particularly and mainly concerns our brothers in the rural zones who continue to live in huts and caves. It is essential that the revolution be extended to these comrades and that their mode of life be radically transformed.

It is not necessary to stress how much these revolutionary battles require of all of us in terms of continued vigilance as well as an unshakable will, since we have not yet reached the objectives we have given ourselves. We can even say that we are only at the beginning of the road because the revolutionary way is still long and difficult. But it is the authentic route that leads to our salvation and conditions our future.

It is on this basis, and at this very moment in which we undertake the liberation of our country on the economic plane, building an independent national economy whose roots are deep in Algerian soil and in no way based on perspectives that are tied to positions taken overseas, that I affirm that there still exist sectors that must be freed in their turn. This is in fact the hour to liberate those important and vital sectors, for the joint development of the Four-Year Plan, of the cultural and agrarian revolutions with the mobilization of finance, equipment, etc. implied, demands the concentration of all the national wealth and its exploitation for the benefit of our people and in the interests of our national economy.

The Algerian People Have Understood how to Frustrate All Conspiracies

You have surely followed from close at hand, dear brothers, the evolution of our relations with the state whose cooperation with independent Algeria was most important, that is the State of France. This evolution you have followed through all its ups and dows, from the day on which the first shot of our armed struggle on our soil was fired. You know the stages through which the war of liberation passed, the enemy maneuvers during that epoch, the attempt to separate the Sahara from the rest of the national territory and the form in which the Algerian people had to frustrate this plot that proposed the division of the country, and the acceptance of the continuation of the war and the consent to new sacrifices to safeguard our territorial integrity of which the Sahara and its riches are a part.

These are the stages we have lived through. Without the shadow of a doubt, there is very little you have forgotten, and the Algerian people recall that independence, won thanks to their own sacrifices, tangled with colonialist interests that were forced to establish a formal independence.

As if the enormous sacrifices to which the Algerian people agreed had never existed, sacrifices that were necessarily translated into revolutionary ideas which no neocolonialism on earth will be able to obtain!

Another stage our country lived through was that of 1962-65, characterized by emptiness, by anarchy, by a catastrophic economic situation. Added to this the errors committed by certain persons in positions of responsibility at this time, which aggravated the political situation with improvisation, disorder, progressive flight, public demagoguery designed to arouse mass feelings. But this was soon spent and the people found themselves again faced with reality. We were forced to sign long term agreements concerning the Sahara that year. On July 27, 1965, to be exact, we came to an agreement with the French Government believing that this agreement took into consideration the reciprocal interests of both parties since this accord was in conformity with the context and the period.

The question we pose after these five years is the following: Was this agreeement enforced? This agreement, which we have said represented a model of cooperation between an industrialized country and a developing country, was it respected?

Our Country Made Decision to Remain True to Its Commitments

We declare that it was enforced by only one party — Algeria. We can state that we enforced it down to the letter and with respect for our signature. Because when our country signs an agreement, we respect it as if it were a law. Our country, which since independence certain foreign newspapers have continued to present as a country without any consideration for international law, swears to itself that it has remained loyal to its promises.

Today, five years after the effective date of the agreement whose provisions reached the first phase of their expiration on January 1, 1971, we are prepared to say that the French partner has not respected the terms. In effect, the agreement included commercialization of our natural gas. Very well, this gas is not used in the French market. The French authorities import gas from Holland or other countries, arguing that our gas is not good enough to use or sell.

The agreement also provided for the creation of oil and chemical industries in Algeria. The raw material was perfectly useful to French society. But where are these industries? They are nonexistent.

We had agreed that the development of oil production was guaranteed, that all efforts would be expended in prospecting and drilling. But a year and two years after the conclusion of the agreement, the French technicians began to tell us: "It is definitely impossible to discover anything in your Sahara." It must be pointed out that they had previously taught us in school: "The Sahara does not hide its riches."

Today we hear those same technicians say: "Your Sahara has no more oil." At the same time, the oil companies devote to investigations (but not in Algeria) the profits they are obtaining from our oil. The least they could do would be to invest in Algeria

itself the product of the profits they have taken out of it.

To return to the terms of the accord, it stipulated that from 1969 on negotiations would be established with a view to revising the price which served as the basis of the calculations of the taxes Algeria would receive. We negotiated endlessly during 1969 and 1970. We came to the conclusion that the French do not want to reach a solution. As a free and independent state, we determined and fixed a price and we announced that it will no longer be $2.08 in the future but $2.85.

Then the voices from the other side were raised, proclaiming heresy, violation of rights and a solution by force. The head of State of France himself intervened to declare that this decision had to be postponed and that it could not be applied since the problem of oil was linked to others such as, for example, that there were Algerian workers in France, that France purchases Algerian wine (this poison that has been willed to us and constitutes a method of pressure right up to the present), and that if Algeria touched the oil, France could take action against imports of wine. In reality, she has been taking action in this sector for years. We remember that in 1967, when we had internal problems and the revolution was going through the difficult period that you know about, they had already told us: "We won't buy your wine." During that period, the wine accumulated in the cellars and the state continued paying the salaries of workers in this sector. A similar situation, had it occurred in a country without socialist institutions and structures, could have fomented problems.

Nevertheless, despite all these deeds, we have accepted the situation thus created. Whoever wants us to discuss, within a global framework where problems are linked with other problems, will find us disposed to link the problem of oil to that of the Algerian wine workers and technicians. It was necessary to open negotiations and for us it was not a question of susceptibility but rather of the defense of a right.

Certainly at this moment, it was Algeria's turn to stand up. So we informed the oil producers that the situation was to be modified. This situation was blocked by companies that continued exercising their activity in countries with small means, assuring themselves profits of hundreds of millions for development in their own countries.

Thus the negotiations extended from the spring to the fall of 1970. They were carried out for the Algerians by the Minister of Foreign Relations and took place alternately in Algeria and France. Weeks and months passed without the slightest result appearing. Finally, the end of the year saw the launching in France of a broad press campaign, to such a point that the Revolutionary Council and the Government wondered whether it was not a question of a new conquest France was planning to initiate at the height of the 20th century. We made extensive inquiries to find out what was behind this broad and massive campaign launched by the French communications media. What were the real and

hidden motives?

It is then that the plot appeared in full light. The French companies that cooperated with the Algerian State in Algeria, along with the French Government, that was helping the Algerian Government in the name of "cooperation," called the cartel to their support by telling it: "Let us unite to assure the defense of our interests."

But the agreement that existed between France and us was between two states and not between a company on the one hand and a state on the other. It was a question of a global agreement. The French Government made contact with other companies and big powers with a view to constituting a united front against the producer countries and, basically, against the vanguard countries.

We understood at that moment the deeper reasons for the French declaration which said to us: "We will only negotiate after the decisions have been taken in Teheran." The problem exists at the state level and not between producers and exploiters. Certain attempts were made to influence public opinion in Europe and elsewhere. The consumers in Western countries were told that the producer countries wanted to raise prices and that they would have to absorb this increase. At the same time they were careful not to state that the taxes imposed by the consumer countries were ten times higher than the royalties collected by the producer countries.

As far as Algeria was concerned, we agreed to await the results of Teheran and negotiations remained in suspense until the beginning of the year. The Algerian delegation waited where they were for 15 days for some reply, for some new suggestions to be presented.

The other party delayed in silence, always with the expectation of results from Teheran. After the end of negotiations in Teheran, they told us it would be necessary to await the results of the Tripoli meeting.

This situation must end and we ask the following question: What significance is there to Algerian-French cooperation? We also ask the French Government the question: What is the philosophy of this cooperation if it is constantly subordinated to the situation that prevails in other countries where the situation is nevertheless different from that in Algeria out of which the Algerian-French accords have come, with their special characteristics?

On the other hand the context of Algerian policy differs from that of other countries. We elect the socialist road, while other countries have adopted different regimes. Consequently we reiterate the question, since it is a question of capital importance for the future.

Despite the commentaries many times formulated for our French associate relative to the necessity for examining this question carefully, we have not arrived at any result except the total of the anticipated allowance on back taxes considered as an act of pure generosity, as if a person refuses to satisfy a debt that is reclaimed

and imagines that to do so would be a great favor.

This is the reality. In fact, State to State relations have not been anything exceptional and frequently because of this type of situation.

Our assets were frozen, we had promised our people we would carry out the objectives of the Four-Year Plan, up to the point that I gave the Minister of Foreign Relations the following instructions: "Let them pay us what they owe us or the Algerian party will deduce that there is no desire at all on the part of the companies to negotiate." The French press then proclaimed that it was not a question of money, that the French authorities were getting ready to make payment and that the Algerians were showing themselves to be needlessly impatient and precipitous.

Such is the situation, dear brothers, and such are the stages of negotiation. After a year of discussions on hydrocarbons and six months' conversation on problems in general, the French point of view is the following: That all negotiations throughout the world on hydrocarbons should end before we begin ours in Algeria. This makes us think of a refrain: "When the party is in our house we don't even have the right to attend." This is the truth. But a new question can be presented: Why did we wait so long? We did so despite the tragic colonial past because we have turned the page and what interests us most is the future. Thus when we have spoken of cooperation we have done so in good faith. Nevertheless, if this cooperation is to be transformed into political pressure, we reject it. The Algerian people have rejected and will reject all political pressure no matter where it comes from.

We have drawn the lesson from this world battle for oil. We were very surprised when our associate tried to use the cartel to bring pressure against us. This we will not forget. We are a sovereign nation.

We have nationalized North American, British and other companies. We have promulgated laws aimed at their indemnization. But we have sent neither ambassador nor minister to Washington nor to London to negotiate. We consider that this is our right. We are sovereign and we can take whatever decision we deem natural in the normal exercise of our sovereignty. If we have been patient with the French Government it is because we did not want to initiate any measure that would menace the just cooperation between the two countries. On the contrary, we have spared no effort to preserve it. It is only in view of prolongations by the French Government that we have been obliged to face the situation.

For six months now we have waited for our French associate to make a renewed definition of the philosophy of cooperation in the light of the evolution of Algerian-French relations over these last years, principally in the area of hydrocarbons, and in the light of the profound transformations of Algerian society.

The moment for taking responsibilities has come. For that reason we have decided to bring the revolution to the oil sector, and to concretize our country's fundamental options in this area.

On this basis we proclaim officially, in the name of the Revolutionary Council and the Government, that, beginning on this date the following decisions are applicable:

1) Algerian participation in all French oil companies will be increased to 51% in order to assume effective control.

2) Nationalization of natural gas deposits.

3) Nationalization of land transportation — that is the overall system existing in national territory.

These are the decisions I wanted to announce in the name of the Revolutionary Council and the Government, as well as in the name of the Algerian people, on the anniversary we commemorate.

Nationalization is a Right of the Algerian State

If nationalization is a right of the Algerian state, recognized by the United Nations, we officially announce on the other hand that we will indemnify all the companies affected by these measures on the same basis that we have indemnified international companies that have previously passed into state control.

Another decision to underline: We will continue supplying the French market with Algerian oil on the basis of the market price. We were repeatedly told that the price of our oil was too high. In this case, just don't buy it. However, as long as France wishes, its market will be supplied by us.

We officially announce that we are disposed to begin negotiations anew from tomorrow on, if our French associate so desires. And we are also disposed to define new prices on the basis of the Tripoli decisions.

In effect the Mediterranean oil producer states made certain decisions yesterday, in Tripoli, and have agreed on certain regulations. In whatever concerns us, we are ready to offer a solution with respect to figures based on the Tripoli decisions. We are also ready to again begin negotiations aimed at revising the structure of the companies with respect to the decisions we have just announced, with the understanding that the control and management of these companies is in the hands of Algerians from now on.

Naturally, all this implies the immediate reinitiation of negotiations in order to determine the conditions of indemnification and to regulate at the same time other matters that remain in suspense, since we have emphasized oil up to the moment although there are other still unresolved problems; and since our associate himself has insisted that questions continue to be linked one to another, we voluntarily accede to his request.

Such, dear brothers, are the decisions I wished to announce on this occasion.

We have adopted these measures, as I have indicated, because control and nationalization signify the extension of the revolution to the area of oil, which is still considered a zone prohibited to this very revolution. We consider that, as far as we are concerned, this process consolidates the sovereignty of our country and

responds to the fundamental options of our people. Above all, we have never accepted the negotiation of our fundamental options, we have always let it be known clearly and on numerous occasions and for many years now to our French associates, that our intention was to control our resources and that this was nothing more than a question of time.

The moment for translating these fundamental options into deeds has arrived and we will proceed with it from now on.

We hope, dear brothers, that the other party distinguishes in some definitive form those questions of Algerian sovereignty, so that cooperation will be useful and rewarding, and so that we can finally leave behind this entire colonialist or neocolonialist stamp.

It is certain that the decisions we have just taken are going to mobilize against us a part of the French press. It can be foreseen that this very night this press is beginning to lament, to once more hurl insults against us and provoke our immigrant workers. As for us, we have never to date confused oil with men. Up to the present we have refused to weigh in the same balance, the French technicians who work in Algeria and the Algerian workers in France on the one hand, with the wine, the oil, and other merchandise on the other. We hope that overseas, workers and economic problems are not confused since human problems are, on the contrary, sensitive and delicate. We want the French to be respected and to be considered our guests in Algeria, just as we want Algerians to be treated with the same regard in France. If I am inclined to raise this question it is because I consider it important to disassociate certain problems of a political nature among state and governments of different types, in order to avoid useless consequences.

I should like also to use this opportunity given me today to urge each one of you to mobilize yourselves. I urge all workers and all peasants, all citizens to defend the revolution to a man. There is no doubt that disparaging rumors emanating from this "French party" that I alluded to will be raised, even inside Algeria.

You must be extremely vigilant with respect to these detractors. As far as we are concerned, we are in the historic period of our socialist road, firmly determined not to tolerate any detour, not to tolerate any agent of a foreign service.

Dear brothers, these are the proposals I wanted to discuss with you on the occasion of the commemoration of one of the most prestigious dates of our history.

Before concluding, I should like to wish our brother workers and the socialist revolution constant success as they continue to consolidate the achievements already won.

We will work like a revolutionary people for the realization of the socialist revolution in our country and for the defense of just causes in Africa as in Maghreb, in Indochina, in Latin America, since all constitute our own cause.

Long live the socialist revolution!

Eternal glory to our martyrs.

Chile From Yesterday and Toward Tomorrow

Hernán Uribe

In the land of the Araucanian rebellion, the people and their President entered the Palace de la Moneda at the end of 1970 to transform the country's social structure.

The action of the anti-imperialist forces that seized the reins of government and are directing their steps toward the conquest of economic power, has provoked reaction by the proimperialist groups that lost control of the state apparatus and are resisting their final downfall with cries and blows.

"In 1971 the Chilean people expect the major battles; the struggle for the nationalization of copper, of the banks, of the big monopolies and for a true agrarian reform," President Salvador Allende stated in a newspaper interview, and he also pointed out that "the consolidation of People's Unity and the government, and the continuation of the fulfillment of its program will be the most important event of this year."

Against the People's Unity program, directed toward opening the socialist road in Chile, the bourgeoisie proceeds stubbornly with its parliamentary obstruction, its economic sabotage and its seditious plans.

