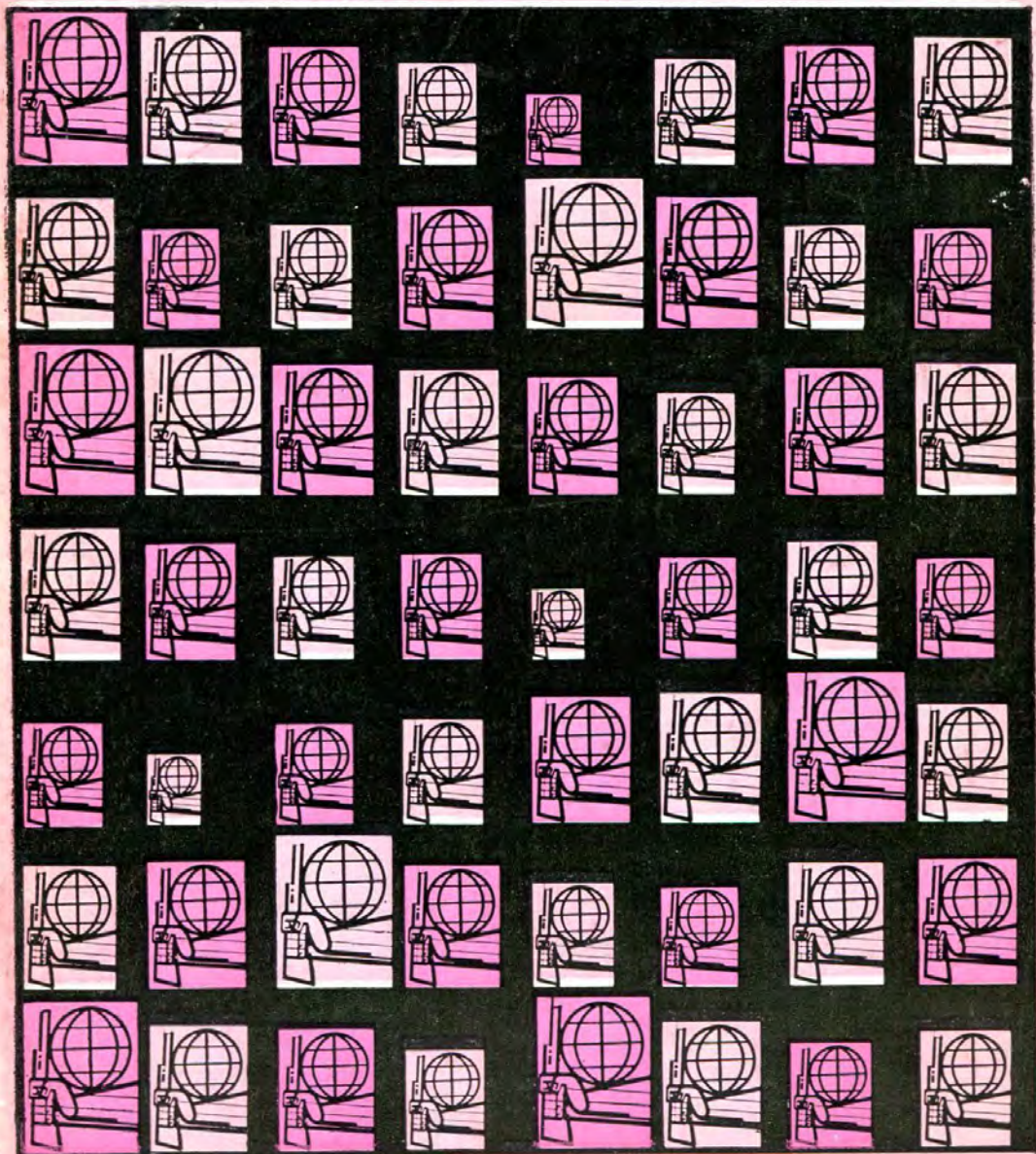




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Tupamaros: If There Isn't a Homeland for All, There Won't Be
a Homeland for Anybody 3

Tricontinental Scene

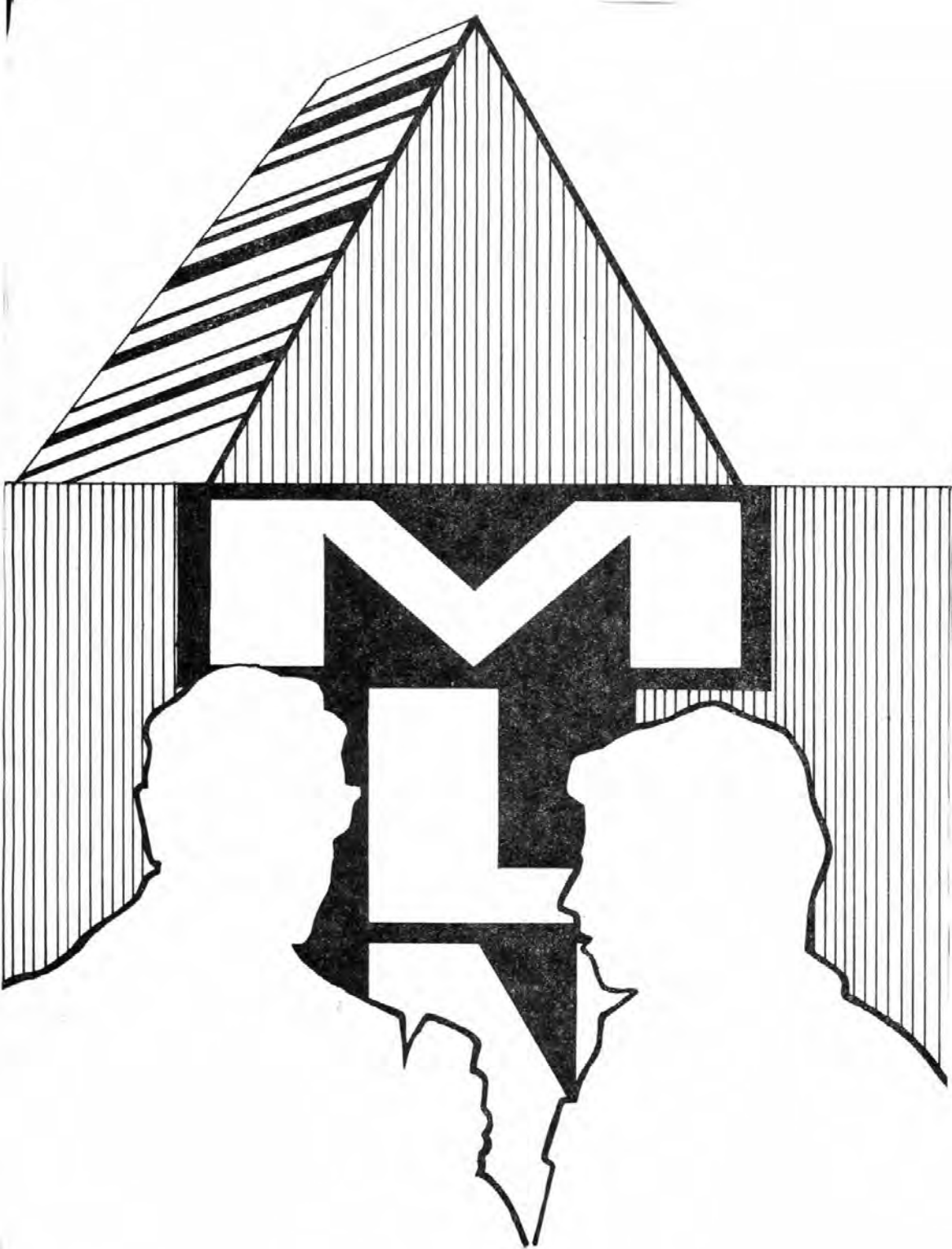
George Jackson: Letters from Soledad 16
Kampuchea: Political Program 33
OSPAAAL in the IX Meeting of AAPSO 26

Guerrilla Fronts

Rebellion in Chad 40

Appeals and Messages

Pirate Attack Against the DRV 46
Guinea: The People Smash the Invasion 47
Solidarity with Pakistan 47
At the V Congress of the Korean Workers' Party 48



TUPAMAROS:

If There Isn't a Homeland for All, There Won't Be a Homeland for Anybody

• *The Tupamaros have carried out several types of action, ranging from sensational kidnappings and occupations of towns to the execution of torturers and the seizures of funds. I wish you would give us a little more information as to the purpose behind each type of action.*

There are tactical actions, aimed at obtaining supplies; and there are propaganda actions and direct actions against the regime. The supply actions are carried out more or less continuously, and we might say that they include a constant search for funds and a series of other elements having a bearing on the logistical support of the Movement: plastic material for forged documents, dynamite, equipment for reloading shells, etc. — in short, everything that has a bearing on the logistical structure of the Movement.

Propaganda actions are those which by themselves define the Movement's objectives and conduct. These actions were the ones mainly carried out at the beginning. Even though they are part of the daily program, they are not being given priority at the moment.

The seizure of documents from a firm to show that there are a number of Ministers linked to large firms or engaged in financial operations is an example of this type of propaganda action which, at the same time, defines the Movement's conduct. In other words, the Movement does not expropriate funds earmarked for the payment of workers' wages, but it will expropriate the gold that a family as financially powerful as the Mailhoses has continued to accumulate for so many years in the form of pounds sterling.

Actions against the regime are mainly aimed at undermining the foundations of the regime itself, particularly actions directed against the forces of repression. In other words, when we decide to raid the home of a political police agent, it's our way of showing them and the people that there are two powers in confrontation in the streets — that, just as our homes can be raided, so can those of the security agents.



The actions aimed at disarming policemen are of the same nature.

