The
U.S.
Lockdown
of Somalia

Peru: Report from Third International Delegation

The Yankee Hand Behind the Crisis in Peru Part 2
Imperialism's Grip on Peru: Control and Misery for Profit

The Pig-ification of Los Angeles
Something New in the New World
A Report on the People's War in Peru

Today the U.S. government and their allies in the Peruvian regime are celebrating the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, the leader of the Peru revolution and Chairman of the PCP. It is now more important than ever for the people in the U.S. to learn the truth about the revolution in Peru, to defend and support Chairman Gonzalo, and to stand with the oppressed people in that country against the corrupt and vicious Fujimori regime that is backed and guided by the U.S. military and government. This special pull-out section on Peru provides people with an informed and revealing picture of the people's war in Peru.

Copies of this special section are now available. Read it, discuss it, get bundles of it out where you work, go to school, and in your community.
Shantytown Sweeps and Torture of Political Prisoners

The third delegation organized by the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman 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 Guzman (Chairman Gonzalo)—is a member of the Association. The Association lawyers have brought several people from the shantytown 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 Canada; 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 working on the defense of 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 unable to present oral arguments, and the sentence had already been written by the kangaroo court.

The IEC delegation learned that Inchausto and three others arrested with Guzman 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 Caso 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 army 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 in Puno clearly highlight the immediate danger to the life and health of Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) for targeting "grassroots activists." Another Association lawyer at the meeting was working on the defense of a man named Inchausto, the husband of Maritza Guarino Lecco—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 Guzman 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 Caso 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 army uniform and a blanket, must sleep on the concrete floor, and only get one hour of sunlight a day.

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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 Rambo's were suddenly disabled by the journalists massed on the beach. The Navy Seals were wearing nightgoggles, 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. gunfire 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.

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The African men are employees of the U.N. force with permission to sleep in the hangars. 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 U.S. 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 been armed and attacked squads of the system hit a neighborhood with “overwhelming force.” We too have seen young men thrown on the ground, brutalized and cuffed—just as the Somalis, baffled and ugly. U.S. marines burst in on a group of African men sleeping in an airport hanger. Screaming in English, the U.S. gunfire 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.

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The Lockdown Somalia

French Foreign Legionnaires search Somalia.

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 Newsline 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 forced 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 called "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

Continued on page 6
Holding water.

Searching for water.

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

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 new solutions to problems within the world system. It wants to be both kingmaker and policeman. But for the people of the world, a strengthened position for the U.S. imperialism would only mean more suffering, more exploitation, more domination.

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

clinging the U.N.—that can endorse, fund and also join international U.S.-led military actions. The U.S. hopes such "multilateral" peacekeeping forces will serve as a buffer between the U.S. finding itself "bogged down" again, after a draining Vietnam-type war.

As part of this strategic plan, the U.S. wants to reshape its military for this "new peace" by developing new ways 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. rulers 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"—that is, first of all, that there was no local army or government to oppose the invasion. Second, it could be used as a "low-cost" training operation for future invasion. They also claimed that Somalia is not contested by different imperialist rulers 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 achieve easily and relatively soon.

One bourgeois bigshot in Washington explained, "Weak countries allow you to be daring, because the risks are lower." At the same time, other imperialists are making it clear that this invasion will be only the beginning. U.S. Senator Edward Perkins told the U.N., "There will be many Somalias." Congressmen Obey and Kassebaum pressed Secretary of State James Baker to explain how we could "refine the philosophy and spell out the rules for a concept that is suddenly facing its first test." The U.S. invasion of Somalia, they warned, is "a dangerous experiment that could set a damaging precedent: the right to intervene in the world, like some international SWAT team.

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"Assume the Position!"

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

Los Angeles

Not in the oppressed communities within the U.S.

Somalia

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!
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.

President Belaunde of Peru appointed Carlos Rodriguez-Pastor as Minister of Finance. A Central Bank official in the press) is leading the oppressed of Peru to do. And this is exactly and uncompromisingly what the Communist Party of Peru (called Shining Path by Raymond Lotta)

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 master 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 unambiguously 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 generally what the government of Alberto Fujimori, armed and financed by its U.S. masters, is doing.

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 over Peru’s economy for over a century until it scaled down in 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. In 1864, Grace and two British investors established the Peru Mining Company. The purpose of this company was to transport guano (bird-droppings used as fertilizer) from Peru to Great Britain. The United States had gained control of several large Peruvian mines and plantations and was a powerhouse in Latin America in the 1960s. By the early 1900s, Grace was a multinational corporation with its Peruvian and Latin American operations. It owned over 40,000 acres of land, 38,000 laborers for its sugar plantations, chemical, paper box, and paint plants, as well as fertilizers and mining enterprises. It owned over 40,000 acres of Peruvian mines and plantations and 75 percent of sugar refining, over 50 percent of cotton textile production, and nearly 70 percent of paper production in Peru. Grace was the second largest industrial employer in all of Peru. Great Starship industrial complexes at Callao and Paramonga were companies town. 50,000 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 exile soldiers to enforce discipline in its paper operations.

