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WHO'S WHO IN THE BRAZILIAN ECONOMY

by Paulo Schilling

ON many occasions we have defended the thesis that Brazil is an economically occupied country, especially since the military coup of April 1964. Once the apparatus of nationalist vigilance was liquidated, the denationalization of the Brazilian economy proceeded in an uncontrollable and slavish manner.

There is much official statistical data that demonstrates the increasing predominance of foreign capital and the disappearance of the national bourgeoisie as a class. Now a new source of valuable and unexpected anti-imperialist information reaches us. *Visión*, in its Brazilian edition (*Visão*) of last August, publishes a detailed study on "Who's Who in the Brazilian Economy."

Analyzing the composition of the capital of the 679 largest private enterprises in the country, that publication presents figures which prove unquestionably that Brazil, today, is an economically occupied country. The data is official, presented by the Ministry of Trade and the Central Bank. Let's look at certain of the aspects revealed in "Who's Who."

The total capital of the 679 enterprises discussed is 8 793 524 281.31 cruzeiros (approximately \$2 000 000 000). Of them, 435 with a capital in cruzeiros totalling 5 932 111.2 (67%) are in the state of São Paulo, the operational base of foreign capital in Brazil. In second place is the state of Guanabara, with a total capital in cruzeiros of 215 349 806.50 (23%). Thus just two states in the same geographic area — the South-Central — monopolize 90% of the capital of the great private enterprises established in the country.

IT is unnecessary to speak of the absurd distortion this signifies; a true antithesis to a rational and harmonious development of all the regions of the country. The lack of a rational alignment and the anarchistic and predatory participation of foreign capital are the fundamental causes for the enormous chasm between the São Paulo-Rio axis and the rest of the country.





Foreign capital selects São Paulo because of its geographic location and because it finds there a whole infrastructure established through public power and a long industrial experience derived from the initiative of the national bourgeoisie.

This concentration of capital in a specific area, principally in the industrial sector, started a process of interregional exploitation with all the characteristics of classic imperialism. The marginal peripheral areas, reduced to the simple state of producers of raw materials and food supplies, are permanently at a loss in the commercial interchange, existing as a consequence in a process of relative, when it is not absolute, pauperization.

This chasm between the "rich Brazil" and the "poor Brazil" becomes evident with the statistical data published by *Visão*. Of the 679 millionaire enterprises, 614 are situated in the two states mentioned, the rest are located in eight other states. The remainder of federal units — 13 — have no important private enterprise.

The participation of foreign capital in the large private enterprises is dominant and varies from state to state, going from 3.7% in the small

state of Paraíba in the Northeast, to 81.8% in powerful São Paulo. Overall nationally, the participation of foreign economic groups is 69.5% — that is to say, more than two thirds of the capital of the large nonstate enterprises.

The clear result is foreign control of the private national economy. And this without considering that in many cases, the domination of the national enterprise by foreign groups does not depend on the participation of stockholders, but operates by the simple concession of royalties (patents and registered rights) or by the authorization to utilize a famous brand name.

LET us now look at foreign capital's preferences as to branches of activity: of the 679 large existing enterprises, 530 are industries in which the participation of foreign capital is 70.2%. In the commercial sector (98 large enterprises) foreign participation diminishes although it maintains its majority with 58.3%.

A fact of enormous political significance as far as the propaganda sector is concerned is that 99.9% of the capital of the large advertising

agencies — eight in all — is foreign. This monopolistic control of the propaganda resources represents the domination of the means of dissemination: radio, newspapers, television, etc. In practice it means the impossibility of maintaining any independent organ of mass communications.

This total control of the means of communications by foreign forces plus the absurd political-military censorship, which suppresses every divergent opinion, is liquidating Brazilian intelligence and creating an enormous and passive herd of 90 000 000 people.

An apparently contradictory aspect revealed by *Visão* refers to the foreign participation in the credit and capitalization sector. The percentage of foreign investments in this sector is the lowest of all, reaching only 28.9% in the 24 large enterprises of that area.

Apparently in Brazil it is much better business to invest in industries than in banks. The large foreign factories operate on the basis of monopolistic prices with a very high rate of profit removed from foreign competition by protectionist customs tariffs.

These tariffs were created by Vargas' "nationalist paternalistic state" to protect the national industrial bourgeoisie and initiate the industrial revolution. Presently they operate in favor of the foreign monopolies established in the country, protecting them from the competition of "colleagues" who did not have the initiative to establish themselves in the "colony."

While big industry operates without any type of limitation on its profits, banking investments are controlled by the government, which limits the rate of interest on loans. Moreover, during periods of acute inflation (from 1960 to 1967 the average inflation was 60% annually), the inflationary percentage is sometimes higher than the percentage of interest nominally covered by the banks. This means a negative rate of real interest.

In these cases, the industrial or commercial monopolies are parasites of the people's accumulated economy — under the form of deposits in private banks — taking advantage also of loans from the state bank. Finance capital, in this case, is nothing more than a plain instrument in the service of the industrial monopolies.

The disinterest of foreign capital in banking control is shown in another statistic: while industry in São Paulo (the base of operations for foreign capital) represents 65% of the national total, deposits in private São Paulo banks total only 24.3%.

It is obvious that the lack of control by foreign capital over this sector of the national economy does not derive from the resistance of the national finance bourgeoisie. The latter is no more "nationalist" than the industrial bourgeoisie. It is not necessary to be a prophet to divine that at the moment when the active control of the banks interests foreign mono-

polistic capital, the private banking system will fall under the domination of the large international banks. Possibly this will occur when the government decides to eliminate inflation and the nominal rate of interest is equivalent to the real rate.

THERE is another sector of the Brazilian economy that remains outside the control of international monopolistic capital, although it serves it: the state enterprises. The participation of state enterprises in the Brazilian economy is very important (a heritage of the state capitalism initiated by Getulio Vargas), 73.07% of the infrastructure of electricity, transport and mail service are autonomous. Some 52.05% of the production of intermediate goods (iron and steel, oil, minerals, rubber, etc.) is also state-owned.

This government control has a very limited significance in nationalist terms. Actually the participation of state capital in sectors of the infrastructure and in basic industry seeks to compete with foreign capital without admitting the financial incapacity of the bourgeoisie to face this type of highly costly investment with low rates of return.

The state enterprises work with a minimal rate of profit, many times at a loss, seeking to provide low cost raw materials and services for the national bourgeoisie, at the same time guaranteeing an extraordinary percentage of profit.

ACTUALLY, with the control of industry in the hands of the international monopolies and the government in the hands of compromised militarists, this additional interest benefits the large foreign enterprises directly. And from this, the result is that the monopolies have no great fight to obtain control of state enterprises such as Petrobras and Electrobras.

Petrobras was robbed of its *filet mignon*, Petroquímica, which today is controlled by the Philips Corp., Union Carbide, Dow Chemical and other groups. Electrobras has been turned into the financier of Light and Power, which also distributes the energy generated by the state organization. The surrender of the state industry can occur at any moment, when its direct control is most useful to the foreign monopolies — that is to say, when the possibilities of profits that can result from the direct exploitation of enterprises which are today state-owned, are more advantageous than the indirect "additional interest" they receive now, and which will not result in any nationalist resistance to the surrender, just as there was no obstacle to the sale of the National Automobile Factory to Alfa Romeo.

