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Imperialist disintegration

by Carlos María Gutiérrez

The United States' attitude toward Latin America over the last 25 years has taken more complex forms than during the first decades of the century when a simplistic type of contradiction existed between imperialism and national forces that permitted both parties to confront each other during relatively brief periods and with relatively established methods.

This contradiction followed a closed circuit course at that time: repression/resistance. It lasted or could become exacerbated according to how long imperialism pursued its intention or the ability of the resisters to maintain their position; but it almost always exhausted itself within the very scope of the conflict.

The disappearance of the Sandinist revolutionary movement in Nicaragua, the failure of the Bolivian revolution of 1952 or the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala are examples—some of them modern but stemming from situations with old roots in the isolation of these processes—that illustrate the situation.

Today—and especially after the Cuban Revolution, in the Latin American sphere, or the Vietnamese war for independence since the 60s—the international concept of the struggle against imperialism, as well as the supranational organization of the oppressor system, makes that initial contradiction more complex.

This struggle can now no longer be considered a localized affair (especially from the point of view of the resistance), but must be considered within a global strategy. Every liberation process today—even involuntarily—is part of another larger process: that of the fundamental contradiction between capitalism and socialism.



The inference from this quantitative growth in antimperialist problems is that the methods of combat depend not only on the concrete data in one conflict, but also on the balance of forces that are part of that fundamental contradiction. Consequently these methods are constantly changing on the basis of internal and external factors.

This permits two affirmations: first, that due to the crisis in its system, imperialism has adopted a diversification tactic which (however successful it may be in specific cases) is an indication of a strategic weakness since it represents ways of responding to a constant initiative on the part of the revolutionary movement; second, that the diversification is not imperialism's *real* tactic, but rather hides or masks a tactic that has an immutable base.

To dig below these "new" tactics that range from apparent coexistence to ideological diversionism in the informational and artistic area, to the real tactic will also allow for a unified response from a base which is equally intransigent and immutable.

This does not mean that the apparent plurality tactic of imperialism should be dismissed at the moment, nor that it should not be given careful study. But this will have to be done taking into account and with precise consciousness of the fact that the United States—virtually expelled from Asia by its defeat in Vietnam, a side participant in Africa (here the European powers continue their predominance through their old colonial know-how), faced by the vigorous rebirth in Europe of an increasingly autonomous and hostile neocapitalism—has fallen back on its historic sphere of influence today and considers Latin America as its, ultimate and unrenounceable line of defense.

President Johnson's Secretary of State, Robert McNamara said when he left his post: "[Latin America] contains the seeds of a powerful revolution. Here, safe from the danger of a foreign aggression, the line of demarcation is clearly defined."

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, AS A TRAP

Every measure of supercapitalism in the International area should be seen as an obsessive desire for short-term profit that narrows the view tending toward mere private monopolistic gain, at the cost of the general health of the economy and, of course, that of the peripheral countries.

In Latin America, where North American schizophrenic policy was still following the double road of Pan-American "idealism" and the avarice of profit, another failure has been unmasked: that of the Alliance for Progress (ALPRO), the last US project designed to stamp a "peaceful" style on the explosive continental process.

The Alliance was created in 1961, according to Congressman H. R. Gross, as "an attempt to confront the example of (Fidel) Castro in Cuba." In reality, Fidel has a more concrete participation in its origins. At the beginning of 1959, before the scandalous mockery of an inter-American economic conference, he had stated in Buenos Aires that the only viable form for hemispheric development was the then unthinkable investment: between 20 and 50 billion dollars.

"A tropical caprice," an Argentine delegate stated elegantly at the time.

But in August of 1961, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council (organ of the OAS) meeting in Punta del Este with memorable interventions by Che Guevara as Cuban delegate, approved a budget from President Kennedy; a United States-financed program for Latin America of \$20 billion dollars over ten years. (Cuba, naturally, was excluded from the plan). The program, began to be implemented in 1962.



Seven years later, in Washington, the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee extended to the Alliance its death certificate as well as an autopsy report.

Of the \$20 billion offered, the report said, only \$3 300 000 had been appropriated (theoretically), at a decreasing rate. The 1969 accounting, for example, represented scarcely 64% of the previous annual averages. But even the "appropriated" figures weren't real: their net fluctuation, the report revealed, "after amortizations and discounts for goods not delivered," reached barely \$4 100 000.

Since during the same period, the departure of dividends from US private investments in the "beneficiary" countries had risen to \$40 000 000 000, it must be

concluded that ALPRO's concrete contribution to Latin America in seven years, was reduced to \$100 000 000. With the added fact, as the same committee revealed, that two-thirds of the aid was given in the form of loans. For the most part, these must be paid in dollars, which represented a long-term investment more than a gift.

On the other hand, from 1962 to 1968, the Latin American quota in the total of United States imports dropped from 21 to 13%, while the Alliance effectively increased money-lender exports to the countries included in the ambiguous program.

But this was all a part the project's hidden intention.

By helping our neighbors —the same report said— we have helped ourselves. The need to resolve an imbalance in our international accounts, caused by problems in other areas, has resulted in a growth in exports financed with the aid of the Alliance for Progress.

The best help for Latin-American countries would have been the non-existence of the ALPRO and its replacement with another program: that of the gradual disappearance of Yankee investments.

In any case these countries invested their own resources in their own growth throughout these seven years at the rate of ten dollars for each one from the Alliance. And a fourth of the total income of Latin America had to go to the amortization of the services of the foreign debt. The Foreign Affairs Committee report noted that "in 1967, amortizations, payments of interest, repatriation of dividends of foreign corporations and other departures of capital, exceeded all forms of foreign aid and of private investments by more than \$500 000 000."

THE Alliance was not only a strategy for restimulating money-lender exports. Incapable of serving the growing Latin American economy, it also has the role of political safety valve.

But it didn't even accomplish this objective.

As a weathervane of North American policy —the report admits— the Alliance was designed to identify our goals with the moderate and democratic elements of the new forces that fight for political and economic power in Latin America. With few exceptions, the attempt has failed. Despite the options proposed by the Alliance, the United States has maintained its most traditional ties with the established groups of Latin American society, most especially the landholding aristocracy and the militarists."

Up until its structural crisis, the United States could give itself the luxury of an inflationary situation, of an economy organized around the armaments industries, of a process of appropriating European enterprise and of exercising, under the pretext of aid, a pitiless takeover of Latin-American countries. Today, like a witch's apprentice that sought to mix contradictory elements, it is beginning to reap the results of a deadly spell.

Returning from a trip through Latin America, international affairs expert C. L. Sulzberger summed up the situation:

The United States is entering a new and degrading phase in its national history and its foreign influence. The vast North American interests in the Common Market are being gradually reduced by the Europeans in the sale of armaments.



And we are increasingly losing the world trade race to West Germany and Japan. The result of all this may be, finally, that the United States will find itself in a more or less intermediate position between "big power" and "super power" status. Undoubtedly, US world stature has declined, in terms that are absolute and relative at the same time.

The French economist Christian Goux has pointed out, in complement to this, the weakness of the United States compared to Western Europe and Japan. In terms of gross national product, between 1950 and 1970, the growth of the three, in order, was 238 400 and 16%. But professor Goux estimates that in 1980 these indices will be, respectively, 98, 150 and 311%. In comparison to 1932's \$1900 and \$844 millions of dollars, the percentage figures for 1950 (288, 125 and 12) permit a comparison of the regression of the United States' GNP.

The apparent North American normalcy continues to be based principally on two abnormal facts: a war economy and artificial money. The production of consumer goods as a complementary guarantee of stability, has been hypertrophied beyond the internal demand or its destination for foreign markets whose loyalty is increasingly uncertain.

The balance of payment deficit has become a constant of the supercapitalist model, but in the rest of the world system it produces chaos and deterioration. The United States' economy can still provoke destructive effects on its competitors but it can no longer recompense the damage that this irrationality causes in the global capitalist structure.

Added to this situation, North American supercapitalism, because it is weakened, faces the existence of a dynamic world socialist system and continuous siege on the imperialist periphery, from the decolonized countries and from its own client nations. Especially in the latter, the dependent capitalist model —which was ALPROP's proposal —demonstrates its flagrant inadequacy for the development of new social forces.

TACTICS OF OPPRESSION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY RESPONSE

This peripheral crisis has been transferred to the metropolis (note the effects of the Vietnam war on North American society causing a multitude of derivative phenomena.

The provisional well-functioning of this society in technological, cultural and artistic matters, for example, can contribute to the delay of a true comprehension of the depths of the imperialist crisis; especially on the part of the countries that imperialism manages to maintain as tributaries of the American way of life; and within them, in the social sectors that only receive cultural and technical projections of this "life style."

The fact that the structural crisis still runs through more or less hidden channels of the economy masks its existence and even its real nature.

The levels of US society whose disintegration announces the decadence of an empire, are affected by slow erosion.

Time is already running out while the economic bases are corroding, certain areas remain active, but these are really superstructural operations.

There is also another matter that may disorient the diagnostician. Affected by external factors, the imperialist metropolis converts its response to these and to the crisis



into political decisions, and reexpedites them to the periphery in the form of preventive measures: repression, conspiracy, military interventions, counter-insurgency actions, etc.

THE WORLD RELATION OF FORCES

The effects on North American society produced by the indomitable Vietnamese resistance to military intervention and the partition of the country may guide the option.

The war in Indochina corroded not only the economy of the United States but also its national spirit, its political institutions and its image abroad. The solidity of imperialist power outside —as Vietnam demonstrated— does not necessarily imply an equal solidity in its metropolis. The curbing of its outside power, the revolutionary actions that force imperialism to extend its lines and other events in which the revolutionary movements hold the initiative, evidently weaken the central society. And as a boomerang effect, they also weaken the same foreign forces of oppression located on the periphery.

