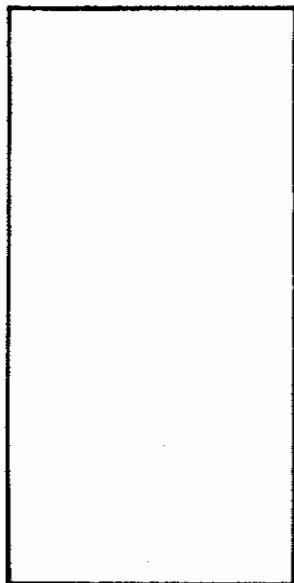


# TRICONTINENTAL





# to the reader



People who struggle in the long agony of oppression, generations extirpated not only from their territories but from the traditions and practices of a national culture; men, women and children pushed to the margin of life as, day by day, they die tortured, persecuted, massacred, ill without medical attention or food — and all because they want their homeland free, be they Guatemalans, Vietnamese or Palestinians... "Ten years of springtime (1944-1954) in the land of eternal tyranny (1838-1974)" in *EXPERIENCES AND FACTS*, presents the history of Guatemala, history of an oppressed but unconquered people, as the author, playwright and essayist Manuel Galich, demonstrates by affirming the inevitable defeat of Yankee imperialism and the coming of a free and sovereign world. That is what has begun, inexorably, in Viet Nam, and the empire is not resigned to it: in *NOTES FOR HISTORY*, we present two documents of the PRG-RSV charging multiple violations of the Paris Agreements on the

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## TRICONTINENTAL

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part of the Saigon administration and demanding the overthrow of Thieu, only obstacle to achieving peace on martyred Vietnamese soil. This section is completed with "A year of terror in Chile," the accusation against Chilean fascism made by the International Commission of Investigation into the crimes of the military junta.

Guatemala, Viet Nam, Chile, Palestine. . . to evoke them suggests the bloodied image of their peoples, the ferocious madness of the oppressors and the proof of their crime. But also the unavoidable duty of their children to defeat the aggressor and restore their trampled rights. **MAN AND HIS WORD** brings us the message of President Houari Boumediene to the Palestinian students meeting in Algiers, reminding them again of "The real beginning of a destiny": the moment when the oppressed peoples launch into the conquest of their future, defending the right to construct a life of peace without exploiters or exploited.

And **STARTING POINTS** presents to our readers the complete version of Plan Inca, political program of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru, conceived as its line of action for the recuperation of the national patrimony before the seizure of power in October of 1968, and which has now brought that Andean country face to face with internal counter-revolutionary actions, directed, of course, by the CIA and its agents. . . .

Our regular section **BOOKS OF TODAY** offers "With Uncle Ho," a collection of testimonies from the closest collaborators of the immortal leader of the Vietnamese people, a man who has left one of the most profound marks on this 20th century of ours. What is said provides us with the instructive example of an invincible people — as are all peoples who, like the Vietnamese, are convinced that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," and are ready to fight until final victory.

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**EXPERIENCES  
and Facts**



**Ten Years  
of Springtime  
(1944-1954) in the Land  
of Eternal Tyranny  
(1838-1974)**



The well-known Guatemalan writer and politician Manuel Galich, presents us with a panoramic view of Guatemala — land of eternal tyranny — from 1838 down to our own times.

The ten years of revolution (1944-1954) had deep continental significance. Guatemala, one of the most miserable countries of Latin America, proposed to break with a past of ignominy and misery. But this brief springtime was brutally interrupted by imperialism and its followers.

The state of unrestrained repression imposed since the bloody golpe of 1954 fomented by Yankee imperialism, remains to the present; and today Guatemala is one of the most dissolute countries of the continent, in the name of "democracy made in USA."

## WHAT'S HAPPENING IN GUATEWORSE

—What's going on, friend,  
with your ill-bred neighbor?

—Now you see: he's on the way  
to being called Guateworse!

—And what will you do?

—If the terror  
goes on, I stand firm, *de charro*,  
I go and grab hold of the Amazon,  
and on the border I yell  
at that Estrada Cabrera:  
Quiet, *chaca*, or I'll tie you up!

Meanwhile, the humble people,  
the heroic Guatemalans  
go on bearing stoically  
the martyrs they have been given;  
but the hated ruler  
incessantly hears this cry  
interminable, accursed,  
that threatens his seat  
and is his eternal nightmare:  
—If you don't leave, I'll throw you out!





This is how Mexicans viewed the Guatemala of 1910: an expectant Don Porfirio Diaz and the great accomplice, Uncle San. Except for the figure of Don Porfirio, the drawing remains barbarously applicable to the Guatemala of today.

This title is not mine. It is a bitter and true sentence by Luis Cardoza y Aragón, inspired by another that the Guatemalans attribute to Humboldt and which we like to repeat in our tourist propaganda: "Guatemala, land of eternal springtime." It is possible that many have heard and read this phrase, but it is also probable that few know the hard reality surrounding the one by Cardoza y Aragón. The ten years of springtime began in our country 30 years ago and ended 20 years ago, when imperialism, through the mouth of its most brutal incarnation of that time, John Foster Dulles, boasted of its victory over our unarmed people. Everything else before and after those ten years, has been tyranny. A brief tale, or rather a distant evocation now, at the end of three decades following the triumph of our people and two following the Yankee "victory," confirms it. Let us look backward for a moment.

### The three calamities of the 19th century

We Guatemalans born between the last decade of the 19th century

and the first of the present, could not have a very optimistic view of our so-called republican or independent past. It was rather a gloomy picture made up of two contradictory influences: the liberal and the conservative, both of purely octogenarian inspiration.

On the other hand, state primary schooling was lay, because of a healthy influence, the only remaining one of the drastic reforms introduced by Justo Rufino Barrios, **Don Rufo**, in his energetic and progressive period of liberal and progressive dictatorship (1871-1885). The textbooks on the country's history, reduced to liberalism's obligatory evangelism by historian Lorenzo Montúfar or, simply, **Doctor Montúfar**, as he was called — who thought he was an eminent emulator of Juan Montalvo — were stubbornly sectarian in the way they assailed the servile Party, or historic conservatism. From him, through the didactic textbook writers, there reached us the cult of Barrios and the nostalgia of Central-American nationality, that is of the Federation made up of the later — and up to the present — mini-republics: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Cost Rica, not only illusory but lacking in back-

**bone.** By the same route we learned that the **cachurecos**, or more simply, **cachos**, another name for the **clerics** and historically conservative **aristocrats** and, very especially, their **strong arm**, the coarse mestizo **chieftain Rafael Carrera**, had broken up the **Federation of Central America** "like the corpse of the black drummer."

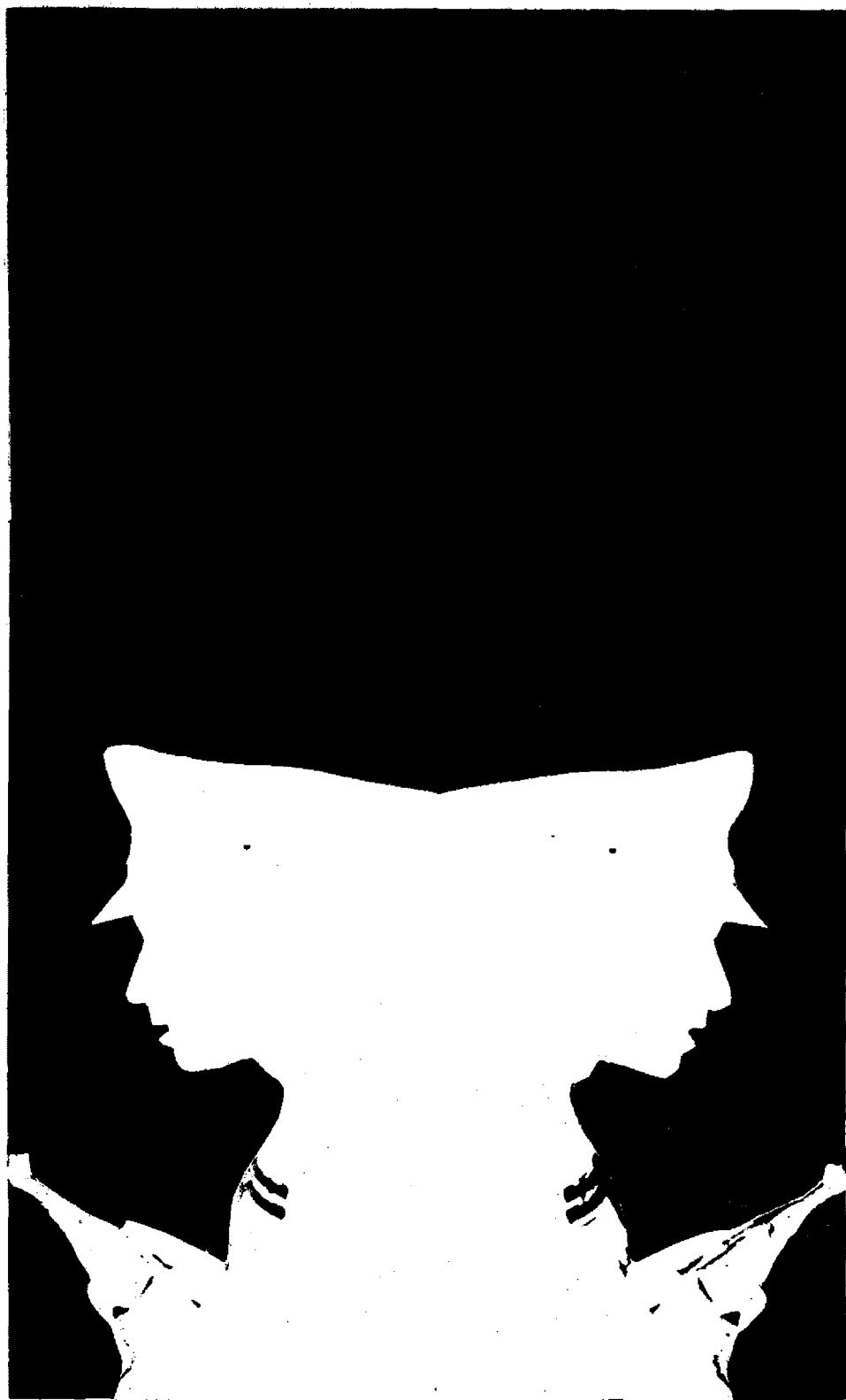
Carrera commanded in Guatemala and exercised his decisive influence in the rest of Central-America for almost three decades (1838-1865). His successor, Marshal Vicente Cerna, **mama Vicente** for the liberals of the opposition in that period, had all the defects of his predecessor and none of his virtues. He was hardly able to keep the conservative regime going for six years (1865-1871). The **Montúfar dogmas** transmitted to the generation mentioned at the beginning, this image of Carrera and his times: he was illiterate and Indian, two strikes against him in the mentality of **Montúfar** himself and of all the **Guatemala ladinaje**<sup>1</sup>, and **Racarrarraca** affirmed: "the 30-year regime" was **obscurantist**, **cruel** and **tyrannical**. As proof of this, we were shown the photograph or daguerrotype perhaps, of the head of **Tapa Lapo**, Marshal **Serapio Cruz**, **decapitated** in **Palencia** — quite dead it must be admitted — when he was **defeated** in a skirmish during a series of attempts to overthrow the conservative regime. **Cruz** was **liberal** and **hero** of the war against the **filibusterers** of **William Walker**, in **Nicaragua**. This strong dish was **seasoned** with the **macabre commentary**: **Tapa Lapo's** head had been **taken on** a pole to the capital, **Guatemala**, by the fanatic hordes, like that of the governor of the **Bastille** was **taken to Paris**, in 1789.

On the other hand, even though after the **Barrios Reform** there were **no convents**, **monks**, **friars**, **seminarists** nor **Mother Superiors** in **Guatemala**, and the **Catholic cult**

was practically limited "to the inside of the temples," as the liberal Constitution of 1879 proscribed it, from that interior, and through the **confessional**, the **sacristy**, the **pulpit**, the **novenas**, the **catechism**, the **sacraments** and other **spiritual vehicles**, the influence of the **clergy** continued to permeate, **subterraneously**, the **moving sands** of family conscience. We were born **Catholic**, **apostolical** and **Roman**; we received **baptism**, although our opinion wasn't sought, and generally we were **blessed** in the name of one of the **11 000 saints** — not all **virgins**, since they had them of both sexes — according to the particular devotion of our parents.

What does this anecdote have to do with the brief political outline that I propose to make here, as a useful antecedent to a better understanding of later history? Quite a bit, for it reveals how, if the **liberalizing dogmatism** and **anti-clericalism** of **Doctor Montúfar** reached us in the **primary school classroom** through **texts** and **teachers**, the **clerical** and **idoltrous dogmatism** reached us at home, through our **parents** and the **Catholic ritual**, and **destroyed** the **positive part** of the **Liberal Reform**, similar to that headed by **Benito Juárez**, in **Mexico**. According to this other dogmatism, **Barrios** was not the **titan** that had ended **obscurantism** in **Guatemala** and had **died in action**, fighting to **reconstruct** the **Central-American Federation**, as **liberal history** presented it, but was rather a **grim** and **sinister tyrant**, **assassin** and **thief**. His policy had consisted in **robbing** and **persecuting** the "decent people,"

<sup>1</sup> In Guatemala, generically, the **ladinaje** are those who are not pure Indian, although they may be mestizos, mulattoes or of some other ethnic origin or composition.



**that is the noble minority including the clergy, and in whipping his opponents over the 14 years that began in 1871. The threat of our parents was definitive and daily, every time we incurred their just or unjust wrath: "Behave yourself because if you don't I will apply to you the principles of '71." Which meant, as we well understood from repeated experiences of our own and others, "I am going to give you a whipping like Barrios'." Thus the domestic image of the reformer arose, opposed to the school version: that of a dark despot.**

This is how our vision of the Guatemalan 19th century was reduced to three great calamities: Central-American frustration, with the rupture of the Federation; 30 years of medieval obscurantism, with the **cachurecos** and Carrera, and 15 years of ferocious tyranny, with Barrios and the liberals, heretics, masons and ex-communicated — all synonymous. And nevertheless, the 20th century was worse.

#### **Anecdotes about tyrants involving poets**

More accurately: for the Guatemalans there was no such thing as a 20th century, but rather a return to the worst of colonial despotism, in more than one sense.

In 1898, Manuel Estrada Cabrera occupied the presidency through the assassination of the governor in power, a nephew of Barrios and his presidential grandson, in the figurative sense. Because between the one and the other there had been the insipid Manuel Lisandro Barillas (1896-92). I refer to José María Reina Barrios, **Reinita** for the people because he was so short. The same night he was assassinated by a mysterious stranger, Oscar Solinger, in a shoddy episode worthy of the Medicis with a bit of Macbeth added, replacing poison or the dagger with bullets, Estrada Cabrera gained the presidential seat as minister of government on a provisional basis.

But he didn't leave until 22 years later, in April of 1920, when the people expelled him.

The first seven-and-a-half years of my life passed under the 22 years of the Estrada Cabrera regime. In the intimacy of the household, there was something apprehensive every time, like a conspiracy, the taboo word was mentioned in an undertone: Cabrera, or more generally and fearfully: **Don Manuel**. It was like a totem. It inspired a superstitious fear.

Ten years after the overthrow of Cabrerism, I was a student in the Normal School, where the Politechnical School (military) founded by Barrios had been before. When they opened the ditches to lay the foundation for a new pavillion in the building, there appeared small bones, vertebrae, thighbones and skulls. They weren't fossils, nor were those who dug them up anthropologists or archeologists, but rather bricklayers. They were the remains of the Company of Mounted Cadets, whom Cabrera had decimated and shot right there after an unsuccessful attempt on his life, still recorded as "that of the cadets" (April 1908). The military school was transferred to another site. That was the style of the Cabrera regime.

Cabrera had no military rank. He was a lawyer. But he was a disciple, twin and contemporary of Porfirio Díaz (Mexico, 1876-1911), Adolfo of the same last name (Nicaragua, 1911-1917 as far as what is concerned here), Juan Vicente Gómez (Venezuela 1908-1933) and August B. Leguía (Peru, 1908-1930 with intermittent regimes like that of Gómez). Like them, Cabrera was the exact predecessor of the socio-political prototype native to Latin America and today called **gorilla**, consolidated as a governmental entity in the '30s and blessed in the '50s. Gerardo Machado was this in



**Cuba**, although chronologically he was a few years after Estrada Cabrera: 1925-1933.

Jorge Ubico, in Guatemala; Fulgencio Batista, in Cuba; Maximiliano Hernández Martínez in El Salvador; Tuburcio Carías Andino, in Honduras; Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua; Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, in the Dominican Republic, and José Félix Uruburu and Agustín P. Justo, in Argentina, are the principal fathers of the classical gorilla series, perpetuated into the present by examples such as Arana Osorio,<sup>2</sup> Duvalier II, Somoza III, Molina Barrera, Balaguer, known as Trujillo's widow by his people; Geisel, Bánzer, Stroessner, Bordaberry and the Pinochet gang. The majority wear a uniform. But this is an adjective. The first of all those mentioned, Ubico, ruled in Guatemala from 1931 to 1944. A good synthesis of his internal policy and his methods of government appears in the book **Hombres contra ombres** (thus, without the h, intentionally — less than men), by Efraín de los Ríos, one of the thousands of Montecristos buried alive, in the "passages" and dark dungeons of Guatemala's central penitentiary. The chronical of the tortures, administered in a low voice behind closed doors, made the Guatemalan people's hair stand on end over thirteen and a half years. And nevertheless, it is mild compared to that of the last 20 years, as will be seen and is universally known.

In the refinement of cruelty, Cabrera and Ubico in turn, made the images of Carrera and Barrios seem pale. To give them a literary and less repugnant touch, I will illustrate this with some anecdotes involving poets. The historians have no reason to expel the poets from our country as Plato proposed. Carrera's opponents, liberal youth and romantic terrorists of the 19th century, were going to blow him up with a bomb in the Cathedral of Guatemala, while he was attending

certain religious rites. The plot failed and those involved were imprisoned in the Fort of San José. Among them were the brother poets Juan and Manuel Diéguez Olaverri. Carrera, "the Indian," visited them in the presidium and they complained of how cruelly they were treated: they weren't allowed to go out to take the sun! Carrera declared that this was not the proper treatment for human beings, and ordered the reasonable rectification. They say that he was illiterate.

Barrios also escaped from a bomb in the Colón Theater, and the frustrated assassins were shot. But another poet of the conservative aristocratic families, Ismael Cerna,

<sup>2</sup> On March 5 of that year, there were presidential elections in Guatemala. In accordance with the predictions, under pressure of the paramilitary bands and utilizing all the regime's resources of violence and propaganda, Arana Osorio's (CAO's) lieutenant, Kjell (Shell) Eugenio Laugerud García, was imposed. This obscure military figure, rescued from anonymity, was CAO's second in the memorable assassinations of Zacapa, during the "state of right" of JCOMM, and Minister of Defense during his leader CAO's term. During the electoral campaign and in the voting, there was majority and significant popular apathy. A wave of strikes pointed to the economic and social crises that have been hitting Guatemala over 20 years. Kjell (Shell) Laugerud took possession of the presidency on July 1. Substantially, nothing has changed in the country. The only truth the "elected" uttered in his electoral campaign was this: "the continuity between a government and the one that succeeds it is defined by the identification of the essential objectives, the social philosophy on which both rest and the ultimate ends on which such governments agree." Guatemalan history of the last 20 years, which has been summarized in this work, leaves no doubt as to the "essential objectives," the "social philosophy" and the "ultimate ends" of the anti-Communist continuity weighing on Guatemala since the imperialist imposition of 1954.





wrote diatribes against him that surpassed those of Catullus against Caesar in the violence that inspired them. They were like another round of bombs. Cerna went to the Central Penitentiary. But they didn't beat him up with clubs and he caught fire again; he wrote the drama *La penitenciaría* (The penitentiary) also against Barrios. This theatrical and angry chronical, nevertheless, is a rosy novel compared to *Hombres contra ombres* and other testimonies of "ubiquitousness" about the same penitentiary center. When Barrios died in the battle of Chalchuapa, Ismael Cerna, physically whole and unmutilated, with all his limbs sound, and free for some time back, recited a poem at the tomb of the liberal leader, which ended with these final justifying syllables: "You wanted to make my homeland great/ and in the name of that homeland I pardon you."

With Estrada Cabrera and with Ubico there was no opponent who remained unharmed and the majority perished under torture or at the execution wall, generally dismembered. Estrada Cabrera also left anecdotes in which poets figure. Not high-minded ones like the Diéguez Olaverri or Ismael Cerna, but rather fatuous adulators who lived splendidly on gifts from the despot, in exchange for eulogies backed by the fame of their names; José Santos Chocoma and Rubén Darío. With Ubico there was no such case. For him every intellectual was, by definition, a "picaro," (rascal). It was his favorite word and the poets were included in it. Certainly many of them merited it since, despite this injurious scorn, they adulated him.

**Half a century of tyranny and  
neocolony**

But it is not in the race to madness that the Guatemalan

despots of the first half of the 20th century most out-distance the chieftans of the 19th. If compared to the latter, they represent a return to more brutal and sordid epochs in the annihilation of the human being as physical person and in moral degradation, still worse is their return to colonial submission, the alienation of a nation that has still not recuperated, has still not triumphed, after its first colonization, the European. Retrogression which is annihilation of the national being, just as those methods are annihilation of the individual being.

For example, Rafael Carrera went no further than to sign an agreement with the Holy See and a treaty with the English, recognizing the colonial status of the territory of Belize, in exchange for a route economically vital to the country, the outlet to the Atlantic. But he did not give away an inch that had not been occupied by the English since the 17th and 18th centuries due to the negligence and with the license of Spain. And when Walker's filibusterers invaded Nicaragua and threatened to enslave, like the US South, the whole of Central America, the Guatemalan army marched across and contributed to saving, at this conjuncture, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Isthmus. Among the Guatemalan chiefs went Marshal Serapio Cruz, **Tata Lapo**.

Barrios, although he had the fickleness appropriate to a liberal of his century toward the United States, in 1882, began the construction of Guatemala's inter-oceanic railway by national means, without compromising the country to foreign interests which, according to his decree 297 of August 4, 1883, "always will entail a valuable sacrifice in interests and a quasi-dependency," and he died to reunify Central America, to prevent nascent Yankee imperialism from seizing the canal



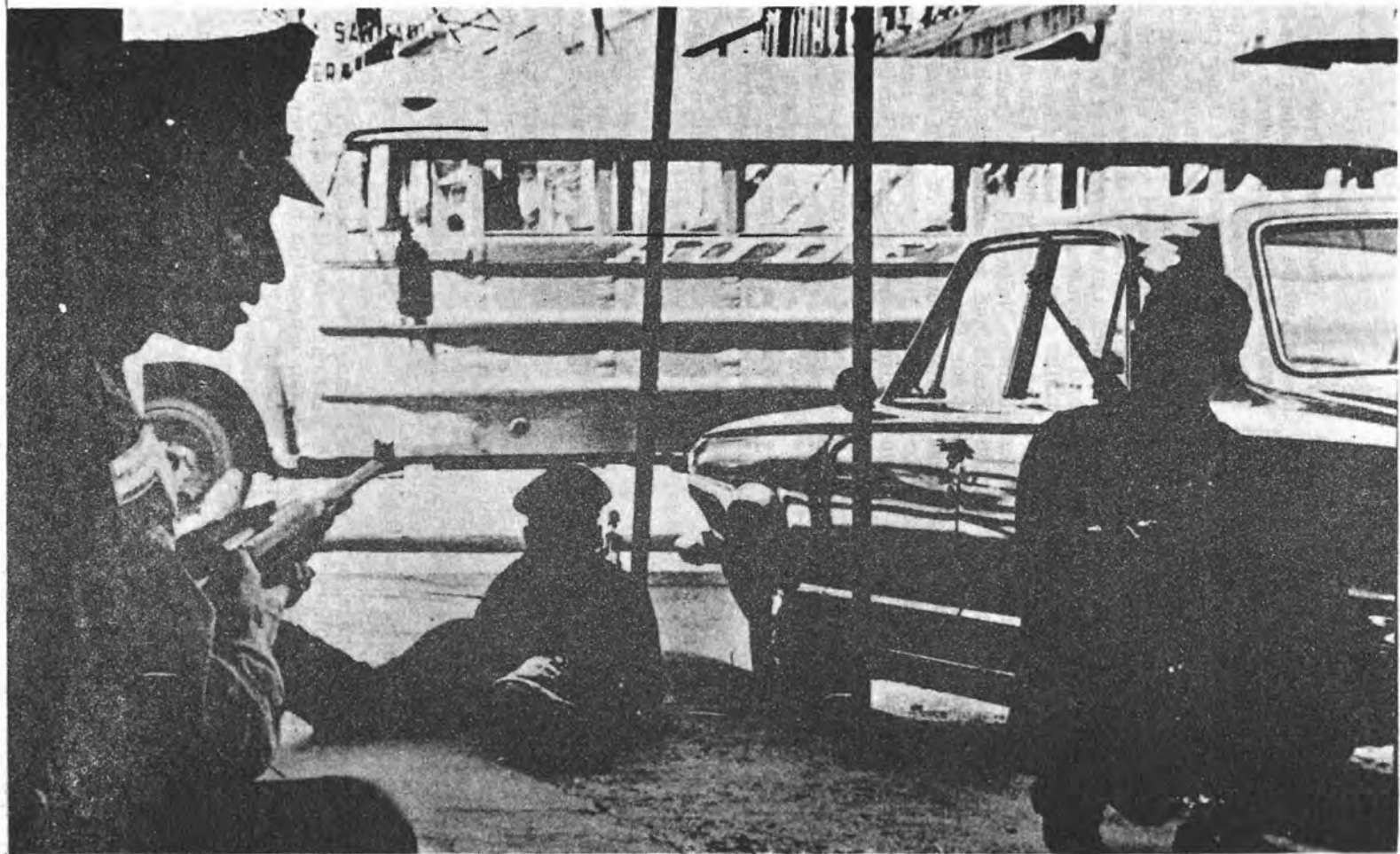
zone of Nicaragua. Article 9 of the decree of Central-American Union (February 28, 1885), which cost him his life, can never be wiped out: "Negotiations over territory, international treaties, foreign or national taxes and other stipulations of an analagous character or importance concluded by any other of the Central-American States shall not be recognized after the date of this decree." Only 30 years later, in 1914, Adolfo Diaz and Emiliano Chamorro, president and foreign minister respectively of Nicaragua, perfected the surrender of the Nicaraguan canal zone through the Bryan-Chamorro treaty. Against the ulterior consequences of that treaty, Sandino rose up in arms 12 years later.

But in the last quarter of the 19th century, Yankee capitalism reached its "superior and ultimate stage," the imperialist stage, and rapidly launched into the colonization of the Caribbean. Pan-Americanism was created in Washington in 1890; Cuba was militarily occupied and Guantanamo was captured; Puerto Rico was grabbed through the same procedure; it pressured to take possession of San Nicolás and Samaná bays, in Haiti and the Dominican Republic; it rooted Colombia out of the Isthmus of Panama, and the Pan-amenians from the Canal Zone; it disembarked the Marines in Nicaragua to impose a government at its whim, and intervened in Venezuela at the same time that it arrogated to itself the right to do so wherever and whenever it chose, by means of the "Roosevelt corollary." This and more was like the bulldozer opening a smooth road for capital, in its seizure of the natural resources of the south, and for the protection of investments and profits. Oil, sugar and bananas were the principal objectives, from Mexico to Venezuela, from Cuba to Santo Domingo and from Guatemala to Colombia.

The United Fruit Company emerged in 1889, as a result of the amalgamation of Boston fruit with

Tropical Trading and Transport. In a short while it had exploitations in Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua and Panama. The 20th century dawned and the great master of this monumental con game was Minor C. Keith, reputed by his biographer, W. Bitter, to be "uncrowned king of Central America." None of this was an isolated fact, but rather part of a single and immense process: Yankee imperialist expansion: the hidden face of the pseudo-paternal Pan-Americanism. Neither it nor its fruit agent Keith had any difficulty with Estrada Cabrera. The basic railroad-banana contracts of 1901 and 1904 initiated the surrender of lands, of railroads and of Puerto Barrios, the only port in the Atlantic region. The clauses of those contracts also granted to the UFCO: renunciation of any future tax, exemptions from import regulations for however much the company wanted and from the usual tonnage, lighthouse, piloting, etc., fees, rapid and privileged delivery without hours or days of rest, of the fruit ships; telephones, railroads and private roads, and finally, the right to establish a port wherever the concessioner wanted.

This was only the beginning. Two colorless governments between the tyranny of Estrada Cabrera and that of Jorge Ubico (1922-1931) continued the surrender of the country. A 1924 contract broadened the concessions and grants of lands on the Atlantic, and another in 1930, extended the procedure, with identical characteristics, to the Pacific region where the fruit company was called Agricultural Company of Guatemala (CAG). The capital in circulation from the enterprise in the Caribbean was then already \$200 000 000. There were clamors of protest from peasants thrown off their lands which they had tilled for years. There were also judicious opinions by the educated, and pa-



triotic declarations and even a certain press in favor of Guatemalan interests. Final flashes of a weak and dying national bourgeoisie on the way to disappearing. Nothing worked. Public power was under the imperial wing and it was as deaf to the cries from below as it was tuned in to the orders from above.

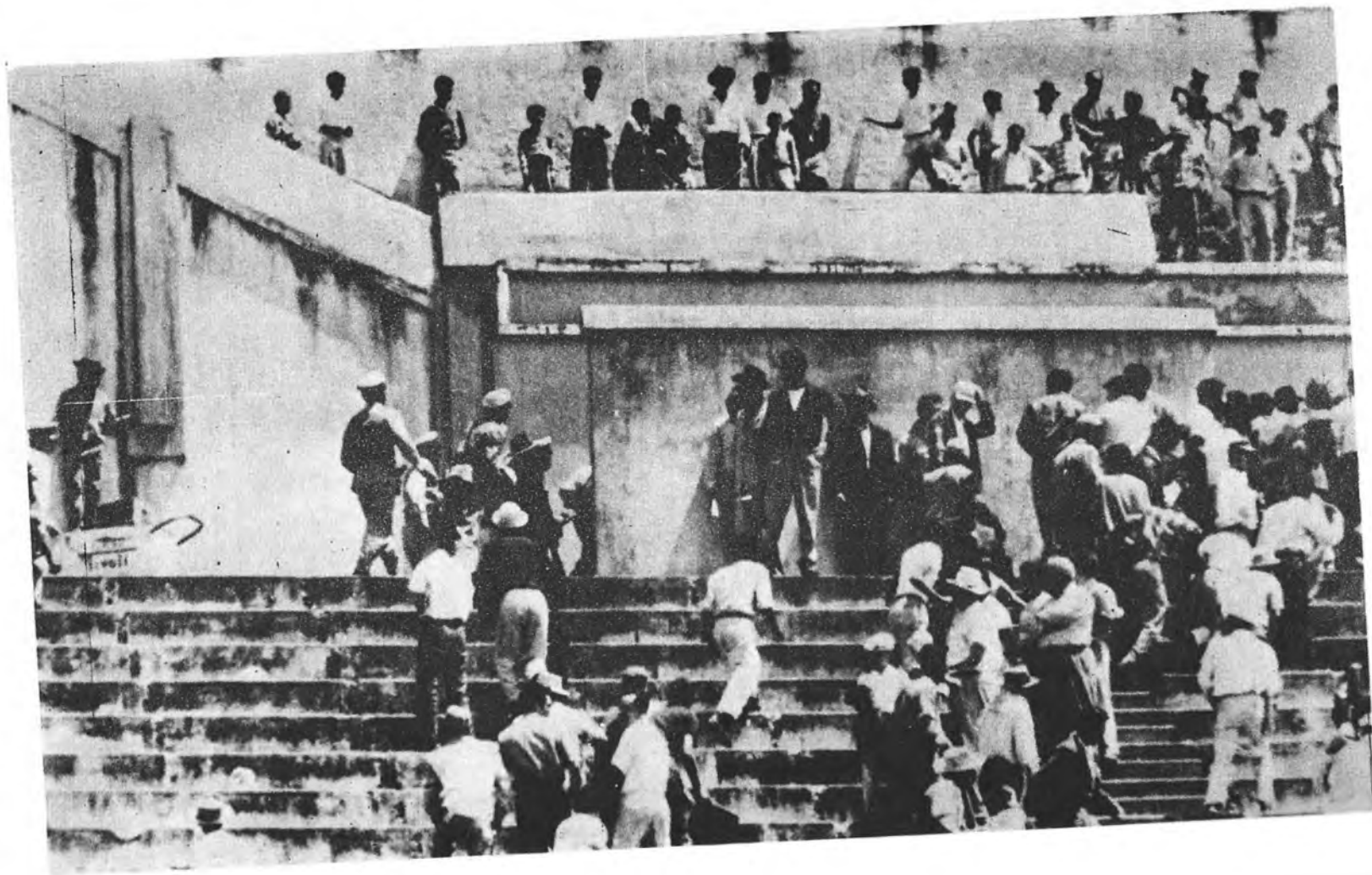
Ubico, as everyone in Guatemala knew in 1931, was made president by the United States minister, Sheldon Whitehouse, after three ephemeral occupants of the presidential chair, between December of the preceding year and February of that one. From the point of view of this great elector, he fulfilled his commitment to perfection. In 1932, he drowned in blood the incipient workers' movement and a communist cell that hoped to constitute itself as a party. In 1936, he consolidated, extended and improved the now unlimited fruit concessions and, in 1937, he clinched the monopoly over transportation, already exercised by the IRCA enterprise (International Railways of Central America), property of the UFCO to a growing (42%) extent. As far as the peasantry and especially the Indian was concerned, there wasn't much to change. Their situation couldn't have been worse and Ubico maintained the status which, since Barrios, had been as miserable, or more so, than in the days of the colony.

In a country that was two-thirds Indian, the coffee barons had, in that totally disinherited majority, an inexhaustible reserve of cheap, almost free manpower, semi-enslaved and without rights. For lack of a more appropriate word, the Guatemalans have defined this situation as a feudal remnant. But it is something still worse. An insignificant minority of landowners (2.2%) were owners of almost three-quarters of the arable lands (70%). The majority of those landowners, the feudal oligarchy of Guatemala, were so because of ancestral lineage, colonial heirs, or of more recent origin,

grown wealthy in the shadow of the liberal regimes, from Barrios to Lázaro Chacón (1926-1930). Among them figured two of the most powerful: Jorge Ubico, the president, and the United Fruit, his elector in the last instance. It isn't necessary to say that, during the 13 years and a half of Ubico's sanguinary absolutism, the repressive power was at the service of interests in which Ubico himself shared, the coffee plantations and UFCO, and that this cost peasant blood baths. Or many deaths from hunger, all silenced by a unanimously servile press.

Except for artisan manufactured goods, the country depended completely on the importation of industrial products: necessities and luxuries. To no wealthy Guatemalan did it occur to adventure into an industry. Nor was there a market for this among the 98% dispossessed peasant population and among the feeble urban middle classes; nor was it possible to count on the base for a process of industrialization: electric energy. This belonged, in all its phases, from production to consumer, to the Guatemalan Electric Enterprise, which was none other than one of the countless agencies of Electric Bond and Share. At the beginning of the century, the electric business belonged to the Germans. When Estrada Cabrera "entered" the first world war, and broke relations with the Central Empires, he expropriated the electric enterprise. But the following day, it passed over to the Yankee power trust. And there it remained: electrocuting the economy of Guatemala.

Estrada Cabrera and Ubico called themselves liberals and maintained the cult of Barrios, consisting of military and school ceremonies, on April 2, anniversary of his death in battle, and on June 30, anniversary of the armed triumph of 1871. This did great harm to the memory of the Reformer because in the mind of the



**citizen** his image was associated with the iniquities of both satraps. Moreover, every impulse toward advancement that he had implanted on the republic, fell by the wayside in a short time. The two despots were, all in all, more backward than Carrera, and converted the country into a neocolony of the inevitable metropolis: Washington. This is how it was during the 60 years that followed the death of Barrios (1885-1945). That is why I said at the beginning that we Guatemalans born between the last decade of the 19th century and the first decades of the present could not have a very optimistic view of our past pseudo-independence. It was from that past that we wanted to liberate our homeland between 1944 and 1954.

### **Thirty years ago: Guatemala began to be a different country**

With such antecedents, it is not adventurous to say that it was a feeling of national shame that first moved us, the university leaders of the rebellion against Ubico, in 1944, thirty years ago. We still had no revolutionary ideology, nor concrete program, nor well planned strategy, simply because the obscurantism we and our parents had lived through over almost a century, had kept us more than a little isolated from the world that surrounded us. Other social sectors joined us, and the movement was massive, popular: the teachers, the workers, the small businessmen, the professionals and even some big land owners' interests were in contradiction to Ubico's. He fell but a heavy-handed general named Ponce Valdes wanted to continue his system. Then the young army officers and the people in the interior of the country — the rural masses, the peasantry — also joined in. The movement became national, and the people won power for the first time in their history on October 20 of 1944. At 1 p.m. on that day, artillery fire in Santa Barbara of San José Fort blew it up with all

the soldiers of the tyranny. The presidium where the poets Diéguez Olaverri had been in Carrera's time — the colonial bastion — also exploded. A symbol. Finally we had left our medievalism behind.