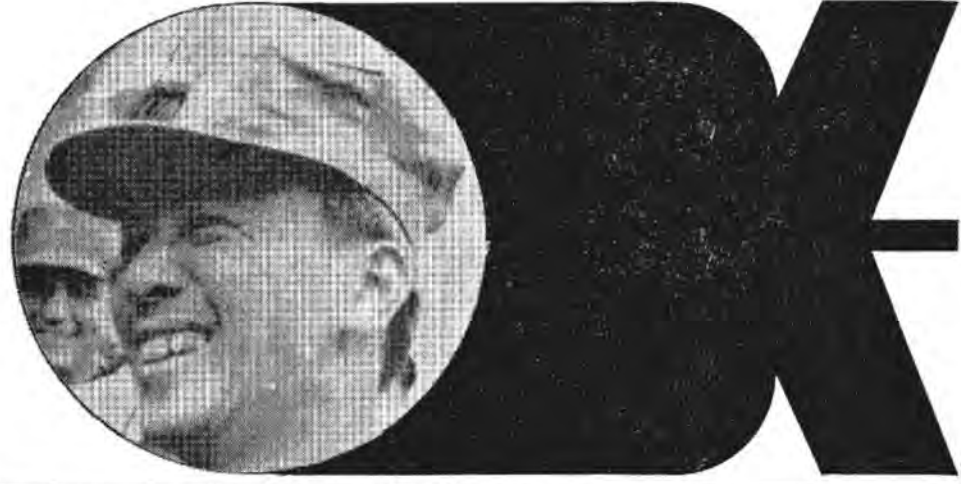


tricontinental scene



TRYING TO HIDE THE CRACKS

by Wilfred Burchett



IF hiding the cracks of Nixon's Viet Nam policy proved difficult in Washington and Paris, it is still more so in Saigon. Recently, the alliance between the nationalist generals that overthrew the Diem dictatorship seven years ago, the Buddhist leaders of the An Quang pagoda, and the

moderate Catholics supported by the Pope was made clear. Defying the threats of Thieu, dozens of high level officers who participated in the coup against Diem, and numerous religious and political personalities including opposition deputies of the Saigon National Assembly, attended a reception

given by General Trang Van Dong celebrating the fall and execution of Ngo Dinh Diem.

President Nguyen Van Thieu strongly attacked Dong and other generals for the death of the brothers Ngo Dinh. At the reception, General Doung Van (Big) Minh, who led

the coup against Diem and is considered a neutralist, said, "Everyone wants peace and a cease fire, but a cease fire can only be controlled by a government that has the confidence of the people." He left the clear impression that the Thieu-Ky regime only enjoys the confidence of the United



States. Present was General Ton That Dinh, currently president of the National Defense Commission of the Senate and member of a group of generals (Dong and Minh were the others) that overthrew Diem and took power for a brief period in November 1963.

According to the French news service, Thieu, who is quite aware of his delicate position since the CIA published a report stating that there were 30 000 communist agents inside the army and administration, that same day accused those who propose neutrality and a coalition government of being cowards, defeatists and servants of the communists. "Such people don't deserve to live in our democratic society," he said. "The army and the people know how to punish them for their betrayal and their crimes."

Nevertheless, Thieu's threats did not prevent another celebration in the home of Big Minh on the actual anniversary of the coup, during which the opposition groups again showed their unity against the Thieu-Ky dictatorship. The fact that the opposition has moved from the streets to the generals' living rooms indicates the

rapid deterioration of Thieu's position and the growing strength and cohesion of the opposition forces within the capital itself. The measure of Thieu's desperation in his declaration — during the speech we mentioned earlier — that he controls the entire territory and 99.1% of the population, reminds one of the last days of Hitler in Berlin, when he bragged of having brought the Soviet army to its destruction in the woods that surrounded that city.

Statistically, this would mean that the United States and its puppets and allies are using 80 soldiers, plus an unlimited air, artillery and naval support, against each man, woman and child in the areas not controlled by Saigon. And even so, Thieu warned, two or three years more would be necessary to conquer the enemy on the battlefield. On such lunatic contradictions, Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy and his refusal to negotiate seriously in Paris, are based.

THE thought that obsesses Thieu and Ky and their Washington protectors is that the only generals

that have any prestige within the armed forces, although they are not now in active service, are Big Minh and his friends, precisely because it was they who overthrew the Ngo Dinh brothers. And when they, in turn, were deposed at that moment by the United States strong man, General Nguyen Khanh, it was on the pretext that Minh, Dong and Dinh were neutralists, an etiquette that is currently in style in Saigon. Within the armed forces — and this is implicit in the report of the CIA asserting that the 30 000 communist agents could not exist without the tacit complicity of the majority of South Vietnamese soldiers and police — the troops and young officers cooperate actively or passively with the PRG-NLF. Their heroes are the military leaders of the NLF. Only a few top officers cooperate with Thieu and the North American command in Saigon, possibly for class reasons or for the high remuneration they receive in dollars. But immediately below the high military hierarchy come the middle officers, the majority of whom await their opportunity for a coup from within. Many of them hope that Big Minh

and his friends will do to Thieu and Ky just what they did to the Ngo Dinh brothers. They believe Big Minh could very easily reach an agreement with the leadership of the NLF and establish the coalition government that the PRG-NLF have been proposing.

It is worth noting that in the speech given by Minh at the reception, he made no attack whatsoever on the communists or on the Vietcong. That is why it becomes increasingly difficult for the North American ambassador and General Creighton Abrams to hide the cracks in Saigon.

THE level of apathy and demoralization within the Saigonese armed forces increases ostensibly to the degree that the North American troops are withdrawn, and this proves the total bankruptcy of Nixon's policy of "Vietnamization." The Saigonese units are also being affected by the apathy and demoralization of the North American units that remain behind. It has now been officially confirmed that there is an excessive increase in drug consumption among the North American troops, about which we have spoken on other occasions. Following the on-the-spot in-



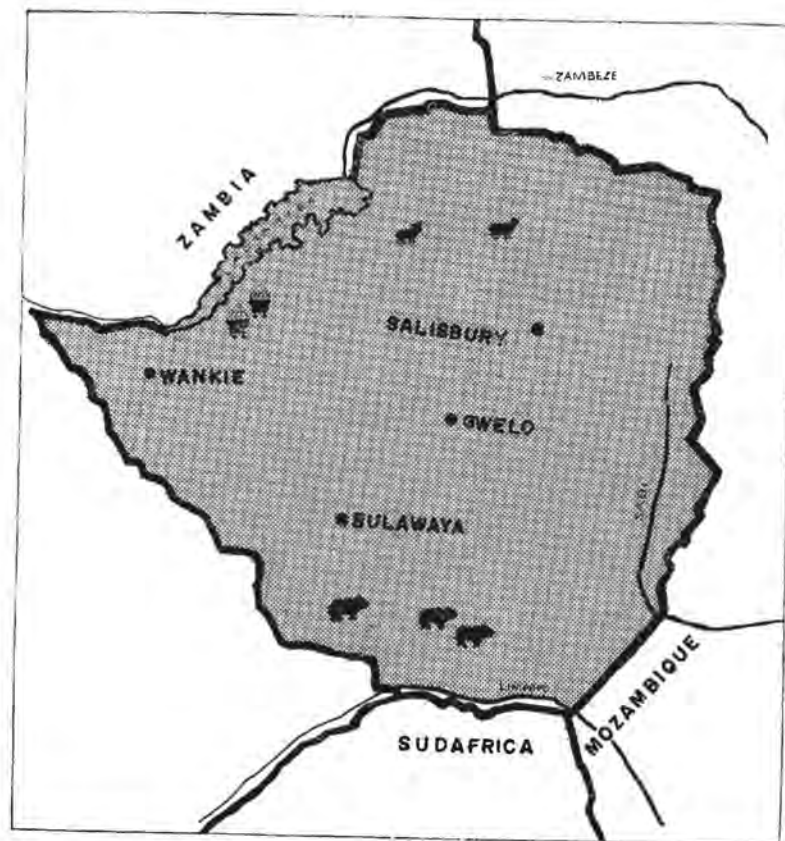
vestigation by Senator Dodd and his declaration that the deaths from overdoses of drugs had increased considerably, the North American command in Saigon released figures that prove that in the seven weeks, between the end of August and October 18, there were 25 deaths from this cause, compared to 16 deaths during the entire year of 1969, representing a 700% increase. But the report stated that another 64 accidental deaths in that portion of the year can be attributed to the same cause. What the report does not say is that the hospitalization for drug overdosage has become a legal form of desertion. Soldiers can be hospitalized for drug consumption and moreover, released from active service without any penalty. But according to information received in Paris from soldiers recently sent from Saigon to be hospitalized, the drug consumption has to be sufficient to cause serious illness. Many prefer to run this risk rather than that of dying in the battlefield or being imprisoned for mutiny.