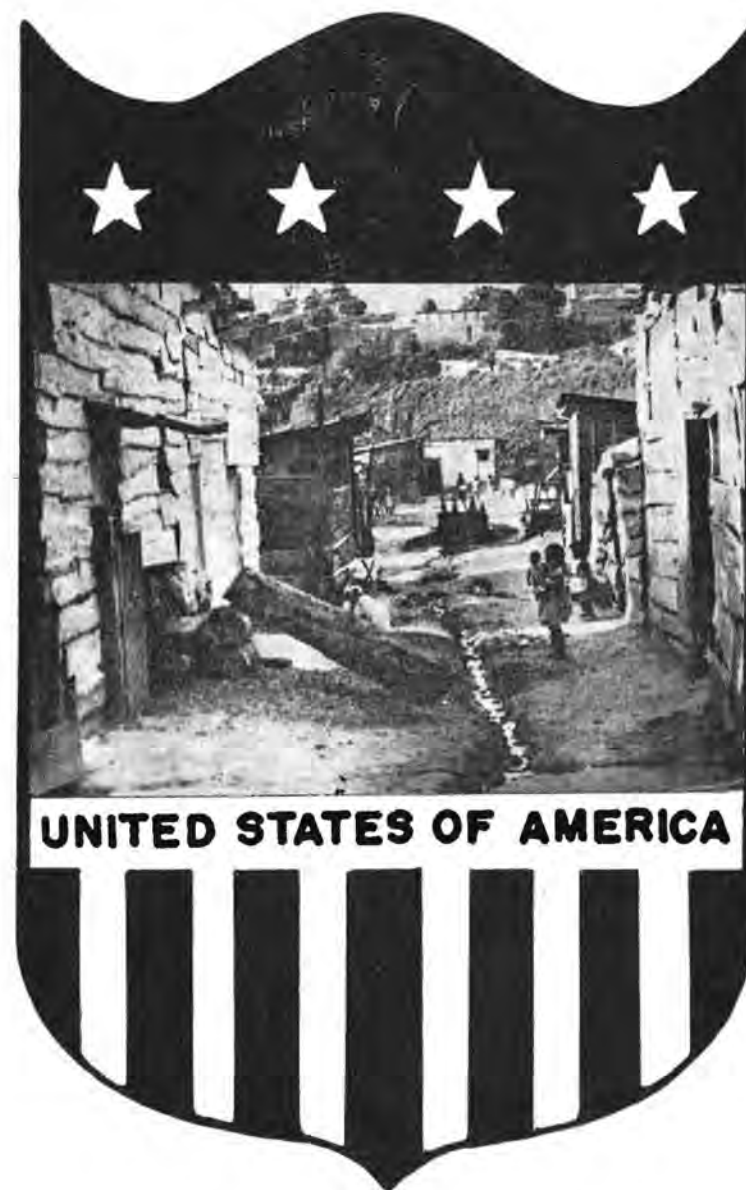
If the centers of war act with sufficient political and military skill —Che wrote in 1967— they will become practically unbeatable and will require new Yankee commitments... The participation required of us, the exploited and backward people of the world, is to eliminate imperialism's supply bases: our appressed countries from which they extract capital, raw materials, cheap technicians and workers... All this —he added, referring to the type of war the North Americans were finding themselves obliged to carry out in Vietnam— is going to cause repercussions inside the United States; it is going to mark the emergence of a new factor moderating imperialism's full strength: the class struggle even within its own boundaries.

The limitation of imperialism's area of maneuverability, then, proportionately cuts short its possibilities for action and survival. An equal reduction in its variable tactics and an accentuation in its invariable strategy of oppression are predictable. That appears to be the situation in 1973.

Essentially, the United States continues to have conquest and domination as its basic objective, as expressed in its foreign policy in the second half of the 19th century when the War of Secession was ended in 1865 and the expansion of a politically unified capitalist society began.

This objective had already been intended many years before when North American agents secretly visited Bolívar to "aid him" in his independence struggle against Europe. The new demands of the end-of-the-century industrialization merely concretized a program that continues intact today: the extension of trade lines, control of the coveted area by means of enclaves, the organization of the entire hemisphere —from the Bering Straits to Tierra del Fuego— for the disposition of its own markets.

After 1945 a new phenomenon intervened in the classic relationship between imperialism and its client countries when, in the postwar period, the Soviet Union emerged



and had to be recognized —on the basis of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements— as power equal to the Anglo-Saxons, but above all as a political and ideological alternative.

From that time on, Marxism-Leninism became not only the theory of the exploited and persecuted but also the official doctrine of a group of powerful and modern nations capable of effectively backing up the confrontation with imperialism anywhere in the world.

The European socialist block and the beginning of Afro-Asian decolonization were the first results of the new relationship of forces. And along with these processes that eliminated the situation in which two-thirds of humanity were mere goods to be divided among the capitalist countries, the so-called "Cold War" appeared, in which the Soviet Union introduced another unique element into warfare that imperialism had been accustomed to wage with impunity.

Despite Washington's officious declaration of the "Cold War", the North Americans lost the initiative and, except for certain periods in the world confrontation with the socialist camp, have had to permanently adjust their policies to socialist decisions.

As a derivative of the new world relationship of forces, this is the situation that has occurred between imperialism and the liberation movements of the underdeveloped world, to the extent that the latter consolidated and deepened the awareness of their task. Thus we see that in Latin America, North American tactics have had to be modified as an adaptation to the political and revolutionary replies of the movements. And this process has moved with such speed that the replies immediately go on to become initiatives.

The Cuban Revolution marks this overturn of positions. In the period under examination, it is the most noteworthy and important case in terms of achievements, of the form in which the world change in the relationship of forces reaches our continent —with the relative historical delay that was to be expected.

The installation of a socialist regime in the Caribbean, plexus of this imperialist system, plus the tactical and strategic example of Fidel Castro's insurrection, but above all the consolidation of Cuban revolutionary power, constitute a landmark imposed on Washington's Latin-American policy. In 1959, the new Cuba forced imperialism to completely reevaluate its apparatus in Latin America, and also seized the initiative, never to abandon it thereafter.

Forteen years after the fact of the Cuban Revolution, North American tactics (undeniably perfected, perhaps superior in technique and still dominant in many countries with respect to armed forces) nevertheless function politically as a reaction to a process that they can neither control nor anticipate. The Yankee mechanism has continued to obtain certain tactical victories (such sinister instances, obviously' as the Bolivian campaign of 1967), but in 1972 numerous armed movements were functioning throughout Latin America, in countries which, added together, contain 72% of the population of the area.

In Latin America the Marxist class focus appears in every anti-imperialist proposal, although with diverse intensity: in the program of a national bourgeoisie, in the decisions of the new revolutionary militarists or in the guerrilla thesis.



THE NEW IMPERIALIST TACTIC

In 1965, the military intervention in Santo Domingo wiped out much of the diplomatic sophistry and subterfuge that beclouded the true and ominous nature of the relationship of power between the United States and Latin America. Certainly the final corrosion of the OAS began there and today it is a dead structure, maintained only by its own mumification. Four years later, the Alliance for Progress also went under.

The failure of "liberal" foreign policy in Latin America, the profound internal repurcussion of the war in Vietnam and the advance of the new socialist powers in a world system formerly controlled by Washington, circumscribe imperialism.

The imperialist tactics that affirmed a concept of morality in international relations—the North American morality of course—were scorned by the politicians. In its new phase of national power, where the politicians are thrown out of public leadership, the United States has decided to file away once and for all this "moral" concept of treatment among countries, even though it was only a mask.

Whatever the diverse tactical disguises, in the last 35 years the implicit objective of Yankee action in the hemisphere has not changed; it consists—as was stated earlier—in the capture and use of foreign markets for an indefinite period, and in putting into service, in accord with this expansion, the raw materials, the work force and, in some semi-industrialized countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, the productive superstructure.

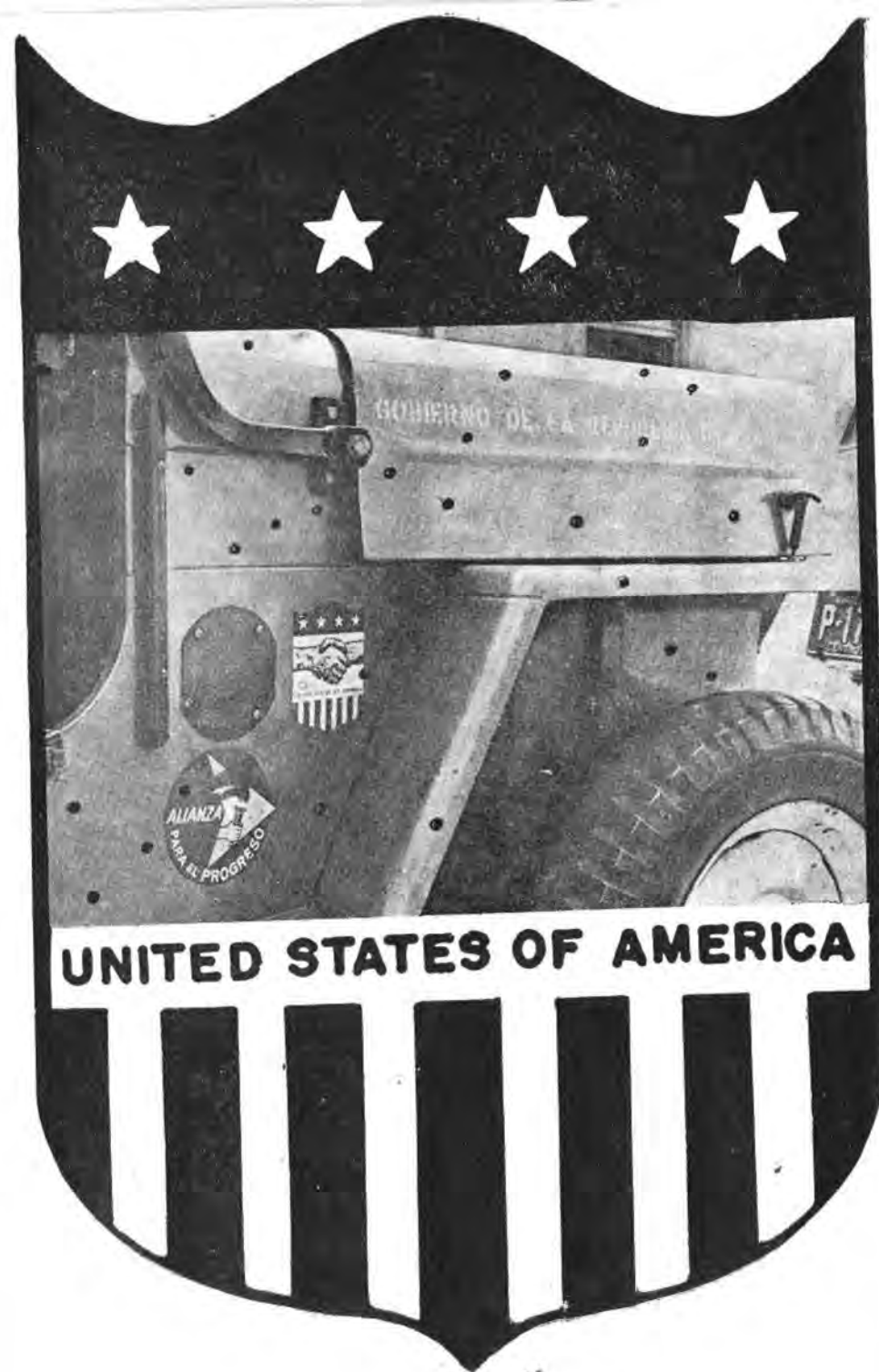
Nor has the strategy applied during this period varied essentially. It is doubtless more rational than in the epoch of President McKinley (1897-1901) combining or alternating two proposals: the capitalist model of development as a formula for material progress; anticommunism as an ideological pretension.

Part of the repudiation this strategy has invariably received is due to the fact that both formulas suffer from the curious fetishism that Yankee policy attributes to words, at the same time sacred and twisted.

It has been relatively easy to demonstrate that the capitalist model, because of its nature as a world system directed from Washington, only develops dependence and backwardness for those who accept it. And that anticommunism (which can never be an ideology in the sense of a grouping of reflections that interpret reality in order to transform it positively and not to negate it) is not even an idea but simply a propaganda trick.

The development of these countries according to the North American recipe—"developmentalism"—as is already known in Latin America—is designed simply to reinforce the local oligarchies and paralyze defense of the national economy; anticommunism, utilized during the Cold War as an anti-Soviet weapon, has been translated into a mechanical anathema to every political movement that obstructs the establishment of the imperialist objective.

What has varied more notoriously in United States' procedures has been its tactic, managed with the criteria of terms and necessarily unstable, translated into pragmatic



essays that are thrown out in the rotation of political teams in Washington, but which also have to be subjected —even though this is not wanted— to more coherent realities than those of capitalism in crisis: Soviet global strategy, the consolidation of the socialist countries, the multiplication of revolutionary movements, the appearance of socialist or nationalist governments.

