



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party want people to learn from all that is exposed and revealed in this newspaper? Mainly, three things:

1) The whole system we now live under is based on exploitation— here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic change for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2) Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains: The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to act to bring about a completely new and better world: Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

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Peru: Report from Third International Delegation

Shantytown Sweeps and Torture of Political Prisoners

The third delegation organized by the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán recently returned from Peru with urgent reports about stepped-up repression against revolutionary prisoners and the masses. On November 21 the delegation met with members of the Association of Democratic Lawyers in Lima. In the face of death threats and government attacks, these courageous lawyers represent many of the political prisoners in Peru. Dr. Alfredo Crespo—lawyer for Abimael Guzmán (Chairman Gonzalo)—is a member of the Association. The Association lawyers also brought several people from the shantytowns to speak with the delegation.

The members of the third IEC delegation were: Mary E. Cox, a lawyer with the National Conference of Black Lawyers, from the U.S.; Craig Everson, a lawyer with the Aboriginal Legal Services Ltd. in Canberra, Australia; Reggie Major, a professor, journalist and author of books on the Black liberation movement, from the U.S.; and a translator.

Torture of Political Prisoners

One of the Association lawyers at the meeting with the delegation was Jorge Cartagena who is now representing Martha Huatay—a founding member of the Association who was recently arrested for “terrorism.” Cartagena was present at her military “trial,” and he reported that it was clear she had been tortured to the point where she was unable to speak and seemed unaware of her surroundings. The International Red Cross examined her and found brain lesions and a fractured skull. Huatay was quickly sentenced to life imprisonment by the kangaroo court.

The IEC delegation reported: “Dr. Cartagena said that [in Ms. Huatay’s case] he was unable to present oral arguments, witnesses, etc., just as in the Guzmán case. He was allowed to present a written defense and told that the sentencing would be the next day. When he came back the next day, the sentence had already been written out.... Demonstrating with his hands, he



Peruvian soldiers in a Lima shantytown.



Martha Huatay.

said the police file is handed over to the prosecutor. The prosecutor hands the file to the judge. The judge accepts what’s in the file and it becomes the verdict and sentence.”

Another Association lawyer at the meeting was working on the defense of a man named Inchausto, the husband of Maritza

Garrido Lecca—the well-known prima ballerina who was one of those arrested with Chairman Gonzalo on September 12. The IEC delegation learned that Inchausto and three others arrested with Guzmán are being held in a military prison called Yanamayo in Puno in south Peru. Many of the revolutionary prisoners who survived the May 5 massacre at Canto Grande prison are also held there. The prison is high in the Andes mountains, and the temperature often falls below freezing. The prison is not heated, and the prisoners only have their striped uniform and a blanket, must sleep on the concrete floor, and only get one hour of sunlight a day.

The torture of Martha Huatay and the barbaric conditions of prisoners at Puno clearly highlight the *immediate danger* to the life and health of Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru (often called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path). Gonzalo is being held in complete isolation, unable to meet even his lawyers and family. This is an alarming situation, especially since the U.S.-backed Fujimori regime is trying to find ways to execute Gonzalo through “legal” means or otherwise.

Police Sweep the Shantytowns

The IEC delegation also learned from the Association lawyers and others about the fascist crackdown by the Fujimori regime. The delegation reported: “According to Dr. Cartagena and others, one of the ways that stepped-up repression of the masses takes place is the practice of ‘rastrillaja.’ This is the Spanish word for ‘raking.’ It has been occurring for some years in the city, for a longer time in the countryside. It is now happening much more frequently.

“The typical ‘raking’ operation will begin in the middle of the night, about two in the morning. The military moves in and surrounds a neighborhood. From that time until it is over, perhaps the following night, nobody may enter or leave. This usually takes place in the shantytowns, in the very poorest districts. When the military comes in, they have several objectives. For one thing, they come with a list of people that they suspect to be involved in, or supportive of, the insurgency. Besides this, they register every person who lives in the area. In addition, their purpose seems to be to terrorize the population and attempt to cow them into accepting their fate.

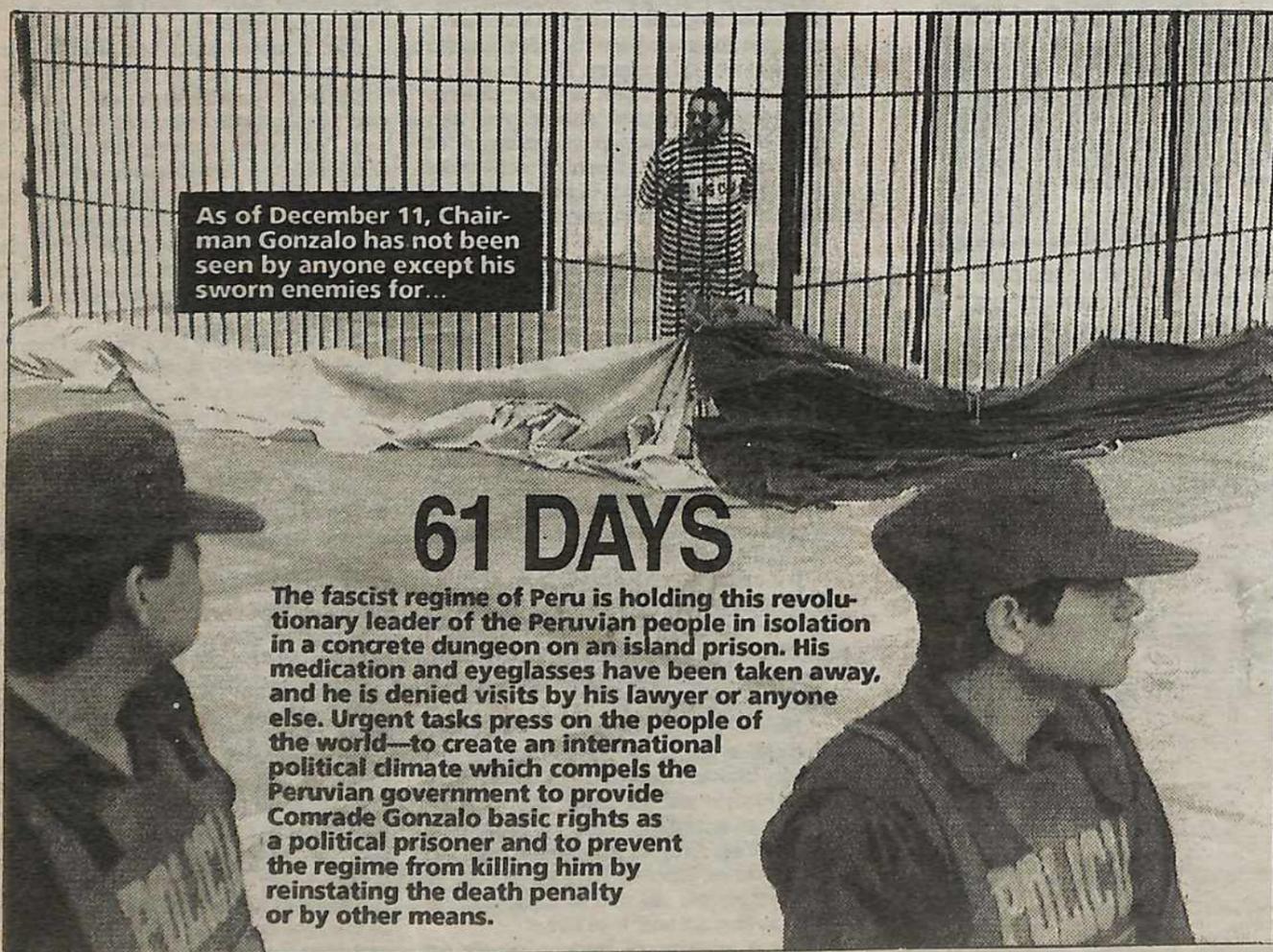
“The military start systematically ‘raking’ the community from one end to the other. House by house, or shanty by shanty, they go through people’s belongings, taking anything that’s valuable, raping women, tearing things up while ‘looking for evidence.’ Those who offer resistance are detained and charged with being subversives. As this goes on, working people who are prevented from leaving often lose their jobs, too.

“Over the years, as these operations have developed, resistance has also developed. To try to placate the people, the government brings in truckloads of food—rice, milk, etc., and distributes it while the raking is going on. They also may have a medical team, and people can line up to get a medical check-up. They also come in with music for the kids, all in an effort to present this assault as something beneficial to the community. The funds for these services come from a special tax controlled by the Ministry of the Presidency which is levied on workers, which is supposedly intended for aid to the indigent [poor]—building low cost housing, etc.”

Role of Maria Elena Moyano

The delegation asked about the role of forces like Maria Elena Moyano in the “raking” operations. Moyano—who operated soup kitchens in a Lima shantytown—was killed by guerrillas earlier this year, and the bourgeois media seized on this to attack the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) for targeting “grassroots activists.” But in fact, Moyano was a leading official in a political party that is part of the United Left—a collection of phony “left” organizations. The United Left has increas-

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As of December 11, Chairman Gonzalo has not been seen by anyone except his sworn enemies for...

61 DAYS

The fascist regime of Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people in isolation in a concrete dungeon on an island prison. His medication and eyeglasses have been taken away, and he is denied visits by his lawyer or anyone else. Urgent tasks press on the people of the world—to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to provide Comrade Gonzalo basic rights as a political prisoner and to prevent the regime from killing him by reinstating the death penalty or by other means.

Three U.S. warships pulled up to the East African coast. On December 9 they sent their first invasion force ashore—under cover of both darkness and a United Nations resolution.

The whole landing was timed to meet deadlines for the U.S. evening news. There was no opposing army—the beach and the adjoining airport were already held by Pakistani troops employed by the United Nations. Then, to the embarrassment of the generals, the invading Rambos were suddenly disabled by the journalists massed on the beach. The Navy Seals were wearing night-goggles and the crowd of exploding media flashbulbs left them stumbling around blindly in the Somali dunes.

As the troops seized the Mogadishu airport, the action quickly got ugly. U.S. marines burst in on a group of African men sleeping in an airport hanger. Screaming in English, the U.S. gunmen forced the Africans onto their bellies. Automatic weapons were jabbed at their heads. The Africans were manacled, using the same kinds of plastic handcuffs used in the mass arrests of South Central Los Angeles.

The African men are employees of the U.N. force with permission to sleep in the hangers. The world was told that the U.S. invaders had come to rescue the people—but to U.S. troops, these Somali workers fit the "profile" of potential enemies: they were Africans in a U.S. security zone.

The Chicago Tribune reported: "The Somalis, baffled and uncomprehending of the orders being shouted at them in English, muttered angrily about colonialism and what seemed to them an invasion of their country."

Death, Lies and Videotape

The invaders fanned out from the airport, through the Somali capital of Mogadishu to occupy the harbor area. Roadblocks were set up. That night, imperialist troops shot two Somalis to death and wounded seven others.

When this first killing was reported on U.S. news, it was blamed on the Somalis. The media said that an armed "technical" jeep was shot up when it tried run a French roadblock. They claimed guns were found in the wreckage.

Later the truth came out: This was not an armed jeep, but a van filled with a Somali family. There were no guns. In the darkness, the Somalis had not seen anything until they were suddenly confronted by armed screaming foreigners. There is no evidence that the van had tried to run either the French or American roadblocks. The U.S. military had to admit that U.S. troops were in on the killing.

The U.S. troops have orders to be harsh and violent. UN troops have orders to only shoot when fired upon, but U.S. General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said his troops have orders to take "pre-emptive action"—meaning shoot first.

For over a week, the U.S. public has heard Somali youth described as "drug crazed, heavily armed gang members." The night of the landing, NBC's Nightline ran video footage of a Somali woman complaining about "terrorists" in the streets of her country. Nightline's editors spliced in pictures of the Somali men brutalized by Marines in the airport hanger. The message is clear: viewers are supposed to think of those men as potentially dangerous "terrorists," even though everyone—including Nightline's editors—already knew that they had been unarmed Somali workers.

For proletarians who live here, in the belly of the beast, all these tactics are familiar. We too have seen armed attack squads of the system hit a neighborhood with "overwhelming force." We too have seen young men thrown on the ground, brutalized and cuffed—just because they met some "profile." We've seen police beat Rodney King and then claim he must have been "hopped up" on dope. We have seen the system's jump squads kill people in nighttime actions and then later claim the victim must have been armed and dangerous.

