

Bombing Arouses Arab Masses



GOMULKA: Poland's iceman battles student hopes for 'Prague Spring'.

Chicago 'Conspiracy' Case:

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Interview with Political Prisoners:

**Bejar, Gadea, Blanco on
the Peruvian Revolution**

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First Lessons of the Belgian Strike

It's a Rat's Life

Out of scientific interest, Dr. Joseph Buckley, chairman and associate dean of pharmacology at the University of Pittsburg, has engaged in a curious experiment. In the past eleven years, he has put about 5,000 rats through a "stress chamber."

The ingeniously constructed apparatus, about the size of an office safe, includes in its equipment bright lights that flash alternately from the walls, loudspeakers that provide the sounds of clanging bells, buzzers, and even the simulated roar of a jet taking off.

This is not all. The entire chamber is geared to motors that buffet it 140 times a minute, simulating a ride in a commuter train or automobile.

Reporting on his findings, Dr. Buckley said that after about a week in the chamber the rats become "irritable and dangerous to handle."

Why the animals should react in this way remains puzzling. Still more puzzling is that the rats develop high blood pressure, a condition that appears to be a permanent affliction even when the animals are removed from the chamber.

The philosophical question yet to be answered is how these findings might relate to humans.

All Dr. Buckley could suggest on this was a strange experience he and an assistant had in the early days of the experiment. Eleven years ago, when they first set up the stress chamber, they did not have it sound-proofed. Thus he and his assistant were exposed to the same bizarre sounds—if not the flashing lights and buffeting—to which the rats were exposed. The two experimenters began to notice "a rise in their blood pressure, accompanied by increasing irritability!"

After they had the equipment sound-proofed, they suffered no further bad symptoms.

The experiment nevertheless points to at least a preliminary conclusion: No matter what has been said about the successful domestication of the rat, the four-footed animal appears to experience at least certain difficulties in adjusting to the human environment.

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Chicago Judge Sentences Victims Before Verdict

Judge Julius J. Hoffman added the final touch to the four-and-a-half-month frame-up "conspiracy" trial he has conducted against seven antiwar and radical figures in Chicago when he sentenced the defendants February 14 to long prison terms for "contempt" of court—while the jury was still out considering its verdict.

From the beginning, the trial has been a mockery of justice. The defendants were charged with crossing state lines with "evil intent" to "provoke a riot" at the August 1968 Democratic party convention. The federal prosecutors have not even tried to establish that any unlawful acts were committed by any of the defendants, but have put their radical ideas on trial. Even as a "dangerous thoughts" trial, the government was unable to produce any damaging evidence from the public speeches and writings of the seven.

As Assistant United States Attorney Richard Schultz put it in the last week of the trial, "The defendants could not publicly announce they were coming here to incite a riot; it would defeat their very purpose of making the Government look repressive."

So virtually the only "evidence" in support of the government's charge of "conspiracy" came from paid police spies and "undercover" agents. Even these tainted "witnesses" were unable to produce any written evidence, or keep their own testimony either coherent or consistent.

The real purpose of the trial—to make an example of some well-known radicals in order to whitewash the police riot in 1968—has been plain from Judge Hoffman's conduct throughout the proceedings. Early in the case he ordered Black Panther leader Bobby G. Seale chained and gagged in court to prevent the black spokesman from insisting on his constitutional right to defend himself when his attorney was unable to take part in the trial because of illness. Hoffman later sentenced Seale to four years in prison for contempt of court. This was an unheard-of penalty in the whole history of American jurisprudence, even in cases where a defendant has



HOFFMAN: Chicago's hanging judge.

already been convicted of some crime, as Seale was not.

In his February 14 ruling, Hoffman sentenced antiwar leader David Dellinger to two years, five months, and sixteen days in prison. Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden, both former leaders of Students for a Democratic Society and well-known radical activists, were sentenced to two years, one month and fourteen days; and to one year, two months and fourteen days, respectively. Abbie Hoffman, a founder of the Youth International party (Yippies), was ordered to serve eight months in prison. The other defendants—and their lawyers as well!—are to be sentenced later by the hanging judge.

In addition to these "administrative" punishments, the victims face up to ten years in prison if the jury finds them guilty of the original charge. Ironically, if they are ruled innocent, Judge Hoffman's contempt sentences will still stand, unless overturned by a higher court.

This travesty of justice, in which a judge takes it upon himself to also act as jury and executioner is an even more serious threat to civil liberties

than the witch-hunting and patently unconstitutional law under which the Chicago Seven are being tried. It is a potent weapon indeed against dissent if every reactionary judge is given the right to hand out long prison terms without a jury trial and irrespective of the charges against a victim before the bar.