A Revolutionary Junta composed of the three men that had been in the front line of the battle against Ponce took the government, with complete popular support. They were Francisco Javier Arana, major; Jacobo Arbenz, captain, and Jorge Torriello, a simple citizen. At the same time. Juan José Arévalo was the candidate of the masses throughout the republic. But none of the four had any more clear and concrete ideas than the rest of the citizenry about what we now call "revolution". should be. They were in albis, as was demonstrated by the first 20 decrees of the Revolutionary Junta and the emotional — for their time convincing, but ingenious — speeches by Arévalo during his electoral campaign. For this reason, except among those who were very compromised with the overthrown "ubiquitousness" and its corollararies, everyone felt themselves to be, or called themselves "revolutionary": from the opulent coffee planter to the venal journalist, to the most humble peasant, emotionally or intuitively attracted by the propaganda — really crushing — that the new parties, youthful parties, the Liberation People's Front and National Renovation, put out between August and October challenging the forces of Ponce and supporting Arévalo's candidacy.

Perhaps because of this initial disorientation or lack of definition of the process and because of the concrete world situation in 1945, Washington viewed us with benevolent eyes and even sent Spruille Braden to attend Arévalo's inauguration. Moreover, this monument of ferocious reactionary folly (Braden, of course), applauded us and for this







was given the Order of the Quetzal, the highest Guatemalan decoration. This is also definitory. I do not believe that New York and Boston viewed us, from the beginning and in spite of the preceding, with the same eyes. Washington was then the "good neighbor" of a Roosevelt about to die. New York was Wall Street. And Boston, the United Fruit Company.

But events are sharp and implacable, and they forced the demarcations. The simple words dignity and democracy, which could have had an initial innocuous content, took on a fighting power through the inevitable dynamic of the very process begun in June of 1944. For example, dignity obliged the Revolutionary Junta no later than October 21, to expel from the country the Yankee minister Boaz Long and his pupil Miguel Idígoras Fuentes, when the former tried to impose the latter as president, just as Whitehouse had done 14 years before with Ubico. And democracy obliged that all be able to speak without restrictions; they began to inquire into the causes of the immediate past, into the 14 years of Ubico at least; they demanded their long-denied rights, especially the fruit, railroad and electrical workers; they organized in political parties and trade unions; they read books, magazines and newspapers and opened their minds to the enlightenment that, until then, had been stolen, distorted, prohibited and persecuted. Quite simply, it was freedom conquered, and it remained in force during the ten following years, for the growing number of increasingly aggressive enemies of the renovation process as well.

We Guatemalans who knew our past and had lived through a part of it, felt that we were in a different country. In a country that, from night to morning, as if it were master of the time machine, had placed itself squarely in the 20th century after having lived in the

most somber past up until that very eve. That is why we felt we were in a revolution. And it began to be one, in reality, if the determinants of time and place, within which that salutary change was made, are taken into account. But this initial and amorphous change of simple popular euphoria over the defeat of the tyranny — which seemed to include even the military, the secular clergy, because there were no clerical orders, and the feudal landowners — unavoidably had to engender other changes within a short time. And here was when the desertions, the ruptures, the disturbances, the discrepancies, the oppositions and even the confrontations — first verbal and later violent — began. This is what happened when social problems and the national problem were concretized, especially when in 1947 the Work Code — formerly not only nonexistent but inconceivable in Guatemala, in spite of its timidity and restrictions — was issued.

Naturally, all the patronal interests aligned themselves against the Work Code; against the rights that it recognized for the working class, especially the right to strike and organize, and in opposition to the labor courts which were born out of the need to enforce the Code. At that time, this was the meridian that separated the left from the right: those who were in favor and those who were against the new legislation, most of them up to the day before, equally "revolutionaries..." Naturally, the three big Yankee enterprises which were the only real capitalists in the country and had great contingents of agricultural and urban workers signed up, were the ones that reacted most irately against the workers' legislation, and declared themselves to be the most affected, practically those at whom this legislation was aimed. They were the UFCO, the IRCA and the Electric Enterprise. Thus the first



battle, the first anti-imperialist definition was that of the Work Code. Thus, also, those who placed themselves on the left side of this meridian were called "communists," given the original synonymy that established national and foreign rights. The challenge was accepted, and the language become more categorical each day.

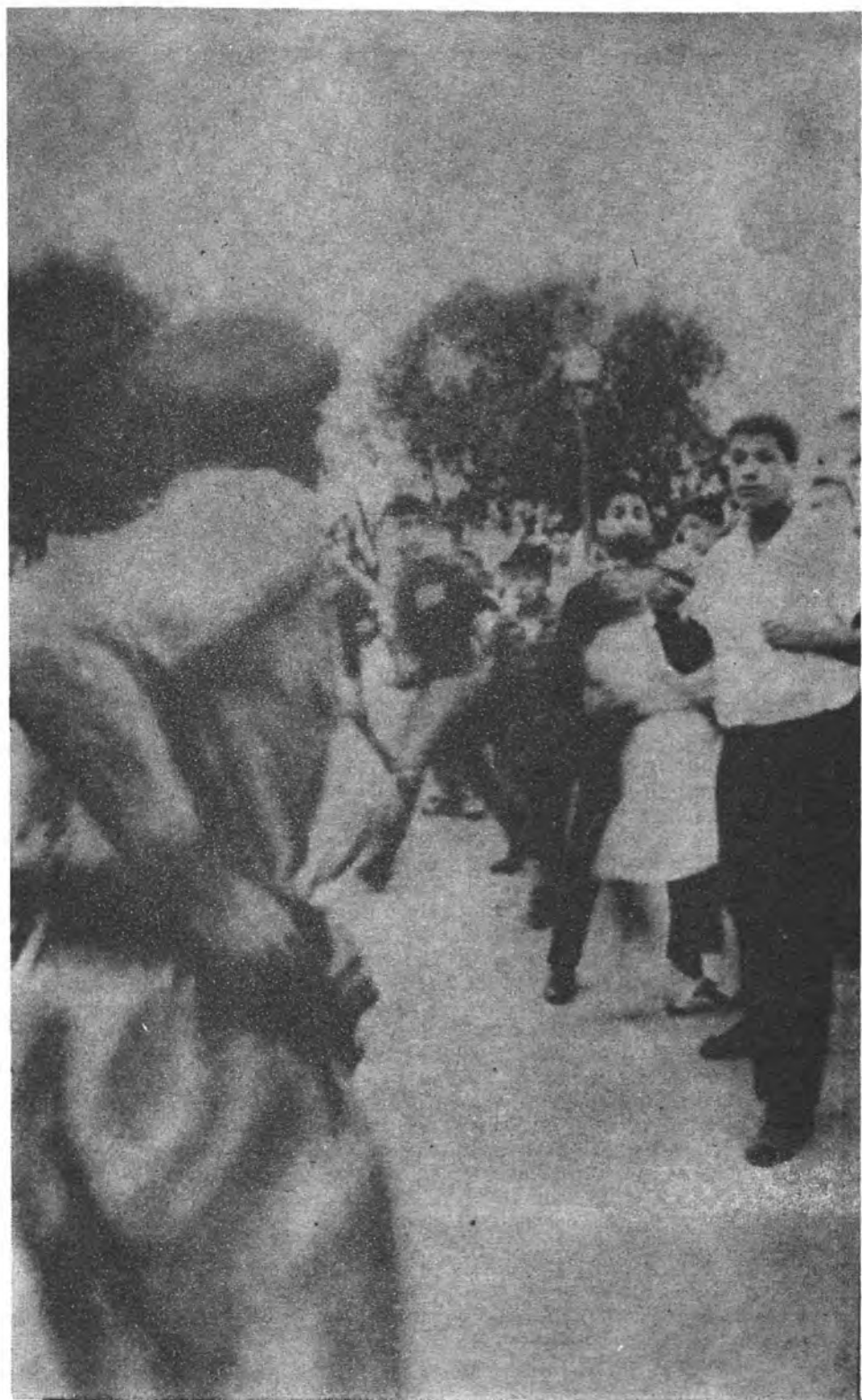
Nevertheless, Arévalo, who appropriated authorship of the Code, was ideologically anti-communist and did not seem to understand the fundamental problem of the country, which was agrarian, key to its backwardness and its economic dependency. He was an idealist, a liberal, progressive and principled in relation to the Cabrera and Ubrico "liberals" of the mid-century who had preceded him and who were true troglodites, of the worst order. The president was a Rooseveltian who called himself a "spiritual socialist," believed in the solutions of the OAS and in the "Russian danger" and disdained historical materialism without knowing it. This was not why he entered into conflict with the masses because, in the first years of the new order, they asked nothing more than citizens' liberty, social justice and national dignity. And it must be said, because it is true, that Arévalo respected public liberties, supported workers' demands and governed with dignity. In other words, he stifled no one's rights, however they might think, except those of the Communists, in a moderate sense; in any case, he respected the human being; social guarantees were a reality, and there was not the slightest subjection to the fruit owners nor to Yankee consuls. On the contrary, the insolent ambassador, Paterson, a rabid interventionist, was expelled from Guatemala. I repeat that it seemed like another country, different from the one before 1944. And so Arévalo was unanimously acclaimed by the public when, in March of 1951, he surrendered the presidency to

Jacobo Arbenz, enthusiastically elected by the majority. Ten years after that beautiful ceremony, Arévalo would seem to be something else. And he was. He became "bad and soon," according to the River Plata formula, a reactionary opportunist.

### **An independent country, a just society and a free people**

After six and a half years of popular, civic and armed actions against that dreadful past we now know about, revolutionary consciousness had been notably elevated among broad sectors of the nation. It is natural that, as a counterpart, the traditionally privileged minority and its two great allies, also traditional, the military and the clergy, had become more ferociously reactionary. This was true domestically. Abroad, for a long time, since the Work Code, which coincided with Truman, the Cold War, the treaty of Rio de Janeiro and the creation of the CIA (1947), the benevolent view of Rooseveltian Washington had disappeared, leaving — penetrating and fixed — only the irate view of the fruit and financial interests of Boston, while the entire United States fell under the anti-communist terror, which Senator Joseph McCarthy projected from the Congress with his un-American activities investigations. The voltaic arc between this reaction and the Guatemalan reaction was obviously fed by Electric Bond and Share, and unleashed an infernal and blinding blaze through all the colossal mass media controlled by the enormous multi-tentacular complex known as "Yankee imperialism."

At that moment, Arbenz was the precise interpreter of the revolutionary maturity that the majority of the people had gained over the



previous six year period, and his program deepened much further the perspectives of the process so nebulously initiated in 1944. He did know now where the causes of the disastrous past lay, which I condensed in the first pages, and of the still-unjust present he proposed to transform. In mid-1951, he expounded the first part of his governmental program "before national opinion and the National Council of Economy" and reiterated its general alignment, announced in his speech of ascendancy to the presidency. These alignments consisted of three fundamental objectives which, in his own words, were:

... first, to convert our country from a dependent nation with a semi-colonial economy, into an economically independent country; secondly, to transform our nation from a backward past with a predominantly feudal economy, into a modern capitalist country; and, third, to see that this transformation is carried out in such a way that it brings with it the highest possible elevation of the standard of living of the great masses of people.

With the first two objectives, Arbenz placed himself in the middle of the voltaic reactionary arc that I mentioned, since the first was a challenge to imperialism, and the second to the polifaceted internal reaction. What most shook both reactions was not the challenge in itself but the fact that Arbenz immediately moved from words to deeds, without losing time. This conduct was not usual among the Latin-American exponents of "governmental programs."

Arbenz defined his position correctly when he said:

I consider that these three objectives are equally important and that we will always have to be careful not to subordinate,

much less sacrifice, one or another to the rest. As a Guatemalan, I believe that I interpret faithfully the feeling of the great majority of my compatriots in stating that before anything else except the general interests of humanity, stands the independence of our homeland, and a nation cannot be fully free in the sphere of international policy if it is not free in the economic camp.

The program was to include four parts: economic policy, social policy, domestic policy and foreign policy. The first one alone he explained in words. But in deed, he applied this and the other three, in the difficult triennium during which he governed. I correct myself: not even the first part of the program, nor even the first chapter of it (food) did he succeed in explaining completely. But the two state epigraphs of that chapter define Arbenz's social and humanist philosophy. He gave priority to two questions that — in the 420 years of colonialism from the time in 1524 when Pedro de Alvarado dominated the independent Indians who had been the original owners of the territory, up to June of 1944 — no one, no government, had ever proposed. These were simply: "I. What our people eat," II. What our people need to eat as a minimum." He made no further theoretical proposals. He had no time. But these two were sufficient for the joint reactions, international and internal, to catalogue him as the most evil entity of the western world of his times: "Communist," and everything else that made the "free world", tremble.

The first thing Arbenz did was to propose a law of agrarian reform to the Congress and apply it energetically and efficiently once the legislative body approved it. The





second, neither in time nor in order of importance, was to plan the construction of a network of roads, especially for the Atlantic outlet, with a national port, to break the monopoly of our communications and of the only port in the north, Puerto Barrios, which for half a century had remained in the hands of UFCO and IRCA, umbilically linked, as we have seen. And the third, to also plan the construction with exclusively national funds which were already available, of a relatively large electrical center, to seize the energy monopoly from the Electric Enterprise, or what is the same, from the power trust of EBASCO. This was like sticking a pin in the hoof of a dinosaur. It shook off everything, bellowed, turned around and threw the whole mountain of its mass on the small author of such a misdeed. A violent jerk, all the more dangerous because, since January of 1953, the monster was absolute owner of the government of the United States. It was the empire of big big business.<sup>3</sup>

What most inflamed the gigantic microcephalic animal — its head was the billionaire minority plutocracy — was that the insolent little one was disrespectful of it in international forums, and everywhere spoke an unembarrassed language of truth; it denounced its crooked abuses throughout the world; it was a solitary and opposition voice in the inter-American chorus and it managed its own international policy without submitting to Washington. A Latin-American government outside the orbit, what's this? Faced with eyes that shot out flames, like those of the tiger Marti mentions, it had to be given the stamp of the children's editions of *Guilliver's Travels*, in which it is shown that many Lilliputians together can bring down, immobilize and tie up a giant. And certainly this was what filled the monster with panic; not the little one's pin prick, but rather its bad example for the other little ones of the Pan-

American group. If they all did the same, they would be able to tie up the imperialist Gulliver.

The origin and process of the operation against Guatemala in 1954 is fully documented. Tyrians and Trojans, we have written and continue writing books, reportage, essays, memories, confessions, denunciations, etc., about that scandalous Yankee crime which, in its time, moved world public opinion for the same reasons that other and greater crimes have moved it over these 20 years: intervention, aggression, genocide, herbicide, assassination, overthrow, usurpation, gorilla coups, extermination, wars begun, in short uninterrupted attacks against humanity that other empires prior to the Yankees did not manage to commit. From the Assyrians to the Nazis, in 40 centuries of imperialist conquests (from 20 BC to 20 AC) none of the great international robbers, although they have been bestial, has reached the level of the Yankees. And as for cynicism, they have gone far beyond their predecessors. They wipe out entire peoples in a few minutes, with the uniform of the Army of Salvation.

The Tyrians of the tale are, naturally, the contemporary Phoenicians — begging the pardon of the colonizers and traders of the Mediterranean of 44 centuries ago. And the Trojans, attacked and finally crushed, are the Guatemalans of 20 years ago. As if the UFCO had been Helen; imperialism Menelius, her husband; and Arbenz, Paris, the rapist of hectares with his agrarian reform. They and we have docu-

<sup>3</sup> To understand fully why I use this image, I recommend consulting my "Mapa hablado de la América Latina en el año del Moncada" (Spoken map of Latin America in the year of the Moncada), first part, *Casa de las Américas*, n. 79, July-August, 1973.

mented or, more accurately, revealed the truth of the fruit company aggression of 1954, which today is undenied and clear to the whole world. Naturally the best documentary proof is theirs because it is confession while ours is accusation. But by the force of events, both agree on the essential. For a very obvious reason, the best testimony is that of the principal protagonist of the shameless highway robbery: Dwight Eisenhower in his memoirs published in 1963.<sup>4</sup>

Here I must anticipate a fundamental objection to the designation of Trojans that I give the Guatemalans of 1954, in opposition to Tyrians that I give the Yankee imperialists, and to the parody on the theme of the *Iliad*. Unfortunately, Arbenz did not oppose the aggressors with what Troy opposed the Greeks: a long homeric resistance to the attack. Why didn't he do so? Because to the crushing power of imperialism, well-known to all, was added the internal treason and corruption, something less known to the world. And I declare that, in this case, it is not the "anti-communists" and their native followers who are alluded to as traitorous or corrupt. The traitors were the chiefs and officers of the so-called national but really anti-national army, who, except for a very few individual cases, went over to the mercenary and fruit company enemy with their arms and arguments. The corrupt were, again with a few individual exceptions, the bureaucrats and pseudo-revolutionary leaders who had undermined from within with their business negotiations and other degradations, the moral bases of the revolution that Arbenz was making. Thus it is not surprising that, since 1954, 99% of my ex-companions in the party, ex-leaders of the so-called revolutionary parties, have shamelessly sold out.<sup>5</sup> Only the peo-

ple were clean and loyal. But they were unarmed.

I have always believed that the profound causes of the disaster of 1954, had to be looked for in the ingenuousness of 1944. The army remained standing, apparently cleansed of its generals and other old vices and converted into a patriotic force, conscious and loyal to the people. Events showed, in a short time, that it continued to be just as it had been, institutionally and mentally, just as it is now. Just

<sup>4</sup> The bibliography on Yankee aggression against Guatemala in 1954 is abundant. In addition to the Eisenhower memoirs, the book **The Invisible Government** by David Wise and Thomas B. Rose, is particularly illustrative. As a result of that aggression, not a few books denouncing it have been written by Guatemalans. I cite some of them: **La revolución guatemalteca** (The Guatemalan Revolution) by Luis Cardoza y Aragón; **La batalla de Guatemala** (The Battle of Guatemala) by Guillermo Toriello; **Guatemala, la democracia y el imperio** (Guatemala, democracy and the empire) by Juan José Arévalo; **Operación Guatemala \$ OK \$**, by Raúl Osegueda; **Cómo opera el capital yanqui en Centro América** (How Yankee capital operates in Central America) by Alfonso Bauer Paiz; **Por qué lucha Guatemala** (Why Guatemala struggles) by Manuel Galich; and **Guatemala contra el imperialismo 1954 - 1964**, (Guatemala against imperialism 1954-1964) by José Manuel Fortuny, Manuel Galich and Oscar Edmundo Palma. Of course, there have been many more writings, literary or polemical, pamphlets, articles, etc.

<sup>5</sup> On May 8, 1967, under threat of death by the assassin fascist bands and following a first attempt from which he was liberated by chance, Alfonso Bauer Paiz, one of the very few who maintained and maintains his integrity among the leaders of 1944-1954, published an open letter, which the press referred to as a political testimony, to Méndez Montenegro and his inept cohorts, the majority former members and leaders of the Libertarian Popular Front, the party to which Bauer Paiz and I also belonged. The red hot iron with which Bauer Paiz marked that caravan is unforgettable.



as it had been means: the same army that was the executing arm of the iniquities committed during the entire first half of the 20th century, with other faces and, in some cases with the same, such as Ydigoras Fuentes and Peralta Azurdia.

The landowning oligarchy, feudal, shameful, backwards, submissive, and greedy, remained completely intact with all its economic and social power mounted on the backs of the Indian, in colonial style. Only eight years later in 1952, they were ordered to surrender to the society their surplus lands, that is those they maintained in reserve, for which the state would pay them indemnity. Even so that oligarchy was filled with counter-revolutionary consternation and was brutal and unmerciful in the hour of its cowardly revenge against the defenseless peasantry whom it made pay, in massacres, for the "crime" of having benefited from agrarian reform. With its untouched dollars, it could buy for its cause the venal press, which was almost the entire country, to echo its major latifundist colleague: the United Fruit Company.

With the peasants and workers it was a different case. They had never had anything to lose before 1944, nor had anyone thought of them except to exploit them, especially the former whose oppression was four centuries old. In contrast, they had felt concretely the benefits of the revolution. The peasants had felt them with the favorable Congressional laws of 1944, such as compulsory land rental and suppression of the day laborers' work book. The former was a guarantee of survival, and the latter was liberation from an old colonial subjection. But more than that, the revolution for them had meant their strong organization in the National Peasant Confederation (CNC), Arbenz's agrarian reform. The workers, organized in their single central union, the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (CGTG), had felt the

revolution with the Work Code, the labor courts and the government's energetic respect for the law, their rights and guarantees and judicial resolutions, even over the military attempts by Arana and other chiefs to return to past years, when the soldiers were in charge of maintaining peasant tranquility on the banana plantations.

Even without the arms that the military chiefs denied them and that Arbenz had ordered be given them, the peasants waged battle against the mercenary invaders in Gualán, Chiquimula, Moyuta and Puerto Barrios. The workers paid no attention to the publicity aggression directed from Washington by the two US workers' centers, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) which later joined together, under the imperial command of George Meany. The agent of this other aspect of the big maneuver, behind which there was always the CIA, was the straw boss of Pan-American pseudo-trade unionism, Serafino Romualdi. Thirteen years later, George Morris revealed this in his book **The CIA and the Labor Movement** (Mexico, 1967). Here is another testimony:

The working class gave its generous blood to form reserves for those wounded in combat... it fought with the peasants and democratic elements of the army in the few places where it could enter into action and defeated the enemy in those spots; finally threatened with being machine-gunned by reactionary militarists if it insisted on its demand for arms to defend the people, it remained unarmed in the face of the enemy, which entered and assassinated the leaders of the SETUFCO (Union of Workers of the UFCO) in their own

headquarters, thus initiating violence on both sides.<sup>6</sup>

As for respect for the integrity and life of human beings, the suspension of tortures and official assassinations for political reasons, with or without trial, was evident between 1944 and 1954. The great victim, hoisted as a banner by Guatemalans and international reaction, was the head of the Armed Forces, Colonel Francisco Javier Arana, who died in a skirmish when he was captured as the maximum leader of the military rebellion against constitutional order, a rebellion which did break out that same day, July 18, 1949.

The revolutionary regime fell, and triumphant reaction launched a noisy propaganda about the victims of tortures and those assassinated by the "red terror" that had reigned in Guatemala. But the publicity didn't go beyond composite photographs and rhetoric. It never specified, as the people have since done, the names of victims, the perpetrators and the places of the crimes imputed, nor dates, circumstances and methods used. This does not mean there were no deaths. On June 8, 1954 now under total war launched against him by imperialism, Arbenz decreed the restriction of certain guarantees. Ten days later the armed mercenary invasion of national territory was begun. It is possible that certain agents of the high treason perpetrated against Guatemala died at that time. But never, not even remotely, as many as the peasants and workers massacred after the fall of the democratic government; much less the thousands and thousands of Guatemalans assassinated during the 20 years of the "anti-Communist" government that still rules today.

On another level, the revolution left Guatemala with a foreign debt of only 169 000 **quetzales**, or dollars. In financial terms this is an insignif-

icant sum, almost nothing as a State foreign debt. The people, on the other hand, were creditors of 33 million **quetzales**. This was the sum that had been provided, through internal tax bonds, so that their government could fulfill its program of liberation, constructing the port of Santo Tomás, the highway to the Atlantic and the hydroelectric plant Jurún-Marianalá, and could finance agrarian reform without relying on foreign loans. The Petroleum Code, issued by the Arevalo government in 1945, safeguarded national interests and closed the doors to the claims of various enterprises controlled by Rockefeller; not one concession was granted. In his 14 years, Ubico constructed 20 kilometers of highways. In ten years, the revolution left an advanced plan of 1200 km. of paved roads, with its greatest achievement the highway to the Atlantic which was to be completed, according to the plan, in August of 1954. This highway exists today and it was for the most part the work of Arbenz. A hundred thousand peasants received part of the 883 615 ha. available for division, between those expropriated and state lands, and the credits granted to the beneficiaries of the reform and to other small landowners reached almost 12 million **quetzales**. I repeat: dollars. Finally, from the administration of Arévalo the people had available an efficient security system in the hands of the IGSS (Guatemalan Institute of Social Security) and the economy had been stimulated by the INFOG (National Institute for the Development of Production).

Guatemala was on the way to being an independent country, with a just society and a free people. This

<sup>6</sup> "El movimiento sindical en la revolución de octubre" (The trade union movement in the October Revolution) by Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, **Nuestras Ideas**, n. 10 and 20, March to June of 1964. This modest workers' leader was assassinated with 26 other comrades in January of 1966, during the government of Peralta Azurdia.

brief balance is sufficient to emphasize the contrast between the Guatemala of the ten years of springtime, with truly popular governments and with revolutionary progress, from the other, that of 420 years of subjection. Twenty years ago, imperialism annihilated that Guatemala and replaced it with another that was worse, much worse even than the one prior to 1944. It seemed impossible that this could be. But it was and it is. Two terrible decades and many thousands of dead prove it.

### 20 years ago: return to tyranny

From the ranks of that army that survived the 20th of October of 1944 came the instruments of the fruit company imperialism, masked as "anti-Communism." The most outstanding of them, because he was the boldest and most venal, was Carlos Castillo Armas, who, like many officers and many other model reactionaries, passed as "revolutionary" in the initial and undefined period in which "the triumph of the Revolution" occurred. With the betrayal of these Guatemalan chiefs and officers; the ostensible imperialist imposition with Ambassador Puerifoy at its head; the dog-like complicity of the governments of Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador; the genuflecting acquiescence of the aforementioned OAS in those years, and of course the multiple resources of the CIA — nothing hidden beneath the mask characteristic of its type — the regime that was called "the liberation" was installed in Guatemala. The mercenary troops that invaded the territory through Honduras and only engaged in skirmishes with unarmed peasants, had adopted the shameless name of Army of National Liberation. With this name, as if it were not just the opposite, they marched to the drums, like victors, through the streets of the city of Guatemala, while their head, Castillo Armas, was brought in by Puerifoy and the

apostolic nuncio Verolino, from San Salvador, "in a US military plane escorted by nine army planes and three C-47 transports." (AFP, July 3, 1954)

This took place 20 years ago, when Foster Dulles roared that famous phrase that Diego Rivera perpetuated in a condemnatory mural: "This is our glorious victory!" Since then, much more than before, Guatemala has been a neocolony. True, now it is no longer the same United Fruit Company, with its banana plantations and shipments; nor the IRCA, with its railway monopoly; nor Electric Bond and Share, with its electric enterprise, that are the exclusive owners of the country. But the alienation has been much greater than when those monopolies dominated the national economy. The ownership has passed to the EXMIBAL and other abbreviations.

Not that the UFCO has disappeared from Guatemala. It has changed its business and exploitation methods. For example, it has become a cotton grower. "The perspectives of the Central-American Common Market have caused the UFCO to extend its activities in the food and drink branch by area."<sup>7</sup> Castillo Armas' first step, once he was placed in power by an outside hand, had to be and was, obligatorily the return of the lands that Arbenz had expropriated from the enterprise in applying agrarian reform. That was the ABC of the pact. From there on, the surrender of the country was unlimited, however shame-

<sup>7</sup> Rafael Piedra-Santa Arandi, **Introducción a los problemas económicos de Guatemala** (Introduction to Guatemala's economic problems), Guatemala, 1971. In 1958 the UFCO constituted United Brands, with another monopoly, to exploit various branches of food: meat, canned fruits and other food articles. In September of 1971, it became a subsidiary of the Del Monte Co., monopolist super-monster.

ful its beggard condition and steep the indebtedness. The jumps in this respect were by seven leagues. The country was converted by "the liberation" into an obscene kangaroo. While the usurious World Bank (IBRD) injected \$18 million to complete the highway to the Atlantic and the Yankee government agencies assigned gifts worth another \$80 million, the foreign debt jumped from five to ten and from ten to 16 million dollars in three years. The Bank of Guatemala itself provided the information in October of 1963.

A quote taken from a newspaper of the period, just as "anti-Communist" and Yankophile as Castillo Armas and his "liberation," saves on words because it defines the regime with a finishing stroke when it says:

The Lawyers College is urging the Ministry of Interior not to circulate the Petroleum Code recently printed in the National Typographic Office because it is printed in English and Spanish, an anomalous circumstance which it is esteemed is intrusive and harmful to national dignity, (**Prensa Libre** April 25, 1956).

But this was logical. The Code had been written by technicians of the petroleum enterprises, headed by Standard Oil of California and of Texas. And it was nothing exceptional: the new fruit contracts were in English and so badly translated that they caused the protest of an ultraright-wing deputy. Under the new petroleum legislation, 46 companies received concessions for the exploration of 4 600 000 ha. which was almost half the national territory.

The revanchist fury that hit the annihilated peasants took on catastrophic proportions. Harvests were destroyed and sharecroppers persecuted, thrown off the land and killed along with the cattle. Many

sought refuge in the mountains or left the country across the Mexican border. The geography of the massacre is still overwhelming: Yzabal, Tiquisate, Chiquimula, San Marcos, Jalapa, Zacapa, Ipala, Bananera, Gualán and farms of the Costa Grande and Costa Cuca. The proof is in the periodical libraries. Even the newspapers and megazines of the enemy were shocked. **Visión** published hair-raising stories. Persons, laws, books, institutions and organizations of all types: political, trade union, cultural, artistic, suffered the same indiscriminate fate. The term that motivated the persecution was invented: **arbenzocomunismo**. The Constitution of 1956, the Penal Preventive Law of Defense against Communism and the Law of Public Order, among others, testified in law to the raving demon of surrender and violence with which the "liberationists" were possessed. "White terror," the fascist phobia, were identical in their essential characteristics to those unleashed against the Chilean people, also by the military traitors, beginning on September 11, 1973.

Castillo Armas was assassinated by members of his own gang on July 26, 1957. Another ambassador, Sparks, like Puerifoy before him and Whitehouse in his time, took charge of perpetuating the colonial state, neither free nor associated, with other "liberationists" or without them. He always found men who could be bought, in the area he wanted and according to the conveniences of tendencies of the moment. After a semester of changes, in which military juntas and temporary rulers with fraudulent disguises succeeded each other, the turn of the appropriate man arrived: Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. Old and resentful rival of Castillo Armas for the favors of the great elector, he momentarily gained the popular vote because he took the occasion to pronounce himself against "the liberation." But he didn't delay in discovering his in-

strumental method, indentical in administration to that of Castillo Armas. Moreover, he said in order to consolidate his position that he would back "US ideals completely" and would guide his administration "by the ideals and principles of Castillo Armas." He said this in Wasington during the ritual visit as president elect.

Contrary to what the people believed and what he made them believe, Ydígoras was no simple laughable and cynical clown but a dangerous and sly type operating behind the disguise of a circus eccentric. Thus cheating by joking, he negotiated with the IRCA the remittance of a debt, in taxes, of \$12 million (1958) in return for which he repressed a strike of railway workers with the troops, as in the times of his mentor Jorge Ubico (1959). It was natural: the Minister of the Treasury was an ex-lawyer for the IRCA. The whole world knows how national territory was ceded to imperialism to train the mercenaries of Playa Girón but perhaps the whole world doesn't know that, in the popular protest against this unqualifiable crime, the youths Leonel García Benavente, Giberto Cardona and Félix Mont were shot to death (April, 1960). Officers indignant over the national shame, rose up against Ydígoras, who was now a public vice, on November 13th of the same year, and out of this uprising emerged the guerrilla commanders Turcios Lima and Yon Sosa who wrote the memorable patriotic and revolutionary annals of 1962 to 1968, along with many other heroic Guatemalans. This cannot be a detailed history of that epoch, but rather a sketch. History will be made in its own time. But the provocations by Ydígoras against Cuba and Mexico on behalf of the Yankees cannot be omitted: the massacres, like that of 1962, which left 50 dead and 500 wounded, and the super-robberies that he sought to cover up with the fiction of a

Merchant Fleet or as speculation with national farms.

These corruptions and the general ineptitude of the government brought the country to major economic disaster. The same anti-national, reactionary, landholding, banking, industrial and commercial bourgeoisie of Guatemala, federated in the CACIF, denounced "the government's lack of ability, lack of integrity" and other "causes and reasons for the fiscal crisis." On the brink of bankruptcy, Ydígoras was thrown aside by the military who entered a *de facto* government. In 1963, after he had been sufficiently used, he was crushed and removed from his post by imperialism. The minister of war was Enrique Peralta Azurdia, long-time colonel and known to his comrades-in-arms by the suggestive name of **Pollino** (stupid ass). Nothing better than an equine martial to provide the kick that would throw Ydígoras Fuentes out of the National Palace. And so it was done. The imminence of the electoral triumph of Arévalo, then in connivence with the discredited government, precipitated the operation. That is how Kennedy resolved it in the White House, according to the articles by Georgia Anne Geyer in the **Chicago Daily News** (December, 1966). The funny thing is that Arévalo, in order to win imperial benediction, had loudly proclaimed himself a Kennedy man, an Alliance for Progress supporter, in an open letter in the course of his electoral strategy. He had also sanctified Ydígoras and condemned "guerrilla violence" in electoral declarations during 1962.

Peralta Azurdia was placed at the head of the new *de facto* military government. He immediately suppressed the "liberationist" Constitution of 1956, dissolved the Congress of the same affiliation, issued a Law of Defense of Democratic Institutions, more draconian than

its similar predecessors, and a Mining Code, without a legislative body and in behalf of the nickel corporation EXMIBAL. He renewed with greater hatred the repeated repressions against the people and their organizations. As always, this violence came down harder on workers, students, and peasants. Ten of the latter, assassinated in Puerto Barrios, were presented as guerrillas who had fallen in combat. Others were thrown in the Motagua river or over the cliff from the Belize bridge. The bloody epilogue that marked this regime was the most horrendous that Guatemala had ever known up to that time: the murder of 28 Communist Party members and leaders, tortured and thrown into the Pacific Ocean from plane number 500 of the Air Force. Thus Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez ex-Secretary General of the GGTG, teacher and writer, and Leonardo Castillo Flores, teacher and ex-Secretary General of the Peasant Union, were suffocated to death. A Yankee correspondent viewed the event as follows: "The police of Guatemala captured and secretly executed without trial no less than 26 outstanding members of the Communist clandestine terrorist organization, according to authorized sources." (Jeremiah O'Leary: **Evening Star**, March 12, 1966.) But the Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano went deeper into the truth of the matter. He got the story of one of the four soldiers ordered by his officers to carry the bodies: Julio Ruano Pinzón, only survivor of the four. No adjective can substitute for such a testimony (Eduardo Galeano: **Guatemala país ocupado** (Guatemala occupied country) Mexico, 1967).

As the most perfect Tartuffe with a military helmet, Paralta Azurdia proclaimed "operation honesty" while he publicly violated the same proclamation. The military increased

their salaries and retirement pay and fraudulent negotiations, such as the famous coffee fraud, reported in the news of the big papers tied to AP and UPI. Nathan Milles wrote in the **Baltimore Sun**, for example:

Since 1954, great amounts of United States aid have been sent to a succession of right wing and anti-Communist regimes that have publicly backed Washington's hemispheric policy.... For many long-time observers here (Guatemala) the mandate of Peralta as "head of State" for almost three years has been a period of frustration and the loss of opportunities for social change. What has been done has been limited and the cost has been high. (January 17, 1966).

The cost was higher for Guatemala: the foreign debt reached 115 million **quetzales** (dollars), while a worker's salary was nine **quetzales** a month and even as low as 15 cents a day, according to the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security (IGGS).

But none of this is what made imperialism withdraw its favor from Peralta Azurdia. It was his failure in the "final cleanup operation" proclaimed against the guerrilla fronts FAR and MR-13, commanded respectively by Turcios and Yon Sosa, which had been hitting the army hard since 1962. Here is another solid good testimony:

A great communist guerrilla insurrection is extending over the arid region of the hungry peasants in the eastern sierra of Guatemala. This has so preoccupied the government that yesterday a 30-day state of siege was decreed, with all constitutional rights and political activity suspended.... Now a much more potent and evasive threat (than that of the Arbenz government) is rising up to operate in a form similar to that of the Viet Cong. This

threat has sunk its claws in the ancient pillars of military domination and rural feudalism, which have maintained this society intact since colonial times. In spite of certain internal disputes, a lack of trained cadres, several notable blows struck against their members in the city, the guerrillas have continued to gain force over the three years of Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia's dictatorship. (Norman Gall, first article of the series "The Latin-American Viet Cong," published in the **Toronto Star**, November 5, 1966).

**Pollino's** incapacity exasperated his US superiors. The same Norman Gall, in another article in the same series (III. "The army won't fight") reports this complaint: "We have spent great amounts of money from US sources to train Guatemalan officers and we have nothing to show in exchange." This is what a Yankee diplomat said. And so, Johnson's government gave instructions to constitutionalize the regime, which would involve three stages: calling a Constitutional Congress, drawing up an *ad hoc* Constitution and election of an adequate president, preferably civilian. It was necessary to change the scene. It was a shame for imperialism that Kennedy had quashed Arévalo in 1963, through an error of judgment. His advisers told him Arévalo was the "prelude to Communism" and he believed it (G. A. Geyer; article cited).

