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BOLIVIA:

People Aplenty, But They
Lacked Arms





AT the last foreign minister's conference held by the OAS in Costa Rica, US Secretary of State William Rogers said in a menacing tone to Huáscar Taberga, Bolivian Minister of Foreign Relations, that the Nixon Administration proposed to overthrow the nationalist-reformist government of Torres.

On October 7, 1970, General Juan José Torres, with the support of the workers' movement and the university students, assumed the presidency of the altiplano nation, following the overthrow of the military group led by General Rogelio Miranda who sought to establish an ultrarightist dictatorship following the *golpe de Estado* against General Alfredo Ovando.

Five months after his ascent to power, General Torres told a group of workers who asked him to define the objectives of his government, that he proposed to make a revolution for the dispossessed classes.

Although certain popular sectors considered Torres to be a petit-bourgeois reformist and progressive who could not lead the people toward a revolutionary process, they did not underestimate nor exclude the possibilities which the revolutionary struggle rising within the reality of Bolivia, had for organizing the people toward the seizure of power through the democratic opening provided by the new government.

Thus they supported the nationalist measures promulgated by Torres' cabinet, on several occasions confronted *golpista* threats and attempts by the military fascists, and tried to radicalize the nationalist process initiated in October by means of the unity of left forces, the creation of the People's Assembly and the upsurge of the people's militias.

An Organ of Proletarian Power

The People's Assembly was born on international workers' day as the organ of power of the Bolivian

working class which would act as the instrument of pressure and would force the government to apply the revolutionary methods that would transform the economic and social structure of this South American country which has been called "the beggar on the throne of gold" because of the paupered existence of its inhabitants in a territory of incalculable natural wealth.

On June 22, the solemn doors of the bourgeois parliament building opened for the inauguration of the People's Assembly. More than 200 delegates representing workers', peasants', students' organizations and left parties participated in the ten sessions and made important decisions, such as the right of the Assembly to decree a general strike throughout the country and to occupy all work centers should a military *golpe* by the fascist forces be imminent; the trial of the militarists who participated in the massacre of the miners in Catavi, Llagua, Siglo XX and Huanuni during the Barrientos dictatorship; the resumption of diplomatic relations with Cuba, Chile, the People's Republic of China and other revolutionary governments, and workers' control of the management of the Bolivian Mining Corporation (COMIBOL).

For its part, the government adopted a position of "political equilibrium" between the people's forces represented in the People's Assembly, which demanded the deepening of the process, and the military forces that were proposing to implant fascism.



Official name:	Republic of Bolivia.
Area:	1 098 581 km ² .
Population:	4 500 000 (85% Indian). The demographic concentration is on the plateaus, where the mines are also located. More than 35% of the population resides in the five most important cities (La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, Santa Cruz and Sucre).
Capital:	La Paz (Sucre is the constitutional capital).
Official language:	Spanish.
Popular language:	Quechua and Aymara (more than 70% of the inhabitants speak these Indian tongues).
National date:	August 6 (proclamation of independence in 1925).
Religion:	Catholic.
Production:	Tin and other metals, sugar, cocoa, corn, oil. Although statistics indicate that 73% of the population depends on agriculture and livestock for its subsistence, the economic base is mining which represents 90% of the exports (in 1968: tin, 49%; other metals, 25%; oil, 16%). The principal capitalist countries that acquire metals in this process are: England, the United States and the German Federal Republic. More than 50% of Bolivian imports (food products, manufactured goods, livestock and machinery) come from the United States with whom Bolivia has a deficit trade balance. The majority of foreign investments are North American and North Americans control the exploitation of oil and some metals.
Infant mortality rate: (0 to 1 year)	90 per 1000.
Life expectancy:	40 to 45 years. Hidden hunger and the lack of medical treatment cause the death of thousands of poor citizens from such illnesses as silicosis, pneumonia, yellow fever, malaria, parasitic diseases, cerebral hemorrhages and others. The miners and peasants (Indians and mestizos) consume large amounts of coca (10 000 kg per year) to combat hunger, thirst, cold and fatigue.
Illiteracy:	78%.



Arms for the People

When at the beginning of this year, the government made known the existence of "an international conspiracy against Bolivia," thousands of miners invaded the streets of La Paz which shook with dynamite explosions and shots from the ancient rifles the tin miners owned. They then concentrated in front of the Quemado Palace and demanded that Torres give them arms to fight the reactionaries who were seeking the establishment of an extreme right-wing regime in the country, proposed the nationalization of certain foreign enterprises and the promulgation of other measures of benefit to the people.

The official reply to the demands of the working class was the deceitful pretext of lack of state funds for the purchase of arms and the impossibility of a revolutionary process without the participation of the armed forces which according to the Bolivian President, were on the side of the people.

Despite the government's attitude the Peasant Federation of La Paz decided to organize the people's army Tupac Katari, to defend revolutionary conquests and land tenure, while the Bolivian Workers' Confederation (COB) undertook the organization of "armed militias of the working class on a national scale in the face of the imperialist threat which is bound to unleash civil war in Bolivia."

Months later, the military and civilian ultraright became alarmed at the publication of a manifesto entitled "Revolutionary Thought of the Anonymous People's Sector," which carried the signature of a new organization called the People's Military Vanguard (VMP). In this historic document the rank-and-file and junior officers of the Bolivian Army proposed the substitution of the Armed Forces for an army that would defend the people's interests, demanded the trial of militarists compromised in crimes against trade union leaders, petitioned for better economic conditions, denounced the class differences in the military apparatus, opposed the trips of officers to the United States for special counterrevolution-



ary courses and rejected the military aid agreements with North American imperialists. A few days later the fascist *golpe* occurred.

The Counterrevolutionary Escalation

During the days of combat, the People's Nationalist Front (FPN), which included representatives of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the Bolivian Socialist Falange (FSB) and the right-wing militarists, issued a communiqué over the mutinist radio station of Cochabamba stating that reactionary sedition would pursue the "restoration of the reign of the law against international communism which seeks to convert Bolivia into a second Cuba."

The real purpose of *golpe de Estado* 187 in the Bolivian republic was the beginning of a fascist escalation against the revolutionary governments and movements of South America, which menace imperialist interests and the political and economic power of the ruling classes.

Once more the CIA exercised the imperial command of Washington to overthrow a government with a nationalist tendency. It did so in league with the Brazilian, Argentinian and Paraguayan guerrillas and the intervention of the *golpista* ex-officers in complicity with high officers of the constitutional army headed by its Commander-in-Chief General Luis Reque Terán, former military attache for his country in the United States who, two weeks before the barracks uprising, had made a demagogical call to the soldiers and officers to support "the revolution the people were carrying out."

Torres' lack of decision culminated in his vacillations over arming the people and cleaning the rightist officers out of the military apparatus, among them Colonel Andrés Selich, head of the Bolivian Rangers, who participated in the assassination of Comandante Che Guevara in 1967 and who intervened actively with his green beret troops in the barracks mutiny, and General Florentino Mendieta, head of the Seventh Army Division in Cocha-



bamba. Those two, along with Cavalry Colonel Hugo Banzer, ex-military attache in the United States and ex-Minister of Education in Barrientos' cabinet, composed the military triumvirate initially constituted before the latter became the principal head of the mutinous forces.

The Brazilian intervention in the Bolivian military *golpe* was decisive through the presence, in the Department of Santa Cruz, of Brazilian tanks and arms painted with the colors of the Bolivian Army, as well as for the \$100 000 gift to Banzer from General Bethlem, former Brazilian ambassador in La Paz, who had proposed that the lands of the Quechuas and Aymaraes be converted into a Brazilian protectorate. This spokesman for fascism attacked the People's Assembly declaring it to be "a menace to Brazil's unpopulated areas."

A week before the fascist uprising, the US Embassy in La Paz distributed a confidential memorandum in which North American residents and diplomatic personnel were instructed to take security measures and to stock food supplies, in preparation for the *golpe de Estado* which was to take place in the country.

A front page article in the daily *Washington Post* emphasized that the great success of the Bolivian *golpe de Estado* was possible thanks to the outstanding participation of US Air Force Major Robert J. Lundin, who facilitated radio communication between the chief Banzer and the capital over the Yankee mission's transmitter in Santa Cruz, and held various conversations with him during the period of the military uprising that took place on August 19.

Days of Blood and Fire

For three days the revolutionary forces fought the armies of military fascism which applied their *golpista* tactic of first controlling the military units of eastern Bolivia in order to then win the support of the rest of the altiplano garrisons.

While the barracks announced themselves against Torres and deserted the government ranks — the traitors Reque Terán, Commander-in-Chief of the Army; Arnex, Chief of the Air Forces; Zenteno Anaya and many others, in order to head the *golpista* forces in the capital — the COB political commando exhorted the workers and the people to arm themselves by every means possible to defend the nation from the horrible threat of fascism.

The peasant organizations called on their members to shoulder the rifles "to defend the conquests of the revolution and fight to deepen them, particularly in the area of agrarian reform so that it might become an instrument for the real liberation of the peasantry."

Hundreds of thousands of La Paz residents ran through the streets of the capital on the day following the military pronouncement in Santa Cruz, begging arms to contain the advance of the fascists under the revolutionary slogan "They shall not pass!"

The people of La Paz together with soldiers from the Colorado battalion, the only military unit that remained loyal to Torres, commanded by Major Rubén Sánchez, undertook to expropriate the arms controlled by the seditionists of the Miraflores General Headquarters.