Stressing this latter, an Agence France-Press dispatch quotes a North American captain, head of a compa-

ny in Dai Tieng: "We used to go out to kill, now the soldiers go out with the idea of protecting themselves instead of looking for the enemy. Our operation used to be to destroy and mop up, now our troops go out for a walk." The French correspondent also quotes a lieutenant in the same company who says, "We used to spend the day in combat operations. Now the troops stay in camp writing letters or swimming in the bomb craters. At night they lay some ambushes." A soldier in the same unit says: "At the first contact, we retreat and request the artillery. Why should I run the risk of being hit at those times?" The correspondent says that there is an increase in the number of war trials for refusing to obey orders, and for possession of drugs, and that the latter is becoming more and more serious.

The Pentagon's reply to the apathy and demoralization, and the refusal to fight on the part of North American and Saigonese troops has been to increase the bombings, and especially, the use of chemical products that are fatal to man and his environment in South Viet Nam.

AN ARID BANTUSTAN AT GOKWE



CRITICAL shortages of land for ploughing and water for livestock face thousands of African families who are being moved from their homes to the dry and arid Zambezi river basin. The racist settler regime is determined to settle more white immigrants on land used by African peasants at present, and to implement its Bantustanisation programme enshrined in the Land Tenure Act and the Constitution Act.

Two aspects of the regime's Bantustanisation policy have emerged quite clearly in the Budget session of the racist parliament which has just adjourned in Salisbury. The first is that the areas of Gokwe and Silobela in the Midlands are being developed as Rhodesia's first pronounced Bantustan. The entire area stretching from Que-Que to the Zambezi Valley has been surveyed, pegged, and is now being serviced for the reception of thousands of African families in the next three years. They are being moved from the Hunyani, Seke, Mhondoro, and Nhariza areas to make way for new white settler farmers. When over half a million people have been settled in their new arid homes Gokwe will be developed as the new administrative centre for the chiefs and their people. This Gokwe Bantustan fits neatly into the policy of the Land Tenure Act to clear the area to the east

of the railway line for accelerated European settlement, and squeeze as many African families as possible into the arid Zambezi river basin.

Of Rhodesia's 96 000 000 acres of land, the 234 000 Europeans, of whom only 4000 are registered farmers, own 48 000 000 acres, and the 5 000 000 Africans — the vast majority of whom live off the land — are crowded in only 40 000 000 acres (the remainder is mountains, rivers, roads and unassigned land). The average landholding for European farmers is 2500 acres each, while African peasants have barely eight acres of arable land and communal grazing denuded of trees and overgrazed. The Minister of Lands and Water Development, Phillip Van Heerden, told his Parliament that African landholdings will not be increased in the future.

NOTHING would suit the long-term interests of the settlers better than to create a Bantustan in the basin of the arid Zambezi Valley facing black Africa and a Eurostan on the highveld and the Limpopo river basin facing the Republic of South Africa. The African population will shield the Europeans from carrying the main brunt of the insurgent operations being organised inside the country, while the regime's air power

can be used against guerrillas over the Bantustan without fear of damaging European property or Europeans.

It can be seen, therefore, that the regime's land policy is designed to serve both the political purpose and the strategic interests of the settler military establishment. These settler plans and designs are being disclosed in order to warn our people, who are being moved, against the dangers they face, quite apart from the hardships being imposed upon them at present, and to alert all genuine revolutionaries

about this oppressive and pernicious policy.

THE second aspect of this Bantustanisation policy, is of course, the pauperisation of the Africans. The economic base of our villages, where 90% of the African people live, is arable land and livestock. To be able to till the land, one needs livestock first and foremost. The entire Gokwe-Silobela area where large numbers of peasants are being moved *is infested with tsetse fly* and, therefore, cannot take any livestock. Lance Smith, the Minister for Internal Affairs, told Parliament on June 12, 1970 that:

There are two reasons why tribesmen who are moved from one area to another are either not allowed to take any livestock, or to take a reduced number of livestock into the new area. First, where tribesmen move to these tsetse fly-infested areas no stock is permitted. Not only would stock succumb very quickly but their introduction mitigates against government efforts to eradicate the fly in these areas. Second, where the land being vacated is very heavily overstocked and is consequently badly eroded, a reduced number of livestock is permitted to be moved to the new settlement area, commensurate with the carrying capacity of that area.

African livestock has been reduced steadily and forcibly since 1944 when



the Destocking Act limited every African family holding to four heads of cattle. (Europeans own heads of cattle in the thousands.) So when Lance Smith talks of families moving with "reduced numbers" of stock he means from four to two or one. A light plough requires four oxen to pull it. Already African families have been forced by the measures of the Destocking Act to pool oxen from several families in order to make one full span of four or six oxen. But without oxen or with one or two only, it will be impossible for African families settled in Gokwe and Silobela to till the dry soil at all. It would have been difficult enough to till such dry soil even with a span of six healthy oxen.

Furthermore, the families that are being removed received no compensation for the work they have put in and the improvements to their homesteads.

Again Lance Smith told a questioner in Parliament on June 10, 1970, that, "I am not aware that any compensation is being given to these families, but they are being assisted, as I have indicated, in their movement..."

Being assisted with government transport is no assistance, particularly if they are forced to move. The hard fact is that the families lose all their immovable property in their present villages and homesteads, and when they reach the new areas of settlements they do not have the means to support themselves. Without livestock or adequate rainfall, what kind of life can the impoverished peasants lead? As paupers, of course!

AT a village meeting held by the advance party in Gokwe last June, the District Commissioner was asked about schooling for the children.



The Hunyani area from which the 2000 families came had seven schools built by the missionaries and the local villagers over the years. The District Commissioner's answer was "self-help," "community development," the usual cliches for separate and unequal development in Rhodesia. *In a typical African village, children look after cattle and goats and then go to school when their younger brothers are old enough to look after the livestock. In Gokwe the children have no livestock to look after or a school to go to.*

The ostensible reason given by Lance Smith for the movement and the hardships brought on these people is as follows: "The reason for the movement of all the people is that they are in illegal occupation of state land in the European area and of European-owned land in the case of the ranches."

Any land on which an African is living can be declared "European" at any moment when the regime wants it for European settlement. The real reasons for this movement have been given above — the Bantustanisation of African areas, and the pauperisation of the Africans who live there. The so-called Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation is an African Pauperisation Corporation designed to milk the produce from the 44 449 000 acres of Tribal Trust Land and sell it on the open market at a profit. Whatever funds are ploughed back in the Tribal Trust Areas are those drawn from the blood, sweat and toil of the people themselves. For example, a bag of maize from the Tribal Trust Areas costs less than one from the so-called European areas — the difference between the price of the two bags is what goes to the Development Fund for development of African areas.



THE YOUNG LORDS

THE Young Lords has become one of the most militant organizations of young radicals in the United States

If it was originally composed of gangs fighting each other, as reflected in the musical comedy "West Side Story" — a modern version of Romeo and Juliet — they went beyond these quarrels of love and fights between neighbors so beautifully presented in the theater version, to write the script of today's reality with all the aspects that make up the drama of Puerto Ricans and their descendants in North America.

The Young Lords, with their brown berets — tipped in the manner of Che Guevara — and the emblem, an arm with a gun on the map of Puerto Rico and the sentence I HAVE PUERTO RICO IN MY HEART, provide an essential symbol to illustrate the activities of revolutionaries in the United States.

Their actions arose as a means of facing the sufferings and repression imposed on the island population and its descendants in the metropolis: discrimination, inferior jobs and salaries, an accumulation of costly medical care, education directed solely to rapid assimilation for the needs of the establishment.

They organized neighborhood marches in protest against the lack of medical services, education, housing, food. They led rent strikes against usurious landlords.

They drew up petitions, mobilized the masses and installed themselves by force in hospitals that denied them services and were negligent in caring for the ill of the Latin community.

They participated in moratorium demonstrations against the war in Viet Nam and organized marches to demand Puerto Rico's liberty and the withdrawal of Yankee military bases from the island.

They coordinated activities with the Black Panthers, the Young Patriots, the Chicanos. They made contacts with the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) of Puerto Rico.

At present the Young Lords have strong, disciplined and active groups organized in different communities of the Puerto Rican population. This is true of Chicago — where the movement began — Washington, New York, Philadelphia, etc.

In New York, for example, they have displayed a notable activity since July of 1969, when they undertook the first action. Located in the Barrio, and after opening offices in the Bronx, they have worked for the entire community and began to edit the biweekly newspaper **Palante**, organ of the Young Lords Party (YLP) in this city. From the issue dated October 16, 1970, we have taken the two works we present for our readers' information. In the first, which is of a programmatic nature, the fundamental points that form the basis of the struggle of the Young Lords in New York are outlined. The second seeks to establish the position of the YLP with respect to the role of women. The reading of these materials enriches our understanding of the broad, complicated and effervescent range of struggle within the United States.