ALL this can be summarized by saying that the objective of imperialism has remained unchanged; that its strategy has shown only the variations that correspond to military necessities, to scientific advancement or to the ups and downs of the economic situation; and that the tactic— superficial expression subject to the eventualities of the party or electoral game —is the element that has really oscillated.

Today the North American monopolists have decided to administer political power as well, although the professionals of the parties still function nominally. (Up until now, they had managed only the *objective* and the *strategy* behind the scenes).

It is sufficient to examine the Cabinets designated by Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, to be aware of the growing appearance of executives of enterprises particularly linked to foreign investment and war contracts. The monopolists were always the *real* power; now they are also the *visible* power. And they are acting in the amoral, pragmatic and direct manner with which they manage a transnational private corporation. (The malevolent episode in which the Republican Party, the White House and ITT were mixed up, as well as the Watergate affair, have offered the final proof of this definitive identification.)

Imperialism's foreign tactics, then, have assumed the same style that its executors use in private business. Without being generally applied as yet because the foreign dilemma the North Americans face is unequal development by areas, the new tactic appears at the "urgent" points of the imperialist system.

In these areas where events that threaten the stability of domination occur, extreme measures are applied. Thus, in the process of interaction between the periphery and the metropolis, exterior repressive expressions of a fascist type —such as those imposed on Guatemala, Uruguay or the Dominican Republic— add an inevitable effect: the slow conversion to fascism of the metropolitan society that orders them.

For the United States, fascism is now unveiled as the only security measure on which endangered supercapitalism can really rely, both for its recuperation as an economic entity (local wars or the armaments race) and for its defense (repression and capture of internal public opinion, conspiratorial infiltration, genocide, racism, chauvinist corruption of the national mentality).

North American imperialism believed that it could export fascism with impunity and maintain the bourgeois-democratic institution untouched in its internal social operation, but —like a badly managed bacteriological weapon— it has now mortally infected its own structures.

Thus the process of corruption which already operated in the economy, making the dependent countries sick in order to exploit them more fully, but also its own country sick at the same time —has repeated itself for imperialism in its own social-political camp.



The guerrilla Imilla



As a young adolescent, Monica was her father's helper on archeological expeditions such as the one made in 1954, when they found the remains of a pre-Columbian temple in the forests of Paititi, described in a book and a film.

In that book Hans Ertl includes many pages from the diary his daughter kept of the trip. These pages reflect the marvellous discovery of the land to which she would give her life.

—It is a fascinating trip. The river with foamy water the color of coffee with milk, runs impetuously at my feet, very deep, among the inundated rocks. Walls of vegetation rise up on both sides to immense heights and above them, in a tiny space, the pale, gray sky. (...) The most beautiful part of the campsite is the workers' house which, with its roof of thatched palm leaves, looks from afar like a miniature hairy horse.

In the diary traces of her humor also appear which, according to her comrades, was one of Monica's constant traits, even in the most difficult moments:

—By mistake I took out of the box for the expedition, a work by Nietzsche, and my head immediately began to buzz from so much concentrated wisdom.

Thus, in these years of formation, the young girl had contact with the countryside and the people, with the cities and the most remote areas of Bolivia. She was especially attracted to the study of Indian cultures.

Some time later, married to an engineer, she lived in the tin mining camps. There she saw tragic misery of the mining proletariat, and the inhuman exploitative machinery of the national oligarchy and the imperialist enterprises.

In 1969, Monica Ertl could be considered a "triumphant" woman: economically independent, especially distinguished within the German elite of La Paz, on good

terms with high political levels... But in this environment she faced her first vital contradictions.

She was fond of writing as a form of self-interrogation and this period indicates her social concern and the beginning of a critical attitude toward bourgeois privileges in contrast to the terrible misery of the people. From this epoch dates her project—conceived with a girlfriend who was a doctor—to found a free maternity clinic, a work to which she devoted herself with enthusiasm.

But another unexpected event in the middle of this year of 1969, clarified the differences between philanthropy and revolution. Someone asked her to shelter in her house in La Paz for awhile, some revolutionaries who were being pursued. She agreed.

FORMATION OF THE STRUGGLE

Three anonymous men, for whom Monica daily brought food and sent messages to the outside world, lived there for several days.

Through her conversation with the guests and from what she perceived in their conduct, Monica was discovering the forms of struggle and the ideology of the revolutionary organization. One of the three men was Inti Peredo.

In her dialogues with the new Commander of the ELN, the young bourgeoisie learned what Che had really represented for Bolivia and what the projection of his struggle would represent for the future.



In September of 1969, when Inti was found in another house, due to a betrayal, and assassinated by the henchmen of the police torturer Roberto Quintanilla, Monica Ertl was already collaborating with the ELN. In December, shortly after the battle of La Paz in which Dario —last Bolivian guerrilla survivor of the Yuro— died, she joined the organization as a fighter.

She was finally leaving behind her bourgeois life, her social class, her family and her merely philanthropical ideas. During 1970 and part of 1971, she saw none of her old friends. In the underground, the young woman spent the revolutionary apprenticeship between the internal tasks of the ELN, training for combat, and Marxist ideological formation. Her comrades have kept her notebooks: reflections on Leninist theses; comments on the thinking of Che or plans of action that delineated her consciousness-raising process.

THE MYSTERIOUS WOMAN OF HAMBURG

In April of 1971, news from Hamburg made a broad world impact, particularly in Bolivia: the torturer Quintanilla, then Bolivian consul, had been killed in his office in that German city with two straight shots in the heart, fired by an unidentified young blonde woman. After slaying the constable whose evil record included, in addition to being Inti's assassin, having cut the hands off Che's cadaver —the woman calmly left the building and disappeared.

Twenty-four hours later, the ELN issued a comunique inside Bolivia: "On April 1, 1971, a commando of the National Liberation Army executed the henchman of the CIA Roberto "Toto" Quintanilla..."

That same week, Interpol circulated through all its world branches an order for the capture of "the mysterious woman of Hamburg identified as "Monica Ertl, native of the German Federal Republic, legal Bolivian citizen, daughter of filmmaker and antropologist Hans Ertl... believed to be hidden in Holland or on the way to some country of South America."

The former housewife and securities agent of La Paz carried out, alone, one of the most audacious operations conceived by a Latin American guerrilla movement, with all the difficulties that the European continent presented, and evading the international police.

The mystery concerning the blonde woman of Hamburg was maintained for two years. Interpol, the CIA, the Bolivian, Brazilian, German and various other national intelligence services looked in vain for the executioner of the torturer Quintanilla.

The battle of May, 1973 in El Alto, finally resolved the enigma: Monica Ertl had rejoined the ELN in the most dangerous place, within the country oppressed by a fascist dictatorship, on the front line of combat.

Her heroic death individualizes her in the same way that the war name she had chosen symbolically confused the Bolivian people; Imilla (little girl, in quechua). Monica Ertl remains both a simple and a resplendent image; that of the woman who graduated into a revolutionary as Che would have wanted, as she herself decided to do when she learned of Inti Reredo's death.

—This morning they killed Inti— Monica Ertl wrote that day—: many more of us will come to fill this great void.



On the second Sunday of May 1973, encircled in a house in La Paz, the heroic guerrilla Imilla fell in frontal combat: the young German-Bolivian Monica Ertl, executor in Hamburg of Inti Peredo's assassin, the bloody henchman Quintanilla.

IT WAS MAY 13, 1973

When the mothers of the whole world receive the love and homage of their children, the American mother earth receives in her Andine heart in Bolivia, a daughter who died for her. The death of the guerrilla Imilla exemplified the rebirth of Che in combat.

"Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, may have reached some receptive ear and another hand be extended to grasp our weapons, and other men be ready to intone the funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of war and victory."

SEPTEMBER CHRIST

*They needel shrapnel,
grenades and a thousand shots
from a hundred henchmen who
assassinated Inti
at the command of a vile man
one sad September day.
Quintanilla, Quintanilla
ay poor thing, poor you!
They make you hear things in the night,
they won't let you sleep.
You cut off Inti's life
thinking that was the way to fight
the thousands of voices of these people
who make him live again today.
Inti has not died, he lives
and now he cannot die.
You will have to kill a people
who carry him in their hearthrob.
Bolivia has a Christ now,
A Christ with his gun
crucified by bullets
one sad September day*

La Paz, 7-11-70

Poem written by MONICA ERTL
on the first anniversary of the
death of Inti Peredo.



**man of ideas and of action
on the VI anniversary
of the physical death of comandante
ernesto "che" guevara**



He shared it with me...

Che was an extremely thoughtful person when it came to sharing things. I remember one time he was preparing for a battle —I think it was Las Vegas, and we spent the night in Minas del Infierno (Hell's Mines). We arrived rain-soaked and the Gallego at Minas del Infierno, prepared food. He had a turkey, I believe; and he took the feet, the wings —the worthless parts— and made a soup and threw a little rice into it. For those he called officers of the General Staff, he prepared a fricasse. Che walked into the kitchen and saw this and said: Come over here, Gallego, what are you making here? And the Gallego answered, "soup for the fellows who are wet from the rain." And Che asked, "And this fricasse, Gallego?"

And the Gallego: It's for you, the officers.

Everyone knows what happened, Che's reaction. He picked up the skillet with that fricasse in it and threw the whole thing into the pot where the soup was cooking, and cursed the Gallego several times and told him never again to do that kind of boot-licking. (Minas del Frio — Evelio Lafaerte, ex-director of the Cadets School of Minas del Frio, during the guerrilla struggle.)



To maintain it all day...

was one of his slogans. He never tired of repeating that what was left for later would always be for later. He said that a simple thing could be a big, important thing in the future. It had to be maintained all day.

(Comandante Luis Crespo, of the Granma expedition, and member of the Central Committee)

...Che was great and didn't think he was great. And he fought in the Sierra of Oriente and he was here in the Sierra, here to fight if they attacked us, and he didn't think he was great. And now you see how he went away to fight, and he didn't think he was great:

And I tell you: We still have much to learn from this man.

(Joaquín, peasant of the Organos mountain ridge, where Che was during the October crisis.)





Because Che brought together in his extraordinary personality, virtues that seldom appear together. Excellence as a man of insuperable action, but he was not only a man of insuperable action; Che was a man of deep thought, of visionary intelligence, a man of profound culture. That is to say that he brought together in his person, the man of ideas and the man of action.

But it isn't only that he brought together this double characteristic of being a man of ideas, and of profound ideas, and being a man of action, but that Che as a revolutionary embodied the virtues that can be described as the highest virtues of a revolutionary: a totally honest man, a man of supreme honor, of absolute sincerity, a man who lived a stoic and spartan life, a man, in essence, with not even one blemish in his conduct. Because of his virtues, he represented what can be called a true model of a revolutionary.

(Fragment from the speech made by Comandante Fidel Castro at the solemn memorial in honor of Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara, Plaza de la Revolution, October 18, 1967.)



SOCIALISM AND MAN IN CUBA, March 12, 1965

The effort of the socialist countries to illuminate a series of commercial problems will not be in vain. Even when this bears no fruit today, it is a precedent for tomorrow. Even though the imperialists still play with the people's hopes and capriciously exclude enormously representative countries in the world, the anticolonial forces are awakening with growing speed. To hear the way the delegates of certain small republics of Black Africa answered the statements of the North American representatives in the commissions, with irony and disdain, has been a stimulous for us; our small sword, in the army of those that struggle against the powerful imperialists, has opened a breach in the enemy camp and has taught that imperialism also has its Achilles' Hell and that we are living in other times in the world when North American ships can no longer appear in the mouth of ports to dictate their laws with the salvo of a cannon.

