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Shake-Up in China?

MAO: Press speculates on successor to "Great Helmsman."

New Escalation of Air War in Vietnam

Allende Moves to Stop Land Seizures

The Chilean government has indicted eight alleged guerrillas on charges of "robbery of goods and illegal possession of arms," according to the conservative Santiago daily *El Mercurio*.

The paper reported September 18 that the eight were captured by military guards and local farmers on September 11 at the Las Cascadas military arsenal in south-central Chile. They were brought to trial the following week in the town of Osorno, located 510 miles south of Santiago.

A Reuters dispatch published September 14 in the Paris daily *Le Monde* noted: "This is the first time since last November that the Popular Unity government has decided to move against the left extremist organizations that advocate an acceleration of the 'revolutionary movement.'" Reuters reported that those arrested were "leaders of the campaign of illegal occupation of lands in the southern part of the country."

The Reuters correspondent added that "the occupation campaign is being organized chiefly by the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria], whose leaders have adopted an attitude of 'tactical support' with respect to the government." □

Banzer Puts Up 'For Sale' Sign on Bolivian Resources

Business Week (September 11) greeted the latest coup d'etat in Bolivia with satisfaction. "Bolivia's new military regime is dusting off the red carpet for foreign investors, after two previous governments had sent most U.S. businessmen packing," said the New York magazine, which is widely read in U.S. management circles.

"The junta headed by Colonel Hugo Banzer plans to revise investment laws to revive the flow of foreign capital that dried up after Gulf Oil's properties were expropriated in 1969. The main emphasis will be on oil and mining. . . ."

According to *Business Week*, Banzer will call for bids within sixty days "on development of massive but isolated iron and manganese deposits near the border with Paraguay and Argentina."

In addition, "a new promotional oil law" will seek "to bring foreign companies back to Bolivia." □

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Press Sees Power Struggle in Peking

SEPTEMBER 27—Canton television yesterday announced that it would carry a "special and important" report tomorrow concerning the "circumstances of the commemoration" of the Chinese National Day October 1. A likely subject of this report would be the first official announcement to the Chinese people of the cancellation of the traditional mammoth parade that has occurred in Peking every October 1 since the Mao regime came to power.

The secrecy surrounding cancellation of the parade and other unexplained measures provided a broad field for speculation about possible illness or death of top leaders of the Communist party and/or a power struggle over Mao's successor. A right-wing newspaper in Hong Kong even carried a report that Liu Shao-chi had escaped from house arrest with the aid of Huang Yung-sheng, the army chief of staff.

According to Japanese correspondents quoted in a September 22 Associated Press dispatch, the decision to cancel the October 1 parade appears to have been made September 11. Rehearsals for the event were said to have suddenly ceased on that date.

Then, for three days, September 13-15, all commercial and military flights were reported canceled.

On September 22, the Foreign Ministry confirmed to Western reporters that the October 1 parade had been called off. The decision was described as "an economy measure."

On the same day, the Associated Press quoted sources in the Japanese government as saying that the Chinese army had canceled all furloughs and called back soldiers who were on leave. The source of this report was said to be radio messages monitored in Japan. The report was contradicted by a September 23 Toronto *Globe and Mail* dispatch, which described "dozens of soldiers" on leave strolling through Tienanmen Square in Peking.

These events coincided with what appeared to be a reduction in the official adulation accorded to Mao Tse-tung. A September 19 Agence France-



CHOU: Mentioned as possible replacement for Mao's heir apparent.

Presse dispatch from Peking reported:

"Since the beginning of the summer, numerous portraits and quotations of Chairman Mao have disappeared from public places. . . .

"Near Tienanmen Square, until a few days ago, there was a poster that said: 'Long live the great leader, great helmsman, great commander in chief and great educator, Chairman Mao.'

"Now it reads: 'Long live our great leader, Chairman Mao.'"

Most reports speculated that the cancellation of the October 1 parade and the ban on airplane flights were related to a meeting of the Communist party Central Committee or Political Bureau.

"Most Western analysts," Tad Szulc wrote in the September 24 *New York Times*, "discarded the earlier speculation that . . . Mao Tse-tung may be dead or seriously ill, but authoritative diplomatic reports said that the question of the succession to Mr. Mao

still appeared to be at the center of what many specialists regard as a power struggle.

"These reports said that 'highly credible' information from Peking indicated that the status of the Defense Minister, Lin Piao, as Mr. Mao's designated successor is at issue.

"Western specialists who studied these reports theorized that Premier Chou could in the end emerge as the new successor to the 77-year-old Mr. Mao."

Other correspondents mentioned as a possible subject for the meeting the formal removal from power of Chen Po-ta, Mao's former secretary and director of the "cultural revolution," who appears to have lost the favor of his master.

Speculation about the events in China was not confined to the Western press. TASS, the Soviet press agency, reported September 24 that "a number of grave internal political developments" were taking place in China, and accused the Maoist leadership of "seeking to extricate itself from the tangle of internal difficulties by fanning another anti-Soviet hysteria." The vagueness of the TASS report indicated that the Soviet bureaucracy was just as much in the dark about what was happening as were Western reporters.

But if persons outside China could only speculate on the decisions being made in Peking, it was sufficient condemnation of the Chinese bureaucrats to recall that the Chinese masses were even more in the dark. The workers and peasants of China have not even been informed of the events or the issues involved.

This provides still one more illustration of the bureaucratic nature of the Mao hierarchy, which reached its most absurd expression in the Communist party constitution's designation of Lin Piao as "Comrade Mao Tsetung's close comrade-in-arms and successor."

The exclusion of the Chinese people and all but the very highest echelons of the Communist party from any role in decisions, far from creating the stability that Mao desires, only sharpens any conflicts within the bureaucracy. The decisions now being made in Peking have no guarantee of permanence, no matter how they may be enshrined in party and state documents. □

Mounting Protests Against Saigon Election Farce

By David Withers

Opposition to Saigon's one-man election farce is producing widening protests. Several hundred students barricaded themselves inside the Van Hanh University September 18 to protest the October elections and the death of three students during compulsory military training.

The September 19 *New York Times* reported that outside the university, students "burned effigies of President Thieu and set fire to three motorbikes before police reinforcements arrived and began charging into their ranks. Others in the [university] building shouted anti-Thieu slogans over the loudspeaker." Among the injured was the president of the Van Hanh student union.

On the same day students staged anti-Thieu demonstrations at the city's Buddhist youth center and at the student dormitories in Cholon, the Chinese section of Saigon. Both demonstrations were broken up by the police.

Police also attacked a demonstration of eighteen opposition deputies of the lower house of the National Assembly that morning. Iver Peterson reported in the September 19 *New York Times*:

"We protest the Oct. 3 elections. They are unconstitutional, illegal, and aim at establishing a dictatorial and militarist regime," a speaker shouted.

"The police, wearing gas masks, promptly started lobbing tear-gas canisters into the small gathering. They continued firing the canisters, almost at random but notably at foreign reporters, long after the deputies had scattered."

The influential An Quang Buddhist sect has joined the call raised by the demonstrators for an election boycott. A statement issued by the An Quang Pagoda "called on South Vietnam's Buddhist majority and 'all other freedom and democracy loving people' to boycott the one-man presidential election on Oct. 3," Peterson wrote in a September 16 dispatch from Saigon. This was the first time that the sect had intervened in Vietnamese politics since its opposition to the Diem regime



NIXON: Considers Thieu no worse than other client dictators.

helped precipitate that dictator's overthrow in 1963.

Even the reactionary Catholic hierarchy has been compelled to distance itself from Thieu. Daniel Sutherland of the *Christian Science Monitor* reported September 22 that several important Catholic leaders have spoken out against Thieu, but that "the most influential voice of all so far has been that of Archbishop Paul Nguyen Van Binh, South Vietnam's senior Catholic prelate.

"Under increasing pressure from all sides to take a position, the Archbishop has now let it be known that he opposes the one-man election.

"The Archbishop outlined his views in a meeting with a group of Catholic

priests, politicians, and university professors who had been demanding that he take a stand."

The depth of the opposition to the Thieu election farce can be gauged by the fact that the servile South Vietnamese Senate, which passed the electoral law enabling Thieu to eliminate even token opposition at the polls, is now calling for a new presidential election. A September 22 Reuters dispatch reported that the Senate passed a resolution saying an uncontested election "would cause disaster for South Vietnam" if carried through.

In at least two major cities, Saigon and Hue, students have found a more dramatic way to express their opposition to Thieu and Nixon. In a series of demonstrations, American military and civilian vehicles and personnel have been attacked.

American officials, Gloria Emerson wrote in the September 16 *New York Times*, view these attacks with "apprehension," and are "considering restricting the movements of United States personnel in South Vietnamese cities because of a growing display of anti-Americanism. . . ."

Emerson interviewed the leaders of the Movement Struggling for the People's Right to Life, one of the Saigon student organizations responsible for the anti-American demonstrations. The leaders of the movement claim a membership of 1,500 and "said their aim was to force all American troops to leave Vietnam immediately."

"I do not think the Americans understand the war in Vietnam and many of them perhaps feel that their soldiers are here under a good banner, here to fight the Communists," one of the leaders told Emerson.

"So if the American people see that it is the Vietnamese people, the people in the South, who are hurting the American soldiers, they will better understand the situation."

The students added that they did not attack GIs who displayed a peace symbol.

In the United States, public disgust with the Saigon election farce forced

Nixon into long-winded attempts to justify his backing of Thieu. Responding to demands that military and economic support for Thieu be cut off, Nixon gave reporters at a September 16 press conference an unusually frank description of governments that he usually terms part of the "free world."

"Now let's just look at what that [cutting off aid to Thieu] means in terms of worldwide policy," Tricky Dick said. "We presently provide military and/or economic aid to ninety-one countries in the world. I checked these various countries as far as their heads of government are concerned, and in only thirty of those countries do they have leaders who are there as a result of a contested election by any standard that we would consider fair. In fact, we would have to cut off aid to two-thirds of the nations of the world, in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia, to whom we are presently giving aid, if we apply the standards that some suggest we apply to South Vietnam."

Nixon also ruled out—at least for the moment—a U.S.-organized coup to get rid of Thieu:

". . . I would remind all concerned that the way we got into Vietnam was through overthrowing Diem and the complicity in the murder of Diem, and the way to get out of Vietnam, in my opinion, is not to overthrow Thieu, with the inevitable consequence of the greatly increased danger, in my opinion, of that being followed by coup after coup on the dreary road to a Communist take-over."

(The remark was the first official admission that the U.S. had organized the coup that overthrew Diem. Nixon was less than candid, however, in calling the coup the beginning of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. As the Pentagon papers proved, Eisenhower had sabotage teams operating in North Vietnam in 1954. Vice president of the U.S. at that time was Richard Nixon.)

The possible consequences of Nixon's determination to stick with Thieu alarmed sections of the U.S. ruling class. In a September 18 editorial, the *New York Times* called Nixon's decision "a prescription for unending involvement," and went on to draw a more instructive parallel between the present situation and the last days of Diem:

". . . Has Mr. Nixon forgotten that

by the time Diem was overthrown by a group of Vietnamese officers, the political and military situation throughout South Vietnam had become a shambles largely as a result of his harsh and arbitrary rule?

"Currently, signs of similar deteri-

oration emerge in the revival of overt political opposition by the powerful An Quang Buddhists, the rise in terrorist incidents in Saigon and elsewhere throughout the country, and the strong resistance of Communist forces in the Mekong Delta." □

Nixon Threatens Further Raids

New Escalation of Air War in Vietnam

Nixon's decision to order major bombing raids on North Vietnam September 21 marked a serious new escalation of the war. In the period following the massive raid by 200 planes, there were daily "protective reaction" strikes north of the demilitarized zone, and government officials in Washington all but abandoned the pretense that the U.S. is abiding by the "bombing halt" declared by Johnson in 1968.

The Nixon administration at first pretended that the September 21 raid was designed only to "protect" U.S. reconnaissance planes against "increased evidence of North Vietnamese antiaircraft and missile activity," but two days later the U.S. command in Saigon admitted that oil storage areas had been a prime target.

The language used by the Nixon government indicated that it was testing U.S. domestic reaction to possible further escalation of the air war over North Vietnam.

On September 21, Pentagon spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim, asked whether Nixon's policy was that "whenever there is a heavy enemy buildup, we go up and bomb it," answered bluntly: "That's it."

Another Pentagon official was quoted as saying:

"Essentially, we're hitting targets of opportunity as they present themselves, with an eye toward stopping any major buildup before it develops."

"Targets of opportunity" refers to the practice of sending planes over North Vietnam without any specific targets assigned. The pilots are simply instructed to hit anything they consider a military target.