The people's repudiation of the electoral farce for constitutional deputies was smashing. A creditable report is that by George Nathanson of the **Washington Post** who wrote from Guatemala City:

The non-official results that arrived here from the interior of the country follow the line already established in the capital. More than 50% of the registered voters have risked serious penalties for not voting. Among those who voted in the

lists permitting only "yes" or "no" almost 60% were blank. (August 5, 1965).

And still more: "The more Peralta delays in announcing his intentions, if he has any, the more the danger of an open revolt increases. This explains the haste in promulgating the Constitution.

The monster that emerged from all this machinery that had been mounted was analyzed technically and judiciously by a lawyer then exiled in Mexico by Peralta Azurdia, in spite of the fact that he was a paralytic, on the eve of the elections, and later assassinated in Guatemala by the paramilitary fascist bands, Adolfo Mijangos: **La Constitución guatemalteca de 1965** (The Guatemalan Constitution of 1965) in **Cuadernos Americanos**, n. 3, May-June, 1966. For my objective, it is sufficient to quote the five conclusions of his study:

**First:** the Guatemalan Constitution of 1965 was discussed, written and promulgated by an assembly that in no moment represented popular will; **second:** for that reason, it can be affirmed that the new Guatemalan Constitution is **illegitimate**; **third** by its content, it is an instrument in the hands of the national oligarchy and foreign interests; **fourth:** its chief objective is to avoid basic changes in the structure of the country; and **fifth:** the Magna Carta of 1965 will be the motive, in the short or the long run, for serious conflicts among Guatemalans, It will succumb, like the Constitution of 1956, and for identical causes, by reason, by compromise or by force.

#### **The system's continued despotism**

No light was necessary to find the adequate man for the situation.

Diogenes had nothing to do with it, but cynicism did. The man was there, in broad daylight and cut to the proper measure. A civilian, university graduate with a brilliant revolutionary history, way back in the initial years of the springtime decade, retired since then and up to that moment, from militant politics: Julio César Méndez Montenegro. As is said of one engaged to a marriagable girl, he was very well matched, because he projected what was called revolutionary, in spite of being as comfortably rightist as convenience dictated. Everything came out according to plan. The people believed in good faith that the candidate of the Revolutionary Party represented a real opposition to the regime of tyranny and subjection that had been continued by various men, since July of 1954. And they believed that, by voting for Méndez Montenegro, they were voting against the repudiated militarism. The Communists also supported him and the guerrillas opened a parenthesis to observe the events. All this was illusory: the alternative was very clear. If Méndez Montenegro fulfilled his demagogic electoral promises; imperialism and the army would overthrow him with their little finger at any moment. If, on the contrary, he preferred to remain as president, he would have to bend to the military and imperial impositions. He chose the second and signed pacts with both powers. Out of these pacts and the usual secret meetings in the embassy (it is already known which one), one could say of him the same that a Buenos Aires newspaper wrote exactly a century before, concerning the Triple Alliance Treaty against Paraguay: "The treaty is secret; the session is secret; only the ignominy is public."

He fulfilled his mission very well,

this figure from the imperialist wax museum. In the electoral propaganda he promised to install in Guatemala a "state of right" and in his initial speech, he proclaimed that his would be "the third government of the revolution," alluding to those of Arévalo and Arbenz. Nevertheless, the outcome from this four-year government was the bloodiest the country had known, and Yankee interference reached still greater proportions than under his three colleagues and predecessors: Castillo Armas, Ydígoras Fuentes and Peralta Azurdia.

The main person morally responsible for the assassination of the 28 Guatemalans committed almost immediately following his election, Peralta Azurdia, was pensioned by Méndez Montenegro so he could live placidly abroad. The material executor, the raving homicidal Arriaga Bosque, was Minister of Defense, and Arana Osorio, the insatiable man-killer, continued his feast of cadavers in the military zone of Zacapa. These men and the head of the police, Sosa Avila, tortured and massacred without letup, until, with permission of the State Department, Méndez Montenegro could place the three butchers in diplomatic and consular positions, at the beginning of April of 1968. As for the assassinations of 1966, a profound silence was the reply to the popular clamor demanding investigation and punishment for the deed."

The number of crimes over those dark years is so overwhelming that it would take many pages to enumerate them. Not only because of the number, but also because of the

<sup>5</sup> Apart from what common sense dictates, there are testimonies to the deed. One of them is the declaration of the Archbishop of Guatemala, Casariego, when he was kidnapped and interrogated by a commando of the MANO. The version of this interrogation can be read in **La violencia en Guatemala** (Violence in Guatemala), Mexico, 1969.



monstrous methods of torturing the victims. For this reason, I will give only one example to characterize this period of the tyranny that has weighed on Guatemala for 20 years. Between November 1966 and September 1968 alone, 6000 persons were shot, tortured, mutilated, hung or disappeared forever, including women and even adolescents and children. In this task, 262 torturers and specialized killers, in addition to soldiers and police, were used, many of them with military rank and high position, from the General Barracks and the Fourth Police Corps of the capital, in Zacapa, in Chiquimula, in Gualán, in Puerto Barrios, in Escuintla, in Tiquisate, in the Naranjo-Coyuta area, on the Cerritos plantation, in Nueva Concepción and in the Regional Police. The torture centers in the Marshal Zavala and Justo Rufino Barrios barracks, in the Guardia de Hacienda, and in private houses in Guatemala city, were well known; in various locations in the department of Zacapa and in the Ambulante de Escuintla Military Police, as well as the Chiquimula concentration camp, "potential reserve for cadavers." Arana Osorio, military chief of Zacapa, then ambassador in Nicaragua, with Somoza, and finally President of the Republic from 1970 to 1974, was the chief contributor to the immense national bloodletting. For that reason, the great elector made him governor.

But the style of the massacres also took on very modern forms, brought to Guatemala from Viet Nam by competent US advisers. From this the paramilitary bands arose, made up of liberationist civilians of 1954 and their disciples, plus plainclothes military and police. In this period the most active were the NOA and the MANO, initials with the common denominator of "anti-Communism." The high command of this genocidal plan was in the embassy. Twenty-two advisers, between chiefs and vulgar US "green berets," from colonel to ser-

geant, all members of the Military Mission, trained the Guatemalan thugs in the tactics of counter-insurgency or anti-guerrilla warfare.<sup>9</sup> It was not only this Yankee interference. There was more and there are more than a few honest records. For example:

Guatemala obtains free of charge almost all its combat equipment under the US program of military aid, and half its corps of army officers has been trained in counterinsurgency techniques at US bases (Norman Gall, in the *Toronto Star* series already quoted).

Both men arrived in Guatemala in 1966, when the guerrillas were at their peak. Thying was transferred from Colombia where, although later he disparaged the antiguerrilla skill that Webber attributed to him, he conceded that he had supervised additional "cleanup operations" and "had fixed up the situation." They introduced into Guatemala the advanced techniques of counterinsurgency that were being developed in Viet Nam. They also were given the task of rationalizing the Guatemalan armed forces, keeping them in closest contact with the US military . . . Guatemala bought arms in the world market . . . Our administration of their needs now saves the Guatemalans money and at the same time makes them more dependent on the United States. (Norman Dia-

<sup>9</sup> The previous information on assassinations, assassins and advisers and much more, is testified to in very precise and irrefutable form in the expositions directed by the Guatemalan Committee of the Defense of Human Rights to the United Nations, in 1967 and 1968, collected in the book *La violencia en Guatemala*, cited.

mond: "Guatemala, why did they kill the Americans," **The Nation**, January 30, 1968).

There are many many more reports that condemn before history, in a way that permits no appeal, the subjected regime of Méndez Montenegro. And they are closely linked to the heroism and courage of the fighting Guatemalans. All this repression was answered with the execution of many of those guilty of the massacre. Some were the native butchers punished with the death penalty by guerrilla commandos. But there were also the two highest responsible Yankees: on January 16, 1968, Colonel John Webber Jr. and corvette captain Ernst Munro, highest advisers of the criminal corps operating in Guatemala, were punished with death by revolutionary justice. Later, so was the US ambassador himself, John Gordon Mein, supreme chief of the genocidal intervention.

I think it cannot be denied that this intervention, because of its resources, experience and methods, was a factor in the decline of the liberation war that the guerrilla fronts maintained. But much more important were, first, the accidental death of Commander Turcios Lima, in October of 1966, and later, the death in Mexican territory near the Guatemalan border, of Commander Marco Antonio Yon Sosa, in May of 1970.<sup>10</sup> Méndez Montenegro had no grounds for claiming to have pacified the country, any more than to have "nationalized" the IRCA railroads and part of the EBASCO electric enterprise. The former cost an indebtedness of \$4 million, which went into the pockets of the Yankee stockholders in the monopoly, in exchange for the acquisition of a useless piece of scrap iron and an onerous retirement which, in any case, under the contracts, would have passed into Guatemalan hands

without any cost at the end of this century.

In the end, Guatemala came out of the pseudoelectoral road of Méndez Montenegro, who went to enjoy what was his in Spain, in 1970. But it fell into the hands of Arana Osorio. The refrain, "out of the frying pan into the fire" doesn't reflect the situation because, comparatively, it remained cold. It's more like another refrain: from bad to worse. This is Guatemala, 1970: transition Méndez Montenegro-Arana Osorio. So ended the "state of right," that which was announced as "the third government of the revolution," fourth of the counter-revolution. Who had better earned his badge of service in the massacres of Méndez Montenegro than, of course, General Carlos Arana Osorio. Therefore, it was his turn to succeed him in the presidency. This showed that his dismissal by the puppet government of the pseudo "state of right" had only been a show cleverly planned in high imperialist circles in order to diminish

<sup>10</sup> Mexico, May 20, 1970 (UPI) — "The terrorist leader Marco Antonio Yon Sosa would not have met his death if he had asked for asylum instead of ambushing Mexican troops," said Secretary of Defense, Marcelino García Barragán.

Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chis. May 20 — "Armed with machineguns, the guerrillas met our soldiers with uninterrupted fire when they caught them by surprise in the rustic huts where they were camping in the Lacandona forest," said DEM Division General Luis R. Casillas, commander of Military Zone 31 a., stationed here. (Carlos Borbolla, special correspondent for **Excelsior**, Mexico, May 21, 1970).

The Guatemalan fighters Marco Antonio Yon Sosa, leader of the November 13th Revolutionary Movement (MR-13), Fidel Recancoj Xitumil and Enrique Cahueque Juárez, were assassinated on May 16th on the Mexican banks of the River Lacantún, by a border military patrol commanded by Colonel Luis Borquera, in an alleged armed encounter. (**Op-sición**, n. 5, Mexico, June 1, 1970).

by his absence, the terrorizing image of the multi-murderer of Zacapa and have him return opportunely with the presidential band across his chest. The show was so successful that it wasn't long before the butcher was received by His Holiness, in a special audience (June of 1972). All those con games threatened the new form of continuity introduced in Guatemala by the empire from 1954 on. Now it is no longer a question of the continuity of a single despot, such as Estrada Cabrera and Ubico, whom the public liquidated in 1954. But rather the continuous despotism of the system, with personages from different pasture grounds. Arana Osorio was the fifth. Such continuity offers two constants at least: terror against the people and the alienation of the country.

Arana Osorio's long experience in the first constant permitted him to duplicate the efficiency of his immediate predecessors. He had not yet assumed office when already his future minister of Foreign Relations declared in Washington during an OAS meeting: "The leaders of the guerrilla movement are all university students. We have a list of 110 and we are not going to have contemplations with them." (PL, June 6, 1970). The day after this statement, CAO (Carlos Arana Osorio, in very suggestive modern Yankee journalistic style, and of course very reminiscent of Viet Nam) was invested with the powers of the presidency. He pronounced the ritual speech and won higher approval, through the proper application of the recipe drawn up to complement the repression. Along with the warning of "a greater rigor," he promised "a program with a national orientation." He said that the plan for integral development of the community would be "the weapon we will have to avail ourselves of in the battle against poverty, disease and ignorance." However he did not use that weapon, which was really unknown to him, but rather

others, those of mass killings which were familiar to him. This is the evidence to be drawn from an evaluation of his four years of government. It is clear that, according to use and custom, he will come out saying that he converted Guatemala into an Alice in Wonderland country.

In reality, the new formula was not so new. It was a type of local application of the spirit of the defunct Alliance for Progress, with variant formulas. The spirit, in so far as it killed the revolutionary impulse of the people, stimulated with the guerrillas, by means of diversicist palliatives. The variant formulas, in so far as the army assumed that task to make him the only electoral beneficiary and in order not to run the risk of having a civilian "infiltration" take advantage of the social work to propagate revolutionary ideas. The plan was institutionalized, on the one hand, with the creation of the Bank of the Army<sup>11</sup> and on the other hand, with the founding of the Center for Military Studies. Then came the medical-military actions. These consisted of visits to the rural popula-

<sup>11</sup> Report to the colonel president of the new Bank of the Army Corp.: "The Bank of the Army opens its doors with sincere friendship to Guatemalans of medium and small resources who contributed with sacrifice and effort to forming the homeland of the future. The institution is not a trade union bank. Its name does not indicate ownership or domination by a State organization, but rather expresses the spirit that animates the military to cooperate in the solution of the economic problems that afflict our people. The great mass of small businessmen who have not been able to move ahead for lack of financial support will find among us the monetary resources that their businesses require." (*El Imparcial*, Guatemala, September 23, 1972). Not badly phrased. But it is certain that it didn't occur to CAO but rather to his US "Advisers."

tion, to provide general medical services, preventive medicine and dental care, and to distribute milk, Incaparina, sweets, books, notebooks, toothpaste and tooth brushes. Of course, the Peace Corps cooperated with the army. They were civilians, it is true, but Yankees. There was no danger. Ambassador William G. Bowler, for example, said he was happy with the work of "his boys" in the textile cooperative (Indians) of San Juan Camalapa, when he visited it on August 8, 1972. Also in the spiritual area, civilian military action was notable: the minister of Defense, Kjell Eugenio Laugerud, offered his collaboration "both in equipment and in human force" for the 5th Festival of Art and Culture in Antigua, Guatemala (*El Imparcial*, November 14, 1972). The soldier surrendered to the muses. Or, as Rubén Darío said: "The most beautiful smile on the most savage of the conquerors." Why wouldn't the artists vote for Laugerud for president?

Nevertheless, from an official source it is known that in the six months prior to May of 1971, date of the information, 903 petitions for writs of habeas corpus had been presented to the courts, an average of 14 a day. These six months were the months of the state of seige. The petitions were directed to the ministers of Defense and Security and CAO himself. Everyone now knows that each one of these petitions represents someone who has disappeared, and that "disappeared" in Guatemala means "assassinated": a "disappearance in Guatemala is generally equivalent to a death" (*NACLA's Latin America & Empire Report*, n. 2, February, 1972). This is the frightful synonymy of these 20 years of violence. In these months, the AEU (Association of University Students), the trade union organizations and professional

colleges revealed thousands of disappearances and denounced the fact that there existed "the most rigorous stage of seige and the most generalized repression in the country's history."

The state of seige lasted until November 22, 1971. In that year, 959 political assassinations, 171 kidnappings and 194 disappearances had already been recorded. But the lifting of the state of seige under popular pressure and international protest, did not stop the forages of the same assassin bands as before, with new names: Eye for an Eye, Death Squadron, Vulture of Justice. The enumeration of the dead over those four years would convert these pages of panoramic intent into something like the horror museums the Nazis left in Europe or like the documentals on Viet Nam during the war against Yankee aggression. There is no space for it and so I will respectfully refrain from listing the names of so many victims of CAO, as I had to do with those of his four predecessors. Of course these names are in the vaults and they will emerge on the inexorable day of "final justice." And that, of course, will not be in heaven but here, very earthly, very popular and very severe. It will be revolutionary justice which like all things, may come late, but it comes.

However, the monstrous repetition of that collective unspeakable crime of 1966 cannot be omitted. On September 26, 1972, six leaders of the PGT, a widow and a domestic servant, were caught by surprise in a house by the tyranny's assassins. They were meeting peacefully. They were tortured for two days in O room of the detectives' corps, known with that refined sarcastic sadism of torturers throughout the world, as the classroom. Then they were taken to the hotel, another torture chamber and, in the early morning hours of September 28, flown in an Air Force C-47 — it is not known whether they were dead or dying — and tossed into the waters of the

Atlantic. Among the victims went the two women as well. Remember that the 1966 victims were thrown into the Pacific. But the Atlantic is preferred by these beasts because its waters are infested with sharks. Nevertheless, one can't be compared with the other. It would be unjust. Just as Ruano Pinzón confessed, terrorized, in 1966, so in 1973, detective 165 of the Police of Guatemala, Abel Juárez Villatoro, did so five months after the horrendous crime.

One would think that the magnitude of the infamy was now exhausted. But it is not so. To those dead, wounded and suffocated in demonstrations and protests of teachers, students, workers and employees, in the cities and especially in Guatemala city, the massacre of peasants in the village of Montepaque, in eastern Guatemala (El Progreso department) on May 27, 1973, must still be added. A ranger blurted out that there were 60. In any case, the public voice spoke of "many deaths." Rangers of the Panther battalion from the military base of Zacapa participated in the repression. The peasants were trying to recuperate their communal land, occupied by geophysicists from Sanarata, another town in the same department. In December 2000 peasants were evicted in the town of Buenavista (department of Izabal) on the petition of INTA (National Institute of Agrarian Transformation). The army did it because this region "is a potential petroleum and agricultural reserve." In April of the same year, 1973, false leaders of non-existent trade unions decorated CAO as "an expression of sympathy, support and thanks."

Modernization of the Guatemalan army's counter-revolutionary methods was not limited to the Bank, the CEM, medical actions and enthusiasm for the arts. It went beyond that: to the rest of Central-America. The Central-American Defense Council, articulated and managed by the imperial high command, had

in CAO a competent executor of its strategic plans. Service number one was that of January of 1972, when the Guatemala Air Forces, together with those of Nicaragua, led by CAO's twin Anastasio Somoza cooperated with the forces of Fidel Hernández of El Salvador to smash the popular uprising against the immediately preceding electoral fraud. From that came CAO's movements in Central America: in March, he was visited by Tacho II; in the following act, he visited Molina, the imposed successor to Sánchez Hernández, in El Salvador, and in November of 1972, the three met in Guatemala. Logically the presidents of Honduras and Costa Rica were deeply concerned over what would come out of that kitchen. But that is still another subject.

How was that repressive line reflected in the other constant I mentioned a moment ago: that of the alienation of the country? In the first place, CAO was the principal factor of pressure on behalf of imperialism, over the justly wayward and ignored Honduras, to keep it within the already dead though unburied Central-American Common Market. At the same time, within the present discussion over oil, he reactivated the policy of unlimited prodigality of Castillo Armas, placing the national suboil at the disposition of the oil monopolies, for the time when they have succeeded in exploiting the reserves of El Peten, explored 20 years ago. Finally, with CAO, a long process of taking over Guatemalan nickel was culminated successfully for EXMIBAL (Mining Exploration and Exploitation of Izabal Corp.), which represents a much greater surrender than that consummated by all the governments of the 20th century for the railway-banana monopoly of the past. EXMIBAL is a subsidiary of US Hanna Mining, and Ca-

nadian International Nickel.<sup>12</sup> A small compensation for CAO was the authorization of \$960 million through the IBRD in April of 1973 for his "plan of integral development of the community."

And finally, but no less so, in electricity CAO was a loyal continuer of the "liberationist" line begun in 1954. That enterprise that Estrada Cabrera expropriated from the Germans taking advantage of the circumstances of the first World War, and then practically bestowed on the power trust of EBASCO (it paid no more than \$400 000), was reacquired 55 years later (1972) by CAO following a path already opened by Méndez Montenegro at a cost of almost \$52 million. The people of Guatemala remain indebted

for this sum, for the purchase of stock from the old enterprise that was now worthless (\$18 million); supposed debts of this old enterprise to its mother enterprise, the same EBASCO (\$11 million) indemnities to the workers not paid by the enterprise (\$7 million); and pseudo-financial con games of one kind or another (\$15 million). Total: \$51 877 846. A juicy business for Boise Cascade, multinegotiating and transnational supertrust, to whose powerful headquarters the former Electric Enterprise of Guatemala is now tied. It is what the Yankees call "just compensation," for which they have committed and continue to commit the hecatomb of Chile and tried to strangle the government of the Armed Forces of Peru, to cite only two contemporary examples.

Here ends this necessarily incomplete and hasty, fleeting, and bird's eye view of Guatemala's afflicted history: of the ten years of springtime in the country of eternal tyranny. It is clear that the eternity of this tyranny is a literary figure. For although up until now this history is an escalation of crime in which the rulers of the first half of our century outdo those of the past in many ways, and those of "liberation" and "anti-communism" blot out the monstrous actions of the former, it will not always be this way. This brutal tyranny might be eternal if, as occurred before 1944, the people of Guatemala with heroic and unforgettable exceptions, had lived terrorized and submissive over these 20 years. But this has not been the climate.

Almost no day has passed without a cry of protest, a bold action, a strike, an uprising, a land seizure, an execution of oppressors, a clandestine flyer, an open denunciation, an act of solidarity with those persecuted, a sabotage, in short innumerable manifestations of resistance against the tyranny have demonstrated that these people are alive and resolute and struggling. In this framework of patriotic and virile reaffirmation, the guerrilla fronts naturally occupy first place. Their experience and their message are full of the future. The ground they sowed cannot become a desert: Guatemalan soil has been fertile over the millenium. Now Atila's horseman's helmet is useless. A martyred generation will be succeeded by another and another until victory, as in Cuba. I believe firmly in the people

<sup>12</sup> EXMIBAL was established in 1960, with eyes fixed on Guatemala since 1956. In 1965, Peralta Azurdia issued the new mining code written by the technicians of EXMIBAL. The conclusion falls of its own weight.

Méndez Montenegro exonerated this enterprise from taxes on profits, including the dividends of the stockholders, for a period of ten years. The only thing lacking was to free it from exchange controls. It was left to Arana Osorio to give the final touches, in order to perfect the surrender of this national patrimony. And of course he did so.

of Guatemala because I belong to them and I lived among them the first 40 years of my life, for as long as I could. And I am sure that they will finally succeed in creating what they have always wanted: an eternal springtime for mankind. The history recorded here will be only a black century, a century of tyranny, in the true eternity of a sovereign and free people. A bad memory.

Of course, for it to be this, the main instigator will have to be defeated. The one who has suffocated, almost from the moment of its birth, the Guatemala that the decade 1944-54 foretold. A defeat for which the new forces of humanity, those of the peoples continuously exploited by imperialist capitalism, are now preparing themselves. It is taking shape already. Imperialism's monsters of domination are crumbling in its hands. Nothing is more evident of this for us Latin-Americans than the disintegration by putrefaction of the OAS. It isn't everything, but it is very significant. It is the prefiguration of what will happen to its creator. And then, yes, humanity will see a new world, a truly free world, without quotation marks.

## POSTSCRIPT

Thus ends the article published in the magazine *Casa de las Américas*, number 84, of May-June, 1974, prepared, naturally, several months before. I complete this reproduction with a chronology of more recent events, obviously also outdated when this number of *Tricontinental* appears. So is life: *Varium et mutabile*.

**February 18** — The "Committee of Relatives of Missing Persons" asks the presidential candidates to reply, in a televised forum, to questions on "violence, repression and those who have disappeared." The forum is sponsored by the University Legal Office, created in June of 1973, under the leadership of Bachelor Edmundo Guerra Theilheimer. In the invitation, the relatives state that for a decade "the people have been victims of violence, insecurity, anxiety and terror; paramilitary organizations which have cooperated with impunity along with or supported, sponsored and backed by official entities, during the last two governments. (J.M.M. and CAO) have brought sorrow and mourning to thousands of Guatemaltecan homes, converting the Motagua waters, the Pacayá crater and other far-flung places into tombs of clandestine graveyards.

**February 23** — a macabre finding corroborates the previous denunciation: in *La Trementina* village, Zacapa municipality (department of the same name) a clandestine cemetery was discovered. Four wells had been used as tombs for people kidnapped. Relatives of the missing journalist and candidate for mayor of Zacapa, Romeo Antón Sánchez, of the Christian Democratic Party, were unable to establish whether his body was among those in the wells of *La Trementina*, because a detachment of 20 soldiers prevented this. The same thing occurred with other relatives of missing persons. Similar cemeteries are frequently discovered in other parts of the country.

**February 26** — The presidential and vice-presidential candidates of officialism, Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García and Mario Sandoval Alarcón respectively, refuse to appear and add: "With their well-known tricks of using people's good faith, the Communists that manage the People's Legal Office of the University have trapped you, and we regret that your just concerns for missing relatives should be the object of such a notoriously tendentious political manipulation."

**March 12** — The cynical response of Laugerud and Sandoval Alarcón is specified in a vandalous act: Guerra Theilheimer is shot and killed at 1 p.m. in the People's Legal Office of the University. Since April 21, 1973, the relatives of missing persons had presented proofs to the Ministry of the Interior concerning the "guilt of officials, military personnel and other members of the government in the events that have brought sorrow to many Guatemalan homes." **Prensa Libre**, officialist daily, May 21, 1973).

**April 15** — The Guatemalan Labor Party, clandestine since 1954, denounces the fraudulent election of Laugerud and Sandoval Alarcón as president and vice-president of the Republic, the previous March 3, with the complicity of US imperialism and the support of Anastasio Somoza. The vote in favor of the official candidates was less than 10% of the total number of eligible voters. The PGT concludes: "The people have no recourse other than to use all means at their disposal to remove reaction from power."

**May 1** — On May Day, demonstrators are attacked by the repressive forces. Thirty persons are wounded, among them a deputy who was on a platform in Italia Square. The National Opposition Front, to which the Christian Democratic Party belonged, accused the government of the attack and denounced the "scandalous fraud" of the elections of March 3. On the fifth of this month, police and armed civilians occupy the PDC office and spray noxious gases. Numerous members of the party escape semi-asphyxiated.

**May 2** — The regulation in force for 10 years prohibiting Guatemalans from travelling to socialist countries of Europe and other parts of the world, expires. As far as Cuba is concerned, the Minister of the Interior says Guatemala remains loyal

to the OAS resolutions on the economic blockade.

**May 9** — The Death Squadron threatens to assassinate leaders of the PDC if they do not abandon the country within 48 hours. The same paramilitary gang takes responsibility for 43 assassinations of oppositionists since February.

**May 11** — Interviewed in Madrid by the newspaper **El Alcázar** (falangist), president-elect, Kjell Laugerud declares that Guatemala has no interest in renewing diplomatic relations with Cuba.

**June 4** — The Federation of Guatemala coffee growers' cooperatives (FEDECOCAGUA) expresses to the Congress its disagreement with the proposal for new taxes and threatens an owners' strike if the increased rate is approved.

**June 5** — The assassination of two regional leaders of the PDC by "unknown persons" is made public. The national leadership of that party convokes an emergency meeting "to analyze the events and take decisions." Officialism proposes to illegalize the PDC for having called "for subversion of public order."

**July 2** — In Congressional high session, CAO turns over the presidency to Laugerud, ex-chief of the General Staff of the army and ex-Minister of Defense under CAO. In his first message to the nation, Laugerud speaks of "justice in opportunities, in wealth, in a social order that elevates, is not subject to weaknesses and to abandonment." He offers "basic reforms and changes that will permit the creation of well being for those who do not have it, without taking it away from those who do have it." At the end he begs "that the Almighty light our way and bestow his benediction on our beloved Guatemala."

**July 4** — Laugerud requests authorization from the Congress to negotiate a loan of \$4 million with the Central-American Bank of Integration, to construct 20 km. of highways along the Atlantic coast,



in order to join up with the one in Honduras (CA-3) and connect with "a very productive agricultural zone whose principal products are bananas, rice, corn and pineapple."

**July 8 — Voz Obrera**, monthly organ of the Autonomous Syndical Federation of Guatemala (FAS-GUA) states that "the working class must not have illusions nor hopes that the new government will provide it with any real benefits since it is a government that is a continuation of the preceding one." It gives examples of acts of persecution and repression of trade unionists and pessimistically points to the future of Guatemalan trade unionism. It also denounces "the infringement of constitutional rights, against the entire citizenry" and issues a call to workers to remain alert to the development of events.

**July 17** — Guatemala attends the fourth meeting of the UPEB (Union of Banana Exporting Countries) in the Bayamo room of La Siesta Hotel in Panama. Costa Rica, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Dominican Republic also attend, but not Ecuador. The points discussed are: present situation of the banana industry, action of the members of the future UPEB, creation of a provisional office for the organization and a place and date for signing the agreement constituting the organization.

**July 20** — Congress authorizes the Executive to negotiate a loan of \$4.5 million (dollars-quetzales) assigned to the purchase of fertilizers and the development of agricultural, educational and social activities for small farm owners, through the US Agency for International Development (AID).

**July 22** — The Bank for Inter-American Development (BID) authorizes 180 000 quetzales, under the title of non-reimbursable technical cooperation, for an analysis of opportunities for investment in the Central-American agricultural sector. The donation is part of an extensive plan for all Central Amer-

ica, with the participation of the World Bank (IBRD) and AID, at a cost of \$565 000, of which each Central-American country will contribute \$25 000. By May 31 the foreign debt had risen to \$88 452 339 (quetzales), according to the Minister of Finance. He announces that between \$30 and \$35 million is expected to be collected under the new fiscal and tax policy, but that the contraction of loans abroad would continue.

### **Guatemala imperialism's oil peon?**

The valiant attitude of the government of Venezuela, in the face of pressure, threats and blackmail by US imperialism and President Ford, on the one hand, and also the discovery of very rich, though still not precisely calculated reserves in the Mexican states of Chiapas and Tabasco, adjacent to the Guatemalan department of El Petén (35 800 km<sup>2</sup>) which is thought to have a petroleum subsoil, plus Izabal, other regions and the continental platform, pose the question that heads this paragraph. If Bolivia has lowered the price per barrel of oil by \$1.35 since August, at a sacrifice to its weak economy of \$2 million a month, according to the confession of the manager of Fiscal Petroleum Deposits (YPFB), there is the danger that Guatemala will follow the same policy if, as everything seems to indicate, it surrenders the exploitation of its already-certain oil deposits to the Yankee monopolies. Like the Bolivian step, this would be a crime, especially with respect to Venezuela. The risk exists: it is not easy to establish the differences between Bánzer and Laugerud. For this reason, I offer a very schematic chronology of the most recent history of oil in Guatemala, to complete the references of my previous article.

1968

The Méndez Montenegro government squanders concessions in the national reserve areas among his supporters which "are nothing more than so-called *vende firmas*" (proxy signatures) because "they have neither the resources nor the technical capacity to ever be authentic oil exploiters; but are the *cuello* (the neck) or go-between for members of the government to take over these concessions with the idea of negotiating them later with the foreign companies that have everything." (Alvaro Contreras Velez, in *Prensa Libre*, August 31, 1974).

1971

**September 7** — President CAÓ, in a presidential mandate of the date, proposes that during his government programs for oil exploitation be stimulated "in any areas of Guatemalan territory that might possess oil resources."

1973

**June 30** — Up to this date, 25 companies "stimulated by the new policy the government is following in this area," have taken initiatives to obtain oil concessions in the General Direction of Mining and Hydrocarbons. Once the contracts are authorized, the companies would invest \$50 million, at a two to one rate of profit.

**July 19** — Alvaro M. Aparicio replaces Dillard H. Adair, as general manager of Gulf Oil of Guatemala.

**August 9** — The press publishes this significant notice: "Foreign companies need oil engineers to work in Guatemala, ten years minimum experience, preferably in oil-well drilling and selection of equipment for wells."

1974

**January 25** — The general director of Mining and Hydrocarbons makes chilling statements: the area available for oil exploration is 108 842 km<sup>2</sup>, that is the entire length of Guatemala at the disposition of the international monopolies. At this time there are explorations in an area of 5 812 km<sup>2</sup> in national territory, and on the continental platform, which extends over 14 150 km<sup>2</sup>, only 1 156 km<sup>2</sup> are under exploration. Therefore, adds the official, there remain "101 875 km<sup>2</sup> free for stimulating activities of this nature... waiting to be worked by those who, with the enthusiasm of formal enterprise, seriousness and technical and economic capacity, wish to undertake works of such a nature." He refers to "last minute reports on the intensification of drilling work in Chiapas, Tabasco, Tampico and the Mexican marine strip."

**January 26** — Gulf tries to blackmail Guatemala, threatening to withdraw from the country if the 7.72 cents-per-quetzal discount per gallon of fuel at the pump, favoring Guatemalan truckers, is put into effect. A counsel of the Municipality says that "it could be a maneuver by the companies to increase their profits."

**January 30** — In the Conacaste room of the American Club, with representatives of the oil companies operating in Guatemala in attendance, Klanderud Petroconsultants inaugurates its consultant services in oil activities in Guatemala and the rest of Central America. The new enterprise which is defined as "100% Guatemalan" will have as its basic objective: "to provide technical advice in all affairs related to the oil industry in all its phases, to persons, entities or national and foreign companies."

**February 13** — Sandford E. McCormick, president of McCormick Oil and Gas, offers a press conference. He states that Guatemala's oil consumption averages 20 000 bar-

rels a day, at 16 quetzales (dollars) per barrel, or 320 000 quetzales a day, 116.8 million a year. He affirms "the great possibility of the existence of commercial oil deposits in Guatemala" and says that his enterprise has the financial and technical resources necessary to help Guatemala explore these possibilities. The initial cost of the operations would be between 200 and 250 million quetzales: wells, oil lines, refineries, storage facilities, etc.

**June 14** — The General Direction of Mining and Hydrocarbons releases the "Guatemalan Oil Register": 36 companies have solicited concessions for exploration between 1971 and 1974.

**June 24** — In a message transmitted on radio and television, CAO declares that "in Guatemala oil exists in sufficient quantity to cover our internal consumption necessities."

**June 28** — Surprisingly, decree 62-74 is issued, law of oil regulation, conforming to a project which appeared after a prior project had passed two readings in the Congress. The new project, which has become law, introduces direct contracting with the government for "oil operations," rather than the system of concessions established in the Petroleum Code. This law consigns exemptions and transfers in favor of the concessionaire enterprises, which recall the inconceivable privileges authorized to the banana and railway enterprises at the beginning of the century.

**July 8** — The minister of Economy declares that "the government of the Republic will provide all its support to the national and foreign companies that wish to engage in explorations for oil." He adds that "there are indications of the existence of the important material in the north of the country, but that at the moment it is necessary to increase the number of drillings in order to determine whether there is oil in commercial quantities."

The government places in operation an anti-inflationary plan with a chapter relating to strategic raw materials which refers to "the speculation with oil and the price increases which represent the most powerful and sordid contribution to the high cost of living throughout the world." The allusion is to Venezuela but also to the Arab countries to which the previously mentioned journalist — loyal to the slogans of the Yankee monopolies — alludes as "accounts of plunder from the tuaregs of Arab oil," that force "sacrifice by peoples and governments with the usurious prices they place on their products." Imperialism's divisionist campaign has one more spokesman here.

News circulates that the wells drilled in Chisec, Alta Verapaz, by Shenandoah had gushed forth oil with a capacity of 4000 barrels a day. This company's origins are obscure and illegal, involving the complicity of Rudi Weissenberg Martínez's **vende firmas** in combination with Saga Petroleum and with resources from Norte Ltd. Cemtram S.A., subsidiary of EXMIBAL (nickel), also obtains concessions and is obliged to drill two wells on the continental platform in the Caribbean area.

**July 23** — Texas Petroleum is the first enterprise to invest on a large scale, in drilling and exploitation, in accordance with decree 62-74. The initial investment will be \$5 300 000 over three years. At the same time, Carlzberg Petroleum and Transworld present Mining and Hydrocarbons with their respective investment programs for exploitation in El Petén.

**September 12** — The ruling on decree 62-74 is announced. It is anticipated that, in no case, will concessions greater than 400 000 hectares (4000 km<sup>2</sup>) be authorized "since the Constitution of the Republic (article 140) clearly prohibits monopolies"!!

