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Viet-Nam:

the False De-americanization of the War

At the present time, it is obvious to everyone that the U.S. aggressors have been defeated in South Viet-Nam. Nevertheless they are not willing to abandon their aggressive plans against our country. They stubbornly persist in Viet-Nam and continue to prop-up the rotten Thien-Ky-Huong puppet clique which they consider an instrument of aggression with a view to effectively establishing neocolonialism in South Viet-Nam. They are seeking through all means, a position of strength on the field of battle and at the conference table. At the same time, they continue violating the security and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

Since President Nixon assumed the presidency he has been reiterating that "I am looking for an honorable way out of the war in Viet-Nam." With the aim of calming world public opinion, he stated he would "carry out the great peace plan" and "bring the U.S. troops home." Meanwhile he still continues intensifying the war of aggression against South Viet-Nam; using B-52s and heavy artillery to bomb and strafe densely populated areas even cities, committing innumerable crimes against the South Vietnamese people, actively carrying out the plans for the "de-Americanization of the war" through the accelerated consolidation of the Army and the puppet Administration. The de-Americanization of the war means returning to the old method which the old strategists had used in 1961. That is, once more, to carry out the "special war," in which the U.S. had no direct participation and make the policy of setting the Vietnamese against each other prevail.

Everyone knows that the special war has failed. In the middle of 1965, the U.S. aggressors accelerated their troop shipments to South Viet-Nam, initiating the local war with an attempt to change the situation. In fact, from that moment on, they themselves "Americanized the war." That Americanized war reached great proportions to become the biggest war ever fought in the history of the United States. That war has, nevertheless, been defeated.

It is, precisely, in the face of the imminent failure of the local war that the Nixon Administration has decided to "de-Americanize the war." This means that Nixon has changed an already defeated strategy for another also on the way to defeat. This constitutes a puzzling circuit and an expression of tremendous stagnation into which the U.S. Government has fallen in its war of aggression against Viet-Nam. The policy of de-Americanizing the war patently reflects the stubborn and perfidious nature of the Nixon Administration which clings to South Viet-Nam and the Saigon puppet army and administration, and which is trying to strengthen them with the aim of replacing the U.S. troops, continuing the war of aggression against South Viet-Nam, suppressing the South Vietnamese National Liberation Movement and carrying out its neocolonialist policy.

Therefore, to de-Americanize the war does not constitute the recognition that the war of aggression is going to end, but rather that they are going to change methods in the use of forces to continue it.

In this whole astute maneuver, the U.S. imperialists use the Vietnamese to kill their own compatriots under the orders of Yankee advisers and thus continue their aggressive policy against South Viet-Nam.

Lately, Nixon has been loudly propagating his policy of withdrawing 25 000 U. S. troops as a sign of his good will and of his desire for peace, as well as the fact that he will gradually move toward the ending of the war. Recently, Nixon has promised to better Clifford's proposal to withdraw 100 000 U. S. soldiers in the course of 1969 and that all of the troops will be withdrawn in 1970. In fact, this is one of the maneuvers of the policy of the de-Americanization of the war with a view to deceiving world public opinion and placating the people of the United States and of the rest of the world in their movement of struggle against the war of aggression in Viet-Nam. In the face of these legitimate demands of the U.S. people and of the peoples of the rest of the world, the Nixon Administration has tried to create an environment propitious for the withdrawal of their troops, emphasizing the fact that 25 000 of these troops will be withdrawn. This is like taking a drop of water out of an immense ocean. With this they are attempting to placate public opinion and, of course, to prolong the presence of half a million U.S. soldiers in South Viet-Nam and continue the war of aggression against that Southeast Asian country.

We all know that the withdrawal of 25 000 of 100 000 U.S. troops in no way means the end of the war of aggression against Viet-Nam. It is necessary to completely and unconditionally withdraw all U.S. troops and military personnel as well as those foreign troops and personnel belonging to the U.S. camp, and to dismantle all U.S. and other foreign bases from South Vietnamese territory. Only in this way will the war come to an end.

Therefore, the withdrawal of 25 000 U.S. soldiers means nothing, it is but the objective that has been sought by the war-mongers in the ruling circles of the United States from the beginning up to the present, which is, to put





on the record the withdrawal of their troops with a view toward continuing the war of aggression against South Viet-Nam.

Here are the words and deeds of President Nixon from the time he assumed the presidency to date, particularly the words from his speech of May 14, 1969, and the press conference of June 19, 1969. That speech has been repeatedly praised by the U.S. rulers who consider it as a solution filled with the peaceful desires of the United States. Undoubtedly, this is nothing more than a stubborn and obstinate position of aggression. Their more or less metaphoric words to placate public opinion and ease off the pressure caused by the demands on the war of aggression in Viet-Nam, nevertheless, constitute by their fundamental content an archaic maneuver of the United States: to cling to South Viet-Nam, to prolong the military occupation in an attempt to maintain and consolidate the puppet administration and army, and to implant the new style colonialism in South Viet-Nam.

Everyone knows the basic principle for a just solution to the South Vietnamese problem is respect for the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people. Nevertheless, in his May 14, 1968, 8-point program, Nixon avoided touching that point because if the United States were to respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people it would naturally have to accept the unconditional withdrawal of all the Yankee troops and all the troops of the other foreign countries that intervened with them in the aggression against the South Vietnamese people. Upon sending the U.S. forces into South Viet-Nam the U.S. Government grossly violated the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people. Nevertheless, they raise the insolent argument that "both sides should withdraw their respective troops," thus placing the aggressors and the Vietnamese people who are fighting against the aggression on the same level. In Nixon's 8-point program he could not hide his intentions to permanently occupy South Viet-Nam when he said: "At the end of 12 months the rest of the U.S. troops and of the troops of foreign countries in the U.S. camp will be regrouped in certain bases." We ask one question: "Why does Nixon talk about completely and rapidly withdrawing all the U.S. troops and those from the satellite countries from South Viet-Nam and nevertheless, hesitate and obstinately look for every means of concentrating his troops on certain bases?" The 8-point program presented by President Nixon refers to general

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selection but makes no mention of a coalition government. Rather it asks for the individual progressive organizations of South Viet-Nam to resign themselves to abandoning the use of arms in order to participate in the elections while the U.S. expeditionary force continues occupying South Viet-Nam and the Saigon puppet army and administration remain intact.

This would mean general elections held under the bayonets and rifles of the U.S. aggressor army and that of its puppets, fraudulent elections similar to those carried out by the U.S. Government during the Ngo Dinh Diem regime and those in 1967.

This is nothing more than a phony maneuver of the Nixon Government. Who is going to believe that any elections under such conditions would take into account respect for the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people? Everyone knows that the rotten sell-out Thieu-Ky-Huong clique is an instrument of the U.S. aggressors, and set up by them to serve the perfidious maneuvers and aggressive machinations in South Viet-Nam. While they continue clinging to the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration they will not be able to support the self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. Therefore, Nixon uses pacifist words in his 8-point program to simulate his good will, but, in reality, it is an aggressive and very obstinate position, totally in accordance with the words of U.S. Senator Frank York on May 27 1969, who warned: "It is a kind of yellow grape wine, made by Johnson, but bottled and labeled by Nixon."

Later, on June 19, in a press conference, Nixon repeated his mothelaten maneuver. He also stated that it was necessary to wait some months more until the Paris Conference evolved.

Nevertheless, he did not touch on anything relative to concrete measures on the part of the United States so that the Conference might progress. Continuing, he said vaguely that the United States would withdraw its troops but without forgetting that it would have to be in accord with the conditions previously formulated by him. He repeated to the saturation point the problem of the Vietnamese people's right of self-determination, but, at the same time he praised the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique as constitutional and legal.

The Nixon Government is making a great effort to continue the war of aggression, and, at the same time, incessantly proclaiming its peaceful desires. It is trying in every way to demonstrate that there is something new in its policy.

It is obvious that they have failed on the battlefield in Viet-Nam and they are more and more condemned by world public opinion. Daily, millions of men and women in the United States demand that they put an immediate end to their war of aggression against Viet-Nam and immediately bring home their sons and brothers.

The great sympathy and support of the U.S. people and the peoples of the world toward the global solution contained in the NFL's 10 points have pushed the U.S. war-mongers against the wall. The 8-point program

formulated by Nixon on May 14, 1969, could not prevent him from finding himself in a blind alley. President Nixon had to organize a bilateral meeting with his puppet Nguyen Van Thieu and raise a furor with his so-called "bringing home 25 000 U.S. troops", and thus spreading the fiction that "the door to peace has been opened." Nevertheless these tricks have failed.

U.S. Albert Gore stated: "The withdrawal (with an eyedropper) of the troops by Nixon only constitutes a prolongation of the war."

The constitution of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has had great repercussions all over the world, even in the United States itself, leading the U.S. Government into an extremely gloomy situation. In a space of less than a week, 23 governments have recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. This fact demonstrates its genuine and legal character, while at the same time, reveals the illegal and reactionary character of the puppet Saigon administration. U.S. Senator K. Clairborn stated: "Without the dollars and the presence of the U.S. expeditionary force, the life of this group would be very short". The Nixon group in clinging to this sell-out putrid bunch that has been repudiated by everyone; therefore, he can only expect increasingly greater opposition of the people of the world.

The constitution of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam marks an important victory for the South Vietnamese people. This is the inexorable process of the anti-Yankee struggle of the South Vietnamese people in accordance with the present situation in South Viet-Nam creating favorable conditions for all the patriotic forces of South Viet-Nam to participate in power, thus completely establishing the system of people's power that has already been set up in the majority of South Viet-Nam increasing the right of the South Vietnamese people to be owners of their own destiny, mobilizing all the social strata of South Viet-Nam with the aim of carrying their liberation struggle to a successful conclusion.

Encouraged by the great victories obtained by the great historic events, the people of the South enthusiastically march forward to achieve even more spectacular victories in the near future.

Everyone knows that the reactionary policy of the Nixon Government will not be able, in any way, to save them from their present stagnation. The only decent way out for the United States is to recognize the basic national rights of the people of Viet-Nam and the self-determination of the South Vietnamese people; in addition to ending their aggressive war, withdrawing all their troops and those of the foreign countries in the U.S. camp as well as the weapons, military personnel and other war matériel that they maintain in South Viet-Nam without any conditions whatsoever, in accordance with the global solution of the 10 points issued by the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation. The more obstinate and more treacherous the Nixon Government becomes the more he rejects the just and correct position of the Vietnamese people, the greater will be his defeats and without a doubt, he will not be able to avoid an even more humiliating total defeat.

Guinea Bissau:

Why They Fight

In the midst of the African movement for national liberation there emerges, with particular intensity, the armed struggle of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde, under the enlightened leadership of their vanguard party, PAIGC. Many facts which prove the *raison d'être* of the struggle and determination of these people to wrest national independence through armed struggle have already been recorded in the history of their fight.