And we've seen the lying press create endless propaganda for the system: They claim the people themselves are thrilled to see police crackdowns. Then they turn around and portray the same people as dangerous criminals needing to be disarmed and dominated.

In Somalia they call it "Operation Restore Hope." In Chicago housing projects they call it "lockdown." In other cities they call it "Operation Hammer," "Weed and Seed," or "border control."

Whatever they call it—these are nothing but trademarked dominator moves by this pig-imperialist system. And nothing about it will help the people.

U.S. of

There is widespread confusion about the U.S. invasion of Somalia. And there is far too little clear opposition. Many people don't understand what the U.S. is up to. Many don't understand how this invasion hurts the interests of the people of the world. Some people are confused by the supposedly humanitarian mission of this operation. Here are some basic questions and answers about this U.S. invasion.



French Foreign Legionnaires remove the bodies of Somalis killed in their truck in Mogadishu.

The U.S. said they are invading to prevent a human tragedy. Who else in the world could act? Isn't this one case where the U.S. military is doing some good?

No. The U.S. imperialists are not acting to help or save oppressed people. Humanity and compassion have nothing to do with U.S. actions.

After all, these are the same imperialists who sent their Coast Guard to keep hungry people from leaving Haiti. They are enforcing a naval blockade of Iraq that keeps food, medicine and spare parts for water systems from entering that country. This blockade is daily causing the death of Iraqi children from malnutrition and disease. And this same U.S. is stepping up its backing of the Peruvian regime—to defend a social order where tens of thousands of children die annually from poor sanitation and lack of food.

Here is the official U.S. story: The problem in Somalia, they say, is fundamentally a "security problem." The U.S. claims there is food in harbor warehouses, but it cannot reach the starving people in the rural areas because of armed bands that hijack convoys. This, they say, has created an extreme crisis situation in which a million people may starve to death in the immediate future. What the people of Somalia need, the U.S. says, is for Marines to "secure" the overland routes between Mogadishu and the feeding centers.

It is extremely difficult to know precisely what has been happening within Somalia—the Western media is deliberately creating a picture of events to support U.S. actions. But some recent information has put some cracks in the official story.

Here is the situation, as best we can tell: Somalia is still in the grips of a bitter and deadly famine. Hundreds of thousands have already died and as many still face the danger of starvation. There are as many as two million refugees gathered in over 200 camps across Somalia. They will depend on food shipments and will face starvation as long as they are unable to farm.

Large numbers of starving people are

still arriving in feeding centers like Baidoa. Many of them are near death from malnutrition and disease. Throughout parts of the countryside, Somali peasants and nomads desperately need food, seed grains, new livestock and clean water.

But the impression given by the U.S. media and military has been that food could not reach the feeding centers because of "armed gangs" and "warlords." The impression, was that the people gathered in these rural spots were starving because of the anarchy along the roads. But reading between the lines in press accounts, a different picture emerges.

Until a month ago, food was reaching rural feeding centers by overland convoys. Some food was taken on the road and diverted to markets and some of it may have been diverted to starving villagers in the countryside by armed clans. As the land convoys became more difficult, the relief efforts have switched increasingly to air-drop. The airport at Mogadishu was controlled by the UN's Pakistani troops, and food was flown from there to various inland relief centers.

Recently the *New York Times* (Dec. 11) printed a revealing statement: "When they arrive in Baidoa, the foreign troops will find a town where most people look remarkably better than the barely moving skeletons of six months ago. Tens of thousands of people have died since the famine hit here earlier this year, and about 30,000 people are still dependent on food handouts even though the surrounding countryside is now green after heavy rains and in some places, sprouting maize."

In other words, some relief centers have not been cut off from Mogadishu's food by "armed gangs." The starving people shown in video footage from Baidoa are largely newly arrived peasants. The other 30,000 refugees around the center face serious danger of disease but are currently being fed. It is not true that the key problem has been the lack of "secured" overland contact between Mogadishu and the feeding centers.

The main immediate problem seems to be that food does not reach beyond the relief centers to the masses of peasants scattered

The Lockdown Somalia



French Foreign Legionnaires search Somalis.



U.S. forces landing in Somalia are met by Western media.

through the vast countryside. The lack of outreach undoubtedly contributes to the hijacking of food shipments—some armed bands may be diverting the food toward villages far from the relief centers.

The lack of outreach worsens the effects of the famine because hungry peasants are

forced to leave their land—they wander toward a few centers where disease is concentrated and they will not be able to plant next year's crop.

Moving grain through rural famine areas is a dangerous operation for obvious reasons. But interviewed relief workers are

claiming they could reach more rural areas if they had more jeeps, trucks and gasoline—and if planes could carry out more widespread airdrops. Relief workers in Baidoa told ABC *Nightline* that they never stopped getting supplies of basic grain by air, but need more diversified diets

of rice and beans to improve the health of the Somali peasants and nomads.

However, the U.S. imperialists were *not* helpful on *these* needs of the relief effort. The U.S. promised 146,000 tons of food last January—but almost none of that was ever delivered. And before this invasion, the U.S. only provided three Hercules cargo planes for the airlift—which meant that airdrops were limited to a handful of relief centers and caused them to mushroom in size. At his first press conference, General Johnston, commander of the invasion force, himself said people are mistaken if they believe that the task of the marines is to bring food to the starving people of the rural areas.

In short, there are growing reasons to doubt the central U.S. justifications for this invasion: that only their troops can get food to peasants who would otherwise not get any.

The truth is that during the '70s and '80s, U.S. and Soviet confrontations pumped arms into this region and sent the armies they created into battle against each other. This, and the civil wars that followed, caused the famine throughout the Horn of Africa. Kevin Danaher, director of the Global Exchange organization, told the *RW*, "The U.S. invasion is like the arsonist rushing around the fire with water."

After refusing to provide much food or air support during the height of the famine this last summer, the U.S. is suddenly using this famine as an excuse to invade — to reestablish imperialist-backed authority.

But isn't a disciplined army—even an imperialist army—preferable to the anarchy of the armed gangs?

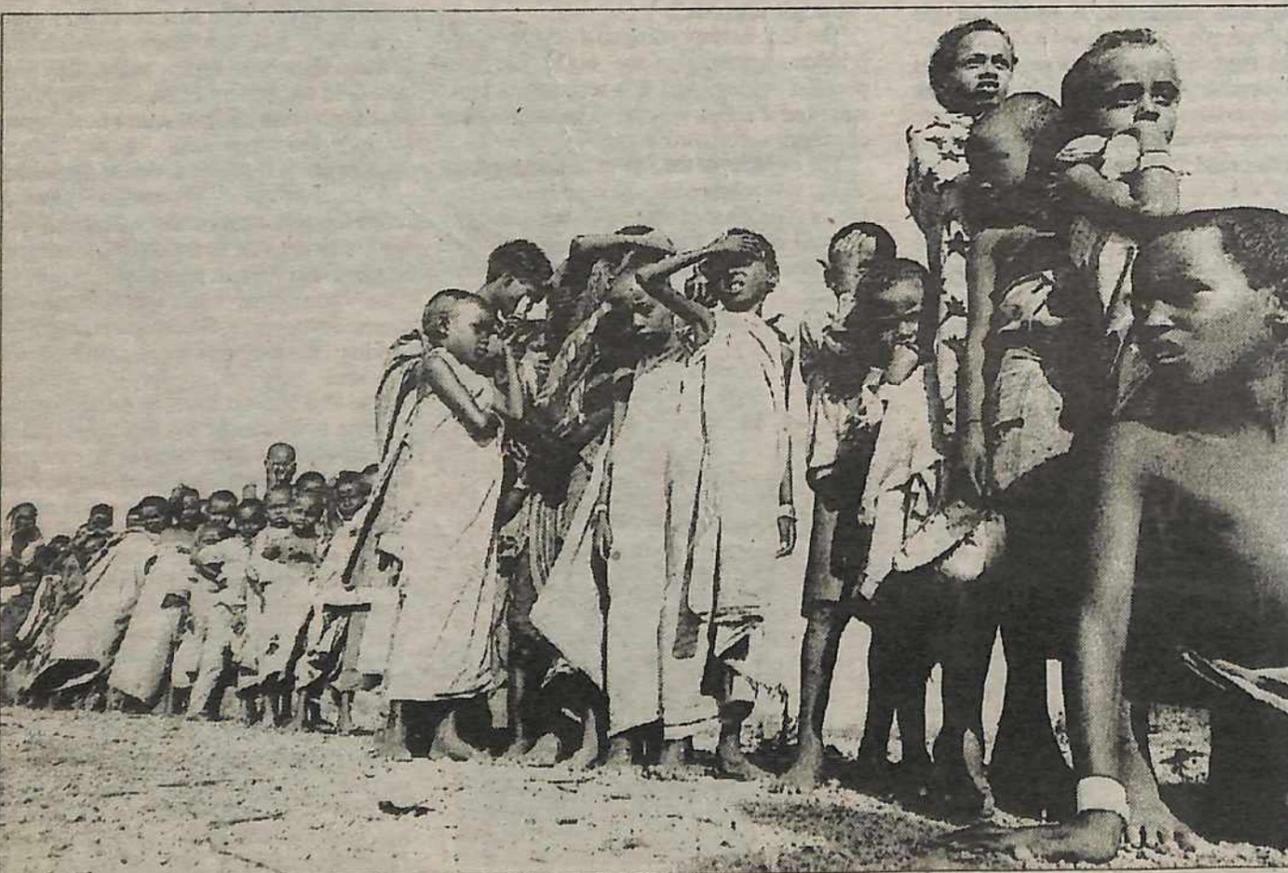
No. It is wrong to support imperialist countries taking over and dominating oppressed countries under any circumstances. The idea that a U.S.-imposed order would be better for the people of Somalia shows a totally colonialist mentality. The U.S. government and military are the biggest warlords on the planet. We say: big warlords have no right to dictate to little warlords.

But this question is also based on a mistaken idea of what the U.S. imperialists will do. Even if the U.S. succeeds in getting the warring factions in Somalia to "cooperate," this will not help the Somali people. It will just unify and centralize the bigger "armed gangs" into a government that will bow down to U.S. interests. And this kind of interference caused the problems in the first place.

As soon as the troops landed, the U.S. commander postponed the advance inland toward the relief centers. Instead he focused on negotiations with the leading armed groups in Somalia—headed by the rival generals which the U.S. media calls "warlords."

The U.S. media has been complaining that "armed gangs" rob and resell relief supplies. The heads of relief agencies now complain every night on the television that they were the victims of organized protection rackets—where armed groups in Mogadishu forced them to pay for protection. Relief workers were charged \$5,000 a day to operate the Mogadishu port and up to \$400 for the rights to land planes at various airstrips. And there is little doubt that these Somali factions *are* disrupting relief efforts and threatening people in Somalia. But that

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Food line in Baidoa, Somalia, December 11, 1992.



Searching for water.

Photo: Mike Yamashita

Somalia

Continued from page 5
will not stop when the U.S. establishes its style of "law and order."

After all, U.S. policies toward Somalia created the various armed forces of Somalia in the first place. For more than ten years the U.S. poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the Somali army—to counter Soviet influence in the neighboring country of Ethiopia. The huge influx of arms, dollars, and food from the West twisted the Somali economy, wrecked the local agriculture, and created a class of soldiers who became totally dependent on imperialism for the support of their families. Then in the late 1980s, the U.S. lost interest in Somalia. Fighting in the ranks of the Somali ruling classes and armed forces broke out, resulting in the armed factions that now control various parts of the country.

The competing factions are all anxious to be top dog in Somalia. They all support the continued dependence of Somalia on the U.S. and other big powers. If the U.S. succeeds in its current plans, the robbing and murder will just be done by a new unified armed gang, which the U.S. and the U.N. will call "the new government."

The U.S. invaders of Somalia can never mobilize and arm the masses of Somali people to solve any problems—this would go directly against their imperialist class interests. The U.S. needs regimes that will maintain conditions where people and resources can be profitably exploited by U.S. corporations. And so it will organize and arm those who are now profiteering in grain. And why should that be a surprise: profiteering in grain during a famine is nothing but "free market capitalism" at work.