Nixon's increasing reliance on air power in his attempt to halt the Indo-

chinese revolution is caused primarily by the hope that low American casualty figures will reduce antiwar sentiment in the United States. U.S. ground combat troops are being kept out of battle as much as possible, and the army of Nixon's Saigon puppets is being propped up with air power instead. In the September 26 *New York Times*, Iver Peterson described the inactivity of U.S. infantry units in Vietnam:

"Unlike the peak days of American fighting here, when United States troops were on the offensive in the deep inland jungles while the Government troops patrolled the villages and hamlets, the Americans are now drawn back into what amounts to small enclaves while the ARVN [Saigon army] holds the front lines and is, in effect, a shield for the United States troops."

Nixon has already used the pretext of "protecting American troops" to cover invasions of Cambodia and Laos. He is likely to use the same excuse to escalate the air war further if he thinks the U.S. public will let him get away with it. As an unnamed "administration official," quoted by Terence Smith in the September 24 *New York Times*, predicted:

"The President has said he will do what is necessary to protect American troops as they withdraw, and I have no doubt he will. He's also likely to use air power to prevent the North Vietnamese from upsetting his political plans."

Nixon's political plans include the indefinite occupation of South Vietnam by U.S. troops. The September 21 and subsequent raids, and the threats issuing from Washington, are an attempt to cow the Vietnamese into accepting that occupation. □

Medina Acquitted of Mylai Murder

By Allen Myers

After only an hour of deliberation, a military jury on September 22 found Captain Ernest Medina not guilty of all charges against him arising from the Mylai massacre. Medina, the commander of the company that murdered perhaps as many as 500 civilians, was accused of responsibility for at least 100 deaths. He was also charged with personally murdering a woman and a small boy, and with assault on a prisoner.

The case presented by the prosecution was so weak that the judge threw out several counts. He reduced the charge of responsibility for 100 killings to "involuntary manslaughter," and completely dismissed the charge of murdering the boy after a defense witness testified that he himself had shot the child.

The few prosecution witnesses who indicated that Medina was aware of the slaughter going on at Mylai turned out to be highly unreliable. One retracted his testimony. Another said he was willing to lie about the case. A third admitted using the drug LSD.

Medina testified in his own defense that he had shot the woman because he thought she was about to throw a grenade, and he was not contradicted by prosecution witnesses. On the final charge, that of assaulting a prisoner, Medina admitted firing a rifle just over the man's head in order to force him to give information. The jury decided that this was a legitimate means of interrogation.

The quality of the government's prosecution of Medina was perhaps best characterized by defense attorney F. Lee Bailey. After hearing the first three government witnesses, Bailey commented to the press: "It's the first criminal case I've seen where defense witnesses go on first."

It is interesting to compare the government's seeming inability to find any convincing evidence against Medina with the case compiled by Seymour M. Hersh, the reporter whose stories for Dispatch News Service first brought the massacre to the attention of the American public.

In his book *My Lai 4: A Report*

on the Massacre and Its Aftermath, which Hersh based primarily on interviews with men of Charlie Company who were involved in the events and records of the army's investigation, he presents what would appear to be highly incriminating evidence against Medina.

Of Medina's briefing of the company the night before the assault, Hersh wrote:

"Harry Stanley told the C. I. D. [Criminal Investigation Division of the army] that Medina 'ordered us to 'kill everything in the village.' The men in my squad talked about this among ourselves that night,' Stanley said, 'because the order . . . was so unusual. We all agreed that Medina meant for us to kill every man, woman and child in the village.' Charles West remembered hearing the captain say that when Charlie Company left the area 'nothing would be walking, growing, or crawling.' He also recalled the captain's saying that the women and children would be out of the area. Herbert Carter told the C. I. D. he thought Medina had been explicit. 'Well, boys,' he said the captain told them, 'this is your chance to get revenge on these people. When we go into My Lai, it's open season. When we leave, nothing will be living. Everything's going to go.' Sergeant Cowen testified (during an Army hearing in December, 1969, on criminal charges against Sergeant Mitchell, stemming from Mitchell's role at My Lai 4) that Medina 'told us to destroy everything with life.' . . . Charles Hall remembered Medina's saying, 'Don't take any prisoners.'"

Hersh noted that others in the company could not recall such orders from Medina. The jury, however, was not given an opportunity to evaluate the conflicting evidence. Stanley, West, Carter, Cowen, and Hall were not called as prosecution witnesses.

Nor did the prosecution call Roger Lewis Alaux Jr., even though his testimony was accepted by another court-martial jury. Alaux was a defense witness in the trial of Sergeant Charles Hutto, who was acquitted last January

14 of a charge of assault with intent to commit murder.

Hutto admitted firing on unarmed civilians, but based his defense on the claim that Medina had ordered him to do so. Alaux told the jury that freed Hutto: "The orders [from Medina] were to destroy the village and everything in the village." (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 25, p. 54.) Alaux was not asked to give the same testimony to the Medina jury.

Nor did the jury hear the testimony of Jay Roberts, whose interview with Hersh contradicted Medina's claim that he did not know of the massacre until it was over:

"He [Medina] was directing the operations in the village. He was in the village the whole time I was—from nine o'clock to eleven o'clock."

Gary Crossley told Hersh that the second platoon of Charlie Company didn't know what to do when it discovered that Mylai was filled with women and children: "We phoned Medina and told him what the circumstances were, and he said just keep going. It wasn't anything we wanted to do. . . ."

Crossley was not called as a prosecution witness.

Paul Meadlo, who reported "I don't know if the CO [commanding officer, i.e., Medina] gave the order to kill or not, but he was right there when it happened," was not called as a prosecution witness.

If he had been called, Herbert Carter could have testified about more than Medina's briefing of the company. Hersh wrote:

". . . Herbert Carter told the C. I. D. that Medina did some of the shooting of civilians as he moved into My Lai 4.

"Carter testified that soon after the third platoon moved in, a woman was sighted. Somebody knocked her down, and then, Carter said, 'Medina shot her with his M16 rifle. I was fifty or sixty feet away and saw this. There was no reason to shoot this girl.' The men continued on, making sure no one was escaping. 'We came to where the soldiers had collected fifteen or more Vietnamese men, women and children in a group. Medina said, 'Kill every one. Leave no one standing.'" A machine gunner began firing into the group. Moments later one of Medina's radio operators slowly 'passed among them and finished them off.' Medina did not personally shoot any of them, according to Carter, but moments later the captain

'stopped a seventeen- or eighteen-year-old man with a water buffalo. Medina told the boy to make a run for it,' Carter told the C. I. D. 'He tried to get him to run but the boy wouldn't run, so Medina shot him with his M16 rifle and killed him. . . . ' At this point in Carter's interrogation, the investigator warned him that he was making very serious charges against his commanding officer. 'What I'm telling is the truth,' Carter replied. 'and I'll face Medina in court and swear to it.'

Carter didn't realize that an opportunity to testify rested on more than his willingness.

Medina was the last man to face trial on charges of direct involvement in the massacre. (Colonel Oran Henderson is now on trial, accused of concealing evidence about the slaughter.) Although the U. S. army investigators put the death toll of Mylai at 450 to 500, only one person—Lieutenant William Calley—has been convicted of murder. Calley's life sentence has already been reduced to twenty years on appeal, and Richard Nixon himself has all but promised to reduce it further.

Nixon, of course, is quite anxious to have the official record show that only one person is responsible for Mylai. He was forced to intervene in the Calley case precisely because of the widespread conviction that higher-ups shared the guilt. In their handling of the Medina case, the army brass have done nothing to irritate their commander in chief. □

'Wave of Arrests' in Iran

The shah of Iran has launched a "wave of arrests" throughout the country, according to a communiqué issued September 8 in Beirut by the Middle East section of the Iranian National Front.

On August 21 the government arrested a group of students, engineers, and civil-service workers, confiscating some arms and ammunition from their homes.

The communiqué, quoted in the September 11 *Le Monde*, said that the arrests were "part of a wide campaign of repression unleashed by the Iranian police because of the approach of the celebration commemorating the founding of the Persian monarchy."

The regime is afraid that the festivities will be disrupted by "popular wrath and revolutionary violence." □

'Freeze the Freeze'

Union Protests War, Wage Freeze

Richard Nixon ventured outside Washington September 23 to explain his "new economic policy" at a dinner of the Economic Club of Detroit. The 5,000 assembled capitalists and their relatives needed no encouragement to applaud Nixon's attempt to solve the dollar crisis at the expense of the working class, and Nixon's reception was predictably enthusiastic.

More significant than the good cheer inside the hall, however, was the picket line of 7,000 that gathered outside. This demonstration, protesting the wage freeze and the continuation of the war in Indochina, was organized by the Wayne County [Detroit] organization of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

The demonstration was the first such antiwar action initiated by a major trade-union organization and was backed by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and other antiwar groups. It represented a growing awareness among American workers that they are being asked to pay the expenses of the war in Indochina.

Although polls immediately after Nixon's August 15 speech showed wide support for the "wage-price freeze," that support has begun to evaporate as it becomes apparent that the freeze applies in reality only to wages. Figures released by the Labor Department September 22 showed that during August consumer prices had risen 0.3 percent, or 0.4 percent after adjusting for "normal seasonal changes." Although the "price freeze" had theoretically been in effect for half

the month, the increase was greater than it had been in July.

In the September 24 *New York Times*, Damon Stetson summarized a survey that paper had conducted on the response of workers to Nixon's economic policy.

"The attitude of union members toward President Nixon's wage-price freeze, which was originally reported to be favorable, now appears to be generally antagonistic and often bitter," Stetson wrote.

"This disenchantment is particularly emphatic among workers who have lost out on wage increases or whose contract negotiations have been stalled by the freeze."

Stetson's article did not give any statistical breakdown of the responses of workers questioned, but if the *Times* found any significant support for Nixon among union members, it was not reported. The most common reason for opposition to the freeze was that the worker felt "cheated." A welder in Pittsburgh expressed this:

"The freeze isn't helping the workingman. It helps big business. I just heard on the radio that the cost of living went up again. But we can't get anything. We're going in the hole."

The indications are that Nixon will run into increasing union opposition to any form of extension of the wage freeze beyond November 13, the date it is now scheduled to end. In case he was inclined to overlook this possibility, the waiters and waitresses who served at the Economic Club dinner carried a reminder: They wore lapel buttons reading, "Freeze the Freeze." □

Quebec Cops Harass Independentist Paper

On the night of September 15 Montréal cops arrested André Doucet, editor in chief of the newspaper *Libération*, a "journal of struggle for an independent and French Québec."

Although the police offered no explanation of why he was arrested, Doucet was held for one-and-a-half

hours. He was questioned about his political beliefs and his newspaper.

Doucet was seized by police along with two friends, Gilles Gravel and Claude Mayer, as they were leaving a meeting of the Common Front for Defense of the French Language. Doucet was questioned and released at

about midnight; his friends were held an hour longer.

The arrests were part of a continuing campaign of police harassment against the militants of *Libération*. The newspaper has listed thirteen cases of such arrests during June alone. Some of those arrested were selling the paper at the time of their arrest; others were not engaged in any political work.

The police asked Doucet about the activities of John Lejderman, a writer for *Libération* who will go on trial

September 20 on charges of having sold the paper on the street. This accusation stands, despite the fact that Municipal Law No. 2820 guarantees the right to sell newspapers on the street without obtaining a police permit.

"My arrest is a brutal, clumsy attempt to destroy freedom of the press in Montréal," Doucet said upon his release. "We demand that the charges against Lejderman be dropped, and that the campaign against our paper and the rights of the independentists come to an immediate end." □

co gives the impression of being a stubborn man. And he confirms this impression by his gestures and manners. His actions leave no room for doubt. He is in fact an obstinate and tenacious person. His rebelliousness has cost him seven long, hard years in prison.

Nostalgically he remembered his family. But he did not want to say anything about his wife, from whom he has been separated. "I want to keep my personal affairs my own," he said. About his two children, who have remained in Cuzco, he would only say that Carmen, who is twelve, is the older, and that the younger is Hugo, who is eight.

Blanco sat on a sofa in the lobby of the Mexico City hotel where he has lived since last Saturday, when the immigration officials released him after the requirements and conditions had been met for him to stay in our country. Angel [Hugo] told *El Sol de México* the story of his long and eventful trip from Lima to Mexico City.

This is Blanco's account:

"It was noon, Monday, September 13, when I left my house in Lima (Tomás Ramsey No. 169, Magdalena del Mar). A detective approached me and told me that the chief of State Security wanted to talk to me. I was on my way to buy some medicine for a relative. The detective accompanied me while I made my purchase and returned home.

"Then, remembering the persecution I have suffered, I took a blanket with me to protect me from the cold [of an unheated jail cell]. The policeman told me that I wouldn't need it, but I kept it just in case.

"At 8:00 in the evening I was finally taken to the State Security offices, where they held me all night taking pictures of me and questioning me about my ideas and political opinions.

"I thought they would let me go within twenty-four hours, because they had no evidence against me. I had committed no crime.