These actions are aimed not only at supplying ourselves with arms and ammunition. They also serve to undermine the morale of policemen who are discharging their duties as mercenaries and who, sooner or later, will ask themselves — in fact, they have already started asking these questions, and there are indications of the consequences that have followed — just who the devil they are defending with their uniform and their weapons, against whom they are fighting and what order they are defending.

● *The Movement's history shows that the Tupamaros are everywhere. I would like to know what sector your militants come from, what they seek and what they find in the Movement.*

They seek — and find — a place in the struggle, no matter where they come from. They find an organization with armed struggle as its method and with clearly defined objectives. As far as their origin is concerned, the organization includes students and blue- and white-collar workers. The origin of the comrades who were captured can be taken as a reference point: they include a good number of agricultural workers, workers in metallurgy and in the textile industry, many of whom hold posts of leadership in their respective trade unions, and students — who constitute, as do all the other sectors of the radical middle class, an endless source of material for the MLN.



- *What role does the MLN give to the various social classes in the revolutionary struggle, and how does it operate in relation to the established organizations which represent those classes — for example, the trade unions?*

The ideology of the Movement is not determined by its social makeup. In other words, those who join the Movement, no matter what sector they come from, are in pursuit of specific methods. It doesn't matter whether they are peasants or blue- or white-collar workers.

In the course of a tactical period the participation of the students, the trade unions and the peasants will eventually be of fundamental importance in creating a revolutionary situation. In this connection, everything they do — either temporary or continuous — with a view to the development of a methodology of the armed struggle at the grass-roots level will contribute to greater effectiveness.

However, when these methods are applied consistently, as part of a more or less long-term struggle, the brunt of the entire process is borne by the Movement's armed branch, which is constantly being reinforced with cadres that proceed from the workers' movement, the rural areas, the students' movement and the Army. In other words, in periods of daily, persistent actions, while work is being done to create a revolutionary situation, the armed branch plays the leading role, while the aforementioned classes are engaged in learning the methodology of armed struggle and are gradually furnishing the armed vanguard with cadres that will contribute to its development.

- *In its early stages, what made the Movement decide on armed struggle, and why is this struggle limited, almost exclusively, to the urban zones? It may be useful to recall in this connection, a series of opinions, derived from former experiences, as to the enormous risks an urban guerrilla unit must face. This, in turn, would lead us to comment on the originality of the Uruguayan urban guerrilla unit and its contribution to this type of struggle. My question, therefore, is multiple: Why did the Tupamaros choose armed struggle, why is this struggle of the urban type, and what are the characteristics that guarantee its successful operation?*

I recall that Che once said that, in Latin America, the same objective conditions exist everywhere — the problem of the latifundium; the problem of imperialism distorting our respective economies; and, as a result of all this, the drama of hunger, poverty and exploitation, objectively proved all over Latin America. These problems are quite sharply defined in some



countries, while in others they are not so evident — the hand of imperialism being more or less disguised. However, Uruguay fits perfectly into this picture of objective conditions.

These conditions were not so evident during a certain period — principally during World War II and the postwar years, and also, to a certain extent, during the Korean war. Armies are large consumers of wool, and Uruguay is, fundamentally, a wool-producing country. Therefore, those were years of large incomes, of large amounts of foreign exchange that were squandered. The foreign exchange came into the country, but it never reached the people. It went into the hands of the oligarchy.

These resources made possible, for a certain period of time, the enactment and implementation of a number of more or less progressive labor laws — for example, the establishment of the so-called Wage Councils, which consisted of commissions made up of blue- and white-collar workers plus one representative of the Government whose job it was to study wage increases.

No solution whatever was found for the problem of unemployment, but it was possible to develop a number of mainly light industries — for example, a textile industry.

However, the entire process deteriorated quite rapidly. Uruguay's cattle production today, the number of head in the country at present, is the same as it was at the beginning of the century. Industry has not only stagnated but has even entered a stage of regression. The textile industry that flourished during the postwar period, is systematically growing weaker,



Therefore, in those objective conditions — which, at a specific moment, might be considered to set Uruguay apart from the rest of Latin America — the process of the deterioration of its economy — foreseeable in a system such as ours — gradually included Uruguay in the rest of the Latin-American scene.

Therefore, objective conditions in Uruguay are no longer different from those in the rest of Latin America. There is unemployment; there is a housing shortage; one third of the country's arable lands are owned by 600 families; a policy of extensive cattle raising is being followed; and there are vast extensions of unproductive land, large estates with unproductive zones, while, right next door to them are poor settlements with a high child mortality rate due to malnutrition, diarrhea and lack of medical attention. In short, the same picture.

These are the objective conditions in Latin America that Che was talking about, and he added that, in Cuba, there had been some special objective conditions — Fidel and the 26th of July Movement. In other words, a Latin America with a vast explosive potential that had not as yet been touched off, needed the presence of a subjective fuse to trigger the explosion. These objective conditions existed in Uruguay, and all that was necessary was to create the fuse that would open the way, a revolutionary path that would lead to a change in structures.

We chose the course of armed struggle because we thought it was the only effective way to dethrone those who are determined to remain in power with the backing of weapons once they find this power threatened by the classes they oppress.

In other words, if the present Government of Uruguay were to find an answer to the workers' demands, there would be no reason for conflict. However, the Government cannot find the answer — and won't even try to find it — because it is a Government which serves the interests of the group of bankers headed by Peirano Facio and the group of latifundists who keep Bordaberry, a wealthy landowner, in the Ministry of Cattle Raising and Agriculture in order to make it possible for them to continue making enormous profits, with all of them providing fat dividends for the International Monetary Fund. This, plus the presence of imperialism — more or less disguised — creates a contradiction which makes it impossible, given its present structure, for the Government to find an answer to the people's needs.

The people have begun to confront the regime by demanding wage increases, improvements, social laws and so forth. Since these wage increases and improvements adversely affect the interests of the sectors represented by the Government, the Government refuses to make concessions.

And, since the workers are not willing to resign themselves to this situation, we have the strikes and the workers' struggle for higher wages — which leads to the Government's making use of its forces of repression.

If, when faced with the workers' demand for a wage increase or the students' demand for university autonomy, the Government sends its troops out into the streets armed with riot guns, murders students and workers, fires workers and fills the police station with them, what wouldn't this Government — or any other similar government — do when the same forces, headed by a revolutionary vanguard try — as Guillén says in his poem — to "put those on top at the bottom and those on the bottom at the top"?

The way of armed struggle is adopted when one is fully convinced that it is the way to overthrow those who hold on to power — that power that gives them all their profits, privileges and pleasures at the cost of the efforts of others.

- *At this point, I would like to return to the second part of my question, that concerning the urban nature of the armed struggle.*

I'll begin by saying that the decision to take the way of armed struggle was in no way dependent on the specific geographical characteristics of our country. It is a matter of concept. Otherwise, those countries lacking the geographical conditions favorable to rural guerrilla warfare, for example, would have to discard armed struggle in the process of a revolution.

There was a time when the urban guerrillas were looked upon as units to provide logistic support — communications, weapons, funds, etc. — for what should be the main nucleus: the rural guerrillas. This concept was discussed by the MLN on the basis of an analysis of our national situation — in which the possibilities for rural guerrilla warfare are practically nil, as we have neither vast jungles nor mountains — and some previous experiences, and we came to the conclusion that the development of urban struggle was possible, thanks to some very interesting, specific conditions.

We studied the French resistance to Nazi occupation; the Algerian struggle — which, even though it developed mainly in the mountains, had its counterpart in the cities — and an example which, as a result of its methodology, its being strictly limited to the urban areas, was extremely useful to the Movement: the struggle waged by the Jews against the English, reference to which is made a booklet entitled *Rebellion in the Holy Land*.



On the basis of these facts, it was considered feasible to begin the experiment in Latin America, of a guerrilla force whose action would be centered in the cities instead of in the countryside.

- *Comparatively speaking, what are the advantages and disadvantages, as far as your organization is concerned, of urban and rural guerrilla warfare?*

We believe that urban struggle has a number of advantages over rural struggle and that, in turn, the rural struggle also presents certain advantages over the urban struggle. However, the important thing, at this stage of the game, is the proof that the nucleus can come to life, survive and develop within the city, and all this in keeping with its own laws. It is true that we are operating right in the mouth of the enemy, but it is also true that the enemy has got us stuck in its throat. We are faced with the inconvenience of having to lead a dual life, in which we carry on a public activity — whenever we are able to — yet, in reality, are somebody else altogether. But we have the advantage of having a series of indispensable resources at hand which rural guerrillas must engage in special operations to obtain: food, ammunition, weapons and communications. The same thing applies with respect to the environment: our adaptation to it comes almost naturally.

Adaptation to the environment is another interesting factor. We, the urban guerrillas, move about in a city which we know like the palm of our hand, in which we look like everybody else and where we go from one place to another with the same ease as do the other million people who live in it.

However, the rate of our losses, in relation to our experiences in Montevideo, shows a marked increase. Every week, every two weeks, every month, the number of comrades who are captured increases. Were it not for a very strong Tupamaros-people relationship, this might mean that the organization would be decimated.

However, the multiplication of the Movement is so great that it makes for an easy, rapid replacement of these losses.

Losses are relatively high in a city. For example, a person in hiding is identified by the police because his features were not disguised effectively enough; a house that serves as a base of operations begins to attract attention; a person in hiding is detected by the police, goes into a house, the house is raided and he and other comrades are captured; or a comrade is captured with a document that belongs to the organization or an expropriated weapon on his person.

In other words, there are a number of mechanisms which, in a city, make it possible, beginning from a starting point, to unravel part of the skein. Hence, losses could be described as something inevitable, no matter what security measures are adopted in urban guerrilla warfare.