Sánchez had handed more than 400 rifles from his unit's arsenal over to civilians but this was not enough for the thousands of hands that demanded arms.

"People aplenty, but they had no arms," Mayor Rubén Sánchez stated on his arrival in the Peruvian capital as an exile, when asked what had been the basic factor in the defeat of the patriotic forces.

More than 100 dead, hundreds wounded and some 300 arrested was the price paid by the Bolivian people to the hordes of reaction which, the day after "Shorty" Banzer assumed power, carried out a massacre of students and workers in the capital's university region.

At 11:40 a.m. on August 21, the criminal attack against the San Andrés university building began with tanks, the air force and ranger troops commanded by Zenteno Anaya, one of the accomplices in the assassination of Che Guevara in Higuera.

Various witnesses testified that when the first young men left the high academic center after hours of desperate resistance, they were machine-gunned down, while others were hit in the face by the soldiers with their arms. Later more than 300 students were taken to Viacha barracks, 18 kilometers from the capital.

The new pro-Yankee dictator justified the massacre by declaring that "it was a necessary action in order to frighten the students." It cost the lives of 12 students and another 30 were wounded.

The Nationalism of the Ultraright

Once invested with presidential powers, the Santa Cruz latifundist gave a brief speech from the Quemado Palace balcony to a small group gathered in Murillo Square.

"I am not a man of speeches," he said, "I am a man of action and I let my actions speak for me." Curfew and martial law were imposed on the entire country that day.

Later the regime sent military airplanes to machine gun the population of Matilde mine, returned to the state by the former government, and announced through its Minister of the Interior Colonel Selich, that a governmental operation was undertaking the arrest of all those citizens opposed to the official concept of respect for property, tradition and family.

In his first political statement that the Minister of Mines and Metallurgy, Carlos Serrato, gave to the press, he demagogically defined the twenty-ninth military regime in the 146 years of the country's republican life as "a nationalist and people's government" composed of the alliance of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and the Bolivian Socialist Falange with the Armed Forces as its fighting branch.

The Banzer dictatorship will extend fascist ideals through such laws as that guaranteeing national and foreign private investments and the revision of the conditions agreed to in the Andes Pact for the treatment of foreign capital.

The "Victory" of Fascism

After nine days, the US Government recognized the Bolivian *golpistas* with whom it found itself disposed to continue "friendly and cooperative relations" according to a statement by Robert J. McCloskey, State Department spokesman.

Various US newspapers openly praised the violent change of government in Bolivia, among them the *Washington Evening Star*, which affirmed that Washington is obviously pleased because the new dictator is unequivocally anticommunist."

At the close of his meeting with Banzer to inform him that his country recognized the new military regime, the US ambassador and recognized CIA agent, Ernest Siracusa, stated confidently that "now we will be able to open greater opportunities for mutual advantages."

Immediately the Bolivian branch of the Bank of America made known the grant of a credit of \$12 000 000 to COMIBOL, headed by General Rogelio Miranda, in recognition of the counterinsurgency that the tyranny of Banzer will unleash against the urban guerrillas, the revision of certain nationalist measures taken by Torres and considered "demagogical" and the rejection of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba and Chile.

Fascism's victory in Bolivia on August 21, 1971, does not destroy the liberation aspirations of the peasants and miners who have grasped the essential necessity for armed struggle.

The bloody repression that the ultrarightist military and civilians unleash against the revolutionary forces, will not prevent Bolivia from becoming — as Comandante Che Guevara foresaw — a new Viet Nam.

The revolutionary forces state the necessity for creating a people's army made up of all civilian and military patriots who are prepared to struggle against the dictatorship and for the liberation of the people who are subjected to the triple slavery of imperialists, fascists and the leech of private enterprise.



THE HOUR

Historic Summary

Following the fall of the Byzantine empire in 1453, Turkey, its destroyer and heir, extended its empire up to the gates of Vienna and occupied a great part of North Africa. Successive defeats during the 19th century substantially reduced this empire and placed the Turkish nation under the control of the English and French imperialists. The First World War, in which Turkey shared the fate of the central powers, signified the end of the Turkish empire.

The national democratic revolution (1923-38) headed by Kemal Ataturk, was chiefly an anti-imperialist revolution aimed at preventing the partition of the country among the Western powers. This process had the enthusiastic support of Lenin. Since 1938, the year of Ataturk's death, it has been the bourgeoisie, weak and subordinated to foreigners, that has led the country.

In 1950, with the rise to power of Adnan Menderes supported by all the reactionary forces, there began a period of submission to the United States that crystallized with Turkey's entry into NATO,

TURKEY: OF THE MILITARISTS



the signing of the Damascus Pact and the concession of territories for the United States to install military bases.

The progressive corruption and the surrender of the Menderes government caused a change in 1960 and the ascent to power of a government whose Prime Minister was Ismet Inonu, who, following his resignation in 1965, was succeeded by Suleiman Demirel. The Demirel government developed a policy very similar to that followed during the 60s under Menderes, and it was overthrown by an ultimatum from the generals on March 12, 1971.

The memorandum from the generals threatened seizure of power by the armed forces unless a new government was constituted that would put an end to anarchy and would carry out the social and economic reforms foreseen in the Constitution. Thus the government of Nihat Erim was born, formed without help from, but supported by the political parties which, on April 7, gave it an overwhelming majority of votes in Parliament when faced with the fear of being dissolved along with the legislative bodies.

A late arrival to modern times, the Turkey of today has assimilated with facility the experiences of present-day capitalism. The Turkish national bourgeoisie allied with the big international companies, has not only managed to maintain power since 1923 when Mustapha Kemal proclaimed the Republic, but has found original forms of submitting and integrating itself into that classic government artifice that the army has become.

Since 1960, a model plan of the Turkish upper class led by Vehbi Koc has converted the army into one of the biggest Turkish capitalists. At that time, Vehbi Koc and other Turkish financiers, with an initial capital of 40 000 000 Turkish pounds, created what was to be called the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund (OYAK). Since then Turkish militarists have stopped being the defenders of territorial integrity and, because of their economic interests, have become the principal defenders of the national status quo.

On May 27, 1960, the army took power in Turkey. By a coincidence of circumstances, it enjoyed the support of the people as well as of the Turkish upper class. The economic depression that Turkey had been suffering since 1957 had provoked a strong popular reaction against the Republican Party in power, to which the lower levels of the army added their voices. The publication of a constitutional law that guaranteed the people certain social and democratic rights, gives the army a popularity that the high officials who manage OYAK have no intention of honoring.

In ten years the capital of OYAK has risen to a billion Turkish pounds. The army has become the second Turkish holding company, following Vehbi Koc. It is allied with big foreign capital (Renault, International Harvester, Goodyear, Mobil Oil) and controls the nerve centers of the country's economic activity.

Over this period, the Turkish army has grown disproportionately for the dimensions of Turkey and its military necessities. With 500 000 men presently in arms, it is one of the largest — fifth — in the world.

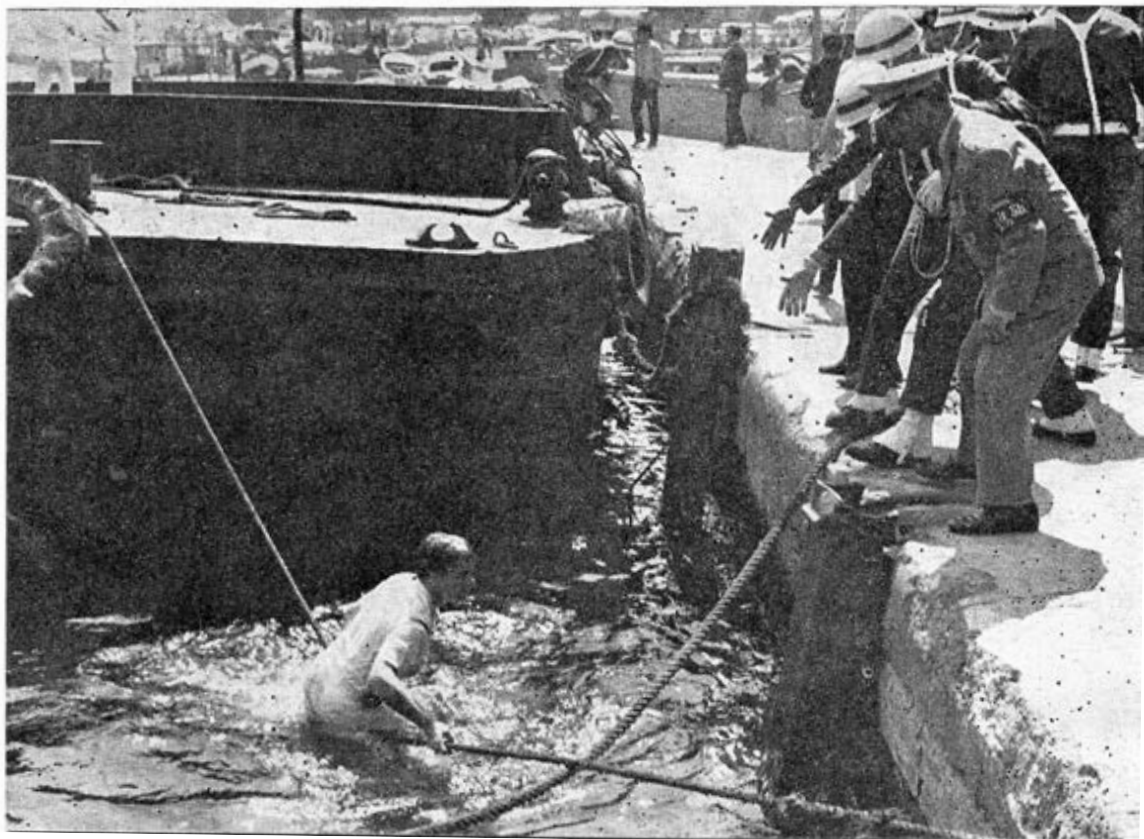
Neither its considerable foreign investments nor governmental party changes — always between white and pale blue — have effectively improved the general Turkish living standard, nor has the economy succeeded in shaking off its underdevelopment. With 3 500 000 inhabitants, Turkey exports less than \$600 000 000 worth of goods. Associated with the European Common Market (EEC), Turkey is demanding full membership despite flagrant inequalities. While in the Common Market countries, only 16% of the population is engaged in agriculture, 70% of Turks live from this. While in the Common Market countries, 40% of the population works in industry, the industrial sector in Turkey employs only 10% of the population. The results of these inequalities: the per capita income in Common Market countries is \$2000 a year while that of the Turk is less than \$220.