Just a decade ago the people of Guinea and Cape Verde were violently shaken by the abominable massacre perpetrated on August 3 by the Portuguese colonialists in the Pijiguiti pier. Four years later, the nationalists replied to this monstrous crime by launching an armed struggle. In March 1964 in the Island of Komo, the colonialists troops—about 3 000 strong—suffered their first severe defeat in the face of the heroic resistance of the freedom fighters. Today, the continuous strengthening of the political work and the intensive action of the PAIGC armed forces have resulted in the almost complete liberation of the national territory and in the consolidation of the certainty of ultimate victory.

It is a fact that the colonialist and fascist Portuguese government led by Marcelo Caetano, will reinforce the military might of its army in order to intensify the criminal bombings and strafings against the towns and villages of the liberated zones, in a vain attempt to recover some important strategic positions. It is a fact that this very government will also multiply its maneuvers and its appeals for political, military and economic support to its imperialist masters, particularly those gathered round NATO, who have become accomplices of this colonial war. But it is also a fact that the PAIGC combatants will fight to the end and that victory will inevitably be theirs. The last successes scored in the recent offensive—which have already brought about the seizure of at least a score of colonialists fortified garrisons and a considerable increase in the number of enemy soldiers captured—is overwhelming evidence of this.



Rockefeller:

the Toll of Victims from His Tour

From May 11 to July 6 New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller toured 20 countries of Latin America with the mission, assigned him by President Richard Nixon, of investigating the socio-economic conditions and listening to Latin American opinions.

According to U.S. propaganda, the multimillionaire Yankee politician's report was to be used by the White House to prepare a "new policy on Latin America" to replace the ill-named "Alliance for Progress" which even Nixon has admitted is now defunct.

As he passed through the majority of countries visited in the midst of extraordinary security measures, Rockefeller left blood, violence and death in his wake. This dramatically pointed up the intensity of the anti-imperialist feeling south of the U.S. border.

We are publishing a brief outline of the principal events which occurred during the visit of the imperial envoy to certain Latin American countries.

GUATEMALA: A huge demonstration of repudiation took place upon Rockefeller's arrival and during his stay on Guatemalan soil to such a point that the multimillionaire Yankee exploiter had to be taken by helicopter from the airport in Guatemala City. During his visit, Rockefeller had only a four-and-a-half-hour interview with President César Méndez Montenegro. The conversations were held secretly on a farm protected by more than a thousand Guatemalan soldiers.

EL SALVADOR: During Rockefeller's stay there were constant protest demonstrations under the auspices of the Association of Salvadoran Students and the Teacher's Association.

HONDURAS: The Honduras dictatorship ordered their forces to crush the protest demonstrations. Upon attacking students and workers the police shot and killed

the student Carlos Virilio Zuñiga, who thus became the first victim of the repression against the demonstrations repudiating Rockefeller's visit. The murder of Zuñiga took place on the steps of the Cathedral of Tegucigalpa. Many students were wounded.

NICARAGUA: In spite of the deployment of the repressive forces the demonstrations continued without interruption. The demonstrators managed to destroy the Managua offices of the United States Information Service (USIS). There were several wounded, some by gunfire.

COSTA RICA: In Costa Rica there were demonstrations against Rockefeller's visit. Several Yankee offices were stoned.

PANAMA: There were street clashes between Panamanians and police. Some sources reported that Yankee secret agents who were a part of the huge repressive group that accompanied Rockefeller during his tour took part in the repressive operations.

COLOMBIA: Beginning many hours before the arrival of the Yankee emissary in Bogotá, the Colombian capital and the main cities of the country were a constant theater of violent anti-U.S. demonstrations. Three offices of the USIS, where branches of the so-called Colombian-American Cultural Institute operated, were set on fire. Serious clashes occurred in Bogotá, Barranquilla, Cali Medellín Montería and other cities. The Colombian regime suspended university activities, but the demonstrations continued even after Rockefeller's departure. On May 30, the police of Lleras Restrepo murdered the worker Alfonso Muñoz Zapa'a in the city of Medellín. The final toll of the visit was one death, more than 200 wounded, mostly by gunfire, and hundreds arrested, in addition to thousands of dollars in material damage.

ECUADOR: The Ecuadoran government was obliged to station more than 6 thousand police and soldiers to protect Rockefeller. Here the repression was more brutal even than in Colombia and the military regime ordered a military assault on the universities.

The final toll of the repressive violence was seven killed, five of whom were students. In Quito an old man was murdered as a result of having been asphyxiated by tear gas. In Guayaquil, Quito, Cuenca, Esmeralda, Loja and Portoviejo, Yankee companies were attacked. It is estimated that 300 people were wounded and around a thousand arrested.

PERU: Rockefeller's visit was cancelled by the military government of President Juan Velasco Alvarado. In addition there were protest demonstrations against the massacre of Latin Americans by the puppet armies which protected the Yankee envoy.

BOLIVIA: A gigantic national wave of repudiation of Rockefeller's visit gained ground as the date for his visit grew nearer. Hours before he left Ecuador for a 24-hour visit to Bolivia huge workers' and students' demonstrations got underway throughout the country. Because of this Rockefeller and the Bolivian puppet authorities decided to reduce the visit to only three hours and to change the itinerary, thus excluding La Paz. Under the protection of six thousand police and soldiers



Rockefeller was obliged to remain in the airport in La Paz while in the capital and other cities the protest demonstrations took place.

VENEZUELA: The Venezuelan Government was forced to ask for the cancellation of Rockefeller's visit after the students threatened to "set fire to the country if Rockefeller set one foot on Venezuelan soil". Several supermarket and other enterprises belonging to Rockefeller in Venezuela were attacked by armed groups.

BRAZIL: Despite the fact that the military dictatorship put several thousand oppositionists under preventive arrest the armed and street actions against Rockefeller's visit flourished throughout the country. Yankee bank subsidiaries (Chase Manhattan-First National City Bank) U.S. commercial enterprises (Sears Roebuck) and offices of the USIS were attacked and burned in several cities. AP and UPI called the repressive preparations the most thorough of the tour.

PARAGUAY: Imprisonment, exiling and murder of the oppositionists to the regime could not prevent huge protest demonstrations particularly in Asunción, the very lair of the tyrant, Stroessner. Many students were brutally beaten and the number of arrested reached several hundred.

URUGUAY: Here also the special emissary of Yankee imperialism was forced to change his plans and take refuge in the deserted resort of Punta del Este under the protection of thousands of police, dozens of helicopters and a mixed Yankee-Uruguayan squadron. In Uruguay the TUPAMAROS staged spectacular actions including the making of radio broadcast against the imperialists and their puppet The Pacheco Areco regime suspended classes, broke into schools, arrested hundreds of persons but was unable to prevent the revolutionary violence of the masses. During Rockefeller's visit an important General Motors automobile plant was burned and damaged

are estimated at one million dollars. At the same time, during Rockefeller's stay Cuban flags and the flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam were flown. A huge portrait of Che Guevara, the Heroic Guerrilla, was also hung in the Uruguayan capital.

CHILE: Under the pressure of the Chilean students, intellectuals and workers, the Eduardo Frei Government was forced to cancel Rockefeller's visit. Protest demonstrations against Rockefeller's Latin-American tour took place in Santiago de Chile as well as in Concepción, Valparaíso and other cities.

ARGENTINA: Argentina, shaken by a huge popular movement against the military tyranny of Onganía, was also the scene of spectacular revolutionary actions. Among these were the burning and destruction of 14 supermarkets of the Yankee enterprise, IBEC, belonging to Rockefeller. These enterprises were destroyed simultaneously in Buenos Aires and the damages amounted to 4 million dollars. In Córdoba, Rosario, Santa Fé, Tucumán and other cities, just as in Buenos Aires, violent anti-Yankee demonstrations took place accompanied by acts of sabotage against Yankee and official enterprises and with the explosion of hundreds of bombs. One of these destroyed the Córdoba branch of the Chase Manhattan Bank property of the Rockefeller family. The peoples' actions culminated in a national general strike called by the oppositionist General Confederation of Workers. During the protest actions the well-known newsman and trade unionist Emilio Mario Jáuregui was killed by the police. There were hundreds of dead and wounded but many of them were police and soldiers of the Onganía regime.

HAITI: Hundreds of oppositionists to the Duvalier dictatorship had been murdered or imprisoned by the terrorist Tou-Tou Macoutes previous to Rockefeller's arrival.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: On the occasion of Rockefeller's arrival a general strike paralyzed Santo Domingo, the scene of the brutal Yankee invasion of 1965. Throughout the cities signs appeared saying "Go Home, Rocky." In Santiago de los Caballeros and other cities numerous bombs were set off and demonstrations took place. During the final hours of Rockefeller's stay the Dominican soldiers murdered five people.

JAMAICA: In Kingston, Rockefeller received special protection and many signs appeared on the walls reading "Rocky Go Home."

GUYANA: In Guyana dozens of persons were placed under preventive arrest. In spite of the arrests demonstrations in repudiation of Rockefeller took place before, during and after his visit. The demonstrators stoned Yankee diplomatic, "cultural" and commercial establishments, including the Embassy and the offices of the USIS.

NEW YORK: After a brief stop in Barbados Rockefeller returned to New York on July 6. In his own lair, nevertheless, the New York Governor was met by a protest demonstration at the international airport organized by the "Students for a Democratic Society." "Che lives" and "Long Live the Latin American people" were the slogans chanted by the U.S. students in their demonstrations of repudiation against Rockefeller. Many of the demonstrators were beaten and arrested.

Hiroshima:

the Resurgence of Militarism

In recent years the struggle of the Japanese people against the revival of militarism in their country and the US military occupation has steadily increased. The widest sections of the population participate in it, particularly the workers and students, who have been waging decisive battles for a long time. For all the peoples of the Asian continent this struggle has a special significance.

In the territory of that country there are approximately 200 US military bases which are being used at present in the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and for actions of espionage, aggression and provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and other Asian countries. At the same time, Japanese militarist imperialism—in full revival—is playing an increasingly important role in the imperialist strategy in that continent as well as in other parts of the world.

Taking these circumstances into consideration, on the commemoration on August 6 and 9 of a new anniversary of the criminal atomic bombings by US imperialism on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL once more reiterated its full support to the just struggle carried on by the Japanese people against the revival of militarism in their country, for the withdrawal of the bases, troops and military equipment of US imperialism from their territory, for the abrogation of the so-called Japan-US Security and Japan-South Korean treaties for the return of Okinawa and other territories occupied by the US imperialists to the Japanese people, against the port call of atomic submarines and the turning of Japan into a base for nuclear attacks.

Likewise, it expresses its full support to the XV World Conference against the Atomic Bombs.

Cuba:

Continuing Revolution

On July 26, 1953 a group of revolutionaries attacked the Moncada Garrison—the second most important military fortress in Cuba—and by this heroic and daring action shook Batista's tyranny installed in power by US imperialism sixteen months before.