That is why the replacement of those who are captured, technological and political development and the training of military cadres are the burning issue. The loss of cadres and the loss of infrastructures are a necessary evil which the urban guerrilla force has to face.

I repeat, the replacement of those cadres, the replacement of the infrastructure, is the greatest problem.

- *Hasn't the organization, in view of the specific conditions that exist in Uruguay, thought of reversing the usual roles and developing some type of rural guerrilla unit that would serve as support or complement to the urban guerrilla action?*

The tactical plan contemplated by the organization at present includes extending the war to the interior of the country. A series of actions that were planned recently, which included cutting off communications — tearing down telephone poles, etc. — have been carried out. Many of these actions will eventually be planned within the characteristics of the urban struggle. In other words, even though these actions will be carried out in the countryside, they will have characteristics not so much of rural guerrilla action but rather of a commando raid — that is, going out, completing the operation and returning, if possible, to normal, everyday life.

- *The Uruguayan guerrillas have brought into play a number of resources of ingenuity and imagination that make them rather unique. Could you tell us how important these resources are to the Movement's operational effectiveness and name some cases where they have been particularly useful?*



Yes, we believe that acute discernment and ingenuity play an important role in urban guerrilla warfare. Since the urban guerrilla always operates in enemy territory, always moving on enemy ground, since he must carry on his work near one of the repression's bases, he must, of necessity, depend on a series of resources which, given the circumstances, are of vital importance.

One example is his use of the same methods employed by the forces of repression.

In the case of the Banco Francés e Italiano, for example, one of our "messengers" arrived at the bank, followed by comrades posing as members of the Intelligence Corps and police liaison men; they entered the bank when the door was opened to let in the "messenger" who customarily arrived at the bank at that time. Once inside the building, the group announced that the Tupamaros had placed a bomb on the premises, everybody was rounded up and then we told them who we were and that we intended to carry out an action.

That was the first stage of the operation. The second stage consisted of opening the vault. Three of the bank's officials had one key to the vault each. However, they were not in the bank at that moment. But there was a practically surefire way to bring them there. We found one of them, told him that the General Manager had committed suicide and that there was chaos in his office, and asked him to please come with us. Then we visited the man who was supposed to have killed himself and told him the same story about the other one. The same procedure was employed with the third man. In this particular case, it was impossible to locate the third party, and, as a result, 380 million pesos remained safely ensconced in the vault, but we took with us a number of documents that proved that the bank was engaged in fraudulent operations and which practically determined the bank's closing.

The documents led to an investigation by the Department of Revenue. We were pretty unhappy about not having been able to get to the 380 million pesos so we tried a new raid, in which we were to pose as revenue agents who were to participate in the work of investigation.

These are examples of ingenuity, which are of the utmost importance in any type of urban action. Something quite similar happened in the taking of the Navy garrison.

Two comrades posing as security agents asked to see an official to clear up some incident. While someone went to find him, two soldiers walking along the side of the building were intercepted by one of our comrades impersonating an agent of the investigation department. The comrade demanded that they produce their identification papers, and a heated argument ensued in which the soldiers tried to justify their presence there even though they carried no identification. Needless to say, the two "soldiers" also belonged to our organization. At the right time, everybody went into action.



the guards were subdued and the rest of the comrades who were to carry out the operation went into the building.

A similar procedure was employed for getting into the police headquarters in Pando. The action was carried out by two comrades who posed as Army officers who were bringing in two captured Tupamaros.

Only a few days separated this action from the one at the El Mago Supermarket, which took place the same day the Government closed all the branch banks to keep the Movement from getting funds, and it had similar characteristics. Our comrades went into the supermarket posing as security agents looking for a Tupamaro who was working there. The supermarket's administration did a beautiful job of cooperating with us, rounding up all the employees to clear up the situation.

We have staged a number of raids this way.

Then there was a time when we got our weapons by raiding private collections. We used to forge search warrants, and one of our comrades dressed in a policeman's uniform would show the order and ask to be let in. This went on until the Minister of the Interior put an end to this wave of seizures from weapons collectors by announcing that weapons could only be seized provided an order signed by him was presented to the collector.

This, in turn, forced us to forge new orders, bearing his "signature" — of course so we could remove the weapons in question.

● *I may be getting away from the subject, but I'd like to know if many of the weapons you captured in the Navy garrison action were recovered as a result of the latest wave of police raids.*



Very, very few. Most of the weapons are still in our hands.

- *The Movement has paid its inevitable toll in martyrs. Those combatants, although highly admired, are little-known. Could you tell us about some of their characteristics; their way of life; their activities in the Movement, including the circumstances surrounding their deaths; and their present influence and meaning in the Movement?*

Several of our comrades have been killed in the struggle. Many were murdered in Pando — students such as Ricardo Zabalza, Emilio Cultelli and Jorge Salerno, the last a boy who wrote songs, played the guitar and sang in songfests with our comrades; soldiers such as Mario Robaina and Father Olivera, who put aside his vestments to join the Movement; comrades who chose the way of struggle, leaving behind their homes and families — even their children — because they realized that their decision would reflect honor on them, their homes, their children, their families, on everything they held most dear. It is as Che said: the highest title to which a man can aspire is that of revolutionary.

Several comrades have died in combat, among them Nelson Flores, who covered his comrades' withdrawal to the very end. Others, like those who died in Pando, were murdered after they were captured, insulted and beaten. And then there were others, such as Fernán Pucurull, killed in cold blood while unarmed.

The deaths of these comrades point up the risk involved in every action, raid, sortie, incursion and contact. A risk that is one's mind when one joins the Movement, but a risk that has also been described by Che when he said that death does not matter provided that his battle cry reach some receptive ear and another hand be extended to take up his fallen weapons.

- *Tell me about the women's role in the Movement.*

First of all, let me tell you that nothing makes men and women more equal than a 45-caliber pistol. One of the actions carried out with the highest spirit was that of getting the prisoners out of the women's prison. A series of photographs of the escapees, which appeared in the newspapers with a caption which read, "It's true: you can't make a revolution without them!" was placed on exhibit in one of the MLN headquarters.

- *There is a question that many people here — and in other countries, as well — ask themselves on seeing the revolutionary movement in Uruguay developing at greater speed than those in Brazil and Argentina, the two reactionary giants that border it.*



The day may come when the people will take power in Uruguay while the other two movements are still in a stage more or less remote from power. How does the Movement view the situation that would arise in that case?

Entering into hypotheses is very much like skating on thin ice. However, the obvious thing in such a situation is that the vigor of the armed struggle should be maintained at all times. If we attack imperialism from all sides — as if it were a beast at bay — nipping at it from every angle, it won't be able to decide whom to face first. It's something akin to that of two, three, many Viet Nams. Should the revolutionary process in Uruguay develop more rapidly than that in the neighboring countries and a situation arise whereby we succeed in taking power, we can certainly count on the possibility of an intervention by the United States, either directly or through the armies of the bordering countries. In that case, the struggle would be one of a national character against an invading army, and the conditions would be created for the very dialectics of the struggle to lead to a new Viet Nam.

● *What you have just said leads me to another question. How does the Movement view the process of liberation in Latin America? There is some concrete evidence of this already — for example, Chato Peredo's expressions of gratitude for your help, which made it possible for him to reach the Bolivian jungles much sooner. Does this mean the beginning of an international strategy of the Latin-American revolution proposed by the MLN?*

It is quite evident that a revolutionary, internationalist spirit exists in Latin America, which has its roots in the struggle for our first independence. Today, it is a practical, concrete internationalism which is manifested tangibly. Our enemies are the same; our goals, methods and weapons are the same.

Latin America constitutes the rear guard of the most powerful and brutal imperialism, the principal supporter of colonialism and neocolonialism throughout the world.

Each blow given by the struggle of Latin-American peoples against their Yankee and native oppressors, doubly weakens North American imperialism.

First Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

● *How does the Uruguayan MLN interpret the victory scored by People's Unity — that is, by Salvador Allende — in the Chilean elections?*

We look upon Salvador Allende's victory as a very positive thing. The process should be carefully studied with a view to the contributions it may provide as an event that appears to be particularly interesting with respect to the paths leading to power.

However, as important as — or, rather, more important than — this study are the measures which, inevitably, the Government will have to adopt when it decides to put into practice the aims which imply changes of structure in Chile — which measures, in turn, will trigger off the reaction of the oligarchy and imperialism, which will then resort to the methods which they have traditionally employed whenever their interests have been threatened.

Sooner or later, the presence of the people in arms, vigilance and armed reply, and armed vigilance must constitute the elements that will guarantee the fulfillment of the program that the people of Chile, with Allende at the fore, have for their Government.

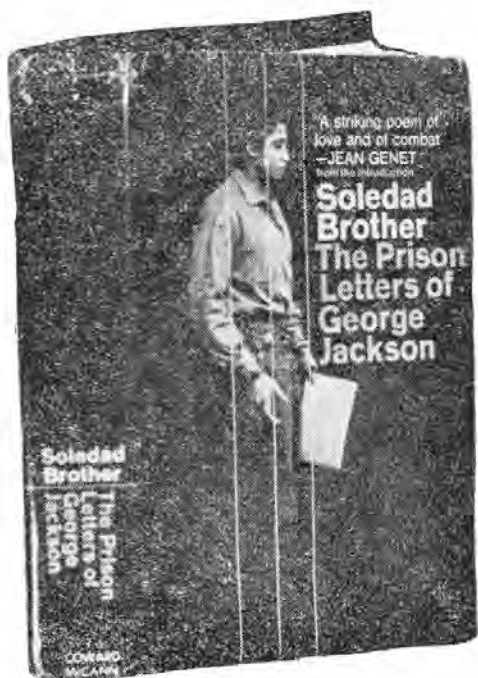
And we find the statement by the Chilean MIR with respect to Allende's victory quite clear: the time has come to place men and weapons at the service of the program of the Chilean left.