In these last ten years a trade unionism controlled by the US AFL-CIO has arisen in Turkey; in 1961 the Turkish Workers' Party appeared and the deteriorating economic situation continues to arouse concern in other sectors marginal to the controlled trade union movement or to labor. 1968 was the year of massive land occupation, strikes and demands for increased working rights, salaries, and opposition to imperialist domination in Turkey. From 1966 on leftist publications began to appear, only to be confiscated one after another. A student youth organization, DEV-GENC, began to carry out specific actions to the point where one group became the People's Liberation Army.

In 1967 some 100 000 workers split from the controlled trade union organization and created the Confederation of the Union of Revolutionary Workers (DISK). In 1970, when the government tried to suppress the Confederation, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated in the streets of Istanbul, Ismit, Ankara, and the army proclaimed martial law in the 11 Turkish provinces. Repression became general: the top military hierarchy proclaimed its determination to put a halt to every progressive manifestation in the country.

On March 12, 1971, the army again took power in Turkey, deposing the government of Suleiman Demirel and replacing it with that of Nihat Erim. Later, the People's Liberation Army (PLAT) kidnapped the Israeli Consul Efrain Elrom, proposed his exchange for imprisoned members of their organization, and when this was rejected by the military authorities, killed him.

Since that time, Turkey has lived under permanent curfew. Professors, students, intellectuals, journalists and even housewives have been arrested. Thousands have been transferred to military prisons and the left organizations temporarily reduced to silence. Their leaders are in jail, in the underground or in exile.



We interviewed one of them who, for obvious reasons, wishes to remain anonymous at this time.

The situation in Turkey has deteriorated considerably in the past month. There is now a real manhunt. How has this come about and why has the army chosen this moment for it?

After 1968 the mass movements reached considerable breadth and became strong for two reasons: one, the deplorable economic situation; the other, the increased consciousness of the masses. The Turkish Workers' Party, created in 1960, gave the masses various revolutionary slogans when it first began. Later it preferred the parliamentary road of action.

Up until 1965 all socialist publications were prohibited in the country. In 1966 books and magazines began to appear. Che's *Bolivian Diary* was published, then immediately confiscated; *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria (Episodes of the Revolutionary War)* by Che Guevara, books by Nguyen Giap, Ho Chi Minh, Mao, Carlos Marighella.

A revolutionary youth organization, DEV-GENC, began to be heard from. It made socialist propaganda among workers and peasants. It also made known the situation of the Kurd people, oppressed by every government since the foundation of the Republic in 1923. Some 5 000 000 Kurds living in Eastern Turkey are deprived of the most elemental democratic rights. They cannot speak in Kurd, their language can't be taught, and they can't even say they are Kurds.

All investments made in Turkey have excluded the eastern part and roads don't even exist in order to reach it. In many parts of East Turkey both entrance and exit are prohibited.

The trade union movement in Turkey is controlled by the North Americans. But in 1967 another revolutionary trade union organization sprang up, DISK. It was formed by more than 10 000 workers from Istanbul and Ankara. Since a group of the DEV-GENC became the People's Liberation Army, many peasant committees have formed in Anatolia. They occupy the land and the students explain to the peasants that the land does not belong to the latifundists. During the Ottoman Empire, in fact, the lands belonged to the state and only certain notorious bureaucrats had received some of them, not as their own private property, however, but only the right to benefit from them.

Also, Turkey's entrance into the European Common Market will end the traditional Turkish exports of olives, cotton, tobacco, white beans, etc., gravely endangering the Turkish peasant.

The immediate origin of the present situation was in 1970, when the government sought parliamentary approval for a law that would suppress the DISK. Hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated in Istanbul and Smet and the army chose this moment to proclaim martial law throughout the country.

What is the background of the cadres that make up the People's Liberation Army of Turkey?

This is important. The center of the revolutionary movement is the youth organization, made up principally of the workers of Anatolia. The cadres are sons of poor peasants

who have moved to the cities. There are also some students whose background is petit bourgeois.

The National Army, on the other hand, became a capitalist army under the stimulus of the Turkish financiers. But there are also numerous radical and progressive army men whose living conditions are very different from those of the generals and high officials.

Is it an army that operates in the city or also in the countryside? What is the internal structure of the PLAT?

The PLAT was born in the struggle. But the DEV-GENC militants were the vanguard of this army. The DEV-GENC formed various peasant and student groups, many of them



armed. The first official announcement of the existence of the PLAT was signed by Deniz Gezmiş, of the DEV-GENC, who is a prisoner today.

It was at the time of the kidnapping of four US military men. That was when it was recognized for the first time as the People's Liberation Army of Turkey.

The cadres of the PLAT have trained with the Palestine guerrillas of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), directed by Nayif Hawatmeh. It is also known that after the imposition of martial law in the country, numerous radical officers that belong to it supplied arms and ammunition. It is also said that high level officers in the Turkish police and members of security who are now imprisoned, participate in PLAT.

Of course the PLAT is a clandestine organization and no one has yet been able to evaluate its real power. Under the present conditions of police and military oppression, in which anybody is held on the slightest suspicion, many PLAT cells have interrupted their activities. Hundreds of professors, students and even housewives have been arrested simply for being readers of radical publications. At the end of May — I don't remember exactly but I think it was the 23rd — the police engaged in massive reconnaissance in Istanbul. Some 20 000 police devoted themselves to a house to house search for those suspected of collaboration with the PLAT.

Very well. You asked whether the PLAT is an army, an urban or a peasant guerrilla. The PLAT, the revolutionary movement, needs financial means in order to acquire arms and ammunition. These financial possibilities can be found in the big cities.

From 1970 on, the government cut the revolutionaries off from all financial possibilities. It helped the fascist organizations in the university and even when the university elections — which always permit certain material possibilities — were won by progressive students, the others held new elections with the aid of the government.

The revolutionaries tried other methods of obtaining funds: they began to sell books and even to resell them, but the government also blocked this. The police entered the university and, though it wasn't a question of prohibited books, they simply confiscated them. Then began the bank assaults in order to finance the revolutionary movement.

What are the objectives of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey?

To destroy imperialism in Turkey, establish a power that reflects the workers and peasants. In the course of the struggle, the PLAT seeks to create a mass party. But under the present conditions of oppression, it cannot hope to carry on an open struggle. A real military dictatorship exists in Turkey today, but they don't want to confess this openly because when the Greek military junta took power there was a tremendous public reaction in Europe. Because of the Greek experience, the Turkish generals, together with those



of the Pentagon, decided to give power in Turkey a new look. Besides, they are in the middle of Turkish bourgeois attempts to enter the EEC.

The Turkish militarists want to maintain Parliament, which they know will do their bidding, in order to give an appearance of democracy in Turkey. A rigid military censorship has been imposed, progressive publications have been closed and their editors persecuted or jailed, and even official newspapers are obliged to publish only official statements and communications. On the other hand the government has offered 10 000 Turkish pounds to anyone who can provide information to the police concerning suspect persons. In a country like Turkey where the average annual salary doesn't reach 1000 Turkish pounds, this is a real invitation to denunciation.

What was the reason for the kidnapping and subsequent death of the Israeli consul in Istanbul, Elrom?

That is the government's bad play. In the first place it must be stated that nobody did or said a thing about the 42 revolutionaries assassinated prior to the imposition of martial law. Today there are many more, but nobody said a word about these.

The Israeli consul was kidnapped, first of all, because he was the representative of US imperialism in the Middle East. Elrom was a very important man in Turkey and he was working for the CIA. It was he who informed the Turkish Government about the students who had been receiving training with Hauatmch's Palestine guerrillas. Thanks to his information, the Turkish Government was able to arrest many of them when they returned to Turkey. He was a dangerous agent of the CIA and that is why he was chosen. The PLAT carried out the kidnapping but had no intention of killing him. It was the government that forced them to do that.

The PLAT proposed to exchange him for the revolutionaries arrested after the imposition of martial law, but the government firmly refused to negotiate with those it characterized as gangsters.

What is the present situation in Turkey?