At that time Cuba was undergoing a situation of complete subjection—just as that still being undergone today by the rest of the Latin American continent—to U.S. imperialism, which exploited its natural wealth and resources through the Cuban rich and privileged elite and the political parties and gangs whose ludicrous electoral farces succeedingly turned power over to their best lackeys. The gallant struggle for independence from Spanish colonialism was frustrated when Cuba became a new colony at the beginning of this century for, though it had a national anthem and a flag, no queen, governors or captain-generals, it was still exploited by a foreign nation.

The action of July 26, 1953 opened a new stage in the struggle of the Cuban people for their national independence. After years of sacrifice in which the armed struggle developed and became increasingly strong, on January 1959 it resulted in the triumph of the Rebellion which fulfilled the courageous Moncada action. The significance of this event had repercussions throughout the Latin American continent and even far beyond, in Africa and in Asia, as an example and a stimulus to all revolutionaries, thereby demonstrating that in Latin America, which is considered the private backyard of U.S. imperialism, it is possible to defeat the people's oppressors and carry out a genuine revolution by means of armed struggle.

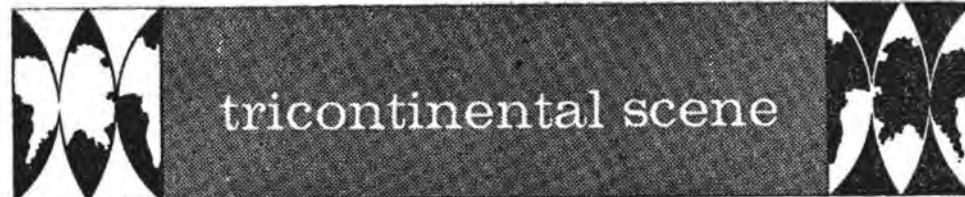
Once in power, the Cuban Revolution has had to face the aggressions which U.S.



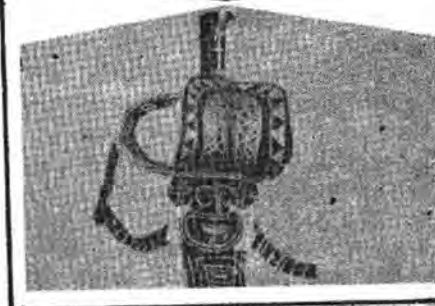
imperialism has launched against it in every field and by all means, ranging from sabotage, the infiltration of CIA agents, direct military aggressions—Playa Girón, 1961—to economic and diplomatic blockades. Each one of these aggressions has been repelled and defeated by the Cuban people, thus increasing the historic importance of their Revolution and demonstrating not only that the revolutionary forces may take over through armed struggle but also that it is possible to accomplish a profound revolutionary transformation right under the very nose of imperialism, liberating the country from oppression and foreign exploitation and building a society free from exploitation, poverty, illiteracy, discrimination and all the consequences of imperialist rule.

The successes scored by the Cuban people along the road to national construction, especially in the economic field, their firm attitude in face of U.S. imperialism and its solidarity and internationalist stand, make the Cuban Revolution a factor of outstanding importance for all peoples particularly for the Latin American, African and Asian peoples, to whom its victories and battles have a meaning of their own.

This year, on the commemoration of the Day of Solidarity with Cuba, the heroic Cuban people, under the leadership of their Communist Party and Revolutionary Government, headed by Major Fidel Castro, are deeply engaged in the gigantic tasks of furthering the 10-million ton sugar harvest, which constitutes a decisive goal for their economic development, while maintaining firmly and unflinchingly, their revolutionary stand and their example to all the revolutionary combatants in Latin America and throughout the world.



Angola: the Struggle for Its Liberation



The national liberation struggle in Angola is rooted in a long tradition of resistance to foreign penetration. For four centuries, the people have risen up in different places in the territory to oppose the Portuguese occupation and military conquest. The collective memory is still filled with the historic examples of the heroes and war chiefs such as Ngola Kiluandji, Nzinga Mbandi, Madume and Mwe Mbandu.

Toward the end of the last century and in the second decade of the 20th century, a group of intellectuals, Silverio Ferreira, Paixao Franco, Cordeiro da Matta, Assis Junior, among others, set down the written "reply" to colonialism and outlined the modern method of struggle of the nationalist movement.

It is in this spirit that the *National African League* was founded in 1929 in which the vanguard was able to prove the necessity for abandoning legal means in the struggle against the colonial system.

But it was after the Second World War and, particularly, beginning in 1953 with the formation of the first clandestine political parties that all of Angolan political life was modified.

I. THE CLANDESTINE STRUGGLE

The first clandestine parties came into being in 1953. The People's Movement for the liberation of Angola (MPLA), created in December 1956, in the result of the merger of these political groups such as the *Angolan United Action Party* (PLUA) and the *Movement for the Independence of Angola* (MIA). Later, in 1958 another organization, the Movement for Angolan National Independence (MINA) also joined the MPLA. The MPLA carried out feverish activity to clandestinely organize the masses in the cities and in the countryside.

Nevertheless, in 1957, the fascist police, PIDE, strengthened their organization in

Angola. On March 29, 1959, they carried out one of the largest police raids jailing dozens of very influential nationalists and a multitude of suspects.

One month later, on April 26, the Portuguese Air Force was very ostentatiously installed in Angola, and to pay homage to this event the governor general gave one of his most threatening speeches. "This country can not be defended unless it has a military structure..." At the same time he was obliged to recognize, for the first time, that "Angola is not living in peace and harmony" when he said: "flyers are appearing in Angola such as were expected..."

In July 1959, a new wave of jailings took place principally of certain leaders of the MPLA, among them Ilídio Machado. On June 8, 1960, Dr. Agostinho Neto was imprisoned in Luanda. At the time he was the honored president of the MPLA. The people of Icolo-e-Bengo, his home town, protested against his arrest. The Portuguese forces' reply was unexpected: 30 dead and 200 wounded. It was the massacre of *Icolo-e-Bengo*.

On June 25 of the same year, the Reverend Father Pinto de Andrade, the present honored president of the MPLA, a doctor in theology, chancellor of the archbishop of Luanda and a member of the executive committee of the African Society of Culture was also arrested. The action of the Portuguese troops was added to that of the PIDE. The constant harassment, the searches, the burnings of houses, torture, became daily spectacles.

On December 20, 1960, 20 nationalists, of whom a good many were natives of the Cabinda district, were shot in the patio of a jail in Luanda.

Police terror managed to break up various MPLA networks and to destroy to a great extent, the internal organization of the Movement. Naturally, this action had ominous consequences a year later when the armed struggle broke out. The lack of cadres in the interior of the countryside then made itself felt.

This brings us to two conclusions: first, the Angolan nationalist movement, which dates from the end of the century is one of the oldest in Africa. If the greater part of the continent achieved its independence before Angola, it is principally due to the difficulties inherent in the clandestine struggle and the prolonged nature of the present war of liberation.

In the second place, the Angolan political struggle predating the war for liberation was carried out clandestinely, which made it particularly difficult. Also the Angolan people's lack of experience and that of the nationalist movement in that period must be taken into account.

Even in the countries that have waged or are still waging an extremely difficult war of independence, such as Algeria before and South Africa today, they were able to establish some legal parties in the first historic stage and, thus were able to more rapidly gain the support of the broad popular masses.

2. FEBRUARY 4, 1961

Members of the MPLA attacked the prisons in the capital with weapons previously obtained from the Portuguese police and army with the aim of freeing the political prisoners, among them MPLA leaders. This happened at dawn of February 4, 1961. *It was the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola.*

It is well-known that an armed struggle frequently begins with an outstanding event that manages to galvanize the entire people and to shake the morale of the keepers of established order.

Just as the Bastille became the symbol of oppression for the French revolutionaries, the jails were the main target of the people's hatred in Angola, an object of violent emotions. In *Sao Paulo*, or in any other place, everyone had a relative or friend in jail.

The events that followed are well-known: the Portuguese retaliated with the most savage brutality, and some 3000 persons were machinegunned in Luanda on February 5 and 6; some days later another massacre, this time of 5000 people, took place in Baixa de Cassange—in the interior, bordering on the districts of Malange and Lunda.

The most dedicated militants took refuge in the forest in the northeast of Angola to continue the war, which acquired such proportions that in three months an entire vast region (with the exception of the cities) had been liberated from the colonialists.

As soon as the Angolan masses, galvanized by the example of February 4, carried out the insurrection, the UPA¹ headed by Robert Holden, decided to deviate the people's struggle from its true objective of national liberation.

3. THE CRIMES OF THE UPA

As a consequence the UPA began to launch tribal slogans directed at the masses who were struggling in the interior.

Strictly speaking, it had nothing to do with a political doctrine.

The organization has always served the interests of U.S. imperialism, having as its

mission the blocking of the MPLA which had established total independence for Angola as its objective.

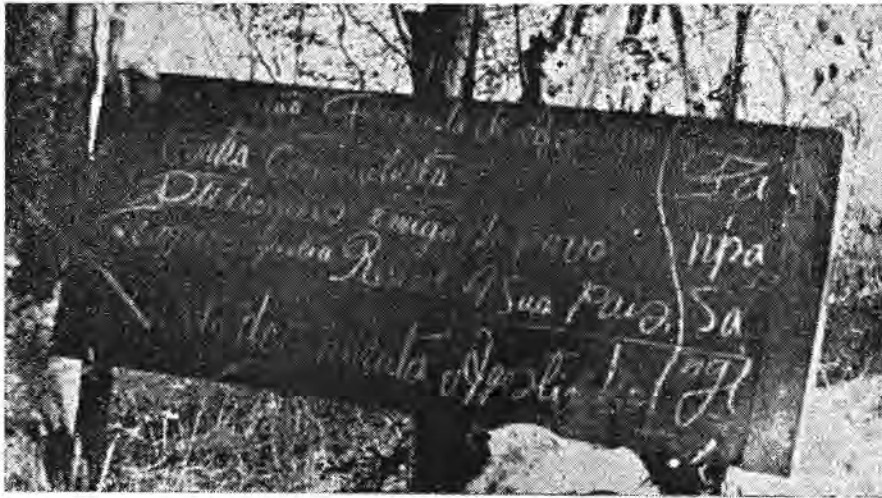
On the contrary the UPA proposed establishing a neocolonialist regime.

However, the obstinate opposition of Portuguese fascism to any kind of independence whatsoever for its colonies did not allow Robert Holden to continue along the normal route to neocolonialism. As a result, he had to take up arms, not to make the revolution but to reduce the struggle of the Angolan people, filled with sacrifice and selflessness, to a disorganized popular uprising. Within this policy the UPA had recourse to the most negative sentiments of the people, such as tribalism, racism, religious intolerance, hatred for the literate.

Meanwhile, it was inconceivable that an organization dominated by imperialism could commit itself to a revolutionary road². Having placed the struggle on the plane of the physical liquidation of the whites, the chief of the UPA launched such

¹ UPA, Angolan People's Union, new name in 1958 of the People's Union of North Angola, which clearly demonstrates its tribal nature.