The Grace Company had considerable influence and considerable status in Latin America. So it was only logical that in 1962, when President John Kennedy appointed 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—Grace would be involved.

Multinationals Mine a Vein

Foreign corporations like Grace played a decisive role in Peru’s development in the 20th century. After the War 1 period, which lasted throughout the Third World War, 2 period, when wars had lasted in South Africa, the continent was widely used in modern industrial production and are especially important in weapon manufacturing. Second, cheap raw materials, and direct investment could be obtained, that raw materials could be mined and monopolized, and that capital could partially 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.

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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 all 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 result: 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 imperialism 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. Now private investment from the U.S. multinational corporations dried up (Grace sold off or was compensated by the Peruvian state capital. With U.S. firms having to repatriate 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.

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 repatriate 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—loans from imperialist banks to Third World governments and enterprises in the Third World became the dominant form of U.S. imperialist foreign investment.
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 debts 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—due to 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—used 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.

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 spiked 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.

Chumpdown measures followed. A more pro-American section of the military turned power.

The Banks 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 1976s it hired Carlos Rodriguez-Patzer, a former top official of the Peruvian Central Bank, to build up its Peruvian investments. He did so well that the banker who brought him to the Wells-Fargo in 1982 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 imperialist 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 1988 and 1989, it had paid out to the imperialist countries $5 billion more in debt payments than it was receiving from the five 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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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 Garcia Perez 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 1976, when the U.S.-backed regime of Rios 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 his "Civil Defense Patrols." Whether they are called rondas, "civil defense patrols" or death squads, these 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: men who are driven by a desire to be in a position to control the countryside where the military still has some control are forced into joining. Those 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 in the hopes that a new "revolution" will spread from 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 Maria Elena Moyano, the vice mayor of Villa El Salvador shantytown in Lima, was killed in an armed 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. Some killing like the one 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 Rodriguez, 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 subversion.” In a July 26 interview with La Republica, a newspaper linked with IU, Rodriguez promoted collaboration with the government security forces—but he also revealed the real strength of the Communist Party of Peru (called Sendero Luminojo 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 weaknesses?"

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

Under what conditions are the urban rondas a viable option?

Rodriguez: 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’s not well organized, they should respect the committee of struggle that’s there, and in every sector there’s a similar problem. And the military should support those who are struggling.

Does the government understand the problems of the people’s struggle in confronting Sendero?

Rodriguez: I don’t think so. At times I feel that the military has a certain lack of knowledge of the struggle. I have the feeling that the Armed Forces have been here to help the people in taking tougher steps against terrorism. Why can’t the Armed Forces carry out intelligence activities as they should? Many military people think that this list of supposed Sendero activities 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?

Rodriguez: In part it depends on whether the Armed Forces are willing to coordinate, doesn’t it? I mean, if they are really interested, they will cooperate with the government as a way to win people away from revolutionary politics. And they will cooperate with each other. But my opinion is that 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 up of carefully selected soldiers and policemen who receive twice the pay of the ordinary police. Humberto Parades Vargas, mayor of the town of Comas, is one of the first officials of the suburban districts of Lima to form a serenazgo unit. Parades is a member of the Unified Marxist Leftist Party (PUM) which is part of IU.

According to the July 30 Caretas—a reactionary Peruvian magazine linked to the DINCOTE counterinsurgency policy—the “serenazgo” unit in Comas has five cars and a radio communication unit. Parades says that “this is only the beginning.” Information gathered by the "serenazgo" 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 that make the serenazgos more effective, Comas will sign an agreement with the interior minister.

Apologists for the Military

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

As for the theme of pacification, do you feel the Army has cut down on its human rights abuses? Pena: I think that 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? Pena: There is no other solution than to exchange views with the military, now, 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 collaboration: 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. 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. Immigration Service (both Migrant 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 Policing 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 in. 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, in collaboration with the people, and keep themselves in power by doing a lot of the things that are part of the new program.

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 racist 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.

Migrant agents work right out of the Rampart Division in Pico-Union. Joint task forces regularly bring LAPD and FBI together. DEA and Migrant agents patrol Pico-Union and other hoods, with and without LAPD cops. Scores of FBI agents were unleashed to arrest the LA 40 (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 comes from the 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 learning- service and Seattle Team for Youth, their request was rejected, unless the Seattle police agreed that they ‘do not have significant involvements 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 police on May 16, 1992. At the first hearing in South Central on October 19, there were social workers, revolutionaries, immigrant rights activists, and people from the neighborhood. They were no unanimous in
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 other 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 subject to harsher sentences and fewer civil rights; it is harder to get bail and, if convicted, people are subject to federal sentencing guidelines and federal mandatory minimums and incarcerated in federal facilities.
- Weed and Seed provides almost no new federal funds. Instead it appropriates existing federal funds and bullies under Weed and Seed authority. This expands the influence of the Department of Justice 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 minority 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 clampdown. The rebellion is portrayed as a "riot."
- Weed and Seed authority. This expands the influence of the Department of Justice to control already existing social-service funding and programs.

Some of the information in this article was taken from the Federal Weed and Seed Program in Los Angeles' by the Urban Strategies Group.