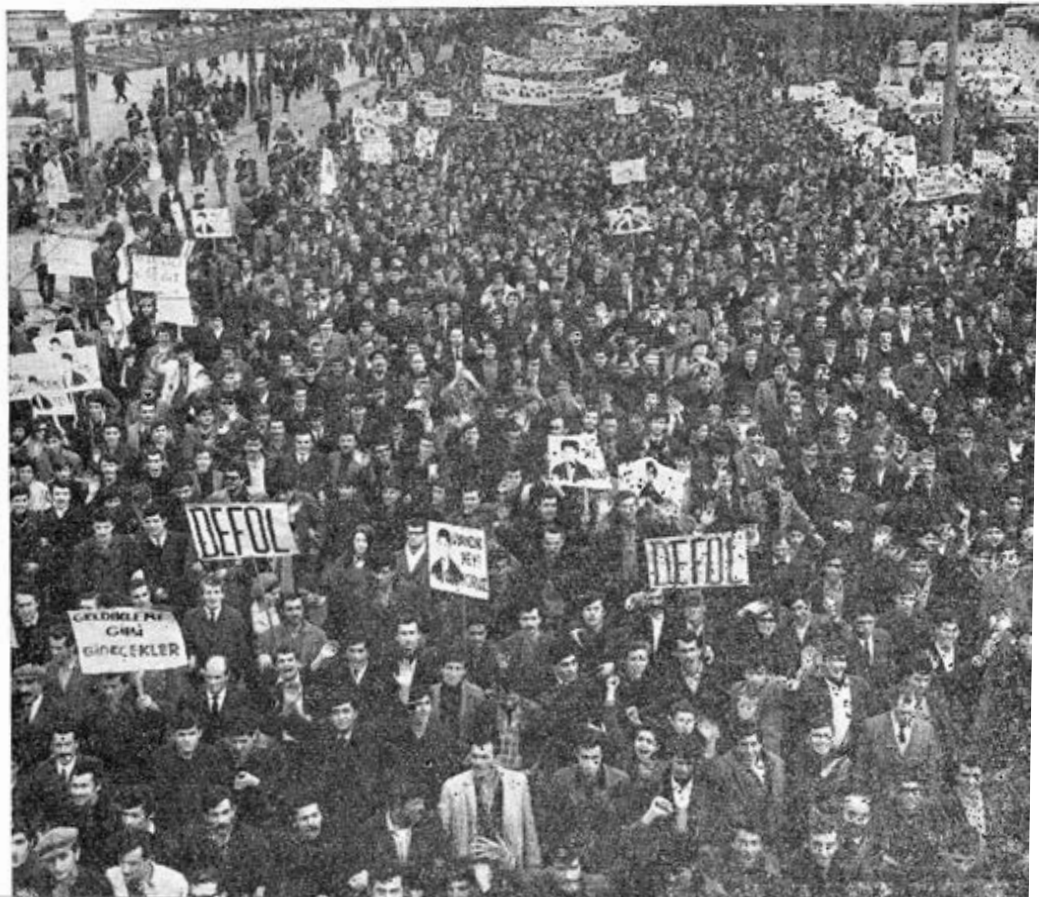
Conditions are getting worse every day. The cost of services has increased 100%. Also, and this is important, the price of bread has gone up. Bread has become something dangerous that cannot be played with in Turkey because for the majority of the people, this is their basic sustenance. To carry out the economic reform it seeks, the government will be forced to intensify pressure on the masses.

Turkey is a very important geographic focal point for the United States, which has converted it into its satellite.

What role does the United States play in the present situation?

They give the orders. The Turkish armed forces are under the control of NATO and the United States. Turkey is the great operational field of the CIA. Before martial law was imposed the press even published the fact that the March 12 golpe had been decided in the US embassy.

Economic control of Turkey is also in the hands of North American investors. For this reason the principal revolutionary objective is to fight imperialism economically, ideologically, politically and militarily. But this struggle of ours against imperialism isn't Turkey's private struggle. It is the same struggle that is taking place in Europe, Greece and the Middle East. For that very reason until we have expelled imperialism from the whole area, we will not have triumphed.





tricontinental scene



The assassination of George Lester Jackson.

George L. Jackson had warned: "...they will not be satisfied until they've pushed me out of this existence altogether." In a letter to his lawyer, he added:

I see the whole thing much clearer now, how fascism has taken possession of this country. . . The solidarity between the prison here and the court in Salinas, between the judge and the grand jury, the judge and the DA and other city officials. The institution has effectively cut me off from any relief. The unmeek have taken over this whole county, the state, the entire country. . .

"Good people, the best of our kind, they're being locked away into special units, cell blocks, wings segregated from the general prison population and warehoused or simply killed."

**FROM
DACHAU,
USA**



Jackson was not a politically conscious person when he entered jail. His "nonadaptability" to the established order was dictated by an impulse that might be called instinctive, ancestral. . .

The feeling of being captured. . . this slave can never adjust to it, it's a thing I just don't favor, then, now, never. . . I was captured and brought to prison when I was 18 years old because I couldn't adjust. The record that the state has compiled on my activities reads like the record of ten men. It labels me brigand, thief, burglar, gambler, hobo, drug addict, gunman, escape artist, communist, revolutionary and murderer.

Jackson's road to Soledad is a familiar path for blacks. For young ghetto blacks, their first contact with the law is an experience they would never have if they belonged to the middle class or were white. He narrates how his odyssey began:

. . .when I was accused of robbing a gas station of seventy dollars, I accepted a deal — I agreed to confess and spare the country court costs in return for a light county jail sentence. I confessed but when time came for sentencing, they tossed me into the penitentiary with one to life. That was in 1960. I was 18 years old. I've been here ever since. I met Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engels and Mao when I entered prison and they redeemed me.

Although he spent most of the time in the maximum security sections of Soledad and San Quentin prisons and almost always in solitary confinement — seven and a half years out of eleven — the young Afro-American George Jackson became a person who was respected and loved by his prison comrades. Jackson was the older son of a black family that lived in Chicago and moved to California when he was 15 years old.

His stature — tall and strong (215 pounds) — thick glasses, natural hairdo, very quickly became familiar among the prison comrades. He read and wrote constantly, usually slept between three and five hours a night. He followed a rigid program of physical training within the confines of his narrow cell. He studied history, sociology, and read the Marxist classics. He mediated. He maintained contact with the outside world through friends and family. He was generous in lending his books to other prisoners. Many comrades singled him out as the person who had most influenced them politically and personally. There are cases like that of Jimmy Carr, his cellmate, whom he taught how to read and write and interested in politics and mathematics. "I was to find out later that George was a very selfless person, selfless in that George would go out of his way to help anyone. Like George started me to reading, started me to writing. He taught me my basic grammar, basic mathematics, and all this stuff. He took time with me. . . in things I really needed help in, and he started bringing me up to a stature that I could respect."

In 11 years in jail, victim of the arbitrary police and legal system, Jackson moved from spontaneous rebel to conscious revolutionary, a tenacious and selfless fighter against terror and racial oppression, against the entire capitalist system sustained by that situation. He did not give in to the pressures and abuses of his jailers who were determined to break his spirit, and succeeded in becoming a

proselytizer of the Afro-American cause and a militant in the Black Panther Party of which he became a leader despite the fact that he was imprisoned. This was truly George L. Jackson's great crime, in addition to having been born black. Fearful of his word and his example, they wound up by assassinating him behind the bars where they had arbitrarily confined him almost for life.

Things are going very badly in a society that excludes its best sons, represses them and winds up destroying them by assassination. Such is the situation in the United States. The ultimate proof confirming this is the news of George L. Jackson's death during the second half of August when he supposedly tried to flee from San Quentin prison to which he had been moved along with the other Soledad Brothers, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette. Precisely those two and a score of George's prison comrades made a point of denouncing — in a note smuggled out of prison — what really happened:

There was no attempt to flee. George was taken out of his cell with other prisoners, they cornered them in a spot adjacent to the central yard of San Quentin and the guards immediately fired on the group. Jackson realized he was the objective to be eliminated and, in an act of revolutionary sacrifice, ran into the yard to draw the fire on himself and save his comrades.

The pigs hit him in the shoulder. He fell to the ground, wounded, and then they finished him off, through the head.

Two individuals very close to George confirmed this declaration. John Thorne, George Jackson's lawyer, declared: "I cannot imagine him trying to escape. He had a trial pending in which he was certain his innocence would be proven."

His mother, Georgia, declared: "I can tell you exactly what happened, they were determined to kill him and they killed him. For ten and a half years they have been trying to do it and they did it."

They killed George Jackson to silence his word and his example among the prisoners of Soledad and San Quentin; they feared his testimony at the trial of Angela Davis and in the case against the Soledad Brothers. They feared this young black man whom they kept semi-interred behind bars for many years of his life. Now they are going to fear him even more and now they will not be able to kill him. George L. Jackson leaves us his letters from prison¹ and he leaves us the most precious gift to the revolutionary cause of his black and exploited brothers throughout the world: his invincible spirit, his will for struggle, his inviolate dignity. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile rereading his writings to hear his warning of the threat pending against the lives of fighters persecuted and prisoners subjected to the criminal hand of their jailers: "If we allow the fascist machine to destroy these brothers, our dream of eventual self-determination and control over the factors surrounding our survival is going to die with them and the generations to come will curse and condemn us for irresponsible cowardice."

¹ See "George Jackson, Letters from Soledad," *Tricontinental* bulletin No. 58, January 1971.