² Much later the Alianza was to become PDA (the party which later united with the UPA in the FNLA). Its Vice-President General MITUMONA stated in the *Courrier d'Afrique* of February 5, 1962: "U.S. pressure is being brought to bear on the UPA, Robert Holden's party. In fact, the observers have seen clearly that the material and financial support that the UPA enjoys comes almost completely from the United States, more precisely from the U.S. Committee for Africa. This financial aid [...] would be on the condition that there be no unity between the UPA and the MPLA or any other front in which the MPLA plays a role."



slogans as "Kill all the whites, all the mulattoes, all the literate and all of the MPLA," "destroy everything white," "smoke diamba³ to be stronger in the war." (the Ba-Kongo are superior to all other tribes, they said), "make fetishes to be invulnerable to the bullets," "always attack the Portuguese en masse," "wait until the great chief Holden arrives one fine day in a perfect plane." The entire policy and all of the doctrine of the UPA⁴ can be summed up in these "slogans."

The results as we imagined have been completely catastrophic. The people, made fanatical, killed thousands of Angolans for the simple reason that they did not belong to their tribe, or that they were mulattoes or literate.⁵

President Agostinho Neto finally commented on this situation in these terms: "In this way we lost thousands of men, women and children who were, in the vast majority, sincere patriots and wholehearted

³ Diamba - Haschisch (haxix).

⁴ In an interview granted to Robert Davezies, Robert Holden stated: "I have made a point of the political formation of our people, but we have to put into effect our own experience, taking into account the difficulties, the needs that we find on the march. *We have not found any formula.*" In *Les Angolais*.

⁵ Marcos Kassanga, former "chief of the general staff" of the UPA in a press conference which took place on March 3, 1962, stated among other things: "The struggle unleashed in northern Angola is truly a fratricidal struggle in every respect. Around 8000 (eight thousand) Angolans were savagely killed by tribal elements of the UPA, stupidly armed and extremely undisciplined. This inhuman massacre committed by Angolans against Angolans has its origins in a blind tribalism which has four aspects: religious, linguistic, ethnic and ideological. Religious tribalism because everyone should be Protestant; ethnic tribalism because everyone must be originally from Sao Salvador; linguistic because everyone must speak Kikongo; ideological tribalism because everyone must defend Holden's interests."

combatants for our cause of national liberation."⁶

As a result the colonial army was able to dominate the situation again and initiate the great offensive of August-September 1961 with a cruelty that completely surpassed the actions of the Nazis during the Second World War.⁷ 50 000 dead and 300 000 refugees was the result of the genocide carried out by the Portuguese fascists.

4. CRISIS OF ANGOLAN NATIONALISM IN 1963

The leadership of the MPLA—which continued, meanwhile, with the political and military formation of its members—managed to send some Angolan squadrons to the interior of Angola with the mission of organizing the people's struggle. Robert Holden's troops assassinated several of them in cold blood during their trip to the extreme north of Angola. In this way, in 1961, a group under the command of Tomas Ferreira was massacred in the Fuesse region. Among this group was Hoji ia Henda who later was to become a great leader. In 1962 another group was intercepted by the Congolese authorities near the border and in 1963 another squadron was massacred near the Loge River.

In this way, the UPA managed to deal a rude blow to the heroic struggle of the Angolan people, preventing members of the MPLA who had taken up arms from carrying out their activities for three years and keeping the MPLA guerrillas organized abroad from the theater of war. The Angolan people's struggle suffered terrible blows because the MPLA was the only party capable of effectively conducting the war.

These problems of the MPLA which were due to the maneuvers of U.S. im-

perialism for which Robert Holden served as agent with the support of the Congolese Government—at that time headed by Mr. Cyrille Adoular—caused unrest within the movement. A separatist group headed by the former secretary-general of the MPLA, Viriato de Cruz, tried vainly to join the UPA.

Parallely to the difficulties caused to the MPLA, Robert Holden's U.S. advisers led him to follow a political operation in two stages: the first, to merge his organization, the UPA, with a tribal grouping, the ALLIAZO, to become in fact the PDA,⁸

⁶ Broadcast on Radio-Tanzania on the program the "Voice of Combatant Angola" on June 6, 1968.

⁷ This can be read in a testimony given by the pilot-aviator Major José Ervedosa who deserted the Portuguese Army in Angola: "The objective is Banza-Muquiama. A town like all the rest in northern Angola. I have a recent plan of the huts in my hand."

"... I take the plane. Fuel, Rotations. Power. I fly at 2000 feet altitude. The town is now slightly to my left. I fly parallel with the highway... NAP number one. The copilot makes the contacts. [Ready! "... I look to the left trying to see the fire. It is a barrier of fire and smoke." [...]] "At the same time two bodies fall. A woman and a child, holding hands, their legs covered with burning napalm. A woman and a child."

⁸ Alliazo - Alliance of the originators of Zombo. PDA - Democratic Party of Angola.

In the "Alliazo program preliminary to the independence of Angola" we were able to read: "As a result, outside of territorial considerations, the Alliazo will make every effort to make it understood that between Mbata and Ulge there is but one people: the Muzombo people. In fact, in the history of the ancient Congo Kingdom,

thus creating the FNLA (Angolan National Liberation Front)⁹ and secondly proclaiming the constitution of a provisional Angolan government in exile.

We have already stated that the UPA and the Alliazo-PDA, the two organizations that originated the founding of the FNLA, were founded by Angolan emigrants in the Congo. The imperialists took the responsibility of administering oxygen to that aberration of Angolan nationalism.

The Conciliation Committee of the OAU, which was responsible for bringing the MPLA closer to the Angolan nationalist tendency, did not study the Angolan liberation movement thoroughly enough. It immediately accepted the diktat of the Congolese government which had just recognized the GRAE. Starting from the false premise that the UPA was the only party in arms while the MPLA had no base in the territory, the OAU recommended that all member states recognize *de jure* the GRAE as the only representative of the Angolan people.

A short time later, members of the

of which we are descendants, they did not speak of Maquelinos, Kibo-Kolois, Bombaina, Sanzã-Pombo, etc. . . . they spoke only about the Bazombos to which we are related. As a consequence: Down with regionalism! Down with sterile rivalry and quarrelling! Down with the division established by the Portuguese colonialists who divide us to be better able to dominate us! ¡LET US UNITE, COMPATRIOTS!

Long after the Alliazo became the PDA, the vice-president general of that organization stated in a Congo-Kinshasa newspaper *Courrier d'Afrique* (of 5/2/68): "As is well known, the Alliazo, like the nominally nationalist Angolan political organization is a "local" or tribal party, if you wish."

Movement were expelled from the Congo-Kinshasa. The imperialist plot aimed at the destruction of the MPLA, the only truly nationalist organization, was temporarily successful. But the MPLA and other resources available to it for overcoming the crisis it was going through: eight years of clandestine work in the course of which cadres were formed in the revolutionary ideology and in the technique of guerrilla warfare. The deaths of the valiant members of the squadrons that had penetrated Angola were not in vain, since they began to prove tragically to the people the pernicious horror of fratricidal struggle. In short, the obstacles encountered by the MPLA steeled the determination of its best members.

If it is easier now to understand why the MPLA did not succumb. On the contrary, this crisis permitted a healthy selection and the best members were more united than ever. The Conference of Cadres, held in January 1964 in Brazzaville, only strengthened this new situation. President Agostinho Neto—who knew how to lead the Movement well in the midst of the tempest—was reelected, his political and moral authority thereby strengthened.

And when, in the middle of 1964, the MPLA proceeded to reopen the Cabinda front, the crisis was definitely over.

⁹ In Holden's exposition to the Good Offices Mission of the OUA you can read: "The Angolan People's Union was founded on July 10, 1954, in this very city of Leopoldville by Angolan emigrants. . ." and further on he added: ". . . the leaders of the Angolan People's Union decided to unite its efforts with those of the Democratic Party of Angola - PDA, another mass movement, established by Angolan emigrants to the Congo." He concluded: "This is how the Angolan National Liberation Front was founded."

5. THE MEANING OF THE CABINDA RESISTANCE

While abroad the MPLA again recuperated its prestige and the OAU, in order to correct its error, recognized it as an Angolan nationalist movement, fresh impetus was given to the Cabinda resistance.

The war in Cabinda had an enormous psychological impact on all the Angolan people. It once again gave them confidence in the old members of the MPLA who, in the cities and in the countryside of Angola, kept their faith in the Movement alive.

The resistance in Cabinda has not only been a laboratory in which very capable cadres have been formed, but it has also been the *first focus of a national and a people's guerrilla force in the history of the Angolan people.*

6. NEW PERSPECTIVES: THE EASTERN FRONT

Thanks to their perseverance, the MPLA managed to open up a new battle front on May 18, 1966, the Eastern Front, or the *Third Region*, which includes the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango. The Third Region¹⁰ with its 391 000 square kilometers, is four times larger than Portugal, more than three times the size of France, and as large as Viet-Nam (both parts, to the north and south of the 17th parallel, together). It is 500 kilometers wide and 800 kilometers from north to south. The mere mention of the size of that region is enough to make the propaganda of the imperialists ridiculous when they say that "the terrorist have bases abroad and infiltrate Angola to lay ambushes and later flee." From the geophysical point of view,

the Third Region is an immense plateau located some 1000 meters above sea level, sloping slightly to the southeast. It is crossed by several rivers which make up the Zambezo and Cubango Basins the greater part belonging to the Zambezo Basin; the territory is an immense savannah, frequently dotted with forests, but the farther south we go the drier it gets. Mountains are rare and relatively high.

During the rainy season, the waters abundantly flood all the savannahs (called *chanas*) in such a way that it is difficult to recognize where the river ends and the *chana* begins.

It has a sandy-clay soil. The people mainly cultivate yucca, but also sorghum and millet which constitute their basic diet. In the epoch of the unconditional domination of the colonialists, the peasants cultivated rice on the outskirts of the capital of the district of Moxico (Luso) and of Mulé, in order to sell it to the Portuguese merchants.

The rivers are known for their rich fish resources which have always been the principal source of protein in that region. A good part of the fish is dried and sold at high prices to the Portuguese merchants who resell it to the Diamond Companies for feeding to the "contracted workers."

It is the richest region of Angola for hunting and the colonialists even created two reserves Cameia to the north and Chitengo to the south.

It has a long tradition of agriculture, and as early as the beginning of this century caravans of slaves have transported beeswax to the ports on the coast. In some regions where the rivers have limited fish resources, honey has become the principal source of protein.



Despite these possibilities of obtaining food, malnutrition is rampant, just as it is throughout Angola, due to the colonialist exploitation and the production methods of a handicraft nature.

The principal wealth of the colonialists came from the exploitation of the forests in the district of Moxico. But today all this belongs to the past.