"And I did get out, but they put me in a car that drove off toward the sea. I thought they were taking me to the penal island of El Frontón. Then they turned in the direction of the airport and I thought that they were sending me to El Sepa in the Amazonian jungle or else they wanted to get rid of me by sending me to some other country.

Interviewed by Mexico City Daily

Hugo Blanco Explains Why He Was Exiled

[We have translated the following interview, given by Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco to Magdaleno Saldivar, from the September 21 issue of the conservative Mexico City daily *El Sol de México*.]

* * *

El Sol de México found Angel Hugo Blanco Galdos in a hotel in this city. The Peruvian extremist leader, a political exile, arrived in Mexico City on the night of September 15. His papers described him as a "writer."

Blanco Galdos, who came in as a tourist via the Aeropuerto Internacional, followed a real odyssey to reach our country after being deported by the Peruvian authorities. He arrived alone. None of the eleven¹ persons said in Peru to have been deported along with him was on the plane.

Blanco is the founder of the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Front of the Revolutionary Left] and headed the guerrilla movement in La Convención, the largest province of the Department of Cuzco. Sharp clashes occurred between these guerrillas and the army.

At thirty-seven, Angel Hugo Blanco Galdos is a young man with energetic revolutionary ideas and attitudes. Since he was small, he says, he protested against the "degradations, in-

famies, depredations, and exploitation that my brother peasants suffered at the hands of the rich."

Blanco openly avows himself a Trotskyist and says that he hopes to "follow in the footsteps of my teacher," as he refers to the Russian revolutionist.

Blanco Galdos was born November 15, 1934, in the city of Cuzco. His parents, Miguel Angel Blanco and Victoria Galdos de Blanco, are also natives of Cuzco.

While still very young he learned to speak both Spanish and Quechua (the original language of the Indian people who inhabited the Andean region of Peru at the time of the conquest).

With pleasure showing on his bearded face, Blanco told how his home area, the Department of Cuzco, whose capital has the same name, is a native region where the pre-Columbian customs of the Inca empire are maintained, as well as its typical modes of dress. The economy of the Department of Cuzco is based essentially on tillage and husbandry. The expression on Blanco's face changed abruptly when he remembered and said forcefully — "but it suffers from great exploitation by the landowners."

"For this reason since I was a child I felt an identification with the peasants of my country and this was at the root of my rebellion, of my struggle, because the land belongs to those who work it."

By this way of talking, Hugo Blan-

1. The Peruvian press has been giving six as the number of persons deported with Blanco. — IP

"At the airport they put me on an international flight that was about to take off. The police, who had kept me under close guard, gave the captain of the plane some papers ordering him to take me to another country. I knew nothing about what was in those documents or what they aimed at.

"Once aboard, I asked the passengers where the plane was going. Only then did I learn that it was headed for Panama and the Canal Zone.

"I thought that the Peruvian government was sending me to the gringos as a present. But when I got to Panama at 5:00 in the morning, I was met by police and government functionaries who told me that a plane was leaving for Mexico at 2:00 in the afternoon and that I would be on it.

"In the meantime they took me to a Panamanian national guard barracks, which was occupied by the Pumas, a kind of ranger outfit. I was kept there until 2:00 p.m. and again put on a plane whose crew had been given the same documents that they gave to the pilot of the plane when I left Lima.

"From Panama we flew to Managua, Nicaragua; and San José, Costa Rica. And, without changing planes, we continued on to El Salvador, where I was again taken to the authorities. The local officials put me on another plane and turned my papers over to the crew, and we went on to Guatemala and finally Mexico, arriving on the night of Wednesday, the 15th."

Hugo Blanco believes that he was deported from his country for political reasons.

After being imprisoned for seven consecutive years—from May 1963 to December 1970—under the governments of Generals Lindley and Fernando Belaúnde Terry up to the present regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado, which finally granted him an unconditional amnesty, Blanco is certain that he is still being persecuted.

"It is very hard for them to jail me," Blanco told this reporter, "for expressing opposition to their regime and its policy in my interviews with the press, in public meetings, and through my paper *Revolución Peruana*, which is published legally every month."

Blanco was released from prison in December 1970 as the result of an amnesty. The government pardoned him, overlooked the political crimes charged against him. But today he thinks that

"my views opposing the demagoguery of the government of General Velasco Alvarado led to my being exiled."

Officially the charge against him was attacking the armed forces.

The real cause, Blanco says, "was the peasant movement I led in the valley of La Convención, in Cuzco."

Blanco added: "Faced with the advance of this peasant movement, which was winning the land for the tiller and struggling against the abuses of the ranchers, the government opted for forcible repression. The peasants had to defend themselves by force, too. As a result, bloody clashes occurred. Many peasants were killed but only three policemen lost their lives.

"Then the repression increased and many of us were imprisoned. But only thirty of us peasant leaders were actually given a trial."

Angel got as far as the second year in his study of agronomy in La Plata, Argentina, where he lived from 1954 to 1957, working the last two years at the Swift packing plant. This was the period when the ground was being prepared for the coup that ousted Juan Domingo Perón. Angel said that he spoke out against this coup as a member of the Trotskyist party, as a rank-and-file activist.

After this period in Argentina, he returned to Peru and worked in various factories, foundries, and construction projects.

Later he went to Cuzco, returning to his native area. In 1958 he went into the valley of La Convención to work as a farmhand. La Convención is pre-eminently a peasant area. It is the main province in the Department of Cuzco. The peasant movement spread to other regions, until finally the Federación Departamental de Campesinos de Cuzco [Cuzco Departmental Peasant Federation] was formed. Angel Hugo Blanco Galdos was the agrarian reform secretary of this organization in 1961, and it was in this capacity that he was jailed during the Lindley government.

"It was because I exposed the pseudo-anti-imperialism² of the present government that they exiled me," Blanco said.

"They forged a document (a passport) which bears a signature with no resemblance to mine and a completely

2. In the text published by *El Sol*, this was incorrectly written as "pseudo-imperialism." — IP

strange fingerprint. As for the picture that appears on the passport, they took it while they were holding me in Lima and stuck it on hastily. This document was given to me by the Mexican authorities when they decided that I could stay here."

Blanco was held at the Mexico City international airport from the night he arrived until last Saturday [September 18], when he was taken to the Secretaría de Gobernación [Ministry of the Interior]. On the afternoon of the same day, he was released; Lic. Jaime Gutiérrez Quiróz, chief of the Departamento de Inspección [Inspection Department] of Gobernación, gave him his travel papers.

"These documents passed through many countries and through the hands of everybody but me," Blanco commented ironically.

According to his passport, Angel Hugo Blanco Galdos is a writer, 1.80 meters tall, with black hair and eyes. The document was issued in Lima, Peru, on September 14 of this year by Juan Vizcarra Zavala, chief of the Passport Department.

Blanco is happy to have been exiled to Mexico. He said:

"I have been treated with great courtesy and even with kindness. The authorities have dealt cordially with me and the attitude they have taken toward me as a political exile says a great deal for the Mexican government.³

"This, I would like to note, is in the traditions of Mexico. This country also granted asylum to Trotsky, my teacher, when no other country he went to in the world would accept him." Trotsky always respected the conditions of his asylum, and, although an internationalist, never interfered in the slightest in Mexican politics." □

3. The reporter condensed Blanco's remarks here, as elsewhere. What the Peruvian exile said was that the observance of the right of asylum in his case was in Mexico's best tradition. — IP

They Print Government Contracts on It

"Antara, the Indonesian news agency, recently reported the establishment of a new factory to manufacture corrugated cardboard. Many of Antara's frequent misprints look more like Freudian slips; the agency in fact reported the setting up of a 'corrupted cardboard factory'." — *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 18.

Three Die in Tokyo Airport Battle

5,000 Cops Drive Peasants From Land

On September 16 the Japanese government used 5,000 riot policemen to overcome resistance to the expropriation of peasant land that is being taken for the new Tokyo International Airport. Three cops were killed in fighting that followed police assaults on local farmers and sympathizing students who had attempted to resist the expropriation.

The clash was the latest stage in a five-year struggle by the farmers to protect themselves against the land-grabbing Kodan [New Tokyo International Airport Public Corporation].

The site of the \$900,000,000 airport was selected in July of 1966. The proposed airfield would cover 2,663 acres and is expected to have a capacity of 5,400,000 passengers and 410,000 cargo tons by 1976.

From the outset, construction of the monster airport was opposed by the peasants of Sanrizuka, who refused to cede their land to Kodan. After buying as much of the land as it could, Kodan received authorization from the local Chiba Prefecture government—with the approval of Prime Minister Sato—to begin forcible expropriation. This started in February of this year.

By that time only nine acres remained in the hands of the peasants. During the first week of March the peasants, along with as many as 10,000 worker and student supporters, resisted 3,000 riot police called out to back up Kodan. The peasants built barricades, underground caves, and other defenses, managing to retain some of the land. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 29, 1971, p. 274.) Widespread support for the peasants forced the Sato government to proceed with some caution.

Finally, on September 16, some 5,000 riot cops moved in to evict the farmers from their last few acres. Nearly an equal number of student radicals were on hand to aid the farmers resist the evictions. The cops moved through the area in a military-style action that included use of high-pressure water-cannons.

According to the September 17 *Japan Times*, three of the last four plots had been seized by 4:00 p.m., when

the final plot, on which students and peasants had constructed the "Komaino hut of solidarity," was surrounded. Two hours earlier it had been reported that 123 cops and an undisclosed number of students had been injured in the clashes, and 234 students had been arrested.

The Narita railroad station near the airport site was surrounded by police to prevent student reinforcements from arriving.

Despite police superiority in weapons and numbers, students continued to fight back. At 7:30 p.m. 200 cops in charge of a checkpoint east of the area, which had been established to keep students away, were "ambushed," the cops said, by 500 students. The checkpoint was overwhelmed, and three cops were killed in what the *Japan Times* called "the worst setback ever suffered by police at the hands of students here."

In the wake of the land seizure, students at Kyoto University occupied the liberal arts building and called for a strike until October 8 in support of the Sanrizuka peasants.

On September 17, bulldozers finally demolished the last fortifications that had been built during the resistance.

The Sato government has used the killing of the cops as an excuse to intensify repression of the Japanese far left, which has been the leading force defending the rights of the peasants. The National Police Agency was instructed to "curb radicals," according to the September 17 *Japan Times*. Torata Nakamura, chairman of the National Public Safety Commission, claimed that the student attack was carefully planned and said that the radicals would be hunted down.

Besides their desire to keep their land, the peasants have objected to the new airport on two other grounds: the ecological destruction attendant upon its construction and operation, and the fact that the present Tokyo airport has been used by the United States as a military base for its aggression in Indochina.

Because of this, even the moderate opposition parties have been compelled to offer at least token opposition to Kodan. The Japan Socialist

party [JSP] opposed the land seizures, but saved its most vigorous condemnation for the radical students: "We cannot tolerate the act of ultraleftist students who have turned guerrillas," said an official JSP statement issued after the latest fighting.

The Japanese Communist party called for a halt to the expropriations, but denounced the students as "a group of Trotskyites" who had deliberately precipitated violence.

The Democratic Socialist party and Komeito (Clean Government party) likewise denounced the students, although mildly objecting to the land seizures.

Although the total amount of land for the airport is now in the hands of Kodan, the peasants and their student allies have not surrendered. The peasants of the Seinen-Kodotai (Youth Action Group) have vowed that even if the airport is completed, they will not allow planes to use it. □

Dead-End Factionalist



POPE PAUL VI

A group of German Roman Catholic laymen petitioned the pope last April to lift the 450-year-old papal ban against Martin Luther.

They wrote the pope that they hoped for a clarifying word "on the person and teaching of Martin Luther in the light of today's Catholic viewpoint and in the interest of an intensification of ecumenical efforts."

The pope delegated Jon Cardinal Willibrands to write a reply. This was made public in the second week of September. It proved to be a kick in the ecumenical pants of the petitioners:

"The lifting of the ban against Luther does not seem practically possible on the one hand, and not suitable on the other hand—be it to give effective voice to the changed Catholic judgment of Luther, or be it to further the formation of closer ties between Lutherans and Catholics." □

Government Denies Right to Hear Mandel

More than seventeen months after it barred Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel from entering Switzerland, the Swiss government has finally made a public attempt to justify denying its citizens the right to hear the internationally known writer and lecturer in person.

"Foreigners may not wage political propaganda that might endanger the democratic order in the short or long run, or that tends to interfere with Switzerland's internal affairs," declared a fourteen-page statement issued July 1 by Ludwig von Moos, the federal minister for justice and police.

The government statement, quoted in the August issue of the Lausanne revolutionary-socialist *La Brèche*, went on to assert that "if he doesn't observe this principle, a foreigner runs into conflict with the legal system, even if he doesn't violate any specific provision of the legal code as such."