April 1970,

Dear Fay:¹

On the occasion of your and Senator Dymally's tour and investigation into the affairs here at Soledad, I detected in the questions posed by your team a desire to isolate some rationale that would explain why racism exists at the prison with "particular prominence." Of course the subject was really too large to be dealt with in one tour and in the short time they allowed you, but it was a brave scene. My small but mighty mouthpiece, and the black establishment senator and his team, invading the state's maximum security row in the worst of its concentration camps. I think you are the first woman to be allowed to inspect these facilities. Thanks from all. The question was too large, however. It's tied into the question of why all these California prisons vary in character and flavor in general. It's tied into the larger question of why racism exists in this whole society with "particular prominence," tied into history. Out of it comes another question: Why do California joints produce more Bunchy Carters

and Eldridge Cleavers than those over the rest of the country?

I understand your attempt to isolate the set of localized circumstances that give to this particular prison its problems of race is based on a desire to aid us right now, in the present crisis. There are some changes that could be made right now that would alleviate some of the pressures inside this and other prisons. But to get at the causes, you know, one would be forced to deal with questions at the very center of American political and economic life, at the core of the American historical experience. This prison didn't come to exist where it does just by happenstance. Those who inhabit it and feed off its existence are historical products. The great majority of Soledad pigs are southern migrants who do not want to work in the fields and farms of the area, who couldn't sell cars or insurance, and who couldn't tolerate the discipline of the army. And of course prisons attract sadists. After one concedes that racism is stamped unalterably into the present nature of American sociopolitical and economic life in general (the definition of fascism is: a police state wherein the political ascendancy is tied into and protects the interests

¹ Mrs. Fay Stender, the author's lawyer. (Ed. note)



of the upper class — characterized by militarism, racism, and imperialism), and concedes further that criminals and crime arise from material, economic, socio-political causes, we can then burn all of the criminology and penology libraries and direct our attention where it will do some good.

The logical place to begin any investigation into the problems of California prisons is with our "pigs are beautiful" Governor Reagan, radical reformer turned reactionary. For a real understanding of the failure of prison policies, it is senseless to continue to study the criminal. All of those who can afford to be honest know that the real victim, that poor, uneducated, disorganized man who finds himself a convicted criminal, is simply the end result of a long chain of corruption and mismanagement that starts with people like Reagan and his political appointees in Sacramento. After one investigates Reagan's character (what makes a turncoat) the next logical step in the inquiry would be a look into the biggest political prize of the state — the directorship of the Department of Correction.

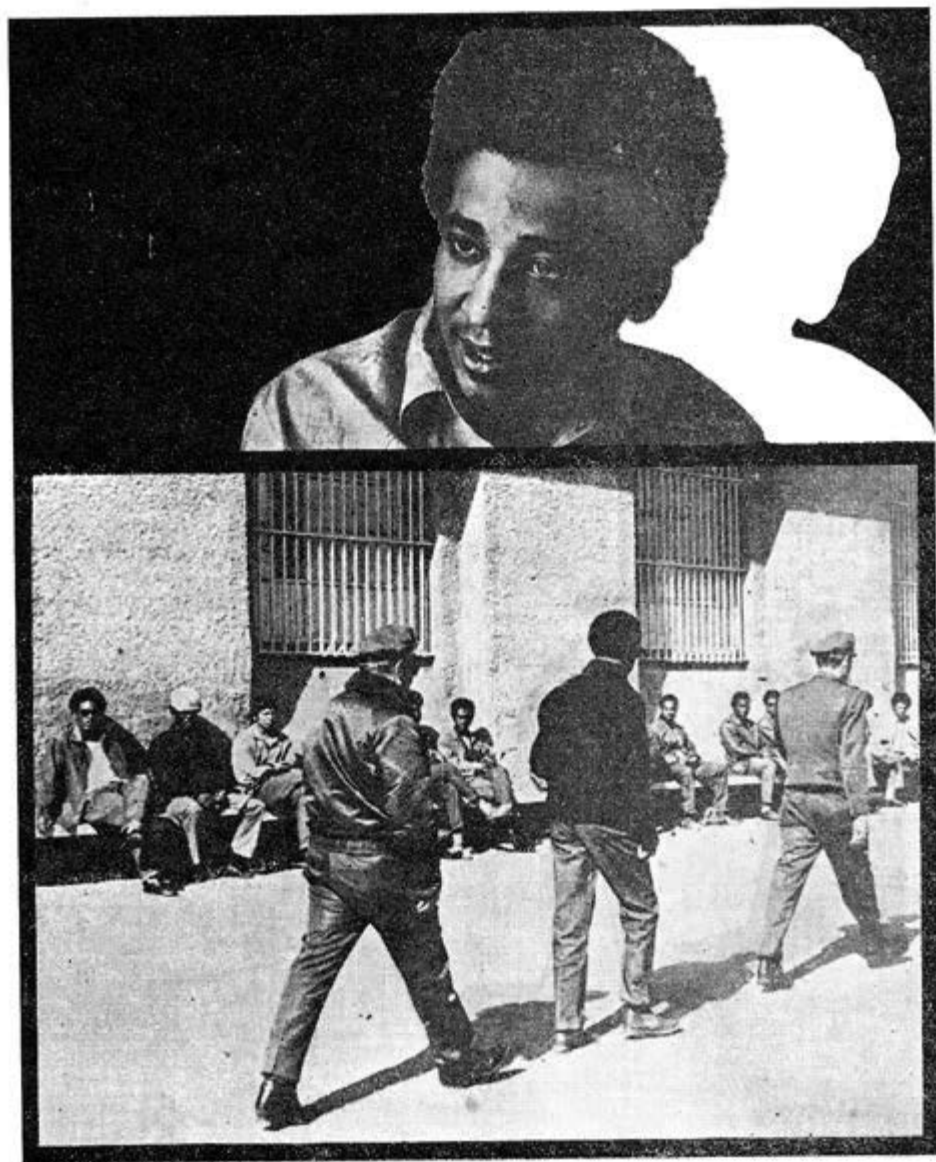
All other lines of inquiry would be like walking backward. You'll never see where you're going. You must begin with directors, adult authority boards, roving boards, supervisors, wardens, captains, and guards. You have to examine these people from director down to guard before you can logically examine their product. Add to this some concrete and steel, barbed wire, rifles, pistols, clubs, the tear gas that killed Brother Billingslea in San Quentin in February 1970 while he was locked in his cell, and the pick handles of Folsom, San Quentin, and Soledad.

To determine how men will behave once they enter the prison it is of first importance to know that prison. Men are brutalized by their environment — not the reverse.

I gave you a good example of this when I saw you last. Where I am presently being held, they never allow us to leave our cell without first handcuffing us and belting or chaining the cuffs to our waists. This is preceded always by a very thorough skin search. A force of a dozen or more pigs can be expected to invade the row at any time searching and destroying personal effects. The attitude of the staff toward the convicts is both defensive and hostile. Until the convict gives in completely it will continue to be so. By giving in, I mean prostrating oneself at their feet. Only then does their attitude alter itself to one of paternalistic condescension. Most convicts don't dig this kind of relationship (though there are some who do love it) with a group of individuals demonstrably inferior to the rest of the society in regard to education, culture, and

sensitivity. Our cells are so far from the regular dining area that our food is always cold before we get it. Some days there is only one meal that can be called cooked. We never get anything but cold-cut sandwiches for lunch. There is no variety to the menu. The same things week after week. One is confined to his cell 23½ hours a day. Overt racism exists unchecked. It is not a case of the pigs trying to stop the many racist attacks; they actively encourage them.

They are fighting upstairs right now. It's 11:10 a.m., June 11. No black is supposed to be on the tier upstairs with anyone but other blacks but — mistakes take place — and one or two blacks end up on the tier with nine or ten white convicts frustrated by the living conditions or openly working with the pigs. The whole ceiling is trembling. In hand-to-hand combat we always win; we lose sometimes if the pigs give them knives or zip guns. Lunch will be delayed today, the tear gas or whatever it is drifts down to sting my nose and eyes. Someone is hurt bad. I hear the meat wagon from the hospital being brought up. Pigs probably



gave them some weapons. But I must be fair. Sometimes (not more often than necessary) they'll set up one of the Mexican or white convicts. He'll be one who has not been sufficiently racist in his attitudes. After the brothers (enraged by previous attacks) kick on this white convict whom the officials have set up, he'll fall right into line with the rest.

I was saying that the great majority of the people who live in this area of the state and seek their employment from this institution have overt racism as a *traditional* aspect of their characters. The only stops that regulate how far they will carry this thing come from the fear of losing employment here as a result of the outside pressures to control the violence. That is O Wing, Max (Maximum Security) Row, Soledad — in part anyway.

Take an individual who has been in the general prison population for a time. Picture him as an average convict with the average twelve-year-old mentality, the nation's norm. He wants out, he wants a woman and a beer. Let's say this average convict is white and has just been caught attempting to escape. They may put him on Max Row. This is the worst thing that will ever happen to him. In the general population facility there are no chains and cuffs. TVs, radios, record players, civilian sweaters, keys to his own cell for daytime use, serve to keep his mind off his real problems. There is also a recreation yard with all sorts of balls and instruments to strike or thrust at. There is a gym. There are movies and a library well stocked with light fiction. And of course there is work, where for two or

three cents an hour convicts here at Soledad make paper products, furniture, and clothing. Some people actually like this work since it does provide some money for the small things and helps them to get through their day — *without thinking* about their real problems.