There are several ethnic groups in the region, such as the Tschokwé, Luvalé, Lunda, Mbunda, Luchaza, Kangala, Kwangali and Khnoi-San tribes. The Kwangli, inhabitants of the extreme southeast, are traditionally pastoral, the Khnoi-San are great hunters while all the rest cultivate crops. The languages in the region are, in majority, quite similar to each other.

One of the most serious obstacles in that region is its low demographic density, since it only has an approximate population of 380 000, that is, one inhabitant per square kilometer. Immense areas are completely uninhabited, principally in the Cuando-Cubango District.

Before the beginning of the armed operations, the MPLA did serious political work among the masses, in such a way that on May 18, 1966, we found there politically aware people who gave all types of material and moral aid to the guerrillas.

All the inhabitants who are at present living under the standard of the MPLA are organized into *Action Committees* organs of the people's power, directly elected by the people. This fact is of great importance. The people are participating directly in the fact of power, in a new form of leadership of a State, exercising their right to a democratic life; an old traditional chief (the *soba*) can be elected or not de-

pending on his behavior and his aptitude; people of all the ethno-linguistic groups make up a new group (the *Kimbu*) and the human contact contributes powerfully to knocking down old tribal barriers.

The struggle for national liberation is the most powerful cement for national unity.

The MPLA established medical dispensaries of the SAM (Medical Assistance Service), politico-military schools for the formation of cadres and "people's stores."

The colonialist soldiers live quartered in their barracks, and their supplies, in many cases, can only be brought in by air.

The trump card of the colonialists continues to be, in fact, their control of the air, and they take advantage of this to bomb peaceful towns. Naturally, the principal victims are women, children and old people who are hard-pressed to protect themselves from air attacks.

During the dry season the colonialist begin their "clean-up operations." But those operations regularly end in bitter defeats.

Meanwhile, in addition to ambushes the guerrillas of the MPLA carry out attacks on Portuguese bases, constantly harassing the enemy everywhere. One of the great tasks of the MPLA consist in helping to liberate the people herded into "strategic villages."

The colonialists control the air, but, on land, the MPLA is in control, which constitutes the decisive factor. Even our enemies are obliged to recognize our strength. Thus, the South African racists, also committed to the war in Angola, stated¹⁰:

¹⁰ Al Venter in a South African magazine *New-Cheik* of June 12, 1968.

"Recently the war in Angola has taken a dramatic turn for the worse. What was before a mosquito bite, has, in eleven months, become a serious threat to the security of the entire sub-continent. This is reflected in the increasing activity of the Caprivi region and in the sectors to the north and southeast of Africa.

This same newsman spoke of the "recent guerrilla activity in eastern Angola and the intensification of the war in the north." According to him, the situation of the colonial troops in the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango is as follows: "At present, the Portuguese forces are concentrated around Luso to the east on Culto Cuanavale, more to the south."

The Portuguese themselves cannot help but recognize that the guerrillas "form an oil spot" (that extends imperceptively) and that calls the attention of the colonialists to the danger that the MPLA represents.

In conclusion, the third region, the MPLA's most beautiful success, has opened up immense perspectives in all respects. It permits a rapid progression toward the generalization of the armed struggle.

7. THE DEFEAT OF THE NORTHERN FRONT OR THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF CIENFUEGOS AND KAMI SQUADRONS

In 1966, the northeastern Front no longer had the same appearance that it had in 1961. Profound changes have taken place. Harsh reality, imposed on the people by the Portuguese Army, has obliged them to think and brought them to the conclusion that the UPA's slogans led to the debacle. In the first phase of the struggle the people went out to wait for "Holden's perfect

plane" on the open plains and the Portuguese planes took advantage of this to strafe those poor people.

The "fetish" that should have made them "invulnerable" caused the deaths of thousands of valiant combatants; the slogan of "openly attacking the Portuguese en masse," has been the cause of considerable massacres.

The most valiant inhabitants sought refuge in the forest and under the influence of members of the MPLA who were always under arms "rediscovered" the laws of guerrilla warfare. Ambushes replaced the attacks en masse; a new organization replaced the initial "people's uprising."

It was at this precise moment that the glorious *Cienfuegos squadron* finally managed to cross the Congo-Kinshasa clandestinely and to reach the jungles of the north ready for combat.

For a week the people celebrated this historic victory with dances, speeches, meetings and banquets. It was THEIR victory. In March 1967, the second glorious squadron, the *Kami squadron* followed the same route and reached the traditional forces of the guerrilla war.

It was the most wonderful recompense the MPLA could have given to those heroic people of the northeast, who, for six years, had managed to oppose, unaided, the colonial army and achieve a high degree of paralyzation.

8. THE GENERALIZATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE MPLA'S STRATEGIC POLICY

As a result, all the conditions had been created for bringing about a happy ending

to the great work done by Dr. Agostinho Neto, the president of the MPLA, who had announced to the world in his historic speech at the beginning of 1961 "*the generalization of the armed struggle throughout the national territory.*" A new phase in the Angolan people's struggle was about to begin.

Following the strategic policy, the Movement opened up a new front in northeastern Angola, the Fourth Region, which took in the districts of Lunda and Malange. The first assembly of the Third Region, which was held in August of 1968, confirmed the fact that more than a third of the Angolan territory is controlled by the MPLA, and that of the fifteen districts into which the colonial administration had divided Angola, nine are at war Cabinda, Zaire, Vige, Luanda, North Cuanza, Lunda, Malange, Moxico and Cuando-Cubango.¹¹ The president of MPLA had already announced that "other regions will be opened up this year so that there will no longer be several combats fronts, but rather one single front which will encircle the enemy, paralyzing him and making him inoffensive, which will be a prelude to the final blow culminating in our people's taking of political power."¹²

He added that the seat of the organization will no longer be set up abroad but will function in one of the regions controlled by the Movement. That fundamental declaration illustrates an essential aspect of the MPLA's strategic policy: *the struggle must be carried out within the country.*

As a result of this, it is a matter of carrying out a long-drawn-out people's revolutionary war, involving all of the national territory including the cities which will be mobilized for clandestine work and will be taken in the final phase of the war.

It is also a matter of carrying on a guerrilla war which will take on other phases in the future, without completely abandoning guerrilla warfare.

The MPLA struggle is of a politico-military nature, with prime importance being given to the political aspect. This is the reason for the intense attention the MPLA is giving to the mobilization and organization of the masses, both to those in the liberated zones and those under foreign domination. This is the reason for the MPLA's constant interest in the formation of valuable cadres both from the political and military points of view.

The MPLA's liberation struggle has a *profound national content* which means that all the Angolan ethnic group and all social levels should form a part of it. This policy is the result of a *national front* which in no way precludes the creation of a *party structure within this front.*

9. THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL ARMY

In 1967, Angola had a heavy concentration of Portuguese military troops in the three colonies at war: around 70 000 men.

At the present time, after the promulgation of the laws concerning the prolongation of military service and the drafting of women, there must be a much greater number.

According to rumors circulating in Portugal the Caetano Government will increase the number of Portuguese troops in Angola by 20 000 men, after the recent visit made by that country's minister of "defense."

¹¹ Beginning on this date, the district of Bie constituted fifth region.

¹² Press conference given by the MPLA president in Brazzaville on January 13, 1969.

In addition, Angola is the colony in which the militarization of the colonialists has been the most advanced: almost all the adult colonialists belong to the armed "militia" of the OPDCA (Provincial Organization of Volunteers for the Civil Defense of Angola). To this must be added the police and principally the PIDE, the political police (who act like Hitler's SS) and, furthermore, the "mercenaries" paid by the mining companies.

Therefore, the total repressive force in Angola amounts to around 160 000 men.

The following graph is an indication of Portuguese losses:

Soldiers put out of action during the period from December 1964 to November 2, 1968¹³

Armed Forces	520
"Militia"	487
total	1007

Obviously this graph is far removed from reality: it needs to be multiplied by five! Nevertheless, it has the merit of showing that Angola and the other Portuguese colonies are not, in any way, shape or form, "an oasis of peace in this troubled world of our times," as the Portuguese leaders are too wont to state with great affectation.

10. THE GENERALIZATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA AND PORTUGUESE FASCISM

We will now make an analysis of the repercussions on fascist Portugal of the generalization of the armed struggle in Angola and the intensification of the military activities in Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

What this additional expense means to Portuguese fascism can be seen in the official statistics; the admitted military costs amounted to more than 2684 thousand *contos* in 1960 (23.7% of the budget), 7 million *contos* in 1966 (40% of the budget) and 8.5 million in 1967 which represents 7% of the PNS.¹⁴

While military expenses increased, the rhythm of domestic gross production growth slackened and even diminished in 1967.¹⁵

Agriculture made no progress in those years (Portugal, an agricultural country, is a great importer of foodstuffs), but meanwhile the third sector increased more and more.

To finance the enormous military apparatus, the fascist state resorted to inflation for the first time on a large scale, the production growth rate diminished, but the means of payment increased at a rate of 15% per year, thus leading to a spiraling increase in prices, while the salaries are rigidly frozen (with the help of the PIDE!). Portugal's commercial balance has been considered to be one of the most deficient in Europe for centuries. Portugal's balance of trade with foreign countries (excluding her colonies) has also been traditionally unfavorable. Only the super-exploitation of the colonies permits her to maintain her equilibrium in the so-called "balance of payments of the hard currency area" and to increase her gold reserves and her foreign exchange in the Bank of Portugal, a symbol of fascism and a reflection

¹³ According to data from Portuguese sources contained in the armed forces bulletins.

¹⁴ The expenditures of the army and the police (including the PIDE) amounted to 10.2 million *contos* in 1967, that is, 43% of the budget.

¹⁵ UN statistical yearbook 1966-67.

of a backward economic policy in underdeveloped Portugal.

The Portuguese public debt, up to 1960, had reached a very low level, and today it amounts to 33.6 million *contos*. One third of this amount represents short-term foreign credits.

Tourism, which brought Portugal 7.5 million *contos* in gross income in 1966, began to decline the following year and this tendency has continued.¹⁶

In order to flee the colonial war, the young men are deserting. Portugal, with its 250 000 emigrants in 1966, today has the highest emigration rate in the world. The very structure of this emigration has changed: it is no longer just illiterate peasants who are fleeing the enslaving hell, but also the skilled workers. Portugal's allies, whose opinions can be found in *The Times*, *Newsweek*, and *Le Monde*, seriously doubt that the Portuguese army can be victorious.

The Portuguese Government still, holds some trump cards. In spite of the decline, tourism continues to be very heavy, the gold and foreign exchange reserves are very high, and above all, her allies in NATO, South Africa and Japan have given her their support.

Nevertheless, Portugal's allies will only help her on one condition: that the monopolies be permitted to penetrate Portugal and her colonies freely. In this way, in a vain attempt to maintain her colonies, Portugal herself is being turned into a colony of the great imperialist powers. Such is the abyss into which the fascist are pushing their country.