The original order excluding Mandel from Swiss soil was handed down on January 27, 1970, by the federal prosecutor's office. The Belgian scholar appealed the order the following month. The prosecutor's office withheld public comment on the appeal until September of that year, when it forwarded the case to von Moos. The latter also remained silent on Mandel's appeal for many months, despite widespread support for Mandel's right to speak and travel. This included favorable articles in such daily newspapers as the *Badener Tagblatt* and the *Zürcher Arbeiter-Zeitung*. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 1, 1971, p. 93, for additional background on the Mandel case in Switzerland.)

La Brèche, the official organ of the Revolutionary Marxist League [Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire — LMR], noted that the von Moos statement deliberately sought to leave the false impression that Mandel had provided instruction in "subversive," violent tactics during two previous visits to Lausanne in March and December of 1968.

At one point, the government statement accused Mandel of "giving courses in revolutionary tactics and

techniques." *La Brèche* pointed out, however, that the statement went on immediately to describe the "courses" as consisting of "economic, social, historical, and political analysis." The von Moos rejection of Mandel's appeal nonetheless based itself entirely on these courses, and the allegedly subversive danger they represented to democracy in Switzerland.

La Brèche called attention to the irony of the government's self-righteous concern for preserving democracy. "The key thing is that no democracy can exist without freedom of speech and information. These democratic rights are inalienable, and they cannot be accorded to citizens while being denied to foreigners. It is therefore necessary to fight not only the ban on Mandel's entry into Switz-

South Africa

Cleric Denies 'Terrorism' Charge

The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend Gonville French-Beytagh, took the stand in his own defense on September 14 in his trial under South Africa's notorious Terrorism Act.

The dean was originally charged in late June under the Suppression of Communism Act, but the Vorster regime later escalated the indictment. Under the Terrorism Act, defendants are presumed guilty unless they can prove their innocence.

Conviction carries a minimum sentence of five years in prison; the maximum penalty is death.

The indictment charges that French-Beytagh, an opponent of apartheid, encouraged participants at a January 1968 meeting in Johannesburg to support revolution; encouraged delegates to the South African Council of Churches congress in Johannesburg in February 1969 to revolt; administered money for the outlawed Defense and Aid Committee, which defends political prisoners; received and distributed money for the African National Congress, an illegal Black po-

erland, but also the repressive and unconstitutional federal decisions on which the ban on 'undesirable' foreigners is based."

The publication called on the entire Swiss revolutionary left to wage a united "campaign for democratic liberties." It stressed that "with the rejection of the appeal by the federal department of justice and police, the 'Mandel affair' goes beyond its initial 'legal' stage into an openly political phase.

"Because the federal prosecutor himself could attack nothing except *opinions*, there is a good chance of turning this case into a *basic struggle for freedom of speech and information*.

"But the specific campaign that must be waged now goes hand in hand with *the strengthening of the revolutionary organization*. For full freedom of speech and information will always clash irreconcilably with the system of capitalist exploitation, and this contradiction can only be resolved through the struggle for a socialist society." □

litical organization; and participated in a meeting in England in May 1970 at which a decision was made to send aid to Frelimo, a guerrilla liberation organization in Angola and Mozambique.

The case for the prosecution rested largely on the testimony of Louis Henry Jordaan, a member of French-Beytagh's congregation, who has been reporting the dean's conversations to the security police since 1969. Jordaan claimed that French-Beytagh asked him to join the secret police as an infiltrator for an unnamed organization aimed at overthrowing the government.

In his testimony the dean declared, according to a September 14 dispatch to the *New York Times*: "I believe the doctrine of apartheid is abhorrent to Christianity. . . ." He stated that he did not believe in violence and that the claim that he had conspired to overthrow the government was "absolute fantasy."

He charged that antigovernment pamphlets police claim to have found in his home had been planted there. □

Union Demands Release of Jailed Teachers

Despite the brutal repression to which the Peruvian "revolutionary" government has resorted in its attempt to break the teachers' strike in progress since September 1, the main striking union refused September 14 to order a return to work, even after five of its leaders were arbitrarily deported, hundreds of its members arrested, and its headquarters seized by police.

In its statement, the FENEP [Federación Nacional de Educadores del Perú—National Federation of Teachers of Peru] said, among other things: "4. We must state that the positions taken by Roberto Román Salazar and Raúl Carhuas Prado, chairman of the board and director respectively of the Asociación Mutual Magisterial [Teachers' Fraternal Organization] represent a *betrayal* whose sole aim is to prevent our demands from getting a speedy and fair hearing in this organization. The teachers Daniel Vásquez Ruiz, Oscar Ramos Rodríguez, Arnaldo Muñoz Castillo, and Luis Damián Casas have made their decisions and formulated their statements on their own authority alone. This fact is shown by the conscious and loyal support of the strike demonstrated by workers they claim to represent, but who have repudiated these leaders. These events have been exploited by the government with the aim of splitting our completely non-political trade-union struggle.

"5. The only response the government has given to our minimal demands has been to arrest the chairman of the Comité Central de Lucha [Central Struggle Committee], Julio Armacanqui Flores, and more than 200 of our colleagues, to suspend principals and impose new administrative rules, which, far from helping overcome the problem, make impossible a quick solution to it. This attitude compels us to close ranks in our struggle and demand the immediate release of all those being held, and not to yield until the repressive measures are withdrawn."

It is not yet clear what causes produced the split in the ranks of the teachers referred to in this statement.

The SINPES [Sindicato Nacional de Profesores de Educación Secundaria Unificado—United National Union of Secondary School Teachers] said: "In the present circumstances it is unreasonable to insist on continuing a strike which has not only ceased to be unanimous and total but which reactionary forces are trying to exploit, forces which did nothing to solve the problems of the teachers in the past when they had the power to do so."

The SINPES statement did, however, protest the deportation of Julio Pedro Armacanqui and the police seizure of the FENEP offices. It also demanded the release of all imprisoned strikers.

In its September 17 issue, the Communist party organ *Unidad* strongly commended the defecting groups. Its editorial bore the headline "Teachers Defeat the Plot." However, the Stalinist paper raised a much more ambiguous protest against the repression than did SINPES.

The *Unidad* editorial said: "Now that the teachers have won the biggest raise obtained by any unionized workers in recent years [the teachers' wages had been frozen for five years in spite of high inflation and a currency devaluation], many groups of classroom workers, such as SINPEP [Sindicato Nacional de Profesores de Educación Primaria—National Union of Primary Teachers], the SINPET [Sindicato Nacional de Profesores de Educación Técnica—National Union of Vocational Teachers], the SINPEF [Sindicato Nacional de Profesores de Educación Física—National Union of Physical Education Teachers], and rank-and-file groups in Callao, Huancaayo, Cerro de Pasco, Junín, Huánuco, Ayacucho, and Huancavelica, among others, have called off their strike, without giving up their most strongly felt demands.

"Quite different, however, were the aims of the counterrevolutionists, who, using a demagogic and terrorist maneuver, implicated some bad leaders of the Comité Central de Lucha and FENEP, including the general secretary of the latter organization, Julio

Pedro Armacanqui, forcing them, in disregard of the feelings of the rank and file, to continue the strike until the seditious and conspiratorial aims of these miscreants were accomplished.

"All these counterrevolutionary maneuvers, in fact, were welcomed and supported by the most reactionary papers in the country, especially the dailies *La Prensa*, *Correo*, *El Comercio*, and the evening paper *Ultima Hora*."

In a special box next to its editorial, *Unidad* noted that it had learned just before press time of "the revolutionary government's decision to deport counterrevolutionary elements that took an active part in the recent teachers' strike, distorting the struggle of the teachers and giving it an unquestionably seditious orientation."

Unidad said, however, that this measure was "unnecessary in the case of the ex-leaders of the Comité Central de Lucha, since they were disavowed by the ranks." Thus, it seems, the Stalinist organ endorsed the arbitrary deportation of Hugo Blanco and the student leader Rolando Breña Pantoja—who were exiled at the same time as the union leaders—but did not dare to do so openly.

It is still too early to estimate how effective the repression has been in suppressing the teachers' struggle, despite government claims that 95 percent of the strikers have returned to work. Besides the regime's actions, moreover, political pressure on the teachers has been heavy both from the "left" and the right.

In spite of CP claims of rightist support for the strike, the conservative paper *Ultima Hora* indicated in its September 16 issue that it had no reluctance about backing the "revolutionary" government's witch-hunt. In an editorial entitled "Watch Out for Agitators," it wrote: "It is lamentable that the teachers' strike has been exploited for political ends by agitators, who in cases like this invariably seek only to cause trouble. And in this type of maneuver, as we all know, the Communists are the experts."

Despite all these pressures, even in those schools where teachers returned to work, the struggle did not seem to be over. "Classes resumed yesterday," *Ojo* reported September 16, but in many schools the teachers did not conduct lessons, limiting themselves to holding emergency meetings to determine what position they would take." □

Carlos Lamarca Reported Killed

By Gerry Foley

"Usually reliable military sources announced here today that Carlos Lamarca, the most wanted terrorist leader in Brazil, was killed yesterday in a shoot-out with security forces in the southern part of the state of Baía," a September 18 UPI dispatch reported from Salvador, Brazil, the capital of Baía state.

A more detailed account appeared in a dispatch from Rio de Janeiro by the Latin American department of Agence France-Presse. This report, published in the September 19 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* and also datelined September 18, said: "The former Brazilian army captain Carlos Lamarca, leader of the nationalist far left, was killed Friday [September 17] in the township of Iupipara, Baía state, when he attempted to offer armed resistance to an order to halt, according to official reports from the security bodies in this capital. . . .

"The police dragnet tightened around Lamarca at 4:00 p.m. yesterday [local time], taking his life. Several machine-gun volleys cut him down next to an old tree when he drew his revolver against the forces of order for the last time."

Other reports differed about the exact way Lamarca met his death, some saying he was struck by three bullets, others claiming that he had five bullet wounds. These discrepancies cast doubt on the government's statements and raised the question — if it was true that Lamarca had been shot down — whether the security forces resorted to "overkill" against a trapped and helpless man.

The two other most prominent Brazilian guerrilla leaders, Carlos Marighela and Câmara Ferreira, were also killed by the repressive forces in "shoot-outs," in 1969 and 1970 respectively. Reports in both cases indicated that overwhelming firepower was brought to bear against isolated individuals.

The Agence France-Presse dispatch previously quoted said that Lamarca's body had been reportedly identified by his fingerprints but that the

military authorities had refused to permit journalists to photograph the corpse. It was also claimed that Lamarca had undergone facial surgery to alter his appearance.

The dispatch noted: "The guerrilla's body was brought this morning to the Brazilian air force base in Ipitanga, where security agents arrived from Rio de Janeiro. Later the body was taken to the Instituto Médico Nina Rodriguez, to be kept there until his family claims the remains for burial. Or, if the body is unclaimed, the army will bury it in a still undetermined site. Lamarca's wife and two children are in Cuba, according to the version given by military sources. This information was supposedly learned from a brief discussion the Brazilian terrorist had with police shortly before he died."

This last statement raises the question of how "shortly before he died" Lamarca talked with the police. Was he captured alive like Che Guevara and then summarily executed?

Along with Lamarca, the repressive forces reportedly killed José Campos Barreto, who was supposed to have been his guide.

"It is said that Lamarca and Campos Barreto were lying under a tree when the driver of a police vehicle, which after covering the area was getting ready to leave, spotted two ragged men," UPI correspondent Wilson Barbosa reported in a dispatch from Salvador in the September 19 issue of the Mexico City daily *El Universal*. "When the police approached, Barreto ran, firing at the same time. He was killed ten meters away from the tree. Lamarca got behind the trunk and also began firing."

The guerrillas had been forced to take refuge in the wild area where Lamarca was reported killed, according to the September 21 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*: "The fragmentation of the subversive organizations (which number about forty), personal conflicts, and the effectiveness of the repression gradually compelled the guerrillas to give up armed actions

and leave the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo region for the Northeast."

Lamarca and Campos Barreto were tracked down after a long, massive hunt, an EFE dispatch from Salvador said in the September 19 *El Sol de México*.

"The arrest of other terrorists, including Joseph Carlos de Souza, helped a month and a half ago to pinpoint Lamarca in the region where he was killed . . . in the western part of Baía state. For one month and eleven days, some 600 agents of the CODI [Centro de Operaciones de Defensa Interna — Center of Internal Defense Operations] threw themselves into the search for the terrorist.

"On August 2 a group of terrorists working with Captain Lamarca were surrounded in a house far from the region in question. All were killed, except for Aldorico Campos Barreto, who was injured and taken prisoner. But he could not talk because he was wounded in the mouth.

"After an extensive raid in Minas Gerais Street August 6, during which Iara Iavelberg committed suicide before falling into the hands of the police, the pieces were fitted together that made it possible to find Lamarca."

The UPI dispatch already quoted, which appeared in the September 18 *El Universal Grafico* published in Mexico City, said: "Military sources informed United Press International that Lamarca's girl friend Yara Yavelberg committed suicide last month in order to avoid falling into the hands of agents who had her surrounded. They said that she had taken a boy as a hostage, but when he managed to escape, she shot herself."