● *Let's say the Tupamaros are in power. What do they intend to do with Uruguay?*

The Movement's program is in no way different from those of other revolutionary movements which are now in power — as that of Cuba — or which aspire to power — as the several guerrilla movements in Latin America. The tasks to be tackled are clearly defined: the problem of latifundism, nationalization of the banks, the expulsion of imperialism, the achievement of a higher standard of living, education, health, housing, the restoration of man's full dignity and the eradication of unemployment. These are the tasks that every revolutionary movement keeps in mind, awaiting the time when, once power is attained, the national program that will lead to those objectives can be put into practice.

tricontinental scene

**GEORGE
JACKSON:
LETTERS
FROM
SOLEDAD**



AT 18 years of age, George Jackson was sentenced to a term of from one year to life, accused of robbing \$70 from a gas station.

Since then he has spent ten years in prison (seven and a half in solitary confinement). For his crime — second degree robbery, in which there was no assault nor use of arms — the average time served in jail in California is under three years. Nevertheless, his liberty was postponed each time they reviewed the case. Now George (29) faces a charge of murder. He is one of the three Soledad convicts (prison in Salinas) who are accused of having killed a prison guard in January 1969. The others are Fleeta Drumgo (24) and John Cluchette (23).

The continuing imprisonment, isolation, inclusion in the new process that can take them to the gas chamber and the careful efforts to avoid publicity around the case, are simply evidences of the true motive behind this effort on the part of the authorities.

They have been selected because of their proven revolutionary militancy. Particularly George Jackson, who in these years in jail has shown himself to be a sensitive individual with a sharp perception, an analytical profundity and a clear picture of the world around him, and most important, a determined will to give all this abundance of love, intelligence and human solidarity to the cause of the oppressed.

His letters and essays from prison — published this fall in the United States — are the best evidence of this affirmation. As Huey Newton put it so well, in referring to Jackson and his brothers of Soledad: "The prisons keep you in for so long they politicize you. Then you are a political prisoner and they can't let you go — or even let you go on living."

We herewith present some fragments of the most recent (1970) letters of George Jackson, written to his family, friends, lawyers, etc., for our readers' judgment.

MORE and more frequently in the United States, the courts and penal institutions are being utilized as vehicles of the most vicious racial repression. The probabilities of a black being accused and sentenced for felony in the State of California are many times greater than those for a white man who commits

the same crime. Forty percent of the prisoners in California jails are blacks, although blacks make up only 8% of the population of the state. They face judges like Campbell, in Salinas, who is quoted as saying that, "considering all the violence Martin Luther King caused, maybe he got what he deserved."

June 10

... I met Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engels, and Mao when I entered prison and they redeemed me. For the first four years I studied nothing but economics and military ideas. I met black guerrillas, George "Big Jake" Lewis, and James Carr, W. L. Nolen, Bill Christmas, Torry Gibson and many, many others. We attempted to transform the black criminal mentality into a black revolutionary mentality. As a result, each of us has been subjected to years of the most vicious reactionary violence by the state. Our mortality rate is almost what you would expect to find in a history of Dachau. Three of us were murdered several months ago by a pig shooting from 30 feet above their heads with a military rifle. [...]

April

... Most of today's black convicts have come to understand that they are the most abused victims of an unrighteous order. [...] Now with the living conditions of these places deteriorating, and with the sure knowledge that we are slated for destruction, we have been transforming into an implacable army of liberation. [...]

We're something like 40 to 42% of the prison population. [...] The leadership of the black prison population now definitely identifies with Huey, Bobby, Angela, Eldridge, and antifascism. [...] The holds are fast being broken. Men who read Lenin, Fanon, and Che don't riot, "they mass," "they rage," they dig graves. [...]

May 21

... I'm a very orthodox communist (*dirty, dirty red*). I'm for: materialism, dialectics, internationalism, women's liberation, full automation, welfare distribution, one party, standardized universal education, antimilitary,

WHEN George Jackson was 15 years old he was taken before a judge after an automobile accident. The judge observed that George and his family were light skinned. He told George that if he was a good boy, he could go far because he wasn't really black. "Look at your little brother — he said — "how cute and nice he is.

And your mother is a nice-looking woman. You know that families like this go farther than the real dark families. . . . People take all that into consideration." George told his mother: "Somehow I just wish he'd have gone on and sent me to jail rather than say that to me." That was George Jackson's first experience with the law.



"from all according to ability, to all according to need," *free love* (meaning, as far as I'm concerned, the breakdown of what we think of as the "Family Unit." Today — I'm *every* woman's man, and every *woman* is my woman, all *children* are *mine* to be loved equally — and every man who wouldn't object to my existence will be my brother), no mystifications.

April 5

... We were colonized by the white predatory fascist economy, however, and it was from them that we evolved our freak subculture and the attitudes that perpetuate our conditions. These attitudes cause us to give each other up to the Klan pigs, we even on occasion work gun in hand right with him. A black killed Fred Hampton; blacks working with the CIA killed Malcolm X; the blacks on the payrolls of the many police forces that fascism must employ to protect itself from the people are plentiful. These fascist subculture attitudes have sent us to Europe, Asia, and even "Africa" to die for nothing.

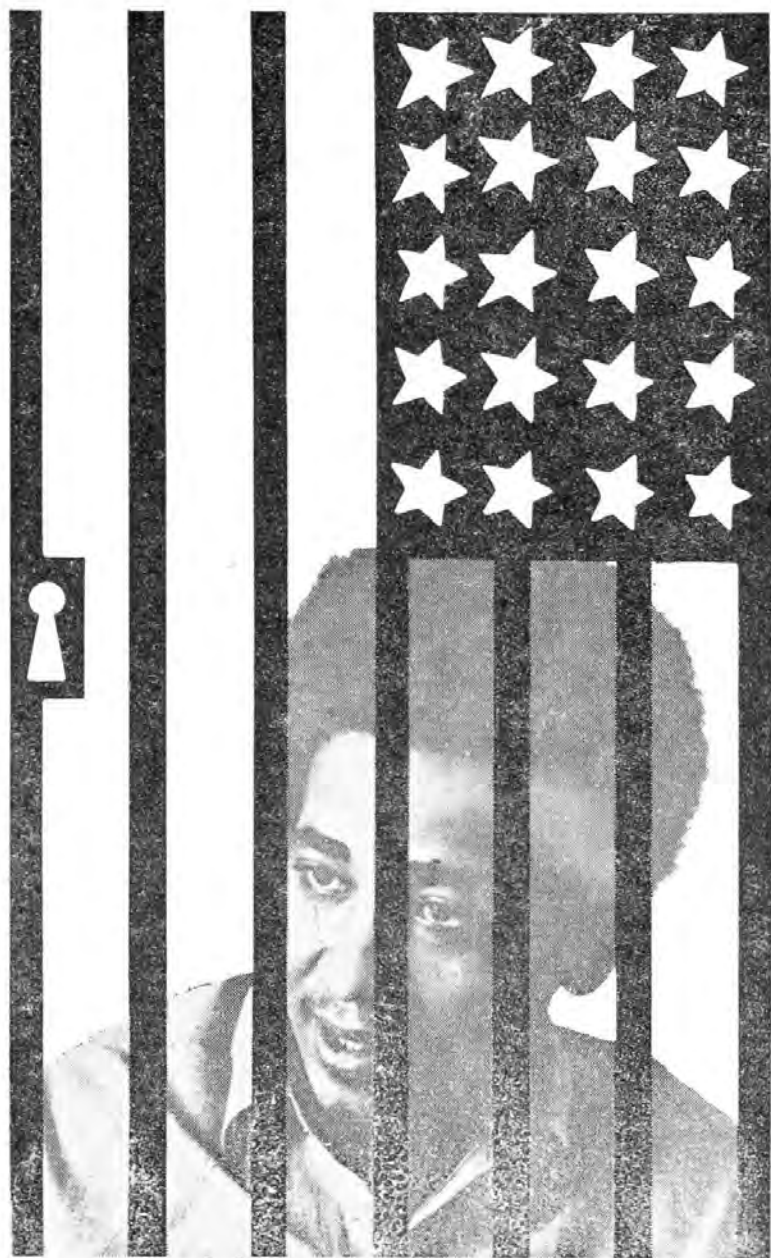
In the recent cases of Africa and Asia, we have allowed the neoslaver to use us to help enslave people that we love. We are so confused, so foolishly simple that we not only fail to distinguish what is generally right and what is wrong, but we also fail to appreciate what is good and not good for us in very personal matters concerning the black colony and its liberation. [...]

The black panther is our brother and son, the one who wasn't afraid. He wasn't so lazy as the rest, or narrow and restricted in his vision. If we allow the fascist machine to destroy these brothers, our dream of eventual self-determination and control over the factors surrounding our survival is going to die with them, and the generations to come will curse us and condemn us for irresponsible cowardice. [...]

To the Man-Child

TALL, evil, graceful, bright-eyed, black man-child — Jonathan Peter Jackson — who died on August 7, 1970, courage in one hand, assault rifle in the other; my brother, comrade, friend — *the true revolutionary*, the black communist guer-

rilla in the highest state of development, he died on the trigger, scourge of the unrighteous, soldier of the people; to this terrible man-child and his wonderful mother Georgia Bea; to Angela Y. Davis, my tender experience, I dedicate this collection of letters; to the destruction of their enemies I dedicate my life.