The "Alessandrists" of the National Party and the "Freiists" of the Christian Democratic Party, spurred on and supported by Washington, have turned to various reactionary and criminal processes to impede the radicalization of Chilean society and overthrow the Allende government. Among them, the frustrated attempts on the life of the president, the sabotages in factories, copper mines and railroads, the damaging accusations in Parliament against various ministers and the international plot against copper, principal source of foreign exchange.

Since the electoral triumph of People's Unity, the working masses have confronted the oligarchic "mummies" and the foreign monopolists who "will not voluntarily sign their death notice" and launch every type of agression against the protagonists of a new historic destiny in the country of Lautaro, O'Higgins and Elmo Catalán.

In this interview, the Chilean journalist Hernán Uribe, member of the Council of Leadership of the magazine **Punto Final**, and contributor to **Tricontinental**, gives a brief, precise and direct opinion on the present situation in his country which has chosen to take the road to political sovereignty and economic independence.

What are the principal reasons for the electoral victory of People's Unity?

There has to be an overall analysis of the country's previous situation to be able to explain Allende's electoral triumph. Chile has been no exception throughout its history to the economic characteristics which could be summarized as being semifeudal with respect to agricultural exploitation and foreign dependence. Its economy is dominated by North American imperialism and, moreover, within the capitalist system in which the country is developing, it is important to note the tendency toward monopolistic concentration.

During the Christian-Democratic Frei Administration the crisis of the system was very strongly in evidence — that is, foreign dependency was increased, imperialist domination was increased, and the problems of the majority of the population were sharpened. The attempt to open an escape route through agrarian reform failed both from the economic and the social point of view, because it was so timid that it never touched the heart of the problem in that it did not liquidate the Chilean latifundio — although in passing it should be said that this is not the problem it is in other Latin-American countries since Chile is not an agricultural country.

At the same time, the sharpening of economic problems caused a development in the mass struggle, evident during the final years of the Frei Administration with characteristics of a crisis.

In 1969 also, the first Judicial Power strikes take place, the focus of the whole system, and extensive military sedition which had not occurred in Chile for 40 years. I point these facts out as a reflection of how the crisis is expressed at the poles of the system. For their part, the workers are abandoning what might be called economism to enter the struggle on frankly political terms. For example, in the last congress of the Labor Central, the key point of its resolution says: "the problem of the working class of this country is the seizure of power", no longer making an abstraction of the struggle for rights but rather placing the idea in its proper place within this historic moment.

In the magazine **Punto Final,** an article concerning the military action was published under the title "The System is Cracking." Clearly it doesn't mean that it has shattered or fallen, just cracking.

The system is staggering because all the supposed solutions presented by the bourgeois political forces had been turned into one failure after another until, finally the reformism of Frei, which was not revolutionary, with or without liberty, because the ideology that motivated it is a bourgeois ideology. Reformism is a political merchandise relatively easy to sell because it produces a sensation of change in the electorate of the bourgeois world which is essentially conservative. For this reason when the masses, the workers, the peasants, the employees, the wage-earners in general who are not sufficiently politicized with a revolutionary ideology are offered a bloodless revolution, it is seemingly the ideal solution. Nevertheless the bourgeois reformist exercise was a failure because it augmented foreign dependency.

On the other hand — and now we would already be entering into the specific point of the causes for the triumph, although this is an incomplete analysis because I am referring to the situa-

tion of the country in general terms — the ruling classes are seriously hit by the aforementioned, and this produces confusion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie to such an extent that, if in 1964 they united strongly to guarantee Frei's triumph and the defeat of Allende by 500 000 votes, in 1970 the contradictions among them produce, on the contrary, a division. This is a basic fact in the analysis of this stage of the process. In the 1970 elections there are two candidates who in one manner and another represent the interests of the bourgeoisie — that is, a candidate for the continuation of Christian-Democracy and a candidate of the traditional right, ex-President Jorge Alessandri. This bourgeois division permits the left to win the presidential elections by a narrow margin of votes.

Allende was also a candidate in 1958 and so were Alessandri and Frei, but clearly, the bourgeoisie knew they were going to win in spite of the division and thus Alessandri won over Allende by 30 000 votes.

In 1970 it is not merely a question of the division of the bourgeois forces but also of the fact that the mass struggle has been developed and there has occurred a sharpening of the problems of the country, united against the political waste of the bourgeois leaders, such as is the case with Alessandri, who is the last of the politicians of classic bourgeois style. a demagogue of the highest order and a reactionary who claims to be a nationalist.

Nevertheless, during his governorship the surrender of the country increased. This was then repeated under Frei, who augmented the country's foreign debt, if I'm not mistaken, to about $3 000 000 000, a fabulous figure for a country like Chile.

Now in 1970 the Chilean elector faced a real alternative. Up until that time the alternative was false because it was one or another representative of the bourgeoisie. Now he encountered a different option.

In the year 1964, Frei's candidacy, united with the right, was the only one representing the bourgeoisie and it laid out a gigantic publicity campaign based on the classic patterns of anticommunism, the false picture of socialism, the warning about the loss of individual liberty and all other kinds as well, and the surrender of the country to communism. Cuba was cited frequently. The country was inundated with propaganda. All resources were used, among them posters. The poster most circulated and most shown on all the walls throughout the country was that of an official of the Batista army, Sosa Blanco, who was shot as an assassin of peasants, with the legend, "Do you want this to happen in your country?" In the poster, the face of this assassin appeared but without explaining who this type was, and this was the most complete deception from a publicity point of view. In addition to this, they made radio commentaries about the situation in Cuba, falsifying everything of course. In 1970 they try this same type of propaganda and the first billboard that appears is a tank with the caption CCCP in front of Moneda Palace, taking advantage of events in Czechoslovakia.

The people don't swallow this propaganda pill because they have higher political consciousness, but the bourgeoisie takes advantage of Fidel's July 26 speech to describe what the future of Allende's government will be. Later, the opinions Prime Minister Fidel Castro voices in an interview with Chilean journalists, on the pos-

sibilities of Dr. Allende's victory, exercised a positive influence for the candidacy of People's Unity.

How and why did the country's public debt mount during the period of the Christian-Democratic presidency?

When Frei assumes the presidency a massive foreign debt exists but it mounts to very high levels through what is called in Latin America "North American aid." Concretely the increase is determined by greater loans of North American credit organizations or those with heavy North American influence, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, etc. All this indebtedness is supposed to have led to a greater economic development and it has always been affirmed that it would produce its positive effects, but in reality this isn't what happened. Allende's Minister of Treasury said that in 1971, the country will have to pay a figure of around $200 000 000 solely for the amortization of this debt.

What objectives did the Agrarian Reform Law of Frei's reformist government propose, what lands were affected, and what type of state aid did the peasant who became the proprietor of the land receive?

Frei's agrarian reform proposed to convert the agricultural worker or landless peasant into a landowner and it is known that he promised to make 100 000 new agricultural land owners, and to expropriate the latifundia in order to increase agricultural production. At the end of the period of reformist government, the land owners did not total more than 12 000 families located on land that belonged to the state or expropriated from 2000 of the existing 10 000 big landowners. Nevertheless, agricultural production, far from increasing, decreased, and this forced the country to raise the importation of food. When Allende receives the government of the country, it is spending between $150 000 000 and $200 000 000 a year for food.

During the Frei government, beef was rationed for the first time. Wheat and meat have to be imported — that is to say, essential food that the country is capable of producing, with a proper policy. The calculations of all Chilean economists note that this country can produce food for 30 000 000 inhabitants. Now we have a population of 9 500 000.

The peasant who received land was established in the so-called settlements where it would be three years until he was given title to his property, and he received no type of state aid.

How much land do the latifundists own and why doesn't the country produce the crops necessary for its population?

Before agrarian reform in Chile, 10% of the landowners held 90% of the land and 90% of the landowners held the other 10%. Frei's agrarian reform modified this agricultural situation to a small degree.

The type of exploitation in the countryside is really semifeudal. There is the agricultural worker, called the renter who lives on the feudal land and has to give his work to the boss, obligatorily. Agricultural exploitation is based on the agricultural worker's manual work. The semifeudal exploitation of the land determines a low agricultural production and a large amount of uncultivated land. The result is a scarcity of food.

Do economic contradictions exist between the agricultural and industrial bourgeoisie?

To a certain extent this was the origin of what impelled Frei's agrarian reform because, clearly, the industrial bourgeoisie needs to open markets.

The industrial bourgeoisie holds the greater predominance within the Chilean oligarchy and above all in its political expression through the parties, but I insist that there is not such a big separation between the agrarian and the industrial oligarchy. What has occurred in Chile and in other countries, then, is that certain sectors of the bourgeoisie see more clearly or have seen more clearly the fact that this underdevelopment, this continuation and sharpening of economic problems will inevitably lead them to revolution. In Chile, some sectors of the bourgeoisie have seen clearly that a great vacuum has existed in the countryside. This is why Frei's agrarian reform failed, because it said that there were some Chileans separated from the world, separated from the rest of the country, some who do not consume industrial products nor even certain food products. The Chilean peasant does not eat meat because it is expensive. For its part, North American imperialism, unlike in Guatemala or other countries where it owns the land, has never opposed agrarian reform.

How does the monopolistic concentration of the country manifest itself?

There are ten economic groups in Chile that control the major portion of the country's economy. Moreover they are interrelated and dominate industry, banking, foreign trade, etc.

An interesting characteristic should be noted and that is that the big landowner is also an industrialist. In other Latin-American countries, which are predominantly agricultural, there is a latifundist oligarchy, but in Chile we could perfectly well speak of one great bourgeoisie and oligarchy, if one wants to use the term, whose interests are intimately connected.

The concentration of economic power closes off the development of the country even within the capitalist system, because it liquidates the middle and small industrialist and distributes banking credit among the monopolists.

Are these Chilean economic groups associated with North American monopolies?

The first two industries that the Allende government expropriates are those that produce feed for pigs and poultry. One of them, Purina, is a North American enterprise of the Rockefeller group associated with one of the ten Chilean economic groups. It is the tacit case of the association of North American capital with national capital that is evident during the Frei government.

On the other hand, the apparent economic power that the state holds in Chile, where it is said that 70% of the national investment belongs to the state, does not really exist.

The Christian-Democratic presidential candidate has said that the state has invested in no less than 80 enterprises, whereas it has merely given capitalism, private industry, a blank check to make good use of this state investment. For example, oil is state-owned. There is the National Petroleum Industry which manages a large number of the oil refineries, but the distribution is handled

by private companies and these are none other than Standard Oil, Shell and other well-known oil monopolies. Electrical energy is produced by the National Electricity Industry for three provinces that have the major number of inhabitants. This industry, up until the present, has sold electric energy to the subsidiary of a North American monopoly named the Chilean Electricity Company, which sells electric energy to the consumer. The contract with the poorly-named Chilean company expires in the year 2012.

There have been other cases, such as what happened with steel where, once the industry was created, private enterprise took control of it because it belongs to the state and this represents the interests of the bourgeoisie.

When the industrial bourgeoisie needed steel to make automobiles it was the state that installed the steel mill and once it was installed, the Chilean capitalists took control of it. They have stuck their hands into every state enterprise in one way or another, sometimes through distribution or directly through stock purchase as occurred in steel.

Toward what economic areas have the US monopolists directed their investments?

In the period of Frei's Administration the presence of foreign capital could be seen in the manufacturing industry, which was traditionally national in Chile. This has several explanations because, naturally, the North American monopolists plan their investments in relation to possible expropriation that, generally, they make in the big extraction industries — whether in oil or cooper — as will soon occur in Chile.

From the beginning of this century, the North Americans began to exploit copper mines in three areas: Chuquicamata, which is said to be the largest surface mine in the world; El Teniente, the largest underground mine, and El Salvador, which is the smallest of the three.

Chile has been the typical mineral monoproducer country for raw materials just as Cuba was for sugar, that is to say that copper represents approximately 70% of the income obtained from exports.

There are important iron deposits also in control of the North Americans. But in agriculture there are national, not foreign investments.

The progressive North American domination has lately moved toward commercial distribution and banking.

The dependent character of the Chilean economy is not a slogan created by the left, but such an objective fact that it is in all the reports of the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).

This is expressed with greater force in the case of copper and for this reason, its nationalization will be among the first measures taken by the government of Dr. Allende.

Why do you think the Chilean people showed a higher level of political consciousness during the 1970 elections?

First of all, I believe there is one fundamental element in political consciousness. That is the struggle itself, because if the working class in a given moment fights a battle for its rights and wins, this automatically produces a greater awareness of its power: as

I said before, the sharpening of the crisis provokes the struggle, and a greater political consciousness. It can also be observed that international factors affect this heightening of the political level. After 1964 I believe there was a notable increase in the Cuban presence in Latin America, the presence of Cuba as a socialist country and the first free country of America. It is an undeniable fact that the Cuban Revolution produces a radicalization of the political struggle in Latin America and this has its highest expression outside of Cuba, let us say, in Che's guerrilla fight. The guerrilla of Che takes place in Bolivia, geographically close to Chile.

I say this because we all know that the communication between our peoples is very weak, though the impact is greater here for reasons of proximity. Thereafter, in Chile, certain left parties become radicalized and adopt many of the means by which the Cuban Revolution triumphed, by which Che tried to initiate this freedom battle. New political movements are created in the country called, pejoratively, ultra-leftist, by the traditional left. They are the most radical groups of the Chilean left, partisans of armed struggle, of direct action. This at the same time provokes a radicalization of the traditional left and in the electorate, basically conservative, a tendency to support those traditional parties at the moment of the expression of a direct vote, because the elector does not have the option of voting for the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) but it does have the option of voting for this grouping of the left formed basically by the Communist and Socialist parties.

What possibilities and realities does the Allende government have for fulfilling the program of People's Unity?

The People's Unity program, as President Allende has said, is not socialism but rather it is a program that establishes certain important structural reforms and opens the possibility of moving toward socialism. Now the difficulties are determined by various elements: first, as Allende has clearly said, the government has been won, but power has not.

The traditional ruling class maintains its economic hegemony and for this reason, the first fundamental measures are directed toward breaking that control.

On the other hand, given the political heterogeneity of People's Unity in which there are parties of a bourgeois ideology, parties of a Marxist ideology, the former — according to what historic experience has shown — will abandon the process as soon as the program clashes with the interests which in one way or another it represents.

There are many people who think that, by the fact of having triumphed in the elections, everything is going to continue along this idyllic road and that by utilizing such peaceful elements as those of depositing a vote in an election urn the advancement of this process will be secured, and I believe that certain sectors are profoundly mistaken about this. However much Chile is effectively recognized as a new experience and, for this reason, requires new solutions, it seems to me that there are certain factors that are irreversible. The principal one is the inevitable confrontation between the ruling class, which has been displaced from the government and which must be displaced from its economic power, and the other class, which is the one that intends to assume the

leadership of the country in every sense. There is no visible way to avoid this confrontation. From this arises the necessity for the Chilean left to utilize diverse methods also in its political affairs and not sustain the false thesis of the existence of certain traditions with respect to liberal-bourgeois-democratic liberties, going on to permit the completion of the program without the confrontation that is now being produced and has been produced in one way or another. For instance, the assassination of the head of the Army, Schneider, which was a seditious plan that had unsuspected connections.