13 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE YOUNG LORDS PARTY

THE Young Lords Party is a revolutionary political party fighting for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

1 • We want self-determination for Puerto Ricans, liberation on the island and inside the United States.

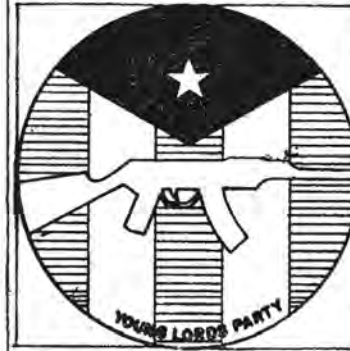
For 500 years, first Spain and then the United States have colonized our country. Billions of dollars in profits

leave our country for the United States every year. In every way we are slaves of the gringo. We want liberation and the power in the hands of the people, not Puerto Rican exploiters.

Que viva Puerto Rico libre!

2 • We want self-determination for all Latinos.

Our Latin brothers and sisters inside and outside the United States, are



oppressed by American business. The Chicano people built the Southwest, and we support their right to control their lives and their land. The people of Santo Domingo continue to fight against gringo domination and its puppet generals. The armed liberation struggles in Latin America are part of the war of Latinos against imperialism.

Que viva la raza!

3 • We want liberation of all Third World people.

Just as Latinos first slaved under Spain and the Yankees, Black people, Indians, and Asians slaved to build the wealth of this country. For 400 years they have fought for freedom and dignity against racist Babylon (decadent empire). Third World people have led the fight for freedom. All the colored and oppressed peoples of the world are one nation under oppression.

No Puerto Rican is free until all people are free!

4 • We are revolutionary nationalists and oppose racism.

The Latin, Black, Indian and Asian people inside the US are colonies fighting for liberation. We know that Washington, Wall Street, and City Hall will try to make our nationalism into racism; but Puerto Ricans are of all colors and we resist racism. Millions of poor white people are rising up to demand freedom and we support them. These are the ones in the US that are stepped on by the rulers and the government. We each organize our people, but our fights are the same against oppression and we will defeat it together.

Power to all oppressed people!

5 • We want community control of our institutions and land.

We want control of our communities by our people and programs to guarantee that all institutions serve the needs of our people. People's control of police, health services, churches,

schools, housing, transportation and welfare are needed. We want an end to attacks on our land by urban removal, highway destruction, universities and corporations.

6 ● *We want a true education of our creole culture and Spanish language.*

We must learn our history of fighting against cultural, as well as economic genocide by the yankee. Revolutionary culture, culture of our people, is the only true teaching.

Long live the Puerto Ricans! Long live our countrymen!

7 ● *We oppose capitalists and alliance with traitors.*

Puerto Rican rulers, or puppets of the oppressor, do not help our people. They are paid by the system to lead our people down blind alleys, just like the thousands of poverty pimps who keep our communities peaceful for business, or the street workers who keep gangs divided and blowing each other away. We want a society where the people socialistically control their labor.

Venceremos!

8 ● *We oppose the amerikkkan military.*

We demand immediate withdrawal

of us military forces and bases from Puerto Rico; Viet Nam, and all oppressed communities inside and outside the us. No Puerto Rican should serve in the us army against his brothers and sisters, for the only true army of oppressed people is the people's army to fight all rulers.

US out of Viet Nam, free Puerto Rico!

9 ● *We want freedom for all political prisoners.*

We want all Puerto Ricans freed because they have been tried by the racist courts of the colonizer, and not by their own people and peers. We want all freedom fighters released from jail.

Free all political prisoners!

10 ● *We want equality for women. Machismo must be revolutionary, not oppressive.*

Under capitalism, our women have been oppressed by both the society and our own men. The doctrine of *machismo* has been used by our men to take out their frustrations against their wives, sisters, mothers, and children. Our men must support their women in their fight for economic and social equality, and must recognize that our



women are equals in every way within the revolutionary ranks.

Forward, sisters, in the struggle!

11 ● *We fight anticommunism with international unity.*

Anyone who resists injustice is called a communist by "the man" and condemned. Our people are brainwashed by television, radio, newspapers, schools, and books to oppose people in other countries fighting for their freedom. No longer will our people believe attacks and slanders, because they have learned who the real enemy is and who their real friends are. We will defend our brothers and sisters around the world who fight for justice.

Viva Che!

12 ● *We believe armed self-defense and armed struggle are the only means to liberation.*

We are opposed to violence — the violence of hungry children, illiterate



adults, diseased old people, and the violence of poverty and profit. We have asked, petitioned, gone to courts, demonstrated peacefully, and voted for politicians full of empty promises. But we still ain't free. The time has come to defend the lives of our people against repression and for revolutionary war against the businessman, politician, and police. When a government oppresses a people, we have the right to abolish it and create a new one.

Boricua is awake! All pigs beware!

13 ● *We want a socialist society.*

We want liberation, clothing, free food, education, health care, transportation, utilities, and employment for all. We want a society where the needs of our people come first, and where we give solidarity and aid to the peoples of the world, not oppression and racism.

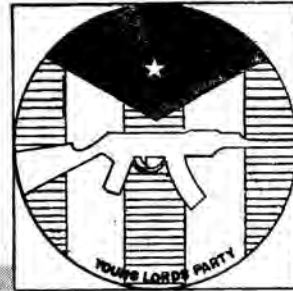
Hasta la victoria siempre!

YOUNG LORDS PARTY POSITION PAPER ON WOMEN



PUERTO Rican, black, and other Third World (colonized) women are becoming more aware of their oppression in the past and today. They are suffering three different types of oppression under capitalism. First, they are oppressed as Puerto Ricans or blacks. Second, they are oppressed as women. Third, they are oppressed by their own men. The Third World woman becomes the most oppressed person in the world today.

Economically, Third World women have always been used as a cheap source of labor and as sexual objects. Puerto Rican and black women are used to fill working class positions in factories, mass assembly lines, hos-



pitals and all other institutions. Puerto Rican and black women are paid lower wages than whites and kept in the lowest paid positions within the society. At the same time, giving Puerto Rican and black women jobs means the Puerto Rican and black man is kept from gaining economic independence, and the family unit is broken down. Capitalism defines manhood according to money and status; the Puerto Rican and black man's manhood is taken away by making the Puerto Rican and black woman the breadwinner.

This situation keeps the Third World man divided from his woman. The Puerto Rican and black man either leaves the household or he stays and becomes economically dependent on the woman, undergoing psychological damage. He takes out all of his frustration on his wife, beating her, repressing and limiting her freedom. Because this society produces these conditions, our major enemy is capitalism rather than our own oppressed men.

Third World women have an integral role to play in the liberation of all oppressed people as well as in the struggle for the liberation of women.

Puerto Rican and black women make up over half of the revolutionary army, and in the struggle for national liberation they must press for the equality of women; the women's struggle is the revolution within the revolution. Puerto Rican women will be neither behind nor in front of their brothers but always alongside them in mutual respect and love.

In the past, women were oppressed by several institutions, one of which was marriage. When a woman married a man she became his property and lost her last name. The man could have different wives to prove he was a man and to establish his position in the society.

In Latin America and Puerto Rico, the man had a wife and another woman. This condition still exists today. The wife was there to be a homemaker, to have children, and to maintain the family name and honor. The wife had to have children in order to enhance the man's concept of virility and his position within the Puerto Rican society. The other woman became his sexual instrument. The man could set her up in another household, pay her

rent, buy her food, and pay her bills. He could have children with this woman, but they would be treated as products of a sexual relationship. Both women would have to be loyal to the man. Both sets of children would grow up very confused and insecure and develop negative attitudes about the roles of both parents.

Women have always been expected to be wives and mothers only. They are respected by the rest of the community for being good cooks, good housewives, good mothers, but never for being intelligent, strong, educated, or militant. In the past, women were not educated, only the sons got an education, and mothers were respected for the number of sons they had, not daughters. Daughters were worthless and the only thing they could do was marry early to get away from home. At home the role of the daughter was to be a nursemaid for the other children and kitchen help for her mother.