In the trench of Geneva, sterile in many of its concepts but rich in experiences and lessons for all, the Cuban Revolution has once more shown the role it has to play in the struggle for the emancipation of Latin America and all the underdeveloped countries of the world.

(Fragment of an article by Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara on the Trade and Development Conference in Geneva, June 1964.)



The soldiers hid behind a tree and waited for us. We advanced barely a few meters —ten or fifteen— when they opened fire and shot me down. As I was ahead of my comrades, I fell in the zone where no one could be helped. The comrades sheltered themselves and began to fire on the soldiers in order to protect me. Che, who heard them shout when I fell, “they’ve wounded Joel” came over to where I was lying, picked me up and got me out of there. Later, when the guards were captured they said they had seen Che and recognized him and that they couldn’t shoot him because they were so impressed to see him appear in front of them, erect, standing. . .

(Comandante Joel Iglesias, adolescent who joined the battle under Che’s command; today a member of the Central Committee.)

The new society in formation has to compete very strongly with the past. The latter makes itself felt not only in the individual consciousness, in the weight of the hangovers of an education systematically oriented toward the isolation of the individual, but also in the very character of this period of transition with the persistence of mercantile relations. Trade is the economic cell of the capitalist society; while it exists, its effects will make themselves felt in the organization of production and, therefore, in the consciousness.

We are doing everything to give work this new qualification of social duty and join it with technical development, on the one hand, which will provide the conditions for greater freedom, and with voluntary work on the other hand, based on the Marxist understanding that man truly reaches his full human development when he produces without the compulsion of the physical necessity to sell himself as a commodity.





There are no borders in this struggle to death; we cannot remain indifferent to what happens in any part of the world; any country's victory over imperialism is a victory for us, just as any nation's defeat is a defeat for all. The exercise of proletarian internationalism is not only a duty of the peoples that struggle to insure a better future; it is also an inevitable necessity. If the imperialist enemy, North American or any other, carries out its action against the underdeveloped peoples and the socialist countries, elemental logic determines the need for an alliance of the underdeveloped peoples and the socialist countries; if there were no other factor for union, the common enemy should constitute it. . . (Speech during the Second Economic Seminar of Afro-Asian Solidarity, Algeria, February 24, 1965.)





The prowess achieved by this handful of revolutionaries is profoundly impressive. The mere struggle against the hostile natural environment in which they carry out their action is an insuperable page of heroism. Never in history has such a small number of men undertaken such a gigantic task. Faith and absolute conviction that the immense revolutionary capacity of the peoples of Latin America could be awakened, self-confidence and the decision with which they committed themselves to this objective, show us the true dimensions of these men.

Che said one day to the guerrillas in Bolivia: "This type of struggle gives us the opportunity to become revolutionaries, the highest level of the human species, but it also permits us to become men; those who can reach neither of these two states should say so and leave the struggle"...

(Fidel Castro, introduction to Che's Diary in Bolivia, 1968).



MAN OF IDEAS AND ACTION

If we wish to express how we envision our revolutionary fighters, our militants, our men, we have to say without any hesitation: Let them be like Che! If we wish to express what we hope our men of future generations will be like, we must say: Let them be like Che! If we wish to say how we want our children educated, we must say without hesitation: We want them educated in the spirit of Che! (Comdte. Fidel Castro).



Agents of the colonial war

PORTUGUESE ULTRA-COLONIALISM

To speak of the national liberation struggle in the "Portuguese colonies" leads us to question, in the first place, the existence and persistence of Portuguese colonialism in the decade of the 70s of our century.

Why Portuguese colonialism? Why does Portugal engage in the direct enslavement of the African peoples at a time when colonialism is universally denounced and condemned as a crime against humanity? How can a small and underdeveloped country still wage a war on three fronts with its material, economic and military means?

If the first question can be answered within an internal context, taking into account the particular characteristics of Portuguese colonial expansion allied to the existence of a fascist-type dictatorial regime almost since the first years of the century, in order to answer the second, it is necessary to situate Portugal within the framework of economic and military international imperialism. The role designated to Portugal must be analyzed, and the squandering of military economic and political support that permits it to carry out simultaneously three colonial wars.

In effect, the nature and historic mark of Portuguese colonialism determines and will continue to do so, essentially the form that colonial domination takes there. Initiated

at the end of the 14th century by the conquest of the maritime route of the Indies in an effort to break the monopoly of the Venetian spice traders, the Portuguese colonial expansion was completely a commercial one and therefore quite different from the imperialist expansion that took place at the end of the 19th century.

The Portuguese presence in Africa was thus limited over centuries to a coastal presence in the form of warehouses and small fortresses, not as symbols of sovereignty but as supply and trade points with the local populations.

It was not until after the Berlin Conference of 1885 and as result of the agreements established there, that Portugal began actual territorial occupation by waging wars of conquest in the interior, and confronting the armed resistance of the African population.

It is a colonization without capital, then, that Portugal exercised in the territories it dominated, a domination based on the superexploitation of the work force and natural resources, with minimal investments, only those that the fragility of its national capitalism could permit. Such a system demanded the maintenance of a structure of direct domination, the only method allowing the type of extreme exploitation that so little capital investment required.

This is what explains why Portugal continues to be a colonial country in the era in which the great colonial powers prefer (or are obliged) "to decolonize." This type of economic colonialism also requires a strict protectionism to safeguard Portuguese colonialism which was in danger of being choked off by the flow of foreign investments. This was done through a "closed territory" system by which foreign investment had to pass through Portugal and be joined there to Portuguese capital for investment in the colonies.

It is after 1965 (Law No. 46.312 of 4-26-65) after the outbreak of armed struggle in the three colonies, that Portugal opened the doors of Angola and Mozambique in order to associate big foreign capital with its colonial policy, or as the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time said, "in order to associate them with the defense of our overseas colonies."

Big international capital was offered very advantageous conditions in tax immunities, free repatriation of capital and interest.

A true wave of investments —West German, French, American, English, Italian, Belgian, Japanese— was thrown into the plunder of Angola and Mozambique. It is inevitable that this internationalization of plunder should also lead to the internationalization of aggression. It is not surprising to see the whole war panorama of NATO, and in a more general form, of the western countries, used against the patriots of the Portuguese colonies. It is also by resorting to the myth of the defense of the west, emphasizing the strategic importance of the "Cape Route" and the Portuguese colonies in West Atlantic strategy that the Portuguese government launches anew its diplomatic offensive inside NATO in order to have its African colonies included and to create an eventual South Atlantic pact.

It is therefore this multiform support —political, military, and diplomatic— that permits Portugal to pursue the colonial war in Africa.

Within the imperialist association that Portugal has placed in operation, the Gulf Oil Corporation occupies a privileged position. For this reason it is important to make known a study of this company's exploitation in the "Portuguese colonies."

PORTUGAL AND GULF: PARTNERS IN COLONIALISM

Gulf Oil Corporation discovered oil off the coast of Angola in 1966 and has been heavily involved in oil exploration and natural gas production in Mozambique. Gulf is



by far the largest single investor in the African empire of Portugal. As such, Gulf is a very important part of the way Portugal views Africa.

Since 1961, this small European country has been waging a brutal war to maintain domination over the land, labor and resources of the thirteen million African inhabitants in these colonies.

It is an unquestionable fact that Gulf Oil Corporation is a vital supporter of Portuguese colonialism and militarism in Africa. In 1970, Gulf produced an average of 84,700 barrels per day (bbpd.) of oil in Angola while the year before, Gulf gave \$11 million in payments to the Portuguese rulers. United Nations reports have stated that companies such as Gulf provide direct aid to the colonial system "by giving financial, economic and

military assistance to administering powers which are engaged in suppressing national liberation movements."

Gulf's operations in the Portuguese colonies must be understood as an exaggerated form of the neo-colonial control exerted by Gulf in other underdeveloped countries. Gulf defends its presence in colonial Africa in much the same terms used to explain its role in Kuwait, Venezuela, or Libya; that is, in terms of economic and social development.

Thus the similarity between Gulf's support of colonialism and the military suppression of African freedom struggles, and the Corporation's economic and political strategies in Latin America, the Middle East, and other parts of "independent" Africa, must be recognized. The clarity of the colonial role may help us apprehend the less apparent nature of the latter situation.

Beginning in 1961 in Angola, in 1963 in Guinea (Bissau), and in 1964 in Mozambique, the people led by African nationalist liberation parties committed themselves to a direct armed struggle against Portugal. As a result, the Portuguese regime now has more than 150,000 troops in the colonies, and spends more than 40% of its budget on security and defense. Because Portugal, as the poorest country in Europe, could not finance the military effort alone, the government broke tradition and passed legislation allowing direct foreign investment in the mineral-rich colonies. Thus corporations such as Gulf were encouraged to provide revenue for the Portuguese war needs. The economic penetration of the colonies was similar to earlier western investments in Portugal, which is tied politically and militarily to the West under the rubric of NATO.

THE Caetano regime has proposed an undefined decentralization of state power from Portugal to the "overseas provinces," as the colonies are called. In spite of these maneuvers by the ruling coalition, the African movements are committed to winning a prolonged struggle, evidenced by the fact that they have liberated vast areas of the colonies from Portuguese rule. In Angola, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), functions in one-third of the country (two other rival movements claim to be fighting in addition); in Mozambique, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), controls one fifth of the territory; and in Guinea (Bissau), the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) has freed two-thirds of the country.

Control of these liberated zones depends on popular support; popular support for educational, health, and welfare facilities provided through the new governmental structure of the liberation movements.

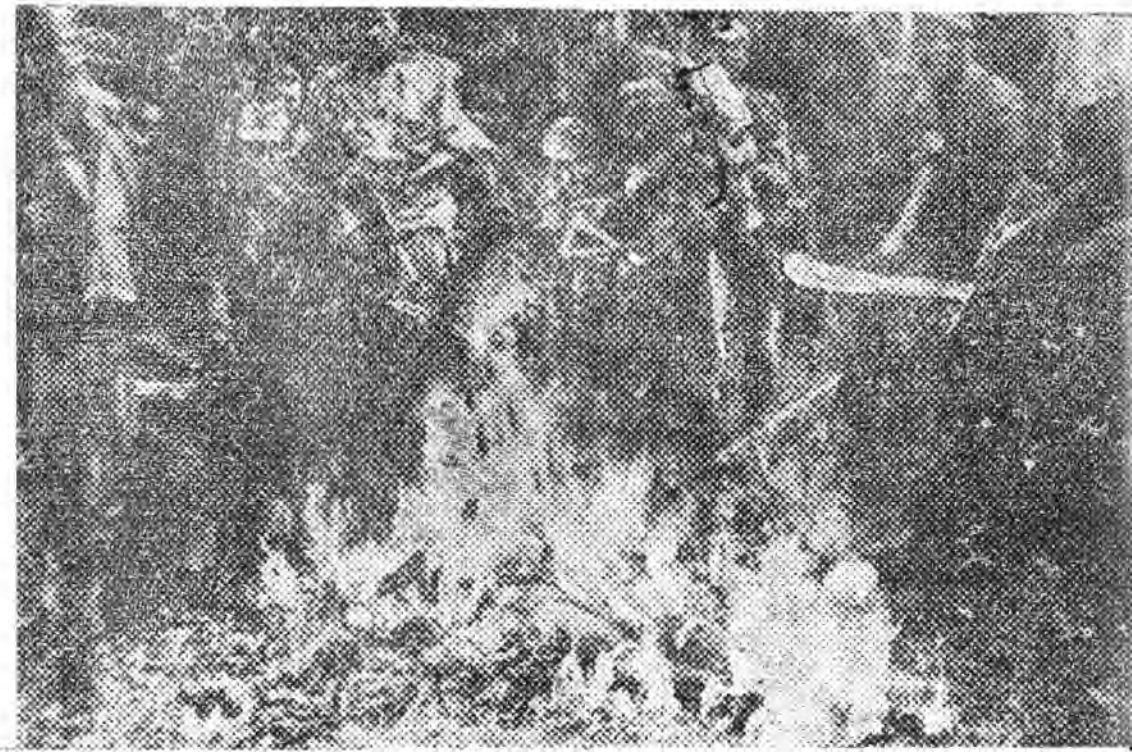
The Portuguese are openly attacked in these regions by day, and must retreat to camps at night, depending almost entirely on air power.