April 18

... I thought of individual relationship as a flight from the existential reality of individual responsibility to the whole of the people. I considered it selfish to look for some individual to touch and hold and understand, because "all" of my time belonged to "all" the people; and the deep, burning, incessant thing centered in my guts was hatred alone; that people who (especially in the joint) looked for another individual to relate to, instead of the people's struggle, was lonely, was weak.

But I've gone through some changes since then. I saw and read about Angie Davis and some other females of our kind, and I realized that perhaps it was possible that this country had produced some females like those of Cuba or Viet Nam. [...]

... I heard that F—— went to the Church and state to take a lover. Very silly, don't you think, the Church and state part I mean.... Have you ever considered the implications of that particular little institution, state marriage, the recognition of the state as a "more than equal" partner in the reproduction of the species? [...]

June 9

... We must discover the many elements within the system that cause us to restrict each other's freedom, too, and get rid of them. [...]

JONATHAN Jackson (17), younger brother of George, with no previous police record, outstanding student in school: tried to liberate three San Quentin prisoners, among them James McClain (37), from the San Rafael, California, courthouse, taking five hostages, among them Judge Haley. As they left the corridor, he shouted: "Free the Soledad brothers by today, or these people are dead."

Some one hundred police posted outside the courthouse — with orders to shoot to kill — ended the

action with a massacre. The result was four dead: Jonathan, McClain, William Christmas (a convict witness who helped in the action) and the judge.

Huey Newton would say at the funeral services for the young blacks:

They have taught us all a revolutionary lesson. They have intensified the struggle and placed it on a higher level. [...] These brothers didn't have murder on their minds, they had freedom. If the penalty for

people means we learn to *govern ourselves*. [...] But you're right that's the way most women think, and for good reason. Men have exploited women to the point that they are now almost helpless. Not really equal, when they are (or should be). Men wouldn't let women be free. The possessive love idea is as unhealthy as other types of possessiveness; jealousy and competition !!!? over something so wonderful — it's insane. People *kill* each other even. I don't think a person can ever possess another. [...] Possession means choosing, rejection, and later on in the process *fear of rejection* (translated: insecurity). It may seem unfair since women must carry the babies around that come from loving, but it really isn't when viewed within the contextual framework of the welfare society where having material needs is not a problem. Read about the welfare society, free love, day and night child care centers, everything held in common, "even the children." The state withering away.

I'm not a traditionalist (of course) but the socialism of the principal eastern African cultures in antiquity offers some good examples of what it *could* be like. So do some or most of the societies in Micronesia and Melanesia, and other places. If a child ended up on the opposite side of the hamlet at night he could still find a mama to feed him and put him to bed. Can you imagine anyone being hungry if there was food in the hamlet — anywhere? Marx improved, or systematized it.

*the quest for freedom is death, then
by death we escape to freedom. [...]*

*The people will not be intimidated.
We refuse to suffer any longer. We
refuse to gradually be killed through
humiliation, degradation, and the
slow destruction of our humanity.*

And Huey ended his words to the crowd grouped in front of the church by repeating McClain's phrase before escaping from the courtroom, with one hand on his gun instead of on the bible: "We have been enslaved for too many

years. The chains must be removed.
We must be free — *so help us God!*"

THE story does not stop there. It could be said that this only begins a new stage. In October, Angela Davis (26) was arrested in a New York motel. She is accused of purchasing and facilitating Jonathan Jackson's arms for his commando action in the San Rafael courthouse. In reality her serious crime is being a distinguished young black philosophy professor and a communist who thinks and acts according to her ideals.

... the battles against racial discrimination and other social inequalities are a powerful current and form part of a movement destined to play a transcendent role in the progress of mankind.

First Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

March 25

... To seize power for the people and relegate fascism to the history books the vanguard must change the basic patterns of thought. We are going to have to study the principles of people's movements. We are going to have to study them where they took place and interpret them to fit our situation here. We have yet to discover the meaning of people's war, people's army. The righteous people of the world who are struggling with the monster on the only terms that he can be fought must have many reservations concerning us, especially those of us who are black. What are the fierce and wonderful people of Viet Nam thinking of us? Where is the real left wing? What has been done to us, that makes us fail to resist?

The successes of China, Cuba, Viet Nam, and parts of Africa cannot be attributed to any innate, singular quality in the characters of their people. Men are social creatures, herd animals. We follow leaders. The success or failure of mass movements depends on their leadership and the method of their leaders. We must take our lessons from these people, reorganize our values, decide whether it is our personal desire to live long or to chance living right.

People's war, class struggle, war of liberation means *armed* struggle. [...]

Would Nixon accept a people's government, a people's economy? How can we deal with these men who have so much at stake, so much to defend. Honesty forces us to the conclusion that the only men who will successfully deal with the Hoovers, Helmses and Abramses will be armed men. It's obvious to me that nothing of any consequence can be achieved while these men rule. Class struggle means the suppression of the opposing class, and suppression of the Amerikan General Staff, and The Corporate Elite. The moment this three-headed monster detects the danger contained in our ideas and ideals, he will react violently against us. Just the whisper of revolt excites in him a swift and terrible reflex, so swift we won't even know how we died.

May 2

... This is for certain, it's going to get worse. Things will become much more difficult before anything good can come of this. People like Nixon and the ventriloquists that make him speak hold forth by default. The good element has not contested them vigorously; [...]. "They met little resistance on their way up." "Good people don't like to cut throats." This [...] can be righted in one way only. The VC have the idea. They understand a

trial of combat, an ordeal by fire. You simply can't reason with people like them, they have too much to lose by being reasonable.

May 18

...I mentioned yesterday that my sister was here to visit me. "I was happy to see her." But I had just left this scene down here. I tried to smile at her. People need those gestures, I understand, to help them relax. All animals operate by these gestures.[...] I tried to signal with my mouth and eyes that I was happy to see her, that I was glad with her at least. "And I was happy," that she was there. But the smile fell to pieces, and my eyes can't help but mirror my mind, I can feel it. I felt rather foolish. I won't try anymore. It will not stay hidden.

The chains, woman. I just don't like it. You can *never* know how hard it is for me to pretend that they don't bother me. The visits, in court: people that I love, people whose love means everything to me, seeing me like that!

April 5

...I have a young courageous brother whom I love more than I love myself, but I have given him up to the revolution.

I accept the possibility of his eventual death as I accept the possibility of my own.

Some moment of weakness, a slip, a mistake, since we are the men who can make none, will bring the blow that kills. I accept this as a necessary part of our life.

I don't want to raise any more black slaves. But we have a determined enemy who will accept us only on a master-slave basis; I revolt, slavery dies with me, I refuse to pass it down again. The terms of my existence are founded on that. [...]

August 9

We reckon all time in the future from the day of the man-child's death. Man-child, black man-child with submachine gun in hand, he was free for a while. I guess that's more than most of us can expect.

I want people to wonder at what forces created him, terrible, vindictive, cold, calm man-child, courage in one hand, the machine gun in the other, scourge of the unrighteous — "an ox for the people to ride"!!!

OSPAAAL
in the
IX
Meeting
of AASPO





ON behalf of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and in our own name, we wish to express to the people, the Council of the Revolution, presided over by Colonel Kaddafi, and to the Government of Libya, our deep gratitude for the hospitality they have accorded us and at the same time to express also our support and solidarity with the just struggle they are carrying out as they embark on the road of liberation of their motherland, the economic construction of the country and the frontal battle against all forms of old colonialism and the neocolonialist manifestations of the imperialists.

Permit us also to express our deepest condolence for the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, extraordinary leader of the people of the United Arab Republic, who made great contributions to the solidarity among our peoples and whose life was dedicated to the struggle for the liberation and the welfare of his people and of all the Arab peoples.

We extend greetings to all delegations present, and express our sincere desire to see the work of this meeting crowned with success.

We live in an epoch in which the revolutionary movement has achieved extraordinary successes. The old aspirations of the peoples to attain their liberty and national independence have today become a reality and the final denouement of this centuries-old controversy between exploiters and exploited — which had its first people's victory in the October Revolution — is already evident. Nevertheless, regardless of these victories obtained by the revolutionary forces, the forces of reaction: imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism headed by Yankee imperialism, desperately resist accepting the inevitable course of history and are committing the most horrible crimes known to humanity.

In Asia, in Indochina, the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have, for many years, maintained a bloody struggle against Yankee im-



perialism, its 500 000 invading soldiers and its puppet troops. The sending of hundreds of thousands of US soldiers to South Viet Nam, the criminal bombings against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the repression and crimes against the South Vietnamese population, the special war and the bombings against the liberated zones of Laos, the coup d'etat against the neutralist government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the subsequent invasion of that country by US, Si-gonese and Thai troops, have brought Yankee imperialism to the most desperate situation it has ever confronted in this criminal aggression. The final results of this war are inevitable: the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia will win. But Yankee imperialism refuses to accept its defeat and the Nixon Administration continues preparing new plans of aggression against these peoples. Our permanent duty, each and every day, is to support this heroic struggle, offer it our unrestricted solidarity and support. Everything we may be able to do for the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cam-

bodia is little compared to the extraordinary sacrifices they are making in their struggle to attain their liberation and defeat imperialist aggression, because at present each people who struggle for their liberation contribute to the struggle of all other people; it is one more war being waged to weaken the forces of imperialism and reaction. Therefore, the victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia are also our own victories, and their struggle, their heroic sacrifices, should also be ours.