The daughter was guarded like a hawk by her father, brothers, and uncles to keep her a virgin. In Latin America, the people used *dueñas* or

old lady watchdogs to guard the purity of the daughters. The husband must be sure that his new wife had never been touched by another man because that would ruin the "merchandise." When he marries her, her purpose is to have sons and keep his home but not to be a sexual partner.

Sex was a subject that was never discussed, and women were brainwashed into believing that the sex act was dirty and immoral and its only function was for the making of children.

CAPITALISM sets up standards that are applied differently to Puerto Rican and black men from the way they are applied to Puerto Rican and black women. These standards are also applied differently to Third World peoples than they are applied to whites. These standards must be understood since they are created to divide oppressed people in order to maintain an economic system that is racist and oppressive.

Puerto Rican and black men are looked upon as rough, athletic and sexual but not as intellectuals. Puerto

Rican women are not expected to know anything except about the home, kitchen, and bedroom. All that they are expected to do is look pretty and add a little humor. The Puerto Rican man sees himself as superior to his woman, and his superiority, he feels, gives him license to do many things — curse, drink, use drugs, beat women, and run around with many women. As a matter of fact these things are considered natural for a man to do, and he must do them to be considered a man. A woman who drinks, curses, and runs around with a lot of men is considered a dirty scum, crazy, and a whore.

Today Puerto Rican men are involved in a political movement. Yet the majority of their women are home taking care of the children. The Puerto Rican sister that involves herself is considered aggressive, castrating, hard and unwomanly. She is viewed by the brothers as sexually accessible because what else is she doing outside the home? The Puerto Rican men try to limit the woman's role because they feel the double standard is threatened; they also feel insecure without it as a crutch.

Machismo has always been a very basic part of Latin-American and Puerto Rican culture. *Machismo* is male chauvinism and more. *Machismo* means *mucho macho* of a man who puts himself selfishly at the head of everything without considering the woman. He can do whatever he wants because his woman is an object with certain already defined roles — wife, mother, and good woman.

All the anger and violence of centuries of oppression which should be directed against the oppressor is directed at the Puerto Rican woman. The aggression is also directed at daughters. The daughters hear their fathers saying "the only way a woman is going to do anything or listen is by hitting her." The father applies this to the daughter, beating her so that she can learn *respeto*. The daughters grow up with confused attitudes about their role as women and about manhood. They grow up to expect that men will always beat them.

UNDER capitalism, Third World women are forced to compromise themselves because of their economic



situation. The fact that her man cannot get a job and that the family is dependent on her for support means she hustles money by any means necessary. Black and Puerto Rican sisters are put into a situation where jobs are scarce or nonexistent and are forced to compromise body, mind, and soul; they are then called whores or prostitutes.

Because this society controls and determines the economic situation of Puerto Rican and black women, they find themselves forced to take jobs at the lowest wages; at the same time take insults and other indignities in order to keep the job. In factories, our men are worked like animals and cannot complain because they will lose their jobs — their labor is considered abundant and cheap. In hospitals, our women comprise the majority of the nurse's aides, kitchen workers, and clerks. These jobs are unskilled, the pay is low, and there is no chance for advancement. In offices, our positions are usually as clerks, typists and no promotion jobs. In all of these jobs, our sisters are subjected to racial slurs, jokes, and other indignities such as

being leered at, manhandled, propositioned, and assaulted. Our sisters are expected to prostitute themselves and take abuse of any kind or lose these subsistence jobs.

WE have no control over our bodies, because capitalism finds it necessary to control the woman's body to control the size of the population. The choice of motherhood is being taken out of the mother's hands. She is sterilized to prevent her from having children, or she has to have a child because she cannot get an abortion.

Third World sisters are caught up in a complex situation. On one hand, we feel that genocide is being committed against our people. We know that Puerto Ricans will not be around on the face of the earth very long if Puerto Rican women are sterilized at the rate they are being sterilized now. The practice of sterilization in Puerto Rico goes back to the 1930s when doctors pushed it as the only means of contraception. In 1947-48, 7% of the women were sterilized, between 1953-54 four out of every 25; and

by 1965, the number had increased to about one out of every three women.

Abortions in hospitals that are butcher shops are little better than the illegal abortions our women used to get. The first abortion death in New York City under the new abortion law was Carmen Rodríguez, a Puerto Rican sister who died in Lincoln Hospital. Her abortion was legal, but the conditions in the hospital were deadly.

On the other hand, we believe that abortions should be legal if they are community controlled, if they are safe, if our people are educated about the risks and if doctors do not sterilize our sisters while performing abortions. We realize that under capitalism our sisters and brothers cannot support large families and the more children we have the harder it is to support them. We say, change the system so that women can freely be allowed to have as many children as they want without suffering any consequences.

One of the main reasons why many sisters are tied to the home and cannot work or become revolutionaries is the shortage of day-care centers for chil-

dren. The centers that already exist are overcrowded, expensive, and are only super-baby-sitting centers. Day-care centers should be free, should be open 24 hours a day, and should be centers where children are taught their revolutionary history and culture.

Many sisters leave their children with a neighbor, or the oldest child is left to take care of the younger ones. Sometimes they are left alone, and all of us have read the tragic results in the newspapers of what happens to children left alone — they are burned to death in fires, or they swallow poison or fall out of windows to their death.

THROUGHOUT history, the woman has participated and has been involved in liberation struggles. But historians have never completely acknowledged the role of the revolutionary woman. In the hour of armed struggle for national liberation, women have shown themselves to be revolutionaries.

Lolita Lebrón, together with three other patriots, set fire to the House of Representatives in an armed attack in

1954, attracting world attention to Puerto Rico's colonial status. She emptied a 45 automatic from the balcony of Congress on the colonial legislators. Then she unfurled the Puerto Rican flag and cried "Viva Puerto Rico libre." The result was five legislators wounded, one critically. She is still in jail for this heroic act of nationalism.

Recently a 19-year-old student, Antonia Martínez, was assassinated in Puerto Rico in a demonstration against the presence of recruitment centers for the US Army.

In other parts of the world, women are fighting against imperialism and foreign invasion. Our sisters in Viet Nam have been battling at the side of their brothers for 25 years, first against the Japanese invaders, and now against the Amerikkkan aggression. Their military capacity and efficiency has been demonstrated on so many occasions that a women's brigade was formed within

the National Liberation Front of the North Vietnamese army.

The Central Committee of the Young Lords Party has issued this position paper to explain and to educate our brothers and sisters about the role of sisters in the past and how we see sisters in the struggle now and in the future. We criticize those brothers who are *machos* and who continue to treat our sisters as less than equals. We criticize sisters who remain passive, who do not join in the struggle against our oppression.

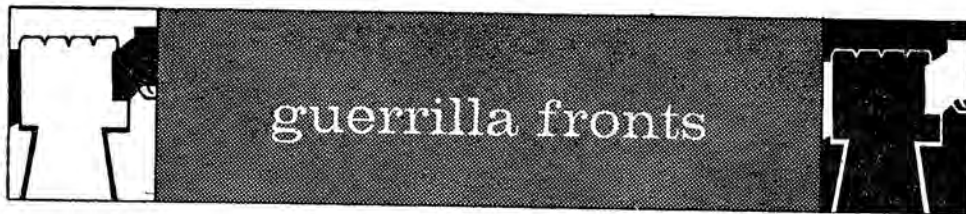
We are fighting every day within our party against male chauvinism because we want to make a revolution of brothers and sisters — together — in love and respect for each other.

Forward sisters in the struggle!

All Power to the People!

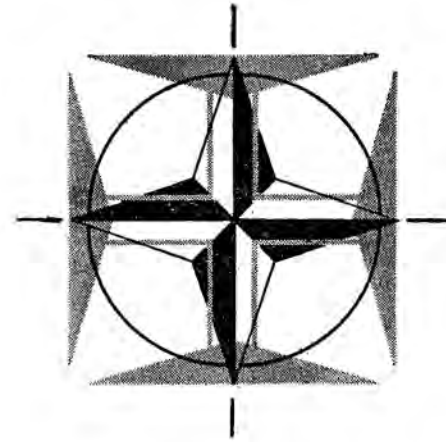
Central Committee.