In face of Judge Hoffman's determination to put them behind bars, the defendants made an impassioned and courageous defense of their rights and the rights of others. The February 15 *New York Times* reported Dave Dellinger's statement when he was sentenced:

"Rising in his place at the defense table, the 54-year-old pacifist began denouncing racism and the war in Vietnam. Judge Hoffman interrupted him and said, 'I don't want to talk politics now.'

"But Mr. Dellinger persisted. 'This court is in contempt of human life, dignity and justice,' he said. 'You want us to be like good Jews, going quietly to concentration camps while the court suppresses the truth. It's a travesty on justice. The record condemns you, not us.'

"Federal marshals pushed him twice into his black leather chair. Mr. Dellinger protested: 'I'm just a feeble old man but I represent the spirit of speaking out.' . . .

"Rennie Davis stood up and told the judge: 'You have just jailed one of the most beautiful, courageous men in the United States.'

"'O. K.,' Judge Hoffman snapped. 'Now we'll take care of you.'"

Later, when Davis was sentenced, he, too, was permitted a moment to address the court. The *Times* reported:

"Mr. Davis rose and told the judge: 'You represent all that is old, ugly and bigoted in this country and I tell you that the spirit you see at this defense table will devour you.'

"He also recalled that Mr. Seale had called Judge Hoffman 'a racist, a fascist and a pig.'

"'Many times,' the judge interrupted.

"'And not enough,' Mr. Davis answered."

The First Lessons

By Ernest Mandel

[We have translated the following article from the February 7 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*.]

* * *

As everyone knows, we are living in a "democracy." Everybody is free to say what he wants. Political oppositions exist and can express themselves. Trade-union, cooperative, and collective organizations operate freely. All is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

But this "democracy" has its economic foundations. It is founded on the capitalist system. The means of production, the land on and beneath the surface, the factories, the machines, and the raw materials belong, in fact, to a social class.

The workers do not have free access to the means of production. They do not own either stocks of food or sufficient financial reserves. They are therefore *forced* to sell their labor power to the bosses month after month, week after week, day after day. Not because they adore working for a boss, or because they are inspired by a boundless love for "their" job or "their" factory. They would starve to death if they did not sell their labor power.

Formerly these workers were nothing. Today, having built powerful organizations, they have become something. Everybody knows that too. Their wages have increased. They have social security. They have achieved a modest standing.

But in exchange for these concessions, which are after all very small since the bourgeoisie has enriched itself in the meantime beyond all imagination, the capitalists have succeeded in transforming the same workers organizations that won these reforms from *representatives of labor against capital* into conciliators, *intermediaries between capital and labor*. Moreover, the most cynical and corrupt, or the most consistent (that is, consistently reformist), of these labor leaders cannot help sometimes func-

tioning *as the representatives of capital against labor*.

In a capitalist "democracy," recessions are inevitable. During recessions workers are fired. In such conditions there are regularly 200,000 to 250,000 "officially" unemployed workers in Belgium (besides this, some unemployed workers are no longer counted thanks to Van Acker; it looks better in the statistics!). You shrug your shoulders. Nothing can be done. It's God's will. Excuse me! It's the inexorable consequence of "free enterprise."

But under the capitalist system fat years follow thin ones. The workers who are condemned to suffer in the time of the thin cows try to make up for it in the time of the fat ones. When there is a drop in unemployment, or even a labor shortage, the "laws of the market" favor the sellers of labor power.

In two years' time, from 1967 to 1969, *capitalist profits increased by 50 percent in this capitalist paradise which Belgium still is*. The workers naïvely wanted their "slice of the pie." More naïvely still, these same workers believed in capitalist "democracy." Wasn't the right to strike recognized? Didn't they have the right not to work? So, the Limbourg workers stopped working.

Too bad for them. To use Karl Marx's apt phrase, all the demons of private interest, the most sordid thing in the world, were loosed against them.

What? Go out on a "wildcat" strike? Do you deny that the workers exist so that the unions can do their conciliating for them, instead of the unions existing to fight for the workers? Demand the right to set up pickets? Stick to your original demands? Hang on to your initial slogans because you think they are right and just? Are you actually going to let that kind of sincerity and bullheaded honesty replace compromise and the cultivation of a chummy understanding in cocktail parties and backroom discussions?

Why, these people are spoilsports!

They're threatening to upset everything. They're impossible people, if not downright "lawless"! And Mr. Schepmans, who everyone thought was more intelligent and less two-faced than that, raised the cry this week in *Pourquoi Pas?* — "The backers and organizers of this strike, especially the JGS [Jeunes Gardes Socialistes — Socialist Young Guard, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] are 'specialists in subversion.'"

