



# tricontinental 63





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The "Great Electrifier of Souls." François Duvalier died last April 22. Days before the official announcement of the death of the "lifetime president" who aspired to be the third emperor of Haiti, his son Jean-Claude had assumed leadership of the country and named a new Cabinet including Duvalier's principal "protegees" who are contending for the Caribbean nation's highest office. Although

this interview took place before Papa Doc's physical end, we publish it because it presents the reader with a clear and direct image of Haiti's political and economic situation during the Duvalier tyranny at the same time that it denounces the imperialist and oligarchic maneuvers to frustrate the explosion of the Haitian masses seeking national and social liberation.

# THE 13 YEARS OF PAPA DOC-ISM

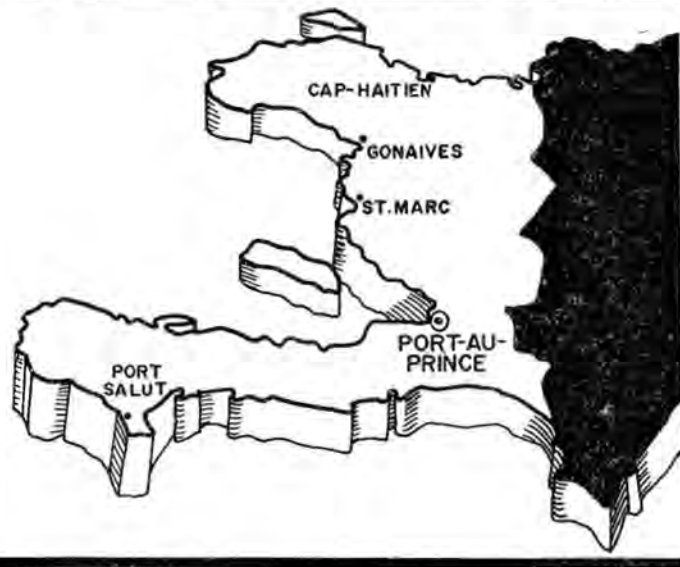
Haiti, the so-called "land of the mountains," is located in the western third of the former Isle of Spain, which it shares with the Dominican Republic. It was discovered December 6, 1492, by Christopher Columbus. Beginning in 1503 the Spaniards brought the first African slaves to the country after having exterminated the Caribbean Indians. Through the Treaty of Ryswick, Haitian territory passed to France which extended the cultivation of cotton, coffee and sugar based on the work provided by African slaves who, at the end of the 18th century, numbered more than 400 000.

In August of 1791, the slaves rose up against the French colonialists under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture. On January 1, 1804, the country's independence was proclaimed in Gonaives. During the 19th century more than 25 presidents succeeded each other as first magistrates of the nation.

Many of them imposed new laws to convert themselves into lifetime governors and surrendered the national wealth to foreign monopolies.

In July of 1915, the Yankee marines invaded Haitian territory and converted it into a North American protectorate for a period of 19 years. Various dictators occupied the presidency up until September 1957 when François Duvalier was elected with the aid of the US State Department and the Haitian army. Seven years later, he proclaimed himself "president for life" and enthroned a fascist tyranny which, in 13 years, according to the Haitian economist Gerard Pierre Charles, has meant for the tiny Caribbean country the assassination of 13 000 persons, the construction of 30 kilometers of paved highway, a police barracks and an apartment building of five apartments and the unlimited surrender of natural resources to the monopolistic enterprises of Wall Street. At the beginning of the present year, Papa Doc decided to convert the presidency into an inheritance and the twenty-second Haitian constitution was revised to that his son Jean-Claude would become the new president in the event of the incapacity or death of the tyrant.





Official Name: Republic of Haiti.  
 Area: 27 750 km<sup>2</sup>.  
 Population: 5 209 000.  
 Capital: Port-au-Prince.  
 Density per km<sup>2</sup>: 188.1 inhabitants.  
 Official Language: French.  
 National Language: Creole.  
 Religion: None official, although Catholicism predominates. The national religion is voodoo which Duvalier himself practiced.  
 National Date: First of January (Independence in 1804).  
 Products: Coffee, sisal, sugar, cotton, cocoa and bauxite.  
 Work force: 2 500 000 (83% in agriculture).  
 Annual income per person: \$50.  
 Calories per day per person: 1780 units.  
 Average life span: 32 years.  
 Infant mortality: 204 out of every 1000 children die in their first year.  
 Total number of doctors: 1 per 15 000 inhabitants.  
 Agricultural population: 88%.  
 Urban population: 12%.  
 Illiteracy: 90%.



● What are the political and economic aspects that characterize the Duvalier dictatorship?

There has been a personal dictatorship by the tyrant Duvalier in Haiti since he usurped political power and declared himself President for life. Since then there has been a despotism in the country, a single power, that of Papa Doc, who manages all institutions. Duvalier even took upon himself the power of naming deputies and senators, many of them selected from within the Tonton Macoutes, and formed a legislature apart. The same thing took place with the judicial where he selected and named the judges directly.

Opposition and discontent is present in all sectors of the population, both for the dictatorial manifestations of personal power and because of the economic situation within the country.

The principal force that sustains the dictatorship is the Tonton Macoutes, an organization of groups scattered through each region of the country and loyal to Duvalier because he gives them arms and with these arms they can kill and rob without any problem. They support Duvalier and are ready to do anything to retain the privilege of engaging in their unchecked banditry. The big landowners also support the Duvalier dictatorship because they see in it a force of power that guarantees them their properties. The most reactionary bourgeois sector tied to North American imperialism also supports Duvalier. These are, first of all, representatives of the North American monopolies in Haiti and also the heads of import and export businesses in the country.



Presently the economic situation is alarming because the "president for life" has stated that Haiti has three advantages for its economic development: the first, that it is close to the United States (two hours by plane); the second, that it has a sizeable work force, cheap and intelligent; and third, that it has a climate that not only permits tourism but also guarantees large profits to all agricultural investment. In turn, the dictatorship has begun to develop a propaganda concerning the natural wealth of the country, inviting the North American capitalists to invest in the mines. The aluminum, copper and gold mines have already been handed over to the United States. At present there is a policy of state investment to offer greater advantages to foreign investors. A short time ago, a program of electrification was initiated which guarantees a higher profit for foreign capital, and throughways are being built for the so-called strategic zones, or zones in which the government can at any moment decree the expropriation of land and hand it over to the North Americans who wish to construct hotels and motels for tourists.

● *After Rockefeller's visit to Haiti during his unfortunate trip through Latin America, what policy did the Nixon Administration adopt toward the tyranny of Papa Doc?*

Relations between Haiti and the United States have passed through many stages.

One of the conflicts between Papa Doc and the Yankees was the dictatorial regime itself because at Punta del Este the Yankees and their puppets

François Duvalier was known in his country under various names: Lucifer of the Caribbean, Spiritual Chief of the Nation, First Resister, Upright Cimarron, the Illustrious Doctrinarian, the Honorable Doctor and Sociologist, the Lifetime President of the Republic, but really he was known to the world by the lapidary name, Papa Doc.

proclaimed representative democracy as essential for the continent. This theory was developed for purposes that the whole world recognizes, to isolate Cuba and establish the economic and political blockade against her. But at the same time, imperialism had to sacrifice certain of its puppets, such as Trujillo or Duvalier, who were not within the framework of representative democracy. The North Americans considered that they had very little possibility for political maneuvers with the Haitian army since Duvalier had organized the repressive corps of the Tonton Macoutes, a force counterposed to the Haitian army. To insure that Duvalier was the only and true chief of the army, the Tonton Macoutes infiltrated, changed the general command from time to time and arbitrarily placed in superior jobs officers who didn't even know anything about military strategy. This concerned the United States a great deal for it saw that the loss of prestige and discipline in the army could cause its gradual disintegration and that at any moment of crisis when the people entered into the struggle, no one would be able to control the situation. For this reason the Kennedy government had demanded the dissolution of the Tonton Macoutes, which Duvalier did not want to accept because they were his principal support in the country. This created a certain coldness in relations between the Duvalier and Kennedy governments. For these reasons, the many attempts at coups d'état, invasions by groups of Haitian political exiles, are explicable. The situation began to change with Johnson, who decided to support Duvalier, but not openly because he did not want to compromise his policy in Latin America with such a bloody dictatorship.