The army claimed that it had first been put on Lamarca's track when it intercepted a letter from him to his companion. On September 20, according to Agence France-Presse, the authorities showed reporters a series of letters allegedly written by Lamarca to Iavelberg (or Yavelberg).

In its headline announcing Lamarca's death, the September 21 *Le Monde* called him "the last great guerrilla leader" in Brazil. The thirty-three-year-old former captain was an unusual figure. Born into the family of a poor shoemaker on October 27, 1937, in Rio de Janeiro, Lamarca joined the army in 1955. He came to be regarded as a "model soldier" and had a reputation as a crack shot.

"Lamarca joined Brazil's military

academy in 1960 and rose to the rank of captain by 1967," the *Miami Herald* of September 19 wrote. "Between 1967 and 1969, he acted as a secret army agent, infiltrating student demonstrations and instructing bank employes on weaponry so that they could defend themselves against a rash of terrorist-inspired bank robberies."

In March 1969 Lamarca openly joined the guerrillas, fleeing from his army base and taking two trucks filled with machine guns, bazookas, and more than 70 FAL-10 rockets. "He took the leadership of the Vanguardia Revolucionaria-Palmares [Palmares*

* The name "Palmares" is from a republic of escaped slaves that held out against the Portuguese for fifty years in the seventeenth century.

Yahya Squeezed From All Sides

Bengalis Fight On Despite Famine Threat

By Jon Rothschild

In spite of his recent cynical gestures of "reconciliation"—declaring an "amnesty," appointing a civilian governor for Bangla Desh—Yahya Khan's bloody war against the Bengali people continues unabated.

In the September 23 *New York Times* Sydney Schanberg, reporting from Kutibari, India, offered testimony from Bengali refugees on the latest atrocities committed by the occupation forces.

"The dozens of refugees interviewed by this correspondent today [September 21]," Schanberg wrote, "all of whom fled into India from East Pakistan in the past week, describe the killing of civilians, rape and other acts of repression by the soldiers, most of them West Pakistanis."

Many of the worst acts of terror, the refugees said, are now being committed by razakars (home guards), non-Bengali civilian collaborators of Yahya, and by members of reactionary religious parties such as the Muslim League and the Jamaat-i-Islam.

One of the refugees, Nira Pada Saha, a jute trader, described a typical incident. His village was shelled by

Revolutionary Vanguard]," the September 21 *Le Monde* wrote.

"This movement organized many urban guerrilla actions in the São Paulo region with the aim of obtaining money to finance the armed struggle. Along with other armed groups, it participated in the kidnappings of the U.S., West German, and Swiss ambassadors to Brazil in 1969 and 1970."

Most accounts in the international press in general, and the Latin American papers in particular, speculated that Lamarca's death would be a hard blow for the guerrillas. No comment on these reports seems to have come as yet from the Brazilian revolutionary movement. □

the army because it was harboring guerrillas. Troops then burned all the huts.

"Some of the villagers didn't run away fast enough. The soldiers caught them, tied their hands and feet and threw them into the flames." Not a single hut is left, and the 5,000 people of the village have fled.

Another refugee told Schanberg that he had fled after the razakars opened fire on the weekly bazaar in his village. Six people were killed, and 15,000 left the area following the incident.

An Associated Press dispatch from Dacca dated September 18 reported that mysterious disappearances are still common. Bengali sources said that at least 5,000 persons have been arrested since March.

In addition to the casualties inflicted directly by the military, the Bengali population now faces what may become the worst famine in the history of the country.

The *New York Times* reported September 10 that a Harvard Medical School team that visited East Bengal in April has warned that impending

food shortages will affect 25,000,000. In 1943, famine in East Bengal resulted in the deaths of 3,000,000 people. The Harvard report, by Doctors Lincoln C. Chen and Jon E. Rohde, noted: "The similarities between the famine of 1943 and present trends in East Pakistan are striking. Some 2.9 million tons of imports will be required to offset the deficit in indigenous production, but the Pakistan Government has failed to acknowledge this crisis, much less initiate effective programs."

But despite the reign of terror, the Bengali population has not surrendered. The refugees Schanberg spoke with told him that the people continue to aid the liberation fighters, whatever government reprisals may result.

Denzil Peiris, correspondent for the conservative Boston daily *Christian Science Monitor*, after visiting both West Pakistan and Bangla Desh, wrote that Bengali resistance has "built up into a surge of terrorism and all-out guerrilla warfare."

According to Indian estimates, which Peiris implies are reliable, Pakistani soldiers are being killed at an average rate of forty to fifty per day.

The Bengalis now have 15,000 regular troops under arms—5,000 Mukti Bahini (liberation army) troops, and 10,000 from the former East Pakistan Regiment and Pakistan Rifles. (Estimates of the number of irregular guerrillas range from 20,000 to 30,000.) "Some 90 percent of the culverts and small bridges linking Dacca to Comilla, Feni, Jessore, and Kushtia have been destroyed," Peiris wrote.

Yahya is presently spending \$4,000,000 per month to keep forty-eight battalions of his troops in Bangla Desh.

In addition to the struggle in the East, there are indications that the liberation forces may be operating in West Pakistan itself. The *New York Times* reported September 23 that police in Karachi had arrested seven Bengalis, charging them with setting fire to a ship on September 13 and "arranging for the disappearance of four fishing trawlers last June."

To add to Yahya's woes, the radicalization of the Bengali masses engendered by their protracted liberation struggle may now be challenging the leadership of Sheik Mujibur Rahman's Awami League. The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported September 8 that "The prestige of the Awami League

has been shaken, because its leaders fled on March 25 [the day Yahya initiated the war] and afterwards were not capable of leading the spontaneous popular resistance."

Le Monde enumerated the leftist groups active in the struggle. One of these, "tied to the Fourth International, appears to be the most dynamic at present. Its leaders are Matin and Al-auddin, and especially Bashar, the strongest personality of the revolutionary left. This group has influence among the peasantry."

The Bangla Desh government-in-exile set up by the Awami League in Calcutta has announced the formation of a new "National Liberation Front to wage the struggle for independence on a wider scale." The September 18 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that the leaders of the front include five members of the Awami League and one member each from the pro-Moscow Communist party, the two factions of the National Awami party, and the Pakistan Congress party. The exile government also announced that it would send a delegation to the United Nations.

In West Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's party, is taking advantage of Yahya's inability to suppress the Bengali resistance in order to press his own claims to power.

Bhutto, who likes to pose as a leftist, has won the praise of the Pakistani ruling class for his backing of the genocidal war. He is now anxious to collect his reward—the calling of a parliament in which he would have a majority, thanks to the suppression of the Awami League.

On September 22, he told reporters in Karachi that if Yahya did not cede power to a "civilian" government by the end of the year, he would consider challenging Yahya in "parliamentary ways or by revolution or coup d'etat."

In a probably unwitting but nevertheless apt analogy, Bhutto said, "After all, if they can hold an election even in Vietnam, we should be able to hold one in Pakistan."

Bhutto's new-found verbal combativity may well be due to the increasing pressures on Yahya to grant at least formal relaxation of military rule in the country.

Last July, the eleven-nation Pakistan aid consortium voted against approving further aid to Yahya, on the grounds that there was no evidence

that he could stabilize his regime. The consortium suggested that the reinstatement of civilian rule would weigh heavily in their considerations of future requests for aid.

To avoid total economic collapse, Yahya then declared a unilateral six-month halt on debt service payments, apparently assuming that during that time he would be able definitively to crush the Bengalis.

This was a serious miscalculation. The six-month moratorium expires on October 31. At that time Yahya will be forced to transfer to creditors some of Pakistan's net foreign exchange re-

sources, already weakened by Nixon's 10 percent surcharge on U. S. imports. According to the September 18 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the total debt liability has risen above 1,000,000,000 rupees—more than 25 percent of Pakistan's total export earnings.

If aid is not forthcoming from the consortium by the end of the year, the West Pakistani economy could face complete collapse. In that event, it is difficult to see how the war against Bangla Desh could be continued without provoking explosions in West Pakistan. □

Cops Used Dum Dum Bullets in Assault

More of Truth Leaks Out of Attica

Thousands of Americans have joined street demonstrations and participated in meetings protesting the murderous police assault that drowned the Attica prison rebellion in blood on September 13. More than 4,000 people demonstrated in two separate actions in New York City September 18, and demonstrations have also been reported in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Washington, D. C., Minneapolis, and other cities across the country.

The growing public outrage following the massacre has alarmed the ruling class. When it was revealed that police and prison authorities had lied about the deaths, numerous official investigations at both state and federal level were announced. However, the *New York Times* editors were worried about how credible these investigations would be to the angry public. They wrote September 16:

"At this moment the one thing clear is that there will be no shortage in the number of investigations, but it is not at all clear there will be even one that will command the universal confidence an inquiry into the bloody events at Attica should have. A House Crime subcommittee has now joined the list of probers; the Governor is meeting with legislative leaders to plan the state's 'official' investigation; at least two key legislators are moving toward separate inquiries; grand juries and 'supercops' are mobilizing in the wings."

In order to offset widespread con-

cern over the fate of the prisoners following the retaking of the prison, Rockefeller established a five-man committee to "safeguard" prisoners' rights. But statements from Rockefeller's committee on the situation of the Attica prisoners were flatly contradicted by the prisoners' lawyers.

The September 21 *New York Times* reported two committee members as saying that efforts were being made "to better the prisoners' food, clothing and housing," and that prisoners' rights were being safeguarded, although they admitted that "up to today [September 20] they had observed members of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation interrogating prisoners without informing them of their constitutional rights" to remain silent or to have legal counsel.

However, prisoners' lawyers described the prison conditions as "intolerable," reported a strike against prison food, and said that "some clients had expressed readiness to die at any time in a battle for better prison conditions." Prisoners who had been transferred from Attica to other prisons following the suppression of the rebellion, told New York state Senator John Dunne and reporters of atrocities committed by state troopers in the storming of Attica and its aftermath.

Robert Nartowicz, a participant in the revolt, told how he saw a trooper murder a surrendering prisoner:

"A guy I saw around the yard, he's walking toward the wall. There's a

trooper on the wall. The guy's got his hands on his head, like the helicopter said, and he's walking at the trooper. He's surrendering. The trooper shoots him in the chest with a shotgun."

A new dimension was added to the atrocities when it was revealed that a critically wounded hostage had been hit by an expanding "dumdum" bullet. Although commonly used in hunting, dumdum bullets are banned from military use by international law, because of the horrible wounds they inflict.

Police authorities denied that these bullets had been used in the assault. However, the September 20 *New York Times* reported that newsmen found at least one empty crate of dumdum ammunition outside the prison. And a state trooper told the newsmen that such ammunition was regularly issued to them.

On September 22 several prisoners who had completed their sentences were released from Attica. One was interviewed the same day for the *New York Times*.

He described how prisoners had been shot while they "were trying to hide themselves." He also said that he and others who survived the original assault were beaten up after they had surrendered.

He explained that if the rebelling prisoners had released the hostages, "none of us would be out of that prison. There would be a bigger massacre" than the one that took place.

The American ruling class revealed very clearly where it stands on the Attica massacre by the reception given Rockefeller at a Republican fundraising breakfast attended by what the September 23 *New York Times* described as "200 of the country's leading bankers, businessmen and merchants." The businessmen, who had paid \$100 each to eat bacon and eggs, gave Rockefeller a standing ovation when he rose to speak.

In introducing the governor, Rockland County (New York) Republican Chairman Carmine Freda, in an obvious reference to Attica, said to heavy applause:

"Had he not made the decision [to storm the prison] the rule of law would have been completely destroyed."

The *Times* reported that the intensity of the applause increased when Freda addressed the governor by saying:

"You have saved this nation for law and order and made the streets safe."

Meir Alarmed by 'Hooligans'

Israeli Government Plans Antilabor Law

The Israeli cabinet decided September 12 to introduce legislation into the Knesset (parliament) aimed at restricting the right of workers to strike.

The economy, already burdened by the devaluation of the pound, inflation, and a galloping military budget, has been further rocked by a wave of strikes.

The most recent of these involved a relatively small number of workers but provoked a political crisis in the country. In early September, customs inspectors at the Tel Aviv airport walked out, seriously hampering Israeli foreign commerce.

On September 7 a special meeting of leaders of the Labor party and the left-Zionist Mapam party was held to decide what to do about the growing number of strikes. Prime Minister Golda Meir sacrificed her vacation to attend the meeting.

According to the September 9 *Le Monde*, she called the airport strikers "hooligans" and said that strikes represented a greater danger to the country than external threats.

Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir characterized the strike wave as a source of potential conflagration; and Minister of Housing Sheref called for the enactment of a law prohibiting public-service employees from striking for six months. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan recommended jailing wildcat strik-

ers as a means of ending work stoppages.