You can hardly believe your eyes. So, organizing strikes and pickets, aiding striking workers is supposed to be subversive activity, the same thing as throwing bombs or plotting a coup d'etat? You would think we were back in the good old days of the economic royalists when all the potentates in the little world of capital had in fact established that principle.

Later the potentates of the workers organizations broke into this cozy circle, which, then, very reluctantly, had to change its language (not much really but still something).

But all it takes is for the workers to get angry, to fight back with their weapons of the class struggle against the permanent, uninterrupted class struggle conducted by big capital, and the old economic royalists surface again. From *Libre Belgique* and the *Meuse* of December 1960-January 1961 [the dates of the Belgian general strike] to *Pourquoi Pas?* of January 1970, the same theme has reappeared with a vengeance — to strike is subversive! Strike pickets are subversive! Solidarity with the strikers is subversive!

Gentlemen, you capitalists are more dangerous when you play the hypocrite's role than when you dish it out straight from the shoulder. We a thousand times over prefer a capitalist or a bourgeois scribbler who says what he thinks about strikes to a hypocrite who gives a Judas kiss to unionism and the workers, all the while thinking that he will "get them" in the next turn in the economic situation.

So, we thank these gentlemen of *Pourquoi Pas?*, as we thanked the gentlemen on *Libre Belgique* in 1960-61. We call on the advanced workers to spread around tens of thousands of these quotations in their areas: From the standpoint of the bosses and the reaction in this country, to strike, to set up pickets, to aid strikers is subversive. Naturally, it is not subversive

to democracy because democracy is the masses, the miners; but it is subversive, without any doubt, to the capitalist system. These gentlemen are 100 percent right.

But when two million subversives in this country get organized like the Limbourg miners, no force in the world will be able to prevent them from carrying their subversion all the way—that is, to the overthrow of the capitalist system. The editors of *Pourquoi Pas?* will be able to sleep with a clear conscience then because they will have made their own little contribution to this beneficial work with their nineteenth-century prose.

If the miners were confronted only with the "thoughts" of Schepmans and Co., they would win in a few minutes. But capital has far more potent weapons than reactionary ideas. It employs hunger and the police. *All its power is based on this.*

When the Social Democrats say that reforms must be introduced, that they "cannot be delayed," I do not doubt that some of them are sincere. When they say that these urgent reforms require socialist participation in the government, there is no doubt that, alongside the careerists and the lovers of leather couches and places in ministerial cabinets,* there are some reformists who feel a real devotion to the workers and the little people of their city, neighborhood, or village.

But whatever their intentions are, whether their hearts are as pure as the driven snow or as foul as cesspools, *they have no choice but to do their master's bidding.*

The state is an instrument for defending the interests of the ruling class. The ruling class is the bourgeoisie. Its interests require defending private property and profit. As long as nothing but talk is involved, we are all brothers in one big socialist family. But when we come to serious things—when 50,000 workers come to serious things—then socialist fraternity comes to an abrupt halt, along with the Sunday speeches and midweek editorials. "Law and order must be maintained." Achille Van Acker raised this cry in 1961 (he had already practiced it in 1945 against the post-office employees and in 1957 against the metalworkers; but, altogether too generous,

the workers forget so quickly!). Today, Harmegnies, Cools, Leburton, and Major are imitating him (and in the meantime there was Vranckx with two miners killed in Zwartberg). The ministers send police to crack the skulls of their striking "fellow" workers.

There are no more hypocritical, more "manipulative," more deceitful words than these six, "law and order must be maintained." In the daily papers, day in and day out, on radio and television on the hour, these words soften everyone up. Of course "law and order must be maintained." Only monsters could doubt it. Don't you have to let firemen put out fires? Don't you have to stop motorists from running over old people? Or degenerates from raping little girls? And don't you have to guarantee electricity for every home so that everyone can see at night and keep warm in the winter?

But if you don't let scoundrels or imbeciles pull the wool over your eyes, you can see very well that this is not what the cops are doing in Limbourg under the authority of their supreme commander, Citizen Harmegnies. They are protecting not firemen but strikebreakers. They are defending not little girls but the men who are starving them. They are maintaining not the flow of traffic but capitalist exploitation.

On its side, capital has money, power, international connections, and—unfortunately—the help of most of the brains (you have to live comfortably, so you have to do the dirty work of those with money). The individual workers are stripped and helpless in the face of these powerful means of control.

But they have a secret weapon—the strength of numbers, the capacity for collective organization, the power of mass solidarity.

To condemn the workers to "go on strike" one by one against capital would doom them to complete impotence. To deny them the right to organize, to form pickets, to block access to the factories would tie them hand and foot. "Law and order must be maintained" has a very concrete and precise meaning. It means maintaining the law and order of the capitalists against the workers, the law and order of the exploiters against the exploited, the law and order of greed and profit against the law and order of collective solidarity. "Law and

order must be maintained" means that labor must be stigmatized and crushed by capital if it dares to try defend its own interests.