Now Mr. Nixon has elaborated a new doctrine called the "partnership of equality," based on anticommunism and the need for a new point of focus for assuring imperialist domination in Haiti and the entire Latin-American continent. This doctrine consists in the toleration of any regime on the continent, and was created after the wholesale failure of the Rockefeller trip through various countries of the continent. Presently, relations are close and definitely open, and this has been demonstrated with increasing United States economic aid to the Duvalier government through the guarantee of some millions of dollars annually to maintain the Haitian budget, of which a considerable part is given over to the armed forces and state security, or the Tonton Macoutes.



After Rockefeller's visit, Yankee aid was increased. North American military instructors that had not been there before arrived, and new arms. Haitian officers make frequent visits to the United States. Within the Haitian armed forces there are some officers and soldiers who are concerned about the country's political situation, militarists who are not reactionaries and who understand that there must be an anti-imperialist and antidictatorial policy in Haiti. There are others who are managed by the Yankees as a reserve in case Duvalier falls, because they don't want to count very much on the Tonton Macoutes, who have no prestige, who lack the discipline of an organization that could maintain itself as the decisive force in the country.

● *Why and how were the Tonton Macoutes formed? Who are their members and what is their relationship to the army?*

The organization of the Tonton Macoutes did not begin when Duvalier came to power, but rather before. They were groups trained in Mexico who aided Duvalier, who was openly supported by the North Americans in his rise to power. The Haitian people did not sympathize with his presidency of the country.

These groups, were protected by certain sectors of the police the army. They assassinated some of Duvalier's opponents, those who had more influence. Clearly, he never identified himself publicly with these acts of terrorism although everyone knew about them and denounced them. When he came to power through false elections in which there were more votes than voters, and

Papa Doc declared during a press conference that his dream was "to make Haiti a second Puerto Rico," and on another occasion he said, "I want to visit Germany in order to know the high spots where Hitler lived when he was a great misunderstood man like me."

Once when Duvalier was talking to one of his aides, he said to him: "The communists have been liquidated..." The aide replied, "Mister President, the communists are like weeds."

which took place in a climate of terror, he began to fill the ranks of the Tonton Macoutes with freed criminals and malfeasants who had been condemned to prison for robbery. Over the years, not only did these elements become Tonton Macoutes, but also those who wished to receive some post in public administration or who, because they were great landowners, identified themselves with the antipeople's policy of Duvalier. The Tonton Macoutes have different chiefs, according to the region of the country where they operate, and fight among themselves to demonstrate greater loyalty to Duvalier. They have unlimited rights over the people's lives and possessions, but they also kill soldiers and officers; they have these rights and are punished by no one. Moreover, contradictions arise between the army and the Tonton Macoutes since they operate in special missions inside the army, where a man who was never a military person appears and is made a colonel or captain. The Tonton Macoutes never act without the army, which is the body that carries out the repression of the people.

● *What will happen in the country if Duvalier disappears physically?*

The power structure that the dictatorship maintains is not so firm that, after Duvalier's disappearance, it can maintain itself without him, because he represents everything in his person. The Parliament that he designated now has no prestige in the eyes of the people, there is no respect for justice either, and the army is corrupted and many of its members are Tonton Macoutes. The contradiction that exists and that has been sharpened between the army and the Tonton Macoutes on many occasions, is going to create a surprising situation in the country if Duvalier dies or is assassinated. However, a revolutionary out in such a situation, if it occurs, will have to depend on the forces of unity and action of the Haitian people's movement and its leaders, who will have to demonstrate their capacity for leading the masses in struggle and prepare them for whatever confrontation against the invasions





of the North Americans, who are not going to sit quietly by and wait for the Haitian people to carry out a revolutionary process.

Many things can be expected of the reactionaries. The possibilities must be foreseen that they will manage the army and attack the people directly, as took place in the Dominican Republic. In both cases, public reaction cannot be anything except armed resistance.

● *What strategy of antidictatorial and anti-imperialist struggle has the Haitian revolutionary vanguard proclaimed?*

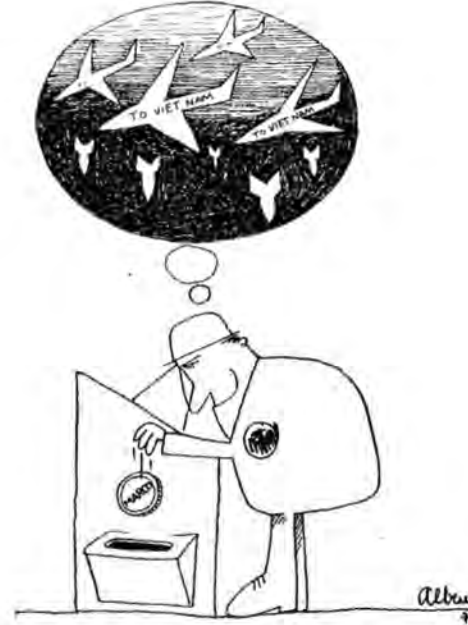
Two years ago the People's Alliance Party and the Union of Haitian Democrats united and became one sole party: the Unified Party of Haitian Communists.

For several months now the party has carried out a policy of organization of the proletariat and semiproletariat sectors in the countryside into organizations called Peasant Leagues for Agrarian Reform, and along with these, paramilitary groupings called Modern Cimarrones. These groups of Modern Cimarrones were made up of members of the Peasant Leagues for Agrarian Reform, who received military instruction to prepare themselves for participation in a permanent people's war against the tyranny and against imperialist domination. Their tasks are the reparation of guerrilla bases, the punishment of torture of the local population and resistance against incursions by groups of Tonton Macoutes and the police when peasant protests flare up against the big landowners in such and such a region, or against fiscal or political measures on the part of the government.



The economic-social program proposed by the party is anti-imperialist and antifeudal. It is aimed at transforming the political, economic and social structures of the country through the liquidation of the latifundists, the formation of cooperatives in the countryside, the expropriation of North American property in the country, the nationalization of the import and export business, and democratization of political institutions in the country.

In the definition of our struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism in Haiti we consign an important place to its development on our island, because the Dominican Republic and Haiti are on the same island and face a common enemy. At the same time we pay particular attention to the development of the Latin-American continental struggle, since the change in the correlation of forces on the continent has direct influence on the development of our own struggle.



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# West Germany supports US aggression in Indochina

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**W**HILE world public opinion at this time raises an enormous wave of protests, a surprising silence reigns in the federal capital, Bonn. Nothing has been said there and there are surely many reasons why. Bonn has participated in the financing of the United States attack on Viet Nam and Cambodia, and is participating now in the aggression against Laos. Through its taxes, the Bonn government has added more than 30 000 000 marks to the Nixon war coffers in recent years, thereby financing approximately 110 days of United States genocide in Indochina.

How does this support for North American crimes come about?

The aggressive political, military and economic activities being carried out in all parts of the world within the framework of United States global strategy, especially the invasion and escalation in Indochina, have surpassed calculations of US economic and financial reserves. The increasingly visible consequences of the war, which among other things are evident in the now permanent dollar crisis, in the commercial deficit, in the low foreign trade





surplus and the difficulties in the balance of payments, reduce the field of action for United States global strategy. The allies of the United States must resort to their own funds. And the most loyal ally of the United States, naturally, pays; it pays for the stationing of North American troops on West German soil, and is constantly threatened with their withdrawal. And that must be prevented at all costs, since what is at stake is the whole policy of aggression. The spokesman for big West German capital, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, expresses it this way: "Thus some sacrifices must be accepted in the interest of common political objectives."

North American troops stationed in West Germany absorb \$675 000 000 in foreign exchange annually, a sum that would augment the dollar balance in favor of the West German party and would succeed in augmenting even more the always growing deficit of United States balance of payments, mainly due to the aggression in Indochina. To avoid a possible reduction of United States troops in Federal Germany for financial reasons, Bonn transfers this sum of dollars to the United States which, in turn, supplies war material or transforms the dollar assets into made-in-America goods. Thus Bonn lightens the US balance of payments.