Portugal can continue these wars on three fronts only with economic and military aid from the West. Thus Gulf's role in Angola and Mozambique coincides with a US government program of military assistance to Portugal through the training of Portuguese military personnel in the US and Europe, the offer of military advisers, and the supply of air and naval equipment. The result is evidenced in the parallel use of

techniques such as "strategic hamlets" and "defoliation" by the Portuguese in Africa and the Americans in Indo-China.

This alliance is well understood by the African liberation movements, as expressed in an interview with an MPLA militant:

We don't say Angola will become another Vietnam. We just say that whatever happens we are ready to continue fighting until we have fully liberated our country... Right now we are fighting against Portugal and we are sure that we will win... Sometimes I think the imperialists take a very short view... All intelligent people know the Portuguese have no chance of holding onto their colonies in Africa—they have no chance. So if the imperialist corporations keep investing their capital in Angola and Mozambique, they must have some other objective in mind. But if they think we are prepared to become neocolonies of the United States, West Germany and so on, they are very mistaken. The people of Angola will continue fighting until we have achieved

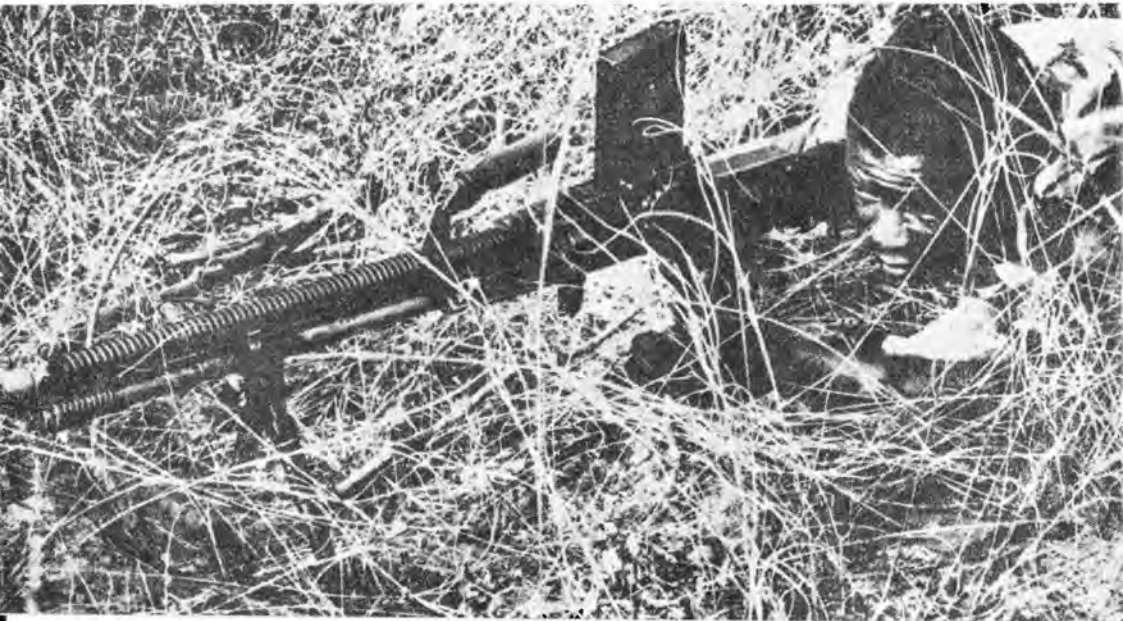


independence —political and economic. And in this struggle, Vietnam is a very good example for us.

OPERATION CABINDA

Cabinda, the Portuguese-ruled part of Angola wedged between Zaïre and the Congo (Brazzaville), was the site in 1966 of an important oil strike by Cabinda Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corporation. Although Gulf had been exploring a 10,000 square kilometer concession on and off the coast of Cabinda since 1954, production of this lucrative low sulphur petroleum did not begin until 1968. The area has vast reserves estimated at 300 million tons, and has proved to be the most profitable oil venture in Portuguese Africa.

By 1969, Gulf had invested \$130 million with a planned \$76 million expansion program. With new discoveries in 1970, this investment will increase by \$30 million more. Total production in 1970 averaged 84,700 bbpd. Gulf aims to double this production. According to these figures, Cabinda Gulf has the potential of being the fourth largest oil producer in Africa. To Gulf, Cabinda is seen as a "major growth area" in which the company has invested huge amounts to construct a petroleum port, a storage park,



and a telecommunications complex. To the African people engaged in the struggle, Gulf is a conscious ally of Portugal and its war. A closer examination of Portugal's response to the liberation war in Angola reveals the crucial importance of Gulf's supporting role.

More directly, the military actions are a part of an agreement with Gulf Oil under which the Portuguese Government "agrees to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that the company may carry out its operations freely and efficiently". In the contract, the government authorities agree to provide military guards to protect the oil fields if special security measures prove necessary. In return, all foreign companies are bound to aid the Portuguese Government "in securing peace and order, "including actions such as allocating monies to build military barracks and paying sums for the defense of so-called "national property."

Gulf oil camps in Cabinda, surrounded by eight-feet barbed-wire fences and spotlights, bear witness to the commitment of Gulf against the people of Cabinda. Under



Portuguese law, industrial companies considered indispensable to the territory are required to also provide for their own defense under the control of the civil defense authorities (OPVDC). Finally, Gulf, like other foreign investors, is required to pay a special defense tax initiated in Angola in 1963. The tax rate is graduated and for companies with gross earnings equal to or higher than \$1.7 million the rate is 28%.

The importance of the corporate-military alliance is dramatized by the story that the Governor-General of Angola traveled around the districts of the colony talking to the white settler population, assuring them that although they had to pay heavy taxes to aid the war effort, the burden would eventually be lifted from them and absorbed by none other than the Gulf Oil Corporation.

FINANCING THE COLONIAL WAR MACHINE

Gulf's collusion only begins with its incorporation into and aid to the colonial military structure. Gulf also helps to finance this system. Part of the bargain struck between Gulf and the Portuguese Government, which holds all the colonial mineral interests as "public domain", involved a series of payments contracted to be made by Gulf to the Angolan Provincial Government during the life of the agreement. The Portuguese share of the profits comes from the surface rent, income tax (50% on Gulf's net profit), payments to certain funds such as the Mining Development Fund, a "direito de con-



cessao" (concession right to use 12.5% of all the petroleum or to take the value of the oil at posted price value), and finally the royalties, formerly 10 cents a barrel but now 12.5% of the posted price less certain agreed allowances.

When Gulf signed a new contract at the end of 1968, the Portuguese were faced with an escalation of the war on all three fronts; in Guinea, Mozambique, and also in Angola. Portugal's budget already allocated more than 40% (figures vary between 42% and 5% of its annual expenditure to defense and security; yet more funds were needed)—and Gulf, as a greedy captive, proved one reliable source. The terms of the 1968 agreement thus provided for several payments to be made in advance, such as income tax and surface rent. Thus, even in Gulf Corporation's own words, the company paid to the Angola Government in 1969, \$11 million—an amount equal to almost half the size of what Gulf cites as the Angolan defense budget in 1970. In the first six months of 1970 Gulf paid royalties of \$2.2 million. And in Gulf's own words again, "we expect to be paying in about \$5 million this year [1970] and this will gradually increase as production reaches its peak and levels out.

In reality, Gulf's monies aid Portugal and the colonial authorities in the following ways:

1. Gulf provides important foreign exchange to Portugal through the metropole's control over the monetary and trade systems of Angola.



P. S. P. denounces environmental colonialism

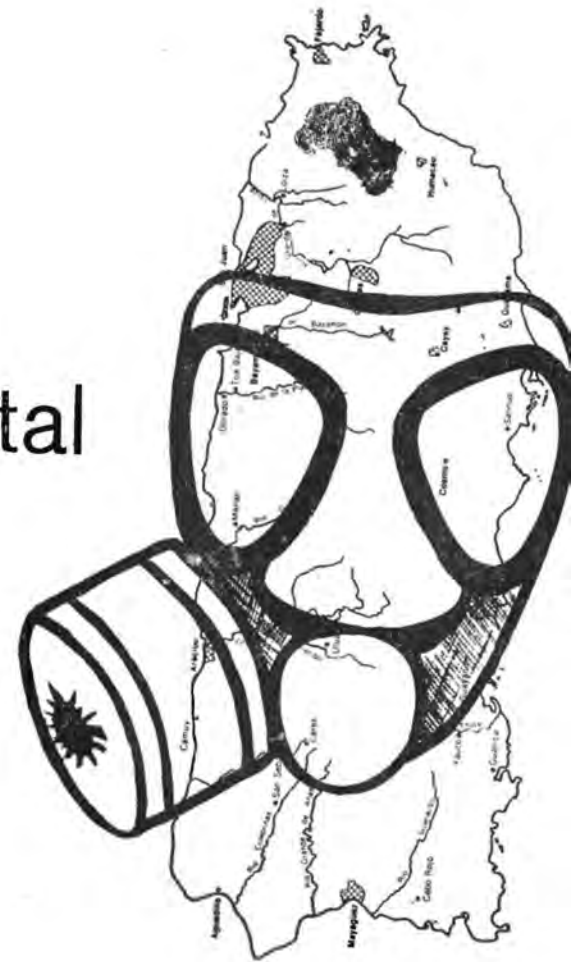
2. Profits from foreign investment cited as going toward "economic development" are seen by the Portuguese Government as "... the best foundation for sustaining the defense effort." The Angolan Government allocated 45% of its budget to communications and transportation, two important elements of military strategy. For example, the Portuguese plan to pave the roads of northern Mozambique to prevent them from being mined by FRELIMO.

3. Money is being provided at the precise time that the Portuguese are hard pressed, and will continue in this manner.

THUS in sum, Gulf Oil, through direct financial contributions to the Portuguese, through military ties, and the provision of foreign exchange, is a handmaiden of colonial war. And with increased production, Gulf payments will mount so that more revenue will come at the time that the wars of liberation accelerate.

The contract stipulates that Portugal has the right to take all the crude that is produced or its equivalent in refined products should military necessities dictate it. In 1970, for the first time, Gulf exported oil from Cabinda to Portugal, as well as to Japan and several other northern European countries. Not only can Gulf fill Portugal's needs, but there is enough left over for Portugal's oil-hungry partner, the racist Republic of South Africa.