Leburton and Major are "maintaining" capitalist law and order in their own way. This is nothing new. The Liège workers have had them pegged for a long time.

But what about Citizen Harmegnies? Not long ago we stood at his side at the "Broken Gun" demonstration of La Louvière. Now his police are trying to outdo one another in clubbing the same Jeunes Gardes Socialistes who organized this demonstration. The violent denunciation of the police budget which he delivered on the floor of parliament still resounds in our ears. Poor Harmegnies—would he have believed us if we had told him that the day would come when he would command these same police in breaking strikes and arresting Jeunes Gardes? The logic is inexorable. Why didn't he have the decency to resign? Are you reformists in favor of participating in the government? You will end up becoming strikebreakers! You cannot be a minister in a capitalist regime without having to "defend the law and order" of the capitalists. And you cannot do this without having to break strikes from time to time. Let Ernest Glinne remember that . . .

After the cop's billy club comes the bishop's crozier. In the January 28 issue of *Le Peuple* Léo Collard lectured us gravely that while the Limbourg miners were right to want "their share of the abundance," it "would be regrettable and dangerous" if their movement became a precedent and an example. It would, in fact, be "a serious error to consider the trade-union organizations 'integrated' into the neocapitalist system and to oppose both without discriminating between them."

We did not need Léo Collard to tell us that the trade-union *organizations* must not be equated with the capitalist *system*. The Jeunes Gardes did not need to be told either. Since the strike began they have successfully blocked the antiunion tendencies which a peculiar united front of *Volksunie* [an ultrarightist Flemish nationalist group] and the Maoists have tried to spread among the strikers.

But the fact that you cannot equate the union *organizations* and the union *bureaucracies* is something that Col-

* Semiformal bodies composed of the head of a ministry and his advisers. —IP

lard, like a good reformist, will not and cannot understand. As he sees it, any attack against a union leadership, no matter how obvious and despicable its bankruptcy, is automatically an attack on the unions. Without realizing it, he is giving grist to the mill of the antiunion tendencies this way. Because if, in fact, the unions could only be defended on the basis of their present leaders, nothing would stand more discredited in the eyes of the workers than the unions!

Let's look at the picture then. For weeks the mine union leaders conducted an all-out campaign for "a 15 percent raise now." They explained that this was possible and necessary. They aroused the workers. They prepared everyone for battle.

Then, overnight, without consulting the rank and file, without calling a single membership meeting, the leaders changed their tune. You have to be satisfied with 6 percent now (the rest will come later). They discovered that the 15 percent raise was neither necessary nor even possible and in fact that it would ruin the country. They cheerfully "imposed" this point of view against the feelings of the great majority of their members.

And when their members went out on strike anyway, the leaders cheerfully cut off strike benefits. They refused to give the miners — *an absolute majority of whom are on strike—the money that belonged to them and that was collected for this express purpose.* And all this was topped off by the "unionist" Major who said cynically that the miners must not be paid the end-of-the-year bonuses due them because the money would be "wasted" in buying food . . .

Can you imagine a more upsetting, a more scandalous spectacle in the eyes of a mine worker?

If the bosses had wanted to hold an antiunionism contest, they would have had to give the first, second, and third prizes, as well as honorable mention, to these "unionists."

No one in this country has worked against the interests of the unions as systematically, as effectively, as cunningly as the leaders of the mine workers union and Louis Major have been doing for a month now. They are the ones Collard should have indicted, and not the Limbourg strikers and the students who are supporting them.

Another pernicious argument being

spread by the real enemies of unionism is that the strike is detrimental to the interests of the Limbourg coalfields and is endangering employment there.

This is the classical argument of the boss. "The strike is helping my competitors." According to the same logic, we would have to conclude that the Belgian bosses and workers "profited" two years ago from the French, Italian, German, and English strikes before suffering in their turn from the Belgian strikes. This would only be a fair turnabout. These people want to replace solidarity among the workers with competition among the workers, each worker being loyal to "his" boss. This would set us back a hundred years.

The day the rank and file reestablish their control over the unions, the day when general assemblies, with decision-making power are held regularly, the day when all steps toward compulsory union membership (such as bonuses for union members alone) are ruthlessly abolished and unionism is backed by the enthusiastic support of tens of thousands of union activists, that day the future of socialism in this country will be assured. It will become a rock on which all its enemies will break their teeth.

Every precedent and every example that brings that day closer—and the Limbourg strike is one—will be written in gold letters in the history of unionism in this country. This was the case of the 1960-61 strike. It is true of the strikes in Flanders today.