Take a look at how a U.S.-backed government deals with disaster relief: In 1979 a major earthquake devastated Nicaragua, which was then ruled by the long-time U.S. puppet Somoza. After the quake Somoza shamelessly stole most of the relief supplies and sold them piecemeal from huge government warehouses. The U.S. didn't respond to this robbery by invading. Instead they backed Somoza against a rising revolutionary movement and then financed the mercenary contra army of pro-Somoza forces for ten years.

The Somali people won't be helped by imperialist thugs with guns and they won't be helped by the future Somali regime the

U.S. will now set up. The Somali people need to drive out imperialism, the supporters of imperialism, and the social and economic relations imperialism imposes on the oppressed countries. What the people need is revolution: a revolutionary leadership, a revolutionary army, a revolutionary people's war—and a new society.

Aren't the Somali people themselves welcoming the U.S. troops?

Every time a Somali crowd cheers for U.S. marines, it is broadcast to the world. But don't believe the hype. There are different class forces among Somalis and there are different responses to the invasion.

Navy Rear Admiral Cramer says the local warlords "have been uniformly positive in their support" for the U.S. invasion. To prove they can be valuable to the invaders, the local "warlords" ordered sound trucks to drive all day long through Mogadishu telling the people that the U.S. forces were coming to "help Somalis." General Aidid even reportedly staged parades to welcome the invaders. This propaganda influenced a section of the Somali people.

But there are also sections of Somalis who oppose the invasion. In the peak famine crisis last August, there were demonstrations in Somalia carrying banners that read: "Foreign Army, NO! Food, YES!"

While the heads of some international relief agencies stood in line to call for the invasion, the more rank and file relief

workers were widely reported to oppose any invasion, saying that U.S. troops would not solve the people's problems and would only make things worse.

The *Chicago Tribune* (Dec. 10) wrote that as U.S. Marines first rode through the streets of Mogadishu, "Along the way, Somalis showed reactions ranging from spontaneous applause to disdainful glares. Some carrying AK-47s lurked at the back of crowds." One Marine, interviewed on *Nightline*, said that Somalis had gotten up in his face, telling him to go home.

Wouldn't a long-term UN protectorate help stabilize things without leading to U.S. or European colonialism?

No. In the 1950s the UN set up "protectorates" in the Third World. Italy was made the "protector" of Somalia—after having been a major colonizer of Somalia for most of the century. And Namibia became another "protectorate"—under the control of South African apartheid.

In the Iraq war and in this Somali invasion of the 1990s, the UN has been nothing but a figleaf for the actions and interests of big imperialism—especially the U.S. imperialists.

Another example: the UN recently sent French and Japanese troops as "peacekeepers" to Cambodia. French and Japanese imperialism are powers that once conquered and dominated Cambodia. Now, under U.N. banners, these colonists are back carrying guns and planning to pick the next government of Cambodia.

In other words, the United Nations does not represent some classless "world community." The United Nations represents the governments—and ultimately the classes—that control it. And, bluntly speaking, it is a pigsty of imperialists and their lackeys.

A *Chicago Tribune* columnist wrote (Dec. 10), "The idea, endorsed by commentators on the left and the right, is to make shattered nations into UN 'protectorates,' to be governed by some other country until they are capable of governing themselves. Another name for this...is colonialism."

When people talk of "UN protectorates," they are really saying that Third World peoples need colonialist powers to control them. But it is never the interests of the people who are "protected" by such arrangement—it is always the interests and profits of imperialism!

Everyone seems to agree that the U.S. has no strategic interests in Somalia. Doesn't this mean that the reasons for the U.S. operation must be humanitarian?

No. The U.S. is like a vampire prowling the world for a blood fix. Humanitarianism is never part of that picture!

The U.S. military never does anything that does not further the international class interests of the U.S. ruling class—and the Somali invasion is no exception. It is true that there are few resources to exploit in Somalia—but that does not mean that the U.S. is not furthering its reactionary "strategic interests."

The U.S. is responding to a new wave of problems erupting in the worldwide imperialist system. And it is responding in a way that it hopes will carve out a unique, dominant superpower position for the U.S.

The collapse of the Soviet bloc in the late 1980s was followed by the bloody unraveling of a number of states—in the Horn of Africa, in the Balkans, and along the southern fringe of the former Soviet Union.

Several of these conflicts threaten broader international stability and threaten the interests of various imperialist powers.

Since the Persian Gulf war, the United States has put itself forward as the power that can work out solutions for key problems within the world system: it wants to be both kingmaker and policeman. But for the people of the world, such a strengthened position for the U.S. imperialists would only mean more suffering, more exploitation, more domination.

The still-evolving U.S. plan is to create a network of international coalitions—in-



Hauling water.

Photo: Alan Negues

cluding the U.N.—that can endorse, fund and also join international U.S.-led military actions. The U.S. hopes such "multilateral" support would minimize the danger of the U.S. finding itself "bogged down" again, alone in a draining Vietnam-like war.

As part of this strategic plan, the U.S. wants to reshape its military for this "new mission"—developing new abilities to stage quick-in/quick-out invasions anywhere in the world, like some international SWAT team.

The plan foresees major efforts by the Pentagon and the new U.S. president to create political support within the U.S. for such imperialist actions.

Bush and Defense Secretary Cheney said they had chosen to act in Somalia because the country was "militarily double." They meant, first of all, that there was no local army or government to oppose the invasion—so it could be used as a "low-cost" training operation for future invasion. They also meant that Somalia is not contested by different imperialists right now—so that it would be easier to get the international support of other powers and the United Nations. And finally, they meant that specific limited objectives could be defined—the U.S. rulers expect to withdraw relatively easily and relatively soon.

One bourgeois bigshot in Washington explained, "Weak countries allow you to be daring, because the risks are lower."

At every level, the imperialists are making it clear that this invasion will be followed by others. U.S. representative Edward Perkins told the UN, "There will be many Somalias." Congressman Obey stepped up to microphones outside the White House to say the UN should immediately start discussing a similar invasion in Haiti.

Bourgeois commentators say the Somali intervention will help the new president Clinton prepare people for more U.S. interventions abroad. The *New York Times* wrote (Dec. 10): "For a military establishment acutely conscious of its vulnerability to post-cold war budget cutters, the landing at Mogadishu was the ultimate photo opportunity." *Newsweek* said: "Now Clinton, who began his political career protesting U.S. involvement in Vietnam, will have to refine the philosophy and spell out the rules for a concept that is suddenly gaining acceptance: the right to intervene."

In short, you can't understand the strategic purpose of this invasion simply by looking at the resources available in Somalia.

The U.S. ruling class invaded Somalia because they plan to set themselves up as the cop-of-the-world. And because they are being pulled toward a role of suppressing disruptive conflicts in many parts of the world. On the one hand, the U.S. wants to decide who does what to whom—to maintain their own profits, to keep oppressed countries under their control, and to keep an upper hand over various imperialist rivals. But on the other hand, there are tremendous doubts whether these conflicts can be contained, and the U.S. risks being drawn into quagmires, fiascoes and defeats.

No one who hates oppression should support the U.S. invasion of Somalia. It will not only bring new suffering to the Somali people, but it will prepare the military and political framework for more invasions to come—in Haiti or Bosnia or perhaps Peru.



At the U.S. Embassy gate, Mogadishu, December 10, 1992.

"Assume the Position!"

WE KNOW WHAT THIS MEANS! U.S. Guns Don't Help or Liberate Anyone.

Los Angeles



Los Angeles, May 1, 1992

Not in the oppressed communities within the U.S.

Somalia



Mogadishu, Somalia, December 9, 1992

Not in the oppressed nations of the U.S. New World Order.

**We are the proletarians at the bottom of this society and we say:
U.S.: Get Your Swat Team Out of Somalia!
Revolution Is the Hope of the Hopeless!**

THE YANKEE HAND BEHIND THE CRISIS IN PERU

Part 2—Imperialism's Grip on Peru: Control and Misery for Profit

by Raymond Lotta

There is hardly a Peruvian participating in the money economy of the country who does not eat, wear, or use something processed, manufactured, or imported by Casa Grace.

Grace Company Study, 1954

President Belaunde of Peru appointed Carlos Rodriguez-Pastor as Minister of Finance. A Central Bank official in the first Belaunde administration, he had been hired by Wells-Fargo, one of the 10 largest U.S. banks, to build up its Peruvian portfolio in the 1970s. He rose to the position of head of the international division at the bank before returning to Peru in 1982.

from news accounts

Yanqui Go Home!

world famous slogan of the oppressed in Latin America

Imperialism is a worldwide system of exploitation and oppression. One of its key features is that a handful of rich capitalist countries control the economic lifeblood and economic destinies of the oppressed nations—where the vast majority of humanity lives. Imperialism penetrates, exploits, and dominates the Third World through a variety of means: investments in factories, loans to governments, foreign aid, technology, weapons sales, training of government and military personnel, and out-and-out force. Since imperialism's relationship to the masses of the oppressed nations can only lead to misery and suffering, it needs a repressive neocolonial state to keep people down. The bottom line for imperialism is profit and control.

Poverty cannot be ended in the oppressed nations until imperialism is overthrown. The oppression of women, the ever-widening gulf in social and economic conditions between the countryside and the cities, destruction of the environment—none of these problems can be addressed and tackled until imperialism is first overthrown. This is exactly and uncompromisingly what the Communist Party of Peru (called Shining Path in the press) is leading the oppressed of Peru to do. And this is exactly and genocidally what the government of Alberto Fujimori, armed and financed by its U.S. masters, is committed to preventing.

This article looks at some of the ways that imperialism has exercised its grip on Peru's economy. Great Britain was the main colonial and imperialist power in Peru in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this century, the U.S. has been the top dog.

W.R. Grace Builds an Empire in Peru

Very few readers of the RW have probably heard of W.R. Grace and Company. Grace is a giant multinational corporation, but here in the belly of the beast its power and operations are not so visible. That's not the case elsewhere. As *Fortune* magazine put it, "To many people in Latin America, Grace is the United States of America—and more." For the masses of Peru, Grace was and is a curseword. Grace was a hateful, exploitative presence exercising enormous power over Peru's economy for over a century until it scaled down its Peruvian operations in the early 1970s.

It would be no exaggeration to say that without Peru there would be no Grace. It was in Peru that Grace reaped its first and fastest profits; and its Peruvian and Latin American operations generated the capital that enabled it to branch into banking and other activities. Grace got its start as a commercial enterprise in the mid-1800s by shipping *guano* (bird-droppings used as fertilizer) from Peru to Great Britain. The company fattened its earnings later by shipping copper and tin to Great Britain and the United States. By the early 1900s, Grace had gained control of several large Peruvian mines and plantations and branched into textile production.

Grace was no longer simply shipping the commodities produced by others; it was now directly producing as well as shipping agricultural and manufactured goods. Grace needed laborers for its sugar plantations. And it stopped at nothing to get them. Indians were pushed off their lands. Labor contractors recruited them with cash ad-

vances to be "worked off"—this was a system of debt servitude that remained in effect through the 1940s. Back in the 1870s, Grace even got into the Chinese coolie trade, shipping Chinese laborers from the U.S. to Peru after they were no longer needed on the railroad gangs.

By the 1960s, Grace's holdings in Peru included four textile mills, two large sugar plantations, chemical, paper box, and paint plants, as well as fishmeal and mining enterprises. It owned over 40,000 acres of Peru's most fertile lands. Grace controlled 75 percent of sugar refining, over 50 percent of cotton textile production, and nearly 90 percent of paper production in Peru. Grace was the second largest industrial employer in all of Peru. Its giant agro-industrial complexes at Cartavio and Paramonga were company towns: 38,000 workers were penned up, every aspect of their lives was controlled by the company, and resistance was met with violent repression. The company even hired Cuban exiles to enforce discipline in its paper operations.

The Grace Company had considerable experience and considerable stakes in Latin America. So it was only logical that in 1962 President John Kennedy would appoint the chairman of Grace to head a commission to evaluate the work of the Alliance for Progress—U.S. imperialism's program for investment, aid, and repression in Latin America in the 1960s.

Multinationals Mine a Vein

Foreign corporations like Grace played a decisive role in Peru's development in the post-World War 2 period, as they did throughout the Third World. World War 2 had catapulted the U.S. to the top of the imperialist pecking order. It was positioned to construct a global empire. A major element of this empire was a huge outflow of capital to Third World. It was there that superprofits—based on low production costs and savage working conditions—could be obtained, that raw materials could be mined and monopolized, and that capitalism could profitably extend itself. Much of the capital that went to the Third World, especially to Latin America in the 1960s, was what is called direct investment. This means investment in actual production facilities, like factories and mines. It means American companies setting up local subsidiaries, like Casa Grace.