It is no secret to anyone that the Portuguese Army is equipped exclusively with NATO weapons—from the light infantry

arms Belgian FNs and German G-3s to the P84 planes (U.S.) and G91 FIAT (Italian), to the French Alouette helicopters and submarines.

The rent for the U.S. and French military bases in the Azores and the German bases in Beja is paid for in war matériel.

Since all of this is not enough to cover the increasing needs of the colonial army Portugal is falling into the arms of South Africa more and more with which (and its protégé Ian Smith) she formed what has rightly been called "the diabolical alliance."

At the present time there are South African soldiers fighting in Angola, principally in the Cuanda-Cubango District. The South African bases in southwest Africa give logistic aid to the Portuguese Army and the South African helicopters operate in Angola. By fighting effectively on the eastern front, the MPLA is contributing to the liquidation of the South African racist bastion.

Political contradictions are sharpening in Portugal. The struggle is broadening; there was an attack on the branch of the Bank of Portugal in Figueira da Foz; arms and ammunition were captured from the Evora arsenal; there have been important workers' strikes, as well as the students' vindication movements, demonstrations against the Viet-Nam War and, by extension, against the war in the Portuguese colonies.

At the same time, dissension in the fascist ranks is sharpening. This is nothing new. In the last days of Hitler, Goering, Himmler and many other Nazi bandits betrayed their Fuehrer and each other mutually. In Portugal the fascist elements are meeting in various groups, some more

¹⁶ The tourists who go to Portugal contribute to the financing of the colonial war.



committed to U.S. imperialism, others to German imperialism and so on and so forth. They are busy fighting each other.

The taking of power by the fascist Marcello Caetano has obviously not solved these contradictions. He and his military men will maintain Salazar's policy since they believe that it is the only way to preserve the empire; according to them, any kind of independence granted to the colonies would lead to a total loss of Portuguese control in favor of total independence or U.S. neocolonialism. The Caetano group has no other alternative than to fight to the end, to fight until Portuguese colonialism and fascism are totally defeated.

These difficulties are now so great that last year they passed a law prolonging the tour of duty in the army from two to four years, made military service obligatory for women and introduced new standards for

acceptance much less stiff, to such an extent that now not even the blind, the deaf and the dumb are free from this martyrdom.¹⁷

Contradictions are also sharpening in the colonies. The priests in Mozambique are demanding reforms and the colonialist in Angola have risen up against the increased taxes and against the Army's increased indebtedness to the private sectors¹⁸ to finance a war "that has no end!"

¹⁷ The Lisbon newspaper *Jornal da Comercio* of January 12, 1968, titled one of its articles "National Assembly—excellence of the assistance of Portuguese women and of the possible contribution of the dead, dumb, blind and physically handicapped to the military services of the nation."

¹⁸ Discussions in the "Angolan Legislative Council" between the governor general and the colonialist Venancio Guimarse, published in the newspaper *Provincia de Angola* on 28/10/67.

On February 1, 1968, the newspaper *Diario de Mozambique* was closed down for having stated that 90% of the auto thefts in Beira (Mozambique) were the work of the Army.

The magazine *Noticia of Angola*, in an issue in October 1967, denounced the military hierarchy's traffic in luxury items (dresses from Chez Dior, beauty creams, cigars, U.S. liquor, etc.) that entered Angola free of duty because they were declared war matériel!

At the same time that the colonial authorities are pleading with the colonialists to "tighten their belts," they are forced to waste foreign exchange on the consumption of super luxury items since the *colonial society has entered its final phase of moral decadence* and the fascist state, if it wishes to have the collaboration of the colonialists, is forced to compromise.¹⁹

CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

All of our analyses of the structure of Portugal, through the social, economic and political life of Angola and through the incidents of the armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies, permits us to reach these fundamental conclusions that open up new perspectives for the Angolan people:

1) Angola is an extremely backward country. It is not possible to rise from underdevelopment without completely liberating ourselves from all forms of foreign domination and exploitation.

2) Colonialism is a system of exploitation which carries within itself insoluble conflicts. In Angola, all the contradictions have sharpened since the beginning of the war. This explains the inevitability of the Angolan revolutionary process.

3) The relative acceleration of the Angolan development rate is nothing more than a vain attempt by Portuguese fascism to slow down the struggle by inviting all the imperialist powers to "take part in the banquet" so that they will also participate in the war.

4) The national liberation struggle—led by the MPLA—after the period of crisis in 1963, has entered an irreversible stage. The regions of armed struggle have been increased, the people are enthusiastically joining the struggle, confusion is growing in the ranks of the colonialists. The generalization of the armed struggle to include all of the national territory constitutes an essential task that the MPLA and the Angolan people have proposed to carry to a happy conclusion.

5) The MPLA, which has always been the only true nationalist group, has become the sole leader of the war. After having reorganized the northern front and opened the eastern front, the MPLA has become the only movement that has faced the enemy and its NATO allies directly.

6) As a result, it is false to speak of "division of the Angolan nationalist forces." THE ANGOLAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS UNITED IN THE MPLA.

7) The vanguard of imperialism in Africa—the racist state of South Africa—is already participating militarily in the Angolan war. But, whatever the importance of the imperialist participation in the war, the MPLA will continue its heroic struggle since VICTORY IS SURE.

¹⁹ Meanwhile, the high-ranking officials and officers are the most corrupted. Who doesn't know, for example, that the former chief of the air force general staff, Lt. Cor. Magro, is a cocaine addict?

Cordoba: Firing Has Not Ceased



Cordoba is the third most important city in Argentina. One part of the city is laid out geometrically with square blocks in a straight line. But there is also a very seldom talked about part of Córdoba. These are the poor neighborhoods located in the heights surrounding the city. There the streets are neither straight nor clean, nor are the houses comfortable and well-constructed. Rather they are huts built without rhyme or reason.

This city also has a long history of rebellion and struggle. In 1815, for example, they elected their own government and sent representatives to deal with Artigas concerning support for the cause of America and the recovery of their rights. The young man, Santiago Pampillón, the first

victim of the student struggles against the dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía, was killed by the police on September 7, 1967, when he was taking part in a demonstration, the city of Córdoba, against the military intervention in the university decreed by the Argentine military regime.

Córdoba is, as well, the city that joined Tucumán, Corrientes, Rosario and other Argentinian cities in an energetic response to the violence unleashed by the military rulers.

On this occasion, another student had been killed by the police force during a protest demonstration against the prices at the dining hall of the University of Corrientes. The popular indignation made itself felt. Groups of students took to the streets almost immediately in the city of Rosario to meet the police aggression.

The people's anger grew until it knew no bounds. Students and workers fought the police in dozens of street actions. The protest demonstrations against the military regime spread rapidly to the cities of Córdoba, Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Rosario, Corrientes, Salta and Mendoza, among others.

The situation was a faithful reflection of the deep-seated discontent which existed in the ranks of the people in the face of the climate of repression established by the Onganía dictatorship after the June 1966 coup d'état. There were also other reasons for the people to react violently.

Recently the Argentinian working class has been suffering the consequences of an incessant increase in the prices of staples in addition to the freezing of salaries by the Onganía regime and the increased imperialist exploitation.

For these reasons there were uprisings in Córdoba and a general strike throughout the country which shook the foundations

of the military regime. In Córdoba snipers checkmated the Army and for several weeks the city was a veritable battlefield. There were burned and overturned vehicles, half-destroyed buildings and barricades everywhere.

The two trade union centers (the opposition and the participationist) recognized the fact that the working class had only one road open to them, that of the struggle with weapons that the constitution and the existing laws authorized.

The dead and wounded who have fallen in the streets of Córdoba—the two organizations added—admit of only one victimizer; government reaction, fearful in the face of the people who have persisted in the struggle in the past three years.

At the same time in recent months there have been actions throughout the country against Army installations and US establishments, while an opposition movement has increased even in broad Catholic centers.

The events demonstrate that the only one committed to the support of the regime of General Juan Carlos Onganía are Yankee imperialism, the Argentinian Armed Forces and the national oligarchy.

Meanwhile, a declaration issued after a meeting held in Córdoba by the Priests' Movement for the Third World was significant. In the document they stated that the institutional violence and repression under the present regime left no other road open except that of armed struggle.

Regarding the events which took place in Córdoba a foreign correspondent wrote that the uprisings in that Argentinian city made it look like a battlefield in the Second World War. Extraofficial reports indicate that during the clashes between the demonstrators and the Army troops 30 persons were killed and 300 more arrested.

The military chief of the province of



Córdoba, meanwhile, stated that the destruction and the events which took place indicated that a true urban guerrilla force existed. Other members of the Argentinian military regime stated that the events in Córdoba and other cities in the country conformed to a plan prepared by different sectors. Nevertheless, these statements more than likely were aimed at justifying the repression unleashed by the military dictatorship.

Numerous trade union leaders were arrested in Córdoba and many of them were sentenced by military tribunals on charges which even called for the death penalty. The state of siege, with all its aftermaths, was established. Nevertheless, the city of Córdoba is today living under a tense calm... the snipers have not ceased firing.

Zimbabwe: War of Attrition Against the Colonialists



EXTRACTS OF THE MESSAGE OF COMRADE JAMES CHIKEREMA—VICE PRESIDENT OF ZAPU, ON THE 17th OF MARCH-69 — ZIMBABWE DAY.

Regarding the importance of the date, Comrade Chikerema started by pointing out that: "The significance of Zimbabwe Day in our liberation struggle is that on this day, we re-affirm our dedication and determination and firmness to continue the fight against the white settler minority regime in Zimbabwe."

He further said: "Our generation has picked up the fight to free Zimbabwe from where it was left by our forefathers in

1897. We are now better equipped and more prepared than ever before to face our enemy and deal decisive blows for the liberation of Zimbabwe. To this end, our activities from 1966 to 1968 speak for themselves."

As regards the prospects of this year Chikerema said: "The year 1969, should go down in the history of our struggle as a year in which the war of attrition against the white settlers registered a great landmark in the struggle for a free Zimbabwe." "ZAPU, through its People's Liberation Army has been preparing and training for a type of fight that the enemy will never forget."

Referring to last year's 17th of March he said, "This day, last year, our gallant freedom-fighters fought bravely throughout the country and registered very significant victories over the enemy. When the day of reckoning comes, I am absolutely certain that the fascist forces of Smith and their South African allies will reap a very sad share of the liberation battles.

As regards the aid received from within Africa, he said, "I would also want us to remember very gratefully the sacrifices made by our free African brothers through the OAU." He made special reference to these countries which are directly close to the front line such as TANZANIA and ZAMBIA. He pointed out that: "These two countries face the daily brandishments of fascist power because of their determination to support the liberation movements in Southern Africa... We have witnessed assassinations, bombings and destruction of property made against Zambia and Tanzania by the unholy alliance of Smith, Vorster

and Caetano... But because of their love for freedom and democracy in Southern Africa, these countries have stood firm and have thus inspired us to stand fearlessly against this unholy alliance, hence, in the last three years we have achieved great victories."