The Chilean bourgeoisie always played at democracy but when it realized that it had lost control of the government, democracy ended and direct action began, with the assassination of the nation's highest military chief and all the preparations to prevent Dr. Allende's access to the presidency. Very well, if this occurred before, it is not difficult to deduce that when copper is nationalized, banking taken over by the state and various other measures applied, the action of this group is going to be much more direct and will show even greater desperation.

Have the rightist forces discarded the tactic of terrorism and sabotage against the Allende government?

When Dr. Allende triumphed, the traditional right, which has its voice in the National Party and the candidacy of Alessandri, tried to prevent Allende from assuming power and organized this plot which developed into the assassination of Schneider.

After its failure, this tactic was withdrawn, but 15 days after assuming the Presidency, Allende has to denounce new seditious plans. One must distinguish because before the death of General Schneider as well as after it, there is a fairly strong sector of the bourgeoisie grouped within the Christian Democratic party which has another political tactic, that of combating from within the mechanism by classical methods and hoping that things will deteriorate so they can offer themselves as an alternative. In a way it can be said that there are two types of opposition, one legal and the other conspiratorial, which without a doubt is allied with North American interests.

Will it be necessary to eliminate the legal mechanisms to criptallize the laws contemplated in the People's Unity program if the parliamentarians representing bourgeois interests oppose them?

To the extent that the bourgeoisie impedes the fulfillment of the program by relying on legal mechanisms, it implies the necessity to go beyond this and apply another legality which would be the people's legality and their right to apply revolutionary laws.

It is here that I would return to the heterogeneity of People's Unity because within it there are clearly certain parties whose ideology impels them to maintain themselves to their death within these legalist terms. They are the minority but it seems to me that the presence of Dr. Allende, at the same time that he is a binding force, is a guarantee for a positive development of the process. More than positive: revolutionary.

What attitude does the Nixon Administration maintain toward the Allende government?

The first thing evident in the United States is an initial consternation when Dr. Allende's triumph occurs because it seems it was not within the calculations of the "study makers" of the State Department. Afterwards there was greater consternation when the Government passed into leftist hands after the plot failed.

Up until the present there are no manifestations of North American aggression although the State Department has deplored the establishment of relations with Cuba.

Washington has been preparing a tactic because here it must be repeated that what occurred in Chile is a new phenomenon that can be expressed for certain in the withdrawal of the famous North American "aid," and in the case of copper it has some possibilities for maneuvering through the copper market, because they themselves are purchasers of Chilean copper.

Imperialism in Chile is oriented toward pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Chilean oligarchy, their internal allies, but not in the aggressive manner of the military intervention of Santo Domingo or the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón.

What one perceives in Washington's tactic is a tendency to work from within, to prevent the process from succeeding, from radicalizing; before turning to the unpopular use of force which lowers its prestige, the end of economic aid, the amendment which has already failed in Peru, or armed aggression. A more subtle tactic, more clever and I would say more dangerous.

How is popular support reflected, and how is it presently structured and organized?

First, it is correct to think that the Government has extended its social base with the measures it has taken. A structuring of this popular support is expressed nowhere better than through the parties that form People's Unity.

There is the criterion that to the degree that these parties are strengthened, the Government is strengthened, and there is a certain abandonment of what seems to me was a positive element in the electoral campaign: the Base Committees of People's Unity, in which not only the militants at the base can be included but also many people who are not necessarily affiliated with a party. President Allende understands the problem clearly and is aware of the strengthening of these Base Committees because he sees, within the perspectives of the Chilean process, the necessity for a massive grouping outside the individual strengthening of each party, because to a certain point there is a contradiction, a negative element in the development of the Chilean revolution, when it is said that "each party looks toward his own saint but not the one alongside." It can be affirmed that a certain advancement in left unity has taken place and found its expression in the accord between the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Left Movement.

What effects have the first months of Allende's presidential period produced among those who voted for the candidacy of Alessandri?

It could be affirmed that there have been favorable repercussions — that is, that many people taken in by the propaganda, by the publicity given Alessandri's candidacy, are now in support of this Government although it is an objective fact also that Alessandri

obtained more than 1 000 000 votes from the deceived masses. But that is just why this structure of popular support is needed.

What does the triumph of People's Unity in Chile represent for the Latin-American revolution?

This Government means in the first place that Cuba loses its forced isolation — that is, the fact that 12 days after the establishment of this government, it reestablished relations with Cuba, is very significant. Because of this it can be said in graphic terms that a change has been produced on the Latin-American political map by a socialist government in Cuba, by an authentically popular and anti-imperialist government in Chile and by a process with a nationalist tendency in Peru.

It is possible to add up the immediate influence among the Latin-American masses in the support expressed for the Allende government, in the happiness expressed over its triumph. If it is not possible to speak of an axis in the classical sense, one can speak of an axis of dignity in Latin America — that is, now there is another government that does not beg the permission of the United States for its domestic and foreign policy but decides it with its authentic sovereignty. This has to have a big influence in Latin America, where the characteristic of government is notorious submission to the United States.

But it is quite another matter to say that this experience might be repeated in Latin America and the first to affirm this has been Dr. Allende, who has great political clarity not only for viewing his own country but also for looking abroad. He said, "this is not exportable because the conditions in each country are different" and I even think it would be dangerous to try to export this system, this method to other countries. It is absolutely impossible for a People's Unity to exist in Uruguay, in Brazil, in Argentina, in Paraguay or in Central America.

Will the gorillas of Argentina and Brazil try to impede a further radicalization of People's Unity?

One can already see an increased closeness between the Argentinian and Brazilian militarists provoked by the case of Chile. These forces are going to try to intervene in Chile with the encouragement of imperialism.

By no means can a more direct action be ruled out in the future. Argentina is a border country with which there are problems of frontier boundaries and it is easy to utilize the Argentine gorillas for an anti-Chilean provocation, such as could also take place eventually in Bolivia, country with which, although there is no frontier dispute, there have at least been problems of such an extreme nature that relations have been broken for eight years.

Armed provocation on the part of other countries, other governments, is a recourse imperialism could use, and not for the first time. For this reason the need for support, for Latin-American and world solidarity with the government of Dr. Allende must always be reiterated because it is a government against which there was a conspiracy before it was installed, the very week it was installed, and this conspiracy continues and will continue. The support of the Latin-American peoples and of the whole world is a necessity and, moreover, a duty.

FRELIMO: Toward Independence

Jorge Vieira

Jorge Vieira, member of the journalists' section of FRELIMO, attended the VII Congress of the IOJ held in Havana, as representative of his organization.

Vieira's stay in the Cuban capital provided him with an opportunity to visit the headquarters of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. He met with its members and gave an interesting discourse on the development of the struggle which the FRELIMO partisans have undertaken against Portuguese domination.

Recently General Kaulza de Arriaga, commander-in-chief of the Portuguese forces in Mozambique, spoke on Lisbon radio and television referring to the Portuguese presence in this important African enclave. De Arriaga did not hesitate to classify the Portuguese occupation as "civilizing" and "necessary for the development" of Mozambique. At the same time he "announced" that the FRELIMO guerrillas were beating "a retreat" in the face of the attack by the Portuguese army.

Although prior to the announcements of the Portuguese militarist, the explanation by comrade Vieira — which we offer in a summarized form — serves to reestablish the true history that the Mozambican combatants are creating with their arms.

THE DEVELOPMENT of our struggle can be understood by comparing the activities of the period June 1968 to June 1969 with those carried out between June 1969 and June 1970, as follows:

Operations	Province	6/68 to 6/69	6/69 to 6/70
Attacks with ambushes against enemy operations	Cabo Delgado	54	195
	Tete	53	119
	Nyassa	50	143
Attacks or assaults on enemy military bases	Cabo Delgado	7	24
	Tete	10	22
	Nyassa	11	18
Military vehicles destroyed	Cabo Delgado	37	121
	Tete	62	118
	Nyassa	25	72
Enemy soldiers killed	Cabo Delgado	234	690
	Tete	131	612
	Nyassa	160	553

These successes provoked a great enemy offensive which began May 20 with large-scale aerial bombardment against the liberated zones. For this operation, which lasted 40

days, the troops already in Mozambique were reinforced by more than 35 000 soldiers and used 15 000 tons of ammunition.

Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, called an urgent meeting in which the following measures were adopted: to undertake a political campaign of explanation to the militants, combatants, the vanguard and the general population to make them understand the real meaning of the enemy action, so that everyone would know that the victory of the enemy would signify the destruction of the cooperatives, the return of the colonial companies and of the colonial administration with its taxes, forced labor, corporal punishment, etc. After this political work, the distribution of all arms, ammunition and gun powder was begun, dividing them among the entire population.

We explained the situation to the Government of Tanzania and President Nyerere immediately decided to give FRELIMO all the arms that existed; he said the best way to preserve arms was to place them in FRELIMO hands.

The second decision was that of evacuating all the military bases.

The third was to disperse our forces throughout the entire area of possible enemy infiltration.

And the fourth was that of dispersing the comrades who were concentrated in the Provincial Command, in the General Command and in the central base, throughout the entire region so that, without destroying local initiative, they could integrate it into the overall plan and supervise it.

In relation to the enemy attacks, Vieira stated that after 20 days of air bombardment, the enemy began land attacks; foreign military advisers participated in these attacks, including the French General Paul Venuxen, who is a veteran criminal of the war in Indochina and the Algerian war. On June 10 the land attack began; when the enemy entered, he was continuously attacked day and night; he left an ambush and fell into the mines, got out of the mines and fell into an ambush; after 40 days, he retreated.

At the end of August the second part of the offensive was launched, but it was not so strong nor did it last as long as the first; at the beginning of September, they evacuated all the troops.

After this first period of offensive, General Deslandes, Commander in Chief and Chief of General Command of the Portuguese Army, moved to Mozambique and with General Kaulza de Arriaga, the present Commander, met with the members of the colonialist high command in Mozambique. Later, during an attack, we had the opportunity of capturing the documents from this meeting. During this meeting, General Deslandes said he had launched the offensive thinking that after the assassination of Mondlane, the moderate forces within FRELIMO would take power, but that on the contrary, the extremists, the communists had been the ones that took over. He also said that he hoped for a division within FRELIMO and that, on the basis of these considerations, he launched the offensive.

After this strategic defeat, General Deslandes affirmed that it was not possible to destroy FRELIMO *by armed force, that to destroy it,*

it was necessary to develop subversion and increase attempts on the lives of the leaders of the movement.

Subversion — Vieira affirms — is very difficult, especially after the last offensive, since now the people are very well organized, very vigilant; and he adds that those that could carry out this policy are reactionaries, feudalists, but these elements are very isolated from the population, they are with the Portuguese and their enemy face is very well known.

Of greater importance, he continued, is the matter of attempts on lives, since various comrades have been assassinated: Mondlane in 1969. Kankombe and Mutemba in 1968; Sigauke and Magaia in 1966. All these assassinations were committed by elements living abroad.

Further along, the African journalist spoke of the great support and solidarity they had achieved internationally, mentioning in particular the Rome Conference.

The Italian trade unions have regular strikes and great campaigns against the companies that are participating in the Cabora Bassa dam, and at the same time, democratic and progressive leaders are preparing a legal project that proposes the withdrawal of passports from Italian citizens who work on the dam. As a consequence of this solidarity the ASEA withdrew from Cabora Bassa.

The socialist countries maintain their traditional position of aid and total support for our struggle.

With respect to the ideological struggle, the most important task that has emerged from the sessions of the Central Committee in April 1969 is that a fundamental struggle has been begun to create a new mentality in man, that the militant must fight all evidences of subjectivism, individualism, tribalism, corruption, superstition and ignorance, must know how to combine study, combat and production. In this way we will raise the political level of the cadres and insure the continuous leadership of the revolution by revolutionaries.

Moving to the present situation, he pointed out that South African troops and military equipment were used against his country and against the Angolan people. In Angola, in the region of Kunene, the South Africans have installed several bases and are going to construct a dam. In Mozambique the miltary intervention of the South Africans is nothing new, since in 1965 they had already sent troops and have presently installed in the province of Tete a group of five military bases to protect Cabora Bassa and, at the same time, have sent various detachments of their aerial forces against the fighters. South African airplanes participate actively in the bombings.

There is a situation — he added — which permits us to believe that a new scale of aggression is imminent in the form of internationalization of the war. Concretely, the military means of NATO, the United States, France, England, West Germany and Portugal are campaigning to expand the application of the NATO treaty to our zone, under the pretext that the flank of the alliance is menaced by the Soviet Union and by China. Nevertheless, this NATO expansion will be very difficult because various

member countries, particularly Norway, Denmark, Holland and Italy, have taken positions against Portugal. They are reorienting their strategy toward another tactic, or rather another type of action, toward the creation of a new military pact which, in addition to the United States, France, Germany, England, will include South Africa and the so-called Portuguese territories in Africa — Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde — and Argentina and Brazil, New Zealand and Australia.

There are other very serious indications as well. In the month of May, some progressive English friends got hold of and published in the press a secret plan, prepared by the Conservative Party, to be put into effect if they should win the elections. The Conservative Party was very disturbed. It said it was not an official plan but the work of a study group. This plan analyzed the situation in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, spoke of the catastrophic situation of the Portguese Army and said it was necessary to strengthen aid to Portugal, send atomic submarines and aircraft carriers to the zone because of Soviet and Chinese infiltration.

Recently, the magazine of the French Ministry of Defense began a campaign of defamation directed particularly against FRELIMO, speaking of Chinese threats against Mozambique, saying that FRELIMO was a Chinese organization, that the destruction of the Portuguese armed forces was imminent and that it was necessary to do everything possible to protect the Cape route. It spoke a great deal of the Cape route; the problem of the Cape route is very simple; Suez is closed and all oil comes by this route. In the second and still more important place, present strategy for international maritime transport is moving toward the construction of supertankers. The possible limit in the Suez canal is 100 000 tons. There are boats of 250 000 tons and some of 400 000 tons under construction. The price per ton of oil transported by the Cape route in a ship of 250 000 tons is a dollar a ton under that transported through Suez in a ship of 100 000 tons. This means a saving of $250 000 in one sole trip.

In various magazines, particularly that of the Bank of England, we have encountered alarmist articles that state 90% of the gold of the Western world comes from the South African gold mines. There is an international agreement between Portugal and South Africa for supplying the work force for the gold mines. Eighty percent of the foreign work force in the mines is from Mozambique. We have to supply 100 000 workers a year. The pay is practically nothing. Safety conditions do not exist, we have an annual average of 2150 workers who die in mining accidents where 160 000 tons of earth must be worked to obtain a ton of gold. Mines of a higher yield have been closed in the United States, Canada and Australia. We cannot permit our people to continue to live as mine slaves.

The people of Mozambique, headed by its vanguard FRELIMO, together with the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, will rout the Portuguese colonialists and the imperialist powers that support them.

History and Future of a Right

Shafik Al Hout

Shafik Al Hout, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon and Secretary-General of the Union of Arab Journalists, recently visited OSPAAAL headquarters. In Havana he met with members of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL whom he brought up to date on the present situation which the Palestine revolutionary movement is passing through.