I will not go back over the history of the 1960-61 strike, which until now constituted the highest point reached by the class struggle in Belgium. Let me say only that for *historical* reasons (a lag in industrialization, firmer control by a still reactionary Catholic church, a more right-wing tendency on the part of the union leaders), that strike was less firm, less "revolutionary," and less widespread in Flanders than in Wallonia.

Those who had drawn the conclusion that this kind of strike was finished in Belgium, that it belonged to the past, that it was a product of the "old" and not the "new" working class, were fundamentally mistaken. We said so at the time. Today history has proved us right.

As a Fleming, I salute with great pride the combativity of the Limbourg

miners, the Genk and Antwerp automobile workers, the "new" working class—if it is one. As an internationalist, it is with great pride that I salute the small workers international that has come into being in Limbourg, where Flemings and Walloons, Greeks and Turks, and Italians and Spaniards are fighting shoulder to shoulder in fraternal unity, where my comrades of the JGS are distributing material in six languages, where working-class organizers have sprung from the mass of these six nationalities and are learning to fight together. Here, as in May 1968 in Paris, is the Europe of tomorrow in birth, the socialist Europe of Sovereign Labor.

But as a member of the Belgian workers movement, I want to address myself to my Walloon trade-union comrades of yesterday and today. I want to tell them: Do not miss this chance. We would have won everything in 1960-61 if the Flemish workers had fought at our side as the workers in Liège, Charleroi, and the Borinage did. The Flemish workers could not do that then. Today, they are learning how, and quickly.

Your 1960-61 pickets in front of Cockerill, in front of the Haine-Saint-Pierre station and in front of Boël are reappearing today in Waterschei, in Genk, and in Antwerp. They are as solid as yours were. They are being attacked by the police as brutally as yours were. And thanks to the legislation on maintaining law and order passed by the traitors, the police are better armed today and the workers less.

If you let yourselves be taken in, if you remain indifferent, if you let strikes be broken, if you let the police hold the factory gates, then your own future is a very dark one. Not only for a long time to come will the Flemish and Walloon workers again lose a chance to wage a common struggle against capital, their common enemy, not only will your industry decline still further; but tomorrow they will break your strikes the way they are trying to break those of your Flemish brothers today. Tomorrow your picket lines will be smashed; tomorrow your unions will have to bow like the Flemish unions today.

Seize the chance that history has unexpectedly offered you! Defend the right to strike without any limitations whatever. Defend the pickets in Lim-

bourg and Antwerp. Provide the Limbourg miners and their wives and children, whom the bosses are trying to starve out, with a flow of solidarity that no one can stop. And then, as long as you maintain a solid front, at least in Liège and Charleroi, a new and formidable power can combine with it, the might of hundreds of thousands of Flemish workers. Today these workers are being educated

in *your* tradition of struggle and not that of the Majors. *Everything* now becomes possible in the struggle against capital and the unitary bourgeois state.*

* In view of the national divisions and uneven economic development of the country, the highly centralized form of government in Belgium has been a sore point.
—IP

Escalation of Israeli Aggression

The Bombing and Napalming of Abu Zabal

The Israeli pilots, flying American-made Phantom jet bombers, who killed seventy Egyptian workers and wounded ninety more at a scrap metal plant at Abu Zabal on the outskirts of Cairo February 12 succeeded in gravely intensifying the crisis in the Middle East.

The hundreds of thousands of Egyptians who thronged the streets of Cairo the next day shouting, "We will fight!" and "Revenge!" were eloquent testimony to this fact.

This was the first time since the June 1967 war that the Israeli government has bombed civilian targets. According to press reports, many of the deaths were caused by napalm, although fragmentation bombs—some of them timed to explode hours after the raid—caused most of the physical damage.

"Today's air strike," *Washington Post* correspondent Jesse W. Lewis Jr. reported from Abou Zabal on February 12, "the latest in a series of Israeli raids near the Egyptian capital, is seen here as an escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. . . .

"Bombs hit the factory's repair shop, where most of the killed and injured were, and destroyed the power plant. A hospital official said some of the dead looked as if they had been burned to death by napalm.

"The walls and roof of the repair shop were caved in and factory officials said they expected to find more bodies in the rubble. However, recovery operations stopped when several unexploded bombs, which apparently had time fuses, were discovered."

Raymond H. Anderson, writing from

the scene, described the carnage in the February 13 *New York Times*:

"This correspondent visited the plant and saw the damage, bodies and wounded persons in a hospital.

"Blood-covered and burned bodies were piled high in two large rooms of a building beside the hospital. Rooms along a long corridor of the hospital were filled with wounded men, bandaged, burned and their clothing stained with blood. Many were receiving blood transfusions. Weeping wives and children were beside some of the victims. . . .