The right-wing opposition Gahal party demanded a special meeting of the Knesset to discuss "the wildcat strikes and anarchy that are endangering the economy and the security of the state." That meeting was scheduled for September 13.

The mass-circulation daily *Ma'ariv* accused the airport strikers of being "unwitting collaborators of the Arab terrorists who want to sabotage Israeli civil aviation."

In perhaps the most ominous development for Israeli rulers, the civil functionaries of the military occupation administration in the West Bank, Gaza, and Sinai areas threatened to strike. They have demanded that the government rescind the jail sentences that were handed down by a military court against the customs officers of the bridges across the Jordan River. The bridge employees had walked out during the first week in September in solidarity with the airport workers.

The law that the Cabinet agreed to propose would set strict procedures for declaring strikes. Workers who violated the new procedures would be liable to fines and dismissals, as well as for compensation for damages. The *New York Times* reported September 13 that the executive bureau of the Histadrut (the national trade-union federation) had approved the proposed law. □

South African Sports Tours Canceled

The Australian antiapartheid movement gained an important victory with the September 8 cancellation of a scheduled tour by an all-white South African cricket team. This cancellation follows on the heels of massive protests that met the Springboks, a South African rugby team that toured Australia from late June to August.

The Springboks were met with spirited demonstrations wherever they went. Union opposition to the tour, evidenced by strike and boycott actions against the South Africans, almost

forced its abandonment. Trade unions forced cancellations of hotel bookings for the "tourists" in many places, the Springboks had to be transported in private aircraft, and no mail was delivered to them during their stay in Australia.

In support of these ambassadors of apartheid, Australian Prime Minister William McMahon undertook to make air-force planes available to the Springboks if union action prevented civilian airlines from flying them. The Queensland state government went to

the extreme of declaring a state of emergency to make certain that scheduled matches would be played. This move was denounced by the *Canberra Australian* as a "ludicrous abridgement of civil liberties."

Robert Trumbull, in a September 11 dispatch to the *New York Times*, reported that Sir Donald Bradman, one of Australia's best-known former cricketers and chairman of the Australian Cricket Board of Control, announced that "internal bitterness between rival groups and demonstrations on a large scale would have been inevitable" had the tour been permitted to proceed.

Trumbull continued: "The board said in a statement that it 'earnestly hopes that the South African Government will in the near future so relax apartheid laws that the cricketers of South Africa may once again take their place as participants in the international field.'"

The Australian cricket tour by the South Africans was originally scheduled to be followed by a tour of New Zealand. This and a proposed South African women's hockey tour have now been canceled.

These cancellations were brought about by the fear that massive anti-apartheid demonstrations would occur in New Zealand.

Opposition to the maintenance of sports relations with South Africa is already widespread in New Zealand. Both the Labour party and the Federation of Labour have policies against such sports contacts, and the anti-apartheid movement is overwhelmingly supported by students. Several mass actions were organized against the sending of a rugby team to play in South Africa in 1970.

Plans for a Springbok tour of New Zealand in 1973, however, are still going ahead, and the anti-apartheid movement is currently discussing how to force its cancellation. □

Banzer Closes Universities

On September 5, the Bolivian military regime of Colonel Hugo Banzer issued a decree closing the country's universities until next February. All professors and administrative personnel were put on leave. Banzer announced the creation of a commission to develop a complete "reform" of the university system. □

October 4, 1971

Puerto Rico

Workers to March Against Wage Freeze

[The following article appeared in the September 12 issue of *Claridad*, a weekly San Juan newspaper published by the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI—Movement for Puerto Rican Independence). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

SAN JUAN—A massive workers' march has been set for October 9 to protest the wage freeze decreed by President Richard Nixon.

The decision was reached last Wednesday [September 8] at a meeting attended by about sixty labor leaders representing international and independent trade unions from all over the country.

Pedro Grant, coordinator of the Movimiento Obrero Unido [United Workers Movement], which will sponsor the march, launched a strong attack on Governor [Luis] Ferré for refusing to intervene in Washington so that Puerto Rican wages would not be frozen.

Grant accused Ferré of "not having grasped the seriousness of the injustice being suffered by the Puerto Rican working class, which on the one hand

is denied the right to salaries equal to those of its North American brothers and sisters . . . and on the other has its salaries frozen at present levels."

In view of the alarming situation faced by many workers because of the bosses' refusal to negotiate wage increases, the meeting agreed to set up simultaneous picket lines in front of the White House in Washington and in front of the Fortaleza [the Puerto Rican governor's official residence in San Juan]. These lines will be put into effect next Thursday, September 16.

Referring to the fear expressed by some leaders that they would be unable to mobilize their memberships for the mass march, Félix Morales of the Heavy Equipment Operators Union stated that "there is no alternative to proving that we are really leaders. Anyone who can't bring out 800 of their members ought to resign as a labor leader right now."

The meeting was attended for the first time by several women trade-union leaders, including Ana María Díaz de Carrasquillo, Aida González, and Carmen Ríos of the Association of Licensed Practical Nurses. □

Officials Admit Jackson Was Shot in Back

In his official autopsy report issued September 21, Marin County Coroner Dr. Donovan O. Cooke completely reversed his earlier findings on the killing of George Jackson at San Quentin prison August 21. Cooke had earlier claimed that Jackson, who was supposed to have been shot from a twenty-foot guard tower, had been shot in the head, the bullet exiting from his back.

Cooke now admits that Jackson was shot in the back, as other prisoners had originally charged, but claims the bullet exited from the top of his head.

This story, however, is no more credible than the earlier version. For the bullet to have taken this path would have required Jackson's head to be below his body at the moment the bullet hit him. And one does not

normally run across a courtyard upside down in the middle of an escape attempt.

One fact that came to light may explain the discrepancies. The September 22 *New York Times* reported:

"E. C. Fontaine, an assistant to Dr. Cooke, said today [September 21] that the direction became a question because the entrance and exit wounds were so similar. 'Exit wounds are usually larger,' he said, 'but in this case they were not.'"

This suggests the possibility that both wounds were entrance wounds, and brings to mind the August 24 testimony of John Cluchette, a codefendant of Jackson in the "Soledad Brothers" case:

"They shot George in the back and then when he wasn't dead, they came up and shot him in the head." □

The Growing Bankruptcy of Gaullism

By Jean Ravel

De Gaulle's ability to gain power in 1958 without any serious challenge to the Bonapartist regime that he set up can be ascribed to the following:

- The total bankruptcy of the Fourth Republic and its dozens of governments—eloquent proof of the decline of bourgeois parliamentarism.

- The incapacity of this sham "democracy" to solve: (a) the Algerian problem, or (b) the economic prob-



FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

lems of French capitalism— one of the most backward of the "advanced" countries.

- The need felt by the big bourgeoisie's most dynamic wing for a "stable" and "strong" regime. De Gaulle's personal prestige after World War II made this acceptable to the petty bourgeoisie, committed as they were to the values of liberal bourgeois democracy but fed up with the Fourth Republic's impotence. This "strong state" enabled the industrial and financial bourgeoisie to get rid of the Algerian millstone at the least possible cost and to carve for itself a key place in the Common Market

while trying to speed up the essential process of modernizing French capitalism and bringing it up to a more competitive level.

After ten years, the explosion of May 1968 showed:

- The French proletariat's capacity to resist the nibbling away of its gains by the bourgeoisie.

- The combativity of the workers, on the rise again after five years of quiescence following the great miners' strike of 1963.

- The radicalization of the students and young workers and their increasing receptivity to the propaganda of the revolutionary organizations.

- The bankruptcy of the great Gaullist concept of worker and student "participation" in the "New Society." Pompidou and Chaban-Delmas are not likely to succeed where the "great man" failed. They cannot offer the youth sufficient prospects to draw the workers' and teachers' unions (despite the zigzags of the reformist leaders of these unions) into being co-opted by the bourgeois state, or to draw the university and high-school students into "participating" in the administrative boards of the high schools and universities, that is, in the machinery of occupational placement and training geared to the interests of big capital and the repression sought by the most reactionary wing of the French bourgeoisie.

No, that cannot be done, and the failure of the 1968 upsurge to go all the way hasn't meant the crushing of the proletariat or of its mass organizations, the trade unions, nor the disappearance of the revolutionary current.

To the contrary, May 1968 sparked a remarkable rise in mass political consciousness, and this radicalization has not disappeared, even though a certain confusion prevails in the ranks of the new worker-and-student extreme left that was born on the Latin Quarter barricades. The confusion was unavoidable in the absence of a revolutionary party rooted in the masses.

In the face of this situation, the French bourgeoisie, no longer held

together by the de Gaulle mystique, are becoming more and more divided over their short-term interests. Although they all agree on the need to make French industry more competitive so as to be able to hold their own in the Common Market, the proposed methods shatter this fine unity, pitting the proponents of brutal repression against the proponents of integrating the workers' organizations—the wielders of the stick against the wielders of the carrot.

This worsening situation enables political adventurers like Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, former publisher of *l'Express*, to attempt to put together an alternative team acceptable to the "centrist" liberal bourgeoisie (ranging from elements standing to the right of the Gaullists to rightist elements in the Socialist party).



GEORGES POMPIDOU

This situation has also been marked by scandals reminiscent of the Fourth Republic's great peculations which, besmirching the party in power, have exposed the close ties that bind private capital to the management of the public sector. Thus, the government was unable recently to block the public trial of a Gaullist deputy, who came close to being jailed for embezzlement from a building corporation (the speculation involved in the construction industry reaches fantastic proportions in France).

With the accelerating decline of the regime, the traditional "opposition" is starting to stir anew after a dozen miserable years. The Communist party,

unable to build left-wing unity on the ruins of classical Social Democracy, is quite naturally regaining hope; something is changing (or seems to be changing) in the ranks of the socialists. The old SFIO [Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière—French section of the Second International] is dead, but it has recently become a topic of conversation. It absorbed various clubs and tiny "socialist" political organizations and appointed François Mitterrand, the former left-unity candidate in the 1965 presidential elections who forced de Gaulle into a runoff, as its "First Secretary." Above all, if it turns out that certain rightist CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, an independent federation of Catholic origin] leaders such as Descamps join Mitterrand's new SP,* the socialists will regain standing among certain layers of workers whom they have lost steadily to the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist Party], reestablishing themselves as a force among public employees and white-collar workers.

From that point onward, the political situation in France might turn in a new direction, the most salient aspect of which would be that, to a growing number of people, Gaullism would no longer be a necessary evil. It is clear that the campaign has already opened for the 1973 legislative elections.

Will France have a "left" government two years from now? It's not a certainty, and one is tempted to say it doesn't make much difference. More decisive in the context of mounting workers' and students' struggles will be the status and prospects of the revolutionary Marxists and their ability to root themselves in the masses. The revolutionary Marxists constitute the only force capable of guaranteeing the downfall of the Gaullist regime. □

* The new Socialist party (Parti Socialiste) is the product of a merger initiated in 1969 among the SFIO, the Radicals, and the Convention des Institutions Républicaines (Convention of Republican Institutions, Mitterrand's group).—IP

Enough to Make You Sick

In 1910, the United States had 164 doctors per 100,000 population. By 1967, the figure had declined to 130 doctors per 100,000.

October 4, 1971

Swedish Government Accommodates Kremlin

Palme Vetoes Ceremony for Solzhenitsyn

The Swedish Social Democratic government had its "progressive" image tarnished somewhat in Per Egil Hegge's recently published book, "Middle Man in Moscow." Hegge, a Norwegian journalist and a former correspondent in the Soviet capital, charged, according to the September 13 *New York Times*, that the Swedish government refused to present the Nobel Prize to the anti-Stalinist writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at the Swedish embassy in Moscow, for fear of offending the Kremlin bureaucrats.

Solzhenitsyn, widely regarded as the Soviet Union's greatest living writer and one of the best-known oppositionists, was awarded the 1970 Nobel Prize in literature. In announcing the award, the secretary of the Swedish Academy described Solzhenitsyn as "a son of the Russian October Revolution, Lenin's revolution, and [he] has never abandoned this spiritual paternity—it is an essential part of his heritage and character."

Solzhenitsyn, afraid that the Moscow bureaucrats might use his leaving the country as an opportunity to exile him permanently, decided against going to Sweden to receive the prize. Instead he made inquiries about the possibility of being awarded the prize in a ceremony at the Swedish embassy.

Hegge, the first journalist to interview the Soviet writer following the announcement of the award, acted as

"middle man" in Solzhenitsyn's approach to the embassy.

A Swedish diplomat informed Hegge that his inquiries would have to be referred to the Swedish foreign ministry in Stockholm, but the diplomat indicated that he thought a ceremony for the dissident would be unlikely.

"Remember we are here to maintain good relations with the Soviet authorities and a ceremony for the sharply criticized author Solzhenitsyn might be embarrassing," he reportedly told Hegge.