In Peru for the 25 years following World War 2, most of this private direct investment went into mining, particularly copper and iron ore. In fact, during this period, there was more new mining investment capital pumped into Peru than into any other Third World country.

Why were mining investments so important to the U.S. empire? First, specific metals and minerals have strategic value. The lead and zinc and copper found in Peru, like the chromium and manganese found in South Africa, are widely used in modern industrial production and are especially important in weapons manufacture. Second, *cheap* raw materials from the Third World gave a tremendous boost to the profitability of imperialist capital; cheap raw materials were a critical factor behind the industrial world's 25-year economic boom following World War 2. Third, these investments paid handsome returns to investors.

Take the Southern Peru Copper Corporation (SPCC), which was founded in the 1950s by four American copper companies. SPCC's huge copper mining and smelting installation was one of the most profitable of any in the world. For Phelps Dodge, one



Graffiti reads: "Death to Yankee imperialism."

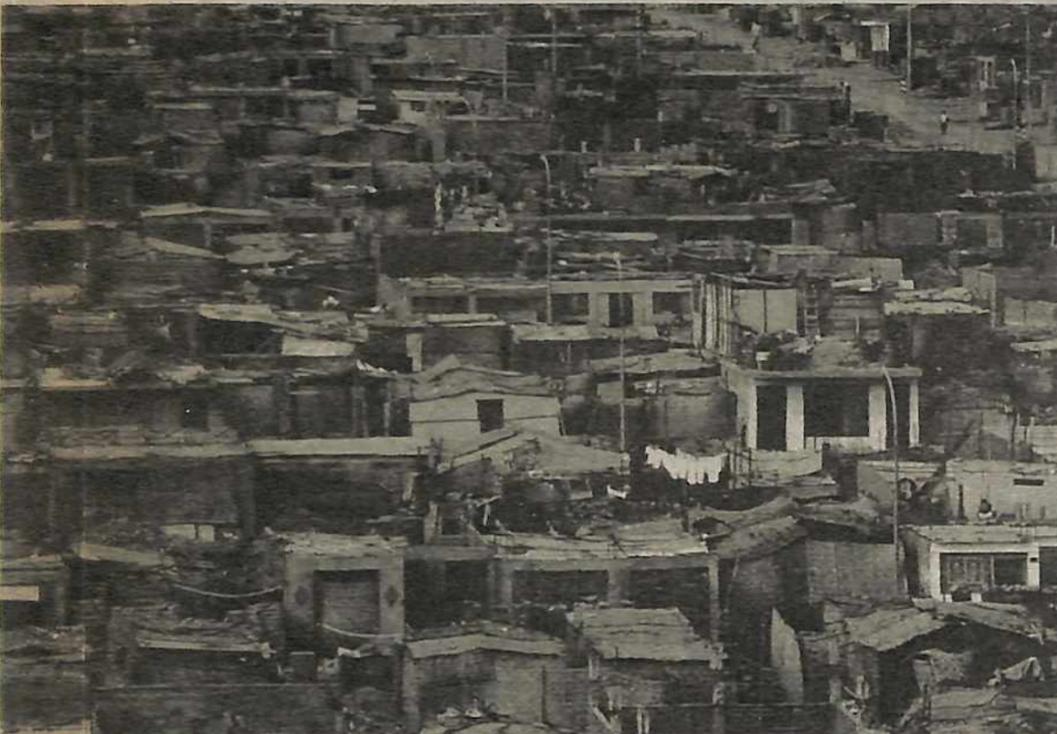
"There is an imperialism dominating us, U.S. imperialism. This is something real and everyone knows it! Where has this led us? Here and now to the worst crisis in our entire history, a crisis the like of which has never been endured by our people."

Abimael Guzmán (Chairman Gonzalo), head of the Communist Party of Peru, in a statement after his capture.

Peru has been victimized by centuries of colonial and imperialist oppression. This is the second article in a series exposing how imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, dominates Peru and how this domination has brought suffering and misery to the people of Peru. Part 1: "The CIA, the International Monetary Fund, and Peru's Cocaine Fix" appeared in RW No. 684, and exposed the hand of the U.S. government and the IMF behind Peru's cocaine economy.



IMF headquarters, Washington, D.C.



One of the shantytowns near Lima.

of the participating SPCC companies, Peruvian earnings were contributing as much as 22 percent of the company's total after-tax profits during the 1960-69 period; for Asarco, another participating company, Peruvian earnings were contributing as much as 50 percent of its total profits during the same period.

Finally, investment in raw materials and control over them have a "geopolitical dimension." This has to do with power relations between imperialist powers, with alliances and rivalries. The United States had strategic reasons to forge an alliance with Japan and Germany after World War 2. So it gave them access to oil and other raw materials from the Third World. But it did so on its own terms—on the basis of U.S. strategic control over resources, like Middle Eastern oil. Japan is not self-sufficient in most of its own raw material needs; for instance, it needs imported iron ore to feed its steel mills. Peru was one place Japan turned to, and the Marcona Company in Peru became Japan's biggest supplier of imported iron ore in the 1960s. Marcona was owned by the U.S.

By 1968 three American firms controlled about 75 percent of the Peruvian mining industry. And about 80 percent of the industry's output was exported. The International Petroleum Corporation, which was owned by Exxon, gained control of Peru's oil industry in the north of the country. Mining and petroleum were the main attraction for imperialist capital. But capital flowed into other sectors of the Peruvian economy as well, and with the same results: half of all manufacturing industry and two-thirds of banking were in foreign, mostly American, hands by the 1960s!

There are three important points here: one, Peru's economy has been controlled

by an outside force, foreign imperialism; two, its economy has been oriented outward, to serve the needs of imperialism; and, three, this process has stood in contradiction both to the development of an independent and balanced national economy and to the needs of the broad population. The basic relationship of imperialist domination and penetration has not changed over the last century. What has changed are some of its forms.

The Junta, Foreign Debt, and the Changing Face of Imperialism

In 1968 a military junta led by General Juan Velasco came to power in Peru. It paraded as a populist regime. But it carried out savage repression against the masses. It spouted nationalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric. But this was a cover to wrangle a better deal out of imperialism—to get the imperialists to share more of the spoils with the Peruvian ruling class and to pressure

and induce the imperialists to invest in modernizing the economy.

The most dramatic move of the regime involved the takeover of several mining, oil, and plantation properties of the big U.S. multinational corporations. In response the United States stopped all government loans to Peru. New private investment from the U.S. multinational corporations dried up (Grace sold off or was compensated by the government for most of its industrial assets).

The U.S. put the squeeze on Peru. The World Bank granted Peru only one loan between 1968 and 1973. In 1974 the military regime bowed to the pressure and agreed to pay all the companies for the properties that had been nationalized.

U.S. imperialism was forced to restructure its presence in Peru. Its mining investments were no longer as profitable as they had once been. Beginning in the mid-1960s, capital had begun moving out of mining into manufacturing, including more

advanced segments. This trend picked up after the 1968 coup. At the same time, various mining, manufacturing, and telecommunications interests established new arrangements, like joint ventures, with Peruvian state capital. With U.S. firms having to reposition themselves, Japanese and European capital saw an opportunity to strike some deals with the Peruvian government, and their investment position would strengthen considerably in the years following.

But the most important change that was to occur in the economic relations between U.S. imperialism and Peru, and with Latin America generally, in the 1970s and early 1980s turned on the role of banks and international financial institutions. Private lending, that is, loans from imperialist banks to Third World governments and enterprises in the Third World became the dominant form of U.S. imperialist foreign investment.

As the advanced capitalist economies
Continued on page 10



Lima protest against public transportation fare increases, 1964.



John F. Kennedy with J. Peter Grace.



Former Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado announcing a land reform plan, 1969.

YANKEE HAND

Continued from page 9

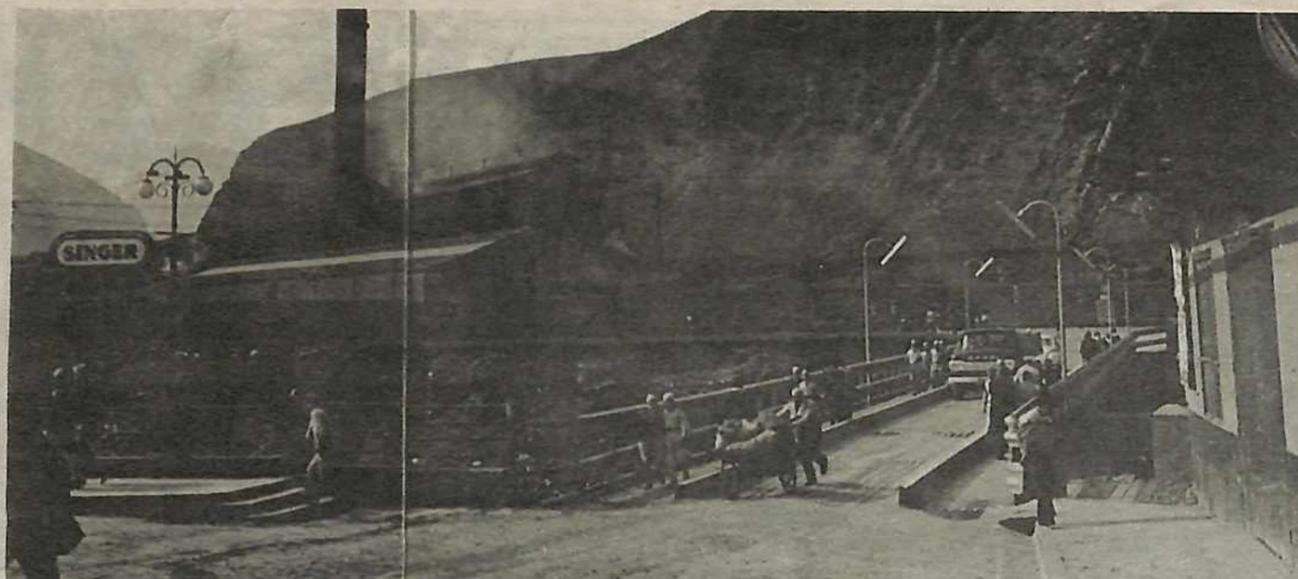
entered a slowdown in the early 1970s, loan capital began seeking outlets in the Third World. One way this works is for a bank to provide finance, let's say, to a government-owned electric utility; it receives profits in the form of interest on the loans. The bank can also use its position as a creditor to the utility to influence where the utility buys its equipment; say from a multinational firm associated with the bank. The process of extending new loans and renegotiating past debt gives the banks and lending agencies more say over a firm's or state enterprise's investment and management decisions.

In these and other ways, imperialism can achieve control over state-run enterprises in manufacturing and natural resource sectors.

By the mid 1970s, debt crises—the inability to repay debt—began to emerge in the Third World. These debt crises reflect real obstacles to growth throughout the world economy, and pose dangers to the large imperialist banks and the world financial system. But imperialism seeks to shift the burden of this crisis onto the oppressed nations.

The banks and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—the financial policeman for world imperialism, which the U.S. dominates—use the crisis to gain greater control. To help these countries “put their house in order” so they can repay their debt and qualify for new loans, the IMF imposes an “adjustment program” which covers not just this or that enterprise or sector but the whole economy. Typically, these adjustment programs involve slashing of government subsidies and social programs, devaluation of the national currency to encourage exports, removing regulations and policies that stand in the way of foreign ownership and control, etc.

So we go back to Peru. Peru in the 1970s needed foreign loans. The Velasco regime had launched several massive investment projects in mining, steel, oil, and agriculture. The equipment required for these state-run projects could only be imported. And to pay the bill, Peru had to have finance. The expansion of manufacturing depended on imported raw materials and machinery. That too necessitated finance from abroad. The regime was also trying to deal with the potential for social disorder in the cities. So it imported cheap food. These purchases also required finance.



Smelting plant in the mining town of Oroya, Peru.

This last problem speaks to a major contradiction for imperialism. It seeks profit. But it also has to bring political factors, like social and political stability, into its calculations. It has to strengthen the capacity of the neocolonial state to cope with upheaval at the same time that its murderous drive for profit provokes it.