**Israeli  
Educational Policy  
for the  
Palestinian Arabs**

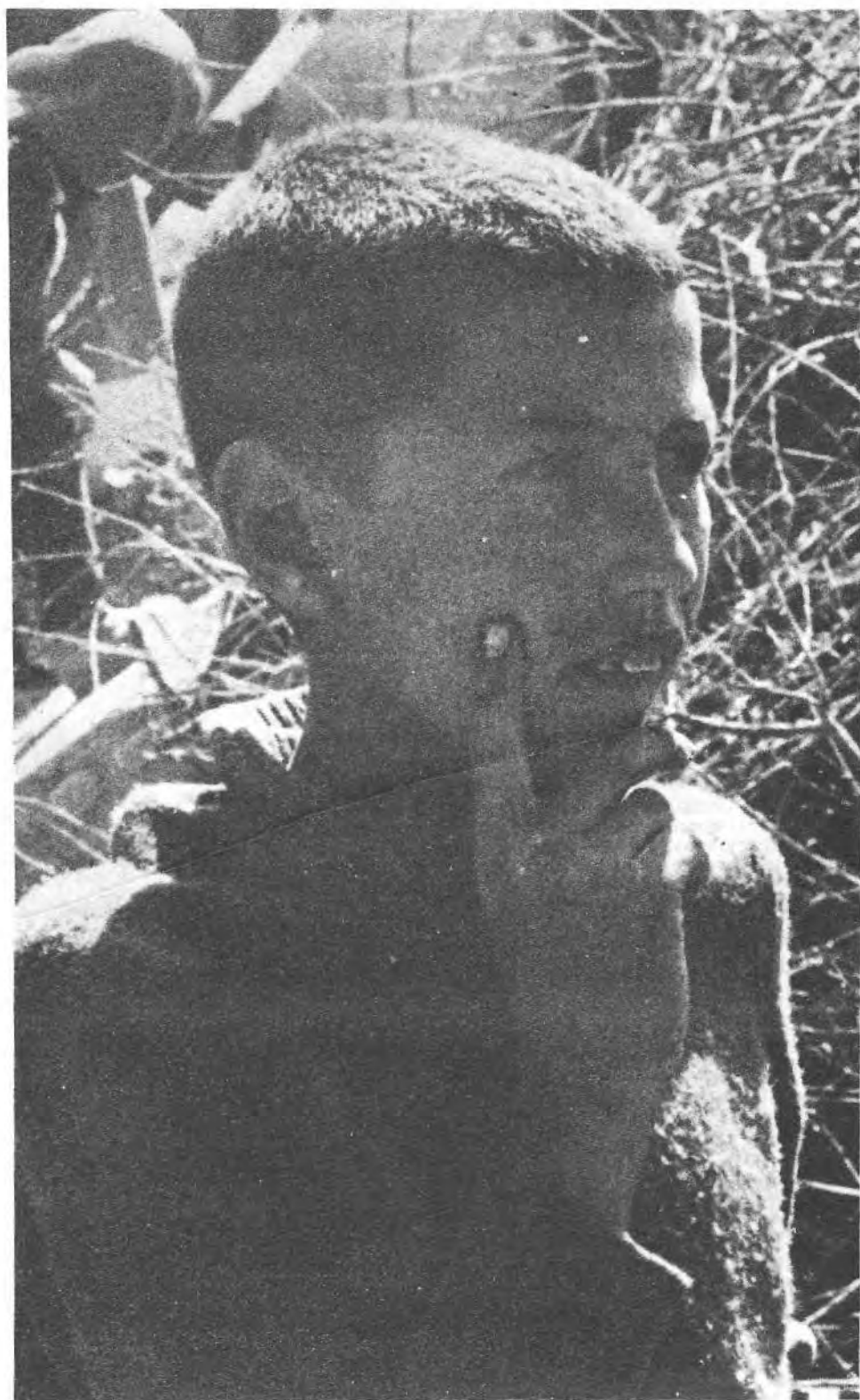
Together with the physical annihilation of the Arab people of Palestine, Israel's official policy in the territories occupied during its wars of expansion and aggression, has as its objective the systematic destruction of all that might represent a vestige of the history and national culture of these people. If anywhere in the world this keynote of imperialism and colonialism has been made evident in a brutal way, it has been in those lands occupied since 1948 or those that fell into Israel's power in 1967.

The present article, from the General Union of Palestinian Students, denounces the dangers of the Zionist educational policy as an instrument that separates the elements of which the Palestinian nationality is constituted.

### **Objectives of Israel's education policy for the Arabs**

The educational policy of any regime or government is intimately related to the general political goals of that government or system. It is absolutely impossible to disassociate the aims of education from the aims of the government or system since education, like any other activity, constitutes the reflection of the mentality of the society.

1. Israel is a State that practices racism and discrimination in religion, because it is a State for Jews only, in which all power is in the hands of Zionist Jews and is exclusively at the service of their interests. Thus it can grant no type of political or social liberty to anyone who is not Zionist,



and it will never accept a democratic society based on equality of opportunity for all its inhabitants.

2. Israel is an artificial State. Therefore, its policy operates in behalf of its projected creation of a new Palestine and the annihilation of the old one by all the means at its disposal.
3. Israel is a State unrecognized by the Arab states on its borders. It cannot guarantee its existence or its survival without being accepted by the Arabs. Therefore its policy is based on forcing the Arabs to recognize it and making them recognize its right to exist in the territory that originally belonged to the Arabs of Palestine.

The three political considerations we have just outlined are confirmed by the orientation of the Israeli government's educational program which is: not to raise the educational level of the Arab minority living in Israel since, to do so, would make that minority capable of holding important posts in the administration, thereby contradicting Israel's racist policy of attempting to keep all power in the hands of the Zionists.

Since 1948, Israel has opposed raising the level of education given to the Arabs who live in that territory for the very important reason that, to do so, would lead (within this racist regime and in the absence of all possibility of promotion for the Arabs) to the creation of a group of Arab thinkers and educated members of that nationality, whose ideological convictions would be radical and would have determined political goals. This, of course, would threaten the racist and reli-

gious bases on which Israel stands and would destroy the possibility of creating a "new reality" which could supposedly win acceptance from the Arabs.

### **Nature and extent of educational problems**

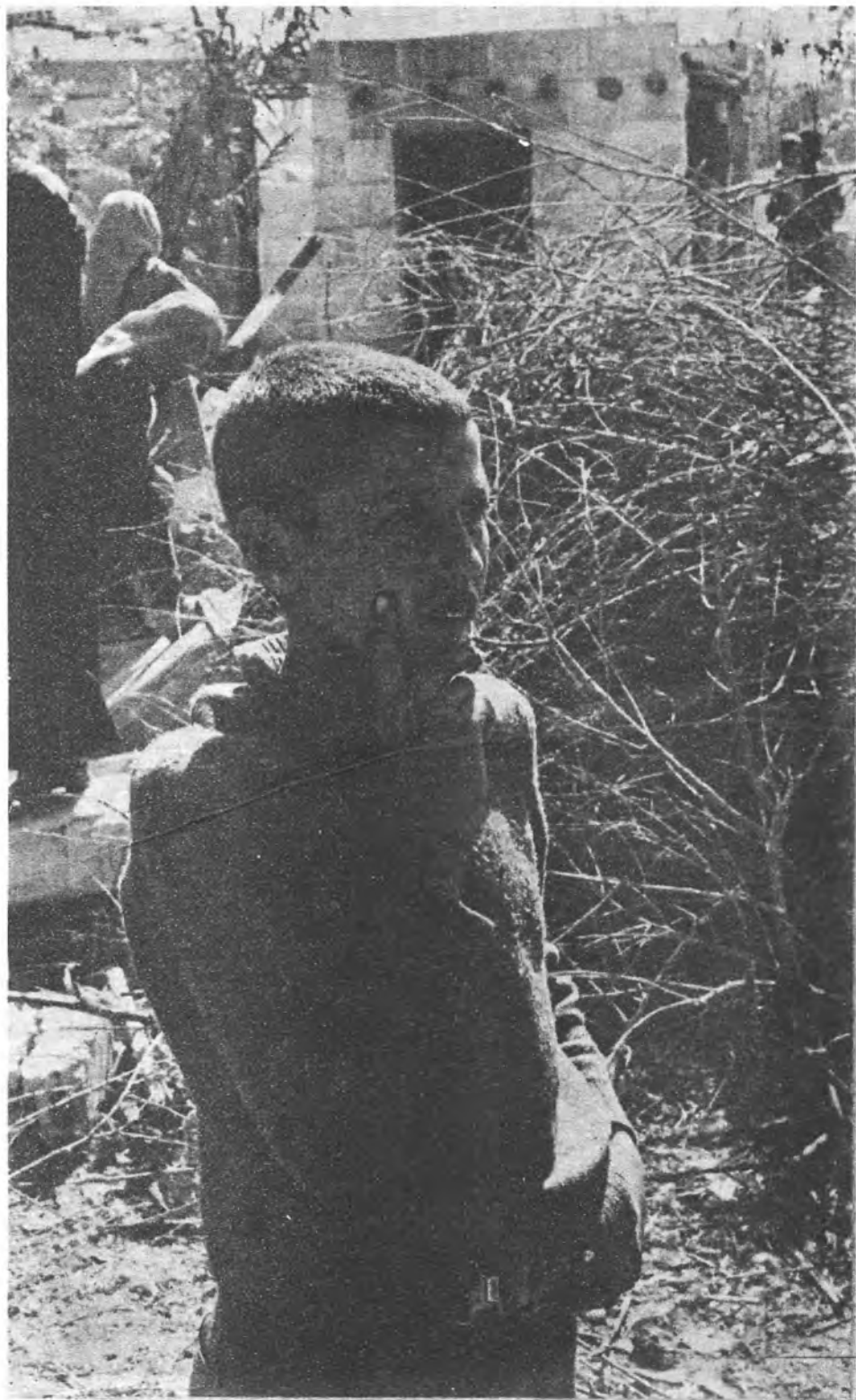
It is worth calling attention to the fact that these problems of educating Arabs under Israeli occupation were intentionally created by Israel to facilitate the practical execution of its specific educational policy of discrimination.

In order to be able to fulfill its political designs through education, Israel had to assume control of the Arab educational system. To those ends, it selected and named the teaching personnel. Textbooks and even examination questions were published or printed under its supervision. School buildings were also placed under the supervision of Israeli authorities.

The nature of the educational problems of the Arabs of Israel since 1948, stems from the fact that they have been subjected to a program of intentional illiteracy which affects them socially as well as mentally. This policy confines them to the lowest strata of society, in order to be exploited by the Zionists in the construction of their own economy.

As far as the Arabs whose lands were occupied in 1967 are concerned, their educational problem stems from the fact that Israel is trying to isolate them from the rest of the Arab society, in order to be able to treat them later in the same way it has treated the Arabs whose lands were occupied in 1948.

The principal reasons for these educational problems stem from the





systematic impoverishment imposed by Israel on the Arab educational system in the territories it has occupied and which serve the objectives of the occupants. The magnitude of these problems can be summarized in the following points:

1. Education in Gaza and on the west bank of the Jordan (regions under Israeli occupation since June 1967) are in the hands of the Israeli military authorities. On July 17, 1969, the Israeli authorities published a new law, number 565, under which the opening of new schools without permission of the Department of Education of the Israēlī Ministry of Culture is forbidden. The new law stipulates detailed conditions for the construction of new schools, their study plans, their teaching personnel and other related matters. It grants the General Commissions the right to close these schools when they deem it convenient.

2. Both books and school programs drawn up by the Jordanian and Egyptian authorities for the schools on the West Bank and in Gaza have been abolished because the Israeli authorities argue that, with them, children are taught to hate Israel. But a general strike of Palestinian teachers and students and numerous protest demonstrations forced the Israeli authorities to make concessions, introducing certain corrections in the books and nothing more. Seventy-eight of the 121 textbooks published have been revised. Everything that could recall to the Arab children their land, their history, their past, has been eliminated from them. Moreover, all history books dealing with the struggle of the Arabs for their unification have been withdrawn from circulation.

These revisions and changes also affect the Arab language books. All the old Arab proverbs that express

the idea of an Arab national consciousness have been replaced by other new ones that contain a very different vision. All reference to the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland has been eliminated from the books. Thus, for example, lesson number 13 on page 38 of the Arab grammar for the sixth course, titled "We Will Return Tomorrow," was eliminated. Dawood Mizrahi, professor of Islamic History at the Hebrew University and representative of the Prime Minister on the West Bank, told an Arab delegation that the Israelis have revised all the Arab textbooks for the schools and that the Arabs have no right to discuss them but only to read them just as they are.

3. Israel has modified the school program in the governmental Arab schools of Jerusalem, changing the Arab system to the Israeli system of education, under the argument of the definitive annexation of Jerusalem. At the same time, it has ordered that all private schools use either the Israeli or the modified Jordanian educational system in their lessons.

4. Israel is using every type of political and financial pressure to cause the private Arab schools to go bankrupt and eventually include them within its own Ministry of Education.

5. Israel controls the editing of all books published on the West Bank and does not permit publication or distribution of any book that is not in agreement with its political purposes in the occupied territories.

6. Israel pressures the Arab students to abandon school and go into Israeli factories as workers, thus pursuing two objectives: first, to



keep the educational level very low among the Arabs; second, to exploit their work force for the development of its own economy.

The breath of the educational problem of the Arabs living under Israeli occupation since 1948 can be summarized in the following manner:

### **Administration**

Israel controls the administration of Arab education and has placed it in the hands of six different authorities: the military governor, the Arab administration of the *Histadrut*, the Military Intelligence Service, the Arab Administrative Department for Arab Affairs attached to the Ministry of Education, the counsellor of the Prime Minister and, finally, the offices of the Israeli political parties. This extensive number of supervisors for Arab education places it under a strict control and causes confusion and stagnation in education.

### **School buildings**

They are inadequate for teaching Arab children. They are now old and semi-destroyed; they consist of small badly lighted rooms. They have no sanitary facilities, nor playgrounds nor recreation yards. The furniture is insufficient and in poor condition. The Israeli authorities have taken advantage of a law to keep the Arab schools in the condition in which they originally found them in 1948. The law in question excuses the Israeli Ministry of Education from providing buildings, furniture or recreation areas for the Arab schools. It is presumed that these are to be under the jurisdiction of the administration of the Jewish colonies through the Jewish Agency and municipal local government. But up to 1963, 61%

of the villages had no local or municipal government. The establishment of such governments falls within the functions of the Ministry of the Interior.

### **Textbooks**

The Arab schools suffer a scarcity of pedagogical materials. Both teachers and students must use textbooks that are now very old. Moreover, the Arab libraries in Israel are very poorly equipped with any kind of books even educational and textbooks. The Israeli authorities prohibit the use of school books that were employed during the period of British colonialism and do not permit the use of school books that come from neighboring Arab countries, under the pretext that Israel will print its own books. But the reality is that the country has made no effort whatsoever to publish books for the Arab schools. The reason, according to them, lies in the small Arab population in Israel, which makes the printing and publication of these books very costly.

### **Teachers**

The main target of the Israeli authorities is the teacher, the most important factor in education. The six administrative corps for education previously mentioned try to exercise total control over the Palestinian teachers both during their training period and during their professional activity, using every means within their reach including the exercise of economic pressures. In many cases, this influences the positive aspects of their personality, affecting them psychologically.

The teacher's social position and



the way he is selected and named has been responsible for the complete failure of education. The study made of this situation by a delegation of North American teachers revealed the following facts about Palestinian teachers in Israel:

a) The naming of a teacher depends on his political opinions and not on his academic qualification;

b) Supervision and direction of teachers is extremely strict politically, but deficient culturally and educationally. The objective Israel pursues with this attitude is to make certain that Arab students lack national orientation. They are not in the least concerned about the teacher's obligations as pedagogue.

c) This stimulates the teacher to comply with the instructions he receives from the ministry without paying any attention to the students' needs, since he knows that no one will blame him for that.

d) In the school year 1966-1967 there were 1830 Arab teachers, including some Jewish immigrants from the Arab countries, against 39 148 Israeli teachers. This means that there were five teachers for every 1000 Arabs and 20 teachers for every 1000 Israelis.

e) In addition to the very small number of teachers for the Arabs, in 1968, 50% of them were not qualified to teach.

f) In Jaffa a normal school was opened in 1956 but in almost 20 years it has been unable to train a sufficient number of teachers. The purpose of this normal school was originally to prepare teachers in Arab schools who would be at the service of Zionism.

## Students

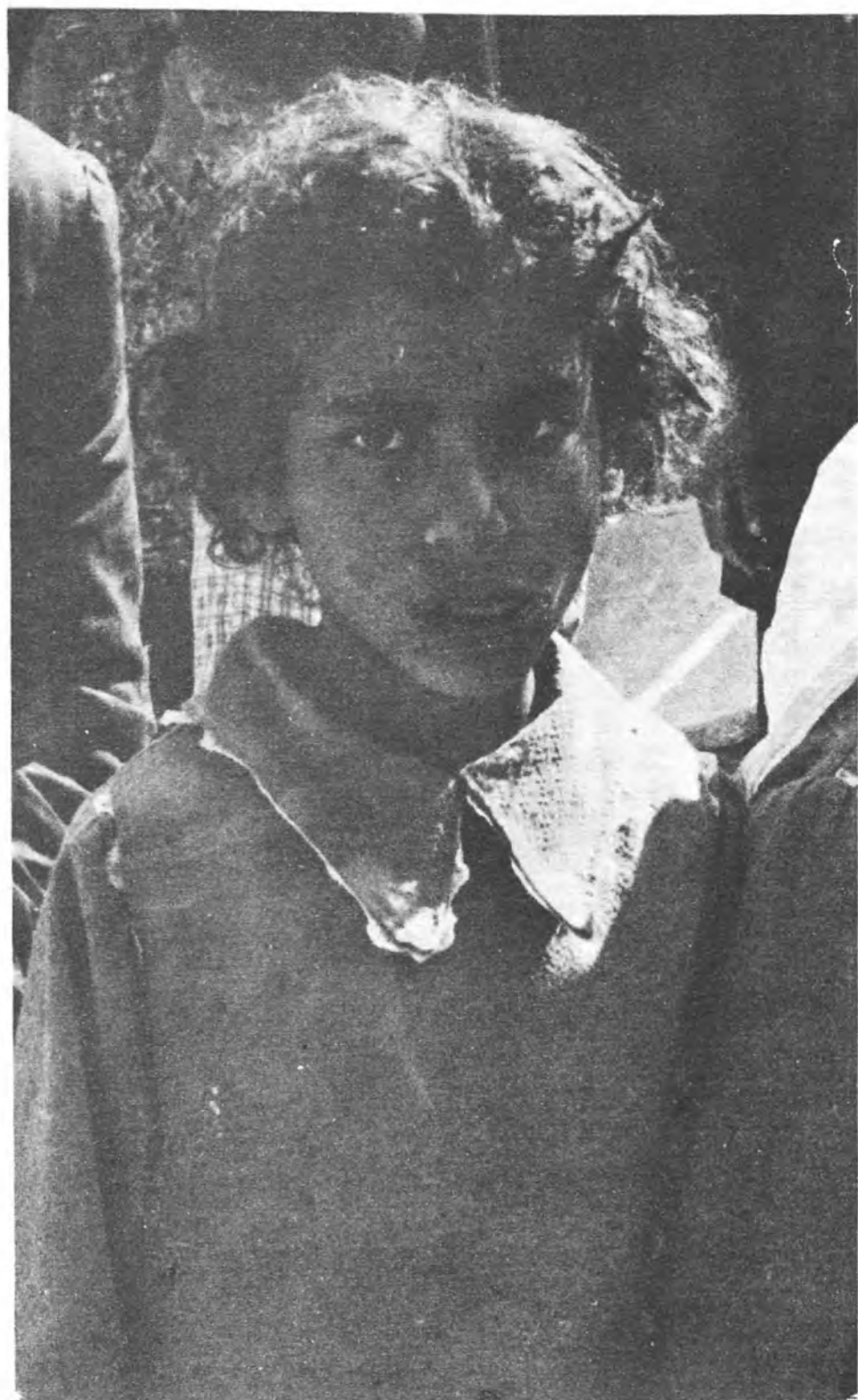
The Arabs in Israel suffer from lack of knowledge. The number of Arab students is very small in comparison to the number of Jewish

students. The reason for this situation has already been pointed out. Moreover, the Israeli authorities make no effort to comply with the Law of Obligatory Education for the children who live in Arab regions. The result of this is that, in the period from 1950 to 1960, between 25% and 30% of school-age Arab children were not in school, while only 2.3% of Jewish children were in the same situation. In the period between 1955 and 1956, 60% of Arab children at the intermediary and secondary level were not in school, as compared to 8.6% of Jewish children. The percentage of Arab students who attended secondary school between 1966 and 1967 was 22.7% compared to 88.7% of Jewish children. The percentage of Arab students who do not obtain the general school diploma is very high. In 1962 it was 90% and in 1965, 70%.

Discrimination against Arab students in the higher educational field is clear. The only university they are permitted to attend is the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It is hard to find a single Arab student in any of the other five universities or in the other advanced schools in Israel. Of the 350 000 Arab inhabitants living in the Zionist State, only 250 young people have reached the higher level of education. This is the equivalent of less than 0.5%. But even this small group is denied technical education. In the period between 1970 and 1971 there were 29 500 university students in Israel; of these only 40 were Arabs.

## The educational programs

The Israeli authorities completely supervise the education the Arabs receive. With this attitude they are trying to destroy all that could ap-



proximate an Arab way of life, replacing it with another of a Zionist character. In this way, the Arabs are deprived of all possibility of rebelling. This program is carried out through education in four subjects: History, Literature, Religion, Civics.

### History

The history taught to Jewish students seeks above all to create in them a consciousness of their reality and of their society and, second, to stimulate them toward the creation of an Israeli nationalism whose existence depends on the existence of all Jews. Arab students are taught that their lives and the lives of the Jews are interdependent and that, therefore, they must defend the existence of Israel.

The Arab students are given examples of Arab and Jewish personalities while the Jewish students are given examples of Jewish personalities only, since "the Arabs are not equal to the Jews." This is only one element in the systematic policy of discrimination.

The distribution of courses is as follows: for Arab students, 20.6% of the total number of class hours is devoted to the study of Jewish history; 19.5% to the history of the Arabs. For Jewish students, 40.9% of class hours devoted to the study of history is utilized to study their own history, while only 3.1% of this time is devoted to the deformed study of the history of the Arabs. One can thus appreciate how Israel is trying to undermine the historical roots of the Arab nation, while providing them with biased information on the history of their oppressors.

### Literature and language

1. Israeli students are taught liter-

ature, while the Arabs are taught only to read and write.

2. The Zionist program devotes its attention to the national aspect of literature and language, while the Arab program does not even mention the Arab homeland.

3. The Jews are taught universal literature for the purpose of making them understand different problems and schools of thought. The Arabs are deprived of this context.

4. The teaching of Arab literature omits Arab ideals.

5. The teaching of the Hebrew language is designed to give the Arabs a good understanding of that language so that they can understand Jewish history.

6. The Zionist program seeks to teach literature as art; the Arabs are taught only the history of literature. The literature educational program is divided in the following way:

In the Israeli schools 512 hours are devoted to the study of Jewish literature and none to the study of Arab literature. In the Arab schools, 420 hours are devoted to the teaching of Arab literature and 340 hours to Jewish literature. In the Israeli schools 256 hours are devoted to the teaching of the Hebrew language and none to the teaching of Arabic. The Arab schools, on the other hand, give 404 class hours in Arabic and 172 hours in Hebrew.

### Poetry

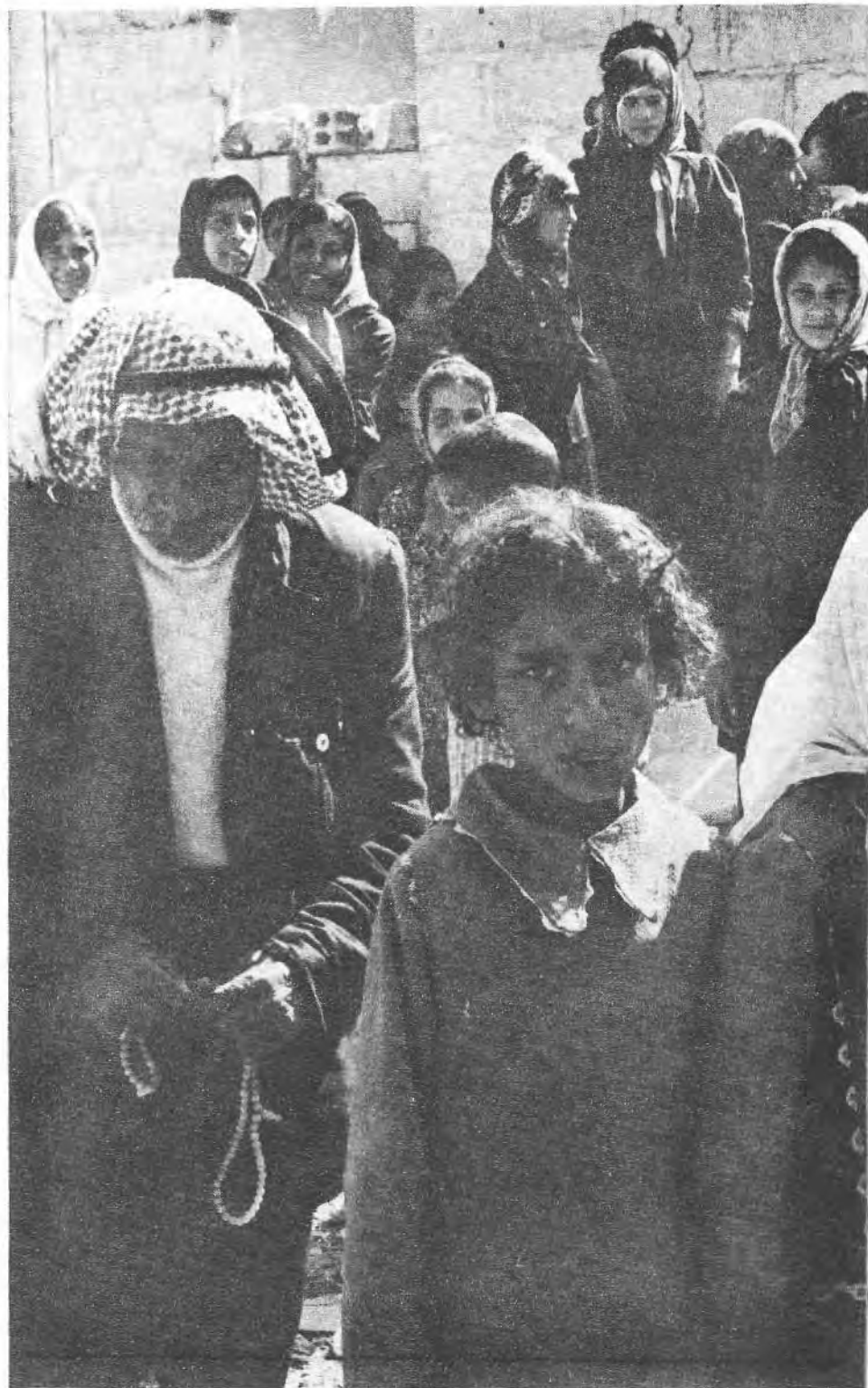
On the following themes:

Description, oration, love and human idealism.

1. The Arabs under the occupation since 1948 are not taught the poetry of any Palestinian poet after that date.

2. Poems about Palestine are not taught.







## Civics

Knowledge of History, Literature and Religion are imparted in such a way that the Arab students are uprooted from their own past and their own history. Civics has the mission of implanting new values through the following procedures.

1. A single program is taught to all students. This means that the Arabs are taught to respect Israel and to help it fulfill its policy.

2. One single theme — that of Israel — is taught to all alike, including its objectives, its government, and its political, social and economic system.

3. Nothing is said about the life of the Arab minority that lives in Israel.

4. As for religious themes, these are taught in the same way for all students.

Arab students receive only 50% of the total number of hours devoted to the study of Civics.

### **Dangers of Israel's educational policy for the Arabs that live under the occupation**

The policy Israel follows in education presents numerous dangers for the present and future education of the Arabs that live under the occupation regime. These dangers affect their national consciousness, their religion, social level, economic and cultural position.

As far as national consciousness is concerned, the educational policy applied both to the Arabs under occupation since 1948 and to those under occupation since 1967, undermines the fundamentals of their national consciousness. Naturally, this represents a great threat since this subjugated population could remain totally isolated from the Arab national movement and from the main current of Arab destiny. Is-

rael, is trying to inculcate in them the consciousness of an uprooted minority within the Israeli society. This minority will become "israelized" in the future, because of its knowledge of the Hebrew language, the Jewish religion, the history and the culture of Israel, since it will have no access to knowledge of any other culture.

The danger inherent in the religious education these young people are receiving is immense, since religion plays an important role in the formation of the Arab personality. In Israel the Islamic religion is not taught, although the Koran is taught as the highest form of Arab literature and language. In Israel, the Christian religion is never taught.

Since Israel seeks to keep the Arabs at a low level of education, the Arabs will always find themselves in the position of a working group serving the Jews in a society that hopes to be highly developed from the scientific and technological point of view. Thus the Arabs must form an ignorant community directed and controlled by those educated Jews who rule in this socio-economic regime. This situation requires the Arabs who live in the occupied lands to conform to a low standard of living and to live under a regime that offers them no opportunity to improve their living conditions. Moreover, their means of subsistence depends on the will of the Jewish regime.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the danger that Zionist occupation represents for Arab culture.

The Arabs who live in Israel are treated like mere utensils incapable of playing an active and creative role in the progress of humanity or even in that of the Arab nation.



starting  
points



**Plan Inca:  
for the  
Transformation  
of a Society**



On a continent almost completely subjected to Yankee imperialism, Peru was no exception. With enormous natural wealth, all its economic activity was controlled by the foreign monopolies — chiefly North American — and by the hundred families of the “native” oligarchy, their accomplices in the booty. Politically, the classic system of military chiefs, paid dictators, loyal to the “made in USA” model, excellent hunting dogs in the service of the Empire.

The first measures adopted by the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru, which assumed power on October 3, 1968, provided the example of a new period that was beginning in this Andean country. In its first month of government, nationalization of the North American enterprise International Petroleum Company, provoked Peru's confrontation with the United States. Later, a long series of nationalist and anti-imperialist depositions such as state control of the most important banks (January of 1969); the Law of Agrarian Reform (June of 1969); the Mining Law (April of 1970); the Industrial Law (July of 1970); the Law of Telecommunications (November of 1971); the nationalization of the Peruvian Telephone Company and of ITT (July of 1972); the creation of the national railroads (September of 1972); the commercialization of fertilizers, metals, precious stones, coffee, paper, etc. (April of 1973); the nationalization of the industry of food oil and fishmeal (May of 1973); the installation of new controls over foreign companies refining petroleum (September of 1973); the nationalization of the North American enterprise Cerro de Pasco Corporation (January of 1974); the signing of agreements with the United States on the nationalization of North American companies (February of 1974) and the recent decree of the Press Statutes represent a profoundly different situation from that which existed before October 1968.

In his historic Message to the Nation on July 28th of this year, in commemoration of the 153rd Anniversary of National Independence, the President of the Republic, Division General Juan Velasco Alvarado, pointed out:

...no one must forget a very evident truth: the traditional State was organized to serve the needs of the old economic, social and political system that the Revolution is transforming from its roots. It is obvious that a State of that nature cannot satisfy the needs that arise from the profound and integral reordering of our society, central objective of the Revolution. Consequently it is absolutely indispensable to reorient and restructure the entire State apparatus, as was proposed in the Revolutionary Manifesto of 1968... a new society requires a new type of state structure.

All this reordering, all this change of structure was planned before the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces assumed power in 1968. This Governmental Plan, Plan Inca, was released to the people of Peru by General Velasco Alvarado in the Message to the Nation referred to above.

Because of its great political importance, TRICONTINENTAL is pleased to present the full text to its readers.

## **PLAN INCA: FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF A SOCIETY**

After more than five years of revolutionary process we have considered it useful to publish in its entirety this historic document. Throughout this period our adversaries and many national and foreign commentators have had much to say concerning the content of this Government Plan, the existence of which was known to the people from the beginning. In the midst of conjectures and interpretations, almost always capricious, there were even those who doubted that this plan had ever existed. But for our part, we have always stated that the actions of the Revolutionary



Government of the Armed Forces followed a program based on a long-term, consistent plan with norms.

A plan thus conceived is not a rigid statement of unalterable dogmatic precepts. On the contrary, it is a flexible formulation that provides orientation for the fluid unfolding of revolutionary development that it would be impossible to plan in detail ahead of time. Therefore, as a creative instrument of orientation, the plan has a spirit and translates an intention, a proposal, a determined course, in order to set standards, without dogmatism or rigidity, for Peru's revolutionary development.

All the policies the Government has followed up to now respond to the content of this very plan. Thus it expresses the nature of our commitment to the people of Peru and defines the revolutionary character of our action. A careful reading of its text will necessarily show very clearly that everything we have achieved up to now was substantially weighed and determined as a goal of the Revolution before we assumed power. Finally, this reading will show to what point the men of the Armed Forces have been consistent with what we set out to do for the good of our country.

The governmental plan incorporated the aspirations and demands of the Peruvian people in their long struggle for social justice and the conquest of their authentic sovereignty. It contains a succinct description of the reality of the country in each of its most important aspects, the objectives toward which we oriented our action and the type of action that would give real content to this orientation. For that reason, the plan is a diagnosis of the reality, a statement of overall goals and a picture of specific actions, all designed to confront the fundamental problems facing Peru. As a proposal and as a governmental operation, this plan has no precedent in the country. In effect, no regime prior to ours presented to the nation a governmental plan that specified its position on Peru's fundamental problems as a whole, defined its commitment to the people and served as a base for exercising a global and consistent policy.

The Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces presents Peru, through my offices, with this fundamental text of the Revolution. It does so with the conviction that our people must know precisely the course of the process which, more than any other political-social experience of our epoch, is profoundly affecting the reality of their lives and their destiny. The governmental plan which the Armed Forces committed themselves to carrying out, is the following.

## **PLAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES**

### **A. Purpose**

The Revolution of the Armed Forces will carry out a process of transformation of economic, social, political and cultural structures for the purpose of achieving a new society in which the Peruvian man and woman may live with liberty and justice.



This Revolution will be nationalist, independent and humanist. It will follow no diagrams or dogmas. It will answer only to the Peruvian reality.

It will be nationalist, because it is inspired by the high values of the fatherland, the interests of the Peruvian people and our own reality; independent, by not being linked to existing ideologies, political parties or power groups and because it will struggle against all dependency; and humanist because it will consider the full development of man within a community of solidarity, whose essential and inseparable values are justice and liberty.

The purpose of the Revolution will be achieved through the fulfillment of the five general objectives that the Statute of the Revolutionary Government establishes, which, in turn, must be achieved through overall specific objectives.

## **B. Specific objectives and actions**

### **1. Oil**

#### **a. Situation**

- (1) Almost all oil exploitation is in foreign hands.
- (2) The Fiscal Oil Enterprise is an entity without economic significance, bureaucratic and inefficient because of lack of support.
- (3) The International Petroleum Company, without any legal title, holds virtual monopoly over oil operations.
- (4) The history of pressures and bribery by this enterprise has culminated in a sell-out contract by which its indebtedness to the state is forgiven and it is granted concessions contrary to the national interest.

#### **b. Objective**

All stages of oil exploitation will be exclusively in the hands of the State.

#### **c. Actions**

- (1) To annul the contract signed August 12, 1968, with the IPC, as well as the "Act of Talara" and all connected actions.
- (2) To expropriate the goods of IPC and have it pay its debts to the State.
- (3) To create a solid state enterprise in charge of all oil operations.
- (4) To eliminate the system of concessions.
- (5) In the first stage, to impose a System<sup>o</sup> of Contracts, until an economic capacity is reached that permits direct state handling of all oil operations.





- (6) In a second stage, when this capacity has been reached, only the State will participate in oil operations.

## **2. Planning**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) Group interests keep planning as a simple formalism.
- (2) Planning conceived for economic growth and not for socio-economic development.
- (3) Deficient statistics.

### **b. Objective**

An integral and permanent obligatory plan for the Public Sector which will give strong priority orientation to the Private Sector.

### **c. Actions**

- (1) To prepare and update the diagnosis of the national reality.
- (2) To establish the features of the country's development.
- (3) To draw up a long-, medium- and short-range plan.
- (4) To determine the poles of the country's development.
- (5) To institutionalize the Planning System within Public Administration.
- (6) To integrate the statistical organizations into the Planning System.

## **3. International Policy**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) A foreign policy that is timid and dependent principally on the United States of North America.
- (2) International relations with capitalist countries only.
- (3) Lack of awareness of what Peru's role is in the group of "Third World" countries.
- (4) Low prestige of Peru on the international scene.
- (5) Lack of aggressiveness and initiative in defense of the doctrine of 200 miles of Territorial Sea.
- (6) Commercial exchange conditioned by foreign economic pressures and interests.
- (7) Absence of a policy of development and integration of the border zones.

### **b. Objective**

Nationalist and independent foreign policy based on the firm



and active defense of national sovereignty and dignity.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To orient international policy toward the defense of our territorial integrity.
- (2) To reject all forms of foreign intervention in our internal affairs and not to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.
- (3) To eliminate all forms of foreign pressure and dependency emanating from any center of power.
- (4) To establish relations with all countries, within the framework of national interest, and to participate actively in the "Third World" group.
- (5) To present to the world the true face of the country and its revolutionary process.
- (6) To procure at the world level, support for the doctrine of 200 miles of Territorial Sea.
- (7) To demand just treatment in commercial exchange.
- (8) To take a determined action for Andean subregional integration and Latin-American regional integration.
- (9) To stimulate the development and integration of the border zones in order to reaffirm our sovereignty.
- (10) To adjust diplomatic service to the requirements of our new international policy.