Collusion has no neat limits. By supporting the colonial regime in Angola, Gulf helps sustain the whole oppressive and exploitative complex in southern Africa. A direct enemy of the movements of liberation, Gulf's foothold in southern Africa is not dissimilar to its role in independent Africa—only clearer!



A new manifestation of colonialism has been developing over the past 10 to 15 years. It consists of using the land, the air and the water of the colonized as a dumping-ground for poisons and other pollution produced by the big industries of the colonizer. Thus the colonizer exports pollution and the cost of fighting it outside his own territory, and thereby succeeds in keeping a great portion of industrial waste from adversely affecting his own economy, public health and environment. We call this new form of aggression environmental colonialism.

Puerto Rico has been suffering from environmental colonialism since the 60s. In fact it is quite possible that Puerto Rico is the best-known example today of environmental colonialism. And as is the case with all forms of colonialism, the colonized who operate under the system loyally follow the policy laid down by the colonizer: the big native enterprises have been joined to those of the United States of America in their aggression against the health of the Puerto Rican and his environmental surroundings.

ITS ORIGINS

Environmental colonialism takes its form and makes itself felt in Puerto Rico through the operation of two factors:

- 1) The economic advantage to the ruling class in the low demand for environmental quality, a factor which has been gradually disappearing in the United States.
- 2) At the same time, the Puerto Rican colonial government grants priority to the establishment of heavy and semi-heavy industry as its strategic base of development.

The debasement of environmental quality and life in the United States began its giddy descent in 1946, when the great post-war expansion of the North American economy began. It has been an expansion based on the technological transformation of productive activities. But the new technology has had a much greater impact on the environment and the people than the old displaced technology did: the new technology was not intended to satisfy the inescapable demands of nature, that is, of the ecosystem. That is why the stability of the basic component of nature, the ecological cycle, has been and is repeatedly altered without any compensating mechanism being provided.

The ecological cycle is one that purifies itself because the waste produced in one stage serves as raw material for the next stage and so it can go on indefinitely. However, its limits of self-control can be exceeded if the growth of economic activity depends on productive activities particularly destructive to its equilibrium.

This deterioration in its equilibrium has been observed with growing intensity in the United States: in rivers, lakes, bays, mountains, in the harvests, in the air of the cities and in the health of their inhabitants.

As a result of all this, various segments of the population and of the country's bourgeoisie have gone through a process of environmental consciousness-raising that has brought them into struggle in the courts, in local elections, in state legislatures and in the federal Congress, against the big polluting industries.

The ascending rhythm of this internal struggle, a struggle which results from contradictions within the ruling class and the system, has caused the government of the United States to convert the exportation of pollution into policy.

What has evidently happened in the United States is that pollution has affected the environment's absorption capacity to such a point that it has caused a great increase in the demand for a pure environment. And so the economic advantage to the ruling class of a low demand for environmental quality has disappeared. That is why it has been necessary to look for other countries where this economic advantage can still be pursued because, since they are low pollution areas, there is a low demand for environmental quality.

This policy is indirectly admitted in a publication of *The Presidential Commission on International Trade and Investment* of July, 1971. That document states:

We (the North Americans) cannot expect that the developing nations, will accept our priorities (environmental) if they do not have our well-being (economic).



Therefore... the developing nations must be stimulated to develop their own environmental programs, appropriate to their circumstances (of little pollution).

But a United Nations document of mid-1971 established the point without any ambiguity when it states that there is no reason,

...why the developing nations should not specialize more and more in certain industrial fields... that are going to become more expensive for the developed world because of its growing preoccupation with environmental norms.

On the other hand we find that at the end of the 50s, it became evident that the North American ruling class would negotiate certain tariff agreements with the European Common Market.

The products from this market would begin to enter the United States and Puerto Rican markets with greater facility when the customs tariffs on them were decreased. The entrance of these products is eliminating, by competition, the industries that produce them in Puerto Rico; which in turn are the industries that generate the most employment.

In addition to this there continued (and continues) the latent danger of high minimum salaries being established by the US Congress to protect continental enterprises and workers from the competition of the colony. (Industry in the colony is based on superexploitation of the worker which is what produces such a high margin of profit.)

As a direct consequence of the closing of industries and the resulting loss of jobs due to these two principal factors, the only alternative available within the status quo began to be implemented in Puerto Rico: the establishment of a new type of industry; Heavy and semi-heavy industry which, because it was highly competitive, could function without difficulty under the adverse conditions described above.

These new industries met their production chiefly by mechanization and therefore created few new jobs. Thus, for the colonial government to be able to maintain a satisfactory rhythm in creating new jobs, it was necessary to establish this type of industry in Puerto Rico at a rapid, an accelerated rate, as has been the case in recent years. But this type of heavy and semi-heavy industry also has another big drawback: it is highly polluting and destructive.

And the colony, loyally following the policy of the colonizer in its hits and errors, also failed to foresee meeting the inescapable demands of nature. As a consequence, along with heavy and semi-heavy industry, it is importing at an accelerated rate, environmental pollution and destruction and also the cost of combatting them.

This is how the North American policy of exporting pollution and the Puerto Rican government's policy of importing it necessarily worked hand in hand throughout the decade of the 60s, and resulted in what we have called environmental colonialism.

ITS MANIFESTATIONS

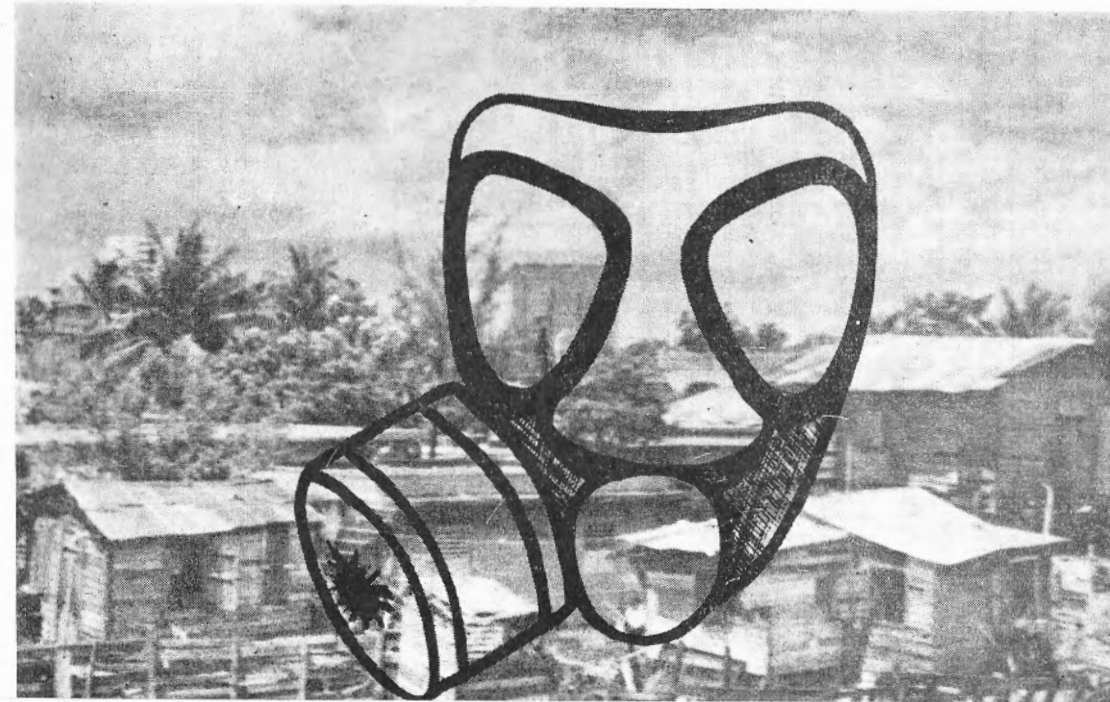
The most spectacular manifestation of environmental colonialism has come to light recently: the extraordinary oil project of the Island of Mona which will be an oil and chemical center in addition to a center for storage and distribution by the North Americans. Because of its great importance it is necessary to understand the background of the project.

The importance of oil lies in the fact that the different substances of which it is composed are currently used as the principal source for supplying the energy needs of the economies of various countries. That is to say, oil is the principal source of the energy necessary to maintain the economy and permit its growth. Without energy the economy dies.

Energy has been kept very cheap until quite recently. But the control of oil prices has been passing from the hands of the big consumers (United States, Western Europe and Japan) —which kept them low— into the hands of the producing countries, the poor or underdeveloped countries of the Third World; those which, when they gain full consciousness of the exploitation to which their resources have been subjected, have begun to raise the prices of oil and other combustibles.

Moreover, the energy requirements of the US economy are so great and are growing so rapidly that the country is obliged to import unprecedented quantities of oil and natural gas, that is of energy, from the Middle East in the immediate future. The cheapest way of transporting oil that becomes more expensive all the time, is in giant tankers that can carry from 300 000 up to 600 000 tons per tanker.

But North America today does not have the ports of 100 or more feet in depth that these tankers require. Nor do the North Americans have sufficient oil and chemical installations to refine this oil. The construction of superports, oil and chemical activity, as well as the possibility of accidents with these tankers raise a whole series of formidable environmental problems.





This is why the North American ruling class and its subdirectors thought of the Island of Mona. The formidable environmental problems involved in such a project would be suffered by the Puerto Ricans and the Dominicans. In addition, the Island of Mona has sufficiently deep water very close to its coasts and is located very near the North American oil industries in the Caribbean and near the east coast of the United States where 50% of all the energy used in that country is consumed. North American plans for Mona are a part of the oil policy that has already been assigned to the colonial government of Puerto Rico; and it is in accord with the policy of the colony as importer of pollution. In fact, five oil and chemical plants for the island have already been announced, in addition to the Mona project.

But the plans of the colonial government and the big US monopolies for Puerto Rico go far beyond all this.

In addition to the oil plans, the reports on environmental impact required by law to establish aluminum and copper complexes, which differ from each other, are now being prepared. The beginning of copper exploitation would serve as a precedent that would open the port to the exploitation of our numerous metal resources all along the Central Mountain Ridge. Following this same line, which is anti-Puerto Rican and anti-ecological, 15 additional pharmaceutical and other chemical industries have already been announced for the north of the Island and the spine-chilling number of 15 nuclear reactors up to the year 2000, to produce electric energy.

Neither more nor less is being prepared than the checkmate to the very existence of Puerto Ricans, of their environmental surroundings and their natural resources. And this must be the policy of the Associated Free State, no matter who administers the colonial government. These are realities that bear the most effective witness to the correctness of the slogan, "Awake Puerto Rican, defend what is yours".

Meanwhile, in the present, in 1973, the great experiment that threatens the life and environment of the Puerto Rican continues.

THE PRESENT

Puerto Rico, its environment, its resources, its people, are the object of a great experiment. An experiment that threatens the life and environmental surroundings of the Puerto Rican. An experiment that no civilized people have the right to make, and even less for gain, for the profit and for the power of the ruling class.