From his words — a summary exposition of the enthroning of Zionism in Palestine and the subsequent struggle of the people to eradicate it — we offer our readers the following information.

OUR PROBLEMS — Shafik Al Hout explained — start the moment the colonialists enter our country after the First World War. As a result of the Versailles Treaty the Arab countries were divided and remained under different rule. Palestine was a mandate of the British who cooperated, at the same time, with the Zionist movement. Thus the Palestinian people had to fight against two fronts: the colonialist and the Zionist.

According to the famous Balfour Declaration, the Palestinians had no right in Palestine. The people rejected and denounced that declaration and began to fight against this conspiracy.

Unfortunately — he emphasized — very few people know that the Palestinian people rebelled before 1948 on more than six occasions and that all these revolutions were peasant struggles. Of course, the Zionists were on the side of the British colonialists. It must be clarified that we are not anti-Jewish, we were fighting for liberty, but the Zionist movement which led all the Jews of Palestine took the position of the colonialists.

The revolutions were unsuccessful because of the magnitude of the enemy and certain errors committed

by our national liberation movement.

In 1947, when the British colonialists — under the internal pressure of the Palestinians and the international struggle for liberation — had to give up Palestine, our territory was divided. We went to the UN at the historic moment in which North American imperialism was most powerful. In the United Nations, too, many errors were committed. In the first place, the Palestine people were not invited to state their point of view and this made it seem as if their right to self-determination had been ignored. In the second place, the UN made a decision it is not authorized to make, and decreed the partition of Palestine into two states: an Israeli state and an Arab Palestinian state. At that time, we fought for independence, for a democratic state in which the entire Palestinian people could enjoy equal rights. I remember that the Syrian delegation to the UN made this point in the name of all the Palestinians but, unfortunately, the North Americans could recruit all their puppet countries to vote in favor of the partition of Palestine.

Perhaps — he said — someone far from Palestine may think this is a solution, but it was not, for the following reasons: In the first place it is impossible to create two antagonistic states in a small country. This project arose because the imperialists found it possible to dominate the situation. Number two: the geographic partition of a small country means more or less an emigration from one part to another in an impractical way. Number three: the partition gave the Zionists more than 60% of the fertile land, while the Jews, legally, had no more than 6% of all the land. The Arab Palestinians total more than a million, while the maximum number of Jews at that time was 600 000.

Nevertheless — he went on to say — the imperialists were still not satisfied and began to reject this question. The imperialists used certain puppet Arab regimes, particularly that of Jordan, to play their game in Palestine. Thus Arab armies came in, not to liberate Palestine, but to enforce what the UN had decided, and the Palestine national movement was betrayed by a new alliance of imperialism and Zionism. As a result of this war, Israel occupied more land — half to almost two-thirds — and a million Palestinians were expelled from their lands. The conspiracy didn't stop there — he continued — the Zionists and imperialists knew that after taking these lands they would have to finish off the people, they knew that while Palestinians existed, there would be a continuous battle.

Some of us took refuge in the Arab countries; I am sorry to say it — he added — but we were treated as if we were in concentration camps, especially in Jordan and Lebanon, where there are large numbers of Palestinians. We lived in encampments under military regulations, and were never taken to a civilian court before being sent to jail.

In Jordan King Hussein had ambitions for a kingdom but never had enough people, and so he told us: "You will be my people and will have the facilities to live like human beings"; but King Hussein and his regime have established a dictatorship during the last 25 years and more than 25 000 Palestinians have gone to jail. The majority of our comrades, well-known leaders, have spent years in desert jails; and the accusation — Al Hout stressed —

was always something like "you are a communist." Whoever fights against imperialism is considered a communist and is consequently sent to jail. Some lived from 1948 to 1965 struggling politically under the most severe and inhuman conditions. In 1965 the Al Fatah organization began its first guerrilla activities. It was the first political body recognized by the Arab states after 1948.

In addition to Al Fatah, other guerrilla groups grew in quality and quantity after 1967. Some of these organizations were to a certain extent under the influence of the Arab states and it is difficult to make them join together because the regimes themselves are in contradiction. After the fight in Amman last September, we made a great advance toward unity, especially among the fighters. These groups, apart from their points of view, have a common strategy: the liberation of Palestine through armed struggle and the establishment of a democratic state. The majority of the guerrilla groups act with a great deal of coordination, they are not united as we would wish, but a satisfactory coordination exists.

Referring to the difficulties in entering occupied territories, he stated: As you know, we do not have parachutists, we do not have a fleet of ships, we have to use the frontiers to enter the occupied territories. The Arab regimes perhaps have certain good intentions but it is not easy for them to allow us to enter Israel and fight from within. The easiest for a guerrilla fighter is to fight in the occupied territories.

With respect to Jordan, he said that the deep conflict with this country, in which the majority of the Palestinian people live, is well known. We consider Jordan to be our territory. At the beginning, the Jordanians did not fight against the commandos for the simple reason that the West had not offered King Hussein anything, and so he thought: "Why not let these combatants fight?", since he was planning to use us as political pressure; but when the North Americans proposed the Rogers Plan, the existence of the guerrillas was no longer useful to King Hussein and he consequently began his provocations.

The culminating point of the conspiracy took place last September when we were surprised by a military government formed in Amman and it was expected that we would surrender to it. We had to resist but it was impossible. We had not thought the Jordanian regime was so cruel and barbarous. The bloody week of last September was incredible because we did not doubt that it would attack our bases, kill our guerrilla fighters, imprison our leaders, but we never thought it would permit its artillery to bomb the cities and encampments indiscriminately; moreover, the majority of the losses we suffered were unarmed and peaceful citizens, older persons, women, children. They cut off the electricity, they cut off the water, but the people resisted heroically; the casualties were around 20 000 among the wounded, dead, and missing.

Continuing, our visitor recalled: Our movement is at an important point. We have a confrontation against the imperialists, the Israelis and the reactionary Arab regimes, we face napalm, cannons, concentration camps and we are surrounded by censorship of information.

In relation to the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians" he said: Nixon says he wants to give the Palestinians their legitimate rights; Golda Meir says she wants to give

the Palestinians their legitimate rights, but what are these legitimate rights? We are not a company asking for legitimate rights, we are a nation fighting for national rights, for liberty for the reunification of the homeland.

Referring to the reasons for rejecting the Rogers Plan, Shafik Al Hout said: We are also politicians and we are very careful to distinguish between enemies and friends, and to point out that the acceptance of the Rogers Plan by certain Arab states represents a contradiction with the movement and that all Arab regimes are not alike although at times they hold the same political line. Some of them want to distinguish matters differently from the others. For example I would say: the UAR accepted the Rogers Plan and so did King Hussein, but in Egypt there is a regime that is strengthening its army, its relations with the socialist countries, giving the public greater liberty of action; but the Jordanian regime has not reestablished its forces; it is against socialism, refuses to accept Soviet aid and believes that the solution is in Washington and London. The Rogers Plan might satisfy the problem of 1967 with respect to the new territories occupied, but it does not satisfy the basic problem which is the territories occupied in 1948. Moreover, if we study the Rogers Plan, we note the following: first, the Rogers Plan was not directed to nor did it recognize the Palestinians, offers a solution only to the Arab states; two, it speaks of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians but when one speaks of legitimate rights it is very important to know who is speaking of them. For example, Dr. Raúl Roa in his speech to the VII Congress of IOJ spoke of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, but Raúl Roa represents the Cuban Revolution and his concept of legitimate rights is different from legitimate rights according to the way the North Americans in Washington understand them. That is why Raúl Roa, in his speech described the Palestinian people as heroic, sacrificing, and said that their revolution is an inspiration for all revolutionary peoples; if one speaks of legitimate rights, and it is Raúl Roa who is speaking, it is fine, but when stated by Nixon I do not believe it and cannot trust it.

In response to a question, the visitor replied: Many times I do not use the word "Israel," I prefer to say "occupied territory." We have two classes of occupied territories: those occupied in 1948 and those occupied in 1967. We reject the word "Israel" because it is the term given to a state that existed 2000 years ago; it was a small part of our territory in the tribal system, while Palestine is the name of our country from the time of the transformation from tribal groups to a nation and over the past 1500 years; that is why we prefer to use the term "Palestine," because it reflects in an objective form, our reality, while the term "Israel" really doesn't exist; if we accept "Israel" it means we have accepted the Zionist ideology. We think that an Israeli who is truly progressive cannot accept this term, it is like being a communist in a Nazi organization. That is why we use the term "occupied territory" instead of "Israel."

Finally, we want to thank Cuba and the national liberation movements which insisted that our national rights must appear in the final resolution of the IOJ Congress, and to acknowledge that, through the progressive and revolutionary activity that the tricontinental organization represents, we have greater hope for the future.

Where Superman Lost His Power

Ly Van Sau

A people's delegation from South Viet Nam, presided over by Ly Van Sau, second in charge of the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to the Paris negotiations, visited our headquarters for a fraternal meeting with members of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL.

Tricontinental herewith prints the words of the outstanding Viet Nam combatant denouncing the policy of Indochinization projected by Nixon in Southeast Asia.

IN 1971, the South Vietnamese population enters its 26th year of anti-imperialist struggle, and the 11th under the direction of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam. Our struggle has been extended over these many years to defend and reconquer the fundamental national rights of our people, confirmed and recognized by the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Viet Nam.

For its aggression against South Viet Nam, the United States has mobilized 60% of its total land forces, more than 70% of its warships, 70% of its tactical air force and 35% of its strategic air force. It has committed innumerable crimes against our people; it is enough to say that in these last five years, the number of bombs dropped on South Viet Nam exceeds a figure of 10 000 000 tons, equivalent to more than 700 atomic bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima. It is also committing another barbarous crime by using chemical warfare on a scale unprecedented in the history of humanity, destroying more than 40% of the forests of our country and damaging more than 70% of the cultivable surface of Viet Nam, poisoning millions of people, especially women, children and old people, and causing incalculable damage to our country, not only now but for many generations to come. Nevertheless, despite the tremendous force of these incalculable crimes, the United States has been incapable of vanquishing a people who have always known how to unite as one, to oppose the aggressor with all the arms at their disposal, in all possible ways, and who have always preferred to die rather than live on their knees.

Today, Yankee defeat in Viet Nam is evident to everyone, including the North American rulers, who nevertheless still insist on their war policy, aiming to achieve a position of strength and impose their conditions on our people at the conference table.

In this bellicosity, one sees Nixon's policy for what it is. The so-called "Vietnamization of the war" is destined to prolong the war of aggression with native forces supported by Yankee troops. Moreover, as testimonies to the aggressive Yankee policy we see the amplification of the special war in Laos, the coup d'etat in Cambodia against Prince Sihanouk, the open invasion of Cambodia by North American and Saigonese troops, the present extension of the Yankee aggresion to all of Indochina. However, this policy has been projected at a moment when the Yankees are defeated in Viet Nam, and is like the convulsion of a wounded beast that tries to reconquer its colonies and imperialist rights throughout the world. Through its broad aggression, the United States has caused de-

struction, mourning and ruin in all parts of Indochina, has forced millions of persons to live in misery. However, it has also touched the patriotic spirit of the peoples of Indochina, who today are united in common struggle against the Yankee aggressors.

Presently our people are carrying out in South Viet Nam an arduous struggle both on the military front and on the political front, concentrating on defeating the Vietnamization plan of the Yankee war, defeating the so-called policy of Yankee pacification, which has begun to concentrate the population by force in zones controlled by the enemy. This struggle is carried out with equal intensity in the mountains, in the plains, in the countryside and cities, and is gaining more strength each day.

We are most pleased to be able to state that during the past year, the patriotic forces of South Viet Nam succeeded in putting out of combat 440 000 of the enemy, among them 110 000 Yankee and puppet soldiers, shooting and destroying on the ground more than 4000 Yankee planes, 15 000 military vehicles and capturing an important number of Yankee arms and munitions.

In Cambodia, in a short period of nine months, the patriotic forces succeeded in liberating more than three fourths of the territory and four million of the seven million inhabitants of the country and today place the Yankees and their satellites in a desperate situation.

The peace forces of Laos have also succeeded in liberating more than two thirds of the country, an immense zone that covers from the extreme north to the south of the country and constitutes a solid base for the consolidation of the war of resistance against the Yankees.

Our people have been victims of Yankee aggression, of imperialist aggression, for more than 25 years. There is nothing we love more than peace and that is why since the beginning of 1969, we have participated in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam with a serious attitude and a will for peace. We have offered peace initiatives with a view to ending the war and reestablishing peace in our countries on the basis of respect for our people's fundamental rights. Certainly the Global Solution in Ten Points, the Eight-point peace initiative, and the declaration made recently by our government, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, on the problem of a cease-fire in South Viet Nam are not to be forgotten. They are positions that have received the fraternal, unconditional and firm support of OSPAAAL, which for us is a great encouragement, a great stimulus and also an important contribution.

The two fundamental points for a correct solution of the Vietnamese problem are the following: first, the Yankees who have introduced more than 500 000 men into Viet Nam to make a most barbarous war against our people, within a determined and reasonable time must withdraw all their invading forces without demanding any condition from our people. The present Yankee maneuver is to withdraw from South Viet Nam only a part of their forces and leave indefinitely in South Viet Nam a force of 250 000 to 300 000 men to sustain the puppet and fascist regime of Saigon and impose Yankee necolonialist domination over our people.

In our Eight-point position, we stated that if the United States Government declares it will withdraw all its forces before June 30 of this year, 1971, there will be a halt, a cease-fire, between the Peoples Liberation Armed Forces and the North American forces; at the same time, we are disposed to discuss in the Conference, measures to guarantee the security of Yankee and satellite troops during the whole withdrawal process. We are also disposed, in this case, to discuss the

liberation of the Yankee prisoners captured.

These positions have already been announced for various months. Nevertheless the Yankees have not wished to respond seriously to these demands which are so realistic, logical and correct.

As for the political point of view, we propose that the South Vietnamese people resolve for themselves these internal problems through free and democratic elections. To have free and democratic elections, they must be controlled by a government that is representative of the South Vietnamese people, and for this we have proposed the creation in South Viet Nam of a provisional coalition government made up of members of the Provisional Revolutionary Goverment, members of the Saigon Administration — without the gorillas Thieu-Ky-Khiem — who are favorable to peace, independence and liberty for South Viet Nam and also members representing other political and religious forces in South Viet Nam.

However, the United States is obstinately opposed to these concrete positions so the Paris Conference on Viet Nam is at a dead end. The United States is responsible for this situation and thus today the war in Viet Nam continues and the Paris Conference goes on without progress but we can say that our people, like the other people of Indochina, give proof of their will for peace. We have never left the struggle in our land and for this reason today the Yankees are in an increasingly difficult situation. The last visit of the US Defense Secretary to Indochina is one more proof of this difficult and critical situation for them and of the aggressive policy of the Yankees.