**4. Agrarian Reform**

**a. Situation**

- (1) Unjust and inefficient agrarian structure that permits the concentration of wealth and power in a few hands. Two percent of the population owns 90% of the arable land.
- (2) Predominance of latifundist and minifundist forms.
- (3) Extensive and rich lands in the power of foreign enterprises.
- (4) Existence of an ineffective Agrarian Reform Law that leaves intact the cattle latifundia of the Sierra and the agribusinesses of the coast.

**b. Objective**

Transformation of the agrarian structure to achieve as quickly as possible a just and efficient practice based on the principle that "the land belongs to whomever works it."

**c. Actions**

- (1) To carry out an Agrarian Reform that will be socially



compatible with high yield levels and whose basic characteristics shall be:

- a) To apply the Reform on a national basis without privilege or exception.
  - b) To establish a basic limit for ownership, conditional on fulfillment of its social function.
  - c) To concede preferential right in the adjustment of land to the feudaries or small tenant farmers.
  - d) To utilize the system of expropriation, paying part of the amount outright and the rest in bonds and orienting the capital from those bonds toward industry.
  - e) To foment and stimulate the constitution of organizations of Social Property for exploiting the land.
- (2) To expropriate immediately the agribusiness complexes of the Coast, decreeing ownership of them to their workers organized in cooperatives.
  - (3) To create the necessary administrative and judicial organizations.

## **5. Water System**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) Irrigation waters in the hands of the big land owners, thus prejudicing the peasants.
- (2) Great sectors of the population lacking water to satisfy their basic needs.

### **b. Objective**

The State will have exclusive ownership of the waters and will distribute them in harmony with social interest and the country's development.

### **c. Actions**

- (1) To eliminate all rights acquired over water.
- (2) To place water within the reach of the entire population.
- (3) To conserve, preserve and increase water resources.

## **6. Reform of Enterprise**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) Structure of enterprise that grants capital the principal role in the productive process, minimizing the work factor.
- (2) The enterprise structure is one of the principal causes of the unjust distribution of wealth.

- (3) The worker is merely a salaried employee, without access to profit, management or ownership of the enterprise.

**b. Objective**

An enterprise structure that grants the worker participation in the management, profit and ownership of the enterprise.

**c. Actions**

- (1) Creation of a Labor Community, through which the worker will participate in the management, profit and ownership of the enterprise. In state enterprises, he will not have participation in the ownership.
- (2) Creation of a mechanism of equilibrium among communities of differing profit.
- (3) Promotion and stimulation of Social Ownership enterprises.

**7. Industry**

**a. Situation**

- (1) Incipient industrial activity devoted mainly to the production of non-essential goods.
- (2) Non-competitive and monopolistic in tendency.
- (3) Based on disproportionate exonerations and exceptions that favor small groups of economic power.
- (4) Dependent on the big foreign companies and with a practice of handling capital contrary to the interests of the country.

**b. Objective**

A permanent and self-sufficient industrial development that contributes to the effective economic independence and socio-economic development of the country.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To create the Ministry of Industry.
- (2) To plan long- and medium-range industrial activity, considering the poles of development that are established.
- (3) To assure the active participation of the State as the dynamic initiator of industrial development, and reserving for it the exclusive exploitation of basic industry.
- (4) To categorize industry according to priorities and establish the corresponding structure of incentives.
- (5) To diminish foreign dependency.

- (6) To develop technological investigation.
- (7) To promote small industry and handicrafts.
- (8) To encourage enterprises of Social Ownership.

## 8. Mining

### a. Situation

- (1) Almost all the exploitation, refining and commercialization is in the hands of the big foreign enterprises.
- (2) Legislation permits the concessioners to maintain deposits in reserve indefinitely, without exploiting them, by paying a small royalty.
- (3) The great majority of minerals are exported without any accruent value.
- (4) The concessioners have utilized commercialization as a tool for financing the deposits they hold in other countries, and as a means of evading taxes through sales to their "mother companies" at low prices.
- (5) Exaggerated tax and exchange guarantees are granted to the concessioners, in spite of which they have not made new investments.
- (6) The security and welfare conditions of the miner are extremely deficient.

### b. Objective

Maximum development of mining potential, placing it at the service of the country, through the predominant activity of the State.

### c. Actions

- (1) To oblige the concessioners to immediately work the deposits, under penalty of contract cancellation, thus insuring future exploitation through the system of "protection for work."
- (2) To place the State in charge of the exploitation of the big deposits, of refining and of commercialization.
- (3) To reduce the incentives to reasonable limits.
- (4) To promote mineral prospecting in our territory.
- (5) To give the miner dignity by increasing his security and welfare.
- (6) To create a solid state enterprise in charge of all state mining activities.

## 9. Fishing

### a. Situation

- (1) Fishing activity devoted almost exclusively to the pro-

- duction of fishmeal, abandoning fishing for human consumption, thus prejudicing the nourishment of the people.
- (2) Groups of national and foreign power control all stages of fishing activity, especially the commercialization.
  - (3) Enterprises with serious structural deficiencies, particularly an excess of installed capacity.
  - (4) Little state participation, orientation and control of fishing activity, in spite of its great importance in the country's economy.

**b. Objective**

Exploitation of the country's hydrobiological wealth to the maximum compatible with its preservation, reserving extraction and transformation on a major scale, as well as foreign commercialization, for the State.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To create the Fishing Ministry.
- (2) To establish state organizations in charge of extraction and large scale transformation and of the foreign commercialization of all hydrobiological products.
- (3) To rationalize the fishing industry and reduce the excessive installed capacity.
- (4) To promote to the maximum fishing for human consumption within the country, and for exploitation.
- (5) To create the infrastructure necessary for massive exploitation.
- (6) To organize a fleet for the transportation of the hydrobiological wealth.
- (7) To consolidate the industry and increase its productivity.
- (8) To develop scientific and technological investigation.

**10. Electricity**

**a. Situation**

- (1) Vast sectors of the population are without electric service.
- (2) The major part of the public service of electricity in the hands of private enterprises.
- (3) Private capital flows only to the large cities where electric service is a profitable business, so that the State must provide service in the small towns, where it is not profitable.
- (4) High cost of service in small towns.

**b. Objective**

The State will have exclusive charge of the generation,



transformation, transmission, distribution and commercialization of electric energy, to satisfy the needs of the people and of economic development.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To create the necessary public organizations.
- (2) To progressively absorb private enterprises.
- (3) To amplify electrical systems and develop new sources of energy.
- (4) To establish tariffs within the reach of the large majorities.

**11. Tourism**

**a. Situation**

- (1) Incipient internal tourism, and reception from abroad.
- (2) Inappropriate touristic infrastructure.
- (3) Little interest in investment in the tourist sector.
- (4) Lack of information on Peru's tourism potential.

**b. Objective**

Substantial increment in foreign exchange income through reception of tourists and access of the majority to internal tourism.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To create an adequate tourism infrastructure.
- (2) To direct state investment into basic infrastructure works and economical tourist installations.
- (3) To orient and stimulate private investment in the development of tourism.
- (4) To promote tourism based on our natural patrimony, culture and folklore.
- (5) To intensify and modernize the tourist promotion campaign.
- (6) To use tourism as an instrument for instilling love of country in the great majority of people and exalting their nationalism.

**12. Commerce**

**a. Situation**

- (1) The foreign commercialization is in the hands of small groups of economic power.

- (2) Importing is liberal and indiscriminate, permitting the waste of foreign exchange.
- (3) Speculation and the excess of intermediaries raises the prices of products.
- (4) Deficient infrastructure for commercialization.
- (5) Proliferation of contraband and other forms of illegal commerce.
- (6) Lack of unity in the state direction and control of commercial activities.

**b. Objective**

A system that permits the commercialization of goods under the conditions that the population and the development of the country demand. The State will undertake the foreign commercialization of products of economic significance.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To create the state organizations in charge of foreign commercialization.
- (2) To promote maximum export of non-traditional products.
- (3) To limit imports to goods indispensable for the population and for development.
- (4) To develop the necessary infrastructure.
- (5) To reduce the number of intermediaries.
- (6) To fight contraband and speculation.
- (7) To promote internal commercialization in cooperative forms.
- (8) To create the Ministry of Commerce.

**13. Transportation**

**a. Situation**

- (1) Insufficient infrastructure constructed in response to political and group interests.
- (2) Grave economic and administrative crisis in the principal enterprises.
- (3) Railroads in the hands of foreign enterprises favored by successive contracts.
- (4) Lack of coordination among various types of transportation dispersed among several state sectors.
- (5) Minimum national participation in the income derived from transportation of our foreign trade.
- (6) Deficient collective transportation for passengers.

**b. Objective**

A system of transportation that contributes effectively to the

country's socio-economic development, to integration and to national defense.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To integrate all transportation activities in one sole administrative sector.
- (2) To progressively nationalize air, maritime and rail transportation.
- (3) To participate to the maximum in transporting our foreign trade.
- (4) To develop the infrastructure that uniquely answers the interests of the country.
- (5) To create a mass passenger transportation service.

**14. Communications**

**a. Situation**

- (1) Deficient communications which make difficult the integration of the national territory.
- (2) Badly structured, slow and deficiently equipped postal service.
- (3) Public telecommunications services without interconnection and almost entirely in the hands of foreign enterprises.
- (4) Contracts with those enterprises that endanger the interests of the country and fail to expand services.
- (5) Radio transmission concentrated in the big cities and controlled by a few private enterprises that manipulate public opinion according to their interests.

**b. Objective**

To develop under State control a system of communications that insures the country's socio-economic development, contributes to integration and guarantees national defense.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To modernize equipment and speed up procedures in communications services.
- (2) To organize the postal service as an enterprise.
- (3) To integrate telecommunications public services into one sole national system that is efficient, secure and economical, exclusively State-owned and operating throughout national territory.
- (4) To place radio dissemination at the service of education, culture, recreation and true information about national and foreign realities, for the entire country.

- (5) To exploit the services of radio dissemination through the State alone or in association with national private capital, and to progressively transfer these services to organizations representative of the society.

## **15. Public Finances**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) Grave fiscal crisis due principally to budgetary deficits accumulated since 1963 which are over 12 billion soles.
- (2) Strong financial imbalance caused by the monetary devaluation of 1967.
- (3) Deceitfully balanced budgets, through the deliberate and fictitious increase in income and the suppression of obligatory expenses.
- (4) Disorganization and lack of coordination in the administration of public finance.

### **b. Objective**

A structure of public finances that insures the maximum recovery of financial resources and their best utilization.

### **c. Actions**

- (1) To reform the legislation and organization of financial administration.
- (2) To integrally and progressively reform the tax system, making it simple, equal and adequate for the process of socio-economic development.
- (3) To formulate a functional budget in a realistic and flexible form so that it can be an exact instrument for executing the short-term plan.
- (4) To rationalize current spending and spark public investment in support of the State's role as principal agent of national development.

## **16. Monetary and Credit System**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) State bank with serious problems of liquid assets and serving family and group interests.
- (2) Lack of effective control by the Government of the Central Reserve Bank and the Bank of the Nation.
- (3) Private banking which practically directs the monetary and credit policy of the country and is controlled by foreign capital.
- (4) High credit which lacks a system to orient it.
- (5) Lack of coordination between the banks and other credit institutions.

- (6) Insurance companies in the hands of national and foreign groups and linked to big foreign companies.

**b. Objective**

Credit institutions completely in the hands of the State and a monetary and credit policy oriented to the country's socio-economic development.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To progressively nationalize the credit and insurance agencies.
- (2) To establish legislation and create the organizations that will insure State direction and control of the monetary and credit policy.
- (3) To establish a selective system of credit and insure that the national majorities have access to it.
- (4) To restructure the State Bank of Development and facilitate its operations.
- (5) To provide incentives for the expansion of the capital market.

**17. Balance of Payments**

**a. Situation**

- (1) A foreign public debt of over \$840 million, with an annual service charge that has risen from 7.5% to 18.1% with respect to total exports.
- (2) Approximately five-sixths of the debt is represented by short- and medium-term credits with high interest rates.
- (3) Deficit balance of payments and an exchange status with the Central Reserve Bank of only \$42 million.
- (4) Unjustifiable flow of capital abroad and growing speculation in the exchange market.

**b. Objective**

International reserves at levels that permit satisfaction of the necessities that national development demands.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To refinance the foreign public debt and pay only the countries that accept it.
- (2) To restructure the system of certifying foreign exchange.
- (3) To activate exports and rationalize imports, adjusting them to priority needs.
- (4) To establish control over foreign money.
- (5) To maintain national indebtedness at a level prudent for the growth of the national product.

## 18. Scientific and Technological Investigation

### a. Situation

- (1) Incipient scientific and technological research that increases foreign dependency.
- (2) The capacity for research is not being developed.

### b. Objective

An advanced technology in order to stimulate our development and reduce dependency.

### c. Actions

- (1) To create a system that integrates and rationalizes research efforts.
- (2) To create the necessary centers of research.
- (3) To force enterprises to devote funds to research.
- (4) To stimulate the spirit of research.

## 19. Educational Reform

### a. Situation

- (1) An educational system intentionally oriented toward keeping the vast majority in ignorance in order to exploit them.
- (2) Poor results in relation to the high investments made.
- (3) An inflexible system that does not take into account the national reality.
- (4) Economic and professional level of the teaching body not in keeping with its high mission.
- (5) Excessive bureaucracy and politically-influenced rank.

### b. Objective

An educational system at the service of the whole population which guarantees man's integral formation as the new Peruvian society requires.

### c. Actions

- (1) To transform the structure of education, creating a fundamentally humanist system with the following characteristics:
  - a) To exalt man's dignity and to recognize all people's right to education without any discrimination.
  - b) To orient education toward work as a means of achieving man's full development.

- c) To achieve the participation of all sectors of the national community.
  - d) To be flexible in order to adapt to the needs of those being educated in various regions and zones of the country.
  - e) To progressively reach free education.
  - f) To integrate the University into an autonomous system.
- (2) To restructure the sector to match the reform.
  - (3) To give dignity to the teaching body, insuring its training and continuous professional perfection and an economic situation in accord with its high mission.
  - (4) To organize a Museum of Culture that places the different expressions of national culture within reach of the majority.

## 20. Housing

### a. Situation

- (1) The vast majority of the population lives under sub-human conditions, occupying unhealthy housing without facilities or security.
- (2) Only a minority has proper housing.
- (3) Land speculation, taxes and the high cost of materials and technology, make housing very expensive.
- (4) Credit is designed to favor privileged groups.
- (5) Rental legislation is unjust.
- (6) Large urban areas lack common services.

### b. Objective

All Peruvian families must have access to an adequate house.

### c. Actions

- (1) To create a ministry in charge of housing.
- (2) To provide the poor neighborhoods with essential services and change their contemptuous name of "barriadas" (wards).
- (3) To eliminate slums.
- (4) To reduce the cost of housing:
  - a) By eliminating land speculation.
  - b) By developing techniques and producing economical construction materials appropriate for our regions.
  - c) By rationalizing taxes in line with the low-cost housing.
- (5) To orient credit exclusively toward low-cost housing, giving preference to requests from the majority.
- (6) To regulate rents in just proportion to the value of the housing.

- (7) To stimulate and regulate construction of common services.

## 21. Health

### a. Situation

- (1) Concentration of services in the large cities and absolute abandonment for the rest of the country.
- (2) Absence of preventive medicine and rehabilitation.
- (3) Utilitarian criteria in the practice of private medicine and in the production and sale of medicines.
- (4) Insufficient and inadequate infrastructure.

### b. Objective

Medicine socially oriented and within the reach of the whole population.

### c. Actions

- (1) To Plan and integrate health activities according to social criteria, covering the entire population.
- (2) To rationalize obtaining and employing auxiliary medical personnel.
- (3) To develop the infrastructure.
- (4) To produce medicine in the country on an integral basis.
- (5) To establish obligatory and free Rural Medical Service with recent graduates.
- (6) To stimulate technical and scientific research.

## 22. Work and Social Security

### a. Situation

- (1) Disperse, anachronistic and pro-patronal labor legislation.
- (2) Inadequate administrative structure and biased conduct by the authorities.
- (3) Lack of stability in work and wage policy.
- (4) Political control of trade unions with corrupt leadership.
- (5) Non-compliance and deficiency in rulings on the right to strike.
- (6) Social security limited to a minority of the population.
- (7) Corruption, deficiency and lack of unity in the social security institutions.

### b. Objective

- (1) Just labor relations combining the dignity, security and welfare of the worker with the efficiency of the work



- center and the socio-economic development of the country.
- (2) Efficient and generalized social security for the entire population.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To restructure labor legislation according to criteria of simplicity and justice.
- (2) To reorganize, decentralize and end corruption in the administrative structure.
- (3) To guarantee work stability and establish an adequate wage policy.
- (4) To reorganize the trade union system for the benefit of the workers themselves.
- (5) To regulate the exercise of the right to strike so that it does not affect the interests of the worker nor the country.
- (6) To progressively extend social security to the whole population, first providing it for the worker and his family.
- (7) To reorganize, unify and end corruption in the social security institutions.

**23. On the Peruvian Woman**

**a. Situation**

- (1) The Peruvian woman does not effectively exercise her rights as a citizen.
- (2) Woman's access to high political and administrative posts and to other activities is very limited.
- (3) The man handles the goods of the couple without the consent of his wife.
- (4) There is discrimination against women in obtaining work and in wages.
- (5) The unmarried mother is given unjust and inhuman treatment.
- (6) The low cultural level of the majority of the population sharpens the man's abusive treatment of the woman.

**b. Objective**

Effective equality with man in rights and obligations.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To provide for woman's participation in all activities and high level posts.
- (2) To eliminate all discriminatory treatment that limits or affects woman's rights and dignity.
- (3) To promote mixed education of men and women.

- (4) To guarantee that common goods are not controlled by the unilateral decision of the husband.

## **24. Freedom of the Press**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) There is no freedom of the press in the country, but rather freedom of enterprise.
- (2) The press organs are in the hands of families and power groups.
- (3) News is cut, silenced or played up according to the interests of the owners of the press organs.
- (4) The morality and honor of persons and institutions is attacked with impunity.
- (5) Foreigners are permitted to own and operate the press organs.

### **b. Objective**

- (1) An authentically free press, that guarantees to all Peruvians the expression of their ideas, respecting the honor of individuals and public morality.
- (2) The press organs shall be exclusively in the hands of organizations representative of the new society.

### **c. Actions**

- (1) To Peruvianize the press.
- (2) To insure the responsible and free expression of ideas.
- (3) To guarantee respect of persons and institutions.
- (4) To promote the training and excellence of journalists with a new mentality.
- (5) To place the organs of press in the hands of organizations representative of the new society.

## **25. Participation of the population**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) Almost the entire population is deliberately kept outside the solution of the problems they face.
- (2) The power of decision in all activities of the population is concentrated in privileged minorities that use it for their own benefit or that of pressure groups.
- (3) Little interest in participation on the part of the population.

### **b. Objective**

Active and free participation by all men and women in the

activities that national development requires, without the influence of imported ideologies.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To promote the free association of persons for the achievement of their common objectives.
- (2) To prepare the population so it participates effectively in all the activities of its associations.
- (3) To guide the advancement of the associations, avoiding their control by minorities or groups with interests foreign to them.
- (4) To create the organizations necessary to facilitate the people's participation.

**26. Control of the Administration of Public Resources**

**a. Situation**

- (1) Deliberate maintenance of deficient control in order to hide the poor use of public resources.
- (2) Lack of a system that integrates the actions of control.
- (3) Intentionally irregular action on the part of the General Controller's Office of the Republic.
- (4) Limited control with respect to the accountable aspects of the budget without considering the analysis and evaluation of the results.
- (5) Lack of sanctions against those responsible for bad public management.

**b. Objective**

A system of control that insures the correct administration of all public resources.

**c. Actions**

- (1) To establish a national system of control, determining:
  - a) The entities and sections of the National Public Sector that belong to the system and their area of action in prior and future control.
  - b) The administrative and functional independence of the General Controller's Office of the Republic, as the top entity of the system.
  - c) Control that reaches into administrative and financial areas.
  - d) The counselling that it must provide to the Public Sector.
- (2) To establish sanctions as examples and to insure that they are applied without discrimination.
- (3) To provide maximum support to the system in order to

guarantee its efficiency and its effective contribution to ending corruption in public operations.

## **27. Reform of Public Administration**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) Deficient organic structure lacking planning, coordination and control, which causes centralization and bureaucracy.
- (2) Inefficiency and dishonesty in Public Administration.
- (3) Procedures of administration of personnel that answer to political favor and group interests.
- (4) Delay in the transmission of records and documents.

### **b. Objective**

A dynamic and efficient structure of Public Administration for better governmental action and an efficient service to society.

### **c. Actions**

- (1) To divide State activities into sectors on a planned and progressive basis.
- (2) To decree the basic law of Public Administration.
- (3) To regionalize public activity.
- (4) To establish adequate systems of selection, evaluation, job classification and qualification of personnel for administrative careers.
- (5) To formulate appropriate wage, social security and welfare policies for the public servant.
- (6) To simplify administrative procedures and formulate the corresponding manuals and guides for the citizen's use.
- (7) To rationalize and modernize systems of information and statistics.
- (8) To reform the municipal administration, adjusting it to the structural changes of the Peruvian Revolution.

## **28. Judicial Power**

### **a. Situation**

- (1) The administration of justice is very slow and biased in favor of the powerful.
- (2) Judicial power is not autonomous because its members are designated by the Executive and Legislative powers.
- (3) There is no professional training system for its magistrates.
- (4) The low wages of the members of Judicial Power encourage immorality.

- (5) Judicial laws and procedures are anachronistic and favor privileged groups.

#### **b. Objective**

An independent trained Judicial Power that insures prompt and inflexible application of the law to all on an equal basis.

#### **c. Actions**

- (1) To dismiss the magistrates who do not have the requirements necessary for the administration of justice and do not support morality.
- (2) To create a high level organization that guarantees the autonomy of Judicial Power with respect to other State powers.
- (3) To authorize adequate salaries for the magistrates.
- (4) To establish a system that guarantees the election of proper magistrates, the prosecution of their actions and imposition of severe sanctions against those who merit them.
- (5) To establish a system of training and specialization for magistrates.
- (6) To promulgate legislation according to justice and right as the revolutionary process requires, and which supports all Peruvians equally.

### **29. Legislative Function**

In a century and half of republican life, Legislative Power has been negative for the country, fluctuating between obstructionist and submissive attitudes that could not be overcome in spite of the outstanding but isolated action of illustrious parliamentarians. The Revolutionary Government will make the changes necessary to insure the efficiency of the legislative function.

### **30. Constitution**

A new Political Constitution will consolidate the laws, institutionalizing the essential and irreversible transformation achieved by the Revolution.

### **31. Armed Forces**

The Armed Forces, as initiator and principal support of the Peruvian Revolution, will be the conductor of the process of changes until these are irreversible. The Armed Forces as well as the Auxiliary Forces will maintain the high level of efficiency required for the fulfillment of their specific missions.



notes for  
history



**The  
PRG-RSV Speaks:  
for  
Compliance with  
the Paris  
Agreement**



If the most elemental norms of human rights and international law have been violated anywhere, it has been in Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people have heroically confronted the combined forces of US imperialism and its puppets, offering an example of dignity for the history of our times.

The signing of the Paris Agreement signified a victory for the struggle of the Vietnamese but, more than 20 months after the date on which those commitments were signed, the war continues in South Viet Nam. Daily, the cables bring news of the situation existing under the Thieu Administration.

The role played by world public opinion with respect to Viet Nam has been important; and today, more than ever, it is necessary for progressive men and women throughout the world to redouble their solidarity with the South Vietnamese fighters and people so that the Paris Agreement is honored.

## **On the return of civilian personnel captured and held in South Viet Nam**

Almost two years have passed since the signing of the Agreement on the End of the War and the Reestablishment of Peace in Viet Nam. All the Vietnamese civilian and military personnel captured and held during the war could have been reunited with their families in the midst of the nation's general happiness.

Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of them are being held, tortured, persecuted and assassinated in more than a thousand Saigon Administration prisons. All progressive humanity condemns this.

**I -- The Saigon Administration stubbornly refuses to return the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and held, in grave violation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Joint Communique of June 13, 1973.**

In order to carry out its aggressive and traitorous policy, the United States and the Saigon Administration have frenetically and continuously persecuted, repressed and assassinated patriots and peace-loving people in recent years in an attempt to detour the struggle of the South Vietnamese people for independence and liberty.

1) When the possibility of reaching a solution to the problem of Viet Nam arose, the United States and the Saigon Administration immediately drew up a host of plans like the "Security plan to be carried out in the eventuality of a bilateral agreement, Plan X 18 in July of 1973, the Four-year plan (1973-1976) of the national police command..." They also outlined many concrete measures for liquidating all revolutionary and opposition forces in South Viet Nam.

With respect to those still being held, these plans specified that "in light of the ceasefire, social classes must be differentiated and determined," and "conveniently appropriate measures adopted" toward those "who cannot be reeducated and conquered" in order "to avoid difficulties when the ceasefire and the return of prisoners of war enters into effect." This, in fact, means that the Saigon Administration classifies prisoners very rapidly and immediately eliminates those it has been unable to buy or subjugate. These plans also envision the complete obstruction of the ceasefire, restriction of visits to prisoners by relatives and by political or religious organizations, the isolation of the prisoners within separate cells... in combination with "propaganda to convert and demoralize the prisoners," and "firm but discreet repression."

The closer to the date of the signing of the Agreement, the more active the Saigon Administration became in the persecution and assassination of prisoners under its control.

2 ) When the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam was signed and entered

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into effect, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration proceeded with the cruel policy previously described.

Article 8 (C) of the Paris Agreement stipulates:

The question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and held in South Viet Nam shall be resolved by the two South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 21 (b) of the Agreement on the end of hostilities in Viet Nam, of July 20, 1954. The two South Vietnamese parties shall proceed in a spirit of reconciliation and national concord, with a view to eliminating hatred and enmity, so that suffering may end and families be reunited. The two South Vietnamese parties shall do everything possible to resolve this question within 90 days after the ceasefire becomes operative.

Article 8 (b) of the Protocol states: "the captor parties shall not refuse or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons, for whatever reason, may have been tried or sentenced."

Nevertheless, the Saigon Administration has very seriously violated all these stipulations. It emitted an arrogant and shameful declaration saying that "there are no political prisoners in South Viet Nam except for 5081 Communist criminals."

Public opinion in South Viet Nam and in the world has exposed and refuted this allegation of the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration.

On his return from a visit to Saigon, the Reverend Thomas Gumbleton stated that "there are, very definitely, political prisoners and they are being held because of their political position against the present government, their participation in a peaceful movement against the government's military platforms . . ." (quoted by the US newspaper **Christian Science Monitor**, May 2, 1973). The US magazine **Newsweek**, in its issue of December 18, 1972, wrote:

Nearly 45 000 South Vietnamese have been judged, condemned and imprisoned for political crimes and some 100 000 have been arrested and sent to jails located all over, including Poulo Condor, without prior trial. They include men and women who suffer and die in the prisons . . . because their political activities do not suit Thieu.

Cornered, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration nevertheless clings stubbornly to its senseless statements. At the same time, it has openly insulted world public opinion, insolently accusing it of being "deceived by the Communists," and of being "ignorant from one extreme to the other." But once more its allegations were exposed. On July 26, 1973, in two books with a total of more than 400 pages, distributed to the Saigonese press, Father Chan Tin, Secretary of the Committee of Struggle for the Improvement of the Penal Regime of South Viet Nam, stated that up until the first of June, 1973, the number of political prisoners had reached 203 000. This figure, as was pointed out by Father Chan Tin himself, is based not on documents from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, but "on declarations from prisoners and their

relatives and testimonies and revelations by doctors, judges, lawyers, deputies and official representatives of the prisons (of the Saigonese Administration) and on official documents of the Republic of Viet Nam (Administration of Nguyen Van Thieu)."

Father Chan Tin also made a list of those still in prison, of those who have been sentenced and those still awaiting trial, as well as of the number of prisoners in each prison.

3) Along with the previously mentioned lies, the Administration of Nguyen Van Thieu has taken numerous draconian measures to avoid returning the civilian personnel captured and held.

It has transformed political prisoners into common prisoners in the following manner: by mixing prisoners of different camps and different cells in the same prison, keeping political prisoners in places reserved for common delinquents, falsifying records, forcing political prisoners to sign or fingerprint, altering files, establishing "military courts" in various prisons in order to massively condemn *in absentia*, political prisoners held for a long period without being tried at all.

—It declared it had "released" prisoners or had taken them to surrender points whereas, in reality, it transferred them and dispersed them from big prisons to detention camps in remote spots.

— It has induced or forced prisoners to "join together" which in fact means putting them under forced residence in areas far from their native villages. By these maneuvers, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has transformed tens of thousands of political prisoners into common criminals. Immediately after the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, between January 29 and 30 of 1973, 50 000 political prisoners were affected in this manner. In the prison of Poulo Condor alone, according to Professor Nguyen Xuan Huy who was held there for 15 years and was returned on July 24, 1973, "more than 4000 political prisoners have had their records falsified, hidden, or..."

The US embassy in Saigon, in a letter dated April 3, 1973, sent to a Senate sub-committee and published in the Congressional Record, admitted that "before and after the ceasefire, the Vietnamese government (the Saigon Administration) has converted prisoners of category a and b into common criminals, accusing them of violating identity card regulations or of evading military service."

4) During the discussions on the return of civilian personnel in the Mixed Military Commission, as well as at the Consultative Conference between the two Vietnamese parties, the Saigon Administration side resorted to delaying tactics and has shown itself to be completely provocative.

It plainly refused to hand over the complete list of civilian personnel of the Provisional Revolutionary Government it is holding, seriously violating Article 7 (c) of the Protocol on the return of captured personnel, which establishes that "within 15 days after the ceasefire becomes operative, the two South Vietnamese parties shall exchange lists of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and

held by both sides and lists of the places where they are being held."

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam stipulates that the two South Vietnamese parties shall complete the return of captured Vietnamese civilian personnel within 90 days after the ceasefire becomes operative. Nevertheless, during this time limit of 90 days, the Saigon Administration used every type of self-justifying excuse. Faced with the vigorous campaign of the Vietnamese people and the energetic condemnation of world public opinion, — and not before the final day of the 90-day time limit — the Saigon Administration proceeded to return its prisoners. But it stubbornly opposed discussions and an agreement on an overall plan for the return of all captured Vietnamese civilian personnel, agreeing only to free a very small number — 700 persons out of a total of more than 200 000. Later, that Administration unilaterally suspended the prisoners' return.

The Joint Communique signed by the four parties on June 13, 1973, specifies that the two South Vietnamese parties shall make major efforts to accomplish the return of civilian personnel within 45 days after the signing of that Joint Communique.

Nevertheless, just as in the past, within the 45-day time limit, the Saigon Administration tried to delay the return by every means possible. It wasn't until the last days when it was faced with the growing pressure of internal and external public opinion, that said Administration reached an agreement with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam concerning the plan for the return of 4331 persons between July 23 and 28 of 1973. In spite of this, on the very first day of the plan for the return, "climatological conditions" and "transportation difficulties" were used as a pretext for delaying the return. With respect to those who belong to the third force, the Saigon Administration opposed freeing them and permitting them to return to their families or their political and social groups. The Saigon Administration also placed its agents among the prisoners, causing new difficulties and creating an excuse for unilaterally suspending the return or bringing the matter to an impasse.

Because of all this, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration, up until now, has returned to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam only some 1500 civilian prisoners out of more than 200 000 held.

**II — The United States and the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration have mistreated, persecuted and bestially assassinated the civilian personnel held.**

Article 8 (b) of the Protocol stipulates:

All Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and held in South Viet Nam shall be treated humanely at all times, in accordance with international practice.

They shall be protected from all violence against life and person, in particular against assassination in any form, mutilation, torture and cruel treatment and outrages against personal dignity.

They shall be given adequate food, clothing, housing and the medical attention that their state of health requires. They shall be permitted to exchange postcards and letters with their families and to receive packages.

Nevertheless, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has failed to observe these stipulations.

Continuing its plan of imposing US neocolonialism on South Viet Nam, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration pursues the persecution and assassination of patriots and peace-loving people and of its opponents.

1) The Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has frenetically and secretly assassinated patriots in South Viet Nam on a massive scale.

Since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, cases of arbitrary repression and murder of prisoners have occurred daily in almost all the prisons and detention camps of the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration: there are frequent indiscriminate shootings such as those that caused death or injury to 17 persons in the Bien Hoa jail at the beginning of March of 1973, the assassination of 14 persons and serious injury to 470 more in six camps of Poulo Condor prison at the end of April of 1973.

Cases in which the Saigonese Administration proclaimed that "it freed" political prisoners, while it ordered its agents to kill them, or told the prisoners that they were being taken to return points when, in fact, they were being taken to remote spots where they were exterminated, are more and more frequent.

Particularly inhuman is the fact that the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has used the most savage torture methods against prisoners before killing them.

At the beginning of February of 1972, fishermen along the coasts of the province of Ha Tien found many bodies floating in Hon Roi and Hon Cu Thon, all of them with unmistakable evidence of torture. On February 19 of 1973, five political prisoners in Ben Tre prison were taken out on the high seas, shot and then thrown into the water. On the night of April 15 of 1973, 25 political prisoners in Tay Ninh were assassinated, strangled and stabbed and then tied to rocks and thrown into the river in Ben Kee, in Long Yen village, Long Thanh town, Phu Khuong district. These secret massacres of prisoners have been denounced, one after another, by public opinion. The Saigonese Administration has also taken tens of thousands of the persons it has imprisoned to unknown destinations. Between January 27 of 1973 and March of this year, more than 18 000 prisoners in different jails in Western Nam Bo were taken to unknown destinations. In the Poulo Condor prison alone, on March 17 and 18, 1973, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration secretly transferred more than 1500 persons to unknown destinations.

2) The Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has also subjected South Vietnamese patriots and peace-loving persons to slow death.

To carry out this evil plan, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has established the most brutal penal system. Political prisoners are subjected to such conditions that even minimum requirements for material life are absent. The scarcity of food, continuous forced labor, small cells and the lack of hygienic facilities have led to dangerous illnesses among tens of thousands of people. Every type of torture has been used, from modern methods to medieval corporal punishment, in order to liquidate them morally and physically, or in case of survival, to incapacitate them for life. The "tiger cages" typical of Thieu's penal system and detestable to world public opinion, still exist. A correspondent from the US magazine *Time*, David Vogt, wrote on March 19 of 1937: "In reality, it is no longer accurate to call them human beings. Due to daily beatings and the mixture of sand and stones in their rice, dysentery, tuberculosis and chronic stomach problems are common illnesses." Senator Alan Cranston also noted that anyone with human feelings cannot help but be infuriated and stunned by this state of affairs.

Lately, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has kept prisoners whose physical conditions are seriously deteriorated, in with those affected by contagious diseases, thus condemning them to certain death.

Health conditions of the political prisoners recently returned attest to the cruel Saigonese penal system. They were all weak, hungry, pale, with infected wounds on their bodies. After three examinations of the prisoners returned at Loc Ninh, the doctors reached this conclusion: "100% suffer from various illnesses, mainly tuberculosis and dysentery, and 99.5% evidence wounds caused by beatings."

This is why the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration prohibits the political prisoners from exchanging postcards and letters with their relatives and persistently refuses to permit the Red Cross organizations to visit detention centers for the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and held, as established in Article 9 (b) of the Protocol.

3) Since the restoration of peace, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has arrested and held tens of thousands of partisans of peace and reconciliation and national concord who demand strict fulfillment of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam by the United States and the Saigon Administration.

According to the plan developed before the signing of the Paris Agreement, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration ordered its executives, at all levels, "to extend the control zones to the maximum," "to carry out the maximum number of police operations in towns and cities," "to extend the 'Phoenix' organizations to the towns and villages" and "to search and destroy the enemy's infrastructure." This has led to intensifying the repression, persecution and control of the population and to the continuing arrest and assassination of patriots who fight for peace and national concord.

Ever since the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam entered into force, the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration has imposed its fascist laws, especially the "six stipulations that determine the death penalty and imprisonment with forced work," and the "ten measures to be applied in case of a ceasefire . . ." That Administration continues to strangle all democratic liberties, repressing all aspirations for peace and reconciliation and national concord among the South Vietnamese. It publicly declares that "there has been a halt in the struggle, not in the arrests." Nguyen Van Thieu himself proposes to "fire and kill" and "blow out the brains" of anyone who has cooperated with the National Liberation Front and of all who still retain or fly the flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, "attacking with gunfire or arresting" those who carry out demonstrations, distribute pamphlets or paste up caricatures, jailing the neutralists and anyone found to be involved in open political activities, such as members of the Alliance Front of Trinh Dinh Thao, Lam Van Ter and Professor Le Van Hao of Hué, should they return to the city.

Over a little more than the last 20 months, the Saigon Administration has feverishly increased the "pacification program," launching tens of thousands of police operations during which it has "purged" more than three million persons and arrested some 25 000 more.

All this is in serious violation of Article 2 of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam which anticipates the achievement of reconciliation and national concord and the guarantee of democratic liberties immediately following the ceasefire.

At present, hundreds of thousands of patriots and peace-loving people in South Viet Nam are being illegally detained, maltreated or assassinated in the prisons of the Saigon Administration.