Chikerema further on said, "We are also not unmindful of those countries in the socialist world, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere which have sacrificed and will continue to sacrifice materially and financially to lubricate the machinery of our liberation struggle." He pointed out that, through their dedication to Africa's liberation, our struggle will gather great momentum this year." He stressed that, every Zimbabwean, old, young and able-bodied must be a spear head of the people's liberation forces. "ZAPU has reiterated again and again the cardinal point of our liberation struggle, and that is, that the main burden to sacrifice for the freedom of Zimbabwe lies (squarely and unshakably) on the shoulders of every Zimbabwean."

Concluding he said: "This day, March 17, 1969, we call upon you all to rise in your millions against the white settler British regime in Salisbury. There should, and there will be sacrifices just as there have already been sacrifices by some gallant sons of the People's Liberation Army of Zimbabwe..."

"One hundred percent of the sacrifice for the freedom of Zimbabwe has to be made by Zimbabweans themselves. Any additional assistance by progressive forces



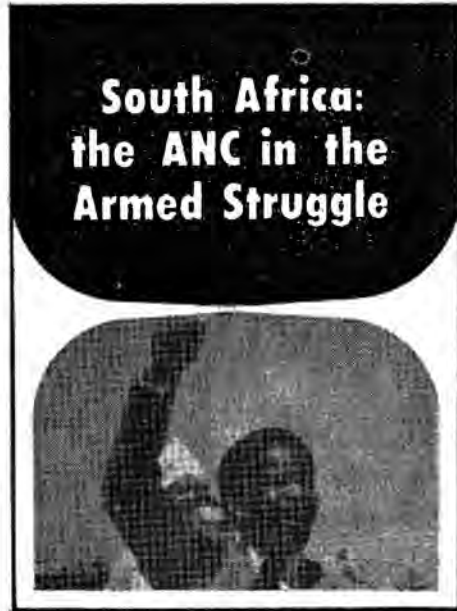
in Africa and the world over must be regarded as being secondary and supplementary to what Zimbabweans themselves must bear," he finalised.

"Long live the People's Liberation Army and its supporters in Zimbabwe and elsewhere!

"Long live ZAPU and its dedications to free Zimbabwe!

"Long live the fighting spirit of the masses of Zimbabwe under their brilliant and revolutionary leadership of our people's leader, Joshua Nkomo".

guerrilla fronts



Conference of the African National Congress

April 1969, Morogoro, Tanzania.
Main Topic: the unity of the national liberation struggle in South Africa.

Background: At the beginning of 1960 the Congress Movement recognized that one by one the roads to peaceful change in South Africa had been closed and that the only position for the people was to meet the fascist violence with revolutionary violence. With this perspective

they established the Umkonto We Sizwe (Lance of the Nation), the military branch of the Congress which for different reasons, some due to weaknesses in work methods, has been demolished.

The Foreign Mission of the ANC tried to fill the vacuum created by the destruction of the internal military structure, but its organizational form was not adequate to undertaking the People's Revolutionary War. This situation gave rise to weaknesses inherent in the contradiction between the organizations and the methods of struggle.

Presidential Speech: Oliver R. Tambo, President General of the ANC gave a serious and detailed accounting of the urgent problems that confront the ANC and pointed out certain events that made this Congress different from previous ones:

1. The death of the chief, Albert Lutuli, President General of the ANC.
2. The beginning of the armed struggle in 1967.
3. The increased repression of the people by the fascist oppressors.
4. The organizational problems arising from the unleashing of the guerrilla struggle.

The President also called on all members of the ANC to look toward the South, to prepare themselves to return home. Referring to the training of future combatants he stated that it was necessary to avoid having the same thing happen as happened to the Zulu warrior, Gamedji, who spent so much time sharpening his lance that he wore it out in the process.

Discussion of the report: the discussion

lasted 8 hours with the participation of a total of 30 speakers in an atmosphere of free debate. The main points which came up were:

- a) The development of the new organizational structure which will be responsible for the present stage of the armed struggle.
- b) The problems of the united front and the incorporation of the people into the struggle.

c) Intensification of the armed struggle.

Organizational Structure: In response to an invitation from the Preparatory Committee numerous papers were presented in regard to the changes that should be introduced. Upon summing up the proposals the Organizing Committee recognized the fact that it was necessary to have a tighter organization, to mobilize all the forces and to establish an adequate balance between internal and external work.

United Front: For 20 years the ANC has constituted an alliance of combat with the oppressed nationalists and this brought about what came to be known as the Alliance of the Congress, which included the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the Black People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats, which was made up mostly of Europeans. It was decided that the organizational structure should contemplate the full participation of the members of the oppressed national group (black and Indian peoples), the working class organizations and the revolutionaries who support the armed struggle.

The mobilization of the revolutionary forces will be organized by an illegal organization with a central leadership. The conference pointed out that the guerrillas constitute the most advanced political cadres.

International Activity: The conference pointed out the achievements made in the



international campaign aimed at denouncing the evils of apartheid and in support of the armed struggle.

The reactionary alliance and South Africa: The conference denounced the economic-military alliance between the reactionary regimes of Smith, Vorster and Cautano aimed at intensifying the exploitation of the peoples of South Africa and slowing down the spread of the African revolution.

He also pointed out that South Africa serves as a springboard for the U.S. British, French, West German and Japanese imperialists to attack the sovereignty of the independent African states.

The Trade Union Movement: It was noted that the South African Trade Union Con-



gress will continue its mobilization, not only of the working class of the country, but also of the international working class.

The Mass Organizations: The Conference considers that not enough attention has been given to the organization of the youth, the students and the women's auxiliary of the ANC, and that consequently the necessary measures should be taken to carry out this task.

Denounce jailings: The Conference condemned the jailing and persecution of thousands of South Africans by the fascist Vorster regime and hailed the valiant combatants who are carrying forward the struggle in South Africa, in the face of the

most terrible police and military terrorism.

Program: It was held that the Charter of Freedom still reflects the fundamental demands of the Revolution.

Strategy and Tactics: They rejected the superficial attempts to impose methods of other revolution, without objectively analyzing the situation that prevails in South Africa and emphasized the primacy of the political leadership.

It was pointed out that the masses should be won over by a global political mobilization accompanied by military activities.

The ZAPU-ANC Alliance: The report of the National Executive Committee stated that the situation in South Africa demonstrates:

a) the correctness of the alliance between the ZAPU and the ANC and the necessity of making possible the consolidation of that alliance.

b) the urgent need for establishing a duly organized alliance between the ANC, ZAPU, MPLA, SWAPO and PAIGC which represent the liberation movements in the South African area.

Members of the National Executive Committee: (elected at the conference) O. R. Tambo, President General; A. Nzo, Secretary General; J. B. Marks, M. Mabidha, M. Kotane, J. Matthews, T. T. Nkobi, W. Mokgomane and M. Piliso.

International Solidarity: The Conference hailed the combatants for the freedom of Africa, Viet-Nam, the Middle East and everywhere else, and those who, weapons in hand, are fighting against the common enemy, imperialism. It stated that the revolutionaries of South Africa pay infinite homage to South Viet-Nam (NFL) and fully support their just demands for the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and mercenaries from South Viet-Nam.

Burma: Rebellion in Southeast Asia



Burma, which is located in Southeast Asia, is made up of three divisions. To the west a series of mountains from the border with West Pakistan and India; the eastern part of the country is made up of the Shan mesa, which forms a part of the Yunnan Plateau (PR China); and the Central Basin is made up mostly by lowlands with several hills running from north to south. The mountains abound with teakwood which gives a characteristic physiognomy to that country of 25 million inhabitants. Seventeen million Burmese of Tibetan-Chinese descent constitute the majority of the population, others belong to minority nationalities which total more than one hundred and the rest are Indians, Chinese, Eur-Asians and Europeans, principally En-

glishmen. The peasant masses constitute 80% of the population of the country.

Burma has a rich cultural tradition reflected in numerous works of art, especially temples.

The country was not able to continue its own history. Just as other Asian countries they were colonized by Europeans. Soon the English, when they were unable to impose a treaty aimed at their monopolizing the exploitation of the teakwood forests, landed in Rangoon and made war to annex Burma. Even though the English achieved their aim of imposing their authority, this was only possible after several months of Burmese resistance with the resultant deaths of more than 15 000 people. Thus they annexed the country as a province of India until 1937 when Burma nominally obtained internal autonomy. During the Second World War the Japanese used the pro-independence feelings of the Burmese people to their benefit and were able to impose their puppet Ba Maw as chief of state. But the patriotic Burmese forces encouraged by their leader Aung San did not cease their struggle and the fever pitch achieved in the fight for independence forced the British Labor Government of Clement Atlee to accept an agreement for limited self-determination. The patriots obtained a resounding triumph in the elections that they organized. But the imperialists and the reactionaries, fearful of losing their power, assassinated Aung San. The death of the national hero provoked great popular indignation and the British had to recognize Burma's right to independence. At the beginning the division among the democratic forces and the maneuvers of internal and foreign reaction, which began to conspire to obtain power, slowed down the development of the country and gave it an anti-popular trend. U Nu held the govern-

ment and even though he left without renewing the Anglo-Burmese Defense Treaty and refused to participate in SEATO, he soon declared the Communist Party illegal. From 1948 on, the reactionaries unleashed an anti-communist and anti-popular civil war and the Communist Party had to move to the countryside and initiate the armed struggle. U Nu was overthrown by a coup d'etat. From then on the reactionary regime of General Ne Win made its definite appearance. The Yankee imperialist presence, together with a subtle demagogic propaganda line, defined this government's attitude.

The peasants are exploited by the landlords who still control the land in spite of the so-called Agrarian Reform. The latter at times simply imposes new forms of exploitation such as the forced buying of cereals organized by the reactionary authorities and the local chiefs. The so-called Administrative Security Committee control the movements of the citizens. U.S. military aid has been maintained and has even increased to a large extent. U.S. Air Force jets have carried large amounts of special weapons to Rangoon to be used against the guerrillas in the dense jungles of Burma and the swampy areas in the lowlands. U.S. investigation centers have supplied reports to the Burmese Government for the development of counterinsurgency work. In addition U.S. air instructors have trained Burmese pilots in the handling of F-86 fighters which were recently supplied to them by the U.S. imperialists for the repression of the liberation war in that country just as they have done in Thailand, Laos and Viet-Nam.

In the face of that situation, the revolutionary armed struggle of the Burmese people is dealing blows to the counter-

revolutionary forces of the reactionary Ne Win regime. It is the only revolutionary perspective of victory in the achievement of complete liberation.

Headed by the Communist Party in Burma they have formed a National Democratic United Front in Burma which includes the political parties of the Karen, Mon, Kayah, Chin and other nationalities, and also has the cooperation of the progressive armed forces of other nationalities.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Burmese people have been fighting hard since 1948 but in recent years, using the method of guerrilla warfare, they have achieved new heights in the development of these struggles aimed at winning the war and taking political power. At the present time the theater of war includes all the mountainous zone of Pegu, the Irrawaddy delta, the coastal area of Tenasserim and the zones of the minority nationalities of the Kyab division and the state of Shan; moreover it is expanding into more and more new regions. The Revolutionary Armed Forces have also increased their combat power. Last year, in the State of Shan alone, these forces annihilated four battalions of the reactionary Burmese Army.