Peru's borrowings from foreign, mainly American, banks tripled between 1968 and 1974. The bankers saw no major problem. The economy was growing, and it seemed as if exports of copper and oil should be able to pay the bill. But the situation quickly spun out of control. The cost of already costly imported equipment was rising; the government was buying a lot of expensive weaponry from the Soviet Union; the big investment projects were poorly planned and absorbing financial and material resources; interest payments on the loans were growing; and Peru's earnings from copper and oil plummeted as prices fell on the world market. By 1975, Peru was facing a serious balance of payments crisis—it couldn't earn enough internationally to repay its debt. To try to deal with the crisis, the government introduced severe and highly unpopular belt-tightening measures. Clampdown measures followed. A more pro-American section of the military seized power.

The Bankers Step In, The IMF Takes Over

Peru needed to be bailed out. The government turned to the foreign banks for

help. A bankers' delegation arrived in Lima in 1976. It was led by Irving Friedman of Citibank. He had worked in a major capacity at the International Monetary Fund but was now a trouble-shooter for Citibank's Third World investments (he had just gotten back from Zaire in Africa). The banks decided that Peru would get new loans if two basic conditions were met.

First, Peru had to agree to give foreign investors more favorable treatment—like allowing oil companies to drill in jungle basins. Second, and most incredible, Peru had to allow this group of banks—who now described themselves as a “steering committee”—to directly monitor its economy to make sure budget and finance policy and activity met the requirements of the bankers. Ministers in the government were shuffled and dismissed. One of the American bankers openly admitted that the main purpose of the loan was to keep the new general running the country, Morales Bermudez, in power. The loan agreement required Peru to raise prices for food and public transport. Riots broke out in 1976, and martial law was imposed shortly thereafter.

One of the banks represented on the 1976 delegation was the California-based Wells-Fargo. It had become heavily involved in Peruvian finance. In the 1970s it hired Carlos Rodriguez-Pastor, a former top official of the Peruvian Central Bank, to build up its Peruvian investments. He did so well that he went on to become a vice-president of the bank. In 1982 he returned to “public life”—as Peru's Minister of Finance! He would preside over imperialist-dictated social spending cuts.

The growing importance of imperialist loan capital in the functioning of the economy and its heightened role as a mechanism of external control over the economy did not mean that direct im-



Laborers line up to purchase food at a Lima market, 1971.

perialist ownership of mining and industrial assets had withered away. In 1988, 40 percent of Peru's primary sector (mining, petroleum, and agriculture) was in foreign hands. And foreign capital remained, and remains, the leading force in manufacturing—focused as it is in the technologically advanced sectors.

In 1977 the IMF stepped in to oversee a more savage “adjustment” program. The debt crisis continued to worsen. Peru was borrowing simply to repay. Peru's foreign debt stands at \$20 billion today. Between 1984 and 1989, it had paid out to the imperialist countries \$5 billion more in debt payments than it was receiving from the rich countries in the form of new loans and investment. The IMF is basically running Peru today, while the masses suffer through the worst social and economic crisis in Peru's history.

Today in Peru, the principal issue facing imperialism is not the implementation of this or that IMF program of starvation, or desirable forms of investment. The question is the future of imperialist domination itself, whether imperialism can maintain its rule. That is why the U.S. and the IMF are orchestrating and backing Fujimori's genocidal rule.

Imperialism always gives rise to resistance. But in Peru there is a struggle and a movement, led by the Communist Party of Peru and fueled by decades of oppression and exploitation, that is aiming at nothing less than the complete and total defeat and ouster of imperialism in Peru. And it has a chance to win. □

NEXT INSTALLMENT: how imperialism distorts the economy and society in Peru
Sources for this article include:

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David Becker, *The New Bourgeoisie and the Limits of Dependency*



Guerrilla fighters of the Communist Party of Peru.

Rondas, Death Squads and the Phony Left in Peru

During the 1980s, the death squads run by the reactionary Armed Forces of the U.S.-backed government in El Salvador became notorious for brutal murders of peasants, workers, activists and religious people. A version of the death squads are now operating in another Latin American country ruled by a U.S. client regime—Peru. As part of the bloody counterinsurgency against the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru, the Peruvian government and the military have organized *rondas*—"patrols" made up of members drafted from peasants in the countryside and from shantytown residents in the cities.

A feature of the *rondas* is that they are not only formed by the Armed Forces—they are also promoted by a so-called "opposition" group calling itself the United Left (IU). The various parties making up the IU claim to be "progressive," "socialist," or "communist." But in reality, they have been collaborating with the regimes in power for many years through participation in the parliament and town councils and control of various "non-government organizations" that promise reforms to the people.

The IU supported the corrupt and reactionary regime of Alan García Pérez who was president from 1985 to 1990. In the runoff elections of 1990, IU's support tipped the balance in favor of the current president, Alberto Fujimori.

As they have become increasingly discredited in the past few years, the IU is even more openly taking part in the counterinsurgency plans of the ruling regime. And one of their key roles is the promotion of the *rondas* and other reactionary paramilitary groups.

An Instrument of U.S. Counterinsurgency

The Peruvian military has used *rondas* as a weapon against the people's war since 1983. A year earlier, the U.S.-backed regime of Ríos Montt in Guatemala put in place a similar operation against the anti-government guerrillas, with help from Israel. By 1983 Montt claimed to have over 300,000 "recruits" in these "Civil Defense Patrols." Whether they are called *rondas*, "civil defense patrols" or death squads, these reactionary paramilitary forces are an integral element of the U.S.-supported counterinsurgency strategy.

The *rondas* in Peru are often headed by former soldiers and police or criminal elements. Peasants in the areas of the countryside where the military still has some control are forced into joining. Those



Peruvian President Fujimori hands out rifles to ronda members.

who refuse are put under suspicion of being "subversives" and subject to harassment and even murder. In a cowardly tactic, the military uses the *rondas* as a shield in battles against the Maoist guerrillas. When *rondas* are defeated in battle, the government and the media claim that they have been "massacred" by the guerrillas. Fujimori recently announced that he will distribute 10,000 new rifles to the *rondas*.

In recent years, the Communist Party of Peru has extended its strength and influence to the huge slums that surround Lima and other cities. To counter these revolutionary advances, the reactionaries have been forming *rondas* and other paramilitary groups in the cities as well. The IU plays a big role in these urban *rondas*.

The Rondas of Villa El Salvador

On February 15 of this year María Elena Moyano, the vice mayor of Villa El Salvador shantytown in Lima, was killed in a guerrilla attack. Moyano was also known for organizing soup kitchens in the shantytown. The international press seized on

this as a supposed example of an "independent grassroots activist" being killed by the Maoist revolutionaries. But in fact, Moyano was a prominent member of the Movement for Socialist Affirmation (MAS), which is part of IU. Soup kitchens like the ones run by Moyano are seen by the government as a way to win people away from revolutionary politics. And she also worked with the military to promote *rondas* in the shantytown.

Yoni Rodríguez, an IU member and mayor of Villa El Salvador, is following in Moyano's footsteps and becoming a major promoter of the counterinsurgency plans of the government in the poor neighborhoods. He calls for "national unity against terrorism" and for people to "get tough with subversives." In a July 26 interview with *La República*, a newspaper linked with IU, Rodríguez promoted collaboration with the government security forces—but he also revealed the real strength of the Communist Party of Peru (called Sendero Luminoso by the press):

Would you agree with the government when it says that when Sendero delivers a crushing blow, it is only putting on a show of force to cover its weakness?

Rodríguez: I'm not so optimistic. Sendero has a certain presence and direction, as well as years of preparation. They are stubborn in their strategies and mode of thought. It's not an organization that will fall apart on its own. It will take a broad unity of national defense against terrorism and policies that contribute to peace.

Under what conditions are the urban *rondas* a viable option?

Rodríguez: Look, you have to fight Sendero with more local organization, at the grassroots level, a stronger and more dynamic organization can put forward its achievements, however small. The government has to show more support for the municipal leadership. It's not only a military problem. For example, in sector four I have a problem...where there is a committee of struggle that is, let's say, pro-Sendero...

Does the government understand the problem of the people's barrios in confronting Sendero?

Rodríguez: I don't know. At times I feel some sort of lack of knowing how to confront terrorism. I have the feeling that the Armed Forces have been inconsistent in taking tougher steps against terrorism... Why can't the Armed Forces carry out intelligence activities as they should? Many military people think that lists of supposed Sendero activists should be turned in. Intelligence work does not have to be so desperate, but should really count on the people.

Should they cooperate with security forces?

Rodríguez: In part it depends on whether the Armed Forces are willing to coordinate, doesn't it? I'm quite clear on this. All the forces must unite, including the Armed Forces and the police, but there must be a willingness to work together and respect each other. In my opinion, this has yet to be demonstrated.

The "Night Patrols"

The government and the military are now organizing a new form of death squads called "serenazgos" (night patrols). The *serenazgos* are similar to the *rondas*, but they are made of carefully selected ex-soldiers of the army and police who receive twice the pay of the ordinary police. Humberto Paredes Vargas, mayor of the town of Comas, is one of the first officials of the suburban districts of Lima to form a *serenazgo* unit. Paredes is a member of the Unified Mariateguist Party (PUM) which is part of IU.

According to the July 30 *Caretas*—a reactionary Peruvian magazine linked to the DINCOTE counterinsurgency police—the "serenazgo" unit in Comas has five cars and a radio communication unit. Paredes says that "this is only the beginning." Information gathered by the "serenazgos" from snitches "will be given to the Neighborhood Security organizations as well as to the security forces located in the district." *Caretas* also reveals that in order to make the *serenazgos* more effective, Comas "will sign an agreement with the interior minister."

Apologists for the Military

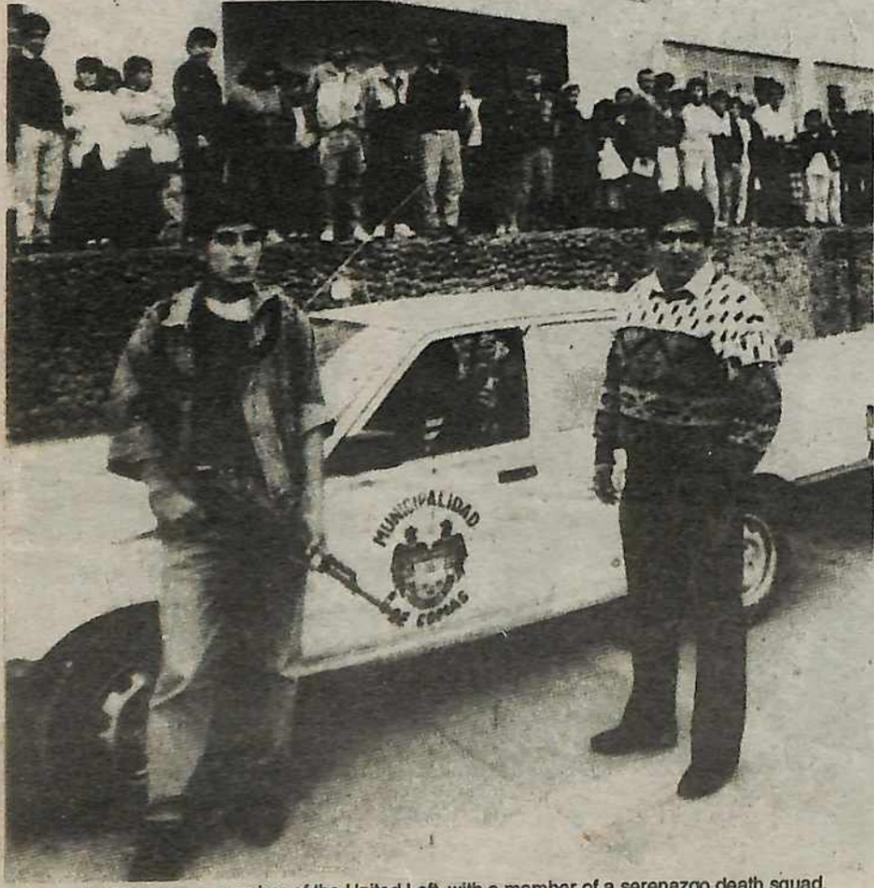
Henry Pease, a leader of the United Left, has openly defended the military against charges of human rights abuses. This is the same military that various international human rights organizations have described as one of the most brutal in the world. Pease laid out his reactionary views in an August 12 interview with *La República*:

As for the theme of pacification, do you feel the Army has cut down on its human rights violations?