Young Lords Party



ANGOLA: NOT PORTUGAL,

BUT NATO



FROM Luanda, capital of Angola, an airplane with Portuguese passengers is detoured to Brazzaville, People's Republic of the Congo. The oil deposits on the outskirts of Luanda are bombed. In the interior of the country, the forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) unleash a series of attacks on the posts of Lupire, Caiundo and Muje. The Portuguese find themselves obliged to abandon the Monteiro barracks under guerrilla pressure.

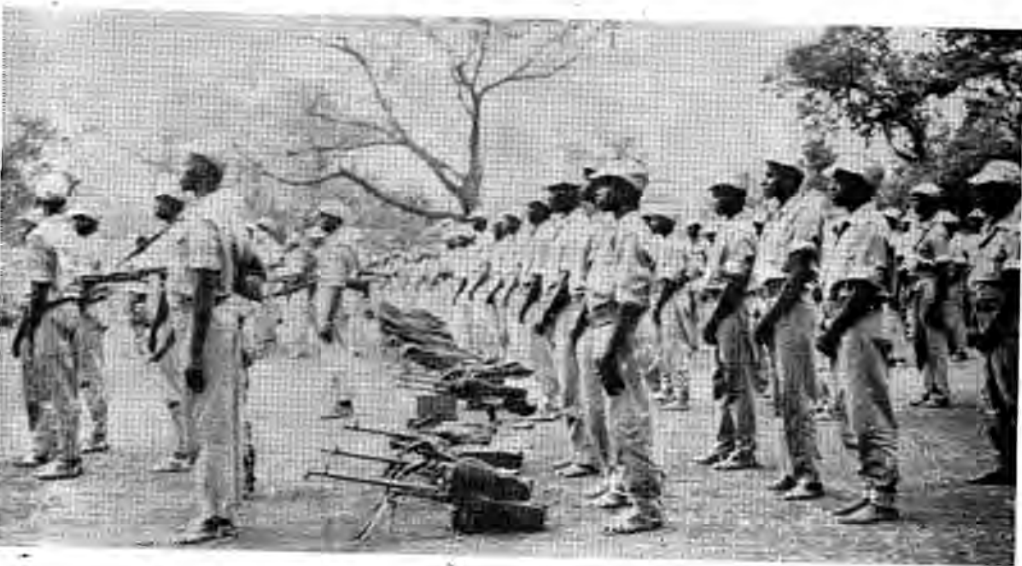
In Angola, African colony that the Portuguese call an "overseas province," MPLA has already liberated a third of the territory. Cabinda was the cradle of the struggle, but now, in the MPLA code, it is called the Second Military Region. There are five military regions and the latest was opened a short while ago in the region of Bié, in the very center of the country.

It is exactly there that the Portuguese have formed a defense line to prevent the passage of the MPLA

forces, but the guerrillas operate beyond this line. Their front is mobile. The proposal: to extend the struggle. The objective: to throw off the yoke of Portuguese colonialism.

In order to subjugate this African country, Portugal maintains an army of 80 000 men there, armed with the latest technical equipment. In an interview with Humberto Trasa and Alfonso Van Dunem, who represented MPLA in the Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, they detailed the aid that Portugal receives from the United States, the German Federal Republic, England, France and Holland.

According to them, the French company Sud-Aviation produces the helicopters that Portugal uses against the patriots, the German Federal Republic provides a great amount of the light material for the troops and the Fiat G91 planes which it produces with an Italian license. The Belgians supply the colonialists with the famous light



automatic rifle (FAL), the English with light material and the North Americans with every type of war equipment including planes and napalm. Portugal's largest war suppliers are the United States and West Germany.

The Angolan patriots stated that these countries arm Portugal in order to be able to exploit the natural wealth of Angola, which is considerable, and which Portugal is not taking advantage of. In itself, Portugal's role is only that of applying the brute force of colonialism and making others pay for it.

The only wealth of Angola that the colonizers exploit is coffee.

Meanwhile, oil is controlled by French and North American companies, a South African-North American-Belgian consortium exploits diamonds, iron is under the control of the West German Krupp group, cotton is controlled by the Belgians, the South Africans devote themselves to fish and uranium, which although it is not exploited, appears that it will be retained in the hands of the West German monopolists.

This explains the interest of the NATO member countries in maintaining Portuguese colonialism in the face of everything. It is really they who exploit Angola and its people.

The struggle against colonialism and imperialism continues. For this, MPLA — Trasa and Van Dunem explain — counts on the aid of the People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Zambia. Nevertheless, strong dangers and even enemies are arising.

Congo (Kinshasa) is one of the countries of Africa which most stubbornly refuses to understand the Angolan reality and forces the MPLA patriots to go around thousands of kilometers to supply their troops. The Mobutu government does not recognize MPLA. Nevertheless, it supports the organization of Roberto Holden — People's Union of Angola (UPA) — which does not fight against the Portuguese but rather lives permanently in Kinshasa.

A delegation of the Organization of African Unity which travelled through the liberated territories of Angola was able to establish accurately the total absence of members of the UPA in the country. It consequently recommended that the African organization withdraw its support of Roberto Holden.

At a specific moment the UPA had some force, but it divided into three groups, according to the members of MPLA. One of these grouped around

Roberto Holden, another went to work directly with the Portuguese and the true patriots remained fighting in Angola and today form a part of the MPLA forces.

Nevertheless, Trasa and Van Dunem add, Mobutu continues supporting Holden, who today is nothing more than an instrument of imperialism, in order to try to prevent the struggle from developing. His men are found along the frontier between the Congo (Kinshasa) and Angola and have the specific mission of preventing the MPLA militants from entering or leaving the country.

Journalistic sources have speculated over the possibility that Roberto Holden is directly financed by the United States. There is more: at one time, the possibility was discussed that he would create a government in exile to which Portugal would transfer power. According to one version, Portugal refused this. This has not been confirmed but it may very well be true.

The struggle continues. In recent months MPLA has devoted itself to launching attacks against isolated posts that the Portuguese maintain within the liberated zones and which receive supplies by air, since the land routes are closed.

Meanwhile, the member countries of NATO laugh at the UN and all the declarations and resolutions that condemn colonialism.

ELMO CATALAN:

“We are not glory-seekers”

(Hernán Uribe, editor of Punto Final, Irene Guisev, director of the Journalism School of the University of Concepción, and José Carrasco, journalist)

URIBE: What happens with personalities such as Catalán is that they are individuals who live an ordinary, normal life within our surroundings. That is, he is a journalist like us, who experiences an internal political process of conviction, after the appearance of Che's guerrilla group. Then when this conviction becomes very strong in him, he leaves for Bolivia to put into practice that political thesis. Before this, I repeat, the personality is almost anonymous.

IRENE: I would say that he forces himself to be as anonymous as possible — as Hernán says — on the outside.

URIBE: Here what we want to project is this new episode in Catalán's life, his action on the basis of a political thesis which is both proletarian internationalism and the continentalization of the struggle, that of the Latin-American patriot.

What is Elmo's social origin?

URIBE: Proletarian family. Worker. If I'm not mistaken, we said in a bio-

graphical sketch that the journalist Catalán is the natural antecedent of the fighter Ricardo. Precisely because of his characteristics as a journalist, a human being, a militant of the Chilean left, Elmo reaches this decision. IRENE: He studied in the first course of the journalism school that was founded in Chile in 1952. Elmo was a student in the school's first course and had not been a journalist before. What happens is that he was graduated long after he finished his studies. He finished and began to work like many journalist students. He was graduated when he completed his graduate thesis, which was just shortly before he left for Bolivia.

JOSE C.: The thesis was published internally. The book form for public sale comes later: *Propaganda as an Instrument of Political Pressure*.

IRENE: Later he began to teach in the same school in Santiago de Chile where he studied.

URIBE: In explaining his personality — as we were saying — one can cite

the antecedents to which we alluded, his origins. He was born in a zone where the presence of imperialism is notorious, because there is copper there.

IRENE: There is a tradition of workers' struggles in this zone.

URIBE: Not only that, the Chilean working class organization was born there, in this province of the North, in the saltpeter deposits that were first British and then North American. It seems that his whole family worked in these mines controlled by foreigners. And others were soldiers. His father as I understand it was a junior officer and at his death, one of his brothers became a junior officer and must still be one today. Moreover, from childhood he has to work in saltpeter or in copper; he had this experience from his earliest youth up until he was 15 years old. In the letter he writes he says that he is the only one of all his brothers who succeeded in going to the university.