"Visitors who drove to the plant found it surrounded by irrigated fields and villages. There was *no evidence of military targets in the vicinity.*" (Emphasis added.)

After the raid was over, Israeli authorities announced that the strikes were accurate. It was only in the afternoon (the raid took place at 8:15 a.m.), after a worldwide protest had begun, that Israeli army spokesmen issued a statement saying, ". . . it appears possible that one plane may have dropped bombs, as a result of technical error, outside the target area." It was only then that Moshe Dayan deigned to call United Nations officials in the area to warn them that one 1,000-pound bomb had been dropped with a delayed action fuse, timed to explode twenty-four hours after the original raid. At least three time bombs were defused by Egyptian technicians.

For months the Israeli authorities have escalated their assaults on the United Arab Republic in the hope of discrediting and toppling the Nasser

regime, or provoking a new round of war that would allow them to administer another smashing defeat to the bourgeois Arab states. One of the principal motives of this jingoistic policy is to pressure the Arab governments into putting new restrictions on the Palestinian guerrillas—a policy that has borne fruit in Jordan in recent weeks.

Although Moshe Dayan has suggested that the slaughter at Abu Zabal on February 12 might have been a "technical error," the bombing was fully consistent with the Israeli policy of indiscriminate reprisals against civilians—first and foremost Palestinians, but also Jordanians, Syrians, and Egyptians. During the June 1967 blitzkrieg, Israeli pilots poured napalm on Palestinian refugee camps, incinerating thousands of civilians. News reports of the latest atrocity do not suggest anything accidental about the escalation of Israeli aggression.

More Dismissals in Okinawa

U.S. authorities in Okinawa announced February 2 that 555 more Okinawan workers would be dismissed from American installations, bringing the total for the fiscal year of 1970 to 1,738. Zengunro [All-Okinawa Military Workers Union] voted the same day to call a third strike late in February to protest the dismissals. The union carried out two previous strikes, January 8-9 and 19-23.

Zengunro executives endorsed the new strike call in a joint meeting with representatives of Kenrokyo [Okinawa Prefectural Council of Labor Union], Fukkikyo [Okinawa Conference for Return to the Homeland], and Kyoshokuin-kai [Okinawa Teachers Association].

The new cutback, according to the February 7 *Japan Times Weekly*, "was double the predicted figure in the Dec. 4 announcement in which U.S. military authorities put the dismissal figure for the third phase at about 240.

"Zengunro noted that the announcement came about three or four months earlier than expected and, moreover, it was made just when the union was negotiating with the U.S. on the discharge plan."

Manila Crowd Protests Government Witch-hunt

At least 20,000 students and workers demonstrated in Manila's Plaza Miranda February 12 to protest the Marcos regime's witch-hunt against hundreds of persons charged with "sedition" for participating in a January 30 demonstration at Malacañang, the presidential palace.

Philippines President Ferdinand E. Marcos failed in an attempt to have the February 12 demonstration called off. He met with representatives of the National Association of Trade Unions the day before the rally, and reportedly made significant concessions to their demands in exchange for the association withdrawing from the Plaza Miranda meeting. It was expected that the meeting would fall through without union support, but the size of the crowd was an indication of the depth of the popular anger at the government. Marcos has not been forgiven for the killing of four students and the wounding of hundreds by police gunfire during the January 30 action. That action, involving more than 50,000 persons, was staged following disclosures of corruption in government, including vote-buying in the previous election.

Marcos exacerbated the public outrage by blaming the students for the brutality of the police. In a January 31 television address he branded the previous day's demonstration "a revolt by local Maoist communists" who planned, he claimed, to take over or destroy Malacañang.

"According to the Chief Executive," the February 1 Manila *Sunday Times* reported, "the rioters the other night were not a student mob or simple arsonists but insurrectionists who, he said, acted in accordance with a well-organized and well-thought-out plan. . . ."

"According to Marcos, he had been receiving intelligence reports during the past few months of plots, one by Communist elements and the other non-Communist, to take over Malacañang."

Marcos did not disclose the source of these reports, but Stanley Karnow, writing from Manila in the February

9 *Washington Post*, suggested they might have come from very esoteric sources indeed—from a crystal ball in fact:

"In the opinion of several Philippine and Western analysts, he [Marcos] now has an opportunity to make major impact by coming out personally and publicly in favor of dramatic reforms. . . ."

"During the past week, however, Marcos has clung to his heavily guarded palace, evidently relying for advice on a small circle of courtiers and his wife Imelda . . . who is being increasingly compared to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Ngo Dinh Nnu and the late Eva Peron.