Pease: I don't think the Army violates human rights. I don't think there is a desire on the part of its officials to violate them...

Well then, must the military carry on a dialogue with the political parties?

Pease: There is no other solution than to exchange views with the military...nowadays, for any steps toward democracy, I think it is more important to speak with the military than with Fujimori. □



The mayor of Comas, a member of the United Left, with a member of a serenazgo death squad.

From Weed and Seed to Community Policing:

The Pig-ification of Los Angeles

In Los Angeles, the government is moving ahead with Weed and Seed, the centerpiece of their program to turn neighborhoods of the oppressed into police-state communities. The \$19 million plan announced by George Bush during the L.A. Rebellion will put more cops in oppressed communities, along with mini-police stations to coordinate networks of collaborators: neighbors snitching on neighbors. They'll have bike and foot patrols so the cops can talk to people and get more information for their expanding computer files, that already have the names of half the Black youth in L.A. County. Plus, Weed and Seed will force social workers, people who run programs like drug rehab centers or even after-school sports programs, to cooperate with the cops in their clampdown. This is to be carried out in the areas of Pico-Union and South Central, where the people are overwhelmingly Black or Latino and poor, and where the Rebellion burned brightest. All this is taking place under the control and guidance

of the U.S. Justice Department, the U.S.'s top law enforcement agency that includes the FBI, the DEA, Immigration Service (La Migra) and the Bureau of Prisons.

But if you read or watch the bourgeois press in Southern California, you'll hear that Weed and Seed has been thrown out. Although it was announced six months ago, so many people protested this plan that it was delayed, hearings were held, and it was finally voted down by the members of the L.A. city council whose districts were targeted. Then on November 20, after the national elections, a headline appeared in the *L.A. Times*: "Agreement Reached on Inner-City Aid Package." The council members got together with the U.S. attorney, Mayor Tom Bradley and new LAPD Chief Willie Williams—and they changed the name of Weed and Seed. It's now the "Community Project for Restoration," or CPR, like it's going to be the breath of life for poor communities. And for those who think there's a lesser of two evils—this Democratic Party program is just another example of "All the

better to eat you with." Daryl Gates is out; George Bush is out. Los Angeles has a Black mayor and a Black police chief. The city council members who now approve of the plan are leading liberal Democrats, including Mark Ridley-Thomas, who reassured people that "the heavy-handed approach is history. Community-based policing will be the order of the day in Los Angeles."

But community-based policing is what Weed and Seed is all about. This is the strategy of the U.S. rulers to clamp down on the people, and keep themselves in power through some desperate times. Community-based policing seeks to get a small section of the people to collaborate, not only to turn people in, but also to put a phony stamp of popular approval on police operations that go after the masses, especially the youth. As the RCP fact sheet, "Community-Based Policing: Program for Police-State Communities" says, "It doesn't mean community control of police. It means police control of communities." This strategy has been promoted and is now being implemented on a national level. The only reason they are calling it something different in L.A. is that there has been so much exposure of how Weed and Seed was about increased police repression.

L.A. City Council member Mike Hernandez told the *L.A. Times*, "It will not be the Justice Department running the program here." The U.S. attorney agreed that it has "no hidden strings attached to it," and added, "This is an LAPD project." First, what kind of person is going to be reassured to hear that the LAPD is in charge of an increased police presence in communities of oppressed nationalities? This is the LAPD that beat Rodney King. And the LAPD had a long history of racism and police brutality and murder before Rodney King. The LAPD also has a history of working with a variety of federal agencies. And since the rebellion there has been a big leap in this collaboration.

Migra agents work right out of the Rampart Division in Pico-Union. Joint task forces regularly bring LAPD and FBI together. DEA and Migra agents patrol Pico-Union and other 'hoods, with and without LAPD cops. Scores of FBI agents were unleashed to arrest the LA4+ (arrested for the beating of truckdriver Reginald Denny) and others following the rebellion. And in the last couple weeks, one hundred FBI agents, supported by many cops, stormed through a San Fernando Valley neighborhood to arrest five people in an area that's been a focus of police repression. Weed and Seed allows the authorities to try people for federal crimes, since federal courts have a higher conviction rate and generally give people more time. But federal prosecutors already routinely look at criminal cases in L.A. to see if they want to take them to federal court. In fact, when Bush announced that the \$19 million for Weed and Seed/CPR includes "only" \$1 million for police, and the rest for associated social programs, officials said that was because the authorities are already doing a lot of the things that are part of the new program.

Federal control can be exercised indirectly as easily as directly. Money for Weed and Seed/CPR comes from the U.S. Justice Department, which decides what programs to fund. When the city of Seattle, Washington wanted to use Weed and Seed money for a foreign language translation service and Seattle Team for Youth, their request was rejected "unless the Seattle Police Department has a significant involvement in program activities."

Just what this police-state program is all about can be seen from what happened to some Black youth who spoke out against the plan during hearings held in October. At the first hearing in South Central on October 19, there were social workers, revolutionaries, immigrant rights activists, proletarian youth and older people from the neighborhood. They were so unanimous in



Photo: Alan Duignan/L.A. Times

Los Angeles, April 29, 1992.



Photo: Bart Bartheleme/New York Times

Los Angeles, April 29, 1992.

their opposition that one revolutionary called it a "rally against Weed and Seed." Especially vocal were a group of Black youth who were brought together by the Cross Colours Common Ground foundation. Three of the youth who spoke against the clampdown at the meeting were arrested later that night in the Watts housing project of Jordan Downs, where they have been active in organizing the gang truce that grew out of the rebellion. One of the men was beaten and suffered fractured ribs. He now faces charges of felony assault on the police. The cops say he threw a beer bottle at them, but he told the *L.A. Weekly* this was a ridiculous lie. The other two had charges of assault and resisting arrest dropped, but the illegal arrest was used against one of them who was on parole, and he has been sent back to prison.

A spokesperson for Common Ground told the *RW*, "The only thing that they changed about [Weed and Seed] was the name" and added that the people "still had work to do" to oppose and resist it. But others, mainly people tied to the Democratic Party, who have opposed Weed and Seed are now saying that Weed and Seed/CPR represents a big change. One former opponent went on a radio show with a U.S. Attorney and an aide to the mayor, both of whom said straight up that CPR was just a name change. Right after that this former opponent tried to insist that CPR was a dramatic change, and even a "victory" for the people.

Another former opponent of Weed and Seed told the *RW* that the whole nature of CPR would be determined by the neighborhood committees that are part of the program, so people should "wait and see" who's on them before they decide whether to support or oppose the plan. The police exist to enforce a system of brutal inequalities, and this is not changed by letting people meet with the local police captain or shake hands with police chief Willie Williams every now and then. In fact, neighborhood committees are there to support the police as they clamp down on the people.

The RCP fact sheet says, "When you work with the police, three things can happen. You bring harm down on other people. Or you bring harm down on yourself. Or both." The latest example of this was a few weeks ago when an 18-year-old Chicano youth, Efrain Lopez, was running around his Pacoima (San Fernando Valley) neighborhood in his underwear, waving a broom. His mother stopped a patrol car and asked the cops to help her son. Within a minute, they had murdered him with nine bullets to the chest. Then they brought out the neighborhood committees to cool out people's



righteous anger, while nothing happened to the killer cops.

Weed and Seed/CPR tries to force people into the position of collaborating with the police. Some who run social programs say it's the only way they can get the money they need to "help people." Those who think they're just going to take the money should check out what time it is. The hard truth is that the system is in crisis, and isn't going to be coming up with big-time funding for social programs like it did during a similar period of rebellion in the 1960s. Mayor Bradley just announced a plan to recruit social workers, ministers and others to cool out the masses during the second Rodney King case trial in federal court, as well as the trials of the LA4+. People who work in social programs are now going to be expected to help keep people down.

The RCP fact sheet says, "That's why the powers have turned to community-based policing. Because they're scared shitless of the masses they oppress. They're afraid that the whole society will be out of control. They're afraid that as their crisis worsens, their old police methods won't be good enough any more. But the same conditions that fuel their nightmares and drive them to new leaps in repression also reveal the possibility of a different outcome, a revolutionary one." □

What's the Government Trying To Do with "Weed and Seed"?

- Weed and Seed is aimed at positioning the Department of Justice as the central political force determining urban policy in the U.S., with all social agencies subordinated to law-enforcement agencies. Weed and Seed openly argues that the Department of Justice, the FBI, the INS, and federal firearms, narcotics, and alcoholic beverage agencies should be the central organizing force in all federal programs coming into urban centers.
- Weed and Seed would transfer selected drug and firearm cases from local to federal jurisdiction. Under federal laws people are subjected to harsher sentences and fewer civil rights, it is harder to get bail and, if convicted, people are subject to federal sentencing guidelines and/or federal mandatory minimums and incarcerated in federal facilities.
- Weed and Seed provides almost no new federal funds. Instead it appropriates existing federal funds and pulls them under Weed and Seed authority. This expands the influence of the Justice Department to control already existing social-service funding and programs.
- Weed and Seed is linked with the development of "enterprise zones." These are areas where industry receives tax breaks and relaxation of environmental regulations in exchange for hiring residents at slave wages.
- The backbone of Weed and Seed is a massive dose of armed force. And its justification is built on a propaganda campaign that demonizes Black and Latino youth. Racist stereotypes are used to perpetuate the view that all youth in the ghettos and barrios are gang members and "weeds" that must be wiped out.
- Under Weed and Seed, the "danger of drugs and gangs" is used to justify all kinds of police and government abuse and the blatant elimination of all kinds of rights. Police tactics that have been announced in connection with the implementation of Weed and Seed include "street sweeps," "use of sophisticated audio-visual evidence-gathering techniques," "intensified narcotics investigation," and "targeted prosecutions."
- Under Weed and Seed, the repressive and intimidating role of the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Services) will be expanded. The INS will work more closely with federal agencies and the LAPD. This has already been going on to a large extent. During the L.A. Rebellion, many immigrants who were arrested were immediately turned over to the INS for deportation. Border SWAT teams were also sent to L.A. as part of the 1,000 federal police officer deployment during the Rebellion. Between April 29 and May 20, 1992, the L.A. Sheriff's Department turned over 1,090 people to the INS.
- The only "community involvement" in the Weed and Seed program is the opportunity for community agencies to provide a cover for increased repression.
- While all kinds of social programs are being cut, Weed and Seed offers to restore a small portion under the conditions that these social programs are explicitly linked to increased police repression. Weed and Seed plans to appropriate existing funds from the federal departments of Health and Human Services, Education, Transportation, Housing, Welfare, and Agriculture, and impose a federal police force component on each of them.
- Weed and Seed aims to intimidate and co-opt community programs. It creates an illusion of increased federal social funding. Then it demands that social service programs become linked with new repressive measures if they want any kind of funding. In the Weed and Seed program in Seattle, Washington things like foreign language translation service, community mobilization and "Seattle Team for Youth" were not allowed unless the *Seattle Police Department* had a significant involvement in the program's activities.

Some of the information in this article was taken from the paper "A Call to Reject the Federal Weed and Seed Program in Los Angeles" by the Urban Strategies Group.

"There is nothing more uplifting than communism—nothing which gives greater scope to human imagination and creativity, to the vision of a vastly different world, and to the initiative of the masses in creating such a world. That the rulers of the Soviet Union could not inspire people with this ideal is a condemnation of them. But more than that, it is a reflection of the fact that they had abandoned and betrayed the principles of communism and become but another group of enforcers of the old order."

Bob Avakian, *Phony Communism Is Dead... Long Live Real Communism*

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News from the Worldwide Campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo

MEXICO CITY, December 4 — The U.S. Embassy—a compound a city block in size and located on the largest avenue in the capital of Mexico—was surrounded by hundreds of riot police and huge metal barricades. The police were protecting this hated symbol of U.S. imperialism from 200 protesters marching in an action called by the Mexican section of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán (IEC) and El Comité de Apoyo a la Guerra Popular en el Perú. The protest also received active support from the revolutionary Peruvian com-

munity in Mexico and other organizations.

Protesters included students, professors, neighborhood organizations (colonos), youth, and several anti-imperialist organizations. The bus drivers' union loaned a large sound truck. In a three-mile march, the demonstration wound through the heart of Mexico City and down several main avenues. There was good response from people in the street.