JOSE C.: It seems to me that in the letter he states something of the irony of this, that his family wanted so



**“Freedom surges
when we break once
and for all with the past...”**

much for him to be a professional because of the problems of the Chilean social structure, or rather, of the status that being a professional signifies and the greater possibilities that this title was going to give him. But ironically he takes advantage of his university studies to place them at the service of the revolution.

IRENE: Elmo was, professionally, an excellent journalist. If he had worked for the system, he would have been a successful journalist in present-day Chilean society. Titles of editor or director, everything that the system provides for the “good journalists.” Elmo gave up all this. He worked in certain capitalist areas such as Radio Minería, but he clearly tried to do political work in these places, organizing trade unions.

There, in the same area where he lived, or some place else?

IRENE: In Santiago. Later he travelled to Santiago to study and lived there.

You were referring to the Northern zone.

IRENE: Later, when he begins to work with the people in the Copper Federation, but I understand that he travelled around.

He moved around on reporting assignments, for specific jobs?

JOSE C.: There is a fact, the Copper Federation, that is the organization that brings together all the copper syndicates, has its center in Santiago. Then he was specifically in charge of press work, he edited a paper, *Cobre*. It is in this paper that a special report of his appears on the slaughter in El Salvador, that occurred after a general strike of copper workers, and in this strike itself the paper has very great importance, in the more or less difficult situation that the country was going through then, both with respect to the repressive methods used and the force of the conflict. Later, he has legal problems because of the strong denunciation, and is tried.

What can you say about Elmo's militant socialism?

URIBE: He was a member of the Communist Party and later of the So-

cialist Party. That is to say, when he leaves for Bolivia he is a member of the Socialist Party. While he was a member of the Communist Party and was working on the newspaper *El Siglo*, the episode I'm going to tell you about occurred: the printing plant for the newspaper is assaulted by the police and all the personnel that was there was restricted — I don't know whether this is the legal term used — that is to say, they were confined to very unpleasant locations. It was in 1957.

IRENE: Something like banishment, but within the country.

URIBE: He was always very much tied to the problems of the working class and not theoretically but rather theoretically and practically. Because there he was with a very active participation in the organization of a bank strike, at the time when he acted as liaison between the people and the banking syndicates, and he also did this in copper, in iron and other industries.

And going back a little to Elmo's character and what motivated him internally...?



URIBE: This is very well explained in his letter, the whole internal process that makes him decide on the necessity to participate not only as a journalist but as a fighter.

IRENE: This is what I referred to when I said he had a sort of double process, because for those who saw Elmo with a certain regularity, nothing of this was reflected on the outside. It grew out of the basic fact that we all knew what he was, that he had an exceptional character, that he had written books, which is something unusual as far as journalists go. What I was referring to was this. That from the outside he presented the face we all knew, the committed journalist, who was writing books... Well, the internal process which apparently was greatly heightened by the death of Che, this was always very internal. I later spoke to people who were very close to Elmo and none of them knew about his plans, he didn't communicate them to his friends.

URIBE: There is one other thing in his character and that is the impact of Che's guerrilla unit, Che's example. From that period, he was preparing

"I am no stranger in Bolivia nor will I be a stranger in any part of Latin America. The strangers are the imperialists and their native servants."

himself for this type of participation as a combatant and for different reasons it never came about. And then Che's death hit him very hard, and this he explains directly.

JOSE C.: I would like to add to these antecedents something about Elmo's participation there. In the first place, that his participation is more or less important because of his political clarity and his organizing capacity. He had the responsibility for internal discipline and a large part of the organization of the guerrilla group itself.

Something else that should be noted is that the guerrilla newspaper put out by Inti Peredo and his comrades was also, to a large extent, Elmo Catalán's responsibility. I don't want to extend myself because I can't offer additional antecedents, but these things shed a little more light on the importance and the role he had within this movement. And this does not escape the attention of the repressive forces armed by imperialism, who assassinated him and his comrade Jenny Koeller, Bolivian fourth-year architecture student; in

early June of last year, their tortured bodies appeared in Cochabamba.

URIBE: Elmo's example is a part of the history of the tradition of Latin-American struggles, which began with Bolívar, San Martín... the American feeling. Elmo said: very well... what I am doing is helping to make the revolution in Chile when I fight in Bolivia.

IRENE: Yes, in the letter to his parents...

JOSE C.: Remember that he said: I am not a stranger in Bolivia, nor will I be one in Latin America, nor in any other part of the world. I am as much a patriot as the most patriotic of the Bolivian patriots. The foreigners are the imperialists.

URIBE: This is important to restate, this sense of homeland, which has been so twisted and used for its own ends by the reaction, precisely with the objective of continuing this dispute between the peoples about defending interests which are not their own. This is the difference in the meaning of homeland for a revolutionary.



Bolivia, April 19, 1970

letter from ELMO

To my mother, children, brothers, uncles and other relatives:

I am in Bolivia. The news will not be a surprise for you. This letter will be. There was always a tremendous lack of communication between us, especially political communication. Today, after almost two years of silence, it is worth writing a few lines so that you are aware of my motives and know why I made my decision.

I suffered personally — as you continue to suffer — poverty and exploitation. Work as a peon in the saltpeter mines of the pampa, in the copper mines or in construction when I had just left secondary school, had a profound impact and effect on me. I learned to know and love the working class which is doubtless the best of every country; I obtained a professional title (what irony, the only professional in the family!) and you — mistakenly — placed your hopes in me because the professional, in this system, has a broad economic horizon, especially if he is rapidly corrupted. But you didn't understand this and it will be difficult for you to grasp it.

I firmly believe that the professional has come to be such on the basis of exploitation, sorrow and the sacrifice of many other human beings. The professional is a parasite who trades on the poverty of his fellow beings or is an ally of the exploiting rich. As much as he speaks of revolution, of liberation or love for the people, he will be no more than a conscious slave of the system, an accomplice in oppression or, in many cases, gendarme of his own brothers if he does not take the only honest road there is to make our countries independent: that of armed struggle to the end.

This is why I broke completely with the past. I never had any aspiration within the system against which we are fighting. I do not regret it. On the contrary, I aspire to everything within the revolution. And I feel proud.

I am a soldier of the National Liberation Army, of the Army that Che and a handful of valiant men founded in Nancahuazú. Many dream of such great honor without achieving it. And so, I consider myself privileged.

You know that my decision is not a recent one. I sought the opportunity, sometimes almost with desperation, for several years. It hurt me deeply not to fight at Che's side in Bolivia. Certainly I did not deserve that honor; I also knew the cowardice of those who abandoned it, the shame of so many repugnant human beings who even now play at revolution, commercializing the example and the memory of one of the most outstanding heroes of our continent.

But it is necessary to explain something more so that you understand us better. We are not glory-seekers. We simply fight to destroy this corrupt and oppressive society and to construct a new world, without exploiters or exploited. A world where injustice and humiliation do not exist, where all have equal opportunities, where man, as Che says, "is not a pack of wolves."

We are fighting so that our children and the children of our children will be New Men — that is, pure human beings, with a profound love for society, generous, prepared to give their lives for their fellow men, men of great heart, determined to fight against injustice anywhere in the world. These New Men — as Che dreamed — can only be formed within our principles, in the clamor of battle, or else in the different socialism that we ourselves construct.

To reach such a beautiful objective we have to go through a sad and long period because our enemy is the most powerful and the most cruel of any that exists on earth, North American imperialism.

You will ask why I do not fight in Chile for these ideals. Very simple. The revolution is all one. Not all countries can be liberated at the same time. It is necessary to concentrate all one's forces where conditions are best. Bolivia is quite clearly the Southern part where exploitation and hunger have been most felt and its people have a tradition of struggle which makes them one of the toughest on the continent. Also, by its own rights and because of the seed that Che planted, it is the natural and indisputable historic scene.

I honestly believe that there will be no Chilean revolution without the triumph of the Bolivian revolution. The freedom of all the countries of the South depends on the liberty of Bolivia. How sad it would be for the Chileans not to understand this reality and to remain static, hoping that their liberty will come "free" although the whole world would be aware that this liberty would be based on the exclusive sacrifice of the Bolivian people.