The real cause for this grave situation lies in the interventionist and aggressive policy of the United States against South Viet Nam. The United States has established the Saigon Administration as an instrument for carrying out its plan to impose US neocolonialism on South Viet Nam.

Although it was forced to end the war of aggression and withdraw its troops from South Viet Nam, the United States has not altered its proposal to establish the Nixon Doctrine and US colonialism in South Viet Nam. The United States continues its military involvement and its intervention in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. It has protected and encouraged the Saigon Administration to violate the Paris Agreement and avoid returning captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel. It continues to play the role of jealous adviser to the Saigon Administration's apparatus of coercion and repression, by providing dollars and the means to consolidate and develop its prison system with a view to the massive and long-range detention of those who love the country and peace, and who advocate reconciliation and national concord in South Viet Nam.

The United States and the Saigon Administration must assume

al responsibility for the serious situation resulting from their violations of the Paris Agreement.

It is the unshakable position of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam to strictly respect and scrupulously fulfill the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and, at the same time, to firmly demand that the United States and the Saigon Administration do the same.

As far as the return of captured and detained civilian and military personnel is concerned, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, together with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, have scrupulously fulfilled the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Protocol on the return of captured and detained personnel. Public opinion has become fully aware of the good will of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the return of captured Vietnamese civilian personnel, in conformity with their political tradition of national concord and a view "to eliminating hatred and ending suffering and reuniting families," as is stipulated in the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has overcome all difficulties in order to complete the lists of captured and jailed persons belonging to the Saigonese Administration. We have created all the conditions necessary for the swift return of all these persons to the Saigon Administration.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government energetically denounces and severely condemns before public opinion the violations of the Paris Agreement United States and the Saigon Administration as well as their crimes against the patriots and peace-loving persons they are holding.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government strongly demands that the Nguyen Van Thieu Administration immediately put an end to the repression, persecution, assassination and inhuman treatment of all those it is still holding and that it immediately and without any pretext, return all the patriots and peace-loving people that are jailed, including those who belong to the third force. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam firmly demands that the United States scrupulously and fully comply with its obligation, so that all Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and held by the Saigon Administration may be returned in strict application of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and of the Joint Communiqué of June 13, 1973.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam urgently exhorts the governments and peoples of the

peace-and justice-loving countries of the world, including the progressive people of the United States, international democratic organizations and social and religious organizations, to condemn the actions of the United States and the Saigon Administration which have seriously violated the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, and to demand that they end the hateful prison system in South Viet Nam, and immediately free all civilian personnel still in jail there, and strictly and scrupulously comply with the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Joint Communique of June 13, 1973.

### **Thieu, obstacle to a solution**

Almost two years have lapsed since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, and in South Viet Nam authentic peace has not yet been restored, and the aspirations of the people for peace, independence, democracy, well being and national concord have not been realized.

The US Government and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, in spite of their commitments, have obstinately pursued a policy of war and have brutally sabotaged the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Joint Communique of June 13, 1973.

The United States has continued its military involvement and its interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, making full use of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration in its attempt to impose US neocolonialism on South Viet Nam. The warlike, fascist Nguyen Van Thieu junta, for its part, is feverishly stepping up the war, driving its troops into bloody expansionist operations and "pacification" raids. At the same time, it steps up press ganging and terrorist actions, coercion and exploitation, and brazenly denies the peoples' most fundamental democratic rights. It cracks down ruthlessly on all patriots, all peace-lovers, reacts madly against the individuals and organizations of the third political force, and even suppresses uncooperative people in the army and the administration.

The situation of the people living under the tyrannical, ruthless rule of the Nguyen Van Thieu junta is more critical than ever: millions have been pushed into concentration camps, hundreds of thousands of political prisoners are still detained, taxes are heavy, prices are exorbitant, unemployment is serious, poverty and famine are rampant, social evils reign everywhere, life becomes more impossible.

The people can bear this no longer. A fighting movement has developed both in the cities and in the rural areas controlled by the Saigon regime, for peace, welfare, democratic liberties, national concord and reconciliation, the implementation of the Paris Agreement, against Thieu's tyranny and corruption, and for his overthrow.

It has the participation of large sections of the population of various political and religious tendencies, including some members of the Saigonese "National Assembly," the administration and the army.



The South Vietnamese population is aware of the fact that, as long as Thieu remains in power, there will be war, repression, terrorism exploitation, corruption, death, poverty, hatred and division.

Hence their imperative common demand: the overthrow of Thieu, and the formation in Saigon of a new administration that fights for peace, national concord and the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement.

These are legitimate and urgent demands, in accord with the Paris Agreement and the Six-Point Proposal made by the PRG on March 22, 1974. As such, the PRG-RSV applauds and fully supports them.

The PRG-RSV has consistently respected and strictly fulfilled the Paris Agreement.

Nevertheless, the United States continuously sabotages this agreement in a systematic and serious manner, while the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, bent on serving the interests of US imperialism, is carrying on the war and undermining negotiations, thus multiplying its crimes against the people. It is obvious that, as long as the United States continues its military involvement and its interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, and as long as Nguyen Van Thieu and his gang remain in power in Saigon, the sabotage of the Paris Agreement will continue and it will be impossible to achieve peace and national concord in South Viet Nam.

As required by the present situation, and out of its desire to meet the imperative claims of the various strata of the population of South Viet Nam and to create conditions that will favor a speedy settlement of the internal affairs of South Viet Nam on the basis of the Paris Agreement, the PRG-RSV firmly demands:

The definitive and complete termination of the US Government's military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, and the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of all US military personnel disguised as civilians, as stipulated by the Paris Agreement.

The overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu and his gang who constitute the main obstacle to the solution of the political issues in South Viet Nam at present, and the establishment in Saigon of an administration that struggles for peace and national concord and strict implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

The PRG-RSV is ready to talk with such an administration in order to arrive at a speedy settlement of South Viet Nam's affairs, and only such an administration can engage in serious negotiations with the PRG-RSV to implement the provisions of the Paris Agreements and to achieve the South Vietnamese people's most urgent aspirations: peace, independence, democracy, well being and national concord.

Dear compatriots:

The struggle our people are waging to implement the Paris Agreement, though still difficult and complicated, has won greater success

each day. US imperialism and its henchmen — the Nguyen Van Thieu clique — have suffered heavy defeats, and their difficulties are multiplying, which is a fundamental advantage our people must exploit in order to push ahead with our struggle for the achievement of our legitimate rights.

So, let's bring into play the traditional indomitable struggle of the nation; let's strengthen our unity and increase our resolve to thwart all wicked schemes of the United States and the Nguyen Van Thieu junta, in order to win peace, freedom, the means of sustenance and the right to self-determination.

To all public figures, political, social and religious organizations throughout South Viet Nam:

The PRG-RSV greatly values any statements, any actions truly favorable for peace, independence, and democracy in South Viet Nam, and calls on all political forces, regardless of their political and religious tendencies, and all individuals, regardless of their backgrounds, who sincerely wish to see the war ended and peace and national concord achieved, to join one another in unity and in concerted actions demanding an end to United States military involvement and interference in South Viet Nam, and the resignation of Nguyen Van Thieu and his clique, in order to permit the creation in Saigon of an administration that advocates strict implementation of the Paris Agreement.

To all officers and men of the Saigon army and all employees in the Saigon administration:

The struggle conducted by various strata of our people for peace, welfare, freedom, democracy and national concord is in the interest of everyone, including yourselves. Be aware of the sinister schemes of US imperialism and the wickedness of Nguyen Van Thieu and his servants who are pushing you to a useless-death! Be brave and side with the people to overthrow Nguyen Van Thieu and his servants, and to win the right to live happily!

US imperialism, for all its defeats, remains utterly obstinate and perfidious. Through the CIA, its men have infiltrated the movement in an attempt to control it and steer it off along another course.

Our people, however, have learned many things in their long struggle. With vigilance, they are sure to foil all the Machiavelian schemes of US imperialism and its lackeys, and they will succeed in achieving their most pressing rights.

The PRG-RSV is convinced that the people of the fraternal and friendly countries, democratic international bodies, and the peace- and justice-loving peoples throughout the world, including the people of the United States, will intensify their support for the just cause of the South Vietnamese people.

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam will be implemented!

Our nation's peace and national concord will be won!

Final victory belongs to the people!



**A Year  
of Terror in  
Chile**

This document was edited by the Secretariat of the International Commission of Investigation into the Crimes of the military junta in Chile in a meeting that took place on September 7th and 8th in Stockholm, in the headquarters of the Swedish Parliament.

Its objective is to provide a synthesis of the principal legal aspects that a year of the terrorist regime of the military junta in Chile has brought to light. The document is based on the material gathered at the First Session of the International Commission of Investigation into the Crimes of the military junta in Chile, held in Helsinki, Finland from March 21 to 24, 1974, at the Extraordinary Session in Copenhagen, Denmark, June 26 and 27, 1974, at the Session of the Extended Secretariat of the Commission meeting in Helsinki August 4-5, 1974, GDR, September 4, 1974.

The Commission bases its work on different categories of testimony enumerated under the heading: **The nature of the evidence.** The proofs come from different sources: observers who were sent to Chile by the Commission; delegations of parliamentarians and various international organizations that have sent delegations to Chile as, for example, the International Union of Democratic Jurists, the International Jurists Commission, Amnesty International, the Socialist International, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, trade unions and youth organizations.

This document is neither complete nor definitive. Up to the present time only a portion of the crimes committed by the junta and their accomplices have become known. Later, when the Commission has collected and analyzed new proofs, it will publish a more complete list. But for now, it is possible to give a general picture of the crimes, evaluating and classifying them on the basis of the Constitution and laws of Chile and from the point of view of international law.

## **ARMED REBELLION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MILITARY REGIME**

### **Overthrow of the constitutional government by force**

1. On September 11, 1973, the Chilean Armed Forces overthrew the constitutionally established government of President Salvador Allende, which during its entire mandate acted according to the power conferred on it by the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Chile. By definition, then, the seizure of power by the military was anti-constitutional. According to Article 3 of the Constitution, it constitutes an "armed rebellion" subject to sanction under article 121 of the Penal Code of Chile and article 267 of the Code of Military Justice.

## **Destruction of constitutional institutions and of the democratic political system**

2. The "supreme power of the nation" is now being exercised by the military junta (decree-law n. 1, paragraph I). All constitutional institutions have been destroyed in Chile. The Chilean people now have no means at all for forming their own opinions or expressing their will. Indeed, one of the first acts of the military junta was to dissolve the elected legislative body: the Congress (decree-law n. 27 of September 21, 1973). In its place, four members of the junta assumed "constitutional, legislative and executive power" (decree-law n. 128, corroborated by decree-law n. 527 of June 26, 1974 on the "legal statute" of the junta), and have arrogated to themselves the power to arbitrarily modify the text of the Constitution, declaring that the decree-laws modifying the Constitution are "part of the text and must be considered incorporated into it" (articles 3 of decree-law n. 128). The will of the generals of the armed forces is converted into law invested with supreme legal force.

## **Establishment of a military-bureaucratic state apparatus**

3. Under the junta, composed of the chiefs of the three armed forces and the head of the militarized police (Carabineers), the democratic institutions, the President and the Parliament have been replaced by dictatorial military organs.

The present government consists of 14 generals and admirals subordinate to the junta. Extraordinary administrative powers were granted to the chiefs of military units which are de facto local governors of the junta. Officers, called "chiefs of the emergency zones" enjoy unlimited rights for "the preventive safeguarding of internal security" and control of movements (of entrance and exit and between zones). They can "give all the orders they consider necessary to maintain internal order," which include reprisal orders against the population (decree-law n. 243, law n. 12 937, articles 33 and 34).

## **Proclamation of a permanent "state of internal war"**

4. The junta has imposed an anti-constitutional "state of seige" over the entire country (decree-law n. 3) and has proclaimed the nation to be in a "state of war" as another fiction (decree-law n. 5).

According to the Chilean Constitution, only the President of the Republic can declare the "state of emergency," and this exclusively in case of an "internal war," or else the "state of seige" in case of an attack from outside" (article 72, no. 17, paragraph 1). In case of internal disturbance, the Congress has the power to declare the "stage of seige" in one or a number of regions. If the Congress is not in session, the President, in its stead, can proclaim the stage of seige for a limited time (article 72, number 17, paragraph 2).

Leaving aside the fact that only the President or the Congress have

the right to initiate such measures, none of the motives provided under the law for decreeing the "state of seige" or the "state of war" exist. There was no attack from an external enemy nor a real war. The only thing that existed was the unilateral oppression of the Chilean people by the junta.

These manipulations served as a pretext for establishing special military tribunals that apply the drastic sanctions and the repressions enforced in time of war. In defining its reasons for the proclamation of the "state of war," the junta clearly reiterated the "need for drastic repression in its strictest sense" and the need to "concede the greatest liberty to the military tribunals" (the de facto reasons are given in paragraphs b and c of decree-law n. 5). Based on the former, extremely harsh penalties, including the death penalty, have been applied for a series of actions "against state security" (decree-law n. 5, article 4, paragraphs a, b, c and d).

## **THE REGIME OF TERROR**

### **Extra-judicial reprisals by the military and police**

5. Since the first day it took power and throughout the months of its regime, the junta has carried out arbitrary and massive detentions to subjugate its political adversaries and create a situation of permanent insecurity and fear. Official materials and the evaluations made by experts demonstrate that approximately 30 000 Chilean citizens were assassinated without summary trial.

Sports stadiums, military barracks, military bases (El Bosque and Cerro Moreno) military institutions and academies (in Santiago, Valparaíso, Antofagasta) were converted into prisons and interrogation centers where human beings have been and are subjected to the most atrocious humiliations. Concentration camps (Pisagua, Tejas Verdes, Chacabuco) were added to the long list of torture chambers. The prison barracks on Dawson island, where leaders of the political parties of Popular Unity and of Salvador Allende's government were locked up over long months under inhuman conditions, have become a symbol of political vengeance and cruelties.

The most recent figures are evidence that the number of those arbitrarily detained has not diminished. Official data indicate that 10 838 persons more were held in the second half of July, 1974. During the first days of September, 1974, the number had risen to 21 154. There were days on which the detentions exceeded 1600. As a consequence, new concentration camps have been opened in Chacalluta, Santa Cruz Castro and Puerto Natales.

As a general rule, the detentions take place for simple "preventive" reasons, without accusation or communication of the motives for the detention and without respecting the right of personal defense or the right to counsel. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the elemental guarantees of articles 13 and 15 of the Chilean Constitution. Moreover, the arbitrary detentions represent a crime under the Penal Code of

Chile, articles 141, 148 and 149.

6. In compliance with article 16 of the Constitution, the Code of Penal Procedure stipulates that every person detained or anyone who acts in his name, can appeal to the judicial organs, demanding legal guarantees with respect to arbitrary or unfounded detention or in relation to a detention made by authorized bodies. The recognition of rights concerning the recourse of protection corresponds in the first place to the Appeals Courts (Organic Tribunal Code, article 63, n. 4, letter b). Clearly the junta has not respected any of these fundamental guarantees. The tribunals have also evaded their legal responsibilities. Under the unacceptable pretext that the measures taken by the military authorities during the state of seige are outside their jurisdiction, the Appeals Courts have adopted a position of "incompetence" with respect to the arbitrary actions of the military and the police (see, for example, the resolution of the Appeals Court of Santiago with respect to appeal n. 516-73 on the detention of Carlos Briones, Clodomiro Almeyda, Jorge Tapia and others).

The very Supreme Court of Chile, which submissively showed its support of the junta in a declaration made September 13, 1973, and in another on September 25, 1973, sanctioned the arbitrary actions of the administration, alluding to the "extraordinary" nature of the detentions. In rejecting the complaint presented in the case of the youth Luis Adalberto Muñoz, 15 years old, in which the military authorities charged political motives, the Supreme Court declared that measures for the protection of minors that contravene the depositions of the authorities, cannot take priority under the conditions of the state of seige. This means that the Supreme Court refused to fulfill its constitutional duties and has completely sold out to the military dictatorship.

To illustrate the junta's contempt for the laws, we will refer to decree-law n. 228, article 2, which declares flatly that all the detentions from September 11, 1973, up to the date of publication of the decree-law (that is, until January 8, 1974) are "in accordance with the law." This same decree-law stipulates that administrative detentions under conditions of the state of seige are recognized as legal if the formula "by order of the junta" appears on the detention order.

Also, the refusal to appear in court or the postponement of the appearance for more than five days after a person appears on the lists published with the order of detention, are declared independent crimes punishable by the extraordinary military courts according to wartime laws (decree-law n. 81, article 1). Also, those who give asylum to a person who has been given an order of detention and help him in any other form will be submitted to trial by the military courts for the crime of collaboration in escape. (decree-law n. 81, article 5, and decree-law n. 189).

Thus the regime of terror, through arbitrary detentions and imprisonments practiced by the junta, constitutes a direct violation of the constitutional norms and of the stipulations of the Code of Penal Procedure.

The military junta is responsible for these acts before international

law. A series of obligatory instruments for the protection of human rights, which Chile has solemnly committed itself to respect, have been totally ignored. We will mention the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights (1966), article 9, the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, art. 8 and 9, the American Convention on Human Rights (1969), art. 7.

#### **Application of tortures and other forms of violence against those detained**

7. A constant element of the regime established by the junta is the application of torture and other acts of violence against those detained and the creation of unbearable conditions for them.

Tortures and other acts of violence have already resulted in the death and complete physical attenuation of a large number of those held. Numerous leaders of Popular Unity have been subjected to penal conditions that are harsh in the extreme.

The objective of torture or maltreatment is to break the will of those held and force them to make "confessions" and false declarations concerning other persons. According to still incomplete data published by the press, 44 persons died in 1974 as a result of tortures during "the preparation of trials," among them the ex-Vice President of the Republic of Chile, José Tohá, and General Alberto Bachelet. Many of those held lost their minds because of the tortures, among them Pedro Sunini Silva (see the charge from trial n. 1-73, point 6).

The methods of physical and mental torture are equivalent to those that were practiced by the medieval Inquisition and the Gestapo. Testimonies and declarations of victims, experienced doctors, lawyers and Chilean clergymen reveal that the prisoners have been subjected to various types of torture, such as: hanging by the arms, by the arms and legs, torture with electric current, electric shock, pressure on the skull, immersion in freezing water, in oil, pulling out the fingernails, long flagellations, cutting the genital organs, strangulation, application of lighted cigarettes or acid, privation of water for several days, submersion in excrement, breaking the bones of the hand, being hurled into garbage dumps, being locked in rooms infested with insects, being interrogated nude, blind-folded whip-lashings.

The use of torture is a serious violation of the international norms of human rights. Torture is prohibited by article 5 of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, by article 7 of the Pact on Civil and Political Rights, and by article 5 of the American Convention on Human Rights. The use of torture is a crime according to the Constitution and the national laws of Chile. According to the Constitution (article 18, paragraph 2) the Penal Code of Chile provides for severe sanctions against those who flagellate a victim or treat him with excessive severity (article 150, paragraph 1). The second paragraph of part 1a. of that article provides for maximum penalties when the flagellations cause physical injury or death.

The penal responsibility falls on all the direct executors and on the investigators and their accomplices. The members of the junta and



the highest military chiefs who order, promote or tolerate torture or inhuman treatment are, in the last instance, those responsible for these crimes and violations of human rights.

### **Military Courts as an instrument of political oppression**

8. One of the principal methods of political persecution is the system of extraordinary military justice in times of war, introduced by the military junta.

The extraordinary military tribunals have as their purpose providing the junta with an appearance of legality in order to cover up the true intent of death and long prison sentences imposed on persons who have committed no crime. It has been confirmed that at least 98 persons have been executed in 1974 in compliance with sentences issued by the military courts. The real number is probably much higher. The special military tribunals function throughout Chile. The greatest number of sentences has been issued by the extraordinary military courts in Osorno, Rancagua, Valdivia, Santiago, San Fernando, Concepción, Temuco and Arica. Generally the cases are handled in secret. In only a few cases does the junta have a type of public trial to which a limited number of journalists and observers have access. This is how the trial was conducted in the air forces extraordinary tribunal in which 61 persons were condemned on July 30, 1974 (trial 1-73).

9. To use the extraordinary procedure applicable only in wartime in the military courts, is a violation of the provisions of article 72 of the Constitution of Chile. The Code of Military Justice (article 73) and the Law on the internal security of the state (article 35) no. 12.927 of August 6, 1958, establish certain requirements that must exist for extraordinary military justice to be applied.

In decree-law n. 13, the junta proclaimed that the jurisdiction, in case of the "state of seige" and of the "state of internal war," passed into the hands of the extraordinary military tribunals under article 73 of the Code of Military Justice. Thus the junta concocted reasons for introducing extraordinary wartime justice. In reality, they did not have and do not today have these reasons. Article 73 of the Code of Military Justice establishes that the extraordinary military tribunals, in time of war, are competent only when the armed forces must enter into action "against a foreign enemy" or when there is action violating law no. 1.927 on the security of the State, a very precise and unequivocal interpretation of the term "time of war": "the state of emergency can be declared in case of acts of war against a foreign enemy or against organized subversive forces that act in support of an aggression from abroad." These conditions were not present in Chile, nor are they present now.

In the Chilean air force trial, there was an attempt to justify the jurisdiction of the extraordinary military courts alleging that the declaration of the state of war was the de facto equivalent of the outbreak of a state of war (trial n. 1-73, interlocutory folio sentence 1799 and the following). This is an unsustainable legal lucubration. At

its outset, the argument admits that there was really never any state of war.

10. In the great majority of the known cases of the extraordinary military tribunals and in those cases currently in preparation, a charge is presented according to a standard model. As a general rule, the political adversaries of the junta are accused of having committed crimes such as "treason," "espionage," "sedition" (according to art. 245, paragraph 1, and art. 274 of the Code of Military Justice) and of "conspiracy" for the purpose of sedition (according to art. 278).

11. To "justify" the sentences, allusion is first made to article 245 of the Code of Military Justice, paragraph 1. Article 245 establishes that those who have committed the actions enumerated in the first paragraph of the article which consist of "providing information or data that favors the enemy or may prejudice the operations of the national armed forces" shall be sentenced to life imprisonment or to death. The article establishes the concrete data whose transmission is defined as espionage: "Watchword and password, military orders and secrets (which have been confided to a member of the military), plans of barracks, permanent and provisional plans of defense installations, explanations of signals, data on the state of the forces, location of mines, artillery or ammunition."

From the text of article 245, paragraph 1, two exigencies are extracted: first the fact of the crime having been committed during a state of war, since the article speaks twice of the "enemy" and even more of the external enemy. This is confirmed, especially since article 245 is in the chapter bearing the title "On treason, espionage and other crimes against the sovereignty and foreign security of the State" (title 2 of book III of the Code). Second, the data transmitted must be of such a nature that it contributes to the success of the enemy operation or may prejudice the operations of the national armed forces. None of these conditions has existed nor exists in Chile.

The concepts "treason" and "espionage" presuppose that these crimes have been committed in the interest of some enemy. In order to rationalize this the junta resorts to another of its lucubrations. It makes article 245, paragraph 1 coincide with article 419, paragraph 2 of the Code of Military Justice. In this way an "enemy" is artificially created, for whose benefit treason is committed. Article 419 paragraph 2, states that "enemy means not only foreign enemy but also insurrectional seditious organized military forces." Through the absurd interpretation of this article, completely twisting its content, the constitutional government of President Allende was declared "internal enemy." In the charge of trial n. 1-73 all the parties of Popular Unity and other left movements are also declared enemies.

On the basis of these fictions, the military tribunals have condemned absolutely innocent Chileans to death, to life sentences of 20 to 30 years in military jails, for "treason," "espionage" or "sedition," in spite of the fact that they have committed no crime.

12. Recently, extraordinary military justice has very frequently issued sentences "for participation in a conspiracy to organize a rebellion." (according to article 273 of the Code of Military Justice). This

was the formulation of the charge on which approximately half of these accused (31 persons) in trial a. 1-73 were condemned (condemnatory sentence of July 30, 1974, condemnatory part, point III, sub-points II-III n. 12-42).

Consequently it is not a question here of administering justice, but rather of the application of a system of repression of political adversaries, by twisting the elemental and generally recognized rules concerning the application of the norms of penal rights.

## **ABOLITION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF CITIZENS**

### **Scorn for social-economic rights**

13. Another aspect of the political terror is the scorn for civil, economic and social rights, particularly including trade union rights.

With respect to the trade unions, the junta has resorted to a series of actions, among which we will mention the following:

— The junta has dissolved the Central Organization of Workers of Chile (CUT) and has decreed that all those who do not respect the prohibition shall be severely persecuted and punished (decree-law n. 12).

— The junta imposed general restrictions on all trade union activities during the complete period of the "state of war" and the "state of seige" subordinating the trade unions to the strict control of the Carabineers (decree-law n. 198, article 4, "provisional").

— The junta limited the right of the trade unions to freely dispose of their funds and attached the funds and property of the Central Organization of Workers (decree-law n. 133, articles 2-3).

These acts constitute a flagrant violation of the principles and norms established by the International Labor Organization and of the principles established in the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 (art. 8, paragraph 1 a-c).

14. A whole series of depositions by the junta represent trampling on the economic rights of citizens, especially the right to work.

Decree-law n. 43 abolishes all norms, whatever their nature or origin, that refer to the fixing and regulation of salaries, assignations, payments, prizes, extraordinary assignations and remuneration in general, both in the public sector and in the private (article 1).

All guarantees concerning arbitrary dismissals have been abolished (decree-law n. 32). The stipulations of point 4 of that decree-law were used to justify firing and stripping the means of livelihood of several thousand workers and employees, because of their political ideas and past activities, including trade union activity.

This constitutes another violation of the basic norms of the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (article 6-7) and of Convention n. III of the International Labor Organization, to

prevent discrimination in the area of work and employment relations (1958). Both the Pact and the Convention were ratified by Chile.

On the junta also falls the responsibility for the consequences brought about by the disastrous deterioration of the country's economic situation. Under the junta's regime, the material and social welfare of broad sectors of the population have been seriously affected. Close to 500 000 men and women have been forced out of work in Chile. Salaries were frozen, while the price of primary necessity goods rose notably after September 1973. The accelerated inflation has forced the junta to devalue national currency eleven times in the course of a year. To the general situation of fear and anxiety produced by the political terror is added social insecurity and growing misery for the vast majority of the Chilean people.

### **Abolition of civil and political rights**

15. In this first year of subjugation by the junta, civil and political rights have been totally abolished. Freedom of speech and information, guaranteed by the Constitution, have been eliminated (article 10, point 3, paragraphs 1-3). Demonstrating the most absolute scorn for cultural values, they have burned books in public. In accordance with official instructions, numerous works of literature (among them the classics) were prohibited "due to their character of being contrary to the ideals that inspire the junta." These acts constitute a flagrant violation of the UN convention on the protection of cultural values, which was also signed by Chile. Daily newspapers have been closed or submitted to the vigilance of the organization of military censorship.

The chief means of mass communications and cultural institutions were placed under the strictest control of the military authorities. Radio direction was handed over to a "council" composed of five members, four of whom are representatives of the four armed forces (decree-law n. 258, article 5). Members of the highest commands were named "delegate rectors" to "unify the criteria for the direction of university education in order to insure the most effective compliance with the principles established in decree-law n. 1 of the junta" which is the decree-law on the seizure of state power by the junta after the **golpe** (decree-law n. 50). This "unification" is actually the equivalent of the expulsion of thousands of professors and students from the universities; the express elimination of every discussion on political questions throughout the universities; the introduction of a regular course on "internal security" which is used as an extremely reactionary indoctrination for all.

With the "state of war" having been fictitiously declared, the heads of the "state of seige zones" into which the entire country was divided, engage in press, telegraph and radio-telephonic censorship (decree-law n. 3, 4, 243, law n. 12.927, article 34, point c). The chiefs of the zones have been granted the "right" to "suppress anti-patriotic propaganda and its dissemination through press, radio, cinema, theater and any other medium" (article 34, point a).

16. The military dictators fear every form of political activity on the part of the citizens. With direct military measures, the legal activity of the parties of Popular Unity was suppressed. The prohibition of those parties was established by decree-law n. 77 of the junta. Finally, decree-law n. 78 suspended the activity of all parties.

With all these measures, the junta has violated the freedom of association guaranteed by the country's Constitution (article 10, paragraph 5) and has disclaimed pleas that it respect the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights (article 22) and the American Convention on Human Rights (article 16).

17. To cover up the breadth of the political terror, the junta systematically falsifies and twists information. The obscurantist demagoguery of the junta is cynically evident in various declarations, for example, the declaration on the principles of the administration of Chile (of March 11, 1974).

Under the pressure of a horrified world public opinion, the junta has tried to give the appearance of legality to its acts of political terror. In this way, certain changes have occurred in the forms of violence used. The junta has found itself obliged to place in liberty a good number of political prisoners, although on the other hand, many more have been detained; to commute death sentences, and to give "amnesty" to certain innocent and falsely-accused victims.

These maneuvers, however, signify no change in the nature of the political terror practiced by the junta. Although these successes of international solidarity with the people of Chile must be the cause of satisfaction, there is still no evidence that the terror unleashed by the junta is diminishing noticeably. No one must believe that the dictatorship of the junta has been modified in essence.

## **THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE**

The evidence presented can be divided into the following categories.

### **1. Materials presented to the Commission**

1.1 More than 500 "decree-laws" and such junta laws as "supreme decrees" and "decrees" of the authorities, announcements, resolutions, official declarations of the junta and declarations of its members.

1.2 Written charges and condemnatory sentences that were either elaborated or decreed by the extraordinary military tribunals.

1.3 Complaints and petitions presented by lawyers and priests concerning those detained and the negative judicial resolutions issued by the higher court.

1.4 Material officially published by the Chilean press, information from the junta's telegraphic agencies.

### **2. Testimonial and other proof**

2.1 Testimonies of victims and corroboration by witnesses presented in the Commission's public sessions and written testimony sent to the Commission.

2.2 Film and photographic documentary materials gathered by correspondents and observers in Chile.

2.3 X-rays and other medical material.

### **3. Reports and other materials from observations by international organizations**

3.1 Reports of commissions of specialized regional or interstate organizations.

3.2 Reports and other documents of non-state international organizations.

3.3 Information and statements by groups of parliamentary observers and lawyers who visited Chile between April and August of 1974.

3.4 Reports of individual observers who visited Chile between March and August of 1974.

For the opinions of the experts and for the evaluations and also for consultations on problems of isolated law, the Commission asked for the collaboration of well-known jurists, scientists and lawyers from many countries, who have provided very valuable aid.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

In conclusion, the Commission reiterates that the military junta, by carrying out the criminal armed uprising and overthrowing the legitimate government of Salvador Allende, destroyed the constitutional institutions and political life of the society and violated the most elemental constitutional guarantees, liberties and political and civil rights.

The most absolute arbitrariness reigns in the country and a system of total political terror, fascist in nature, has been installed.

Violating the depositions of the Constitution, the permanent state of "internal war" has been declared, and the system of extraordinary military justice and of draconian wartime punishment has been imposed.

Police-military reprisals, arbitrary detentions, the application of systematic torture and other forms of violence, the creation of an inhumane penal system for those detained, all this has caused the death and complete physical attenuation of a great number of Chilean democrats.

In the face of the junta's efforts to hide the nature and immensity of the political terror, there are sufficient reasons to imply that the intention is to physically destroy political prisoners, among them the leaders of the Popular Unity movement and of the Government of President Allende, by creating inhuman penal conditions. In this context the Commission reiterates its earlier decisions, adopted at the Extraordinary Session in Copenhagen and at the Session of the Extended Secretariat in Helsinki.

If the junta initiates trials against leaders of the Popular Unity

parties and officials of the Government of President Allende, if it does not listen to world public opinion which demands their liberation, the Commission will take the appropriate steps to counteract these measures.

The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg that condemned the criminal principles of war of Hitlerian Germany, brought to light the mechanism employed to liquidate those who opposed their policy, under the pretext of the fight against Communism. Using the same pretext, the military junta has unleashed terror against broad sectors of the population.

Thus the military junta, premeditatedly and consciously, perfectly aware of its systematic and consistent actions, perpetrates deeds that signify:

- the criminal nonobservance of the Constitution and laws of Chile;
- a gross violation of the generally recognized humanist principles and norms of international law, especially the depositions of the United Nations Charter, the International Pact on Social and Economic Rights and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, of 1966, which were ratified by Chile, of the American Convention on Human Rights of 1969 and a series of conventions of the International Labor Organization ratified by Chile (n. 1, n. 111);
- the violation of the generally recognized norms of defense of man's dignity and life and a negation of the conquests and values of culture and human civilization;
- a direct and extraordinary danger to the life and health of broad sectors of the Chilean population, to the physical and moral development of the youth and new generations of the Chilean people.

The junta and the heads of its organs and central authorities, its deputies, supporters and accomplices are responsible, both under international law and national legislative norms. Also responsible are the direct executors of the crimes who are de facto participants in the crimes of the junta, among them the officers and soldiers who kill without judicial procedure nor any investigation, the chiefs of the concentration camps and of the prisons where persons who have committed no crime are locked up, the officers and other public authorities of the organs of the secret service and the investigatory organizations that apply torture and other forms of violence, the presidents and members of the extraordinary military tribunals that impose unjust sentences.

According to the norms generally recognized for the punishment of crimes of perverted humanity, the allegation that they have complied with orders from above does not relieve the perpetrators of such crimes from their penal responsibility.

The Chilean military junta is responsible in every sense before the people of Chile and before the community of the peoples of the world.



man and  
his word



**The Real  
Beginnig of a  
Destiny**





In his speech at the Congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students, held in Algiers on August 22 of this year, the President of the Democratic Popular Republic of Algeria, Houari Boumediene, summed up the fundamental problems that have confronted and confront the Palestinian people in their liberation struggle, placing emphasis on the unity that must, of necessity, prevail among all those who fight for that just cause, beyond all partisanship, beyond all borders.

Dear brothers:

It is a pleasure for me to greet you at the closing of the work of your seventh Congress which I hope will provide a new impulse to this sacred and human cause, the just Palestinian cause. We evoke this question not only because it constitutes the major preoccupation of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, but also because it represents a just and human cause.

The Algerian people who receive you today are always ready to provide you with their unconditional and unlimited support while you pursue your struggle for the recuperation of the subjugated homeland. In no sense do I say this to inspire sympathy and enthusiasm. The Arab people of Algeria lived through a long period of colonial domination of the population of their territories during which our country was considered an integral part of France, despite the existence of the Mediterranean which separates Europe from the African continent. France claimed that Algeria was an integral part of what was called the metropolis. But history has shown that the battle the Algerian patriots waged against colonialism reduced those claims to nothing. And what yesterday seemed to be an intangible truth to the eyes of the occupant, was revealed as only dreams and illusions. I say this because some maintain that the Palestinian cause is too complex and impossible to resolve, given the character of colonization of the population implicit in the occupation of Palestinian territory. Nevertheless, just as in Andalusia or in certain Arab countries, an Israeli community lived in Palestine. But it was the diaspora that caused such evils in Palestine, colonized its territory, expelling its children, ridiculing its moral and spiritual values. There are many examples in history, rich in their teachings, that still today represent a valid source of inspiration. We consider that there are real similarities between the Algerian cause of yesterday and that of the Palestinians today.

It is very evident that what was considered impossible for Algeria



yesterday, has become a reality in which we are living today, together, in this land. Doesn't the Palestinian cause also seem difficult to resolve? It is certainly true that it is a just cause and that right belongs to the Palestinian people. But for reasons it is useless to cite, the world has tried to deny the existence of Palestine as a people and as a homeland, as a history and sacred right. And in spite of the propaganda of the Zionists and their allies in the world, the situation has changed radically, and this is because of the will of the Palestinian youth who decided to take their own destiny into their hands, without any tutelage from the Arab League and other international organizations.

In effect, the real beginning occurred when an elite of Palestinian youth decided to engage in armed struggle, to use revolutionary violence as a means to impose a legitimate right, to preserve an entity and to free the homeland. I remember having had numerous meetings with Palestinian leaders since the beginning of the armed struggle of their people. We have had long conversations, in which we then reviewed all the existing institutions, Arab and others, reaching the conclusion that a single shot was worth more than a hundred speeches in the United Nations. Yes, the right of the Palestinian people is in the barrel of the fedayeen's gun.

You and your parents have lived through bitter times in tents, while the world's only concern was to seek a false solution to the problem of the refugees. This world had forgotten that a just and human Palestinian cause existed, that a right had been abused there. It only became aware on the day that the Palestinians themselves arose to defend their rights and began to create difficulties and preoccupations for all parties. In other words, the world only became aware of the Palestinian cause when it understood that the Palestinians would in no way renounce their rights and that they were determined to re-edit the legend of Sampson who, when he destroyed the pillars of the temple cried: "After me, the deluge!"

The type of struggle the Palestinian people have chosen is undoubtedly the most appropriate for the success of their cause.

While the Palestinian cause presents problems for the Arabs, it is necessary that it retain its priority character in the concerns of all the Arab countries; while this cause also presents problems for those of wealth and force who want to take over the energy sources; while the Palestinian cause also presents problems outside the Arab nation, it will be insured the greatest opportunities for victory.