Firmly supported by the peasant masses, on whom they have called to carry out the Agrarian Reform wherever conditions permit it, the Democratic National United Front is constantly consolidating. The campaign of "encirclement and annihilation" announced by the reactionary regime in the bourgeois press of that country was completely defeated by the revolutionary forces which, since the end of 1968, have been carrying out a victorious campaign of armed offensive.

Malaya: the People's Combats



Malaya, a natural stepping-stone to South Viet-Nam for the U.S. troops and a rich source of raw materials such as tin, rubber and iron ore, has constituted a powerful attraction for the U.S., British, Japanese and West German imperialists.

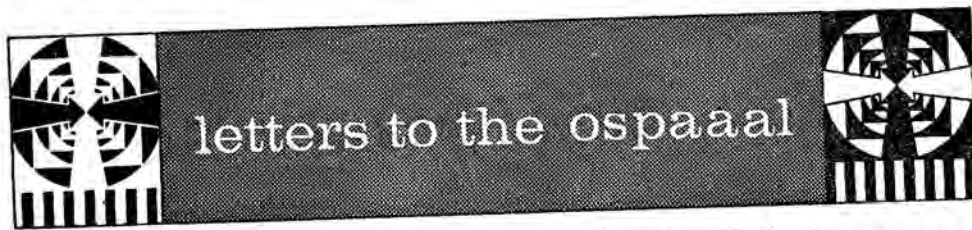
Like birds of prey these powerful interests have mobilized to perpetuate their design for imperialist exploitation in Malaya. This, in turn, has brought about the establishment of the so-called Malasia, a spawn of the British imperialists imposed on the people of Malaya and North Kalimantan in an attempt to destroy the Mala-

yan guerrillas and consolidate the reactionary power in that zone.

But even if the British have maintained the advantage in regard to the profits of their companies on the rubber plantations, in tin and oil, and even if the economic penetration of the U.S., Japanese and West German capitalists has increased in recent years, squeezing dry the Malayan territory, these maneuvers have not, however, been able to block the people's struggle for liberation.

The people of the different nationalities of the Malayan peninsula are involved in the armed struggle against the neocolonial regime of Rahman-Razak. The Malayan National Liberation Army is active in the northern regions of Malaya and in the Malayan-Thailand border zone. This revolutionary army has managed to develop and consolidate their bases of support and the zones of operations of their guerrillas.

During the first months of the present year the Malayan guerrillas managed to annihilate more than two hundred soldiers and policemen of the reactionary regime, defeating the "encircle and annihilate" campaign that had the support of the border police of the Thai Government. In different attacks on the enemy the guerrilla forces have seized numerous rifles and a large amount of ammunition, appropriate for use in British-issue weapons. At the beginning of May a unit of the liberation army, in the western zone, launched repeated attacks on the enemy forces and annihilated more than 80 soldiers. Malaya, a territory generally made up of dense jungle and swamps, is the theater of important battles for the liberation of the peoples of Southeast Asia.



It Is Very Difficult to Find Information...

This is to acknowledge receipt of the generous selection of books on Ben Barka, Ho Chi Minh, Puerto Rico, and the Tricontinental Congress you had sent us, as well as the many posters and copies of Tricontinental we have received. Thank you very much.

Tricontinental is especially valuable to us because of its coverage of the African Revolution—about which it is very difficult to find information in other sources. We would appreciate receiving as many copies of that magazine as you can send us for our own self-education and for distribution to other comrades throughout the southwestern United States.

Fraternally,

Peter Seidman
Organizer
Los Angeles YSA

(Young Socialist Alliance)
1702 East Fourth Street,
Los Angeles, California 90033

The Bases That Cover Our Soil

Hiroshima and the Yankee racial crimes of genocide in Viet-Nam are more than enough to keep alive our repudiation of the Yankees and to cause new combatants who meet force with force to emerge. The present history of our people is full of examples of revolutionary battles.

Therefore we are taking advantage of this opportunity to greet you and also to denounce the presence of the Yankee criminals with their death-dealing equipment on the many bases that cover our soil. That intromission only helps make it possible for them to attack the Vietnamese people and to repress the revolutionary movement, holding us like just another state of the empire of ignominy and exploitation that is the United States with its vulture Nixon at the head.

Moreover there are numbers of centers of military investigation in Bangkok under the auspices of the U.S. Defense Department, such as the Thailand-U.S. Center of Military Investigation which is located in the very city and which develops military techniques to combat the insurgents. Also through the so-called Peace Corps the U.S. carries out investigations on our geography, the way of living of our people and the way of thinking of different social sectors. These investigators even go into the countryside where they penetrate the masses ideologically. The U.S. Embassy here constitutes a bastion of espionage and the exportation of counterrevolution.

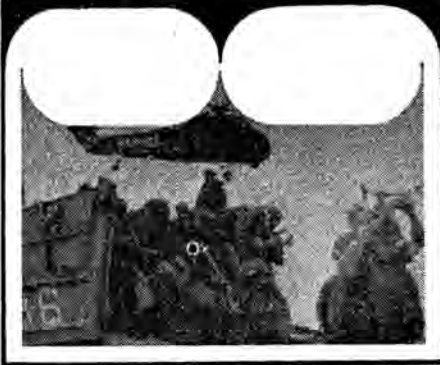
Therefore our people receive the guerrilla friends of the People's Liberation Army which visit our villages with greater enthusiasm by the day. Recently the guerrillas carried out propaganda work in keeping with their political program and told us of the success they have achieved against the reactionary Thanon troops, in combats which took place in different places in our province. Here in Chiangro several enemy soldiers were killed and several planes sent by the U.S. to the Thanon clique were destroyed. By the day we are making progress in increasing the awareness of the peasants, and the enemy is being faced with the permanent hostility of the people. Therefore the total defeat of the imperialists is close at hand.

With brotherly greetings, united by the great anti-Yankee cause,

I remain,
Praphan T.


 appeals and messages
 

Geneva: Violation of Its Accords



Fifteen years ago, on July 20, 1954, as a result of the decisive victories of the South Viet-Nam population and People's Army over the French colonialists, the Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam were signed whereby the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam were recognized. But the US imperialist aggressors, in open violation of these international agreements, have grossly trampled on the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people by carrying out a war of aggression—the most barbarous and criminal in the history of humanity—with the purpose of turning South Viet-Nam into a neocolony and military base

of the United States and perpetuating the division of Viet-Nam.

For this reason, in the 15 years that have elapsed the people of Viet-Nam have waged a heroic and unbending struggle against the US aggressors and their henchmen and thus July 20th has become the Day of Solidarity of the peoples of the world with the Vietnamese people in their anti-US cause for national salvation.

This year, the 20th of July comes at a time when the people of Viet-Nam, both in the South and in the North, are scoring splendid victories. With the overwhelming general offensive and the irrefrainable simultaneous uprisings which began early in 1968, the political and military forces of the South Vietnamese people have steadily increased. The Yankees and their puppets, in the face of their serious failures, have been forced to suspend unconditionally the bombings and strafings throughout the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and to participate in the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam. The people of North Viet-Nam, with the vigorous support of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the rest of the world, have thus defeated the US war of destruction maintaining and increasing every day the socialist construction in the North and the aid to their brothers in the South. The South Vietnamese people, for their part, continue to display their position of force and victory, attacking the enemy uninterruptedly and winning great military, political and diplomatic victories. The balance of 330 000 enemies, including 145 000 US and satellite troops wiped out; 3 950 aircraft downed or destroyed, 10 500 military vehicles put

out of action, 1 150 warships and transport ships sunk or set on fire recorded during the first six months of 1969 constitute an eloquent proof of it.

The Ten-Point Overall Solution proposed by the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation, which is in itself an expression of its good will toward a political solution to the South Viet-Nam problem, has met with widespread support and sympathy among the peoples and governments of various countries of the world. The constitution of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and its widespread, powerful and quick support from the peoples and governments of many countries of the world constitute an important political victory for the South Vietnamese people.

The US imperialists, notwithstanding their serious defeats, remain obstinate and perfidious. They are intensifying the war of aggression in South Viet-Nam, trying to cling to the Saigon puppet regime and to "de-Americanize" the war of aggression so as to maintain their neocolonialist domination over the South Vietnamese people and perpetuate the division of Viet-Nam. The so-called "withdrawal of 25 000 soldiers" concocted by Nixon is but another trick of this perfidious policy. At the Paris Conference, bent on seeking a position of force in the battlefield and in the conversations, the United States will not give in to the legitimate demand of the people of Viet-Nam as well as the other peoples of the world, that the United States respect the fundamental national rights of the people of Viet-Nam and the self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, withdraw all the US troops and those of their satellites to their respective countries without any conditions and let the South Vietnamese people settle their own affairs by themselves



without foreign intervention. The Saigon puppet regime is stubbornly opposed to the political solution of the Viet-Nam problem and wants to perpetuate the US occupation. The people of Viet-Nam still have to fight hard but will certainly win ultimate victory.

On this occasion, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL reaffirmed its complete support of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people, of the Program of Action of this Government and the Ten-Point Overall Solution proposed by the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation, and the stand of the Government of the D.R. of Viet-Nam, which are in full accord with the spirit of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam and with the present situation in Viet-Nam.



The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL strongly condemned the obdurate attitude of the United States Government at the Paris Conference, the "de-Americanization" policy of the war and the "partial withdrawal of troops" of the Nixon Administration, and denounced before the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the rest of the world that this is nothing but a traitorous policy aimed at deceiving the US people and world public opinion with a view to prolonging the war of aggression against the South Vietnamese people, enforcing neocolonialism in South Viet-Nam and perpetuating the division of Viet-Nam.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL resolutely demanded that the US govern-

ment put a stop to its war of aggression in Viet-Nam withdraw the troops of the United States and those of their satellites, along with their armaments and war materiel from South Viet-Nam unconditionally and completely, respect the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and the fundamental national rights of the people of Viet-Nam.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL called upon the peoples of Africa, Asia Latin America and the whole world, especially the people of the United States as well as the progressive organizations and people of the world to join in this condemnation and these demands made by OSPAAAL so that the government of the United States put an end to its war of aggression in Viet-Nam, withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Viet-Nam completely and unconditionally and let the people of Viet-Nam settle by themselves their own internal affairs without foreign intervention. The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL urged the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the world, including the progressive people of the United States, to carry out, on this XV anniversary of the Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam, an intensification of their aid and support to the people of Viet-Nam in every field: moral, political and material, so as to step up the decisive defeat of US imperialism.

The heroic people of Viet-Nam shall win!
win!

The US imperialist aggressors shall be defeated!