Take an innocent con out of this general population setting (because a pig "thought" he may have seen him attempting a lock). Bring him to any part of O Wing (the worst part of the adjustment center of which Max Row is a part). He will be cuffed, chained, belted, pressured by the police who think that every convict should be an informer. He will be pressured by the white cons to join their racist brand of politics (they all go under the nickname "Hitler's Helpers"). If he is predisposed to help black he will be pushed away — by black. Three weeks is enough. The strongest hold out no more than a couple of weeks. There has been one white man only to go through this O Wing experience without losing his balance, without allowing himself to succumb to the madness of ribald, protrusive racism.

It destroys the logical processes of the mind, a man's thoughts become completely disorganized. The noise, madness streaming from every throat, frustrated sounds from the bars, metallic sounds from the walls, the steel trays, the iron beds bolted to the wall, the hollow sounds from a cast-iron sink or toilet.

The smells, the human waste thrown at us, unwashed bodies, the rotten food. When a white con leaves here he's ruined for life. No black leaves Max Row walking. Either he leaves on the meat wagon



or he leaves crawling licking at the pig's feet.

Irony, because one cannot get a parole to the outside prison directly from O Wing, Max Row. It's positively not done. The parole board won't even consider the Max Row case. So a man licks at the feet of the pig not for a release to the outside world but for the privilege of going upstairs to O Wing adjustment center. There the licking process must continue if a parole is the object. You can count on one hand the number of people who have been paroled to the streets from O Wing proper in all the years that the prison has existed. No one goes from O Wing, Max Row straight to the general prison population. To go from here to the outside world is unthinkable. A man *must* go from Marx Row to the regular adjustment center facility upstairs. Then from there to the general prison population. Only then can he entertain thoughts of eventual release to the outside world.

One can understand the depression felt by an inmate on Max Row. He's fallen as far as he can into the social trap, relief is so distant that it is very easy for him to lose his holds. In two weeks that little average man who may have ended up on Max Row for *suspicion of attempted escape* is so brutalized, so completely without holds, that he will never heal again. It's worse than Viet Nam.

He's dodging lead. He may be forced to fight a duel to the death with knives. If he doesn't sound and act more zealous than everyone else he will be challenged for not being loyal to his race and its politics, fascism. Some of these cons support the pigs' racism without shame, the others support it inadvertently by their own racism. The former are white, the

latter black. But in here as on the street black racism is a forced reaction. A survival adaptation.

The picture that I have painted of Soledad's general population facility may have made it sound not too bad at all. That mistaken impression would result from the absence in my description of one more very important feature of the main line — terrorism. A frightening, petrifying diffusion of violence and intimidation is emitted from the offices of the warden and captain. How else could a small group of armed men be expected to hold and rule another much larger group except through fear?

We have a gym (inducement to throw away our energies with a ball instead of revolution). But if you walk into this gym with a cigarette burning, you're probably in trouble. There is a pig waiting to trap you. There's a sign "No Smoking." If you miss the sign, trouble. If you drop the cigarette to comply, trouble. The floor is regarded as something of a fire hazard (I'm not certain what the pretext is). There are no receptacles. The pig will pounce. You'll be told in no uncertain terms to scrape the cigarette from the floor with your hands. It builds from there. You have a gym but only certain things may be done and in specified ways. Since the rules change with the pigs' mood, it is really safer for a man to stay in his cell.

You have to work with emoluments that range from nothing to three cents an hour! But once you accept the pay job in the prison's industrial sector you cannot get out without going through the bad conduct process. When workers are need-

ed, it isn't a case of accepting a job in this area. You take the job or you're automatically refusing to work, even if you clearly stated that you would cooperate in other employment. The same atmosphere prevails in the recreation yard where any type of minor mistake could result not in merely a bad conduct report and placement in adjustment center, but death. A fistfight, a temporary, trivial loss of temper will bring a fusillade of bullets down on the darker of the two men fighting.

[. . .] When people walk on each other, when disharmony is the norm, when organisms start falling apart it is the fault of those whose responsibility it is to govern. They're doing something wrong. They shouldn't have been trusted with the responsibility. And long-range political activity isn't going to help that man who will die tomorrow or tonight. The apologists recognize that these places are controlled by absolute terror, but they justify the pig's excesses with the argument that we exist outside the practice of any civilized codes of conduct. Since we are convicts rather than men, a bullet through the heart, sum-

mary execution for fistfighting or stepping across a line is not extreme or unsound at all. An official is allowed full range in violent means because a convict can be handled no other way.

Fay, have you ever considered what type of man is capable of handling absolute power. I mean how many would not abuse it? Is there any way of isolating or classifying generally who can be trusted with a gun and absolute discretion as to who he will kill? I've already mentioned that most of them are KKK types. The rest, all the rest, in general, are so stupid that they shouldn't be allowed to run their own bath. A responsible state government would have found a means of weeding out most of the savage types that are drawn to gunslinger jobs long ago. How did all these pigs get through?! Men who can barely read, write, or reason. How did they get through!!? You may as well give a baboon a gun and set him loose on us! It's the same in here as on the streets out there. Who has loosed this thing on an already suffering people? The Reagans, Nixons, the men who have, who own. Investigate them!! There are no qualifications asked. No experience necessary.

Any fool who falls in there and can sign his name might shoot me tomorrow from a position thirty feet above my head with an automatic military rifle!! He could be dead drunk. It could really be an accident (a million to one it won't be, however), but he'll be protected still. He won't even miss a day's wages.

The textbooks on criminology like to advance the idea that prisoners are mentally defective. There is only the merest suggestion that the system itself is at fault. Penologists regard prisons as asylums. Most policy is formulated in a bureau that operates under the heading Department of Corrections. But what can we say about these asylums since none of the inmates are ever cured. Since in every instance they are sent out of the prison more damaged physically and mentally than when they entered. Because that is the reality. Do you continue to investigate the inmate? Where does administrative responsibility begin? Perhaps the administration of the prison cannot be held accountable for every individual act of their charges, but when things fly apart along racial lines, when the breakdown can be traced so clearly to circumstances even beyond the control of the guards and administration, investigation of anything outside the tenets of the fascist system itself is futile.

Nothing has improved, nothing has changed in the weeks since your team was here. We're on the same course, the blacks are fast losing the last of their restraints. Growing numbers of blacks are openly passed over when paroles are considered. They have become aware that their only hope lies in resistance. They have learned that resistance is actually possible. The holds are beginning to slip away. Very few men imprisoned for eco-



conomic crimes or even crimes of passion against the oppressor feel that they are really guilty. Most of today's black convicts have come to understand that they are the most abused victims of an unrighteous order. Up until now, the prospect of parole has kept us from confronting our captors with any real determination. But now with the living conditions deteriorating and with the sure knowledge that we are slated for destruction, we have been transformed into an implacable army of liberation.

[...] Some people are going to get killed out of this situation that is growing. That is not a warning (or wishful thinking). I see it as an "unavoidable consequence"

of placing and leaving control of our lives in the hands of men like Reagan.

These prisons have always borne a certain resemblance to Dachau and Buchenwald, places for the bad niggers, Mexicans, and poor whites. But the last ten years have brought an increase in the percentage of blacks for crimes that can clearly be traced to political-economic causes. There are still some blacks here who consider themselves criminals — but not many. Believe me, my friend, with the time and incentive that these brothers have to read, study, and think, you will find no class or category more aware, more embittered, desperate, or dedicated to the ultimate remedy — revolution. The most

dedicated, the best of our kind — you'll find them in the Folsoms, San Quentins, and Soledads. They live like there was no tomorrow. And for most of them there isn't. Somewhere along the line they sensed this. Life on the installment plan, three years of prison, three months on parole; then back to start all over again, sometimes in the same cell. Parole officers have sent brothers back to the joint for selling newspapers (the Black Panther paper). Their official reason is "Failure to maintain gainful employment," etc.

[...] When John Clutchette was first accused of this murder he was proud, conscious, aware of his own worth but uncommitted to any specific remedial action. Review the process that they are sending this beautiful brother through now. It comes at the end of a long train of similar incidents in his prison life. Add to this all of the things he has witnessed happening to others of our group here. Comrade Fleeta² spent eleven months here in O Wing for possessing photography taken from a newsweekly. It is such things that explain why California prisons produce more than their share of Bunchy Carters and Eldridge Cleavers.

Fay; there are only two types of blacks ever released from these places, the Carters and the broken men.

The broken men are so damaged that they will never again be suitable members of any sort of social unit. Everything that was still good when they entered the

joint, anything inside of them that may have escaped the ruinous effects of black colonial existence, anything that may have been redeemable when they first entered the joint — is gone when they leave.

This camp brings out the very best in brothers or destroys them entirely. But none are unaffected. None who leave here are normal. If I leave here alive, I'll leave nothing behind. They'll never count me among the broken men, but I can't say that I am normal either. I've been hungry too long. I've gotten angry too often. I've been lied to and insulted too many times. They've pushed me over the line from which there can be no retreat. I know that they will not be satisfied until they've pushed me out of this existence altogether. I've been the victim of so many racist attacks that I could never relax again. My reflexes will never be normal again. I'm like a dog that has gone through the K-9 process.

This is not the first attempt the institution (camp) has made to murder me. It is the most determined attempt, but not the first.