Dear brothers, these are some of the reasons that operate in favor of an effective and necessary armed struggle, when all other means — particularly political and diplomatic — have suffered a real defeat. In stating that there are no means outside armed struggle to recuperate the plundered right, we have other examples from history in our favor: peoples of Asia, Africa and the Arab world have won their independence through armed struggle and the endless sacrifices they made. The Palestinian people must always be in the vanguard and work so that the Palestinian cause is the principal cause of all Arabs. One war, then two, three four, have erupted over the Palestinian problem and still others will erupt as long as the Palestinian people have not recuperated their rights.



Since then, the Palestinian cause has lived in every Arab citizen, illiterate or educated. That is why the conflict has been unable to reach its epilogue, even after four wars. The war of October could not end the conflict, which can only continue to gain in intensity as long as the fundamental problem has not been resolved. And the fundamental problem is not the Sinai nor Golan, but Jerusalem and all of occupied Palestine. That is where the crucial problem continues to be: the Arab Machrek will not have peace even if Israel evacuates all Golan and all Sinai. Our point of view is and continues to be that Arab solidarity — and there is an element in this that must be remembered in the present state of the situation — must necessarily be oriented toward the Palestinian, Egyptian and Syrian peoples, that is toward the peoples whose lands are under occupation. It would also be necessary for this solidarity to fully play its role in the course of the next stage, in favor of the Palestinian cause. Because for solidarity to be truly real, it is necessary that it help the Palestinian people to make their cause advance. That is the position of Algeria. And when the sessions of the last Arab Summit meeting were held in Algiers, we proposed, as an essential condition for any type of joint Arab action, the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And we will always maintain this position.

With this decision, dear brothers, we would like to leave the state of ambiguity that prevailed in the past and that permitted many to take benefit and advantage at the cost of the Palestinian cause. And it is in order to reach the greatest clarity possible that we have insisted on the question of representation. As for King Hussein, we have said that he didn't even have land to recuperate nor a problem to resolve. We said so after the September massacre, that we will never extend our hands to hands stained with the blood of innocents.

We said this and we refused to participate in the mini-summit in Cairo whose objective it was to end these massacres. The Palestinians participated in it out of obligation and duty, but it was not permissible for us to be there, since Hussein had truly killed, jailed and hunted Palestinians at his whim. And Hussein went to Cairo as if nothing had happened. This is one of his customs.

During the October war, Hussein refused to participate in the battle on the pretext that he had been given no green light; then, after several days of combat, in which he had been asked to take part, he used a new pretext of not having air coverage. And that is how he sent certain army troops to Syria to liberate Golan, while Jerusalem was under Zionist occupation. The conclusion we draw from this attitude is that Hussein never believed that Jerusalem formed a part of his kingdom, or that Transjordan formed a part of the Hachemite kingdom. Because if he had really believed this, he would have struggled, even if he only had rocks to fight with. At the time that the war in the Sinai and in Golan was unfolding and the enemy air force was bombarding and destroying Damascus and other Egyptian targets, the Hachemite sovereign watched the events like a simple spectator, as if nothing was happening.

That is why I think that, according to the logic of history, this gentlemen has definitely withdrawn from the cause, accepting the

consummated deed, that is the return of the Hachemite kingdom to its original borders. What is now suggested is that King Hussein has no role to play in the events of Machrek. On this level, I express Algeria's point of view, which has been proclaimed in the course of various meetings.

This should not be interpreted as a criticism of an Arab leader or any other Arab policy. But since this is our conviction, our analysis and our point of view concerning this cause, it is our duty to ask ourselves today, in the light of what happened in Washington with King Hussein, what is the objective of this operation, of the new participation of King Hussein in this replay?

Is his objective to create confusions or leave a window open to carry out the designs of Jacob (who could be Kissinger or someone else)?

We are not against the attempts at peaceful solution that are currently unfolding, since we are not partisans of war for war's sake. We do not ignore the fact that we live in a world ruled by norms that are not easily changed at this time. But we still do not understand what purpose King Hussein is pursuing in this replay. Assuming that the negotiations headed by Kissinger have achieved their objective and that Israel has agreed to withdraw completely from Sinai and Golan, what remains? Finally, Transjordan remains. Let us suppose that the United States has exerted pressure on the Zionist administration and that it has accepted the withdrawal from Transjordan on the condition that this territory is not surrendered to Palestinian authority: under these conditions, what will the solution be? It is possible that the North Americans answer the Arabs by saying they have made every effort possible, that they have worked in favor of the recuperation of the occupied territories — Golan and Sinai — but that Israel rejects the establishment of an authority in Transjordan. That is why Transjordan would have to be returned to King Hussein. In this way, the problem will be Palestinian-Arab, or inter-Arab, as was the case with Viet Nam and Cambodia.

Dear brothers, I hope that we will not reach this point, that King Hussein's attitude will not complicate this problem still further. That is why we believe that the parties implicated in this cause are Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Israel. There is no fifth party. In addition to those countries, there is the role that the United States and the Soviet Union have to play. But there will not have to be a *pax Americana*, because the situation is very different in this region since what is called the "balance of forces" has changed.

This is what causes us to work in favor of the consolidation of Arab solidarity, in the interest of the overall cause. The axis of this solidarity must exist, in the first place, among the Arab parties whose territories are occupied.

I told a Palestinian leader that we, as Arabs, support the Arab cause in general. But if we should have to choose between the interest of the Palestinian people and that of an Arab State, we would choose the Palestinian interest.

Dear brothers, the present stage is delicate. It is delicate from

the historical point of view and if we do not arm ourselves with the necessary vigilance, we will then be dragged along a cliff whose beginning we know but whose end we don't know.

One of the important results of the war of October was having conquered the fear that prevailed in the region. It was demonstrated that the Arab soldier can do much when certain conditions are provided. The Arab man, soldier or fedayeen, proved he was capable of miracles. But we cannot forget that the essential objective still remains to be achieved and that the results of the last war have to be evaluated accurately without any exaggeration. And taking off from this, we must make correct predictions and remain ready, because the battle has not ended and it is not easy to end it. If some think that this battle will end in Geneva or Washington, I for my part believe that the real solution depends on Arab will in general and that of Palestine in particular.

We have achieved certain gains that are not to be deprecated. The Arabs are respected abroad after the last war and particularly after "the energy battle." These gains must be exploited to the maximum because if we let this historic occasion pass — on the one hand to liberate our territories and on the other to build the modern Arab society — we then run the risk of retrogressing to the tribal era.

This then is our analysis of the situation. We do not think of petroleum only as an arm, but also as an effective means of national construction, since the question of edification is very important and must be on a par with armed struggle. As for what some say, that we must struggle only for the liberation of our lands, scorning the other aspects of the struggle for construction, there is something illogical about this in our view. To those also, theoreticians of defeat, who have vociferated against the growth of our technological and economic potential, we say to them that this reasoning proceeds from a great poverty of analysis.

The exploitation of energy (petroleum and gas) for our benefit, in the present phase, permits us to consolidate our positions in the world. Because the world of today does not react to sentiments; in its vast majority, it only reacts to the material.

Dear brothers, as representative of the Algerian people, we commit ourselves to supporting all the positions that you have to take. In other words, Algeria's position will be that of the Palestinian people themselves. We respect the blood of the pure, the blood of those youths who prepare to face death, saluting their comrades for the last time, who march forward with an iron will in the fulfillment of sacred duty.

I have read all the letters of the fedayeens who died in the field of honor in occupied Palestine, letters written before their departure, knowing there would be no return...

We are surprised that certain countries and certain Arab parties are still trying — as in the past — to create partisan currents among the ranks of the Palestinian resistance.

Dear brothers, we don't ask that you be partisans of the FLN, nor Nasserites, nor Beathists. We only ask that you, above all, be Palestinians.

And in conclusion, I wish you full success in your work.



books  
of today



With  
Uncle Ho





For a revolutionary it is essential to leave behind the continuation of one's work, of one's struggle.

When one has lived for national independence against the colonialist and imperialist oppressors, when each daily act is a lesson renewing conviction in the inexhaustible capacities of man, and what is still more important, when one succeeds in giving a universal dimension to the struggle of one's own people, that is when fighters truly cross the frontiers of time and space and belong to humanity, to history.

Ho Chi Minh is of this stripe.

Animator and creator of the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people against French colonialism and Yankee imperialism, Ho Chi Minh is one of the most resplendent figures of this century. Seldom in history has a people's leader, in the brief period of his own lifetime, succeeded in so profoundly imprinting on his times the mark of his destiny as a fighter.

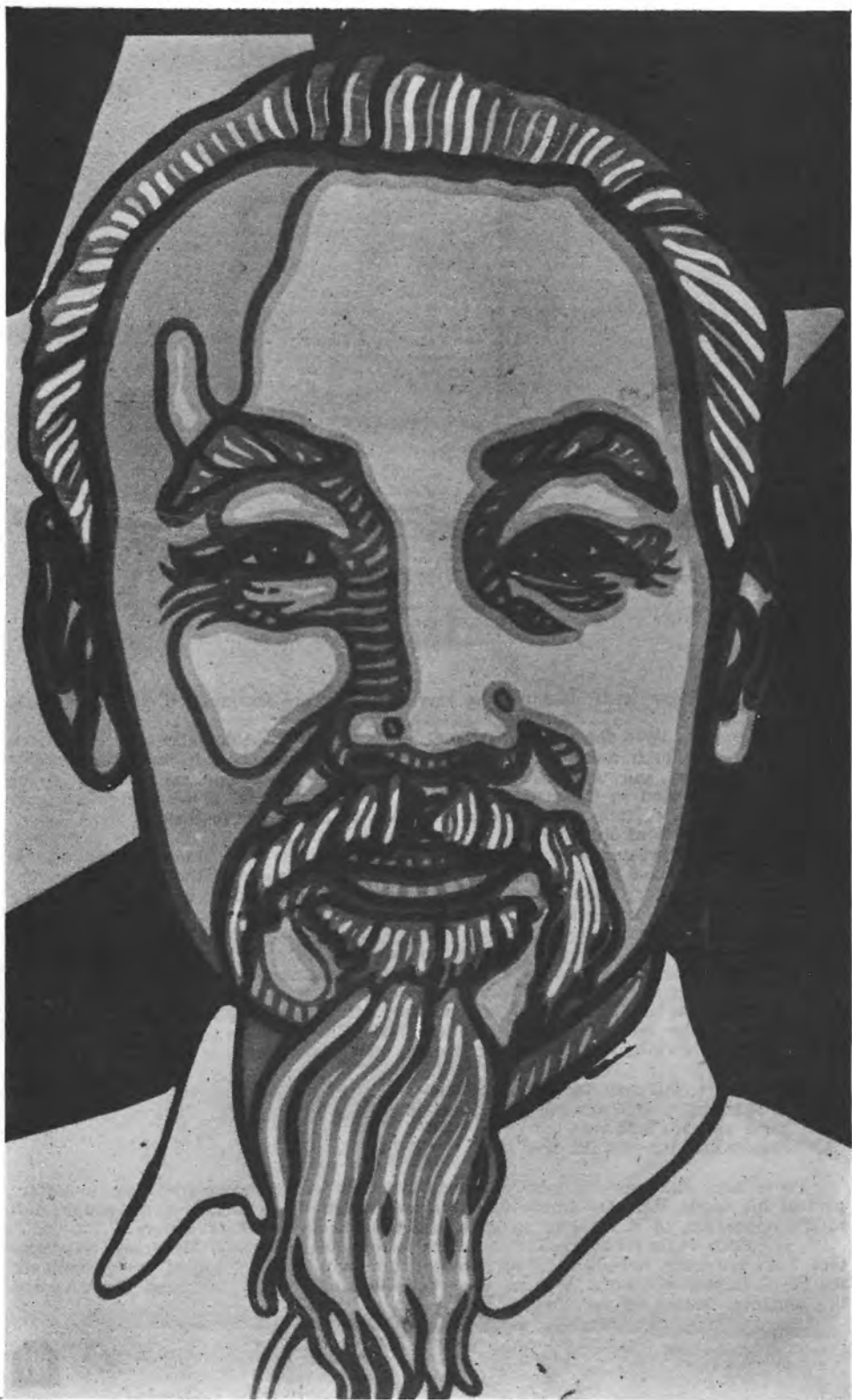
Future generations will not be able to refer to this period without mentioning Viet Nam. And to say Viet Nam is to speak the beloved name of Uncle Ho.

Endowed with an exceptional nature, possessing a unique intelligence, and at the same time an outstanding political and military strategist, unyielding and intransigent in the face of the task of national liberation, Ho Chi Minh forged his people in the revolutionary principles that made the Yankee defeat possible:

Nothing is difficult; the only obstacle  
is that the heart does not persevere.  
Firm and resolute men  
raze mountains and fill seas.

These firm and resolute men referred to in his verses, were the most important part of his work. He, who embodied the most exceptional qualities of his people, left to the oppressed, to those who struggle, the unshakable belief in victory.

With **Uncle Ho** is a collection of the testimonies of some of his closest collaborators. Each narration reveals the daily preoccupation with the training of the combatants, the revolutionary education of man, the exquisite sensitivity to life, that characterized the immortal leader of the Vietnamese people.



## Days spent with Uncle Ho

In October 1945, along with other comrades, I was assigned to Uncle Ho's security. The days we spent with him gave us an understanding of how hard his life was then. At the beginning the Revolution had faced innumerable difficulties. A thousand and one problems arose and it was always Uncle Ho who had to solve them: to face up to the clique of Chiang Kai-shek followers, to lead the resistance in Nam Bo against the French aggressors, to organize the country's first general elections, to form the armed forces for the defense of the nation, to fight hunger, to wipe out illiteracy, to build a new life . . .

In spite of his many responsibilities, Uncle Ho was always solicitous of us. When he noticed that our level of education was not very high, he established a complementary program of studies for us, giving those who had a certain amount of education the responsibility of helping their less favored comrades. He taught us how to read newspapers and study documents and even gave us a theoretical course on Revolution.

We despised the Chiang Kai-shek troops deeply because of all the torment they had made our people suffer, but Uncle Ho made us understand why it was not yet possible to wipe them out. I was in favor of immediately liquidating the Viet Quoc agents in Chiang Kai-shek's pay.

One day, during an information session, I asked him:

"Honorable Uncle, why do we let this band of traitors and assassins live? With an order from you we could wipe them out in one night."

Uncle Ho smiled and, pointing to his office, he in turn asked us: "Suppose a rat were to enter that room. Would you throw rocks at it or try to trap it or chase it out?"

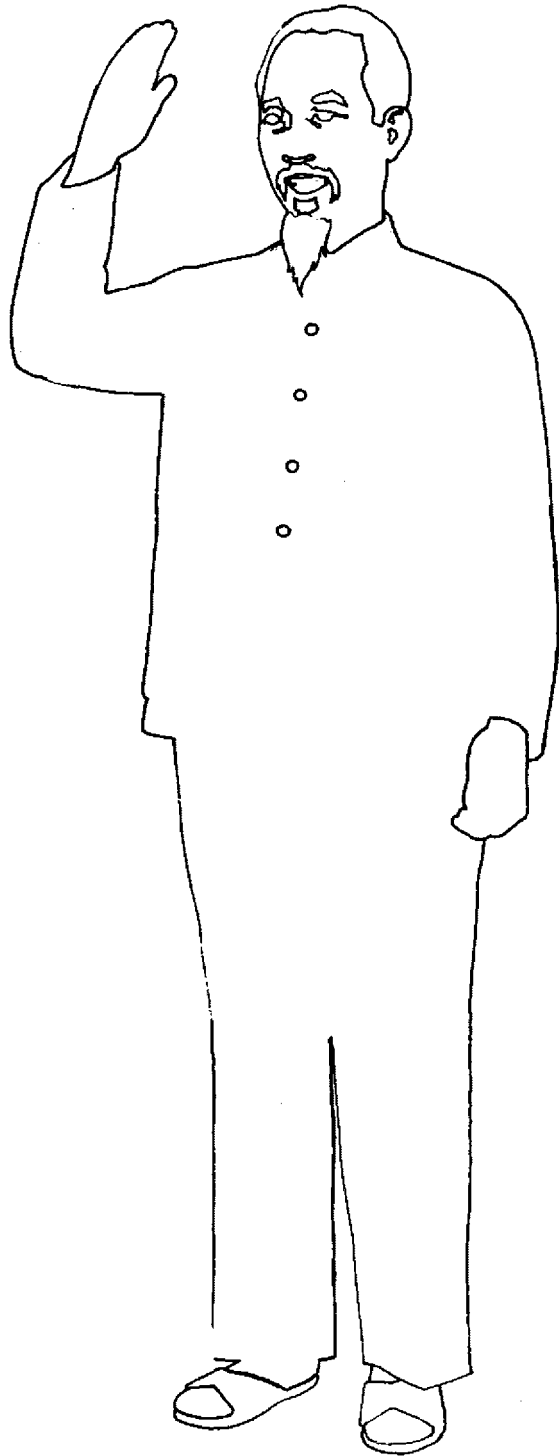
"If we throw rocks, we run the risk of breaking valuable objects in the room."

"The same thing happens with counter-revolutionary elements. In themselves they are nothing to fear, but their bosses are behind them. In order to construct a great work, one has to know a little more about the situation."

The President worked very hard but he scarcely ate anything. He always ate the rough rice at the same table with the service comrades. It took us a long time to get him to accept a better diet. That year the flood had destroyed a large part of the harvest; and we also had to feed Chiang Kai-shek's troops. Hunger was threatening us. Faced with this situation, the President issued a call to intensify production; he suggested "reducing the number of meals in order to fight hunger." He himself fasted every Saturday.

At night, my eyes filled with tears when I saw him working so late. If only I could help him, even with just a few of his tasks! But apart from my guard duty, the only thing I knew how to do was make envelopes, stamp or open correspondence.

Uncle Ho was, by nature, very sensitive; he slept in a small room on the first floor, and got up regularly at 4 a.m. to work. On one of those mornings when the wind was blowing wildly outside, lashing the window-panes, and the house itself was very cold, a child was selling his merchandise in the street. Uncle Ho opened his window and followed the small



vendor with his gaze. Then I saw the tears in his eyes.

As a measure of precaution against the Kuomintang and the counter-revolutionaries, Uncle Ho constantly changed his residence. Fortunately, his health had improved. He showed what great perseverance he had by doing regular physical exercises in the morning, first gymnastics and then the traditional boxing; he especially liked the Thai Cuc Quyen movements. The initiates of this know all the difficulties presented by the 108 evolutions of attack and defense. The movements, apparently both flexible and easy; actually demand an intense muscular activity accompanied by a great nervous tension.

The life we lived then was not lacking in charm. Nights of clear moonlight when Uncle Ho trained with us on the terrace of the Bac Bo Phu residence. Under the light of the moon, on the horizon, the peaks of **Hoang Lan**<sup>1</sup> hung on the whim of a breeze. Watching him move before us with flexible and at the same time vigorous gestures, gave me the impression of being in the presence of a true master who was teaching the ancient fight to his fervent disciples.

After the Resistance broke out all over the country, our leadership services were transferred to the province of Ha Dong. During the days of Tet, the regime in the capital was still fighting against the French in the first combat zone. In order to exhort the people to the struggle and stimulate our troops, Uncle Ho went to the Voice of Viet Nam to broadcast his New Year's greeting. On the return trip, the front of the car caught fire. The chauffeur immediately stopped and jumped down from the machine to help the President get out; then we went to look for water; the rice fields all around us were dry. While we stood perplexed, not knowing what to do, we saw the President pull two cans of water out of the trunk of the car and throw them on the flaming motor. He had scarcely begun to pour from the second can, when the fire went out.

That was a lesson for me. From that moment, on any trip, I have always made it a rule to foresee all eventualities and take all the necessary precautions. At the beginning of 1947, when the enemy was still aggressively strong, and in order to facilitate leading the armed struggle, our services returned to the region of Tuyan Quang and Thai Nguyen, where the pre-revolutionary bases of the Resistance were. There, living conditions were even harder than in Ha Dong and Son Tay. When we arrived, the President's bodyguard consisted of a bare eight men to do guard duty, provide liaison and cook. We built a big bamboo hut and then divided it in two. One of the compartments was reserved for Uncle Ho, and the other served as living quarters, dining room, and meeting hall at the same time.

As guards, we had the most diverse tasks: we had to be ready for defense against the enemy, spies, and also against wild animals. Comrade Hoang Huu Nam, vice-minister of the Interior at that time, sent us a German Shepherd dog to help guard, but a tiger carried off the poor animal shortly afterwards.

Our life was very hard. Meals were reduced to a little poorly-shucked rice with a few wild vegetables fried lightly. If we happened to have meat, we cut it in small pieces, seasoned it with a good portion of salt and peppers, and kept it as a reserve provision. Uncle Ho called it "the preserves of the Viet Minh."



**VIVA LA GRAN VICTORIA DEL PUEBLO DE VIETNAM**

Wherever we went, Uncle Ho always had us continue our political and cultural study program; he was especially concerned that we keep up with the situation in the country and the world.

One night we were seated around the fire engaged in one of those habitual information and discussion meetings, when Uncle arrived. He asked if we had any questions and one of us said:

"Dear Uncle, the more we think about it the less we understand why the resistance has to be a long one; it seems that the longer it lasts, the greater will be our losses in men and goods."

Uncle Ho gave an example to illustrate this point.

"Right now we are comparable to an adolescent, while the adversary is a clever and cruel old man. We mustn't presume too much of our forces and attack without thinking. We have to increase our forces in the struggle. When we have acquired the vigor of a 20-year-old man and the enemy has become older and more decrepit, then we will be able to choose the favorable moment to annihilate him. That way our victory is more certain."

And concluding the point, he said:

"Some of you have names that are not easy to pronounce, not to mention the difficulties of keeping them secret. To make things easier and maintain anonymity, and at the same time show our determination, from today on, I would like to give each one of you a new name. What do you say?"

And he began to designate each of us one by one, by a new name. From that moment on, we were the eight whose names together formed the famous phrase of Uncle Ho: Troung, Ky, Khang, Chien, Nhat, Dinh, Thang Loi (Prolonged resistance is sure to win).

In mid-1947, as the situation on the various fronts became stabilized, Uncle Ho proposed that we produce food in order to partially meet our needs. Every time we had to go look for a new site for our installation, he gave us recommendations.

In addition to listening to them and in order to do as the President did, I put them in verse to better remember them:

Above, a mountain;

below, a stream.

Land to cultivate

and a piece for recreation

a road with practical access to the Central Committee,

easy communications with the General Staff,

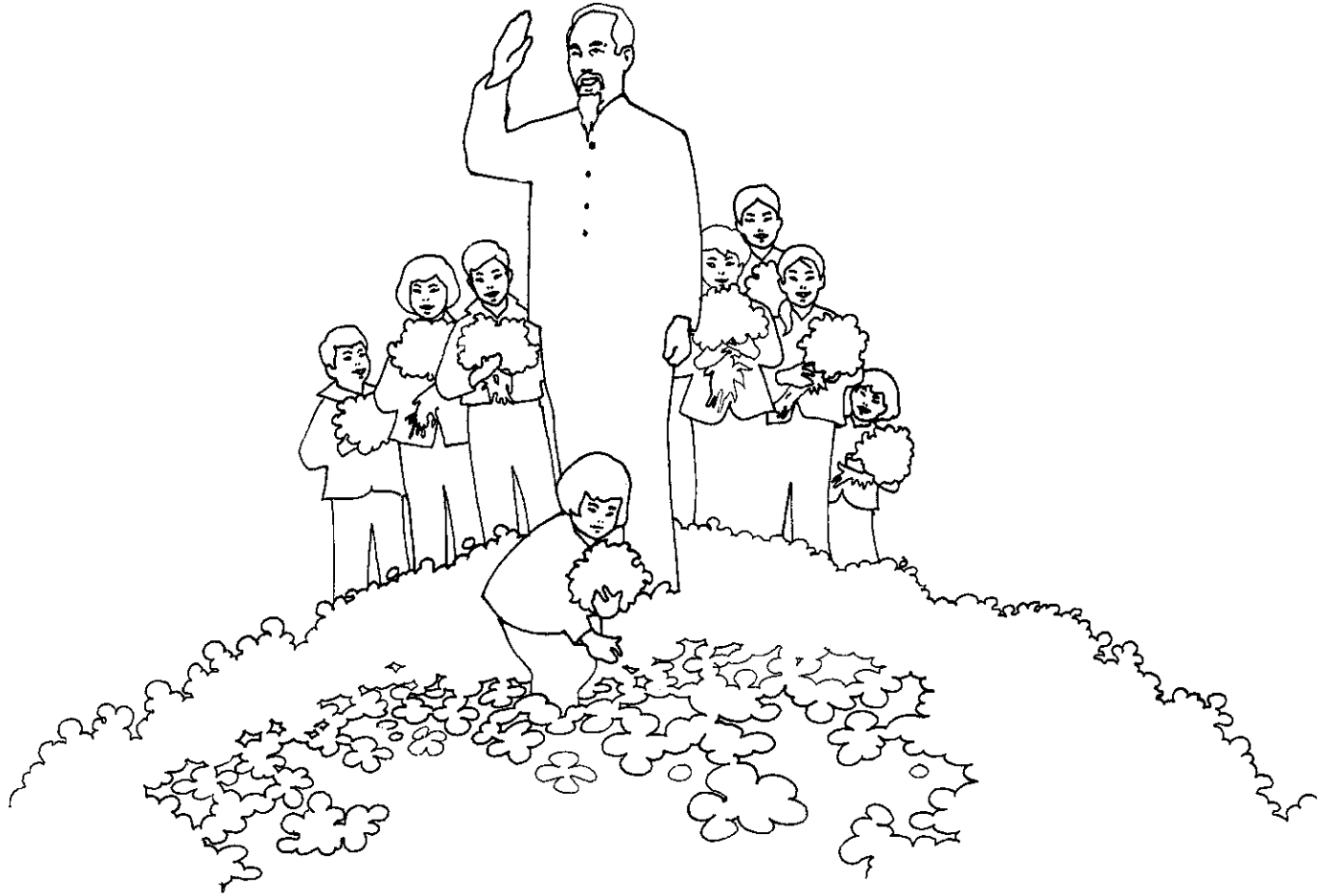
airy but discreet living quarters,

near the population but not near the highway.

It was easy to remember, but oh how difficult to achieve! There were plenty of mountains, but we had to find a river. As for the spots out of sight of indiscreet glances, they lacked ventilation and were far from the population. But with a little effort we always managed to find places that met the required conditions.

By that time the Presidential Palace was no longer a bamboo hut. Uncle Ho lived apart in a two-story house; during the day, he worked downstairs and at night, upstairs, to avoid the wild animals and the humidity.

It was really a very modest house. Uncle Ho had insisted that the





roof should not be higher than the upstretched arm could reach, and that its width should permit him to reach everything on both walls without moving from his seat.

His personal effects were also modest. A blanket, a mosquito netting, a few clothes and a pair of rubber sandals. Every time we moved, we packed up the mosquito netting and the clothing in the blanket and everything was ready. Uncle carried a few books and documents with him in a bag, while we took charge of his typewriter.

Uncle did physical exercises in the morning and at night. He was very good at volleyball; he served with a sure hand, but because of his age, he only received the fronthead hits that weren't very strong. This weak point was rapidly discovered, and when the other team had an unfavorable score, the young players would hurl the ball with malice, skimming the net. Uncle laughed and yelled:

"Ah! That one knows how to catch me!"

And the forest would resound with our laughter.

When we went swimming, we swam close to him, to help him in places where the current was strong. Then he told us, laughing:

"I am an old propeller plane while you are defense fighters."

Because of this training, every time in the course of our movements that we encountered a river or stream that blocked our passage, Uncle Ho easily overcame the obstacle by swimming, as we did. He never stayed behind, not even during the mountain torrents fed by floods.

Toward the end of 1947, our living conditions had improved considerably. Not only were there now gardens and vegetables growing around our house, with the birds picking here and there, but there was also a volleyball court, parallel bars and fixed bars. Uncle Ho also had us buy musical instruments to make our common life a pleasant one.

Sometimes he let us go visit peasants in the neighboring village to show them how to cultivate in the delta, to distribute medicines to them or to take part in their meetings. A cordial solidarity united us with the population.

This was the very period in which the French unleashed their big campaign against Viet Bac. After having parachuted their troops into Bac Can, the enemy ordered the Beaufré contingent to occupy Cao Bang, leaving from Lang Son, while the Communal contingent, sent from Viet Tri, successively occupied Doan Hung, Tuyen Quang and Chiem Hoa, moving up the Clear river. According to the plan of the General Staff, these two formations were to join each other at Bac Can and place the whole of Viet Bac under a kind of parasol that would be closed by tightening the encirclement while engaging in simultaneous offensives in the North and the South. Meanwhile other parachutists were dropped where the Party and Government headquarters were presumed to be located, in order to destroy the brain of the resistance.

The enemy expected to move to "pacification" of the remaining regions once this campaign was ended. After deliberations with the Central Committee of the Party and with the General Staff, Uncle Ho gave us the order to move the camp immediately.

When I asked him about the situation, he told me:

"The enemy maneuver is comparable to a pincer play. If one half breaks, the parasol is perforated. It's a shame we don't have enough

forces to cut off the hand that is grabbing at the mass. We must be prepared for a relatively rough time."

At that moment I didn't understand the meaning of these words, but I refrained from asking inappropriate questions.

That night we distributed our equipment in eight bundles. The road was slippery because of the recent rains, and a cold north wind was blowing. With his clothes tucked up, a suitcase on his shoulders and a staff in his hand, Uncle Ho awaited the arrival of Comrade Chu Van Tan, Party secretary of the autonomous zone, secretary of the Committee of the Party and chief of the General Staff of the armed forces of Viet Bac. For security reasons, Chu Van Tan personally took on the job of acting as guide. As soon as he arrived he started us off. With our shoulder packs, we took very few shortcuts, the same ones the second unit of the National Salvation Army had taken when it constructed its bases.

The following day, before beginning the march again, Uncle Ho said to us: "Last night the trail was hard because there wasn't any attention to political work. Tonight, don't get too far way from me. I'll tell you some stories along the way to distract you."

After several enjoyable anecdotes and a number of stories about the present, he told us:

"You should understand and memorize some selections from **Kieu** and **Chinh Phu Ngam**, those two masterpieces of our literature.

And he began to explain certain parts to us. Uncle began to recite some passages and we repeated them after him. As we listened to him recite in his melodious voice, we all forgot to think about being tired.

After two nights of hard marching, we were installed in the middle of the forest. Soon the news of our victories at Bong Lau, on Highway 4, at Clear River, Doan Hung and Dinh Ca arrived. Then the words that Uncle had spoken to me came to mind, and I said to myself: "The claws of the pincer still haven't been broken, but now they aren't so strong."

Scarcely were we settled when Uncle Ho sent us to help the population bring in the harvest. In the face of the immediate threat of enemy parachutists, it had to be picked and quickly transferred to a secure place.

One night when Uncle came back from a meeting late and as he neared the hut, we heard a galloping. "Another urgent problem," he said.

Moments later the chief of ordinance of the Ministry of National Defense and his Aide dismounted from their horses. After the regulation salute, the officer presented Uncle Ho with a message from Comrade Van (pseudonym of General Vo Nguyen Giap).

Our information services had just captured a secret message, according to which the enemy was going to drop paratroopers in the region where we were staying while the Beaufré contingent would move to Bac Can to comb the region of Thai Nguyen and Trang Xa.

Immediately Uncle Ho wrote his ideas down in a letter he then gave to the General Staff messenger, and then established telephone communications with the different services installed in the area. Finally, he issued the order to prepare to abandon the spot. At three o'clock all was ready.

We had orders to continue marching even during the day, in isolated groups of two or three. Uncle chose me to accompany him. In the countryside we came upon an abandoned and deserted hut. Uncle proposed

that we go in and rest a while. Even though dawn was breaking and there were only two of us, he established guard.

"You sleep now; you will do guard from five to six."

I obeyed his order, somewhat annoyed, but as I really felt exhausted, I had scarcely laid down when I fell into a profound sleep, from which Uncle awakened me at 5.10 to relieve him.

It was dawn now. I sat at the entrance of the hut watching Uncle sleep; he was in excellent health. His color was good and his calf muscles were evident; but his hair and beard had turned quite gray.

At this hour of the morning it was very misty. It was unlikely that the enemy would launch his paratroopers. Reassured by this, we continued the march. On the way, I told Uncle how much I regretted not having a battalion so he wouldn't have to go through so much. He appeared surprised at the idea.

"How can you think such a thing? If we had armed forces, we would send them to attack the enemy. Only by attacking would we be able to assure our defense."

Then he explained to me that in order to intensify the guerrilla movement, we must disperse our troops and send them out to create guerrilla groups in the provinces. But when the guerrilla war was extended, these troops would return to form the regular army.

"If the enemy dares to penetrate our liberated zone then," he added, "he will have to deal with us."

We marched without stopping that day until we reached Wuang Nap, where we got news that the French had launched paratroopers in the area we had just left behind. The enemy had also attacked Cu Van and Dai Tu, while the Beaufré contingent had reached Quang Vuong and Cho Chu with the obvious intention of sweeping the region. Uncle Ho ordered the various services to move still further up to the Day river. In our new position we learned that the French aggressors, hard hit on all flanks, had been forced to abandon Thai Nguyen and retreat to Hanoi. The Viet Bac campaign of 1947 thus constituted the first great defeat of the French colonialists. The enemy had planned to wipe us out, but it finally found itself forced to leave thousands of dead and hundreds of prisoners without having been able to achieve any of its objectives.

After the balance of forces was established on the main front, our resistance bases continued to consolidate themselves and our armed forces continued to add to their ranks. Uncle Ho's living quarters were more comfortable now; the fruit and vegetable garden that he himself cultivated and the mountain slope on which we had planted yuca, were also greener now.

### **In Viet Bac**

The province of Bac Can had just been liberated. All along Highway No. 3 that runs from the capital to Ngan Son district — a distance of about 60 km. — not a single house remained, for the population had evacuated along the sides of the highway during the 22 months of occupation by the French troops, who, moreover, had burned all the empty houses that were still standing. The people still hadn't had time, since the liberation, to return to their hamlets. And so the cadres of Ngan Son district were concerned about how to receive the President who had to pass

through Na Phac and sleep there. After many discussions there was nothing left but for us to build a reception house alongside the highway. The following day, the president of the administrative committee and some cadres from the district went to mobilize the population and in one day they built a comfortable shelter next to a junction in the highway. The house wasn't very big but it was clean and one could rest and cook there and it was large enough to house the President's entire group.

Uncle arrived as night was falling and everyone received him joyfully. He immediately asked how the people were, what was their morale and their resistance spirit; he asked especially about the plan to restore the district's farm lands, the living conditions of the local population, and many other things. There had been careful preparations made so that the district head was able to supply precise information. Uncle congratulated the various national minorities of the province for having evacuated their houses in the face of the enemy, and recommended to all that they restore the rice fields and vegetable farms quickly, now that the region had been liberated, reminding the cadres that they had to help the population in this work of restoration. He pointed to the recently constructed house and asked:

"Whose house is this?"

The district leader, somewhat embarrassed, answered him:

"Uncle, our compatriots' houses are several kilometers away from the highway so we built this house to receive you."

Then Uncle said in a kindly tone:

"So you want to isolate me from the population? The people walk these kilometers perfectly easily every day so why couldn't I have done the same?"

And he added:

"How many shifts of work did it take? Why wasn't that time devoted to restoring the devastated farmlands?"

Using the example of the reception house, Uncle advised the president of the district committee and the cadres present to pay special attention to the living conditions of the population and to consider their interests at all times. The following morning, he went out to visit the local peoples' houses.

The pilot unit that was to take Uncle to the front lines was made up of seven comrades. This was during the border campaign and the rainy season. Every time it rained, the smallest streams swelled until they were dangerous to cross and detained the inexperienced jungle traveller for hours. The seven comrades who preceded Uncle Ho came upon a stream that had flooded because of the torrential rain. It was a stream that could have been crossed in five or six steps during the dry season, but now it was hard to tell where to step. The river was dirty, full of refuse and branches. The comrades discussed how to cross the stream, having decided to cross it at any price. One of them took off his clothes and searched for a way to cross. On several occasions the water came up above his shoulders. For the young guides it was very easy, but the main thing was for Uncle to cross with complete security.

There were seven of them, and so there were seven proposals, all extremely detailed. To hold hands to form a line so that Uncle could cross easily, holding on to them; to look for ropes in order to throw a

cable above the river; there was another who proposed carrying Uncle on his shoulders. Everybody had an opinion. Uncle arrived, and those with him also made their suggestions. Some proposed resting there a few hours until the water had a chance to recede after the rain. The ideas were many and Uncle asked:

"Have you examined all the possibilities now?"

"We've looked it all over and here is where the water seems the shallowest, the rocks least slippery and the current weakest."

"But did you look from the bank?"

"Yes."

Uncle Ho smiled and the comrades looked at him, intrigued. Calmly raising his arm, he said:

"Look at the fields that are all around the river. The people aren't going to sit with their arms folded when it rains. You stayed on the bank, without going to ask the people in the neighborhood.