Our people are prepared to negotiate seriously if the Yankees also intend to do so, but if they continue with the war of aggression against our people, we are also firmly prepared to continue our struggle to final victory. In this struggle we have the support, the sympathy and the solidarity of the peoples of the world, above all of our brothers and sisters of the three continents represented here. For this reason, permit me to conclude my remarks by once more stating our gratitude and reaffirming here our firm decision to fulfill to the highest degree our national duties: to conquer Yankee aggression, liberate South Viet Nam, protect the North, reunify our country, defend the peoples of Indochina in such a way that each Indochinese country can develop freely along the road that each of its peoples has chosen. The comrades from the three continents can be certain that we will fulfill our duty and will contribute with our modest support to the common struggle that we are carrying out.

I want to express our full conviction that any just demand of our people will be met by your unconditional support, and whatever the situation in Viet Nam may be, we always count on OSPAAAL as a bulwark of solidarity. Also, although there may be many Yankee maneuvers to continue the war, in Cambodia they are simply sinking deeper every day. They are like a sick person who has already had too much penicillin, too many shots, too many arms, and in spite of receiving more arms, more dollars, only becomes worse because the case is incurable; there is no remedy. For this reason, once more I wish to express my full conviction, full faith in the support that OSPAAAL always provides for our struggle, fully conscious that with it we are contributing this grain of sand to the cause of the three continents.

In closing, permit me to reiterate once more to Cuba, seat of Tricontinental, our deepest thanks, our highest solidarity and our fullest desire for greater success.

The Tupamaro Guerrilla

María Esther Gilio

This book won the Testimonial Prize of the 1970 Casa de las Américas competition for the Uruguayan lawyer and journalist María Esther Gilio. She uses the techniques of the genre (interviews with the participants, documents, reconstruction of events, etc.) to bring us — in the words of the jury: Ricardo Pozas, Rodolfo Walsh and Raúl Roa, which unanimously awarded her the honor — a work that **documents from first-hand sources, in a vigorous and dramatic form, the struggles and ideals of the Tupamaro National Liberation Movement.**

We have selected the chapter that describes the seizure of Pando, a city 30 kilometers from Montevideo which was assaulted and occupied on October 8, 1969, by some 50 Tupamaros, in homage to Che Guevara.

This action, without any doubt, marked a higher level for the Uruguayan armed movement. More than for its success, it is valuable as a demonstration of the possibilities and the force contained in the organized people's struggle. Subsequent history only confirms this.

For their audacity, intelligence, and valor... a disposition to fulfill in reality the postulate that **the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution,** the Tupamaro fighters have won the prestige and confidence they hold today in the international revolutionary movement. For this reason it is well worth accepting the popular mythology that saw Raúl Sendic, dressed as a **chacarero,** escape the net that extended through the suburbs, turn around the little truck with the expropriated money, and escape to continue the struggle throughout Uruguay. Because although today Raúl Sendic and others like him are prisoners, or have been shot to death. the Tupamaro guerrilla movement is winning and will win.

AT TEN O'CLOCK in the morning, Antonio and I mounted the bus. It was almost empty but we still preferred the long seat at the back. Antonio had bought a morning paper, but didn't open it; he looked at the headlines on the front page, folded it in fourths and put it in his pocket. We were both silent, intent on the transit vocation of examining each and every one who got on the bus. An old man dressed in *chacarero*[1] clothing, two fat women loaded down with packages, a mother and three children, high school students with books under their arms, scholars.... As we passed Maronas, a young couple got on and sat down opposite us. I looked at them as I had looked at each of the others who got on. She had on wool slacks, dark glasses, a red silk scarf on her head and a plaid

knapsack with a thermos sticking out of it; he, in gray pants and a suede jacket, had his right arm across her shoulders while, with the left, he held some fishing rods wrapped in a blue canvas bag. He looked out. The day was radiant: resplendent the green of the countryside and the yellow acacias covered with late flowers.... To sit down under a willow tree and wait unhurriedly until the fish bite.... how far away all of that was, as if it belonged to another world, despite the sun shining there as always, despite the couple with their thermos and fishing rods. I turned to Antonio to tell him something about the strange sensation of belonging to another planet. But Antonio had his eyes glued on the blue bag the boy had between his legs. I followed the direction of his gaze. At the bottom of the sack, the butt of a long gun was outlined against the cloth. We looked at each other again and smiled.

How many more of us are there? How many more? This one with the checked shirt waiting in the corridor.... this lanky one with a pensive air who had seated himself beside us.... Young, pale, well-dressed, glancing at his watch from time to time. Those two girls chattering endlessly in a front seat....

The bus had slowed down as it smoothly turned right. Antonio and I simultaneously turned to the window. The funeral cortege was already there and was beginning to pass us. Ahead, the hearse piled with wreaths; behind, six black *remises*[2] bearing a few mourners. In the first one, a silent couple; he dressed in dark blue, smoking; she supporting her head in her right hand and drying her eyes with a handkerchief from time to time. I felt myself beginning to laugh and pressed Antonio's arm. With a nervous gesture, he indicated the rest of the bus. A respectful silence had settled over the passengers. The men looked at each other, some of the women made the sign of the cross. The young man on the other side, removed from everything, continued looking far away, deep in who-knows-what serious thoughts. But for one second our glances crossed, and suddenly and violently I was certain he was one of ours. I turned back toward the window and did not look at him again.

Days later, in the papers, I recognized his sad eyes, his dark straight hair, his fine features. He was Jorge Salerno,[3] whom a few hours later they would assassinate during the evacuation of Pando.

—Very well, as I am going to tell you.... it was impossible to suspect. The person who came to request the service looked so....

—Distinguished?

—Exactly, distinguished. He seemed to be a young man from a well-to-do family.

—Because of his clothes....

—Because of everything.... his clothes, his manners.... He explained to me that it was for an uncle who had died in Buenos Aires, and it seemed natural to me.

—It was very natural. Why wouldn't he have an uncle who died in Buenos Aires?

—Exactly... anybody can, I mean to say... I don't have any uncles, but if I had....

—What explanation did he give for wanting to bring him here?

—He said that now that the estate was settled, this was the moment to comply with the will of the deceased.

—Yes, but why did the deceased want this?

—It seems that the man was from Soca[4] and wanted to rest in the earth where he had spent his infancy.

—This is what the boy said?

—Exactly. "He lived in Buenos Aires for 60 years, but he was always homesick for this land." This is what he said. Then they who were the heirs were going to fulfill his will.

—They talked about the type of service they wanted.... prices, all this....

—Yes, the funeral coach they wanted to be good but not ostentatious. I immediately suggested the American. It seemed to me to be ideal in this case. It is substantial but without being extravagant, and completely closed as they wished.

—Did it seem ideal to him?

—Exactly.

—He told you so?

—Yes, he said: "The car that uncle would have hired."

—Then they spoke about the *remises* ....

—Yes, exactly six. Although there would only be 12 or 14 leaving from here, they needed the six cars because they had to pick up other members of the family in Empalme Olmos.

—And with all this.... did they give you the name of the deceased?

—Of course! The name was one of the best. Even if they had made it up....

—Well.... actually they did....

—Yes, yes, of course.... I mean to say.... it was very well thought up.

—It was?

—Antúnez Burgueño...! Doesn't it sound familiar?

—No.

—The Antúnez own half of Pando and half of Soca.

—Ah.... it was really a snow job. It was a good name.... And what did the whole thing come to?

—Twenty-one thousand pesos that they paid like gentlemen.

—Like gentlemen....

—Yes. I have to be honest, and I don't know what you will think, but we don't have any complaints.

—At no moment, then, did you suspect anything?

—There was just one thing that seemed to us a little.... extravagant.... that the urn with the remains would be brought by them personally. It is always the funeral service that takes care of the customs transfers and all this.... In this case, they would bring the urn to the place.

—What was the urn made of?

—Of lead.

—And they would have placed the bones in it....

—Bones? I say arms. But who would have thought of that if they were the best of people? That's hindsight. You should have seen how the niece cried that morning, October 8, when we left.... She brought a bunch of flowers and cried.... so did the other one. They both cried. After all.... it is very natural in such cases.... people cry.

—Of course.

All at once I realized he had given up analyzing our immediate surroundings and was immersed in the theme that had monopolized my

thinking for several days. "What are you thinking about?" Antonio asked me.

—What you imagine. The same thing you're thinking. What did you tell your wife when you left today?

—I told her I had to go to Aigua on business for the old man.

—And the old man?

—I told the old man not to say anything, that I had a date with a woman.

—And your boss?

—That I had a problem with my teeth and would be out all morning.

—You think you'll be back at three?

—If all goes as it should.... why not?.... sometimes I think that being clandestine like you is a solution.

—Well.... maybe — I said it and was silent.

For seven months I haven't seen my wife; for two years I haven't caressed my daughter. I often hear that "they" have been to the house, that they searched everything and asked a thousand questions. And a hundred times I have imagined the little face of María Esther, her big dark eyes, her braids like parentheses around both sides of her face.... and her "no" said in a very careful voice. "No, sir, he wasn't here. No, sir, I didn't see him; I never see my papa."

I looked at the horizon, the sun continued in splendor, the couple in the front were getting ready to get off. Almost mechanically I thought: "Kilometer 29; they are going to enter Pando by an oblique road." I tapped the pistol, made a second knot in my shoe laces, and began to review, perhaps for the hundredth time, all the details of the task I had ahead.

Seated under a tree at the edge of the adjoining road that leads into the point of kilometer 29 on route 8, Diego, Gerardo and Ismael waited for the two comrades they were to meet about 12.

As always before an important action, Diego was composing interminable complicated melodies that none of us knew. "But tell me," said Ismael, "don't you know anything by Gardel?" Diego smiled. "I promise you that for the next time I will learn 'The day you love me'."

Gerardo looked at his watch. It was two minutes to twelve. "What time do you have?" said Diego checking his watch for the fourth time that morning. "The hour that Ana and Julio should be arriving," said Gerardo at the same time that he closed his jacket zipper. Ismael registered the gesture and stood up, felt the pistol and the two grenades through his jacket, pulled out and put back the white handkerchief he was to wear on his left arm during the action and raised both hands in greeting: Ana and Julio were slowly approaching along the road. Ana with her plaid knapsack, Julio with his sack for fishing rods. "Good, let's go," said Gerardo, and felt a violent contraction grabbing at his stomach.

Without speaking they started down the road. Diego and Gerardo ahead, Ana and Julio thirty meters behind, Ismael between the two groups stopping from time to time to imitate with a whistle the song of a bird.

Ismael was the newest of the five. He had come to Cerro Largo six months before looking for work. At that time all his political culture was reduced to a healthy lack of confidence in the politics and the politicians he had known from his infancy. It was a good beginning.

Today, after four months in the organization, he was a first-rank cadre. Tireless in his work, always serene and with a quality which, if it is not included in the manual of what makes a good guerrilla, was nevertheless appreciated by all the comrades: cheerfulness and good humor.

It was 12:15 when they entered the first streets of Pando. There was more than a half hour to waste. Without losing sight of each other, they began to walk without any fixed course. Gerardo began to think — although he knew the calculation was absurd — that out of each ten persons that went by, one was of the party. He said so to Diego. Diego let out a guffaw. "You know what that's called? Delusions of grandeur. Pando has 60 000 inhabitants, and there will be about 50 of us when we take it.... If you do a little arithmetic...." Gerardo insisted. This idea of "one in ten" always soothed him. And so, even though he realized it was irrational, he insisted. "But I am talking about the street, about the people walking in the street at this minute." "Look," said Diego, pointing to a fat blond who, valise in hand, seemed to have stopped, dazzled, in front of a shoe store window. "Look, be happy, this might be one of your ten." "She really could be," Gerardo thought and went back to checking the time. Eight minutes to go. "Come on," he said, and once more felt that old familiar cramp in the stomach. "Christ, I'm sure that if I could come to the actions with something in my belly my stomach wouldn't bother me like this every time I think," he said. "Bullets and sausages with fried potatoes never go well together," said Diego. "Bowels empty, stomach empty and a clear card with blood type and RH in the pocket is the sign of every obedient guerrilla who is going to enter action. Don't complain. Let's go."

Before turning the corner, Gerardo looked back. The blond with the valise had abandoned the store window and appeared to be moving toward the avenue at a rapid pace.

—I went with the chauffeur in the Catalina.

—It wasn't an American funeral coach?

—At the last moment we sent a Catalina.

—Leading the funeral procession....

—Certainly. Don't tell me you've never seen a funeral....

—Yes, I've seen funerals. Was it a slow trip as is appropriate?

—No. We went at road speed — that is to say, about 50 miles an hour.

—The mourners, at first, quite grief-stricken....

—Yes, yes, the women cried, and the men were very serious and wore the proper clothes, dark clothes....

—The urn with the remains was in the Catalina....

—Yes, well, remains....

—That's true.... with the arms, you say.

—That's right.... although to be honest, I did not see the arms.

—Yes, of course.... You had no reason to see them.

—No, no, no.... at no time.

—They themselves placed the urn in the funeral coach?

—No, but they watched attentively while the employees loaded it.

—And you continued the same.... without suspecting....

—Quite the contrary, they impressed me favorably, it seemed to me that this man, the deceased, must have been a very respected person.... a dearly loved person. Understand? Because of the family attitude. Later this was confirmed.

—How was it confirmed?

—Yes, one of the nephews who was riding in the funeral coach with me and the chauffeur, told us that he was an extraordinary person.... very benevolent and so forth....

—How long did it take to get to Empalme Olmos?

—A little over an hour. When we arrived the other relatives were already waiting for us on the highway, six or seven.

—Did they bring flowers?

—There they didn't bring flowers. Unless they had put them in their purses.... there wasn't one that didn't have a purse in hand.

—You are thinking that there were guns in the purses?

—It's logical! Guns and whatever else.... leaflets....

—Leaflets?

—Lots of leaflets.... In Pando we really threw leaflets.

—Everybody? You threw them too?

—We were handcuffed, you understand.... but since we went through so many changes with them, at the end one hardly knows what to say.

—It's natural, very natural to get mixed up. They took Pando with leaflets then?

—For me, yes.

—What happened after Empalme Olmos?

—That is where the Uncle Pascual affair occurred. They began to say that Uncle Pascual was at kilometer 40 and they had to go pick him up there.

—And you?

—Us, nothing.... we went.

—And when they reached kilometer 40?

—There was a Volkswagen bus, a Kombi, waiting. A man got out and I thought: "This one is no uncle." He seemed very young for an uncle, you understand?

—And of course he wasn't either.

—How could he be.... They made the six chauffeurs and me get out.

—At gunpoint?

—Just by hand. They searched us thoroughly and put on us those handcuffs they make themselves, you know them?

—I've never seen them.

—How strange! There are always pictures of them in the newspapers. They are homemade of wire.... Well, they talked among themselves, they said they couldn't put us in the funeral coach because we didn't fit or something. They put us in the bus and after we were all in, we turned around toward Pando ten kilometers back.

—And the *remises* and everything?

—It seems that the funeral coach would go first to the Pando cemetery where they would leave the flowers, that is what I heard them say. Meanwhile, we in the Kombi, would be driving around because it was early and it was necessary to waste time.

—Early for what?

—For the assault!

—Ah, and how were you seated in the bus?

—In the front, the driver and two others. In the back, the six chauffeurs, me and three of them.

—Did they talk?

—Naturally.