Bob Avakian, Phony Communism is Dead...Long Live Real Communism

Bob Avakian has written a bold and challenging work that cuts right to the heart of the current political debates.

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 another group of enforcers of the old order.
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 community in Mexico and other organizations.

Protesters included students, professors, neighborhood organizations (cocoons), youth, and several anti-imperialist organizations. The bus divers’ union launched 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 streets.

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 U.S.-backed judged who sentenced hundreds of Peruvians to death—was placed atop a huge chair. The heads that ran-loaded Chairman Gonzalo—was also dragged on the ground and then burned. Also tortured was an effigy of Fujimori. And many U.S. flags were burned during the march and at the Embassy.

During the march, a huge hammer and sickle was placed on the ground with gasoline and set on fire. Many protesters carried large balloons with slogans like “Yankee Go Home!”

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. Excalator called the demonstrators “vandalos” who were throwing Molotov cocktails. The Excavator 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. The bourgeois newspaper was one of the targets of the Dec. 4 demonstration for its consistent lying coverage about the situation in Peru.

The DEC reported, “Many demonstrators commented that they saw the march as a higher level 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. In Copenhagen, Denmark, only 26 out of 1,000 Peruvians in that country eligible to vote cast ballots. An Italian supporter of the IEC reported, “Of course, we don’t know how they voted, whether they put a blank ballot or put Fujimori’s name 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 cards. Many Peruvians in Paris and English—calling on Amnesty International to take a position to defense of Abimael Guzmán were arrested. Solidarity meetings are planned for Stockholm (Sweden) and Copenhagen (Denmark).

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 antigueras from Spain to the IEC Call include: National Confederation of Workers, CNT ACT, Comité Regional ITC, D. Severo Diaz

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. The following NEC members are authorized to speak on behalf of the NEC regarding this appeal:

- Kingstom
- London
- Paris
- Brussels
- Frankfurt
- Rome
- Madrid
- Tel Aviv
- Rome
- Cincinnati
- Philadelphia
- Vancouver
- Toronto

And in London:
International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán c/o BCM International Emergency Committee (IEC) 27 Old Gloucester Street, London, WC1N 3DL, U.K. Phone or Fax: 44-71-402-0090

Sánchez, lawyer Francisco Candell, writer

- Amant A. Las 150th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Peru (OREP)
- Prosecutor, professor of philosophy, UPR

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY—Excerpts from a letter from a RCPI 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 attracted the attention of the Illinois prison reform movement were: Dr. Abimael Guzmán in Peru, Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal. This was the result of weeks of work and struggle among over 500 members of the prison reform movement. The campaign was organized by the Kent State Prisoner Support Committee (KSPSC). The speakers included: Bill Ayres, former student at Kent State; and activist, Greg Zuelke, former member of the American Friends Service Committee. The benefit consisted of: a panel discussion on the plight of political prisoners; a poetry reading by students and faculty at Kent State; a presentation by the Ohio State Penitentiary Uprising (OSP) of their struggles; an slide show of photos of political prisoners; and a performance by the Kent State University Jazz Ensemble. The benefit was well attended, with over 500 people in attendance. The proceeds from the sale of tickets were used to support the legal defense of political prisoners.”

From IEC Emergency Bulletin No. 15

India: The fundraising drive is being thoroughly discussed in big meetings held by the newspaper “Lata Nar (Red Star).” In a big meeting of middle and poor peasants in one of the rural regions, they have enthusiastically supported the fundraising call. The peasant worker stood up in the meeting and gave all the money—100 Rupees—for the cause. And we also have weekly meetings to plan the use of 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 in 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’s “columns in emergency Bulletin No. 17.”

From the KSPSC: “We 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.”

From the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán c/o BCM International Emergency Committee (IEC) 27 Old Gloucester Street, London, WC1N 3DL, U.K. Phone or Fax: 44-71-402-0090
El Diario—"the Peruvian newspaper banished 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 reaction in Peru—is an inspiring example of revolutionary journalism.

The AW 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" (delibito). Gonzalo supports the workers' strike in Lima and the fact that it is organizing the rottdos ufbones."

Such as how snitching on people and setting up programs, and supporting her, but not distributing it to the broad masses who needed it. But beyond this, there was a particular incident in which Ms. Moyano herself had hired some snitches who would be paid to identify and report on government opponents. This knowledge, to speak out. He feels that 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 about Dr. Abimael Guzmán and the guerillas, you can be killed or imprisoned. 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 about Dr. Abimael Guzmán and the guerillas, you can be killed or imprisoned.
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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 in no way the leader 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 benefited 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.

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

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

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

*Movimiento Popular Dilemismo (MPD-M) • Dominican Republic
*Mobaxa-logo • reggae club post, Kingston, Jamaica
*National Liberation Front of Kurdistan (BKO) • Melbourne, Australia

Kwame Afoh - President Provisional Government of Republic of New Africa, U.S.
Lilian Castillo - President, Committee for Political Prisoners from the hundreds killed at the El Frontón massacre of 1986 to the captured leader of a revolutionary party and army. Dr. Abimael Guzmán • Peru

June 17, 1991

Dr. Abimael Guzmán • former Prime Minister of Communist Peru

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