Since for some years the West German dollar transfer has surpassed the American supply of arms (the most recent supplies consisted of 88 Phantom combat planes for the Bundeswehr valued at more than 2 000 000 000 marks), Bonn thus practically guarantees the United States a constant long term credit which is devoted to the financing of the latter's crimes against the peoples of Indochina. At the beginning of 1967, these payments already totalled the sum of 24 200 000 000 marks. At the beginning of this year, this sum surpassed 30 000 000 000 marks. Now there must be an annual payment of 3 500 000 000 marks. Thus West Germany, of all the NATO associates, provides the United States with the major contribution to the maintenance of the criminal war it continues in Indochina.

And that isn't all: West German monopolistic groups indirectly serve United States aggression in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. The greater the war scale, the greater the profits! The capacity of the US internal market to absorb imports was increasing to the degree that the US monopolies, as

a consequence of the extension of the war in Indochina, give preference, because it is more lucrative, to the growing production of armaments over the production of civilian goods. The West German monopolies, among other foreign competitors, hastened to fill this gap, increased their exports and thus they profit with the escalation of United States aggressions. The reality can be seen in the statistics of West German foreign trade. Exports from West Germany to the United States during the last years, have developed as follows:

*West Germany Exports to the United States (in millions of dollars)*

1965	1436	1969	2727
1967	1966	1970	1429 (half year only)
1968	2707		

Meanwhile, the West German commercial balance for the years 1957 to 1967 showed a total maximum export surplus with respect to the United States, but with a constant passive balance of 2 500 000 000 marks as an average, reaching, for the first time in 1968, a surplus of approximately 12 000 000 000 marks!

*West Germany balance (in millions of marks)*

	<i>All countries</i>	<i>United States</i>
1957	+ 5 865	— 1 517
1959	+ 5 361	— 759
1961	+ 6 615	— 2 584
1963	+ 6 032	— 3 746
1965	+ 1 203	— 3 455
1967	+ 16 862	— 696
1968	+ 18 356	— 1 986

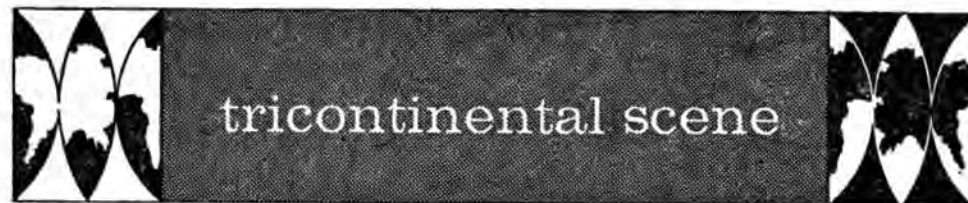
The degree to which direct West Germany investments in the United States have increased is also surprising. The intensified export of capital must make the direct support of the unstable dollar more effective and, at the same time, give new stimulus to the expansionist interests of the West German monopolies. Data on the development of West German investments in the United States is given in the following table:

*Direct West German investments in the United States  
(in millions of dollars)*

1958	171.1	1967	935.5
1964	427.9	1968	1 211.7
1966	578.4	1969	1 477.6

In this context it must be noted once more that Indochina serves as a lucrative source of profits for the West German chemical partnerships and, in collaboration with the Bundeswehr, as an experimental field for the testing of bacteriological and chemical armaments and chemical combat matériel. The US and West German chemical partnerships are working on preparations for the massive use of these armaments. The principal supplier of napalm, Dow Chemical, has, in common with I. G. Farben-Konern Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (BASF), in Ludwigshafen, a branch company in the United States, Dow Badische Company, in Williamsburg, Virginia. The North American combine also has a branch in West Germany, Dow Chemical GmbH in Frankfurt am Main, which participates decisively in the supplying of napalm to United States troops in Viet Nam. Last year, building of a branch factory of the US company was begun in the West German city Elba, with the participation of the Bonn government to the tune of 150 million marks!

The West Germany monopolies also participate in the bombardment of Viet Nam by United States troops, with certain so-called herbicides, over an area of approximately 2 200 000 hectares. This poisonous material which is used for the defoliation of woods and the destruction of harvests and whose latent effects still cannot be foreseen, was manufactured by IG-Farben-Konern Bayer, Leverkusen, in its branch factory in Dormagen. The West German firm also maintains in the United States, along with the American Monsanto Chemical Corporation, a branch company, Mobay Chemical Co.



# ANGELA DAVIS speaks from jail



The procedure against Angela Davis has stirred the interest of millions of people throughout the world.

Why this expectancy and this particular interest in the case of the young, black US professor?

It could be said that it is because of the special interest the authorities have shown in persecuting her, silencing her, and involving her in a judicial process in which she can be condemned to the gas chamber. Her case has become the symbol of the greatest clarity, combativeness and justice of the revolutionary movement within the United States, especially the struggle of Afro-North Americans for a full and dignified life.

We reprint from the weekly *Guardian*, excerpts of an interview the journalist Michael Myerson made with Angela.

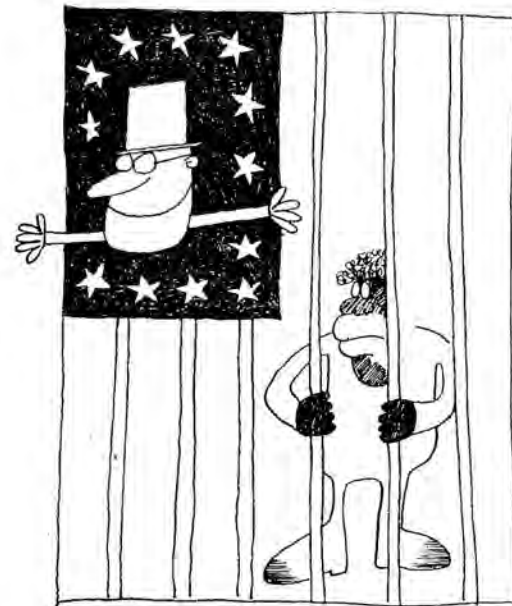
*Could you tell us, Angela, what led you to join the Communist party here in the United States?*

**M**Y decision to join the Communist party emanated from my belief that the only true path of liberation for black people is the one that leads towards a complete and total overthrow of the capitalist class in this country and all its manifold institutional appendages which insure its ability to exploit the masses and enslave black people. Convinced of the need to employ Marxist-Leninist principles in the struggle for liberation, I joined the Che-Lumumba Club, which is a militant, all-black collective of the Communist party in Los Angeles committed to the task of rendering Marxism-Leninism relevant to black people. But mindful of the fact that once we as black people set out to destroy the capitalist system we would be heading in a suicidal direction if we attempted to go at it alone. The whole question of allies was crucial. And furthermore aside from students, we need important allies at the point of production. I do not feel that all white workers are going to be inveterate conservatives.

*How do you see the relationship of blacks and whites in terms of united struggle here in this country? Do you think that black-white unity is possible and if so, on what grounds?*

Black leadership in working class struggles is needed to radicalize necessary sectors of the working class.

The practical perspective of the Che-Lumumba Club is based on an awareness of the need to emphasize the national character of our people's struggle and to struggle around the specific forms of oppression which have kept us at the very lowest levels of American society for hundreds of years, but at the same time to place ourselves as black people in the forefront of a revolution involving masses of people to destroy capitalism, to eventually build a socialist society and thus to liberate not only our own people but all the downtrodden in this country. And further, recognizing the international character of the revolution especially in this period when the battle against our homegrown capitalism is being carried out all over the world, in Indochina, Africa and Latin America. My decision to join the Communist party was predicated in part on the ties the party has established with revolutionary movements throughout the world.