—What did they talk about?
—A little about everything.
—About what they were going to do in Pando?
—No....
—Politics?
—A little.... you know that their custom is always to explain.
—Explain what?
—But you are a journalist and you don't read the newspapers? They explain why they do this and the other and how they think they will improve things and so forth. They always explain everything.
—That is to say, they were not nervous.... because it's their thing to give explanations....
—But of course!
—And you?
—You mean were we nervous?
—Yes.
—You are going to get nervous talking with three boys who could be the sons of one of you.... We were calm!

Fifteen minutes before the hour. Antonio and I and the other two who made up the commando, were posted around the bus station, 80 meters from our objective and awaiting the determined moment. I looked at the watch. It was ten minutes to one. Half of Pando would be eating at this hour. With a quick glance, I saw that the comrades were ready. Next to one column, Antonio with the newspaper he had bought before setting out, feigning reading. A few meters away from Antonio, almost at the edge of the park, Guillermo was explaining to Nato, with an enthusiasm that would have moved stones, how Spence[5] had missed a goal in the last quarter. I smiled inwardly. In the eyes of any observer who happened by, Nato was hypnotized by Guillermo's explanations. I knew he didn't have the slightest idea what he was saying; that his eyes and his entire attention were concentrated on a point behind Guillermo, 80 meters behind.

I pulled out the pack, rolled a cigarette and began to smoke slowly. I felt very calm. For three days, we had watched the movements of the firemen's barracks we had as our objective and the four of us agreed that, if the seizure of the commissary which was to take place one or two minutes prior to that of the barracks did not become complicated, the job with the firemen was going to be easy. I looked at my watch again, six minutes to go. Two *remises,* black and imposing, with their velvet curtains half drawn, turned the corner and moved slowly toward the banking zone. Seconds later, the third passed. A little later, a fourth quickly went around the Plaza. On the corner of the commissary the "weeper" was already at his post. Slender, tall, grave, dressed in funeral garb, he was the model weeper. No one would have thought he had ever done anything in this life except take care of funerals. I imagined the pistol resting on his right side, then, just as when I was a child and invented pleasant stories, I imagined that he was raising both arms and yelling: "Pando is ours, comrades."

A fifth *remise* approached and followed at a distance. I knew the driver. I lowered my head, drew a deep breath and looked at the hour again. Within 30 seconds, the commando in charge of the commissary was to start action.

One o'clock sharp. We saw the comrades enter the commissary door and very slowly we began to cross.

It was approximately 1:00 when a man and a woman appeared at the commissary asking for the person in charge. I said he wasn't there and went inside to investigate. When I returned they pointed a gun at me and told me to put up my hands. I laughed because I thought it was a joke. But I saw that there were several Air Force uniforms, one with a machine gun, and I heard one of them say: "Raise your hands, you're covered." They made me go to the back patio where I found other officials in the same situation. They had taken the eyeglasses of one of the sergeants from him; he said he couldn't see anything to which they answered that there was no need to see anything there, that the less he saw the better off he was, but they gave him back his glasses, putting them in his pocket.

From the patio where I was, I saw Sergeant Olivera leave with his revolver, prepared to confront them. Three people fired at him. Standing at a distance, he tried to resist, but they threatened to throw grenades at him. Olivera surrendered; he was hurt in one arm. They fastened our hands in copper shackles and all ten of us were taken inside the jail, where they lined us up with our faces to the wall. The one in command said: "Bring the package carefully." As if it was a bomb, they placed it in the middle of the cell. But they took it out immediately and put a woman in charge of us, saying that at the slightest movement she should shoot. She answered that there was no problem. At that moment, they brought into the cell the chief commissar Cabrera accompanied by the assistant Floro Caraballa. Like the rest of us, they placed them in handcuffs facing the wall.

The one who brought the commissar said, pointing at his neck: "Do you remember when you searched my house?" Someone said that it wasn't Cabrera and that he was mixing him up with the former commissar, at which the other drew back his gun and said: "Keep quiet, fat one, just don t make any problem and nothing will happen to you." The girl stayed watching us a few minutes and then closed the door from the outside but without padlocking it, then went away saying that we must not move for ten minutes, that there was a guard waiting upstairs. Everything was quiet.

When we were able to leave with the aid of some neighbors, we wanted to go after the culprits but we were aware that we were without arms and we had to begin by begging in the neighborhood. We ran toward the Republic[6] but they had already gone. From all sides you could hear the echo of shots. Taking inventory of what was missing, we could see that a dozen guns were missing, four sabres, two police truncheons, five caps, three officer's hats, three jackets and four pistols.

We saw the comrades enter the commissary and very slowly we began to cross over. Eighty meters separated us from our objective. It would take us a minute to reach it. If all went well, this minute would be almost enough for the commissary to be occupied.

The bus stop was full of people. We advanced more or less together.

We had gone about 30 meters when we heard the sound of several shots. For a tenth of a second we stopped and looked at each other. Something was wrong in the commissary. The glass from a window fell

in splinters into the street. The fireman on guard at the door of the barracks raised his head in surprise and threatened to enter to investigate, but then stopped. He threw a glance at the window and with a gesture that said "it's not important" went back to his post. Without stopping I glanced quickly toward the bus station but I wasn't able to tell whether the shots had been heard. We reached the barracks gate, rapidly disarmed the guard and put him inside. Now we had all the weapons in hand and on our arms the handkerchief that would prevent confusion. Antonio stayed to watch the gate, the rest of us quickly ran inside. We found the patio deserted and entered the dormitories. Five or six men were there taking siesta. When they saw us enter, armed, they were paralyzed, more out of surprise than fear I think. Without wasting a minute, we searched them and pushed them out toward the patio, forcing them to stand facing the wall. I heard Guillermo say to them: "We are Tupamaros, we are seizing Pando and nothing will happen to you. We will only keep you a little while." Meanwhile, I had run toward a bathroom. A giant of a man was urinating, with his back to the door. "Hands up," I yelled. He gave a little smile and went on with what he was doing. I repeated the order at the same time sticking the gun in his ribs. At that point he began to understand and without turning around slowly raised his hands. I made him go out on the patio and, like the others, stand with his face to the wall. We were in control. But again there was the problem of the commissary from which we heard shots once more. Something was going wrong. We quickly got together and decided that two should run over and help them. But from the patio in back, where the barracks and the commissary joined, a comrade announced: "Quiet, I said, everything is under control."

Everything was under control there, quiet and under control. The problem now was in the street where the people, alerted by the shots, alarmed, had gone to look for any roaming policemen in the area.

Guillermo and I, who a minute earlier had been ready to go over to the commissary, now went out toward the gate. Two armed policemen were approaching, running down the center of the street. We advanced toward the paved street, protecting ourselves behind a column. The police halted and motioned for us to come closer. We, in turn, invited them to approach us. If it had not been for the fact that the hands which made the gestures held guns, all would have appeared to be a game. But they and we knew we were not playing. The people in the street, on the other hand, didn't seem to know it because, from all sides, in front and behind, they surrounded us. People, people and more people.... curious, unconcerned, unaware that at any minute death could be touched off.

An incongruous voice broke the silence that suddenly seemed to have descended over the group: "It's the Tupamaros, it's the Tupamaros. They are seizing Pando."

I saw the disconcerted look on the faces of the police, their slow withdrawal and disappearance behind the doors of a financial firm. But this was not the end of the problem. Increasingly numerous groups of people, anxious not to miss anything, assembled on the sidewalks, the street, the balconies. In the distance the sound of shots could be heard. In a few minutes the actions would be over and the most difficult task of all would begin: the withdrawal. We needed streets that were free, not filled with curious spectators who would impede our exit. We yelled at them to go away, but they withdrew two steps and remained there. We

threatened them with violence, arms in hand; their faces change all the time, but give way to others who surround us, and then they come back again. Afterwards, we learned it was this way all over Pando. People, cordial, or annoyed, impatient or sympathetic, had always been around, indifferent to the arms the comrades carried, getting into the middle of things, wanting to see, protesting or approving, asking.... at times collaborating....

It was 1:05 when the couple entered and said they wanted to make a call. I showed them the phone booth. Immediately several men from Intelligence and Liaison came in and showed a card I didn't even look at because I didn't have my glasses on and I can't see anything without glasses. The one who seemed more important ordered all the employees into a room in the back while they proceeded to search for a bomb which, according to them, would be in the machine shop. When I was the only one left, a policeman came running in yelling for a telephone and saying that the commissary had been attacked by the Tupamaros. The one who seemed to be in charge told him that they were also Tupamaros, that he should surrender his gun, and the policeman obeyed. We all went into the back room and they placed us with our faces to the wall except for one employee who, because she was pregnant, was authorized to sit down. Once we were there one of them told us they were members of the MLN, that we should remain calm and nothing would happen to us. Several of the employees became very nervous and started to shout. The woman who had first entered asking for the telephone, dressed in a leather jacket, opened her bag, pulled out a machine gun and said that if we didn't keep quiet for a while she was going to have to use another method. After five or six minutes they announced they would leave but that we were prohibited from leaving for ten more minutes. Our door had not been padlocked, only the one into the machine and work shop. When the time specified was up, we left to advise the commissar, and we understood that all of Pando had been seized.

At ten to one we were all in the Pando plaza already, prepared for the assault. Ana and Julio seated on a bench: a happy vacationing couple. Ismael and Diego walking around talking. Gerardo, with a fake air of distraction, gazing at the treetops while fingering for the tenth time this morning his pistol, which now had the safety catch off and a bullet in the chamber. As was his custom, he could now think of the immediate action without his stomach twisting in pain. As always in these last few minutes, he felt a little hungry and the total, indestructible security that everything would come out right. He drew a mint out of his pocket and began to chew on it. Eating a candy before an operation was no violation of the rules, he thought, and laughed at the idiocy of the idea. He didn't know why, at these moments, he always had idiotic ideas. He gave a quick glance toward the left side of the plaza and noted that the black *remise* was still there. Ahead, the four comrades that completed the commando, wearing the grave air of the funeral cortege. At a few seconds after one, the white banner that was to indicate the starting moment was supposed to wave across the avenue on a motorcycle. One o'clock had scarcely passed when, from the left, there was the violent sound of a motor and, flying in the air. the awaited flag passed like a small cloud.

Those who were in the plaza stood up and began to walk toward the Bank of Pando. The black *remise* started its motor and waited a few seconds. Everyone had to enter the bank at the same time. While Ana, Julio and the others were walking along the sidewalk, the *remise* slowly passed them. Through the door that opened onto A street, those in the *remise* entered. Through the one at right angles to this and opening onto B street, those approaching by foot entered. The *remise* remained in front of the bank. Four men got out and began to cross the street. A passerby saw them and felt that something strange was taking place. Perhaps the machine gun that Gabriel was carrying under his overcoat betrayed them; perhaps it was simply the expressions on their faces. The man knew that they were not innocent clients and tried to turn back, cross and give the alarm for sure. He was rapidly surrounded and forced to enter the bank. A pistol that nobody saw but that he felt jabbed into his ribs immobilized him for a few seconds. Meanwhile, Gabriel hurried ahead with one jump, mounted the counter, machine gun in hand, and announced that they were members of the MLN, that they were making an expropriation. "Keep quiet and face the wall," he said. Then each of them began his task.

Diego and Ismael went to the vault, preceded by the manager The vault was open. It wasn't even necessary to say, "open sesame"; it freely offered its 8 000 000 pesos. All that had to be done was put it into the bags In a minute and a half it had been transferred.

Meanwhile, the clients began to enter and, at Gerardo's insistence, raised their hands and faced the wall. A woman came running in, stopped in the door and screamed: "They are attacking the Republic!" Then she saw Julio who, from a half meter away, poked her with his gun. "Really, here too?" she said laughing. Julio also laughed while nodding his head affirmatively.

Ana began to distribute leaflets. Some, despite the fact that they had their hands up, managed to read them. Ana, who was perhaps encouraged by the gesture, began to explain why they were doing this and what they intended in the short and long run.

The quiet air of absurd normalcy presented by the arms, the flyers, the bags with their millions, was suddenly ended by the sound of a siren. For several seconds everything was paralyzed. Ana stopped speaking. Ismael lifted the bag and embraced it as if it were a child. Diego halted, holding the bag, a worried expression on his face. Gerardo and Julio raised their guns a little higher and surveyed the surroundings with a sharp gaze. "Calm," said Gabriel at the same time that he got down from the counter. "It's nothing; it's the Republic alarm."

The gears began to move again. Ana continued speaking as she moved back toward the door and distributed the final leaflets. Diego began his march again. Later he would explain to Ismael that the siren had not frightened him but that he felt an irrational disgust for strident sounds, that they paralyzed him as if he had banged his nose against a wall. They prepared everything for the departure. Outside the door, Jorge talked with an old lady in a fancy hat and a long gray scarf. She had a paper in her hand and was waving it under Jorge's nose, as he openly exhibited a Colt rifle. "But I have to collect my pension; it came out in the paper that today they would pay us."

"Yes, madame," Jorge was bellowing in her ear, "but it can't be today, the bank was seized by the Tupamaros. Enter, it's dangerous out here."

"Do you think they'll pay me tomorrow?" "I'm sure they will, but now get inside", he told her again at the top of his voice. But she didn't move. "Will the Tupamaros pay me tomorrow?" Jorge took her by both shoulders and shoved her inside. She still said: "I don't know why you make me go inside if they aren't going to pay me today."

Ismael, doubled over with laughter, had rested the bag on the floor. "OK, let's go," said Gerardo, making a gesture with his pistol. Hand on his arm, Jorge stopped him. A policeman had stationed himself behind the *remise* and was pointing toward the door of the bank, guarding the exit. Julio, who was in the best position, began to fire. The bullets hit the car but did not touch the policeman, who remained in his place. "Murder, " Said Gerardo, "it's 1:10 and they're all waiting for us." Diego, his face blazing, his eyes like hot coals, snatched the machine gun from Gabriel's hands and pointed it. Ismael and Ana grabbed him at the same time. "Calm down," said Ana, "don't forget that we brought it to threaten, not to use." "In extreme situations it has to be used, right?" said Diego in the low, hoarse voice that Ana now knew. "The situation is not yet extreme," said Gabriel, at the same time that he glued himself to the wall; a bullet had grazed his overcoat. Gabriel pulled his pistol out of his pocket and also began to shoot.

Four minutes of a rough exchange of shots ended with the policeman wounded on the ground. Everyone ran toward the car, which was as full of holes as a sieve. The policeman who was lying on the sidewalk saw us coming. "Don't kill me," he said, "don't kill me." "And why would we kill you, imbecile, son of a thousand devils?" said Gerardo, pushing him hard. Julio sat down at the wheel. Eight faces taut with anxiety focused their gazes on the hand that turned the key in the motor and pressed the starter button. A tremble shook the old *remise* and the hoarse, well-known, dear rumble emerged from the motor. A unanimous cry welcomed it. Ana threw the last leaflets out of the open window and for a few seconds they floated around the car. Then they fell

The policeman got up, dragging his leg, crossed the street, reloaded his gun and fired. He fired several times until he hit the wheels.

With two flat tires, describing an "s," we reached the cemetery. When the others saw us coming, they started their cars. Those arriving had to fire into the air to stop them. They abandoned the useless car and distributed themselves in the others as they could.