You will think that I am wrong to fight somewhere which — as they once said to me in Chile — is not my homeland. I disagree profoundly with those who hold such a position.

Homeland, for me, has a real and profound meaning. It is certainly the geographical territory where an individual is born. But homeland is also, in its broadest dimension, the oppressed land where a revolutionary fights for the liberty of his people or dies defending his ideals.

Homeland is the copper, the tin, the iron, the zinc, the oil, the gold, the silver, the raw materials which, in the power of the entire community, create the wealth and prosperity of the nation that possesses them.

Homeland is the miner with silicosis.

Homeland is the exploited peasant.

Homeland is the humiliated woman.

Homeland is the hungry, uneducated child.

Homeland is the freedom revolution.

Homeland is the New Society and the New Man we will create.

For us, "The homeland is America," as Bolívar proclaimed on the battlefield.

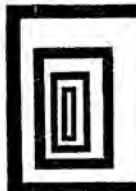
I am no stranger in Bolivia nor will I be a stranger in any part of Latin America. The strangers are the imperialists and their native servants. I consider myself as patriotic as the most patriotic of the Bolivian patriots. I have accepted all the obligations and exact only one right: that of fighting.

I am proud to fight in this land — which is now mine — for these people whom I love.

My comrades are the best among the best and we are brothers until victory or death, for the same ideals.

I am making great efforts to fulfill myself as a human being and to become a free man. Freedom surges when we break once and for all with the past, when we implacably destroy its myths, when we disparage its immoral norms which are elevated to the level of supreme codified rulers of humanity for maintaining a hateful slavery.

Liberty is the right of the peoples to rise up in arms, to kill those who have assassinated our forefathers, those who have destroyed our culture, robbed our



from the
executive secretariat



wealth, castrated many generations in order to convert them into the resigned servants of their captors.

Liberty is the sacred obligation to fight until final victory is achieved against the foreign oppressor who has trampled our fatherland.

Liberty is the right to govern ourselves.

And the free man arises when his action has committed him so completely that he becomes the mortal enemy of the old society: when he has no other perspective left than that of destroying this corrupt creature born out of the entrails of colonialism or of dying in the attempt to build the bases of a new order.

Then, although dead, the free man lives.

I have summarized our principles. I hope that you understand them. My great hope is that one day, one of my brothers or one of my children will become a fighter in the Army of Che.

All that is left for me to tell you is that I have felt for all of you, especially for my mother and my children, an infinite love. Because of character problems, I could never express this sufficiently. It is too bad.

I have absolute faith in our triumph. I believe that I will survive and then, in the brief lapse that will occur here before we continue our freedom adventure in other countries, I will try to give you all the tenderness I have been unable to express. But if — it is the risk of the profession — some bullet should end my life in Bolivia, you should know that up until the very end I tried to fulfill honorably all of Che's principles.

I leave you with my fighting name, because the other is also buried in the past.

Love to all.

We will return to the mountains!

Victory or Death!

Ricardo

PS. One thing more — and fairly important — that unites me deeply with this land. I am in love with a fighter in the ELN and I will have a Bolivian son. I am happy.

THE OSPAAAL AT THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE IOJ

Comrades of the Presidency,
Comrade Journalists,

The Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, created by the will of the 82 progressive parties and movements who participated in the historic First Tri-continental Conference held in this city exactly five years ago, wishes to express its gratitude to the International Organization of Journalists for the invitation to participate in this very important VII Congress to be held in revolutionary Cuba, the First Free Territory of America.

Although the tasks performed by the IOJ in the past have been valuable and important, its present challenges and pledges are even more so. Fascism, defeated in its first attempt to dominate humanity, still inflicts grave harm on the peoples and threatens their very existence. The United States, as ringleader of world reactionary forces, stimulates the rebirth of militarism and creates the conditions for the rise of the most brutal form of imperialism.

Lidice and Guernica constitute a living testimony of Nazi-fascist vandalism. The criminal bombings of the US Air Force against the DRV, mowing down children, women and old men and destroying the fruits of hard work by the Vietnamese people; the horror of massacres like that in Son My, committed by the North American invaders in South Viet Nam; the extension of the war to Cambodia; the consequent increased aggression against Laos, the occupation of the southern part of Korea by US imperialists and the intensification of their maneuvers to provoke a new war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, constitute but a few examples of the shameless fascistizing policy of the Wash-



ington government headed by President Nixon. In Indonesia, on the other hand, the crimes unleashed by the puppets of imperialism after the overthrow of President Sukarno have not ceased.

The Yankee imperialists, using NATO as their instrument, supply all types of weapons, and offer diplomatic and economic assistance to the Portuguese colonialists who try to maintain forever their despotic rule over the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. In answer to the criminal policy of their savage oppressors, the patriots of the Portuguese colonies evidence great tenacity in their fight for freedom, inflicting serious defeats on the Yankee imperialists and their puppets in Portugal. The recent attempt to overthrow the government of President Sékou Touré, in the Republic of Guinea, by means of a mercenary invasion organized by the Lisbon regime, and their plans to repeat the villainy, seriously concern the revolutionary forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

We also call your attention to the crimes committed by the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury against the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, whose struggle merits the most resolute support of all the progressive forces of the world. Other struggles which are equally just and worthy of support are those carried on by the patriots of Eritrea, Chad and Cameroon.

In the Middle East the Yankee imperialists and their British and West German partners persevere in the application of their genocidal plans against the Arab peoples, especially against Palestine, whose heroic fighters pose a serious obstacle to imperialism in that region. We wish to take advantage of this occasion to reaffirm our most resolute support of the struggle of the Palestinian people and their brave fighters. We are aware that there will not

be a true peace in the Middle East while imperialism insists on negotiation deals and compromises behind the backs of the Palestinian people and their legitimate representatives.

A wave of revolutionary fervor shakes Latin America, in the gullet of Yankee imperialism. The exploited peoples have started to move forward in pursuance of their political and economic independence. Imperialist monopolies are beginning to feel themselves threatened and unsafe in every part of the continent; pro-imperialist regimes installed by the Pentagon and the CIA are living a most precarious existence in the face of the thrust of the revolutionary forces whose combative expression is in the people's struggle and the audacious and heroic actions of their revolutionary vanguards.

We extend our fraternal greetings and warmest congratulations to the men and women who persevere in the revolutionary struggle, risking their lives to rescue their country's sovereignty, honor and wealth from imperialist hands.

The triumph in Chile of Dr. Salvador Allende, candidate of People's Unity, is a sign of the current times. Yankee imperialism is already undertaking the orchestration of the conspiracy against Chile. We call the attention of all progressive forces and especially that of the journalists, and of the parties and movements belonging to our Organization, to remain alert to frustrate any imperialist attempt against the Chilean people and their People's Unity government.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, in fulfillment of the agreements of the First Tricontinental Conference, participates, along with the African, Asian, and Latin-American parties and movements which created it, in the task of contributing to impe-

rialism's final defeat in the world; we honor the imperishable memory of such journalists as Jorge Ricardo Masseti and Fabricio Ojeda, fraternal colleagues in work and struggle, of the great Julius Fucik, Pío Germán Pinto and Kim Jon Tae.

The thought of the Heroic Guerrilla, Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara, with his example of intransigent fighter against imperialism, nourishes the struggle of the revolutionaries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and his exhortation to fight the enemy unceasingly and tirelessly, more than ever inspires those who hold high the banner of independence and national liberation of these continents.

Yankee imperialism is being harassed everywhere, including in the United States itself where the black people, Chicanos and progressive youth are contributing to the undermining of the bases of support for the ringleader of world reaction.

The persecution of Afro-Americans and progressives in the United States is symbolized at present by the outstanding black militant Angela Davis, whom North American imperialist reaction is attempting to punish with the maximum penalty, as a warning to her brothers of race and ideology.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL reiterates its exhortation to all progressive forces in the world to mobilize all the resources within their reach to save Angela Davis, for she represents the best of her people and the future of her race. We will extend our full support to the movement in favor of this militant, for we consider that it is everyone's duty to prevent imperialism from committing this new crime.

Long live the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America!
 The memory of their martyrs will live eternally!
 Death to murderous imperialism!