"One of Marcos's prime motives for remaining in his palace is his fear of assassination, which is based on the prophesies of assorted fortune-tellers. Among others, the American soothsayer Peter Hurkos reportedly gave Marcos a pessimistic forecast during a visit to Manila in December."

At any rate, it has not been reforms that Marcos has been dispensing since the brutal police action. In his January 31 speech, he ordered the local police to be reinforced with regular soldiers, especially in Manila. According to the February 1 Manila *Sunday Times*, "Malacañang yesterday appeared like a military camp with the presence of many soldiers deployed around the Palace grounds and army vehicles with mounted machine guns. It was reported that groups of soldiers were also deployed in strategic places in Greater Manila."

The presidential helicopter has been ordered on twenty-four-hour a day standby, in case the president feels the urge to make a quick getaway.

In addition to these preparations, the police have cracked down hard on the students arrested during the demonstration. The Philippine Constabulary Criminal Investigation Service confirmed February 1 that it would bring "sedition and rebellion" charges against 293 persons, including a thirteen-year-old student and a fifty-five-year-old schoolteacher. Some 130 of the prisoners are students. They

were permitted to seek bail, but except for a few students of exclusive Manila schools, most could not raise the money. They are being held at the Philippines Constabulary gymnasium at Camp Crame, outside the capital.

The four students confirmed as killed were Feliciano Singh Roldan, 21; Ricardo Alcantara, 18; Fernando Catabay, 17; and Bernado Tausa, 16. A fifth student, Samuel Carreon, 28, was said to have been killed, but this has not been established. At least two of the victims were bystanders who had not even taken part in the demonstration.

Most of the newspapers took the government's side in the witch-hunt, suggesting that the youths fighting for democratic reforms were the tools of outside agitators. Teodoro F. Valencia put it crudely in his February 1 column in the *Sunday Times*:

"It must be obvious to all that those who egg on violence or secretly finance subversive movements sleep well in their air-conditioned mansions."

One exception was the comment by Ernesto O. Granada, who ridiculed the army in the February 2 *Manila Chronicle*.

"Armed with nothing heavier than machine guns and armored cars," he said, "and outnumbering the students but only two to one, the soldiers and police bravely marched into the ranks of the demonstrators, defying placards, pebbles and insults as they cracked skulls where they did not shoot point-blank at the children.

"And the courage and the patriotism of the soldiers and the police were not lost on the grateful President. Not only is there not a single investigation of [a] single soldier or policeman for alleged brutality. Praising the soldiery's momentous victory over schoolchildren, the President gave a battlefield promotion to Col. Ordoñez, the Metrocom chief, who is now brigadier general."

According to Reuters, an Israeli military court sentenced an Arab barber in the village of Yaita February 7 to one year in prison for giving four alleged guerrillas shaves and haircuts.

Demonstrators Score British Complicity in Vietnam

By T. Philips

London

Hardly had Prime Minister Wilson returned from his January 27-28 pilgrimage to his master in Washington, when he was met by a demonstration of antiwar activists scoring his government's support to U. S. aggression in Vietnam. On February 6 in Nottingham, eighty to one hundred supporters of the "February 6th Mobilisation Committee" picketed a meeting of Labour party faithful where Wilson was speaking. They demanded an end to British complicity in Vietnam.

Criticism of the British government's support for the State Department's Vietnam policy has been mounting since the New Year. A number of protest actions have been organized.

Before Wilson's visit to Washington, two demonstrations in London hit out at British complicity in Vietnam. On January 11, in a demonstration sponsored by the *Keep Left* Young Socialists and supported by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, International Socialism, and the International Marxist Group, about 1,500 people participated in a march, demanding that Wilson cancel his trip to see Nixon.

On January 25, the day Wilson took off, about 2,000 demonstrators marched in a torchlight parade to Downing Street sponsored by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee. Some fifteen organizations participated. These included the Movement for Colonial Freedom, Schools Action Union,

Young Communist League, Socialist Labour League, International Socialism, and the International Marxist Group (the British section of the Fourth International).

In a statement to the press criticising press accounts of the demonstration as a "riot," the Vietnam Solidarity Committee said that the campaign against British complicity in Vietnam would continue. A mass demonstration and conference is projected for spring to coincide with similar mobilizations elsewhere in the world.

The London offices of a number of trade unions have organized a "London Vietnam Week," March 1-8. Demonstrations, public meetings, and a conference are planned.

Zambia

How Copper Companies Gained by Nationalization

[The following article was released February 7 by the Africa Research Group in Cambridge, Massachusetts.]

* * *

The nationalization of the two great Zambian copper companies is representative of the new pattern of Third World nationalizations curiously compatible with corporate imperialism. The take-overs in Tanzania, the Congo, and the recent "Chileanization" of Anaconda's copper mines all had direct influence on and share common features with the Zambian move, announced by President Kaunda last August.