**W**ELL, the point has been made often that the black people acting alone are capable of overthrowing the capitalist system in this country. If we organize ourselves correctly, this position continues, we can unleash enough violence to bring the country to its knees; we can destroy it entirely. Perhaps this is true, I don't know — but nonetheless, I think there is a fundamental fallacy in the notion of revolution that's implied in this position, for the essence of a successful revolution in this country will not be the destruction of the country but rather the destruction of the institutions which deter the people from having access to their own creations. And no one can deny that the genesis of US capitalism was inextricably bound up with the exploitation of slave labor. Black people created the basis for all the wealth and riches accumulated in the hands of a few, powerful families in this country today. We therefore have a right to this wealth. Therefore, our fundamental

strategy ought to consist not in destroying this wealth, but rather in abolishing the property relations which allow those few to hoard wealth while the masses of black people eke out their existence at an extremely low economic level.

#### Black-White Unity

But while the former position — the one that says black people can destroy the country acting alone — bases its activity on military strategy alone, the latter position of course will have to call for political strategy in the context of which perhaps military tactics will play a subordinate role together with all the varying tactical considerations we decide will best carry us to victory. Now starting with the assumption that we African men and women, super-exploited over the centuries in all and sundry forms, want total liberation from capitalism, we must inevitably draw the conclusion that our thrust towards liberation must be organically





bound up with the movement involving large numbers of white people who through a socialist revolution will liberate themselves. And particularly whites at the point of production; for after all, we want to take over, not destroy, the production apparatus in order to revolutionize the relations of production so that the people who work that apparatus collectively receive the fruits of their labor. This is the only way we as black people can come into our own and this is the only way the masses of white people can cease to be puppets for the ruling class. But we can never lose sight of the fact that insofar as the oppression of black people is concerned, the majority of whites in this country has been deluded not only in the sense of accepting the racist policies of the capitalist class and its government but they've also actively perpetuated racism to the degree that it has become absolutely imbedded in the social fabric of this country. Therefore, the whole problem of black-white unity is a very tenuous one under these circumstances and precisely because of the all-per-

vasive nature of racism, the issue of black-white unity can be resolved only by recognizing the necessity for black people to provide the leadership for the total struggle.

Black-white unity with black people in the forefront — because the phenomenon of racism and super-exploitation under capitalism has not only placed black people at the very lowest plane of the social order but it has also paralyzed the ability of whites to struggle in a radical fashion. The reactionary tendencies of many trade unions are directly proportional to their inability to transcend their own racist policies. Black people, on the other hand, have unfolded in response to our oppression an increasingly revolutionary understanding as well as an increasingly militant practice to rid ourselves of our oppressors. In order for black-white unity to become a reality it will be imperative for whites to acknowledge the central necessity of combating racism on all levels. It will be imperative for whites to accept the leadership of black people.

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*As an active campaigner for the freedom of political prisoners before your own arrest and now as a political prisoner yourself, how do you see this fight in its relation to the movement as a whole?*

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**T**HE movement which is beginning to crystalize around political prisoners is extremely important on a number of different levels. Under fascism such a movement would be virtually impossible, relating to what I said before. At this juncture the success of that movement will be determined not only by its ability to secure the release of political prisoners, but perhaps more important by its ability to expand into

a movement geared to overthrow the system itself.

It is important in this connection to realize the black political prisoner is very often a communist, whether she or he be a member of the Communist party, as I am, or an independent communist such as George Jackson [brother of the slain Jonathan Jackson and a prisoner in Soledad]. The meaning of

scientific socialism and therefore the underlying reason for many of the frameups of black revolutionaries must be revealed to the masses of people, particularly black people. And eventually the fight around political prisoners will become one of the many components out of which a mass, socialist-inspired movement for liberation of black and white will emerge.

This means people must begin to understand not only that George Jackson and the other Soledad Brothers have been falsely accused of killing a prison guard of that "correctional facility" as it's called, but that George was singled out because he is a black communist and in fact, he had been previously compelled to do 10 years for a crime which ordinarily entails no more than two years by the oppressive California parole board precisely because of his politics and his efforts to persuade his fellow captives to enlist in the struggle for black liberation, to enlist in the struggle for the destruction of capitalism.

To move to another level on which the fight around political prisoners must be waged, we must also link up

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*How do you see the women's movement? Also, do you consider it to have a special role for black women?*

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**L**ET me begin by saying this: no revolutionary should fail to understand the underlying significance of the dictum that the success or failure of a revolution can almost always be gauged by the degree to which the status of women is altered in a radical, progressive direction. After all, Marx and Engels contended that there are two basic factors around which the history of mankind revolves: production

and reproduction. The way in which people obtain their means of subsistence on one hand and in which the family is organized on the other hand.

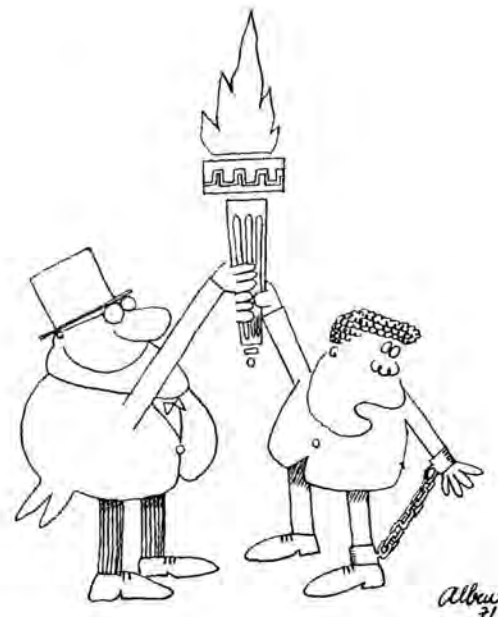
the circumstances leading to the frameup of so many black revolutionaries with the generalized genocidal attack on our people and thereby relate the issue of the political prisoner to the concrete needs and interests of black people.

For it is not often that one encounters in any black ghetto in this country a family that has not experienced some immediate contact with the corrupt judicial system and a repressive prison apparatus. It is not only impossible for a black revolutionary to get justice in the courts, but black people in general have been the victims rather than the recipients of bourgeois justice.

Therefore, a major focus of the struggle around political prisoners ought to be offensive rather than defensive in character and should consist in placing the bankrupt judicial system and its appendages, the jails and prisons, on trial. We must lay bare the whole system and concretely associate the movement to liberate political prisoners with the grassroots movements that are exploding in the dungeons all over this country.

Further, if it is true the outcome of a revolution will reflect the manner in which it is waged, we must unremittingly challenge anachronistic bourgeois family structures and also the oppressive character of women's role in American society in general. Of course,

and reproduction. The way in which people obtain their means of subsistence on one hand and in which the family is organized on the other hand.



this struggle is part and parcel of a total revolution. Led by women, the fight for the liberation of women must be embraced by men as well. The battle for women's liberation is especially critical with respect to the effort to build an effective black liberation movement. For there is no question about the fact that as a group, black women constitute the most oppressed sector of society.

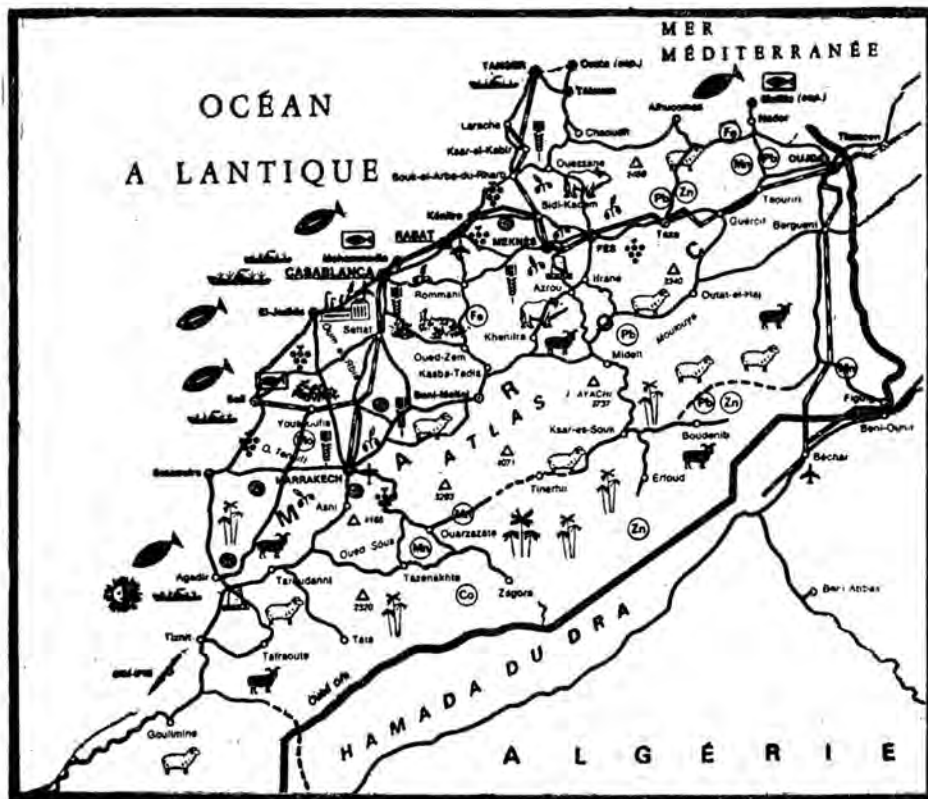
Historically we were constrained not only to survive on an economic level as slaves, but our sexual status was that of a breeder of property for the white slave master as well as being the object of his perverse sexual desires. Our enemies have attempted to mesmerize us, to mesmerize black people, by propounding a whole assortment of myths with respect to the black woman. We are inveterate matriarchs, implying we have worked in collusion with the white oppressor to insure the emasculation of our men. Unfortunately, some black women have accepted these myths without questioning their origin and