Today at this very instant they are dumping simultaneously into the air, the water and onto the land along the coast of this Island, sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, sulphuric acid, hydrocarburates, particles of matter, mercury, tetraethyl of lead, nickel, vanadium, copper, cadmium, zinc, iron, molybdenum, manganese, cobalt, chrome, cyanide, arsenic, silica, acetic acid, sulphuric acid, chlorhydrin acid, benzene acid and other organic acids; caustic soda, chlorine gas, chloral, anhydrous acid, benzaldehyde, ethylene glycol, sodium sulfate, dichlorodiethyl and a whole series of organic, floating, foaming, antibiotic agents and a wide range of medicines; a whole family of dyes; DDT and a whole family of biphenyl polycolorants and other poisons such as torone, aldrin, pp DDT, dieldrin, heptachlor, chlorobenzene, PONB, almost all capable of producing cancer in the human body, among which DDT, heptachlor, and dieldrin, are now accumulated in the fats of Puerto Ricans. Others, like aldrin, dieldrin and hydrazoic acid can cause genetic damage.

Still others, also brought to Puerto Rico, are capable of producing deformities in unborn babies, such as phenylmercurial acetate, mercuries, dieldrin, chlordan, parathion, diazoamino, pp DDT, IPC, PCNB, 2, 4, 5T and 2,4-D, these last used criminally in Vietnam to deforest and ruin the crops.

It is well to point out that 2, 4, 5T applied to pregnant mice and rats produced deformations in the eyes of the offspring or even a total absence of eyes and other kidney, liver or palate deformations and the death of the fetus in most cases. In studies with 2, 4-D, which is extensively used in sugar cane cultivation in Puerto Rico, it was found that it produced deformations in the chickens born from the eggs laid by hens that received as low a dosage of 2, 4-D as 10 parts per million. At high dosages of 2, 4-D deformations were produced in other laboratory animals with even greater frequency than with 2, 4, 5T.

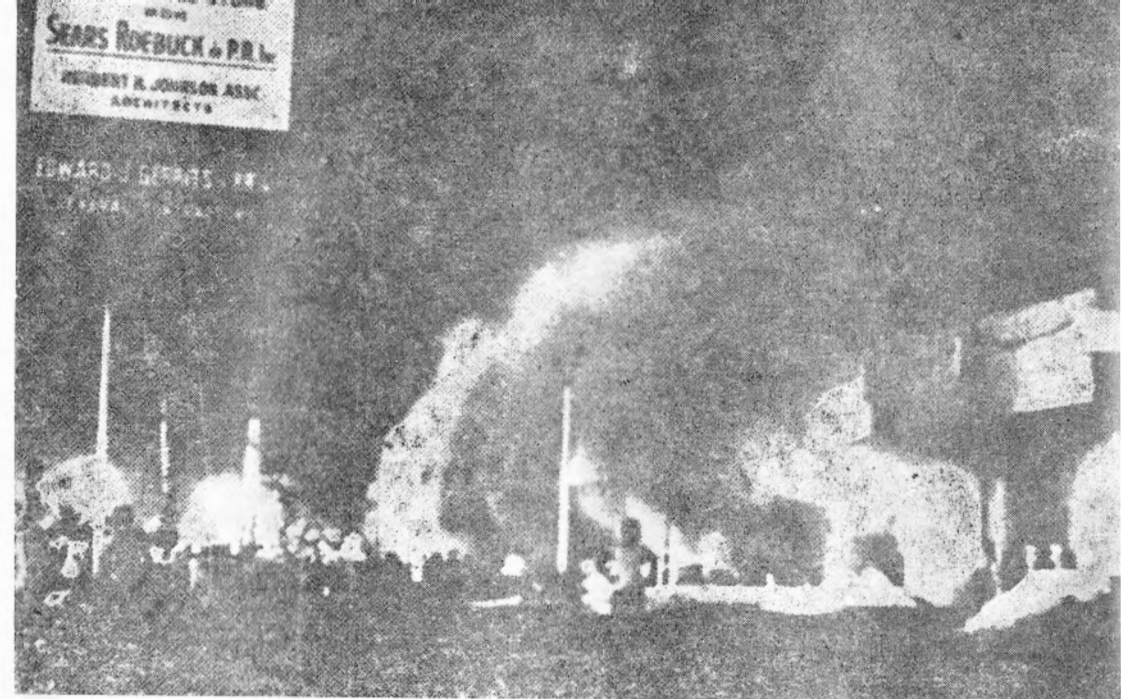
Each and every one of these substances, to a greater or lesser degree, poisons the Puerto Rican environment and its people. The total weight of all these substances hurled into our environment totals several million tons a year.

But this is still not the whole story. Today, day after day, tankers of up to 100 000 tons enter and leave the ports of the country and, in addition to washing their holds next to the Island, are in constant danger of accident and the consequent flow of thousands of tons of oil over our bays and coasts. There are serious problems with the disposal of garbage in each and every one of the municipalities on the Island. The continuous felling of mangrove trees can be observed, as well as thermal pollution and a growing urban spread over the best agricultural lands. Great highways are built across the Island for the fundamental benefit of the capitalists. Uncontrolled extraction of sand from rivers and beaches continues; and a levelling of rivers and a loss in their vertical flow capacity which affects their ability to supply sand to the beaches. Dozens of wells have been drilled for the big enterprises to inject their powerful poisons into the bowels of the earth. Excessive and free extraction of potable water reserves is permitted from our reservoirs while, on the other hand, the pollution of the other reservoirs is allowed.

FINALLY, we cannot fail to mention with indignation, the now famous and frequent radioactive seepage from the experimental atomic reactor Bonus in Rincon during the 60s.

Still other acts of the same type that flagrantly menace the life and security of each Puerto Rican could be cited: All these facts must be seen today as the primary explanation for the high incidence of cancer, heart and respiratory diseases that are suffered in Puerto Rico now.

As a direct consequence of all this environmental aggression, there are now many cases on this tropical island as sad as the severe environmental pollution of Catano; the absurd location of the Oil and Chemical plant in the Yabucoa valley; the dramatic reduction in the tonnage of cane —from 40 to 13 tons per acre— and the sugar content of the syrups, from 9 to 2.8%, in the lands adjacent to the satellite oil and chemical industry in Arecibo; the figure of 15% mental retardation among children of the towns of Camuy, Hatillo, Arecibo and Barceloneta; the extraordinary mortality rate from asthma in Barceloneta of 55 persons out of every 100 000 inhabitants, with 70% of these deaths in the Outer Florida neighborhood where the pharmaceutical industries operate;



the high rate of the incidence of cancer in 25 out of 77 of the country's municipalities, and, finally the extremely sad case of the inhabitants of Guayanilla Beach, a village adjacent to the lands of the CORCO oil and chemical complex.

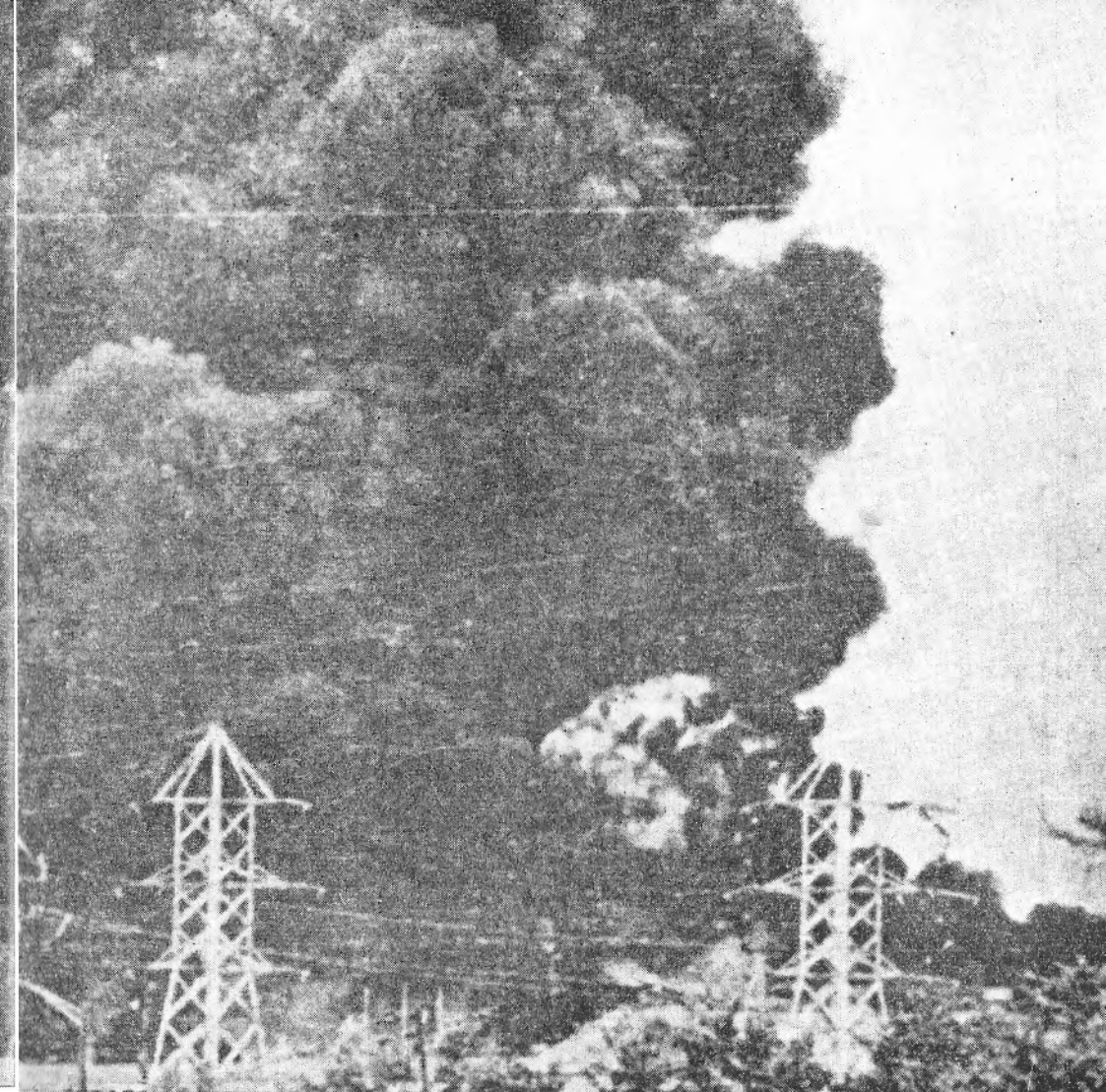
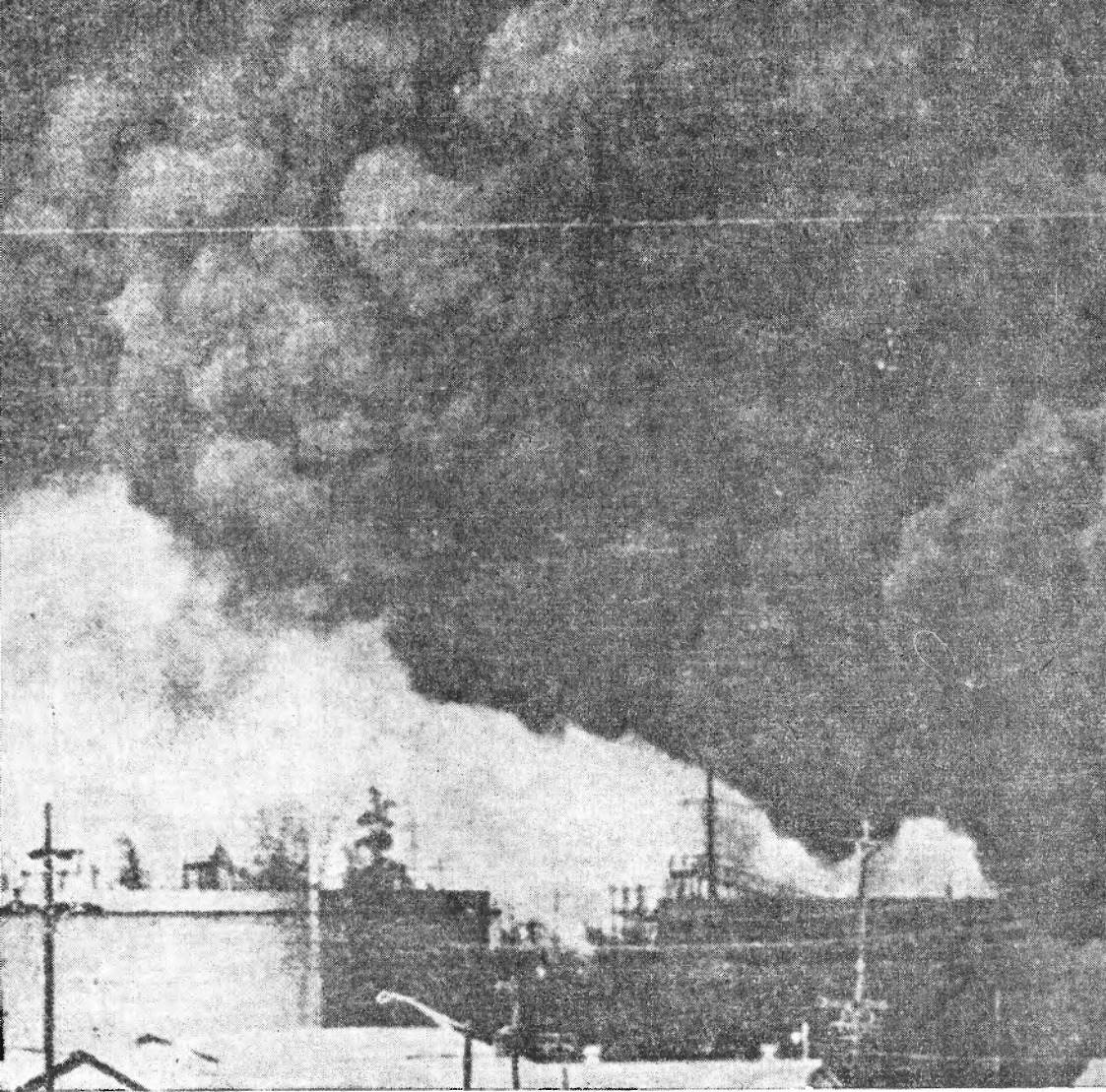
In this village, a team of doctors has found abnormalities of an obstructive type (asthma, emphysema, chronic bronchitis) in the lungs of 30 to 40 of every 100 inhabitants. These same inhabitants and those of the nearby Magas section have been brutally assaulted by the irresponsibility and inefficiency of the Pillsbury Plate Glass (PPG) industries and the Waterways Authority. Some 500 inhabitants have had to be given emergency treatment against symptoms of poisoning by repeated escape of gaseous chloride from the PPG industry located a few hundred meters from these areas. As if this were nothing, the inhabitants of this municipality (Guayanilla) suffer the daily discharge from the PPG of tens of pounds of mercury, a highly active poison, on the land, in the air and waters of the region.