Subsequently, Hegge was told by the same diplomat that a decision at "high government level" had been made that no embassy ceremony for the Nobel Prize-winner be held. Solzhenitsyn was welcome to come to the embassy "without invitation," the diplomat added. He admitted that this subservience to the Kremlin "did not look very heroic."

Hegge pointed out to the diplomat that Nobel Prizes had been presented to Soviet winners in embassy ceremonies in other cases. He mentioned the literature winner in 1965, Mikhail A. Sholokhov, and Lev D. Landau, the winner in physics in 1962.

Swedish Premier Olaf Palme defended his government's actions by saying: "A ceremony at the embassy might have been interpreted as a political manifestation against the Soviet Union." □

Nixon Stops Sale to Soviet Union

The Nixon administration, while relaxing trade restrictions with China, has blocked a contract that would have allowed the Mack Truck Company to sell a large amount of equipment to the Soviet Union. An initial agreement had been signed by the Soviet government and the U.S. corporation on May 18, according to which Mack would design and supply a major part of the material for the construction of the world's largest truck factory.

On September 17, Dzhermen Gvishiani, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology, said that the Soviet Union would build the

plant with its own resources.

The factory, which is expected to cost \$1,400,000,000, will be built in a small city some 550 miles east of Moscow. It will have a capacity of 150,000 trucks and 250,000 diesel engines per year.

The Mack Truck contract had required U.S. government approval, and on September 15 the company announced that the deadline for approval had passed with no action being taken. Although the administration claimed not to have definitively rejected the plan, its stalling effectively prevented implementation of the transaction. □

Silent Genocide—Arana's Reign of Terror

Guatemala City

Just a few months ago, world public opinion breathlessly followed the tragic events unfolding in a small Central American country. From dusk to dawn, the wire services flooded the world with the phlegmatic, official-looking face of a European ambassador to that tropical country—which most people had forgotten until then—who had been abducted by "left-wing terrorist groups."¹

The German diplomat's fate occupied the headlines of the big Western bourgeois dailies and the screens of television news broadcasts. For a whole week, the mighty bourgeois media followed, minute by minute, the shifts in the destiny of an old Nazi functionary—whom no one remembers any longer—up to the well-known, fatal climax.

The Guatemalan government's political stupidity and the "profound indignation" of the rulers in Bonn made it possible, nevertheless, for something of the stench of death permeating the bloody regime that has governed Guatemala for the past ten years to seep through the news dispatches and "special reports."

But once *Bundesminister* Schell had shrouded the ambassador and returned him to his native village, and once the balance of foreign trade re-assumed its dominant position in West German diplomacy, international silence descended again over the tragedy and over the terror through which the Guatemalan people have lived for more than a decade.

A Continuing Nightmare

The nightmarish atmosphere in which broad sectors of the Guatemalan

1. The reference here is to the April 1970 kidnapping and execution of the West German ambassador to Guatemala, Count Karl von Spreti, reportedly carried out by members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes—FAR], a leftist group engaged in guerrilla warfare. On April 5, after the Guatemalan government refused to meet the ransom terms for von Spreti's release, his captors killed him. — *IP*

people live today exceeds the limits of horror. It becomes something incredibly repulsive.

In the very heart of the capital city, in the vicinity of the hospital's surgical amphitheater, many families suffer the most refined psychological torture that has been applied to any nationality in the history of modern genocide. Perhaps only Vietnam—alongside of whose tribulations the Guatemalan ordeal pales by comparison—has witnessed more atrocious crimes.

According to a report in the Guatemala City daily *El Gráfico* of March 13:

"In recent years the General Hospital Amphitheater has been a nightmare for many families. An average of five corpses pass through it daily. Only one comes from the hospital wards; four of them come via the police network, their deaths the result of the political violence afflicting the country, or of traffic accidents.

"Most of the time the machine-gunned corpses reach the autopsy room a number of days after having been finished off and are thus in an advanced state of decomposition. This has created a profound uneasiness among area residents, who now label the amphitheater with a scathing epithet: 'the stench bomb.' . . . As is known, at times up to twelve corpses have accumulated, the result of violence or of various sorts of accidents.

"This condition and the regrettable stoppage of work (caused by the foul smell) it brings with it is allowed to persist, despite the fact that all departments of the hospital center know about it. . . .

"A corpse remains in the autopsy room for approximately twenty-four hours. This is sufficient time to taint the neighborhood, and especially to affect those who work a few short yards from the deceased. The typical itinerary of the deceased, prior to burial by the family or the state, is as follows: (1) the corpse is displayed on a slab, where an autopsy is performed on it and where, later on, the family identifies it; (2) the appropri-

ate justice of the peace and his clerk fulfill their legal responsibility; (3) the investigations department of the national police performs fingerprint studies and other routines on the corpse; (4) family members come in to confirm the dead person's identity; (5) the legal procedures necessary for burial are carried out.

"During the year 1970, more than 1,300 criminal autopsies were performed, and most of them were on bodies that had been dead for several days."

'An Eye for an Eye'

Where does this alarming flow of bodies come from? In the very pages of the local newspapers, among photos of beauty queens and ads for Coca-Cola, we can discover the sordid mechanism that drags Guatemalans daily to their death. The papers are full of news about "missing persons," "victims of kidnapping by unidentified individuals," etc.

Thus, on February 28, 1971, the University Student Association [Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarios—AEU] made public a message it had sent to the government expressing its "concern over the events that have been occurring due to the initiation of the present state of siege" and enumerating a list of citizens, university students, and leaders, some of whom are imprisoned and others of whom have disappeared. The message listed eighteen persons taken prisoner and twenty-three who had disappeared in the preceding few days, and concluded by noting that the lists are incomplete because the number of missing persons is actually greater.

On other occasions, family members have disclosed the kidnappings. *El Gráfico* reported on February 28:

"Miss Haydée Ovando Urquizú was arrested by an army patrol at the outpost on the San José Pinula highway, while she was en route to the Pavón prison farm. She had been assured that her brother, Julio Humberto Ovando Urquizú was at that detention center. . . .

"Three brothers from the Arévalo

Quinteros family were arrested during a search on January 7; various attempts at locating them were ineffective for three days, until authorities admitted to having seized them."

Nevertheless, it is unusual for authorities to admit to having seized individuals. Most of the time the press reports only that the seizure was carried out by "persons dressed in khaki who took him to an undisclosed destination." According to the February 28 account in *El Gráfico*:

"A blind son of Margarito Ruiz López told of the seizure of his father by the Motorized Military Police in the village of Muralla in the municipality of Santa Catalina, department of San Marcos; he has been missing since then. . . .

"The mother of engineer Santos Maximiliano Landa Castañeda (missing) stated that he was seized as he was leaving an office in the Industrial Park, just after paying for his auto registration."

Afterwards, even months later, the same papers take note of the "discoveries." It was revealed in *El Gráfico* on March 30 that "three unidentified bodies were located yesterday in the district of Santa Bárbara Suchitepéquez, and underneath a bridge spanning the Coyolate river in Escuintla.

"Reports arriving from Mazatenango reveal that at 2:00 p.m., on the banks of the Sigüacán river, between kilometers 120 and 121 of the highway, in the district of Santa Bárbara Suchitepéquez, an unidentified corpse was found showing various bullet wounds in the head, chest, and legs. He was dressed in blue canvas pants, white sweatshirt, brown shoes, and blue socks. He was about five feet, three inches tall, with curly hair, and lacked any identification papers. . . .

"At 8:00 p.m., two other unidentified corpses were found under the bridge over the Coyolate river. . . . The first corpse was about thirty-five years old, and was wearing brown pants, a green shirt, and black socks and shoes. He had black hair and a thin and somewhat grey beard.

"The second body was approximately 48 years of age; it was clothed in beige cashmere slacks and a white shirt, and had greying hair, beard, and mustache, with traces of baldness. . . . Neither one showed bullet wounds, but they did have signs of

having been beaten on their faces and bodies."

On the following day it was established that one of the bodies was that of Enrique Ovalle Herrera, "who had been kidnapped a few days ago by unidentified persons in District Eleven of this capital city. . . ." A day later the other body was identified as that of Jorge Ramón Sarmiento Grotewold, who "disappeared from his home on the 22nd of the current month, when various unknown persons kidnapped him on a street in the capital. . . ."

However, when a discovery is made after some months have elapsed, no identification is possible. *El Gráfico* reported May 9 on the "macabre discovery of human skeletons made at noon yesterday by some peasants from the El Llano estate in Palín municipality, Escuintla district. Only a few yards away from the highway . . . vultures and dogs from the area had dug up the remains of three men, shot to death some time ago.

"When the national police detachment in Palín was notified, it made the required investigation, accompanied by the local justice of the peace. The animals had taken the bones (two intact skeletons and a third one scattered around a thirty-yard radius) from a shallow, improvised grave. The odor must have attracted the vultures, which quickly noticed the corpses.

"Among possible identifying features, a few details are available: One of the skeletons had on two pairs of trousers, one of blue canvas (underneath) and the other of an olive green fabric. On the ground, a number of .45-caliber shells bore witness to the manner in which the unidentified men were killed.

"The deed was apparently done at least three months earlier."

The only thing the public is always certain of is the identity of the killers. Sometimes, out of a warped sense of political vanity, they leave their calling cards. The May 13 *El Gráfico* reported that on that day, "the authorities found the body of a man roughly thirty-six years of age. He showed seven bullet holes of undetermined caliber, and in one of his shirt pockets there was a sheet of paper with the words 'an eye for an eye,' the terrifying slogan of the anticommunist grouping within the government."

The Road to the Morgue

The first part of the road that can carry a Guatemalan to death was described on April 14 by radio newsman Ricardo Castro. What follows is the account published in the April 14 *El Gráfico* of the events surrounding the unsuccessful attempt to kidnap him.

"According to Castro's story, he left the newsroom of Guatemala Flash (a local radio news station) at 11:00 p.m. on Monday, April 12, en route to another station where he also worked as a reporter.

"On the street, a grey vehicle of North American make pulled alongside the Ford that the newsman was driving. The latter pulled over at the corner of Tenth street and Tenth avenue in Zone One and got out of the car to fix a mechanical problem. 'That's the one!' Castro heard the men in the grey auto yell. 'That's the one!'

"Ricardo chose at that point to run. But one of his pursuers shot at him, hitting him in the base of the neck.

"From that moment on—shortly after 11:00 p.m.—until 3:00 p.m. the following afternoon, Ricardo Castro lay unconscious, thrown into the dust of a dirt road leading to the highway to El Salvador. There they had probably left him for dead."

Guatemala City today is an immense garrison. Since coming to power, the regime of President Carlos Arana Osorio has kept the country under a state of siege. The "security forces," equipped with modern North American gear, patrol the city streets day and night, on orders to open fire upon the least suspicion. You get the impression that there are more policemen than civilians in the city.

Searches are conducted daily for "guerrilla hideouts," with spectacular cordoning off of entire city blocks and ostentatious deployment of troops, vehicles, and helicopter gunships. Vehicles are not permitted to go more than twenty-five miles an hour in the urban areas, nor to change lanes except when clearly necessary. Groups of more than two young people are automatically suspect.

In the capital city, the justices of the peace handle *eight* corpses each day on the average. In San Marcos department alone, on the Mexican bor-

der, the Motorized Military Police have murdered an average of *ten* peasants each day since November 13, 1970. Relatives of the dead are afraid to identify them out of fear of being murdered themselves.

The terror has struck all layers of society. Arnoldo Otten Prado, a ruling-party legislator, was riddled with bullets on December 18, undoubtedly because of his flirtation with the workers' and peasants' movements. News writer Luis Enrique Salazar Solórzano and news commentator Luis Pérez Díaz "disappeared," and to this date nothing has been learned of their fate.

On November 26, lawyer and economist Julio Camey Herrera, a well-known member of the moderate left, was murdered. Two days later the bodies of Humberto González Juárez, a business manager and former functionary in the Arévalo government;² and engineer Armando Braun Valle, a prominent Guatemala City businessman, were found. The latter's secretary was also discovered dead alongside the two businessmen. More than forty bullet holes were found in González's body. Neither Braun Valle nor his secretary had ever been active politically, so that the only possible motive in their deaths was that they might have recognized one of the killers.

Shortly thereafter, on January 13, attorney Adolfo Mijangos López, a university professor and legislator of the moderate left, was assassinated. According to the statement given to *El Imparcial* by the murdered legislator's chauffeur, his killers were three men wearing ordinary clothing, jackets, and straw hats.

The chauffeur, Marco Vinicio Ramírez, recalled that Mijangos was leaving his office in his wheelchair when they took him by surprise. Ramírez was about to open the door to Mijangos's car when the three attackers came up and fired point blank at their victim's back. Mijangos was hit in the back by several bullets and he died where he was hit, on the sidewalk. Ramírez suffered a bullet wound in the right hand.