I look into myself at the close of every one of these pretrial days for any changes that may have taken place. I can still smile now, after ten years of blocking knife thrusts and pick handles of faceless sadistic pigs, of anticipating and reacting for ten years, seven of them in solitary. I can still smile sometimes, but by the time this thing is over I may not be a nice person. And I just lit my seventy-seventh cigarette of this twenty-one-hour day. I'm going to lay down for two or three hours, perhaps I'll sleep...

² John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo are the other two Soledad Brothers, George Jackson's comrades. (Ed. note)

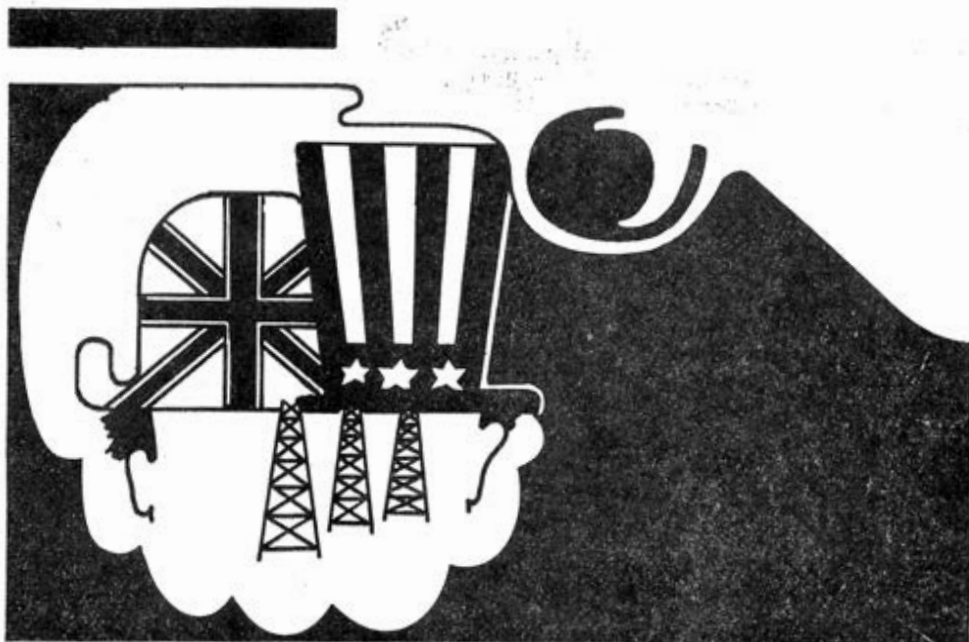


guerrilla fronts



IRAN:

A Guerrilla Struggle



THE anti-imperialistic struggle of the Iranian people after the Second World War reached its climax in 1951. Iranian oil, long controlled by a British company, was nationalized. Imperialism was seeking the opportune moment to strike a blow at the national awakening. The United States and Britain started a courtship and finally the CIA planned and organized a coup d'état in 1953 which toppled the government of Dr. Mossadegh. A new oil agreement was reached between the imperialists and the new puppet government in which the US was also a partner, and patriots were imprisoned or executed. A new era of terror and totalitarian government thus began with ever-increasing imperialist domination.

The Iranian people with a long history of libertarian and anti-imperialist tradition (Iran was the first country in Asia to have a democratic anti-imperialist revolution; this happened in 1906, when the people defeated the absolutist monarch, the puppet of the Czar. This revolutionary phase lasted till 1921) started their struggle against this tyranny from the early days of the new regime and thousands have since given their lives. Today, when imperialist domination is at its acme and the coercive instrument of despotic monarchy at its worst, a turning point has occurred in the history of this struggle. People have realized that force can only be re-

pelled by force. Anti-imperialist experiences of people of Africa, Asia and Latin America have also taught the people that wherever exploiters have been beaten, their violence has been defeated by revolutionary violence.

In the past decade there have been armed uprisings in the provinces of Fars and Kurdistan. A group of patriots also attempted to join the Palestinian guerrillas: first, to show their solidarity with the people of Palestine and their struggle against Zionism and imperialism; second, to gain military experience to use in Iran against the dictatorship. Unfortunately they were arrested and were sentenced to long prison terms in a military court last January.

In March of this year *Le Monde* reported that 13 guerrillas had been executed in the mountains of the province of Gilan. (In this province after the First World War, for a few years, guerrilla warfare was conducted against the central government which had fallen under the influence of Britain. Land was also taken from the landlords and given to the peasants.) The English newspaper *Guardian*, of March 30, 1971, also wrote that "only after the execution earlier this month of 13 Iranians for an attack on a police post in the north did Iran learn of a trial or sentences." That is to say that these patriots have

been murdered, since they were, in fact, shot without a trial.

Thirteen guerrillas were executed on March 17, 1971. Sixty others were arrested and two were killed during the combat. The names of those executed as quoted in the Iranian semi-official daily *Keyhan* of March 27, 1971, are as follows:

- 1) Hassanpour, second lieutenant (conscript);
- 2) A. Safaü, high school teacher;
- 3) Farhoudi, civil servant;
- 4) Nairi, high school graduate;
- 5) Danesh-Behzadi, student;
- 6) Enferadi, unemployed;
- 7) Ghandchi, veterinary surgeon;
- 8) Langarudi, former employee of Teheran municipality;
- 9) A. Safaii, employee of a private company;
- 10) Araqi, employee of the telephone exchange;
- 11) Fazali, employee of the Ministry of Water and Power;
- 12) Mossyadi, employee of the telephone exchange;
- 13) Rhimii, teacher.

The two guerrillas killed during the combat were two students, Samaii and Es-haghi.

The guerrillas, according to the official of the Savak (Iranian Secret Police) speaking over Radio Iran on April 4, 1971, had organized a network of rural and urban guerrilla units, they had attacked the gen-

darme post at the village of Siah-Kal to free one of their numbers. They killed the gendarme chief of this village and after gathering the villagers together and making a speech for them, they left the village. The units of the Iranian army were then sent to the province. The same official reported that one group of guerrillas had fought with the gendarmes for 48 hours, killing five of them, and after running out of ammunitions, had retreated. The guerrillas' strength was estimated at about 150 men.

It appears that the struggle is still going on. General Farsiou, head of the military court who in past years has sentenced many patriots to death and long-term imprisonments, was shot and later died. The government has ordered rewards totaling about \$140 000 for the capture of the attackers showing that it fears the people's action.

Recent events testify that the people's struggle in Iran has entered a new phase of violent revolutionary combat to free the country from imperialism and its puppets. The people know that the road to freedom is not an easy one but they also know that in order to build a free and egalitarian society, sacrifices are necessary and they are prepared to give their lives.

The Voice of Liberation Movements of the People of Iran

SPECIAL communiqué on the attacks carried out by our armed forces against Bissau and Bafata.

Following the decisions and the plans of our Party's Council of War, units of our regular army successfully attacked the country's two most important cities: Bissau, the capital, and Bafata. Having received reports on these attacks from the commands of the respective fronts, we take pleasure in publishing the following communiqué:

1. On the night of June 9 to 10, an artillery unit supported by infantry groups from our regular army broke the enemy's defense lines and shelled Portuguese positions in the city of Bissau. Our units produced important material and human losses among the enemy, who, taken by surprise, remained passive throughout the operation. After the attack colonial author-



PAIGC ATT

ities imposed a state of siege in the capital and forced the civilian population, mainly Africans, to remain in their homes for 24 hours.

To provide logistic and tactical support in this important action, army units from the Nhacra-Mores front carried out simultaneous and coordinated attacks against Portuguese garrisons located between the city of Mansoa and the island of Bissau, including Mansoa, Nhacra, Cumere and Bissau. They caused considerable damage to enemy installations and put many colonial soldiers out of action.

2. On June 26 army units of the Eastern Front entered Bafata, the country's second most important city, and heavily attacked enemy garrisons, the main airport and many administrative buildings. Four fortresses, the meteorological station and other buildings of the enemy's administrative and military infrastructure were destroyed; many of the colonial troops were killed and wounded. On the following day, an enemy contingent that was trying

evolution of our struggle for national liberation. They also constitute—if necessary—a clear denial of the false claims of Portuguese colonialists, who say that we are based in neighboring countries, using this allegation as a pretext for their criminal aggressions against the republics of Guinea and Senegal. In the course of these operations, our forces had no casualties. One unexploded weapon was recovered by the enemy in Bissau.

Amílcar Cabral
Secretary-General



ATTACKS

to break into the southeastern part of Bafata, between Demba Arabe and Gancoli, was defeated by our armed forces; there were six deaths and many wounded. These attacks against the colonial positions of Bissau and Bafata mark a new milestone in the political and military

THE PRESENCE OF WESTERN "

PARTIAL list of war matériel (airplanes, helicopters, ships, arms, ammunition and other equipment) which NATO has supplied to Portugal and which it uses in its colonial wars in Africa.