We wish to express our support for the just struggle of the people of South Korea to expel the aggressor army of the Yankee imperialists from their country; for the people of Japan, who indefatigably fight against the resurgence of militarism and imperialism in their homeland; for the peoples of Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, whose struggle grows daily. We also support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its just struggle against the aggressions of Yankee imperialism and the puppet

regime in the southern part of Korea and for the independent reunification of the country, as well as the struggle of the Chinese people for the reincorporation of the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

We take advantage of this opportunity to reaffirm our total support for the position of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam expressed in the Ten-Point Global Proposal and in the Eight Points proposed by comrade Thi Binh in the Paris talks; for the position expressed in the Four Points of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; for the Five-Point proposal made last March 6 by the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat and for the proposal issued on March 23, 1970, by the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the only and genuine representative of these people. We condemn the Nixon plan of Vietnamization of the war, which is merely a continuation of the war of

extends the war against Laos and Cambodia and continues the massacre of these three countries on the Peninsula of Indochina.

We condemn Nixon's five points dated October 7, whose aim is to deceive public opinion in the United States as a propaganda device for this month's Congressional electoral campaign. This maneuver of Nixon's is also aimed at deceiving the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to continue, under a legal mantle, the criminal war against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the Middle East, the Palestinian people, evicted from their lands more than 20 years ago, are now facing an unequal battle against the forces of Zionism and imperialism, fighting heroically for the liberation of their homeland and for the inalienable rights of their people. We support their heroic struggle and the heroic struggle of all Arab peoples against Israel, pawn of Yankee imperialism in this region of the world. We support the aggression against Viet Nam, while he

United Arab Republic, Syria and the people of Jordan, victims of the Israeli-imperialist aggression of June 1967, parts of whose territories are unjustifiably occupied by the aggressor. The march of the Arab peoples along the road of revolution can no longer be contained. The Libyan people's revolutionary experience, one of the most recent, constitutes perhaps the best example, together with those offered by the peoples of Algeria, Syria, UAR, South Yemen, Sudan and Irak.

The heroic struggle carried out by the peoples of Guinea (B), Angola and Mozambique in Africa offers another dramatic testimony of the criminal methods used by the colonialists and racists in the repression of the peoples, and at the same time is a testimony to the heroic resistance of the peoples when they struggle for a just cause. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde; the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and the Liberation Front of Mozambique merit our full support, as do the revolutionary orga-

nizations which in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Congo-Kinshasa (ANC, ZAPU, SWAPO and CNL respectively) are fighting bravely. Yankee imperialism gives all kinds of support to the Portuguese colonialists as well as to the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury in order to prevent the liberation of the Portuguese colonies. Zimbabwe and Namibia, thereby unmasking itself from day to day before the peoples of Africa and of the world. The struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia against the white racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury must have all our support and solidarity.

In Latin America we are witnessing events of singular importance: the victories of the Cuban Revolution; the revolutionary armed struggle carried out by the peoples of Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Brazil and Venezuela; the fight for independence of the brave people of Puerto Rico, are now extending to sectors outside the most oppressed masses — peasants and workers —

In their eagerness to avoid the defeat that awaits them, the imperialists have been spreading their war in South-East Asia.

US imperialism uses Thailand as its military base to bomb the regions of Laos [...] and the threats, pressures, plots and aggressions against the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, are evidence of this policy of expansion of their colonial war.

First Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

to include intellectuals, large sections of the petite bourgeoisie, as well as religious and military groups. The popular triumph in the last elections held in Chile, with the designation of the candidate of the people's forces, Salvador Allende, as President of the Republic, is another blow to imperialism on this continent, along with the antioligarchic and anti-imperialist process being carried out in Peru. We wish to stress our support of the struggle of the Latin-American peoples and warn the peoples of Africa and Asia to remain alert to the attempts of Yankee imperialism to block the popular triumph in Chile. We likewise call the attention of the peoples of Africa and Asia to the repression unleashed against the Tupamaros and other revolutionary sectors in Uruguay, where the revolutionary movement has attained extraordinary successes — as well as in Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Puerto Rico and other Latin-American countries.

Within the United States proper, the development reached by the revolutionary forces during the past years threatens to shake the structures of imperialist domination.

The movement of youth against the Viet Nam war; the struggle of the Afro-American people against racial discrimination and the exploitation to which they are subjected, and for better living conditions; the struggle of the students; of the Indian and Chicano minorities and the Puerto Rican immigrants is shaping up to a force whose magnitude is incalculable. The repression against the leaders of the black movement and the murder of students — as occurred at Kent University — are expressions of the brutality of which Yankee imperialism is capable, not only towards other peoples, but even against its own people as well.

Faced with these criminal acts, and with the imperialist aggressions against the peoples, our duty is to foster a greater cohesion among the revolutionary ranks, to make our own struggle — the solidarity among our peoples — more effective in its unity against the common enemy of all the peoples: Yankee imperialism.

Long live the solidarity among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America!

KAMPUCHEA: POLITICAL PROGRAM



THE aim of the present political program of FUNK is to realize the broadest national union for fighting against all the maneuvers and aggression of the American imperialists, overthrowing the dictatorship of their flunkys headed by Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and for defending the national independence, peace, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country within her present frontiers and for building a free and democratic regime of the people progressing toward the construction of a prosperous Cambodia conforming to the profound aspirations of our people.

Unite the Entire People

Desiring to develop the Five-Point Declaration of Samdech, Head of State, FUNK proposes the following tasks:

—Unite and mobilize all social classes and strata, all political parties, all professional or religious organizations, all patriotic personages either at home or abroad, irrespective of their political opinion, sex and religious belief, so as to safeguard Cambodia's national independence, peace, neutrality and territorial integrity within her present frontier, oppose US imperialist schemes and aggression, and overthrow the fascist and racist dictatorship of the American imperialists' flunkys headed by Lon Nol-Sirik Matak.

—Welcome as brothers the masses of the people, and all functionaries, policemen, officers, noncommissioned officers and men in the armed forces of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, intellectuals, students

and other personages, who have decided to join FUNK. Those people who for various reasons cannot as yet join FUNK but oppose the US imperialists and their flunkys can coordinate their efforts with those of FUNK, and they will also be welcomed with understanding by FUNK.

—As the US aggression against Cambodia is a component of the plan for the expansion of the war which the American imperialists are losing in South Viet Nam and Laos, FUNK coordinates its struggle with that of the fraternal peoples of Viet Nam and Laos on the principle that the liberation and defense of each country are the affairs of its own people and the principle that mutual support among the three peoples must be based on mutual respect and the legitimate aspirations of each people concerned.

—Create and strengthen the National Liberation Army (NLA) comprising guerrilla units, partisans, those elements in the Royal Khmer Army who refuse to submit to the dictatorship of Lon Nol-Sirik Matak, flunkys of the US imperialists, and those elements in the mercenary troops of the traitors Lon Nol and Sirik Matak who will decide in the future to join the ranks of the NLA.

—The mission of the NLA is to destroy to the maximum the enemy armed forces and to defend and expand the liberated areas, the solid rear for our struggle.

—Those army units now serving the reactionary regime, which for

various reasons cannot join the NLA at present but which are struggling against the US imperialists, can coordinate their actions with those of the NLA in striking at the US imperialists and their flunkys.

—Severely punish the reactionaries guilty of crimes against the people, but show leniency to those criminals who have sincerely repented.

—The wounded and the prisoners of war will be looked after and treated humanely.

Build a Democratic and Prosperous Cambodia

The FUNK declares that "Power is, and will always be, in the hands of the progressive, industrious and genuine working people who will ensure our motherland a bright future on the basis of social justice, equality and fraternity among all the Khmers" (Solemn Declaration of Samdech, Head of State, on March 23, 1970). The people are the source of all power.

The democratization of the Cambodian society is being carried out in the liberated zone at present and will be carried out in the whole country later in the following ways:

—By guaranteeing to all Cambodians, except traitors known to the country, the freedom of vote, the freedom of standing for election, the freedom of speech, the press, opinion, association, demonstration, residence, travel at home and abroad, etc. Safeguarding the inviolability

of the person, property, wealth and privacy of correspondence.

—By guaranteeing effective equality to both sexes, striving to wipe out backward traditions discriminating against women. Encouraging by all means the cultural and professional development of women to enable them fully to participate in the common struggle. Giving primary importance to training and educating women cadres at all levels in the national life. Abolishing polygamy.

—Buddhism is and will remain the state religion. But FUNK recognizes and guarantees the freedom of all other religions and beliefs: Islamism, Brahmanism, the belief of the Khmers-Loeur, Catholicism, Protestantism, Caodaism, etc. The places of worship are protected.

—Looking with greatest solicitude after the needs of our war invalids and the families of our fighters who gave their lives for the country, and reserving privileged treatment for them.

—Ensuring the protection of the legitimate rights and interests of foreign nationals who respect our laws and customs, the independence and sovereignty of Cambodia.

—Seeing that the legitimate rights and interests of the minority nationalities and Cambodian nationals living abroad are respected.

FUNK is devoted to building up and developing an independent national economy by relying principally on the



resources and productive forces of Cambodia.

This economic policy finds concrete expression in:

—Freeing the national economy from persons who engage in profiteering, smuggling, blackmarketing and inhuman exploitation of the people.

—Protecting and guaranteeing the rights of ownership of land and property in accordance with the laws of the state. Confiscating the land and property of traitors who are active accomplices in the pay of the US imperialists and who have committed crimes against the people. The land and property seized will be distributed among the needy peasants.

—Guaranteeing to the peasants the right of ownership of the land they cultivate. Establishing a fair system on land rent and rates of interest on loans.

—Helping the peasants resolve the agrarian problem through a fair solution of unreasonable debts.

—Helping the peasants increase production and labor productivity. Protecting and developing cooperation and the good customs of mutual aid in the countryside.

—Ensuring the conditions of safe and rational exploitation, the marketing and economical transportation of products.