Two comrades immediately hurried toward the houses where the people lived. They returned at once, shouting from afar:

"There's a bridge."

Moving upstream, the group discovered a small bamboo bridge not far off, solidly attached to the trees. It was very simple to cross; and although no one said anything to anyone else, everybody was thinking about the lesson: **it is necessary to seek the support of the people in everything.**

After the border victory, Highway No. 3 became the artery that supplied the resistance. Units of vanguard youth from the region or from the valley stationed themselves along every inch of the highway, violently bombed during the day by the French. By night, the youth and the local population repaired the damaged sections.

That night it was very dark. A group of the youth had been given a brief rest to prepare to go to work at dawn. They were already to go to sleep. In the girls' barracks, they were still singing; the boys already had their lights out, but low-voiced conversations continued, spiced with a few guffaws.

All at once, one of the leaders was heard running into the barracks:

"On your feet, boys! We're going to have a good watch!"

There were some protests:

"Our leader is a little nuts today, eh?"

The leader entered the barracks and explained:

"Tonight a comrade from the Central Committee is coming to see us. Get yourselves together quickly, we're going to organize a good reception and hear what he has to say."

Everyone jumped out of bed and took a little bamboo out to the patio where they made an enormous bonfire and started singing around it.

There was a shout: "Viva President Ho." They all repeated "Viva" and went over to Uncle, accompanied by some of the cadres. As they moved toward him, he greeted them with his hand and told them to form a circle. They were all looking at him: as simple as ever, with his rubber sandals and his worn-out clothes. They listened attentively, and Uncle Ho asked:

"Do you young people like poetry?"

He had guessed right. Without having agreed to do so, they all replied in chorus:

"Yes."

"Then get some paper, I'm going to dictate a poem to you."

In the twinkling of an eye, the group dispersed and returned with their notebooks. The bonfire burned brightly and there was total silence. Uncle Ho picked up a piece of paper and dictated:

Nothing is difficult; the only obstacle  
is that the heart does not persevere.  
Firm and resolute men  
raze mountains and fill seas.

Thus, in a forest in Viet Bac, the short poem that quickly became the guide for all Vietnamese youth was born....

### Uncle's driver

After the border campaign, I received the order to prepare a good jeep, taken from the enemy. Le and Phung, in charge of food and transportation respectively, would make up the team along with Doctor Quoc and the mechanic, Chi.

Suspecting that I was going to be driving a high level cadre, I made very careful preparations. After going over my work, my chief told me that it would be President Ho Chi Minh. I couldn't believe what I heard. From the moment I had entered the army, I had always hoped I would meet the venerable leader and hear him speak, even if only a few words. I couldn't believe that I was going to see him. That I was going to drive for him. I still didn't know where we were going but I tried to imagine what the highways would be like after the last enemy bombings. I tried to distribute the seats in the vehicle. I would asked him to sit in back. In case of an alert, I would have him get out. My comrades would be in charge of his security while I would go on ahead to attract the planes toward me. No! Better I should tell him to sit in the front seat and, in case of danger, I would protect him with my body.

When we reached the appointed place, I saw an old man dressed in a tan jacket. I recognized the President. I got out and remained speechless, forgetting all the questions I had prepared.

"Well, young brother, is it you who is going to drive?"

"Yes, Uncle."

"How long have you been in the army? What company do you belong to?"

"Since the general insurrection, Uncle. I'm group head of Company 200."

"And why did you enter the army?"

"The whole country is in the resistance, Uncle; and so I entered too, to become a part of it."

This made him laugh. I felt so stupid that I blushed. If I had had time to think, I would have answered: "Because I hate the French colonialists, because I don't want to go on being a slave, etc." Caught by surprise, I could only give bumbling answers. Anyhow, the first moments of tension had passed.

"Let's go," said Uncle. Then with perfect ease, he got in beside me. I started up and away we went. Uncle remained pensive. I would have liked to ask him if the jeep was shaking him up, if we were going too fast: but I didn't dare open my mouth. If he didn't hear me say anything,

would he think I was sleeping? He turned toward me and offered me a cigarette and tried to engage me in conversation. I would have liked to assure him that I wasn't asleep; but I wanted so much to listen to him that I continued to say nothing and just listened and answered the questions he asked me.

Chi took sick a few days later. Doctor Quoc arrived that morning, as was his custom, to ask how Uncle felt.

"Chi is sick, have you already seen him, young brother? Uncle asked.

"I'll see him later when I leave here," Quoc answered.

"No, go right now," Uncle told him. "You have to see the sick person first."

Quoc, who knew the President's character very well, started to go to the patient's room.

"Wait," Uncle yelled at him, "a good doctor must also be a good mother." Take a little milk, prepare a glass for him and take it to him."

Chi was in bed a kilometer from there. Imagine what he said and felt when he learned that the milk had been sent to him by Uncle himself!

By the end of the week I was over my shyness. The comrades had told me how simple Uncle was, and how carefully he managed his time. Now I was able to learn this for myself.

In spite of the fatigue of the trip, Uncle continued to be punctual. When we stopped, he read the papers and marked the most interesting parts with a blue pencil. Despite his age, he was in excellent health. He still walked and ran with great agility. One day when we were seven km. from the Rhuy Khau bridge, he proposed that we run to it. Throughout the trip and coming back, it was Uncle who led the platoon. When the others began to pant, his breathing remained normal. I felt very happy to see that he still enjoyed good health and I knew it was the fruit of patient training.

We ate with him, which was a great pleasure for us, but often, we preferred not to because he always shared with us the food that had been prepared for him. On a certain occasion, they roasted a good wild bird for him. Uncle called Doctor Quoc:

"For you, doctor, who must work with your brain, the head."

Turning toward Prung, he continued:

"For you who are concerned with transportation and pass the time flying from one place to another, the wings."

It was my turn:

"For you, my driver, who must travel often, the feet."

There was only a small piece on the plate for him. So we suggested putting all our servings together so we could give him the best pieces; but he refused so we had to give up on this "initiative."

Once we told Le to prepare only Uncle's ration, and we would eat what was left over from the day before. When the President found out, he reproached Le many times over. We tried to explain things to him but we had no luck.

"You must make sure the fighters eat their whole ration," Uncle repeated to him, "and never reduce it, even when they themselves suggest it."

He was also very respectful of our customs. We were at the front and I had proposed that we set our daily departures for 5.30 p.m. On this day, he arrived on time as usual; but it was still very light. For that reason,

I told him it was better to wait for nightfall for greater security.

"In that case, set another time; but don't change things every day." And so I set our departures for 6 p.m., and we always left at 6 sharp.

After we had been with him for about two weeks, we had an accident. We were travelling between Ngan Son and Cao Bang when suddenly I saw a huge rock in the middle of the road. I took care to straddle the rock with the wheels of the car, thinking there would be no problem. But I forgot that the floor of the car was very low. I heard it hit and stopped immediately to see where it had struck. The radiator was smashed. I was very upset when Uncle got out.

"Don't worry. Take your time, fix it calmly and carefully," he told me encouragingly, shining his lantern so I could see.

Assisted by the mechanic, I was able to complete the repair job. Uncle didn't ask me what had happened until we reached our destination.

"Accustomed to driving trucks, I didn't think the rock was so high. I didn't think that...."

"You should have stopped and thrown the rock to the side," he said affectionately. "That way you would only have lost a minute instead of a quarter hour and you would have done the other drivers a great service."

When I returned to my group, I told my comrades many stories about Uncle. Right away an emulation movement started, to eliminate all the smallest defects and inadequacies. Our group became a "model group." When I was made section head, my section remained at the head of all the companies for several years. Once when he visited us, the President exhorted us to **take care of our transportation as we would our children, and economize on gasoline as if it were our blood.**

Later I was transferred to company 203. There my stories about Uncle Ho also had a mobilizing effect and soon our company received the banner for being "the best company." In it, the army hero Loc Van Trong was trained and so were many other outstanding fighters. Kin received from Uncle a silk shirt and an insignia for his very unusual feat: throughout the entire resistance, every single part on his truck was immaculately clean.

During the Moc Chau campaign, the enemy discovered our convoy one day. Five comrades went ahead with their truck to attract the fire. The rest of the convoy got out undamaged. On another occasion, Can, group head, was shot in the thigh; he bound his leg to the seat and continued driving and finally reached the Unit.

Uncle's high example was the starting point for everything our unit achieved. And for my part, I never had another accident after the one with the radiator.

When peace was reestablished, I again entered the service of the President. He recognized me at once.

"And now what are you doing?" he asked me.

"I've been named a company head, Uncle."

"And what unit are you in?"

"Company 203, Uncle."

"Good."

He was very busy and didn't have time to continue the conversation. But later I found out that he had asked to be kept up to date on what our unit was doing.



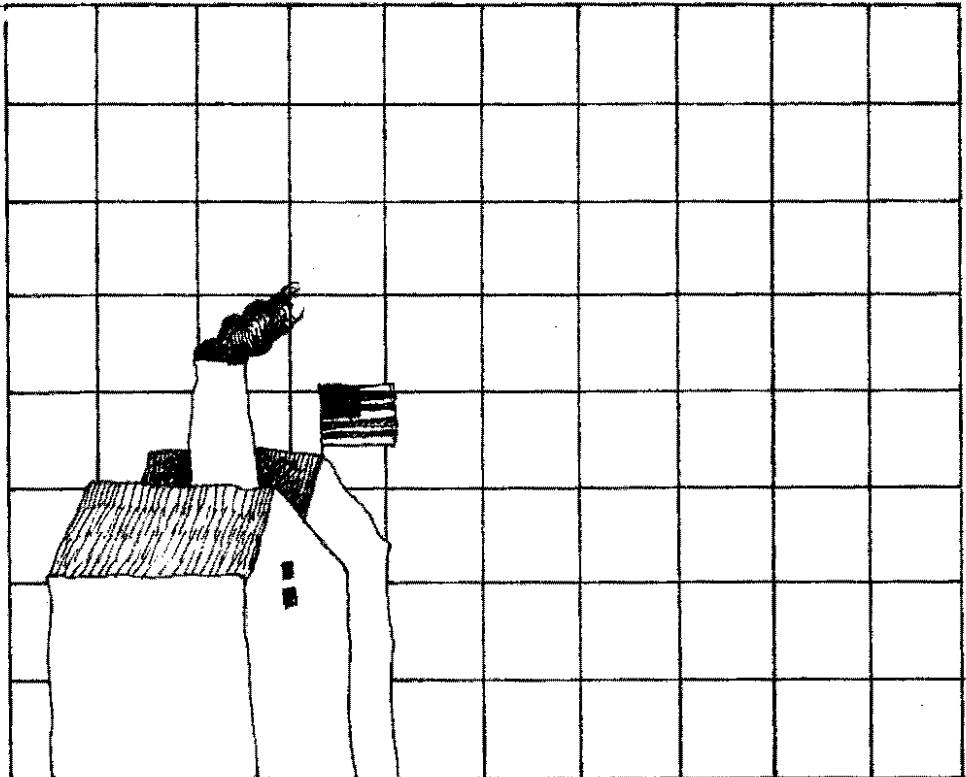


news behind  
the news

□ HUMACAO — Punta Santiago is a coastal community, typical of those along the shores of Puerto Rico. It has an average of 5000 inhabitants. Thirty or 40 years ago, Punta Santiago formed part of an economy devoted to the cultivation, cutting and shipment of sugar under the control of US capitalists. That is, some 30 or 40 years ago, the entire activity of the community was centered on the cultivation, cutting and shipment of sugar.

The US capitalists had absolute control of this economic activity, through the Eastern Sugar, Bull Insular Line and other companies. They controlled the local port, the warehouses, the sugar mills, the railway wagons and the roads, etc.

The men of the community worked in the port loading the ships that carried the ground



sugar from the Pasto Viejo and El Ejemplo de Humacao mills. They also worked like peons in agricultural labor for the sugar corporations. This employment was limited to the four months that the sugar harvest lasted.

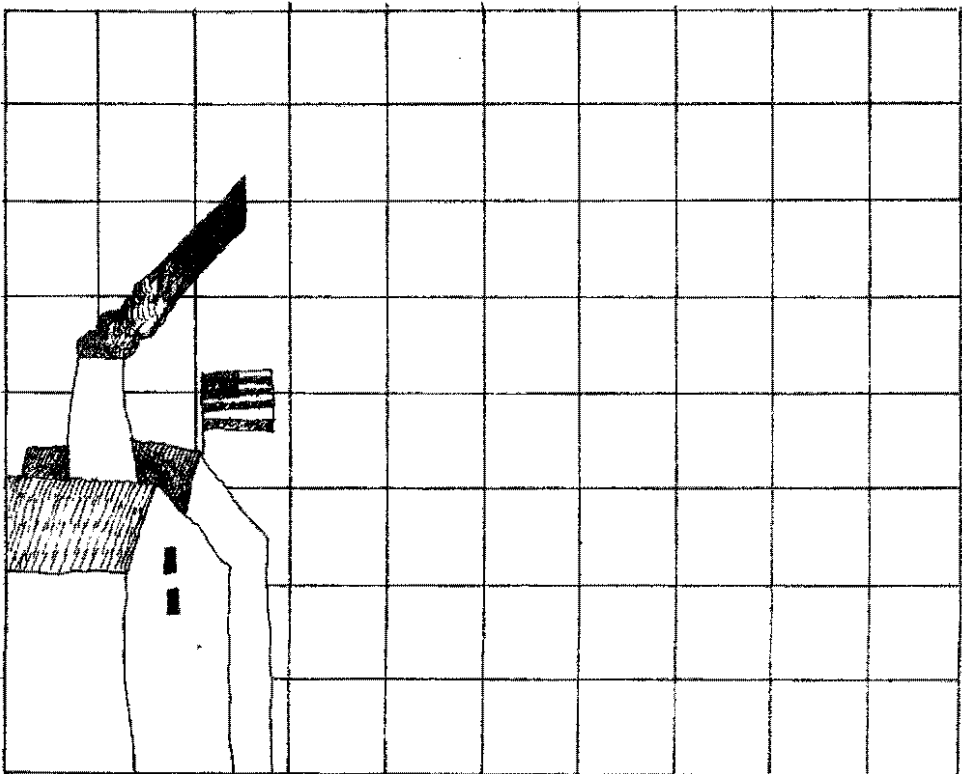
The other members of the community earned their subsistence as fishermen and they owned small boats. Still others were artisans and charcoal-makers and formed part of a proletarian community whose solidarity was destroyed by the maneuvers of the colonial government of the Popular Democratic Party.

But these former sources of agricultural employment based on the cultivation, cutting and shipment of sugar were eliminated or severely diminished in 1957 by the US capitalists who were the owners of the means of

production. They decided to mechanize sugar shipping in order to increase their profit and intensify control over the working class.

This created discontent among the dock workers who saw their own and their families' ruin in these actions by the capitalists. The sell-out governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, was named arbitrator to decide between the US companies that wanted to mechanize sugar shipping and, on the other hand, the workers' unions that represented thousands of laborers who would be left without jobs.

Luis Muñoz Marín's decision favored the interests of the US capitalists. Sugar shipping was mechanized and all the sugar from this zone was shipped, in bulk, through the port of San Juan. The last to send his ships



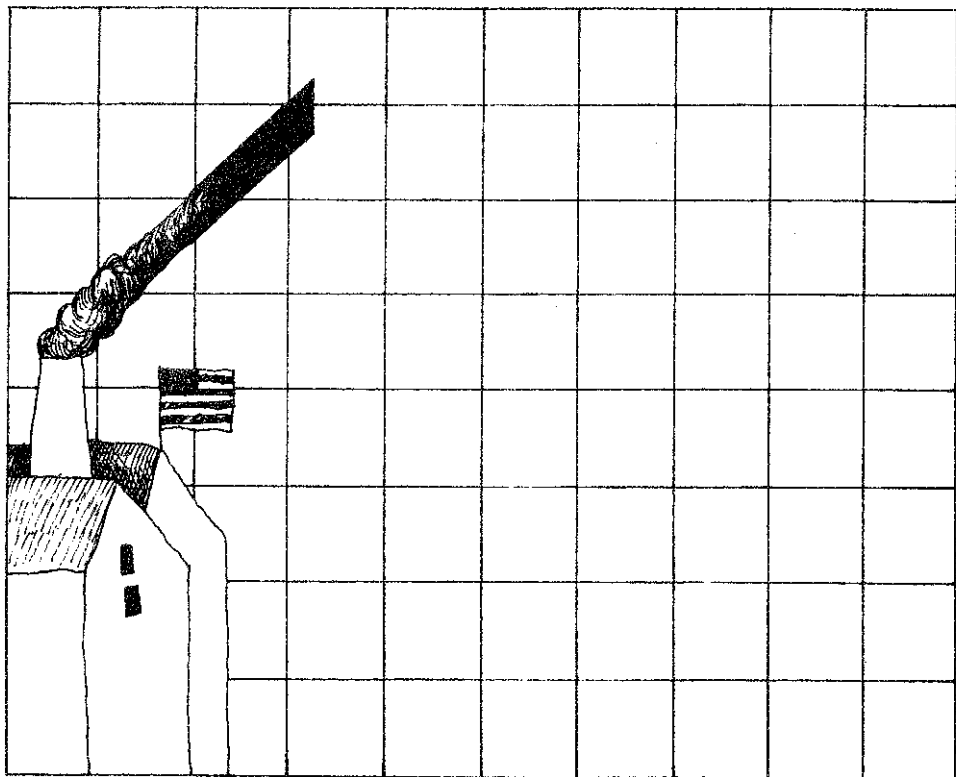
through this port was Roig.<sup>1</sup> He favored the mechanization of refined sugar but thought he could still make substantial profits by receiving the cane from Vieques and loading his sugar through this port. The workers' unions on the beach, which were affiliated with the Free Federation of Dock Workers and with the International Logshoremens' Association (ILA) received orders from their leaders in San Juan to call a strike. According to statements by certain individuals, Roig became indignant and said he would never send his sugar through this port again and that "he would make a fishing port of

the beach."

And so these capitalist gentlemen in collusion with the government, closed the port and the mills of Pasto Viejo and Humacao, striking another mortal blow at agriculture which, from then on, was in ruin.

This forced many workers to abandon their families and emigrate to the farms of the United States to fill that country's need for a cheap work force. Marginalized from technological development, they live in abominable conditions. Two million Puerto Ricans now live in the ghettos of New York, in agricultural camps and other equally miserable places in the United States. They represent one of the most exploited, discriminated-against and trampled-upon groups in the metropolis.

<sup>1</sup> Former sugar plantation of the southern zone of Puerto Rico, played an important role during the '40s and '50s.



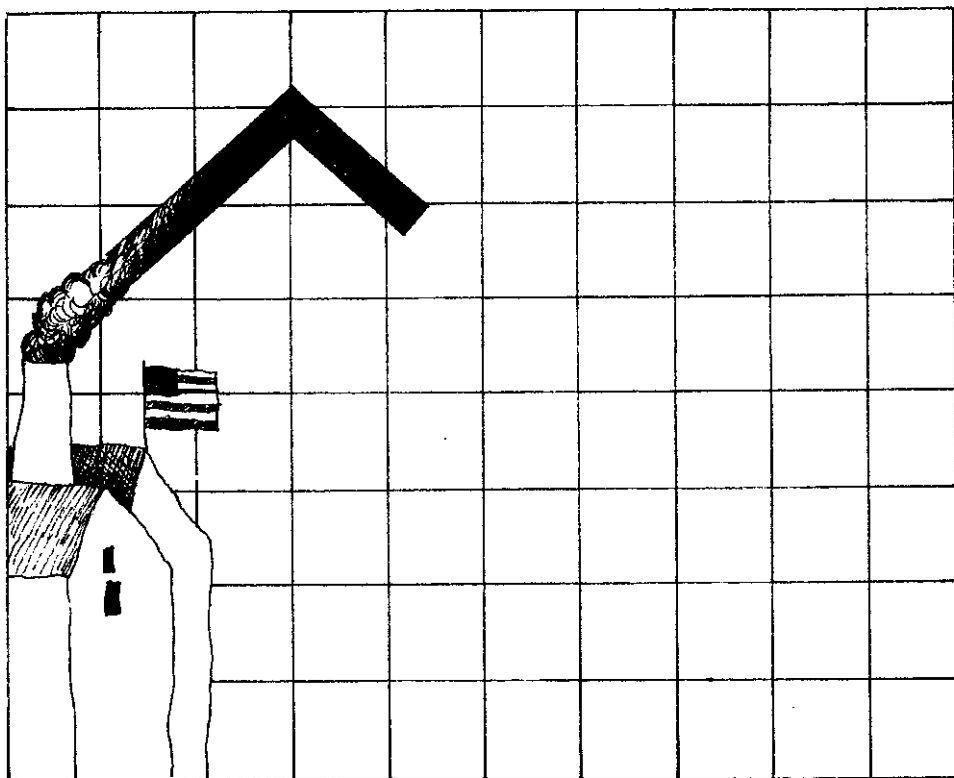
□ In an article "Terror Forever," Shabati Tevet exposes crimes committed by Zionist terrorists not only before 1948, but after, operating in special units of the Israeli Army, paratroopers of the famous Unit 101. "Until 1954 almost all the retaliatory actions of the Israeli Army were directed against innocent civilians by Israeli Army units and were considered by us as a legitimate policy and not as an abominable crime." He cites some horrifying details of some such massacres of Arab civilians which were held to be deeds of "national heroism."

Unit 101 was formed in 1953 by Dayan and its command given

to Ariel Sharon.<sup>1</sup> Some Israeli generals opposed it as "Dayan's private army" but in January 1954 it was merged with the Airborne, to become the "élite" shock troops of the Israeli Army, and the training-ground for Israeli paratroopers.

Qibya, a Palestinian village on the West Bank of the Jordan, was its first target. Sharon writes:

<sup>1</sup> Well-known personality of the Israeli extreme reaction, as officer of the Zionist army, he has occupied high post. In 1973, resigned from active service when he was not named Chief of Operations which would have made him Israeli Chief of General Staff. Called to the ranks during the October war, he again resigned in protest over the Egyptian-Israeli accord of January 18, 1974. In the elections of December, 1973, he presented his candidacy for the right wing alliance LIKUD which attacked the Golda Meir government as capitulationist.



"One might say that the ideology of reprisal operations was, in all respects, crystallized among airborne units."<sup>2</sup>

Sharon began his terroristic activities against Arabs in the neighboring countries towards the end of 1952 when he was asked by Colonel Mikhael Sheham, Commander of the Jerusalem area, to carry out an operation in Old Jerusalem (it seems likely that it was an assassination). Sharon failed in this undertaking. Nevertheless, he made a proposal to Sheham for the formation of a special underground unit within the Israeli Army to undertake similar operations which are not acceptable to a regular army. The proposal reached Moshe Dayan, then Chief of Operations in the

Israeli Army. He immediately approved the plan and delegated Sharon to form the unit which officially came into being in August, 1953, as Unit 101.

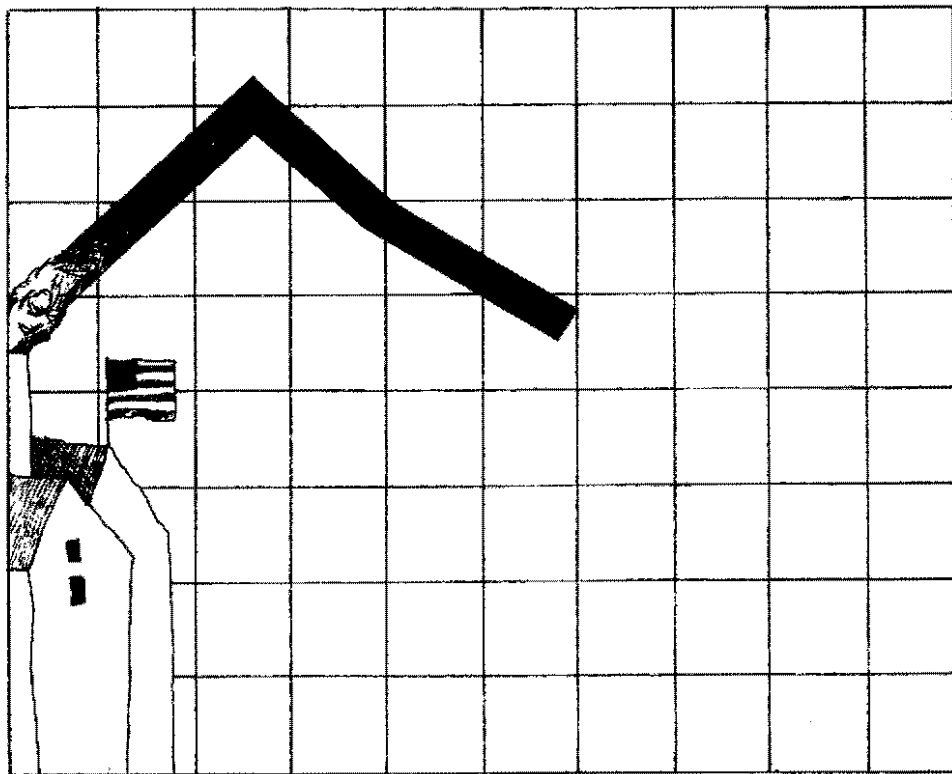
Z. Schiff says the Israeli Army (in fact Unit 101) employed civilians "for carrying out revenge at so much per piece" i.e. they crossed the border, killed Palestinian villagers, brought back a tally and were paid per murder. However, Unit 101 eventually stopped this practice — since the men they employed used to claim more killings than actually committed — and started the job themselves.<sup>3</sup>

The Star of 101 was Meir Har-Zion — whom A. Ben-Yona describes as:

the most active Israeli terrorist, a man who claims that it is not enough to kill an Arab with a

<sup>2</sup> Ariel Bober, ed., *The Other Israel*, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1972, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ha'aretz*, September 22, 1968.



gun; that to be a man one has to kill with a knife, and who, in his memoirs, describes with loathsome gloating the knifing of innocent Arab shepherds — is a recognized Israeli hero. He was given a big piece of confiscated Arab land... and a lot of money to play cowboy there and be admired by Israeli youth, who come on pilgrimages to worship this murderer and “be educated” by him.<sup>4</sup>

In his admiring introduction to Har-Zion's autobiography, Sharon writes of this man as “the fighting symbol... of the entire Israeli Army.”<sup>5</sup>

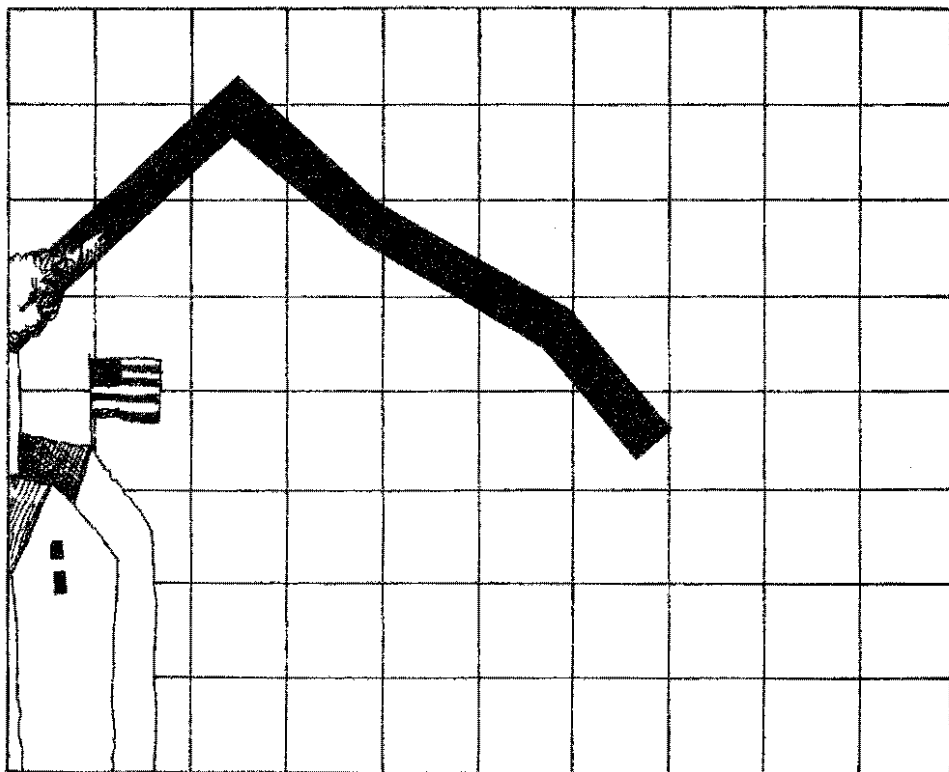
<sup>4</sup> Amitay Ben-Yona, *What Does Israel Do to Its Palestinians?*, AWIC, 1972, p. 10.

Amos Elon, *The Israelis - Founders and Sons*, New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Elon, op. cit., p. 235.

In its early years, Unit 101 was used entirely against civilians. In Qibya, “on the night of October 14-15, 1953, 66 Jordanian villagers (Palestinian), nearly three quarters of them women and children, were killed in the raid.” Commenting on this raid, Moshe Brilliant, an American resident of Israel and a correspondent for both *The New York Times* and the *Jerusalem Post*, the English language organ of Ben Gurion's Mapai party, wrote that “the policy of reprisals is the fruit of cold, unemotional political and psychological reasoning.” The raid lasted from 9.30 a.m. to 4.40 a.m. United Nations military observers reached the village two hours later. Their description, reported to the Security Council, read:

Bullet-riddled bodies near the doorways and multiple bullet hits on the doors of the demolished houses indicated that the



inhabitants had been forced to remain inside until their houses were blown up over them....

Witnesses were uniform in describing their experience as a night of horror, during which Israeli soldiers moved about in their village blowing up buildings, firing into doorways and windows with automatic weapons and throwing hand grenades.<sup>6</sup>

Ben Gurion, then Israeli Prime Minister, denied categorically that army units were involved in the raid: "a false and fantastic tale," he called it.<sup>7</sup>

Sharon led the attack on Khan Yunis and Bani Suheila in the Gaza Strip on the night of August 31, 1955, described by the

Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization as follows:

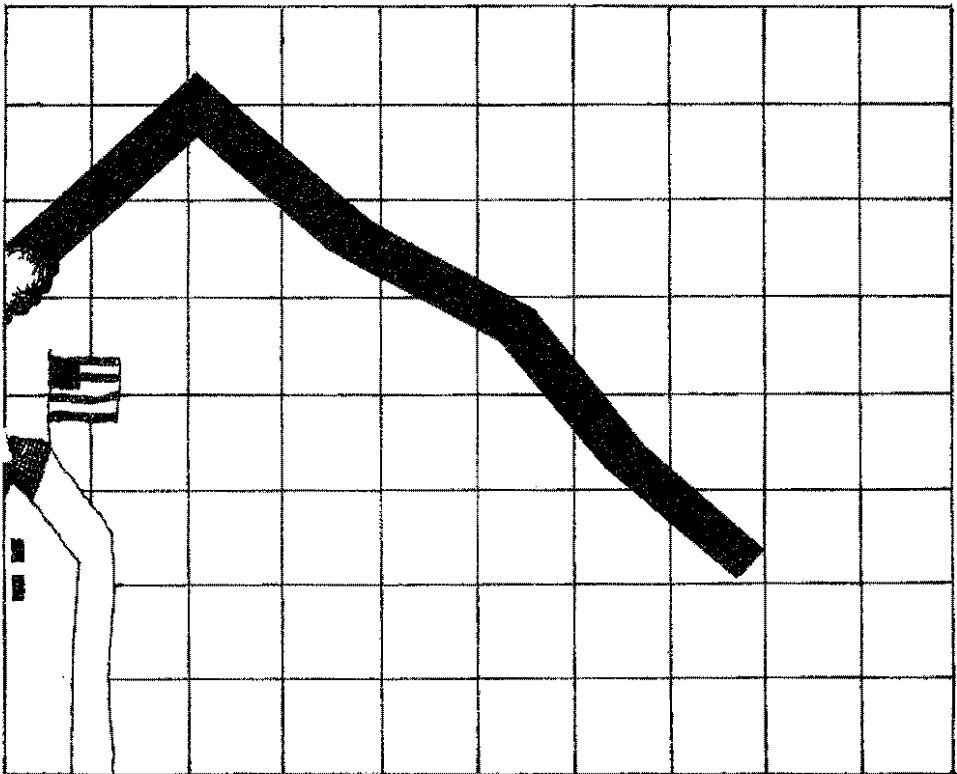
An Israeli light armored unit in halftracks, penetrated into Egyptian controlled territory and advanced to the police station at Khan Yunis, subsequently destroying it with heavy explosive charges. The hospital under construction was partly destroyed and neighboring buildings and others — the village of Bani Suheila, through which the forces passed — were machine-gunned. Casualties reported by the Egyptians: 36 killed and 13 wounded.<sup>8</sup>

In another attack, this time on Syrian territory, Sharon's forces

<sup>6</sup> Kennett Love, *Suez, The Twice Fought War*, McGraw-Hill, 1969, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> Israeli Radio, October 19, 1953.

<sup>8</sup> Mikhael Bar-Zohar, *Tel Aviv: Levine-Epstein*, 1969, pp. 105-107. Fayez Sayegh, *The Record of Israel at the United Nations*, Arab Information Center, 1957, p. 93.



took part in "attacks on the east shore of Lake Tiberias on the night of December 11-12, 1955. There were 56 Syrians killed, 9 wounded and 32 missing. The action was condemned by the Security Council on January 19, 1956."<sup>9</sup>

On the night of October 10-11, 1956, Sharon led his troops in an attack on the Jordanian village of Qalqiliya, killing 48 Jordanians and wounding 23. The village was shelled and the police post demolished.

Sharon's Unit 101 was responsible for taking the Mitla Pass in the 1956 Suez war. As to the comparatively high number of enemy dead and small number of prisoners in the battles along the Kuntilla-Mitla axis, Dayan later explains, "this is due to the way

in which our paratroopers fight and not to tough resistance put up by the Egyptians holding the line." Kennett Love comments:

Members of a platoon with whom I spent days in the Negev the year before Suez told me that they were bloodied in bayonet drills, on sacks of live cats. Many were sickened at first by the screaming and writhing and bleeding of their targets but it paid off in hand-to-hand combat, they said, because it overcame their reluctance to spear a living creature and thus gave them a split-second advantage over a human enemy.<sup>10</sup>

During the 1967 war, Sharon was appointed commander for part of the army that attacked Sinai. It is evident that Sharon was personally responsible for the

<sup>9</sup> Bar-Zohar, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.  
Sayegh, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> Love, *op. cit.* p. 517.





death of hundreds of Egyptian soldiers in Sinai during the last days of the war after he refused to arrest them as prisoners of war. The directive from Dayan was for the Israeli Army "not to take prisoners but to annihilate the Egyptian forces in Sinai."<sup>11</sup>

During 1971-1972, Sharon was in command of the southern sector of the Gaza Strip leading the campaign against the Palestinian commandos. He killed tens of commandos in spite of the fact "that it was not difficult to arrest and imprison them... but we did not attempt to do that."<sup>12</sup>

**Ha'olam Haseh** also describes Sharon's latest venture, Unit 402, officially called Gaza Patrol I.

The Gaza Patrol was an assassination unit, whose function was to kill, quietly and without

trial... The men got a lengthy training in dressing up as Arabs and spoke fluent Arabic... there is no doubt that a considerable part of those killed were victims of "errors."

This story was banned by the Israeli censor, and appeared in **Private Eye** on September 7, 1973.

Elie Lobel, the anti-Zionist writer, says "The Israeli Army is today (1972) largely under the influence and command of men of Unit 101 and the Airbone."<sup>13</sup>

"Israel is now a military superpower... All the forces of European countries are weaker than we are. Israel can conquer in one week the area from Khartoum to Baghdad and Algeria."<sup>14</sup>

During the 1973 war Sharon led the Israeli advance through the West Bank of the Suez Canal.

<sup>11</sup> Uri Avneri, **Ha'olam Haseh**, August 14, 1973.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Rober, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>14</sup> Ariel Sharon in **Yediot Ahranot**, July 26, 1973.



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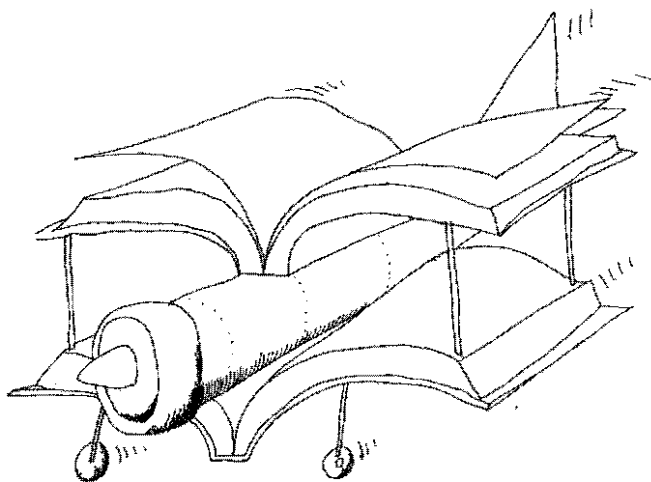
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