Some people came with dogs who dragged U.S. flags along the ground for the whole march. A figure representing "la justicia encapuchada de Fujimori"—the

"hooded justice of Fujimori," referring to the military judges with hoods over their heads who railroaded Chairman Gonzalo—was also dragged on the ground and then burned. Also torched was an effigy of Fujimori. And many U.S. flags were burned during the march and at the Embassy.

At several points in the march, a huge hammer and sickle was painted on the street with gasoline and set on fire. Many protesters carried large balloons with slogans like "Yankee Go Home!"

Arriving at the destination, the demonstrators seized the street in front of the U.S. Embassy and blocked the traffic for an hour, causing a big traffic jam during the rush hour. Speeches were made from the top of the sound truck. Revolutionary folk singer Jose de Molina sang several songs dedicated to Abimael Guzmán. The rally ended with the burning of the red, white and blue.

The demonstration was covered in several Mexican newspapers and TV. *Excelsior* called the demonstrators "vandals" who were throwing Molotov cocktails. The *Excelsior* reporter claimed that he was unable to find out who sponsored the march, although a press release about the action had been sent to the paper. This bourgeois newspaper was one of the targets of the Dec. 4 demonstration for its consistent lying coverage about the situation in Peru.

The IEC reported, "Many demonstrators commented that they saw the march as a historic step in building a massive movement to defend Abimael Guzmán and support the People's War in Peru."

DENMARK—As part of their efforts to use the November 22 election as a "mandate" for the fascist regime, the Fujimori government tried to get Peruvians living overseas to vote at the various Peruvian embassies. But in Copenhagen, Denmark, only 36 out of 1,000 Peruvians in that country eligible to vote cast ballots. An Iranian supporter of the IEC reported, "Of course, we don't know how they voted, whether they put a blank ballot or put 'Down with Fujimori!' on the ballot. We held an action in front of the Embassy, and they called the police immediately to disperse our action. The area was covered with stickers saying 'Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán.' The police detained a Peruvian woman comrade for two hours under the pretext that she was not carrying her ID card." Many postcards—in Farsi and English—calling on Amnesty International to take a position in defense of Abimael Guzmán were signed. Solidarity meetings are planned for Malmö (Sweden) and Copenhagen.

ITALY—A November 19 forum in Rome was attended by over 100 people. On November 20 over 200 people protested at the Peruvian Embassy in Rome.

SPAIN—New signatories from Spain to the IEC Call include: National Confederation of Workers, CNT AIT, Catalonia Regional Committee; D. Severo Diaz

Sanchez, lawyer; Francisco Candel, writer; Francesco Arnau I Arias, lawyer; Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España (PORE); Jaime Mascaro, professor of philosophy, Univ. of Barcelona.

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY, OHIO—Excerpts from a letter from an RCP supporter: "On Saturday, December 5, there was a huge benefit held at the Labor Temple in Kent, Ohio to support political prisoners. The three cases which were highlighted were Dr. Abimael Guzmán in Peru, Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal. This was the result of weeks of work and struggle among student activists, Progressive Student Network activists, Kent chapter of the IEC, Revolution Books supporters and even a couple of members of Amnesty International.

"Hundreds of people came to the benefit. As you walked into the hall, you were struck by bold politics. Banners on the walls about Dr. Guzmán and Leonard Peltier, Mumia Abu-Jamal T-shirts. There was a huge table from Revolution Books in Cleveland, along with tables from local chapters of the IEC, PSN, Leonard Peltier, NORML. There were petitions to sign for the political prisoners, buttons, books and fliers, and RWs everywhere. Seventy people signed the Call to defend the life of Dr. Guzmán, and over 20 postcards were sent to Amnesty International in London demanding they take a stand on Dr. Guzmán's case...

"Seven bands played, and between sets people got up to speak about the prisoners. A posse of women went up to the stage to read statements in support of Dr. Guzmán. We read a statement written by Heriberto Ocasio, spokesperson for the CSRP, which had been written especially for the benefit. People loved the statement and were honored by the fact that he sent a special greeting. Also the statement from 154 prisoners at Leavenworth was read...

"This benefit was a decisive victory for the people in the battle to save the life of those important leaders. We reached a lot of people, found different ways for people to take a stand and contribute to their defense, and sharpened up people's understanding of the necessity to see the hand of the U.S. government behind all these attacks. As the statement from Heriberto Ocasio said, 'They want to kill him (Chairman Gonzalo) the same way they want to kill all revolutionary leaders. The way they killed Malcolm X, the way they have tried to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal and Leonard Peltier. We cannot allow this. Revolutionary leaders are precious. Without them, the people cannot win.'

"Off of this benefit, we have a meeting planned to sum up and make plans for the December 15 demonstration in D.C. to oppose the Congressional Research Service's conference on intervention against the people's war in Peru. And we're making plans to use the Xmas break as a time to continue and step up the struggle."

Right at the start of the campaign to defend the life of Abimael Guzmán, the IEC called for people from all walks of life and all countries to donate one day's wages as a key part of this struggle. Many have responded—from poor peasants in India to immigrant Turkish workers in Germany to prisoners in the U.S. The IEC writes in *Emergency Bulletin* No. 17: "The IEC would like to thank the people who responded so generously to the initial call for donations. These contributions made the work of the IEC possible from the beginning. More funds are urgently needed now." □



Workers from Turkey in France demonstrate to defend the life of Abimael Guzmán.

International Emergency Committee Calls for One Day's Wages to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán

The International Emergency Committee has called for a worldwide campaign for people from all walks of life and all countries to donate one day's wages to defend the life of Abimael Guzmán—known to revolutionary people in Peru and worldwide as Chairman Gonzalo. Checks or money orders can be made out to: International Emergency Committee.

Letters and telegrams of protest can be sent to the Peruvian authorities addressed to: President Alberto Fujimori/Presidential Palace/Lima, Peru (Send copies to the IEC)

To receive regular EMERGENCY BULLETINS FROM THE IEC: send your FAX number to IEC (along with contribution to cover FAX costs).

The International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán can be reached in the U.S. at:

International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán
c/o Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru
P.O. Box 1246, Berkeley, CA 94701
(415) 252-5786, FAX: (415) 252-7414. Messages: (510) 644-4170

And in London at:

International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán c/o BCM International Emergency Committee (IEC), 27 Old Gloucester Street, London, WC1N 3XX, U.K. Phone or Fax: 44-71-482-0853

Punjab, India: The fundraising drive is being thoroughly discussed in big meetings held by the newspaper *Lal Tara* ("Red Star"). In a big meeting of middle and poor peasants in a village, a poor peasant responded enthusiastically for the fundraising call. The peasant worker stood up in the meeting and gave all the money—100 Rupees—he had in his pocket. This example of what peasants and workers are willing to sacrifice in one of the poorest countries in the world should give encouragement to others around the world to do the same.

From IEC Emergency Bulletin No. 15

El Diario Newspaper Reappears in Lima

El Diario—the Peruvian newspaper hated by the reactionary rulers because of its strong stand with the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru—is back in the streets of Lima! The reappearance of *El Diario*—under conditions of extreme fascist repression in Peru—is an inspiring example of revolutionary journalism.

The RW was able to obtain copies of the new 12-page issue of *El Diario*, dated November 1992. On the cover is a drawing of Chairman Gonzalo—the imprisoned leader of the Communist Party of Peru—and the words "Gonzalo Thought Is Invincible." (The Communist Party of Peru upholds Gonzalo Thought as the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the revolution in Peru.) There is also the slogan "Don't Vote, Seize Power!" Peru's U.S.-backed dictator Fujimori held an election on November 22 in an attempt to put a "democratic" mask on his bloody regime.

Among the articles inside is a document from the Communist Party of Peru titled "Defend the Health and Life of Chairman Gonzalo" and the text of the stirring speech made by Gonzalo on September 24 when

the government paraded him in an iron cage after his arrest. An article titled "The People's War Is Irresistibly Advancing" points out that the Maoist guerrillas carried out more than 400 actions between July 20 and October 29. Among the actions listed in the article are a series of operations in Lima on October 7, the anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Peru: an ambush of an armed forces truck in La Victoria neighborhood, an annihilation of a captain of the technical police by another contingent, and agitation and propaganda in defense of the life and health of Chairman Gonzalo carried out in the university district in the morning hours.

Alone among the various newspapers and magazines in Peru, *El Diario* has consistently brought out the truth about the people's war. While the other publications serve at the beck and call of those in power, *El Diario* has reported on the advances in the guerrilla war, the crimes of the government and the increasing U.S. intervention in Peru. In 1988 *El Diario* published a historic interview with Chairman Gonzalo. This was a big blow against the govern-

ment, which had been claiming for years that Gonzalo was dead and the revolution was being defeated. *El Diario* has also reported from the base areas of the people's war in the countryside.

This kind of work made *El Diario* a target of government attack. The government has passed laws mandating heavy punishment for journalists who report favorably about the guerrillas. When two editions of the 1988 interview with Chairman Gonzalo were quickly sold out, the troops moved in to confiscate the third printing, destroy *El Diario's* press and arrest co-editor Janet Talavera and other staff. Editor Luis Arce Borja was also hounded by the government—he is now putting out an international edition of *El Diario* from Europe. Earlier this year the Fujimori regime claimed that it had shut down *El Diario* for good. And in May, Janet Talavera was among those killed when troops massacred many political prisoners at Canto Grande prison.

But these vicious assaults have failed to keep *El Diario* down!

The article titled "Chairman Gonzalo: Example of Proletarian Fighter" in the new issue points out that the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo is being celebrated by the oppressors and has united the various reactionaries for now. And they are trying to hide the evils of the old state and society by accusing Chairman Gonzalo of all kinds of crimes. But *El Diario* brings out the firm and determined stand of the

revolutionaries:

"The sinister dreams of the reactionaries and imperialism are smashed, once again, by the earthshaking actions of the organized masses who, under the just and correct leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, are irresistibly marching toward the unchanging goal: the countrywide seizure of power..."

"Thousands of People's Committees throughout the country are growing defiantly in the face of imperialism and reaction, encircling the cities from the countryside. The hard-hitting actions of the People's Guerrilla Army in the whole country, and especially in Lima—like the latest 48-hour Armed Strike—are making the mass murderers grit their teeth and are laying the basis for the insurrection in the cities..."

"All the reactionaries, traitors and counter-revolutionary renegades can never erase or ignore the contribution of invincible Gonzalo Thought to the Class and to the people, nor the high morale of Chairman Gonzalo who, enclosed in the dungeons of the murderous hyenas, teaches us by example to never give in."

"In our trench, IT'S A WAR TO DEATH. Here no one surrenders. Let's demolish the old and rotten Peruvian society and build the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF PERU."

"This is our goal, and we will accomplish it."



Lima protest against repression of *El Diario*, 1989.

Peru: Report from Third International Delegation

Continued from page 3

ingly exposed its reactionary nature in recent years, including by supporting Fujimori in the 1990 election and promoting the paramilitary *ronda* squads in the shantytowns which are organized by the government to attack the revolutionaries.

The answer to the delegation's question was, "They don't play this kind of role, but they are involved beforehand in compiling the lists of suspects which the military is acting on. For instance, in some cases, neighborhood officials who belong to 'leftist' parties will demand that residents publicly sign a loyalty statement, disavowing any connection with Sendero Luminoso. Those who refuse to sign are added to the list. Then, later when the raking takes place, they disappear."

The delegation also learned more about the Moyano case: "There were allegations that she had been profiteering from the food aid that was going to her program, and using it to build a core of cronies which supported her, but not distributing it to the broad masses who needed it. But beyond that, there was a particular incident in which Ms. Moyano herself had hired some desperate people to burn down a food warehouse, and then framed the PCP for it. Supporters of the PCP issued a leaflet exposing what had happened and calling on Moyano to retract the charges and truthfully explain what happened, and to desist from doing this in the future. Apparently, her refusal to do so was an important factor in the decision to execute her. Along with other things which have already been made public, such as her snitching on people and organizing the *rondas urbanas*."

Democratic Lawyers Stand Firm in the Face of Fascist Attacks

The report from the IEC delegation noted, "Dr. Cartagena made the point that as lawyers who are defending the guerrilla fighters and the political prisoners, they are the ones who know about their conditions and the abuse coming down on them. And they feel a special responsibility, because of this knowledge, to speak out. He feels that to remain silent, knowing of these atrocities, would mean being complicit in them. So he is determined to continue his work and also try to tell the world the truth. He also feels that what is happening now is the beginning of a much more severe repression in Peru. Because of the advance of the struggle, the efforts to stop it are also becoming more extreme."