—Encouraging the formation of trade unions. Guaranteeing security

of employment and reasonable remuneration to the laboring classes. Improving working conditions. Ensuring a system of social insurance.

—Developing the industrialization of the country and carrying out a rational industrial policy so that production will meet the principal needs of the people to the maximum. Studying adequate measures for the elimination of faults in the administration of state or joint enterprises.

—Encouraging the national bourgeoisie to run well and set up enterprises beneficial to the people in conformity with the laws concerning wage earners. Ensuring rational and uninterrupted sale of manufactured goods.

—Helping the handicraftsmen raise labor productivity and diversify their products and ensuring the sale of their products on the best terms.

—Developing communication lines and the means of transportation.

—Safeguarding the interests of school and university students, intellectuals and functionaries; providing employment for "those without occupation" and the unemployed in accordance with their ability, and helping them develop further their ability to serve the motherland.

—Maintaining the nationalization of the banks and foreign trade.

—With regard to foreign trade, encouraging and developing export, limiting imports to equipment and products necessary to the national

economy. Protecting national products from foreign competition.

—Safeguarding the purchasing power of the riel¹ and paying attention to improving the public finance.

Alongside the democratization and the realization of the above-mentioned economic policies, FUNK pays attention to the training of persons capable of correctly applying these objectives. The policy of FUNK concerning education and culture seeks to:

—Develop the good traditions of the Angkor civilization handed down to us till now. Build a national culture on the basis of patriotism and love for the fruits of labor and love for art. Protect historical relics and monuments.

—Khmerize gradually the curricula for the different stages of education, including higher education.

—Adopt the national language as the sole official language in the public services.

—Adapt the educational programs and methods to the needs of the country.

—Encourage and assist scientific research and experimentation and encourage the efforts of those who wish to deepen their studies.

—Promote research into our national history which is often distorted by foreign authors, and include our

¹ Thirty-five riels make one dollar.
(Ed. note.)

national history in the education programs.

—Ensure continuous education through regular school terms or practical training.

—Develop preschool education: nurseries, kindergartens and preschool classes.

—Ensure free education and provide scholarships for the needy children and youth.

—Ensure and support an extensive political, civic and cultural education among the people and the youth.

—Help every citizen realize his duties to himself, to society and to the people. Instill actively the ideas of public interest and love of service to the community and of making himself useful to the people. This political, civic and cultural education should be carried out at all levels, in the ministries, public services and administrations, factories, shops, cooperatives, in the capital, provinces, districts, villages and families. Develop the ideas of morality, honor, national dignity, patriotism, mutual aid, usefulness of collective labor, the sense and nobleness of rendering sacrifices for the people's cause, the spirit of working conscientiously and practicing economy, and the respect for public property.

Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of FUNK is one of national independence, peace, neutrality, nonalignment, solidarity and friendship with all peace-loving and



justice-loving peoples and governments. FUNK maintains relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries according to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations irrespective of their political system and ideology. It will not participate in any military alliance, nor does it allow any foreign country to set up military bases or station troops and military personnel on the territory of Cambodia for the purpose of aggression against other countries. The FUNK does not accept the protection of any country or of any military alliance. In the common struggle against US imperialism, the FUNK pursues a policy of friendship, militant solidarity and cooperation with Laos and Viet Nam according to the principle that the liberation and the defense of each country are the affair of her own people and that the three peoples pledge to do their best to sup-

Other means used by imperialism are the policy, carefully stimulated, of divide-and-rule, using for this the religious, cultural, racial and political ideology of the oppressed masses [...].

First Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

port one another according to the desire of the interested country on the basis of mutual respect. In addition, Cambodia is ready to make concerted efforts with Laos and Viet Nam to make Indochina genuinely a zone of independence, peace and progress, where each nation preserves its integral sovereignty with the sympathy and support of the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, nonaligned countries and peace-loving and justice-loving countries in the world, including the American people.

FUNK expresses full support for the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, independence, democracy and social progress, against the aggressive and warlike US imperialists, against old and new colonialism in all its forms; it expresses full support for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and freedom, the struggle of the Chinese people for the recovery of Taiwan, an integral part of the People's Republic of China, the struggle of the Korean people against the US imperialist aggressors and for the liberation of the southern part of their country and the reunification of Korea, the struggle of the Arab people, the Palestinian people in particular, for their fundamental national rights against the Israeli aggressors in the pay of the US imperialists, the struggle of the American people against the war of aggression, against racial discrimination and for peace and their genuine interests, etc.

The Khmer people, under the leadership of FUNK, are prepared to make

all sacrifices to win final victory over the US imperialists and their lackeys, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, for the present struggle is decisive to the freedom and dignity of our future generations and is essential to the independence, freedom and progress of the peoples of Indochina and the rest of the world.

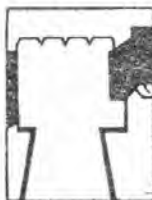
In this spirit, FUNK pays warm tribute to the political organizations, the various religious and cultural organizations, patriots and progressives who have approved or will approve the Five-Point Declaration of Samdech, Head of State, dated March 23, 1970, and who have joined or will join the organizations of FUNK or remain outside these organizations to fight against the aggression of the US imperialists and their local flunkys.

For its part FUNK strengthens and unfolds political activities with a view to raising the patriotic level and the determination of the Khmer people in the current struggle for national salvation. Our whole people will certainly rise as one man to march gloriously toward final victory over the US aggressors and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique in their pay.

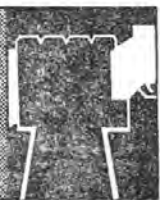
FUNK will certainly prove itself worthy of the confidence and sympathy of all the Khmer patriots and their foreign friends in the world.

Long live FUNK!

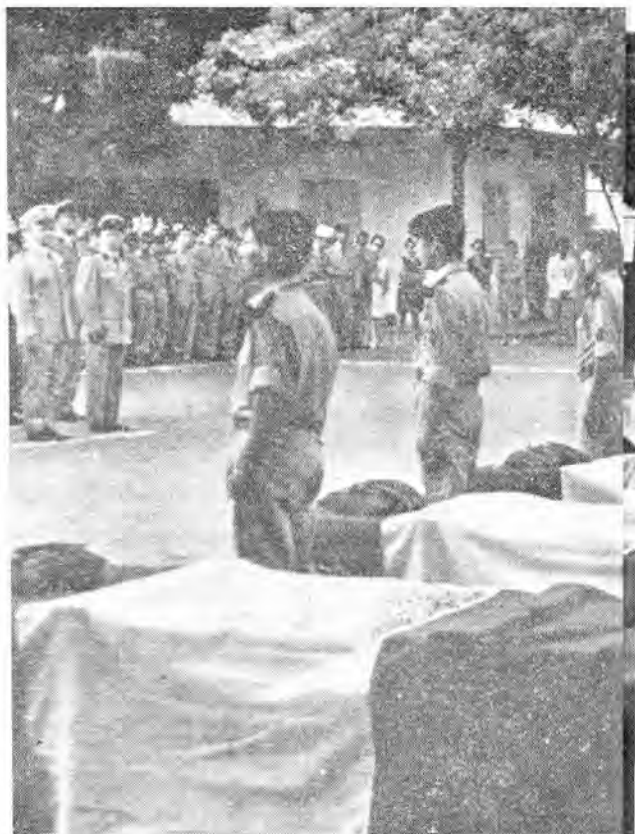
Long live independent, peaceful, neutral, democratic and prosperous Cambodia!



guerrilla fronts



REBELLION IN CHAD



THE burning political situation in Chad is demonstrated by the growing strength of the forces of the National Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINA) which operate in various regions of the country.

The news of the death of 12 French soldiers from the Sixth Overseas Army Regiment, 70 km to the west of Faya-Largeau, in the Bet (regions of Borkou, Ennedi and Tibesti) in the north-

ern zone of Chad, caused a strong reaction in the French press and violent debates in Parliament, where the opposition deputies attacked the Pompidou and Chaban-Delmas regime for their interventionist policy in French Africa.

French Military Intervention

The first armed intervention by France in Chad was an operation of





aerial transport of supplies between Fort-Lamy and Faya-Largeau in 1968.

The President of Chad, François Tombalbaye, requested this military aid from France on the basis of an agreement between the French metropolis and her former African colonies, authorized by the French Parliament on July 28, 1960 — that is, at the very moment when they granted them independence.

The dispatch of new reinforcements to Chad took place in April of 1969, shortly after the visit of the Secretary of State of the Presidency of France for Afro-Malagasy Affairs, Jacques Foccart, which took place in March of that year. Later, in the month of May, military materials were also supplied to the former colony.

According to what Léo Hamon, Secretary of State, stated before the French Prime Minister in reply to the attacks of opposition leaders, the French forces in Chad were composed of 1225 soldiers and 529 officers and subofficers, of whom 240 men were on an aerial base; and in the Sixth Overseas Army Regiment stationed at Fort-Lamy there were two Foreign Legion companies and two infantry companies (660 men in total) whose task it was to fight the rebellion; and 385 men for air transport reinforcements and helicopters and 529 officers and subofficers in a mission of technical assistance to the Chad forces.

Despite this aid, the Tombalbaye regime has not been able to smother the rebel uprising which has intensified its forces.

Tombalbaye, in a gesture motivated by his own initiative or "friendly suggestions" — one could not be sure which — declared on August 11: "I and I alone am the one that requested the French to come and restore order. Chad, actually, does not have the means to carry out alone the double action of pacification and administrative reform necessary."

Who Fights in Chad?

The Chad regime considers its opponents to be bandits. For some French spokesmen,

... the war in Chad is not exactly being carried out by revolutionaries, but rather by rebels, but to prolong it runs the risk that they may become revolutionaries, and France find itself then facing not nationalists who demand a government that responds to such aspirations with a little independence, but rather a more radical, more intransigent movement.