without being aware of their counter-revolutionary content and effect. They're consequently falling into behind-the-scenes positions in the movement and refuse to be aggressive and take leadership in our struggle for fear of contributing to the oppression of the black male.

As black women, we must liberate ourselves and provide the impetus for the liberation of black men from this whole network of lies around the oppression of black women which serve only to divide us, thus impeding the advance of our total liberation struggle.

There is much to be learned from the progression of George Jackson's ideas around the issue of black women. His book *Soledad Brother* ought to be read from that perspective. Unfortunately a letter to me that dealt extensively with the transformation he had experienced himself with respect to black women was not among the few that were published in the book. Perhaps it can be published at a later date.

# MOROCCO: the Marrakech trial



Official name:	Kingdom of Morocco
Area:	447 000 km <sup>2</sup>
Population:	14 420 000
Rural population:	70%
Density per square kilometer:	32 inhabitants
Chief of state:	King Hassan II
National money:	the dirham (5.1 equals US \$1.00)
Capital:	Rabat
Principal cities:	Casablanca: 1 250 000 Rabat: 410 000 Marrakech: 285 000
Official language:	Arabic
Religion:	Islam
Date of independence:	March 2, 1956
Agricultural production:	barley, wheat, corn, rice, oats
Mineral production:	phosphates, manganese, coal
Work force:	4 500 000
Annual income per person:	\$170
Life expectancy:	47 years
Infant mortality:	149 per 1000 births
Doctors:	1 per 12 120 inhabitants
Illiteracy:	80%



**T**HE Central Commission of the Koutla Watania studied with much attention, the conditions under which different waves of arrests have taken place over a period of more than a year, and which have culminated, in a first phase, with the arraignment of the arrested before the Military Tribunal of Rabat under the principal charge of attempts against State security.

In the first place, the Koutla Watania wishes to stress that after more than a year of silence, deliberately observed by the governmental authority, the organs of press and radio and television, the usual government spokesmen, suddenly unleashed a whole campaign of information and commentary concerning the prisoners and the new procedure currently taking place before the judges of common rights in Marrakech. The willfully ambiguous terms of

these commentaries, the utilization of an amalgam of methods, clearly tend to create and maintain a climate of judgment needed to justify the arrests and, eventually, the sentences to be applied.

The Koutla Watania indignantly denounces a campaign such as this which constitutes a flagrant violation of justice and an interference destined to disturb the conscience of the prosecuting magistrate as well as of the magistrates and judges called upon to preside. The gravity of such an act is all the greater since the victims are unable to defend themselves publicly and reply to the accusations against them.

#### Conditions of illegal detention

With respect to the sacred principles that guarantee individual liberties, the inviolability of the human being and

the rights of defense, the Koutla Watania considers that it has a duty to determine the conditions under which the arrests by the police services took place, the interrogations before the prosecuting judge of the military tribunal of Rabat and, finally, the recent transfer from his jurisdiction to the prosecuting judge of the Criminal Tribunal of Marrakech.

- 1) National and international opinion must know that the arrests made now total between 160 and 180 persons. The accused are likely to number more than 200 persons.

The first arrests began at the end of December of 1969 and were followed by successive waves up until the end of December 1970.

Detentions in police stations extended for almost six months for the first groups, whose total reached approximately 120 victims. For the others the detention in most cases has been from two to four months. One of the last dates involves our brother, Mohamed El Yazghi, who disappeared on November 16, 1970 and who was only able to appear before the prosecuting judge of the Military Tribunal, on December 25, 1970.

Finally, it is significant to recall that on the eve of the official visit to Morocco by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Relations for the purpose of negotiations concerning the future of Sakiet El Kamra of Rio de Oro, the Franco police, in testimony to the "spirit of cooperation" of the Spanish government, proceeded, in January of 1970, to arrest Mohamed Ajar (Said

Bounailat) and Ahmed Ben Jelloun in Madrid, subsequently turning them over to the Moroccan police. The two militants, handcuffed and blindfolded, were loaded onto a special Moroccan airplane whose destination was Casablanca. Their detention in police stations continued to the end of July, 1970.

#### Inhuman tortures

- 2) With certain exceptions, all the victims suffered the most atrocious and technically refined tortures; and did so throughout the period of detention.

In this respect there is very precise information concerning the treatment inflicted:

—All the prisoners had their eyes blindfolded and hands cuffed behind their backs for almost the entire duration of their stay. Some of them, like Mohamed Ajar and Ahmed Ben Jelloun, had their fists and feet chained night and day for more than six months and the guards spoon-fed them and helped them go to the bathroom.

—To this treatment, of course, is added the physical torture itself: beatings, suspensions by the lower or upper limbs, water and electric shock tortures, etc....

Those who were physically knocked out or who lost consciousness, were given a certain amount of care to put them in condition to be "interrogated" again.

- 3) It is under such conditions that the "spontaneous and concordant



#### Recent History:

- 683 B.C.: is conquered by the Arabs.  
 788: becomes an independent kingdom.  
 1906: France obtains special privileges in Morocco.  
 1912: Morocco is converted into a protectorate. It is divided administratively into French Morocco, Spanish Morocco and the Southern Protectorate of Morocco.  
 1953: France deposes the Sultan Sidi Mohammed and exiles him to Madagascar.  
 1955: France permits the Sultan's return.  
 1956-57: Morocco obtains its independence. Sultan Sidi Mohammed becomes King Mohammed V.  
 1961-62: King Mohammed V dies and is succeeded by his son, Hassan II.  
 1962: By means of a referendum a proposed Constitution presented by Hassan is approved.  
 1965: Hassan II declares a state of emergency. He accuses Parliament and the most distinguished leaders and opposition parties of blocking his measures to form a government. He suspends the Constitution and personally assumes all legislative and executive powers. At the end of the year, the kidnapping and assassination of El Mehdi Ben Barka, distinguished leader of the Moroccan opposition, takes place.  
 1969: Morocco becomes an associate of the European Common Market.

confessions" that constitute the proceedings of the prosecution were obtained. Moreover, during the months of detention, verbal proceedings were taken and taken again on many occasions, and the tortures began again in each one of these phases.  
 4) Brought before the prosecuting judge of the Military Tribunal of Rabat, the arrested were jailed in the military prison of Kenitra. But the vigilance within the military prison was assured by civilian police who were none other than the torturers of their period of detention.

These are the same police who brought the prisoners to the prosecuting judge's office to interrogate them. It is quite clear from the facts that prosecution was continued even during the period of preventive detention: in order to maintain moral and physical control over the victims to force them to confirm before the prosecuting judge the "spontaneous and concordant confessions" wrested from them by means of torture and violence.