Gerardo, one of the few members of this commando who later was saved from death or prison, would explain to a comrade days later: "That is where we lost our unity as a group. We distributed ourselves in different cars, we didn't know anyone. We didn't know who were officers and who were soldiers. No one knew whom to obey. This problem hurt us later when we fell into the net of Toledo Chico."

It was one o'clock. Some seven or eight armed persons entered the bank. One of them mounted the counter

They said they were Tupamaros, that we should keep quiet because they were workers like us. In a few minutes they took all the money out of the cash box. They called the manager and the chief by their names. They asked the manager for the keys to his car and for the weapon he was carrying. Then they sent us, hands up, into the back where there was a sort of deposit with an exit to the outside, with no key. When they left they announced that they had taken the com-

missary and the Republic Bank. The assault lasted three minutes.

— So the six chauffeurs and you...? What was your job?

— I was in charge of the funeral procession. I don't know whether you know... but our business always sends someone in general charge.

— I didn't know.... Then they put the seven of you in the Kombi....

—Yes, and they began to drive around because it was early for the assault.

—Which of the assaults?

—Ours was the Republic Bank.

—But you didn't see anything of the assault....

—What did you want us to see? They didn't let us see anything. Before they got out they recommended that we keep quiet.

—Who recommended?

—One of them, one who was called Pedro... from his voice, very young.

—Why from his voice? Didn't you see him?

—We had to look down so as not to see their faces.

—And how did the assault go?

—The assault was fantastic.... In a few minutes they got 40 000 000 pesos. There was just one problem with a girl....She accidentally fired and hit a comrade in the stomach.... They had to take him to a hospital.... Immediately.... To operate on him.

—A hospital there in Pando?

—No! What do you mean in Pando! One of these hospitals they have hidden around here... who knows where....

—Except for this difficulty... everything was fine....

—Yes, very well; it seems that inside the bank one of them mounted the counter and gave a speech.

—You knew about that later, from the newspapers....

—No.... we learned about it when the boys that had come with us returned... because they made fun of the one who gave the speech... they said he should dedicate himself to becoming a deputy and that if the bankers hadn't had their arms in the air they surely would have applauded him.

—And he, what did he say?

—Nothing, he laughed.

—They were very calm then....

—Just like you and me.

—Did you take the injured one?

—No....The millions went with us! They threw the money in with us.... 40 000 000... imagine! The other car must have taken the wounded one.

—What other?

—There were two cars at the assault. The Kombi with us and some of them in it, and a *remise* that would hold I don't know how many others.

—Where were you when the alarm at Republic began to sound?

—Almost at the door of the bank... leaving at that moment.

—And?

—It started a scandal of all the demons, you could hear the horns, the gunshots.

—And they?

—As if nothing was going on. We from the funeral parlor got a little nervous.... but they weren't at all. Throwing leaflets, honking the horns

like crazy, because the people were walking around in the middle of the street and wouldn't let them pass. It was like a stream. They were yelling: "Long live the revolution!"" One of the chauffeurs who could see out says that there were boys with white armbands directing traffic.

—Tupamaros?

—And who would they be, boy scouts? Everybody walking around with a white armband on that day in Pando was a Tupamaro.

—You made the trip back to Montevideo with them?

—No, a little while after we left the cemetery, since the cars were very full, we had to get out.

—With your handcuffs on?

—First they took the handcuffs off, then they thanked us....

—What did they thank you for?

—I don't know.... they said "Many thanks for everything.",

The caravan started on its way. A wind of happiness swept over them like a wave, irresistible.

With rumpled hair, bright rosy faces as if they had just participated in a sports competition, laughing and talking at the same time, seated in the funeral coaches, they were an unforgettable picture that fits no known category.

Telling absurd or funny stories, as if they were drunk they covered the first kilometers.

Only the leaders of the group seemed to escape the general craziness. It was easy to find them. All eight of them were quiet, concentrated, wary, isolated from this drunken victory that enveloped the others.

Gerardo, silent, seated beside the chauffeur in one of the *remises*, tried to control his stomach which now, yes, was contracting without letup. He had dug his nails into the palms of his hands and with his right foot tense, was accelerating into space. All his attention was concentrated on the speed which was not and could not, without grave risk, go over 60 kilometers per hour. He had a premonition that something would go wrong. He turned to his comrade on his right, a young light haired and almost imperturbable young man who had been chattering, singing and laughing, since the moment they had left, and said to him: "You know, I have a feeling that the police already have us surrounded." The other stopped talking and laughing and looked at him as if he were crazy. Then, wrinkling his forehead, he looked all around carefully. A patrol came slowly up the road. The police touched their caps in a sign of respect. Gerardo breathed a sigh of relief. He had been an idiot to communicate an unhappy and for the moment useless intuition to someone who up until two seconds ago was so euphoric. "I'm sure I'm wrong," he said smiling and, with an evident effort, calmed the other while he thought: "He is still very green, he can't have been a militant for more than a year." The light-haired man did not smile. He took the white armband off his sleeve, folded it carefully, put in his back pocket and with a grave expression turned to look at Gerardo. Gerardo knew what this look meant and hastened to excuse himself: "Forgive me," he said. "I have been in the organization for four years," said the boy. "Forgive me, forgive me," Gerardo said again. "You look like you're 20 years old." "I'm 24."

Eusebio, in the Kombi, was also silent and serious. A patrol, the third in two kilometers, was just passing them. The last two with great speed

and in the opposite direction from them. "They have known about it for a while, but they think we're still in the outskirts of Pando," he thought. At that moment Antonio turned around and pointed to the patrol that had just passed. "What do you think?" said Eusebio. "That now they know, but that they are quite confused. They think we are still in Pando." "Yes," said Eusebio.

"Six minutes is what we need, exactly six," says Diego in another of the *remises*. "Let's suppose the police have known about it for 20 minutes. They are still giving orders and taking decisions. When all that gets under way they won't find any of us."

He was wrong: two minutes later, just before Cassarino near the outskirts of Montevideo, the patrol police saw them coming and got behind an auto to shoot at them. But they didn't do it. That funeral cortege headed by uniformed chauffeurs and police seated in some of the *remises* confused them.

From then on, a heavy profound silence fell over the caravan. They were now certain. The police were alert and on the move. Avoiding a confrontation could be a matter of minutes.

Quickly they entered Montevideo. On the road from Andaluz and Camino de las Castañas, in a solitary area, still suburban but very close to transit lines, the caravan divided into three groups which took different directions. Near there, at specified points, two of the groups handed over their arms and the clandestine militants to legal cars. The nonclandestine militants left on foot, one by one, to look for a bus or taxi.

Antonio covered 500 meters, reached an avenue, took a bus, sat down, opened the paper he had bought in the morning and began to read, this time for real. At 2:40 he got out in front of his office. He bought a sandwich on the corner, ate it in a hurry, and went in. The owner asked him about his tooth. "It's OK now, thanks," Antonio said rubbing his left hand over his face at the same time he signed the check-in book. Before three, he was to receive a call from Pedro confirming that everything was going all right. At ten to three the telephone rang.

"Antonio?" "Yes." "Everything's fine, there are still three cartons of books missing that should be arriving now. As soon as they're here, I'll let you know." "That's fine, thanks." He sat down at the adding machine and began to work. A half hour later a friend in the office came running in from the street. "Did you see the latest about the Tupamaros?" "No," said Antonio with an innocent face. And he hoped with all his heart that the other one would say something about Pando. The other said: "They're shooting it out with the police in Toledo Chico."

Days later, Gerardo, one of the few who escaped the Toledo encirclement, informed a group of comrades:

We were going along the road as planned, two *remises* and the Kombi. We were without arms or clandestine comrades since they had already been handed over to the legal car. We were very close to the point where we would abandon our vehicles and go the rest of the way on foot, separately, unarmed, looking for some ordinary transportation. Ahead was the other *remise*, which Roberto was driving, still loaded; it was to meet its legal car nearby, less than a kilometer away. Behind us was the Kombi which had just handed over its cargo — money and arms — to Tito's little bus, which followed behind us waiting until it

came to the crossroad which would permit it to enter the city along a series of almost parallel roads. We were only two kilometers away, two minutes in time, from the spot where we would abandon these accursed solitary suburbs with their ranches and wastelands, and enter the zone where we could effectively lose ourselves, when, around a sharp curve that prevented us from seeing what was on the other side, the confrontation occurred. First one patrol and immediately after it, a second blocked the road. We saw that it was useless to fight. Only six of us had arms and what we saw around us had the appearance of the inevitable. We would have liked to turn around and go back but the road, very twisting and with ravines on both sides, made any kind of operation impossible. Only the little truck that was last in the caravan could accomplish that maneuver. Alerted, it quickly turned around and was lost in the country roads not covered by the net.

We decided to leave the vehicles and disperse. Try to lose ourselves among the ranches. We scarcely knew each other. Almost no one knew who anyone was. Matters were determined in a disorderly fashion. The commandos who were dispersed after the cars broke down in Pando weakened our group. We didn't know what possibilities each had, who was an officer and who was a soldier, whom we were to obey. We abandoned the cars and went off as best we could in twos or threes toward the flat country fields, without any geographical interruption as a protection and with scarcely any ranches.

Chanchas,[8] army trucks, patrols and two helicopters that flew so low they practically grazed our heads, amplifiers, shots and orders yelled over loudspeakers filled the 30 or 40 hectares in which we had been trapped. We were all certain, without saying anything, that they were going to massacre us. I hated the sun that made the trap in which we were caught a resplendent scene in which not a leaf moved without being detected. From the air came the screeching voices pointing out movements, ordering the maneuvers. Behind the windows of the houses enclosed in the net one could see worried faces, their eyes wide with surprise and dread. The police, like a blind beast, made no distinction. Any human being that walked within their closed trap was subjected to beating, kicks and blows in the police cars. The persecution had a single characteristic: hysteria. If there was almost no other testimony, the three dead comrades would be definitive proof. Apprehended without arms, they were killed when they surrendered, they fired at them indefinitely when they were already dead. After hitting one of them 30 times, they bashed his head in with the butt of their guns.

Popular mythology has it that Sendic was dressed like a *chacarero* and hidden by a family in the zone. Sendic, dressed as always, was driving the little truck which, when it quickly turned around, escaped like an eel through the holes in the net.

1 Owner or tenant of a **chacra** or small individual ranch. (Ed. note)
2 Automobile for hire for a funeral procession. (Ed. note)
3 Young Tupamaro fighter, shot by the police after having been disarmed and wounded, during Operation Pando. (Ed. note)
4 Neighboring town to Pando, in the department of Canelones. (Ed. note)
5 Famous soccer (football) player on the Peñarol team. (Ed. note)
6 Bank of the Republic, state body. (Ed. note)
7 Ranching zone in the area between Montevideo and Canelones. (Ed. note)
8 Popular nickname for the official wagons in which those arrested are transported. (Ed. note)

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news behind the news

☐ In 1961, a Parliamentary commission investigated police procedures in Argentina. The previous year it had been charged that there were thousands of cases of torture throughout the country against common delinquents as well as political prisoners.

Among the localities that had been singled out as a den of torture was the headquarters of Federal Coordination (political police whose leadership as well as its principal operative branch the Intelligence Division, is in military hands); San Martín Regional Unit, the Brigade of San Justo, and the Avellaneda Brigade. These last three are part of the Buenos Aires provincial police, but they work in close accord with the Federal Police. Torture also takes place in numerous police stations. For cases that require prolonged treatment,

those arrested are taken blindfolded to an innocent weekend house in the country, rented for this purpose, or to horrible sheds apparently abandoned. An urgent treatment can take place within the police vehicle itself.

The electric rod (an instrument inspired by the model used to move cattle in the ranching corrals and the packing house yards, and whose discharges range from 60 to 220 volts of domestic current) can be applied to any part of the body, but the torturers have a predilection for the organs of the body. The lips, ears, anus, testicles, penis of the men; the breasts and vagina of women, are the areas they most frequently torture. To reinforce the effects of the application, the specialists wet the victim's body. The puncture marks that the electric rod leaves disappear within a week. In order to prevent the doctors from proving torture, the police — and some judges — generally prolong the solitary confinement of the prisoner up to the legal period of eight days. They also count on their own doctors who know the cardiac resistance of the prisoners.

With these methods the Argentine police solve 80% of the crimes committed in the country. Nevertheless, when these cases reach the courtroom, only 10% of the accused are condemned. The Argentine military who govern the country evidence greater comprehensiveness than the judges and have left in police hands the instructions for the trial so that confessions extracted under tortures are now converted into judicial proof. The number of convicted has increased, of course, but few jurists try to deny that police instructions and lack of communication for eight days

(one more than the period that the scar from the electric rod lasts) constitute a legalization of torture.

Military compliance with this is not too surprising. Between 1959 and 1962, when President Arturo Frondizi imposed the Conintes Plan (Internal Disturbance) to repress workers' strikes and terrorism, the militarists were instructed to apply the greatest wave of mass torture recorded in the country up to the present. One of the charges, which came from the province of Mendoza from lawyers of the student Burgos, accused Colonel Levingston of the SIDE as a torturer. Understandably, the accusation has disappeared from the court, though not the consequences of its existence.

During the four years of the government of General Onganía, more than 16 000 political prisoners passed through the country's jails. Hundreds of them were tortured. With the appearance of the guerrillas, the system became more consistent. Already by September 1968, the guerrillas arrested in Argentina had been tortured to the limits of their endurance. In April 1969, the guerrilla Carlos Caride engaged in gunfire with the Federal Police and killed one of their men, the chief Matos. Dozens of police flogged Caride and beat his head against the wall after having applied the electric rod for four hours; shortly after that Juan C. Cibelli was arrested and tortured; the procedure had become so routine that all the newspapers in the country published without any commentary a photo of Cibelli in which he appeared with one eye closed as a result of beating.

At the beginning of 1970, the police were desperate because of lack of information about the guerrillas. When, in March, a stroke of luck led them to the capture of two FAL guerrillas, they fell on them with incredible vengeance. Alejandro Baldú died almost immediately on the torture table, and Carlos Della Nave was tortured up to the limits of human resistance. To expose the procedure, which up to then had remained a secret, the FAL kidnapped the Paraguayan diplomat Waldemar Sánchez. Ongania refused to negotiate, but had to show Della Nave publicly, on television, in a horrible state. The medical reports fully proved the tortures.

In the middle of this same year, the Santa Fe police arrested a guerrilla group of the People's Revolutionary Army. The tortures to which they were subjected by the Santa Fe police and Federal Coordination defy all imagination. A judge in Cordoba province, Dr. Cornejo Jofre, permitted the prison doctor to examine four Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) guerrillas captured when they tried to assault a bank and engaged in gunfire in which one twenty-year-old guerrilla and two policemen died. The doctor confirmed "inhuman and brutal treatment after eight days of inconceivable torture" and the judge ordered those responsible brought to trial.

The revolutionary organizations have begun to respond to this type of violence. At the end of 1970, FAL eliminated the second chief of the Political Investigation Division of the Federal Police, assistant commissar Osvaldo Saldoval, one of those responsible for the tortures that caused the

death of Alejandro Baldú.

As worker and student opposition to the regime increased and with the rise of the urban guerrilla, torture and assassination applied to delinquents was applied to political militants. It would be difficult, at this time, to find judges who would sanction political assassination so that the methods had to change.