According to Dr. Abba Sidick, Secretary-General of FROLINA,

... the policy practiced up to now in Chad has been one of discrimination with respect to what is called the North.

The North forms a block of Islamic Arabic civilization. The Tombalbaye regime rejects this reality and tries to place in doubt its moral and spiritual values. There exists a discrimination in educational material, with the South 75% schooled while the figure in the North scarcely reaches 5%; all the administrative

and political posts are occupied by citizens from the South and the economic policy tends toward the exclusive development of the South. But we do not want any secession; there will be no new Biafra in Chad.

Thus Sidick maintains that,

... FROLINA is not a political party. It is a political-military organization which has a dual objective: to bring down the present regime in Chad by violence and immediately place in its stead a progressive, secular, people's regime. And although we do not, for the moment, have an exhaustive political program, we are working toward this.

If the rebel nucleus succeeds in consolidating itself as all latest events seem to indicate, it can bring France more serious problems than violent attacks by the opposition in Parliament, which probably will not be very agreeable after the experience of the "hot" month of May 1968, running the risk that the Tombalbaye regime may be toppled from power in the face of the impossibility — which it itself has declared — of containing the FROLINA forces alone.

An alternative is that the French soldiers may be replaced by "North American advisers."

One can never lose sight of the fact that what occurs in Chad is not completely devoid of interest to neighboring countries such as Sudan, Libya, Cameroon, Central-African Republic and even the Congo (K), whose regime supplies effective aid to Tom-

balbaye in his struggle against the rebels.

In this North to which Dr. Abba Sidick refers, the ethnic group known as the Toubous is concentrated, extending to the surroundings of Lake Chad and Coufra in Libya.

The Toubous, who give the impression of being delicate because they are thin, nevertheless have great resistance. During the winter they can walk for up to three days without taking water and they are accustomed to long marches. In a region where the heat reaches 50°C, the Toubous are extraordinarily agile, on the sand and on the rocks or climbing mountains. But the Toubou rebels operate not only in Bet but also in central and south Chad, in Oyaddai, Biltine, Abou Beia, Guera, Batha, Baher Salamat and some 70 km from Fort-Lamy.

The Presence of Kinshasa and Israel in the Chad War

On February 2, 1968, the creation of the Union of Central African States (UCAS) was announced, formed by Congo (K), Chad and the Central-African Republic (CAR), which withdrew on December 9 of the same year.

The creation of UCAS responds to the policy of US penetration in this region whose highest representative is Mobutu, who, in his turn, has in Tombalbaye a point for attack not only against such African countries as CAR, Sudan, Libya, Niger and Nigeria, but also against the rear guard of the Arab world.

US influence over the Chad regime is implicit in the declarations of Georges

Diguimbaye, Minister of Planning and Cooperation, who, on his return from Washington on July 2, 1968, stated: "Our relations with France are privileged but we understand that country cannot bear all the weight of Chad's development."

Given Tombalbaye's loyalty to UCAS, Mobutu last year agreed to the training by Israeli instructors of 200 young Chad citizens as paratrooper commandos. This group returned to Chad at the beginning of October 1969.

Congolese war equipment and soldiers have participated in operations against the rebels along with the French and the Chad army. It is known that two Congolese airplanes participated in one of the encounters and that in March of this year, during an aerial attack against the rebels in Salamat, they lost a helicopter and numerous soldiers.

The CIA also intervenes in this war through the military and security treaty that exists between the Congo (K) and the Republic of Chad. Through this channel, Tombalbaye has been "granted" a Haitian adviser. The presence of Israelis in this war is justified by the desires of Tel Aviv to weaken the rear guard of the Arab world. Some 50 foreign military advisers have been working in Chad since 1969, and one of them is the head of the Chad security forces.

Behind the support of the Israelis and the Congo (K) are the North Americans, who move their pawns within their strategy to supplant the former European metropolises in this region of Africa.

If the peoples of the three continents fight unswervingly against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, headed by North American imperialism, they will be able to defeat any enemy, no matter how powerful.

First Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

REPUBLIC OF CHAD

AREA: 1 284 000 km².

GEOGRAPHY: Boundaries: Libya on the North, Sudan on the East, Central African Republic and Cameroon on the South and Southwest, Nigeria on the West. Elevations of 1500 meters to the East and 3400 to the North

POPULATION: 3 500 000 inhabitants according to the 1967 census.

Birthrate: 1.5%.

6000 strangers (almost all French).

3 inhabitants per km².

PRINCIPAL CITIES: Fort-Lamy (capital) with 130 000 inhabitants

Fort-Archambault with 36 000 "

Moundou with 30 000 "

Abéché with 25 000 "

90% of the population lives in the plains, forests and deserts.

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS POPULATION:

a) Muslim Arabs, Peuls, Ouadaïens, Baguirmiens, Kanembous and Toubous;

b) Saras, Massas, Moundangs, Kotokos, Boudoumas, and Hadjarais, who are neither Muslim nor Catholic.

50% Muslims, 45% Animists and 5% Catholics.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION: 14 PREFECTURES

1) Chari-Baguirmi

8) Kenem

2) Mayo Kebbi

9) Batha

3) Moyen-Chari

10) Guera

4) Logone Occidental

11) Ouaddaï

5) Logone Oriental

12) Biltine

6) Tandjilé

13) Borko-Ennedi-Tibesti

7) Salamat

14) Lac

POLITICAL PARTIES:

There is only one party, the Progressive Party of Chad (PPT), and one central trade union, the National Union of Chad Workers (UNATRAT).



appeals and messages



Pirate Attack Against the DRV

THE Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America energetically condemns the U.S. Government whose air force has carried out, on November 21 and 22, savage bombings and strafings against thickly populated zones of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, causing many deaths and casualties among the civilian population, as well as launching rockets against different points of the suburbs of Hanoi, the capital.

These new actions of war committed by the Nixon Administration against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have disclosed Nixon's bellicose and obstinate nature and the hypocritical character of his so-called "five-point peace initiative" proposed on October 7, 1970, which only aims at deceiving the progressive opinion of the North American people and the rest of the peoples of the world in order to serve the schemes of prolonging the war of aggression against Viet Nam and of intensifying it throughout the whole peninsula of Indochina.

OSPAAAL severely warns Nixon's government regarding the adventurous acts of war aforementioned and demands the cessation of all actions against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

OSPAAAL warmly greets the people and the army of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam who, with their high spirit of vigilance and their great disposition to fight, have defeated the new adventurous actions of the Yankee aggressors; and at the same time reaffirms its unalterable determination to remain always alongside the Vietnamese people in their anti-Yankee struggle and for national salvation until final victory.

Guinea: The People Smash the Invasion

To His Excellency
Ahmed Sékou Touré
President of the Republic of Guinea

PORTUGUESE colonialism, which has undergone so many defeats on the battlefields of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, has carried out an armed aggression against the fraternal people of Guinea. The Portuguese military forces, supported by the NATO imperialists and their African lackeys, have committed this new aggression with the aim of overthrowing the government you head and implementing the plan of recolonizing Africa. We condemn these cowardly and criminal plans which have been carefully prepared by the Portuguese colonialists and bands of European and African mercenaries paid by international imperialism in order to overthrow the government you direct and the Democratic Party of Guinea, ardent symbols of African independence and liberty. The rapid and irrevocable decision of the people, government and the Democratic Party of Guinea has confronted the invaders heroically and has foiled the schemes of colonialism and imperialism. OSPAAAL expresses its unconditional solidarity and support to the government you lead, to the Democratic Party of Guinea and to the fraternal Guinean people in their struggle for national salvation. The triumph of the people's forces under your leadership constitutes an additional victory of the progressive world movement and of the movements for national liberation.

Solidarity with Pakistan

IN response to the natural disaster suffered by the people of Pakistan, in which hundreds of thousands of persons lost their lives, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL sent a message to Miraj Khalid, Secretary-General of the Pakistan Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity, expressing its condolence in these most difficult moments for the population of the affected zones, and reiterating its profound feelings of sympathy and solidarity with the people of Pakistan.

... the struggle of the people of Viet Nam is in itself a direct support, and a powerful contribution — especially through the rich experiences accumulated — to the national liberation movements of the peoples of the three continents [...].

First Tricontinental Conference, January 1966

At the V Congress of the Korean Workers' Party

To Comrade Kim Il Sung
Secretary-General of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea.

THE Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, on behalf of the entire revolutionary and progressive peoples of the three continents, extends the warmest congratulations to you, the great leader of the revolution, on your having been reelected as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea at the historic Fifth Congress of your Party, which summed up the brilliant fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan set forth by the Fourth Party Congress and has opened new vistas for the development of the Korean Revolution. Under your leadership, the Workers' Party of Korea has inherited the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the glorious Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle, in the past years led the Korean people to achieve national independence and freedom, successfully accomplished the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in the northern half of the Republic, smashed the US imperialist aggressors in the three years of the severe Fatherland Liberation War and defended the revolutionary gains with credit. It put an end once and for all to a centuries-old backwardness and built upon the debris after the war a developed socialist power with an independent national economy. We are firmly convinced that the Workers' Party of Korea, with *Juche*, its great revolutionary idea, will surely carry out successfully the magnificent tasks put forth at its recent Fifth Congress. On this occasion, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL expresses once again its full support to and militant solidarity with the Korean people in their just struggle to drive the US imperialists out of the southern half of Korea and achieve the reunification of the country under your sagacious leadership. We sincerely wish you a long life and success in your work, as well as in your anti-imperialist and anti-Yankee struggle for the final victory of the Korean Revolution and the world revolution.