During said period of preventive detention, Mohamed Ajar and Ahmed Ben Jelloun remained with their feet and hands chained and only a few days before their transfer to the civilian prison in Marrakech were their feet unchained.

5) The interrogations made by the prosecuting judge for the Casablanca Military Tribunal, begun at the start of September 1970, were to continue to the end of December of 1970.



An event of major significance

A major event was nevertheless to take place: by an order given on December 30, 1970, the military judges declared themselves incompetent to judge the deeds listed in the verbal



On July 22 a National Front (Al Koutlah-Al Watania) between UNFP and Istiqlal was constituted on the basis of an antireactionary and anti-imperialist charter that stipulates in the main:

- Nationalization of the key sectors of the economy;
- Democratic self-mobilization and the application of a policy of industrialization within this framework;
- An agrarian reform based on the principle: land for those who work it;
- Liberation of the territories under foreign domination;
- Support of the Palestine people and the complete integration of territories and peoples of the Arab Maghreb.

proceedings of the police. Thus the accusation threats against the foreign security of the State were revealed to be without foundation.

But this is of no importance to the repressive power: if the military judges declare themselves incompetent, there are civilian judges who are here to provide another evaluation of the "confessions" extracted by violence!

And so in this spirit all those arrested were transferred to the civilian prison of Marrakech after having been brought before the prosecuting judge for the Regional Tribunal of that city.

The new conditions of preventative detention were worse: guard was maintained inside the prison by the civilian police, and many of the arrested had their hands chained day and night.

These, objectively, are the deeds in their brutality.

The Koutla Watania vigorously denounces these deeds, stressing the tortures, physical and moral violence to which the arrested are subjected prior to their appearance before the Marrakech Criminal Tribunal.

Finally, Koutla Watania particularly calls public attention to the fact that the transfer of proceedings to the Marrakech Tribunal effectively prevents the lawyers assigned for more than six months — and all of them in Rabat or in Casablanca — from fulfilling their obligations and insuring the effectiveness of the defense of their clients. The designation of other lawyers, necessarily less prepared, would be nothing more than further evidence of a much greater attack on the rights of the



defense and against the guarantees provided by the Penal Code of Procedure.

Rabat, January 18, 1971  
The Central Commission of  
Koutla Watania



## NEW MASSACRE OF NATIVES

A "pacification" expedition organized by the Brazilian government to establish contact with the Paracanan Indians in the Amazon forests, was converted into a truly genocidal operation for the extermination of the indigenous population of the Dos Carajas sierra, in the same geographic region where there are rich iron deposits exploited by the US United Steel Company. The members of the expedition of the National Foundation for the

the Brazilian state of Para, between the towns of Maraba and Altamira.

But the entire region is within the boundaries of some hundred thousand square kilometers that the Brazilian government ceded to the Compañía Meridional de Minería, United Steel Company subsidiary, to exploit the iron and anything else it runs into here.

The *Jornal da Tarde*, evening edition of the conservative *O Estado de São*

# DEATH AND EXTERMINATION IN BRAZIL

Indian (FUNAI), the Brazilian governmental organ in charge of the protection of Indians, established contact with the Paracanans and offered hundreds of macabre gifts: the used and dirty clothing of "civilized" people, in order to contaminate them and thus exterminate them. Up until now the "uncivilized" Paracanans had lived quietly, devoted to agriculture and hunting in the Dos Carajas sierra, in

*Paulo*, published photographs of the natives receiving used clothing and other appurtenances of civilization and pointed out that "as they carried away the clothing and objects of the whites, the Paracanans were threatened with infection and now many of them must be beginning to die." The newspaper stressed that "by the end of the pacification work, some 50% of the tribe will have died."



Contagion in the native population by means of infected clothing is a common method for exterminating the indigenous population in Brazil. Nevertheless this is the first time that FUNAI has practiced it and also admitted it publicly. Up until the present it was the favorite method used by the latifundists or the huge North American mining enterprises to do away with the

Indians. In 1969 in the province of Bahia, landowners interested in expelling the Indians from their land (rich in gold deposits) handed out clothing contaminated with smallpox. In less than a month they were all dead. In the present case of the Indians of the Dos Carajas sierra, the Brazilian government associated itself with the United Steel Co. in the extermination maneuver.

## BRAZIL'S HARD LINE

**T**HE death penalty for a young revolutionary, and the announcement of bilateral agreements with other regimes for the continentalization of repression, reflect a notable hardening in the military regime.

One of the outstanding deeds of the "hard line" of the regime is the death sentence given to Theodomiro Romeiro dos Santos, member of one of the Brazilian armed action groups.

Dos Santos was condemned on the accusation of having killed one of the secret agents of the political police. The penalty was imposed under the "law of National Security" enacted by the military government on September 29, 1969 to repress revolutionaries. It had not been applied in this country since 1890 when it was abolished.

According to theorists the "institutionalization" of the death penalty will provide an image of the regime's firmness to the repressive forces under its command, in addition to accentuating the terror of the population at falling into the hands of the police.

**A**T the same time the judgment against dos Santos and his comrade, Paulo Pontes da Silva (condemned to a life sentence in jail) underlines another parallel fact.

The prosecutor general of the nation, Xavier de Albuquerque decided "to bury" the "Sergio Paranhos Fleury case". The well known commissar was accused, once more, of killing a prisoner of the courts.

The accusation was made by Eduardo Leite's cell mate.

Fleury, one of the heads of the Brazilian Death Squadron, pulled Leite out of his cell on December first. On the day following the kidnapping of the Swiss ambassador Giovanni Enrico Bücher, the political police officially announced that they had tried to arrest Leite who had resisted and had died in an exchange of shots.

Albuquerque's judicial decision leaves the road wide open for the Death Squadron to continue functioning.



**A**NOTHER important fact is the interview of the foreign minister Mario Gibson Barbosa with his Paraguayan colleague, to study joint actions against terrorism.

At the same time, antiguerrilla training continues intensively. Among those that have taken place recently are the operations carried out on the thirteenth of last month on Portal Island in Rio de Janeiro, with the participation of commando troops from the center

of instruction, amphibious reconnaissance operations, and others.

An index of the importance the regime attaches to these activities can be synthesized in a phrase of General Penha Brazil, commander of the first air transport brigade: "The antiguerrilla training operations must not be bland and the command must learn to kill, destroy and fight without feeling any remorse."

# VICTORY ON ROUTE 9

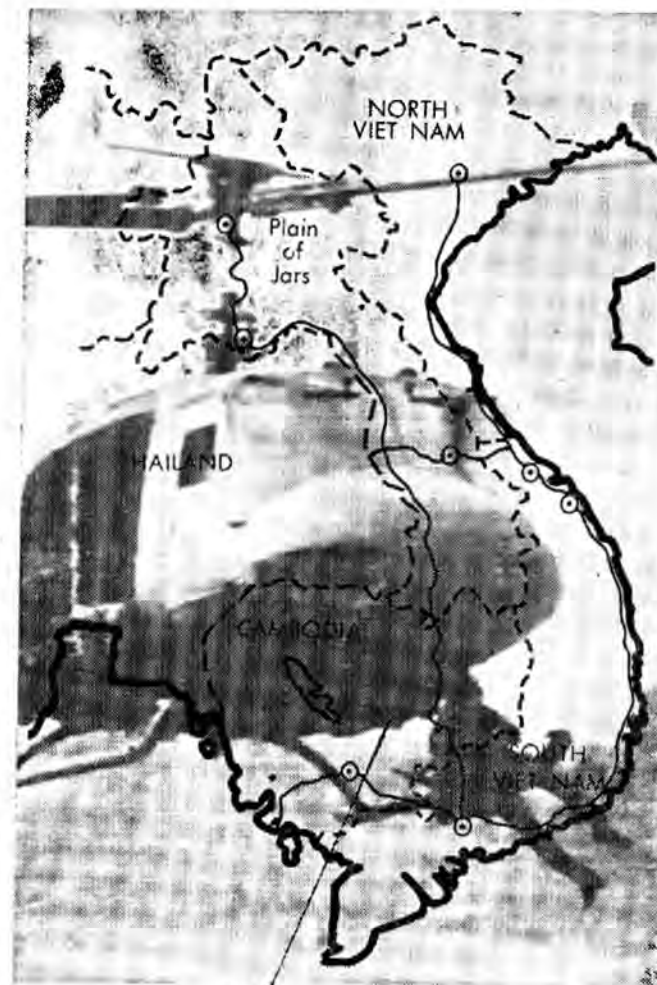
Summary of the report made by Nguyen Minh Phuong, ambassador in Cuba of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam, to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL. In it, he referred particularly to the victory of the patriotic forces on Route 9 and to the situation since then.