Type of Material and Supplier Countries	Initial Quantity	Observations
<i>USA</i>		
Republic F-84 Thunderjet	50	Through the American Military Assistance Program (AMAP)
US F-86F Sabre	50	" " "
Cessna T-37C	30	1963-64
C-54 Douglas Skymasters	5	1965
Douglas B-26K Counter Invader bombers	20	1965-66
<i>German Federal Republic</i>		
2502 Nord Noratlas	8	
F-86F Sabre (jets)	60	Built in Canada, 1965
Fiat G91, NATO type R4	40	1966
Dornier, Fiat and Noratlas	140	1968
C-160 Transall bombers	?	1968
Dornier Do-27	130	1969
Saro Skeeter helicopters	10	1969



CIVILIZATION"

Type of Material and Supplier Countries	Initial Quantity	Observations
<i>France</i>		
2502 Nord Noratlas	6	Through the Trans-Atlantic Aeronautic Union
Holste, Broussard	4	
Junker Ju-52	?	
2502 Nord Noratlas	6	Through Nord Aviation
Alouette I Helicopters	?	
" II "	21	1963
" III "	54	Sud-Aviation, 1968
<i>England</i>		
US Harvard T-3	Hundreds	15 sent by the Royal Navy
US Harvard T-3	"	Through AMAP
Auster D.5-160	150	1962-67
<i>Holland</i>		
PV-2 Lockheed Harpoon bombers	18	Through AMAP
P2V Lockheed Neptune bombers	12	Through AMAP
<i>Canada</i>		
Beech C-54 Expediter	19	



Type of Material and Supplier Countries	Initial Quantity	Observations
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2) NAVY

England

Frigates <i>Alvares Cabral</i> and <i>Pacheco Pereira</i>	2	
Patrol ship <i>Antares</i>	1	
Frigates <i>D. Francisco de Almeida</i> and <i>Vasço da Gama</i>	2	
Frigates <i>Morecarbe Bay</i> and <i>Mounts Bay</i>	2	
Patrol ship <i>Regulus</i>	1	
Frigate <i>Dalrymple</i>	1	1966

USA

Mine draggers	8	
Mine draggers (large)	4	
Frigates <i>Corte Real</i> and <i>Diogo Cão</i>	2	
Frigates <i>Almirante Gago Coutinho</i> , <i>Almirante Magalhães Correia</i> and <i>Almirante Pereira da Silva</i>	3	Loans The US paid half the costs in 1966-67

France

Patrols ships	3	Paid for by the US
Frigates	4	1967-69
Submarines	4	1967-69

Type of Material and Supplier Countries	Initial Quantity	Observations
<i>German Federal Republic</i>		
Patrol ships	8	5 were sent to Angola and 3 (<i>Canopus, Deneb and Bellatrix</i>) were sent to Guinea
1400-ton war ships (the corvette <i>João Coutinho</i> and others)	3	Through Blohm & Voss, 1970
<i>Italy</i>		
Frigate <i>Pero Escobar</i>	1	Paid by the US
Patrol ships	5	Constructed in Portugal, paid for by the US
Choloupe LDP 214	1	Constructed in Portugal by NATO in 1968

3) MILITARY VEHICLES AND EQUIPMENT

Type	Origin	Year	Observations
Panhard AML H 607 Armored cars	France	1966	
Humber Armored cars	England		
M-47 Tanks	German Federal Republic	1967	

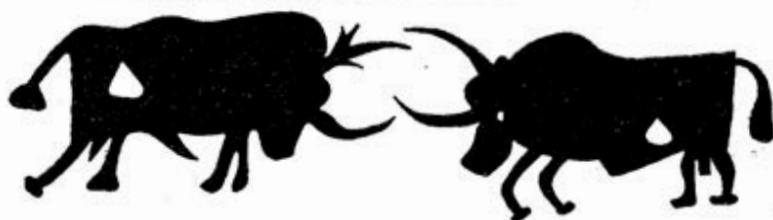


Type	Origin	Year	Observations
Gipsy Austin Jeeps	England	1965-67	The first contingent of 200 jeeps furnished by the British Metal Corporation (BMC)
Willys Jeeps Unimog Trucks	US German Federal Republic	1964-66	Through Mercedes Benz
Berliet Trucks Tires for military vehicles	France US		Through MABOR (subsidiary enterprise of the American trust International Tire and Rubber Co.)
Electronic Equipment	France	1966	Through Barbier, Bernard and Turenne, SA

4) ARMS AND AMMUNITION (NATO, member nations of NATO and Israel)

Type of Material	Origin
<i>Pistols</i>	
Walter P38 9mm	German Federal Republic
Beretta M-1951	Italy
MAS M-1950	France
Browning FN 9mm HP	Belgium, NATO





Type of Material	Origin
<i>Automatic Rifles</i>	
FA 7.62 FN (FAL)	Belgium, German Federal Republic, England Spain, NATO Italy
FA G3 7.62 (Cetme)	
FA Light Beretta Model 59, 7.62	
FA M-16 5.56mm	
System for firing grenades with FA 7.62mm	
FN (FAL) by Energa	USA
Infra-red system for G3 (Cetme)	USA
<i>Machine Guns</i>	
UZZI MP 2 A1 9mm	Israel, NATO
FN type MAG (general usage MGX 15 B1) 7.62	Belgium, England GFR, Denmark, Italy
MG1 (MG 3) 7.62	Holland, England
BREN 7.62	United States, NATO
Browning M 1918 A 2 30 M2	
<i>Carbines</i>	
American 30 M-1 (Garand)	USA
Mauser 7.92	GFR
<i>Mortars</i>	
60mm	USA
81mm M-29	USA, NATO
120mm Brandt	GFR
<i>Rocket Launchers</i>	
LR Light PZ F 44-1	German Federal Republic
LR Antivehicle M-20 B1 89mm m/52	United States
LR Antivehicle M9 A1 M/55 60mm	United States
Tester for LR antivehicle M20 M 7142254	
Tester 17 T 5518-100 for LR antivehicle M 9 A 1	
<i>Antiaircraft Defense</i>	
12.7 AA US Mount, rifle, multiple M55 (M 45C)	United States

Type of Material	Origin
<i>Recoilless Cannons</i>	
57mm M 18 A 1	United States, NATO
75mm M 20	United States
105mm	United States, NATO, German Federal Republic
<i>Land Mines and Terrestrial Bombs</i>	
Antivehicle mines	United States, England, France, Canada
Antipersonal mines	United States, Italy, France
<i>Grenades</i>	
Hand fragmentation grenades	United States
Hand grenades 33/46	United States
Hand fumigation grenades M/954	Canada
<i>Charges and Means of Destruction</i>	
Conical charge with perforating action	
Mark	3 England
Bengalor	
1-kg destruction blocks	
Petards 200 and 100 grams	
Detonators	
Fuses	
Galvanometers	
Electric lines	
<i>Ammunition</i>	
9mm	NATO
7.62mm	England, United States
60mm Howitzer mortar	France
120mm Howitzer mortar	Israel
81 mm Howitzer Mortar	Italy
Rockets for PZF 44-1	
Rockets for M20 89mm rocket launchers	
Rockets for M9 A1 60mm rocket launchers	
12.7 for antiaircraft US Mount	
High explosive Howitzer for 57mm M18 A1	
Armor perforator Howitzer for 75mm M-20	
Small-ammunition (special antiaircraft rocket launcher with ammunition)	United States
Scheffler ABFV explosives	France
Mine detectors	
Rubber life rafts	



appeals and messages



PUERTO RICO: A People in Captivity

SINCE July 25, 1898, a date of mourning for the Puerto Rican people, the United States has held Puerto Rico in its rapacious imperialist claws. The Puerto Ricans, hostages of US imperialism, are a Latin-American people held in captivity by the US forces which have occupied their best arable lands, thus causing widespread agricultural ruin and the massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States, where they are victims of national and racial discrimination. Some 1 500 000 Puerto Ricans live crowded in the ghettos of the United States, condemned to habitual unemployment and constant police repression.

The intransigent attitude of the US imperialists in refusing to recognize the Puerto Rican people's right to freely determine their own destiny and become an independent and sovereign nation, is due precisely to the huge profits they obtain through the exploitation of the country, its natural resources and the creative initiative of its workers. Contrary to what is right, the Washington government acts as the only judge of the destiny of the Puerto Ricans.



Obligatory conscription of Puerto Rican youth into the US armed forces is an onerous blood contribution imposed on Puerto Rico by the US imperialists; the commercial monopoly obliges Puerto Ricans to buy US products exclusively, turning the small island into the second US market in the hemisphere and the fifth in the world; there exist numerous air, naval and US army bases, including two gigantic atomic complexes — the Roosevelt Roads and Ramey Field bases; there is monopoly of the mass media and air and sea transportation; US Federal Courts have been established in Puerto Rico to judge and condemn Puerto Ricans — especially social fighters and patriots; the presence of all US repressive forces on the island, in addition to the numerous repressive colonial forces — all this is a real and forcible definition of the overt colonial nature of the regime imposed on Puerto Rico by US imperialism under the tricky name of Free Associated State.

Because of its revolutionary and patriotic vanguard position, the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) of Puerto Rico is leading the political struggle, and its members are therefore suffering repression, while attempts are made to destroy it because of its steadfast defense of the nation's independence and national liberation.

The armed struggle is developing through the Armed Liberation Commandos and other clandestine groups, joined with a growing mass struggle in which the working class and other Puerto Rican workers are increasingly active.

On the 103rd anniversary of Grito de Lares, the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat denounces the colonial regime which the United States has imposed on Puerto Rico, calls on all its member organizations, the progressive countries and the revolutionary forces of the world — especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to lend every type of material and moral support to the Puerto Rican patriots so that they will be able to successfully bring their heroic independence struggle to an end and expel the Yankee imperialists — cruel oppressors of the Puerto Rican people.

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