Upon her return to the U.S., delegate Mary E. Cox wrote a column about the trip in *New Dimensions*, the newspaper of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

The column said in part: "What the world does not know is that Peru is involved in a civil war. Many of the oppressed people have decided to die for their freedom and liberation. Many believe you are either on the side of the oppressed or you support the oppressor..."

"This was my first visit to a country that was war torn. The streets were lined with military tanks and armed men and women."

"People were very cautious toward strangers whenever we questioned them about the ongoing war. That was understandable. In Peru, if you speak in any way positive about Dr. Abimael Guzmán and Shining Path, you can be killed or imprisoned up to twelve (12) years. That decree or law included people like me who live outside Peru. So you know my eyes got big. You can see why fear permeated the people in Peru."

"I, personally, felt a link and bond with the people on the streets in Lima and I was glad to meet and shake the hands of those

who resist and fight off their oppressors. I was most inspired by the will and determination of the lawyers who represent the revolutionaries. Those lawyers will never know how much they inspired me and lifted my spirit, giving me hope...hope and energy to return to the U.S. and continue the struggle for our brothers and sisters here. The least I can do is inform the public about the horrible situation in Peru. No, things are not well in Peru. There is a war there. The peasants and poor are fighting for freedom and dignity; they are fighting for their lives with all of their might..."

"Dr. Guzmán's attorneys have been threatened, shot, tortured and some have even disappeared. (This is a fact...not propaganda. I saw it with my own eyes.) Attorneys in America are disbarred, suspended, imprisoned or harassed by IRS but not many have been treated like the lawyers we spoke with in Peru." □

The RCP says:

**Move Heaven and Earth
To Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!
Victory to the People's War in Peru!
Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!**

This call came out shortly after the arrest of Abimael Guzmán. Since then, the International Emergency Committee has mobilized people from all walks of life in many countries around the campaign to defend Guzmán's life.

CALL TO CREATE AN INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE LIFE OF DR. ABIMAEEL GUZMÁN

On September 12th Dr. Abimael Guzmán, known as Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru, was captured by the Fujimori regime of Lima, with the full assistance of the U.S.'s notorious counterinsurgency machine.

There is every reason to fear for the life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán at the hands of one of the world's bloodiest governments. The Peruvian state has repeatedly murdered its political prisoners, from the hundreds killed at the El Frontón massacre of 1986 to the 40 women and men gunned down in cold blood at Canto Grande prison in May of this year. The Peruvian Constitution has been suspended, and Fujimori is threatening to impose the death penalty on Dr. Abimael Guzmán.

This must not be allowed to happen.

No knowledgeable and truthful observer of Peru, regardless of their political beliefs, can deny that Dr. Abimael Guzmán is the recognized leader of millions of peasants, workers, students, intellectuals and others of various walks of life in Peru. In no way can the 12-year-long war he has been leading be dismissed as "acts of terrorism." In no way can Dr. Guzmán be denied the stature of a captured leader of a revolutionary party and army. Dr. Abimael Guzmán merits the broad international support that all imprisoned opponents of imperialism and reactionary regimes have always benefitted from. He should be allowed access to lawyers, journalists and doctors to ensure his health.

It is urgent that many voices be heard to demand that the Peruvian state respect the international conventions concerning the treatment of political prisoners. That a military tribunal cannot be legally competent. That the life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán be saved.

Signators of the Statement of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán. This is only a partial list of thousands of signators around the world. New signators and signators appearing for the first time in the *RW* indicated with an arrow (→)



Mumia Abu-Jamal - political prisoner on death row, former Black Panther, U.S.
→ Kwame K. Afah-Präsident, Provisional Government of Republic of New Afrika, U.S.
Buland Al-Haidari - poet, vice-president of Iraqi Democratic Association
Reza Allamezadeh - Iranian Film Director
Dalal Al-Mufti - sculptress, head of Iraqi Artists Association
Carol Andreas - author of *When Women Rebel*, U.S.
Roberto Armijo - Salvadoran poet, (France)
Iraj Jannati Atale - Poet, writer, director, Iran

Aydin Aybay - Prof. of Political Science, Univ. of Istanbul, Turkey
Dr. Abolhassan Bani Sadr - former president of Iran
Amiri Baraka, Amina Baraka - revolutionary artists, Kimako's Blues People, Unity & Struggle Newspaper, U.S.A
Nihat Behram - writer, former collaborator with filmmaker Yilmaz Güney, Turkey
Dr. Younes Parsa Benab - Iranian Lecturer, Strayer College (U.S.)
Tony Benn - MP, House of Commons, Labour Party, Britain
Keith Bennett - Political Editor, *Asian Times*, *Caribbean Times*
Ismael Besikaki - political prisoner for 20 years, doctor of sociology, Turkey
Dr. Baburam Bhattarai - architect, convenor United Peoples Front, Nepal
Black Lawyers Association - South Africa
Bill Bowring - Chairman, Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, England
Francis A. Boyle - Professor of International Law, University of Illinois, Champaign, U.S.
Dennis Brutus - South African activist, former political prisoner, U.S.
Dr. Jim Cairns - former Deputy Prime Minister of Australia
Victor Carpenter - senior minister, First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, U.S.
→ Liliani Castillo - President, Committee for Political Prisoners in Chile
Javier Centeno - federal representative, Mexico
Barbara Christian - professor of African American Studies, UC Berkeley, U.S.
Ramsey Clark - former U.S. Attorney-General, editor of "War Crimes"
Stanley Cohen - lawyer, U.S.
Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, Berkeley, California
Mary Belvin Cox - lawyer, National Conference of Black Lawyers*, U.S.
Joe Deom - Mohawk citizen, Kahnawake Mohawk Territory
Dr. Massimo de Santi - coordinator of International FORUM U.N.O. of the Peoples, Italy
Kasthoori Devan - Convenor, Yuva Kerala Munnani, India
Ada Donno - editor, *Iride* magazine, Italy
Rev. Peter H.F. Duncan - Vicar, St. John's Church, Britain
Craig Everson - lawyer, Aboriginal Legal Services Ltd., Canberra, Australia
Patrick Eytchesing - Left Green Network, Wichita, Kansas, US
Lavarice Gaudin - Haitian activist, VEYEYO*, Miami
Prof. John Gerassi - author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*, U.S.
Professor Haluk Gerger - journalist daily *AYGundermAY*, Turkey
K.P.R. Gopala - member of the first communist group in Kerala, sentenced to death under British rule, later released, India

Monica Gordon, Jaffer Kassimali, Pedro López-Adorno - professors, in Black and Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, NYC, U.S.
Bernie Grant - member of Parliament, House of Commons, Britain
Grup YORUM - Turkish musical group
Khalid Hamood - political activist/journalist, Awami Jumbhoi Party, Pakistan
Larry Heinemann - author *Paco's Story*, U.S.
Jon Hendricks - artist, U.S.
Rose Hunter, Brenda Proctor - Treasurer/Secretary, North Staffordshire Miners Wives Action Group, England
Christie Hynde - musician, The Pretenders, Britain
Saban Iba, General Secretary of 1968 Institute, Turkey
International Federation of Iranian Refugees and Immigrants Councils
R. Jilani - Director, Asian Studies Dept., Toynbee Hall, Britain
Linton Kwezi Johnson - poet, Britain
Farah Juste - Haitian recording artist, "The voice of those without voice"
Ergan Kanar - chair, Human Rights Organization, Istanbul Turkey
Esmail Khoie - Poet, Member of the Executive Com. of Iranian Writers Assoc.
Zenzile Kholsan - South African exile, producer "Africa Report," WBAI Radio, NYC, U.S.
Charles Kilduff - former Chief Magistrate of the Australian Capital Territory
Maina Wa Kinyatti - former Kenyan political prisoner
Frank Kirkland - Professor, Philosophy Dept., Hunter Col., U.S.
Jan Kirsch, MD - member, Board of Directors of Physicians for Social Responsibility*, U.S.
Hans Koning - author of *Columbus: His Enterprise, Exploding the Myth*
Saban Iba - General Secretary of 1968 Institute, Turkey
V.R. Krishna Iyer - Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India (retired), V.P.I.D.L.A.
Ron Kuby - attorney, U.S.
Kanthalottu Kunjambu - CPI leader, India
William Kunstler - attorney, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York City
Carlos and Della La Torre - father and mother-in-law of Dr. Abimael Guzmán
James Lafferty - executive director, National Lawyers Guild, Los Angeles Chapter, U.S.
Erik Larsen - G.I. resister, Gulf War, U.S.
Latin American Solidarity Committee - Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.
Raniero La Valle - member of Parliament, Italy
Father Lawrence Lucas - priest, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of NY, author of *Black Priest, White Church*, U.S.
K.S. Madhusoodhanan - Vice-President, May Day Workers Centre, India
Ludo Maltens - general secretary, Party of Labour, Belgium
N.C. Mammooty - Gen. Sec., Yuva Kala Sahithi, Kerala, India
Michael Mansfield Q.C. - defense lawyer of Cardiff 3, Presenter of TV documentaries, Britain
Aziz Mesin - Political satirist, writer, Turkey
Andrée Michel - writer, sociologist, Director of Research, National Center of Scientific Research, France
Antonio Migliore - Professor, University of Palermo, Italy
Mr. Moosha - attorney, Convenor of the Revolutionary People's Movement, South Africa

Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD-ML) - Dominican Republic
Mutabaruka - reggae dub poet, Kingston, Jamaica
→ National Liberation Front of Kurdistan (ERNK), Melbourne Committee, Australia
Sinéad O'Connor - musician, Ireland
Giovanna Pagani - president WILPF Italy, Section of the International League for Peace and Freedom, Consultant to United Nations ECOSOC, UNCTAD and UNESCO
Jorge Palacios - ex-Chairman, Philosophy Dept., Univ. of Chile
Jeff Paterson - first U.S. soldier to refuse to serve in Gulf War
La Patria Radical - newspaper of the Puerto Rican MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional)
Leonard Peltier, Jaan Laaman (Ohio 7), Sundiata Acoli (New York Panther 21), James McCormick (Irish Republican Army IRA) and 150 prisoners - Leavenworth, Kansas, U.S.
Siwan Perwer - Kurdish singer
Molefo Pheto - secretary for education and culture, BCMA/Azania (Britain)
Iraj Rahmani - poet, writer, Iran
Prof. Leonardo Albino Ramos - Mexico
John Reid - Deputy Director, Institute for Aboriginal Development, Australia
Revolutionary Workers Movement - Bangladesh
Enrique Gonzalez Ruis - investigator UNAM, Mexico
Dr. Ali Sadeghi - professor of nuclear physics, political activist, Iran
Ricardo Salinas - Culture Clash*, U.S.
Ilyas Salman - Film actor, Turkey
N. Sanmugathasan - general secretary, Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)
Ilhan Seljuk - journalist from the daily *Jomhuriyet*, Turkey
Ahmad Shamloo - internationally renowned literary figure (poet), nominated for Nobel prize, Iran
A. Sivanand - editor *Race and Class*, London
Prof. Jose Maria Sison - Chairman, Board of Directors, International Network of Philippine Studies
Society of Black Lawyers - Brixton, Britain
Bashir Soomro - Coordinating Secretary, Pakistan Peoples Party (Hyderabad), Pakistan
Giovani Russo Spina - member of Parliament, Italy
Hugh Stephens - Int'l. War Crimes Tribunals on the Gulf War and Peru, Britain
Server Tanilli - Prof. of Contemporary Turkish History, Germany
Giorgio Trentin - film critic, editor *Cinema Societa*, Italy
Saffi Wahab - artist, Afghanistan
Kiki Wainwright - Haitian poet, recording artist (Miami)
George Weber - New York Theological Seminary
John Edgar Wideman - author, U.S.
→ Louis Wolf - Co-Editor, *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, Washington, DC, U.S.
Donald Woods - journalist from South Africa, author of *Biko Can Yucel, Zhiñ Anadol and 48 poets from Turkey*
23 lawyers, Supreme Court of Bangladesh
90 members of Parliament, Nepal
10,000 people in Nepal
10 members of Parliament, (HEP Party), Turkey
90 political prisoners on hunger strike, Buca Prison, Turkey
150 political prisoners on hunger strike, Elazig Prison, Turkey
64 autoworkers - Ford plant, Detroit Michigan, U.S.

* Organizations listed for identification purposes only.