**T**HE latest Yankee puppet invasion of Southern Laos took place within the framework of what we call local counter-offensives, the third by the Yankees and puppets since they started their policy of Vietnamization of the war. At the beginning of 1968, as you know, faced by a general offensive of simultaneous uprisings and great victories achieved by our people, the United States was forced to assume a defensive strategy, begin a deescalation of the war, accept the Paris talks with us and, at the same time, put its policy of Vietnamization of the war into operation.

While carrying out the deescalation of the war and the withdrawal of its troops, the United States has continued to engage in so-called local counter-offensives, with the objective of facilitating the desired success of the policy of Vietnamization of the war.

The first local counteroffensives took place in the region of **Xieng Khouang** and in the Plain of Jars. They believed that with the occupation of this region they could threaten North Viet Nam.

But when they were defeated in this plan, the imperialists undertook the invasion of Cambodia and the recent



Route 9 operation. The operation was carried out in the midst of the somber picture of their failure in the whole of Indochina. In South Viet Nam we destroyed 70% of the Vietnamization that had been achieved.

Consecutive patriotic attacks took place against all the enemy strategic military bases from the 17th parallel to and including Saigon, important bases such as Can Ranh, Da Nang, Chu Lai. The base of Cam Ranh is set up as an international base. As far



as service personnel, workers and military personnel are concerned, all are foreigners — North American, Australians, there are no Vietnamese.

In Cambodia, the guerrilla movement developed strongly in all areas and practically isolated the capital Phnom Penh. Seven highways link Phnom Penh with other regions of the country and all are cut off. The moment arrived when they had to use the air route as the only supply route. But on the night of last January 22, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Cambodia attacked the only airport in Phnom Penh, Pochentong, and destroyed 96% of the planes of the coupist regime. This action placed the capital, Phnom Penh, in a very precarious situation since, in addition to the rupture of all land roads of communication, was added the cutting of the air line.

The Yankees quickly tried to replace the planes of the coupist regime, but on the following night the patriotic forces attacked the airport again. Almost all the replacements the Yankees had provided there were destroyed as well. Route 4, which passes through Pic Ninh pass, is used to bring supplies to Phnom Penh that arrive at the port of Sihanoukville. The Armed Forces for Liberation constantly attack this route.

**I**T was in the midst of these failures, these defeats — in South Viet Nam as well as in Cambodia and in Laos — that the operation in South Laos was undertaken. The purpose of the operation was to cut what they call the Ho Chi Minh trail which was said to be the cause of this whole situation in

Indochina, and with it to create a new situation favorable to the United States and block all possible patriotic offensives. It was believed that by cutting these so-called supply lines, it would be possible to put an end to all the actions in Cambodia and Laos. It was a plan that had political and military objectives: to produce a change in the military situation favorable to the United States, and force the peoples of Indochina to accept the conditions they proposed.

In the political area, they hoped with the success of this operation to issue propaganda concerning the supposed success of the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war and the power of the South Vietnamese puppet army; to raise the prestige of the South Vietnamese puppets in order to gain votes in the Presidential elections in the US in 1972, and in the next "presidential elections" in Saigon.

For the transport of puppet troops to the battlefield, the imperialists used a thousand helicopters and the assembly of forces was as follows: US troops situated on the Viet Nam-Laos frontier at the time that the puppet troops invaded Laotian territory. These forces so numerous, with means of transport so mobile and modern, were unable to advance even 20 km at the end of 45 days. There were moments in which they said they had occupied the city of Tchepon, but actually this did not take place because the liberation forces of Laos retained control of the city at all times.



In this battle they put into operation various new tactics, different from those used in South Viet Nam and in Cambodia. The first was the disembarking of troops by helicopter, called the "high mobility tactic". Artillery and tanks were transported from one place to another on the battlefield by plane or helicopter. Another new tactic consisted in the use of tanks as a shock force; to avoid the greatest possible losses, the soldiers were inside the tanks. Another tactic, the so-called "jump



advance." It consists in launching troops simultaneously from a single point against various points in order to spread the troops out further.

In Laotian territory, hundreds of planes, helicopters and military vehicles were destroyed, chiefly tanks put out of use. It must be pointed out that some of these military vehicles, including helicopters, were occupied intact by the patriotic forces, that is to say, they could be used again.

The enemy soldiers had to abandon these vehicles to take to the road, without even having time to destroy them.

In one of the patriotic actions of this battle, the patriotic forces totally annihilated a brigade and captured alive the entire high command of this unit. In the Route 9 operation, the South Vietnamese territory runs from Khe Sanh to the sea. Here we divided the fighters into two zones and fronts: one around the base of Khe Sanh which is fundamental, and the other going from the sea to the city of Don Han, in order to attack the rear guard, the logistics bases of the enemy.

Meanwhile, in the operation by the Saigonese puppet troops in the North-eastern region of Cambodia as a coordinated action with that in Laos, the enemy was also totally whipped. In this operation known as "Total Victory" more than 20 000 troops were used. In the provinces of Kompong Chand and Kratié, where the operation took place, a total of five enemy battalions were annihilated. The operation ended in complete failure following the death of the puppet general, Commander Do Cao Tri, when his helicopter was shot down by the patriot artillery.

The puppet general Do Cai Tri was commander of the third puppet tactical region (around Saigon) and when he died he was the commander assigned to the operation in Cambodia.

The death of this general had a tremendously demoralizing effect among the puppet troops.

**T**HESE victories recently obtained by the armies and peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, have been of great strategic significance both from the military and the political point of view.

From the military point of view, a great part of the enemy's important active forces were annihilated. And it must be pointed out that if the enemy had limited himself to defending his bases, following a defensive strategy, without going out on these adventures, we would have had difficulty inflicting so many losses; on the other hand, the new tactics invented by the Yankees for this period of war met their end at birth.

As we have already explained, in the war against Viet Nam, the United States has changed its strategy three times, but it has applied many tactics. Up until now, its best cards have been played unsuccessfully. Nothing more is left except the use of atomic bombs. That is, another victory for our side has been to frustrate all the enemy's new tactics.

From the political point of view, we completely frustrated the objectives proposed by the enemy in this operation. Far from being able to halt our people's aid to the front lines, it was accelerated even more by increasingly powerful and consecutive patriotic actions in all theaters of the war. And as you already know, on April 2, the puppet Thieu announced the landing of some 300 commandos in a section of Laos. But these elements had scarcely reached their destination when they had to retreat full speed.

With its negative political repercussions for the Yankees and the puppets,

this defeat has more than ever sharpened the contradictions between them. Because, for their part, the Yankees have tried to accelerate the process of their troops and thus minimize US costs and losses. The puppets, for their part, are not in favor of this, because they are aware that a rapid retreat by the North American troops would mean the total crumbling of their regime.

Now, in the face of the defeat, one blames another and among the puppets Cao Ky and Thieu themselves, for example, there are accusations. Cao Ky said he was not in agreement with this operation, but Thieu, obeying orders from the United States, carried out the operation on his own count.

The gravest and most significant defeat for the United States, is the

military defeat of the policy of Vietnamization of the war which this operation revealed. Because you know that one of the proposals made by the United States is that of creating a puppet army sufficiently powerful to carry out the work left by the Yankee troops after their withdrawal. But they have seen how the puppets disembarked and embarked in Laos; how they fled in disorder. The maximum aerial and artillery support provided by the US forces was still unable to save the puppets.

The victory obtained at the front on Route 9 is a mortal blow to the policy of Vietnamization of the war. In coordination with the front on Route 9, some 200 enemy military bases throughout South-American territory were attacked repeatedly.