In actuality, the judges were the first victims of the almost clandestine group which, with the generic name of Halcones, was formed within the police, especially within Federal Coordination.

A bomb of enormous destructive power was found in the home of the judge of La Plata, Omar Ozafraín, who had tried 14 police torturers headed by the famous commissar Ernesto Verdum ("Verdugo Verdum" — "Hangman Verdum") and imprisoned a top head of the Buenos Aires police, commissar Rafael Aceto, for prohibiting a student meeting that the judiciary had authorized. Another bomb exploded in the home of Judge Roja Pallerano who had ordered a medical jury to examine a group of guerrillas tortured in Coordination. Another explosive also destroyed the automobile of Judge Rurzum and the car of Judge Aguirre was blown up. The motive was always the same: these magistrates, in their jurisdiction, would not permit the torture of prisoners.

In March 1970, a plastic bomb went off in the house which, three years earlier, had been occupied by the student leader Yaco Tieffenberg who no longer lived there at the time. The bomb killed a servant and gravely wounded another.

On May 30, the Center for

Engineering Students in La Plata was pulverized by an explosion. Dozens of minor actions marked the travels of the Halcones. In most cases there were communiqués signed by various commandos and two organizations: MANO and Alpha 66. Organizations that use the same names have arisen in the Dominican Republic, where ex-President Bosch in August denounced a MANO plot to assassinate him, and in Bolivia where Alpha had carried out 100 assaults up until October. The suspicion that both organizations are encouraged by the CIA has been stated repeatedly.

This presence is not to be dismissed within the Argentine police whose relations with their North American counterparts are very close. A great number of the 1800 Latin-American officers graduated from the Inter-American Police Academy in Washington and in other schools in the United States, are Argentine. One of these graduates was the subchief of the Argentine Federal Police himself. North American police are sent to instruct the Argentine Armed Forces in their own territory, among them the San Francisco police chief, Thomas Cahill, and a Missouri Police Chief, Edmond Hockadsi, who gave courses for several months in Buenos Aires.

No one doubts that the Halcones are Argentine, and go up to the highest levels of military and police leadership. The parallel power they exercise has even been the subject of debate. In September 1970, an impressive purge decapitated the high command of the Federal Police, retiring by direction of the military advisers, some 30 high chiefs.

Among the functionaries who fell into disgrace is Inspector General Alejandro Roque Virosoro, director of Transit, who directed a good portion of the political investigations in the last stages of the Onganía government and inflicted tortures on numerous political prisoners. It is affirmed that, in spite of this, he considered torture to be only one element among the resources of investigation. The dominant position Virosoro held in the Argentine police has been taken by Inspector General Alfredo Benigno Castro, Director of Social Political Order, an ultra-gorilla partisan of Brazilian torture without any kind or contemplation of shadings. Violations, introduction of objects into the anus, continuous beatings over entire days without permiting the prisoner to sleep nor have a minute to himself are his favorite methods.

☐ In the lexicon of the Yankee aggressor army in South Viet Nam, a word has come into fashion recently which has been created out of the necessity for classifying events that are occurring more and more frequently within its ranks.

The term is "fragging," a corruption of the word "fragmentation."

Among the US soldiers sent to Indochina, fragging is known as the act of hurling a fragmentation grenade against one of various officers or subofficers of the army notorious for their maltreatment of the troop.

US soldiers use hand grenades to eliminate their chiefs due to the fact that they pulverize when they explode and make it impossible for the military investigators

to collect proofs such as fingerprints that might identify the authors of the attack

The first reports on fragging and its increasing use in South Viet Nam came from journalists who interviewed soldiers in the United States when they returned from this Asian country. These soldiers recounted that on many occasions, when a US officer who was seen in a bad light by his subordinates, ordered his soldiers to attack a guerrilla position in South Viet Nam, a well-placed hand grenade did the trick of eliminating him.

For many months and despite their increasing frequency, the Yankee high command in Saigon used all measures to try to censure information on fragging attacks.

The scandal broke at the beginning of this year. It was when a group of racist sergeants ordered various Afro-American soldiers to stop listening to music. During the discussion a white racist physically assaulted one of the black soldiers, one of whose comrades then resorted to fragging. The grenade exploded in the middle of the group of racist sergeants, 29 of whom were gravely wounded.

This incident occurred on January 8, after another racial incident that took place in Tuy Hoa base, 390 km northeast of Saigon. Since then, at least three high US officers, two of them battalion commanders, have been struck down by their subordinates.

The Yankee imperialists sent young citizens thousands of miles to destroy harvests and houses and to kill the cattle belonging to the Vietnamese population;

they sent them to savagely slaughter women, children and old people. Hundreds of thousands of young North Americans have been trained and indoctrinated to be killers.

Thus, it must be added, Yankee imperialism's terrible crimes against other people and against their own people have converted thousands and thousands of young men into salaried gunmen.

□ The United States and Great Britain have resigned from the special commission on colonialism. It might be said that this decision, in great part, constitutes a victory for anticolonialism, but at the same time it represents a weakness in the mechanism established by the United Nations General Assembly to succeed in making the so-called administrative powers comply totally with the provisions of Resolution 1514 approved on December 14, 1960. That resolution is known as the Declaration on the Concession of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The **raison d'être** of the Special Commission for Decolonialization — also known as the Commission of the Twenty-four because of the number of members on it — is substantively linked to international peace and security on questions of the inalienable right of the people to their sovereignty and freedom of determination.

When Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill met at Yalta in February 1945, they agreed that at the projected United Nations Conference, the principles and the mechanism of a colonial trusteeship system would have to be studied. Once established, such a system would be applied to three categories of territories: those

under the League of Nations mandate, those separated from the enemy states as a result of the Second World War, and those voluntarily placed within this system by states responsible for their administration.

From that time on, one of the factors was present that would have to create an increasingly wider margin of separation between the colonial powers and the countries of Africa and Asia that were becoming independent.

The battle between the colonialists and anticolonialists was laid out within the General Assembly where the mechanical majority of the Western countries served from the beginning to destroy whatever initiative arose against their interests. But as the years passed, the minority became a decisive majority and finally became an effective strength at the voting hour.

From 51 states that originally made up the organization in 1946, the number reached 97 in 1960 and in the 19th year of sessions in 1964, the number had risen to 115. At the end of its first quarter century of existence, in 1971, the United Nations has 127 members.

Of the eleven territories originally included in the trusteeship system, eight had become independent or associated with independent countries by the end of 1962. Nauru, administered by Australia in the name of that country, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, obtained its independence in 1970 and was admitted that same year as a UN member. Of those 11 territories, the only ones whose status remains to be resolved are New Guinea, under Australian administration, and the Pacific Islands, under US administration.

It must be noted that the territory of Southwest Africa — today identified as Namibia — is the only one under the League of Nations mandate system that was not converted into a trust territory nor has it achieved independence.

In 1947 the Assembly established a committee to examine the information received concerning nonautonomous territories. Approval was obtained despite the objections of the colonial powers, and the committee was functioning until the Assembly dissolved it in 1963. And something of major importance in the history of the United Nations occurred in 1960; a major number of chiefs of state and government took part in the General Assembly and 17 new members were admitted to the Organization, all former colonies.

The dissolution of the French empire in Africa (13 of the new member states had been French colonies on that continent) gave the Afro-Asian vote a strength of 44 countries in a total of 99 members.

At that time, the Soviet Union proposed a new theme, one which was to change definitively the road of the United Nations: a projected declaration for the concession of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The African countries still had not had time to become alert to the management and maneuvers of the great Western powers. They did not want to go "so far" as the memorandum and resolution proposed by the USSR, and presented a new Afro-Asian draft resolution which was anticolonialist but not anti-imperialist. The countries that prepared the new text eliminated from it all reference to military bases, foreign

monopolies, the exploitative nature of colonialism, special rights, wars of liberation or specific reference to any colony.

When, on December 14, 1960, the Afro-Asian resolution was approved, 89 countries overwhelmingly voted in its favor, none opposed it and there were nine abstentions. Eight of these abstentions were Western powers with colonies, including the United States. The ninth was the Dominican Republic.

On August 28, 1961, the USSR solicited the inclusion on the agenda of an item referring to "the situation with respect to the fulfillment of the Declaration on the Concession of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples." And it demanded that a date be set for granting independence to all colonies. The Assembly rejected the Soviet project, but in exchange, approved a resolution sponsored by 38 countries, which established a Special Commission of 17 members to examine and supervise the decolonization process, with Resolution 1514 of the previous year as its point of reference. In 1962 the Commission was amplified to 24 and composed of representatives of 12 Afro-Asian countries, three Latin-American countries, five Western states, three Eastern European countries and Yugoslavia.

The composition of the commission determined the existence of an upsurge in the Afro-Asian vote as a determining power within the United Nations, above all with respect to colonialism and anti-imperialism.

The Western powers had thought they could control the commission by the subterfuge of reaching agreements by consensus

and not by resolutions, but little by little, the Afro-Asians were becoming aware of their possibilities, now that they had the socialist votes as well as those of some Latin-American countries, depending on the circumstances. This situation on some occasions reached a point of dividing the Western votes themselves. Later, the first resolution was proposed and approved despite the strong objections of the United States and Great Britain. It passed the plenary session of the Assembly and thereby became a United Nations resolution.

Thus the battle camps and various fronts were delineated. One of the most discussed cases has been that of Puerto Rico. In 1953, Washington succeeded in having the General Assembly approve Resolution 748 accepting the fact that the United States was no longer obliged to transmit information concerning Puerto Rico since the latter had acquired the political condition of a so-called Free Associated State, or a presumed government of its own — although not independence — which did not fall specifically within articles XII and XIII of the Charter.

Nevertheless Puerto Rico reappeared in the debates of the international organization after the first of October of 1965 when Cuba, in a letter sent by Foreign Minister Dr. Raúl Roa to Sori Coulibaly, President of the Special Commission and Ambassador from Mali, solicited the inclusion of the case of Puerto Rico on the working agenda of this group. In his letter, Foreign Minister Roa made "fraternal reference" to the petition draw up by the Nationalist Party, the Independence Party, the Christian Patriotic Crusade

and the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI). Up to now, the United States has succeeded in blocking all attempts made by various delegations who were members of the Commission to accept Cuba's proposal.

The colonial powers were losing ground in other no less crucial areas for them. The attack against colonialism was followed by the offensive against neocolonialism, — that is, against the attempt on the part of the colonial powers to maintain special privileges in their former colonies that had achieved independence, and to obstruct the full exercise of their sovereignty

For the Washington - London axis, another of the determining points in the resignation from the Commission, is the persistence in the debate of such questions as military bases in foreign territories and the activities of foreign interests, which constitute an obstacle to the application of the Declaration on Decolonialization.

Moreover, the Commission of the Twenty-four has recently entered into the culminating phase of the examination of the situation in two concentrations of islands which are of great importance for Anglo-North American interests: the so-called nonautonomous territories of the Caribbean, administered by the United Kingdom, and Micronesia in the Pacific — the Marshall, Mariana and Carolina islands which for three centuries have been the scene of struggles among the world's most powerful states for absolute dominion over Oceania. When, as a result of the Second World War, the Japanese were displaced from Micronesia by the United States, the latter proclaimed the region a strategic

zone and thus subject to military authority.

The Nixon government, in an effort to slough off the United Nations action, has announced that it is proposed that the trusteeship territories of the Pacific islands shall associate themselves with the United States as a community. That is, according to the Interior Department, Micronesia would not be a fully sovereign nation and its inhabitants will not be considered United States citizens, but they will be granted "United States nationality." Thus they would become other second class citizens. With this proposal Washington would be in violation of international rights as well as its agreements contracted within the framework of the United Nations.

As far as the British territories in the Caribbean are concerned, the United Kingdom has maintained the criterion that the six associated states of this region have achieved a measure of "full self-government" and that it is therefore not obliged to transmit information on them.

On December 14, 1970, the Assembly approved a resolution in which it reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples and the peoples under foreign domination to exercise their right to free determination and independence by all measures "that shall be necessary for its fulfillment," and instructed all states and organizations within the United Nations to offer moral and material assistance to the liberation movements. The resolution also demanded that the colonial powers immediately dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial territories and

abstain from establishing any new ones. With this the cup overflowed and gave the United States and Great Britain a propitious excuse to withdraw from the Special Commission.

But as was mentioned at the beginning, the Anglo-North American defeat cannot be considered absolute since, within the Afro-Asian group in the Assembly, the majority of the countries are allied with the West or want Western aid for their development. This is why the measures that the General Assembly has adopted and would adopt concerning neocolonialism do not go beyond general declarations. As long as these Afro-Asian countries are not free of the factors that bind them to the old colonial powers; while they do not succeed in establishing a majority regime in Rhodesia, Namibia and in Pretoria itself; while they do not expel Portugal from its colonies in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, Africa will not be able to be free and sovereign.

The present membership of the Commission is illustrative of this interpretation. Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Soviet Union, Tanzania, Venezuela and Yugoslavia are members. Australia resigned in January 1969, and was replaced by Viti — which recently became independent — last December. Also during that month, Norway was replaced by Sweden and Honduras by Trinidad-Tobago. Italy resigned in December but still has no successor. And the United States and the United Kingdom completed the Commission's membership.

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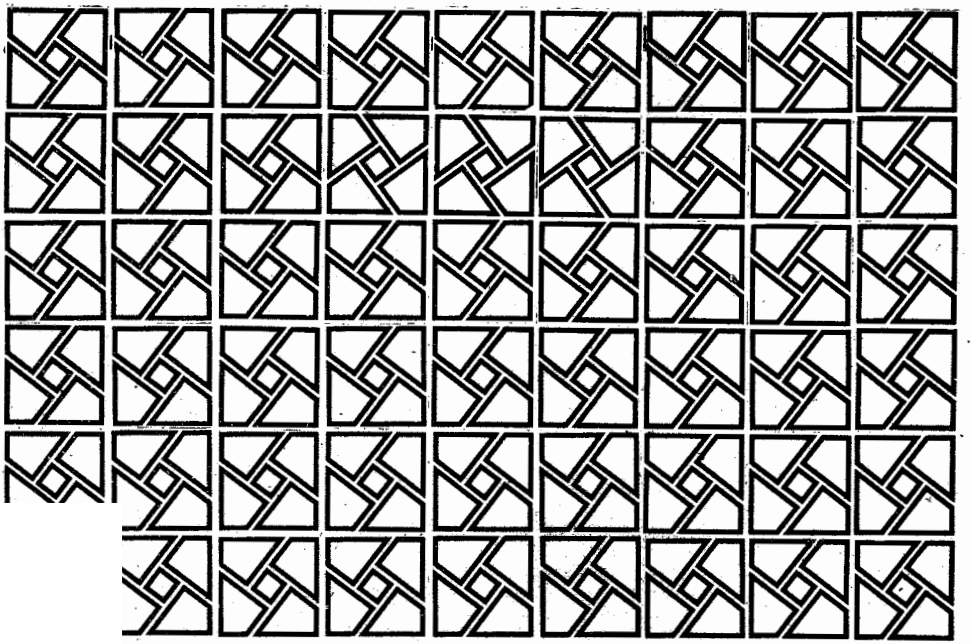

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