Many passersby soon clustered around the wheelchair, which was

quickly covered with a white sheet. About twenty minutes later Representative Mijangos's wife, Cleotilde de Mijangos, arrived with the victim's mother, Berta López viuda de Mijangos. They both screamed and cried over the body, as did other friends of the dead congressman.

The Open Grave

As the terror rises, the massacres of citizens mount alarmingly. A full page of *El Gráfico* on May 20, 1971, was taken up with narrative, documents, and photos on the following shocking story—one that will surely go down in the history of Guatemalan anticommunism as one of its most representative episodes.

"An open grave," the account began, "was accidentally discovered by some peasants in the vicinity of the village of San Vicente de Pacaya, on the side of the volcano of the same name, where no fewer than five bodies have been laid to rest. Its existence, known for some time by local farm workers, was unknown to anyone else because of the peasants' silence.

"They decided nonetheless to reveal their discovery to the University Students' Association (AEU), which sent some of its leading members to the Pacaya volcano.

"The AEU, before starting the trip, invited some press photographers to come along to the place where the peasants insisted that several men had been disposed of some time previously.

"After walking through the rain and the ashes of the Pacaya volcano for several kilometers, the student officials and journalists—led by a peasant—reached the place known as Cave of the Mourner [*Cueva de la Llorona*], on the grounds of El Caracol village in San Vicente Pacaya. This cave—a natural depression in the volcanic soil—was in reality the open grave of which the farm workers had spoken.

"It was impossible to determine the exact number of corpses gathered there. Human bones were scattered among rocks and soil over a fifty-yard radius, making them difficult to tally. But at least five human skulls were recognized immediately. Leg bones, ribs, and shoulder blades dotted the ground with white for as far as the eye could see.

"Observers were struck by the presence of several strong lassos that were

undoubtedly used in taking the victims there. These ropes were still tied in the pattern that was used to bind those who are now skeletons.

"Although the peasants from El Caracol village insist that the dead had been buried, this was impossible to determine owing to the lateness of the hour.

"The clothing that remained draped around the human bones testifies that its wearers had not been country folk. A red wool sock with a white band on top, a pair of recently resoled black shoes, and cashmere slacks of an undetermined color (probably gray) furnish proof that they had been purchased and used in the capital city.

"The peasants of San Vicente Pacaya and of El Caracol village say that further macabre discoveries are to be expected. The skeletons found yesterday are at the base of the volcanic peak, which overflowed recently. Underneath the lava, they point out, there might be a continuation of the common grave, which was discovered and ransacked by coyotes.

"It was impossible at press time to determine the probable identity of the bodies. The only clue is the probable city origin of those done away with in the Cave of the Mourner."

In the Name of a Minority

If these narratives of hate and insanity suffice to portray the practices of the monsters ruling Guatemala in the name of representative democracy and of anticommunism, we can obtain a faithful image of their filthy political ideology from the mouth of Arana himself. From the same Arana who in 1966 organized the Movimiento Anticomunista Nacional Organizado [MANO, whose initials spell out the word "hand"—Organized National Anticommunist Movement]; the same one whose shadow lurks behind the refusal by the cowardly government of Julio César Méndez Montenegro to negotiate the release of von Spreti; the same Arana who under that government, as chief of the Zacapa Military Zone, killed more than eight thousand Guatemalan citizens.

"If it is necessary to sacrifice minorities in the interest of the majority, we are prepared to do so," he said recently in a statement to the Mexican press.

This murderer in the pay of the wealthy turns everything upside down

2. Juan Jose Arevalo was president of Guatemala from 1944 through 1950. He instituted moderate social and political reforms, and allowed the radical left to operate openly.—IP

in such a peculiar fashion! To what "minority" is he referring? Even the number of men massacred by his fascist bands now exceeds the number of oligarchs in whose interests he has carried out for five years this campaign of genocide that is bleeding our people.

But we shall let the facts speak on behalf of the "majority." From the start of its regime, the Arana clique has been running around the country "determined to learn the needs of the people," as if it were not sufficient to get off at the first corner to grasp fully the endless misery that afflicts Guatemala.

These presidential tours give more of the impression of an officer reconnoitering the battlefield to confirm the casualties he inflicted on the enemy the previous day. An invited newsman, Mario Carpio Nicolle, however, wrote in *El Gráfico* on May 21, shortly after the last stop:

"And what can one say about the town where the government committee found itself at the mayor's desk with a bottle containing a strange liquid, similar in color to bottled Chiltepe chili sauce? Surely some must have thought that the inhabitants wanted to present the President with some special product of the region.

"It was water! It was water from the 'fountain,' which the people consume. From a 'fountain' where the hogs bathe.

"In another place—it might have been Melchor de Mencos—they told us of a boy who had to undergo an operation to have parasites removed, as he had such a concentration of animal life in his intestines that they were stopped up."

Yet all is not fear among the men and women of Guatemala. At no point in history has the terror of those on top succeeded in chilling the innermost sap of life.

The reactionary terror is swallowed up in the chasm that the ruling classes have opened up in the past ten years

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between themselves and the people. Guatemala resists. It knows that it is capable of moving from distress to attack.

This profound truth of every struggle for freedom was learned by the Guatemalan people on the eve of the old revolution of 1944.³ And they have not forgotten it. The memory of the people is what makes history something more than a futile enterprise.

Just as in the darkest days of that earlier dictatorship, today also an undercurrent of resistance is churning inside of men and women. None of the victims has been left abandoned on the slabs of the morgue.

And they are fighting and shouting for the living as well. The press reported on the tribulations of a Guatemalan mother who conducted a lone hunger strike in front of the National Palace to regain her son, who had disappeared. Armed with a placard, she occupied one of the sidewalks at the official residence and began her fast.

"The announcement made yesterday," *El Gráfico* reported March 10, "that Mrs. Juana Loza de Molina would stage a fast in front of the Na-

3. In 1944 a popular uprising forced an end to the thirteen-year dictatorship of General Jorge Ubico, paving the way for free elections in December of that year. —IP

tional Palace in protest of the disappearance of her son, attorney Juan Luis Molina Loza, was reported fully by the press.

"Shortly after beginning her public action, Mrs. Loza de Molina was arrested by National Police agents, who arrived on an ambulance. They had orders to take her to the neuropsychiatric hospital.

"From what I could learn," she stated later, "someone inside the National Palace phoned the director of the National Police. They told him that there was a woman down below who was creating a disturbance and must be insane."

Once again we see the warped inversion of reality in the minds of the threatened ruling classes. But if this overwhelming evidence of a people's revolt doesn't suffice to condemn forever the miserable oligarchy for whose survival so many Guatemalans have been sent to their deaths, we shall give the final word to an illustrious bourgeois, a man of the epoch in which the bourgeoisie still could see itself in the mirror of reality, and to whom no one will attribute hidden intentions: Erasmus.

"Most of the people detest war and cry out for peace. A small number, whose cursed happiness always rests on the disgrace of the people, desires war. But why should their inhumanity win out over the will of so many good people?" □

Colombian Workers Face Courts-Martial

Seventy oil refinery workers face trial by a military court and nearly a thousand others are liable to be fired in the aftermath of a strike and factory occupation in northern Colombia. The nationalized refinery, located at Barrancabermeja, supplies most of the country's gasoline and natural gas.

About 2,000 workers occupied the factory at the beginning of August to protest violations of a contract signed last November. They occupied strategic points in the plant and seized some twenty technical and administrative personnel as hostages.

The government retaliated by sending troops to Barrancabermeja, which is in a region where there has been guerrilla activity.

According to the August 29-30 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, troops attempting to capture the refinery were repulsed by workers wielding flame-throwers. The soldiers then opened fire, killing one worker.

During the negotiations that followed,

the strikers demanded withdrawal of the army, recognition of their contract, and amnesty for the strikers. When the government promised to continue negotiations, the workers, who had run out of food, evacuated the factory.

The army then arrested approximately half the strikers. The capitalist press applauded the action and is demanding "severe punishment of those responsible" for the strike. □

Yes, But It Keeps Population Up

An American Jew visiting Israel was ordered by a rabbinical court September 14 to remain in Israel until December, when the court will hear support-claims from his estranged wife, who is an Israeli citizen. The unwilling immigrant commented, ". . . the rabbinical court had the audacity to tell me I have to live in Israel. They're unbelievable, they're fascists."

Open Letter Demands Release of Peruvian Political Prisoners

[The following amnesty appeal refers to the Peruvian political prisoners listed in the September 27 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. That issue also reproduced an appeal by Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco for a full amnesty and pardon for the prisoners. Both Blanco's appeal and the one printed below were prepared prior to the Peruvian regime's September 13 deportation of Blanco, along with student leader Rolando Rubén Peña and five officials of the striking National Federation of Peruvian Teachers (Federación Nacional de Educadores del Perú—FENEP).]

* * *

We, the undersigned, call on the Government of the Republic of Peru to act in the spirit of strictest justice by applying fully its Decree-Law No. 18,692, issued in December 1970, which concedes amnesty and pardon to all persons imprisoned for political, social, and related activities.

We are enclosing a list of seventy-six prisoners, most of them peasants from the departments of Ancash, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Junín, Huancavelica, and Lambayeque, whose only crime has been to struggle to regain their lands.

Signers thus far:

Peasant federations.—Cuzco, La Convención, and Lares; Regimiento de Comunidades y Campesinos del Centro [Council of Communities and Peasants of the Central Region]; communities and peasants of Junín; Federación General de Campesinos de Junín [General Federation of Peasants of Junín].

Peasant unions.—Sigre and affiliates; Quebrada Honda Union; La Convención; Uccobamba; Aña; Chamchamayo, Combapata section; Quelio-mayo; Santa Ana La Convención; Trabajadores Campesinos Lares Quilca [Lares Quilca Farm Workers]; Construcción Civil Quillabamba [Quillabamba Public Works]; Construcción Civil Cuzco [Cuzco Public Works], Choferes Cuzco [Cuzco Drivers]; Pequeños Comerciantes Cuzco [Cuzco

Small Merchants]; Mercados del Cuzco [Cuzco Markets].

Other groups.—Comités Campesinos Huancayllo, La Walca [Huancayllo and La Walca Peasant Committees]; Cooperativa Agrícola de Producción [Agricultural Production Cooperative]; Campesinos Chinchero Urubamba [Chinchero Urubamba Peasants]; Cooperativa Agrícola Comunal Ltda 178 [Communal Agricultural Cooperative No. 178]; Alta Pachar Zone; Co. Chala-Concepción, Junín [Chala-Concepción Committee, Junín]; Chala residents of Lima.

Presidents of student federations.—Manual Góngora, FUC; Carlos Pongo, FEUA [Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Agraria—Agricultural University Students' Federation]; José Nique de la Puente, FUSM [Fed-

eración Universitaria de San Marcos—San Marcos University Federation]; Julio Castro, CEM; Jorge Zumarán, ACUNI [Asociación de Centros de la Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería—Association of National Engineering University Centers].

Individual signers.—Hugo Blanco; Jorge Nako; Ricardo Gadea; Elio Portocarrero; Pedro Candela; Vidal Bocanegra; Gerardo Benavides; Juvenal Zamalloa; Antonio Meza; Jacquelin de Lobatón, General Secretary of CODDEH [Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos—Committee for the Defense of Human Rights;

José Antonio Portuondo, Cuba; Martha Lynch, Argentina; Jorge Liberman, Argentina; Pedro Lastra, Chile; P. Verdevoye, France; Elvio Romero, Paraguay; Jean-Paul Sartre, France; Simone de Beauvoir, France; Luigi Nono, Italy. . . .

Well over 400 signatures of people prominent in the literary and academic world as well as in the various arts, of intellectuals, workers and students, were also included.

Lima, September 1971.

Call for International Abortion Actions

[The call reprinted below is taken from the September 19 issue of the national newsletter of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. WONAAC was established at a July conference of more than 1,000 women, meeting in New York City. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 26, p. 707.)

[Subscriptions to the newsletter, at \$3.00 per year, can be ordered from the WONAAC office, 917 Fifteenth St. NW, Suite 502, Washington, D.C. 20005.]

* * *

Throughout history few things have been more universal or known fewer national boundaries than the suffering of women from the denial of our right to control our own lives, our own bodies. Decades ago the suffragists of the United States took inspiration from their British sisters and went on to build part of the international movement through which women won the right to vote.

Today, in every corner of the earth,

laws deny women the right to abortion, the right to decide whether or not to have children. Now a new generation of women has begun to stand up for our rights. The struggle for the right to abortion is rapidly crossing boundaries of nations and continents, of language and background. We have inspired one another and learned from one another.

In the United States women from many backgrounds are uniting in this fight. On November 20 we will march in massive numbers on Washington, D.C., and San Francisco to demand the repeal of all anti-abortion laws, with no forced sterilization, and the repeal of all restrictive contraceptive laws. We call on our sisters around the world to unite with us on that day, to bring our power together, to let the world hear in one united voice and many languages our slogan, "Abortion—A Woman's Right to Choose." When we join together throughout the world, no force can stop us. □