#### REPERCUSSIONS

*According to the news received recently concerning the disastrous defeat of the Yankees and puppets in Indochina, it seems that the Thai regime is beginning to be afraid. It has spoken about sending its National Defense minister to discuss the problem of the withdrawal of its troops from South Viet Nam where it currently has two detachments.*

*There are also some five Thai battalions operating in Laos, trying to justify their existence as Laotian troops trained in Thailand.*

*Actually in South Viet Nam, along with the US troops, there remain fighting detachments of various satellite countries such as the case cited of Thailand, New Zealand, South Korea (Pak Chung Hee), Australia.*

*In the case of the Philippines, they have withdrawn almost all their troops from South Viet Nam since last year. This year, Thailand is negotiating its withdrawal from the conflict. These small puppet associates that flee the sinking ship only confirm the impotence of the North Americans to sustain themselves by force in Indochina and demonstrate the failure of the Nixon doctrine in using Asians against Asians.*





**N**OW it is announced that only by attacking North Viet Nam can the whole situation be resolved. In North Viet Nam, in response to the call of the Central Committee of the Party, and of the government, the entire people and the army are ready, and the firm determination exists to wipe out any enemy contingent as soon as it dares to touch any part of the territory. So that the slogan is to successfully defend the socialist North and continue without interruption or diminution aid to the great front in South Viet Nam, at the same time fulfilling its international duty toward the people of Laos and Cambodia.

In the region known as the fourth interzone, the slogan is *Combat and Production*. That is to say, combat is first in order of priority: and for the rest, in the northern part, the slogan is *Production and Combat*.

Each region has precise instructions adjusted to its concrete conditions. Above all, in the South of our country, responding to the call of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, we are intensifying our actions on all fronts, determined to inflict constantly greater defeats on the imperialists and place them in a precarious and very difficult situation so their hands are tied and they can no longer attack North Viet Nam.

For their part, the two princes: Souvanouvong for Laos and Sihanouk for Cambodia have called on their respective peoples to intensify the struggle.

Thus, no matter how many plans and adventures the North Americans undertake in Viet Nam they will never be able to save themselves from defeat in Viet Nam and throughout Indochina. The Nixon doctrine of using Indochinese against Indochinese is suffering reverses. Events in Indochina reveal that the Saigonese puppet forces of Phnom Penh and Vientiane and those in Cambodia and in Laos, are chalking up an increasingly greater number of losses.

If the United States could not defeat the South Vietnamese people when they had more than 500 000 of their soldiers in South Viet Nam, they are much less able to confront the three Indochinese peoples and conquer them with 300 000 now.

Despite this conviction, proven in practice, we do not deny the importance of enemy power and his obstinacy and well-known lack of scruples. For this reason, when Nixon announces that he is going to continue the withdrawal of troops until the figure reaches 280 000 and declares that his purpose is to accelerate the withdrawal, it is nothing more than political maneuvering. We do not lose sight of the fact and are very much aware that the United States still has some 300 000 soldiers in the territory with hundreds of military bases. For this reason the decisive problem — of this we are more than convinced — is our action on the battlefield. Whether or not the imperialists withdraw their troops, the people and the army of South Viet Nam are determined to struggle to the end, until they obtain their complete victory.

## MPLA COMMANDER KILLED IN BATTLE

**T**HE CCPM wishes to inform all MPLA comrades of the death in combat of its valiant militant of the V Region, Comrade Justino Frederico (Leão Veneno), who in defense of the population of sector 6 of Zone C to which he had transferred, died from a traitorous enemy shot after having twice emptied his AK against the enemy.

The bravery of the comrade enraged the Portuguese soldiers who, not satisfied with his death, mutilated certain parts of the cadaver of this great fighter who died with his head high because he had fulfilled his duty.

Comrade Leão Veneno was buried by our guerrillas on October 10, 1970, the day of his death. Our soil was once more soaked with the blood of one of its finest sons.

Comrade Justino Frederico (Leão Veneno) was born in Andulo in 1940. After going through one year of secondary education he felt obliged to leave Angola to join MPLA, and was one of its militants from 1965 on.

MPLA sent him through a political-military course between 1966 and 1967,

and he turned out to be one of the best students in it.

In 1968, in the first assembly of the Third Region, he was named organizer and mobilizer of the Fifth Region. Once there he was named commander of Zone A in this region because of his rare dynamism and his inclination to struggle, carrying out his job with considerable capability and winning the sympathy of all fighters, leaders and of the population. It was as commander of the zone that comrade Leão Veneno died.

MPLA is in mourning, and as it has always stated as its slogan, it will continue to avenge its dead in combat against the enemy, and will always follow the example of comrades such as Leão Veneno until our country is completely liberated from the foreign presence.

We shall fight to final victory!

Victory is certain!

For the CCPM: Daniel Julio Chipende.



appeals  
and messages

## NICARAGUA 1927: historic decision

● The United States and its imperialist monopolies, which perpetrated the first aggressions against Nicaragua at the beginning of the last half of the XIX century, have maintained that Central American country under the oppression of one of the most ferocious tyrannies in Latin-American history, based on the liberal-conservative oligarchy represented by the Somoza family and their ilk, the Chamorro-Sacasa.

● The sufferings of the people of Nicaragua throughout 100 years of aggressions and Yankee imperialist domination are easily measured in the enormous mass of illiterates and unemployed, the total supremacy of monopolies in all aspects of the country's life, the assassination of Nicaragua's best sons at the hands of the imperialist invader or his basic instrument, the so-called National Guard, and the fact that more than one third of the population has been forced into exile in search of a living and to escape the claws of Somoza's henchmen, Washington's guards in Central America.

● However, the people of Nicaragua have not submitted meekly to the oppressor's yoke, but, on the contrary, have paid a high price in blood shed by men deeply rooted among the people who have faced the enemy of the fatherland.

● Augusto César Sandino, Nicaragua's national hero and pride of the Latin-American peoples, symbolizes the highest expression of patriotism and conscience of the Nicaraguan people, and his life as a revolutionary will always be an example for the Latin-American people who are disdained, exploited and despised by the Yankee imperialists.

● The 4th of May, 1927, represents a basic milestone and point of departure in the history of Nicaragua, for its magnitude and its resounding effect throughout all of Latin-America's liberation struggles against the US imperialists. This was the day on which Sandino decided to place himself at the head of his people to lead them in struggle against the Yankee imperialist invaders and the traitorous liberal-conservative oligarchy that opened the country's doors to the invading armies knowing that this meant turning Nicaragua over to the United States.

● Sandino fought from that moment up to his last days in 1934 when he was vilely assassinated on orders from Washington, blindly obeyed by Anastasio Somoza who holds direct responsibility for the crime. The traitorous Nicaraguan oligarchy has been jealously hiding the significance and importance of May 4 in the history of the country, which does not surprise us since our people are aware of the shameful role they played alongside the Yankee invaders.

● The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, in celebration of another anniversary of the historic decision of Nicaragua's national hero, calls on its member organizations, the progressive countries and the revolutionaries of the entire world, especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to provide decisive support to the men and women of the Nicaraguan people, who in present circumstances are trying to follow the patriotic example of the immortal Augusto César Sandino, unfolding the struggle to expel the Yankee imperialists from the Central American country. Our admiration and our enthusiasm is with the Nicaraguans who, under the slogan of A Free Fatherland or Death, hold high the banners of combat bravely raised in the Nicaraguan countryside by the great Sandino and his stalwart followers.

# fighting CAMBODIA

Executive Secretariat  
OSPAAAL Havana

In the name of the Khmer people, of the National United Front, of their Government of National Union and in my own name, please accept our heartfelt thanks for your message of congratulations, which gives the heroic People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia a magnificent stimulus in the continuation of their sacred struggle for the total liberation of the Khmer homeland. The Khmer people are happy and proud that, along with their Vietnamese and Laotian brothers, they are able to make an effective contribution to the succeeding victories in the revolutionary struggle of the other brother peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against North American imperialism, our common enemy, and its lackeys. We once more express our sincere gratitude to OSPAAAL for its constant and much appreciated support.

Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of State  
and President of the National  
United Front of Kampuchea