The conclusion is unquestionable: the economic policy assigned to Puerto Rico, which produced marginal benefits for our people and high profits for the foreign investors, seriously endangers the public and environmental health of our Island.

PROGRESS AND JUSTICE

All this is allowed in the name of what is badly termed "progress". It is the concept of "capitalist progress". No Puerto Rican men or women can any longer honestly accept the idea that an economic development that menaces their life and security and the quality of their lands, the water and air that surround them, and destroys their most precious natural resources, can be considered progress.

But the colonialists go much farther in their cynicism. They want to make us believe that the North American model of economic development practiced by the colony is a



step toward social justice. It is a model that has been applied for the last 20 years in Puerto Rico and it has not resolved the serious problem of 30% of our labor force being unemployed, even counting an emigration of a third of our population to the United States. Tens of thousands of families continue to live in slums, in inadequate housing and those who live in the urban areas have mortgaged everything. Public health services are rapidly deteriorating. Drug addiction and alcoholism spread throughout the country and continue to grow at an impressive rhythm.

The wealth remains above and the people have no hope.

Social justice today is much farther away than ever before. What is really happening is that the greater the capitalist development, the longer and more difficult becomes the road to social justice. The least that can be said about those who honestly believe that the North American model of development will bring social justice is that they

haven't raised their eyes from the text books for years or that they are innocent victims of the confusion that colonialism creates.

ONLY ROAD

It is the reality of living day after day in Puerto Rico together with the clear and determined action of the independence-minded people that will have to convince the Puerto Rican man and woman that the only escape from the grave national problem, including the environmental problem, will be through independence and socialism.

In fact, the environmental problems that the great US corporate enterprises and those in our own back yard so monstrously create for us represent one more weighty reason favoring the thesis that socialism in Puerto Rico, even more than in other countries, will

be the precondition for development. That is, without socialism, there can be no real development.

To achieve social justice, to satisfy the basic and legitimate needs of the society, it is absolutely indispensable to make use of all our natural resources. But, logically, nature and its resources, in addition to being limited, cannot be altered to the point of effecting man and his well being. That is why we envision the goal of socialism as the forging of an equilibrium between man and all his activity, and nature. It is evident that the social control of the means of production and the overall planning of the country's activity stand out as the two potentially most effective instruments of socialist structure for achieving an equilibrium that satisfies the basic and legitimate necessities of the country, and can maintain these levels indefinitely.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), the party of the working class, is honestly preoccupied by the brutal aggression to which the tropical environment that we inhabit is being subjected and with the public health of this Island. Colonial strategies have pressured us into a course from which it will be very costly and very difficult to depart. In line with this reality the PSP considers it to be of basic importance to convert the environmental problem into one of the Party's principles. We are evolving an action, beginning with political-environmental training as our base, that we will extend to the working class and the people in general. It will be a task in which no efforts will be spared.

This is the hour in which the government is feeling the determined action of the people. For that reason this appeal is not directed to the leadership of the political parties that support the colony, which form a part of the wealthy minority that participates in the economic plunder and exploitation. This appeal is made to the people, to the workers, to all those good Puerto Ricans who, along with their children and their relatives, are going to struggle to defend their right to live on this Island. These are the only people truly capable of a prompt and adequate response to the aggression that is attacking their health, the health of their children, and our environmental surroundings.



20 YEARS AFTER THE ARMISTICE

The North American imperialists supply arms and war equipment of various modern types to South Korea, where they are extending their military base and carrying out endless war provocations and military exercises designed to accelerate war preparations. They are stimulating the south Korean puppets for a military confrontation with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

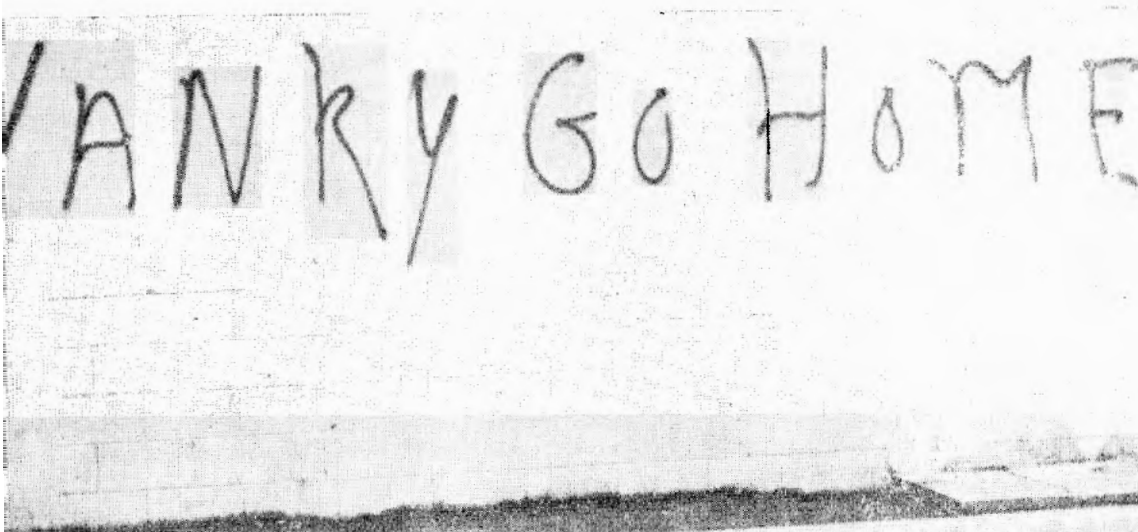
The Yankee imperialists are also encouraging Japanese militarists to carry out their aggressive policy toward Korea.

These facts are evidence that, while Yankee occupation of south Korea and Yankee intervention in Korea's internal affairs continue, the independent and peaceful unification of Korea cannot be achieved and the south Korean people will not be able to escape misfortune and suffering.

The Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, expresses its full support for the five-point proposition for accelerating the unification of the country, presented at the second session of the fifth legislature of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and actively insists that North American imperialism's aggressor troops be withdrawn from south Korea without delay and that the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", which serves as an aggressive instrument, immediately be dissolved.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL energetically demands that the United Nations not be utilized as an aggressive instrument of Yankee imperialism against Korea and that it revoke all its illegal resolutions passed so far concerning Korea.

On the occasion of the International Month of Solidarity with the Korean People, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL issues a fervent appeal to all peace-loving governments and peoples, to democratic international organizations, progressive parties, revolutionary and social organizations, to actively support by different forms and methods of struggle, the just cause of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country; and to launch a still more vigorous struggle in demand of the immediate withdrawal of Yankee imperialism's aggressor troops from south Korea.



THE VIOLATIONS CONTINUE

The Joint Communique signed in Paris on June 13, 1973, is one more victory achieved by the Vietnamese people and the peace-loving forces of the world and of the United States itself, in the struggle for the fulfillment of the agreement and the consolidation of peace in Viet Nam.

However, from the time it signed the Joint Communique up to the present, supported and stimulated by the government of the United States of America, the Saigonese administration has launched thousands of occupation operations, accelerating the completion of the so-called "special pacification" plan, intensifying repression and terrorism against the people, and at the same time, refusing to respect democratic liberties and complete the exchange of imprisoned personnel.

The United States continues to carry out bombings against Cambodia and, recently, the US Secretary of Defense threatened that bombings against the DRV would be renewed.

These are highly serious violations of the Agreement and of the Communiqué signed last June 13, and an insolent challenge both to the Vietnamese people and to the peoples of the world and the United States.

As evidence of its complete identification with the serious position and the attitude of good will expressed in the Declarations dated June 14 of this year, issued respectively by the government of the DRV and the PRG-RSV, as well as the six-point proposal presented on June 28 by the delegation of the PRG-RSV in the Consultative Conference of Paris, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL energetically condemns the United States and the Saigonese administration for the violations committed and demands that they immediately halt these violations and fulfill each and all the clauses contained in the Agreement and the Joint Communique, and that they accept the very constructive and positive proposals presented by the PRG-RSV.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL exhorts all its member nations, progressive governments, people who fight for peace, justice and liberty, and the North American people, to increase the struggle to demand that the government of the United States and the Saigonese administration scrupulously fulfill the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and, at the same time, to intensify their support to the Vietnamese people in every way possible, in order to achieve a solid peace in Viet Nam and safeguard peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