The copper mines dominate the Zambian economy to an extent rarely found even among the lopsided economies of the Third World. Copper production accounts for 43% of Zambia's net domestic product and over 90% of her exports. The eight mines were owned by two holding companies, Roan Selection Trust [RST] and Zambian

Anglo-American [Zam-Anglo], which in turn are segments of large international conglomerates: American Metal Climax owns controlling interest (43%) in RST; Zam-Anglo is part of the Oppenheimer empire based in South Africa.

In weighing the effect of the nationalization three interrelated aspects must be reviewed: (1) profits to foreign interests, (2) management control, and (3) politics.

The exact effects of the nationalization are still unclear; however, there seems to be no reason to expect any dramatic changes. Under the agreement reached on November 11 the government took over 51% of the shares of all the mines as of January 1970. As compensation, the government issued bonds, bearing 6% interest and redeemable over eight years (RST) and ten years (Zam-Anglo). Funds to pay for the bonds will come out of future dividends. The total amount involved, including interest, is about \$209,000,000.

Another source of continued revenue for foreign shareholders lies in the substantial management fees to be paid to RST and Zam-Anglo to run the mines for at least the next ten years. For this service they rake off 15% of gross sales and about 1% of gross profits.

In the past each holding company charged a nominal management fee to the mines in its group. And, since the government has taken up a 51% holding in only the mining companies and not the holding companies, it has no control over these funds. Finally, the actual flow of dividends abroad to foreign investors will probably increase with the relaxation of restrictions limiting the remittance of profits abroad. Because the copper mines are now classified as "Zambian" companies, they are no longer subject to those foreign exchange controls. Previously only 50% of net profits could be sent abroad.

Consequently the companies began

building up large reserves of Zambian currency, freely spending some of it on lavish public relations affairs and discreet support for internal opposition groups to UNIP [United National Independence party], the ruling party since independence — not exactly the best deployment of "scarce" capital in an underdeveloped country.

The second question is that of effective control (i.e., capital expenditure, output, buying policies, dividends, etc.). Through its 51% holding, the government of Zambia has nominally the "controlling interest." On the other hand, the ten-year management contract with RST and Zam-Anglo will leave actual management in their hands.

Without close knowledge of short-run operations and technical information it would seem almost impossible to formulate long-run, or even yearly, plans which conflicted with the interests of the actual managers. It remains to be seen what kinds of controls the Zambian directors will in fact be able to exercise.

Finally, the mining companies gain political advantages by having the government as a partner. Besides removing exchange control restrictions, the state will be helpful in dealing with any obstacles which may impede efficient (and cheap) production. Significantly this includes labor difficulties which have troubled the companies before and after independence.

Kaunda quite clearly stated his intentions when first announcing the copper take-over: "The State now controls the major means of production. For a union to push a wage claim against the State is to push a wage claim against the people." At that time he imposed a wage freeze and an "embargo" on all strikes.

Zambia's take-over, then, represents neither a curtailment of the drain of national income abroad nor the seizure of effective control over a national industry. In fact, there is no reason why such a nationalization is incompatible with corporate imperialism. Rather, government participation in foreign enterprises is increasingly seen as an asset by foreign corporations, in that it provides greater long-run security and stability.

Hundreds of students were clubbed by police in Rabat February 11 when they staged a strike against inclusion of new courses they objected to.

Japan

Sokagakkai Tries to Silence a Critic

Sokagakkai, Japan's fast-growing ultranationalist Buddhist sect, and its offshoot, the extreme rightist Komeito [Clean Government party], will be confronted in the Diet [parliament] this month with charges that they sought to suppress a book critical of their movement.

The Sokagakkai, or Value Creation Society, was organized in 1937 by followers of the Buddhist sect founded by Nichiren Soshu in the thirteenth century. Komeito, first organized in 1964, won forty-seven seats in the December 27, 1969, elections to the Diet.

The current controversy concerns a book called *Sokagakkai o Kiru* [Slashing the Sokagakkai], published in November by Professor Hirotatsu Fujiwara of Meiji University.

In mid-December a Communist party spokesman accused the Komeito of pressuring a publisher not to print the book. The right-wing party denied the charge, and on January 5 Komeito chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri, held a news conference in which he denied the accusation as "a slander without any factual basis."

In the meantime, the book had sold more than 300,000 copies, while testimony mounted against the Sokagakkai and its political arm.

Takashi Oka reported from Tokyo in the January 11 *New York Times* that the publisher of the book, Takayuki Minakawa, "said that early in the fall, Komeito and Soka Gakkai representatives called repeatedly on him to urge him not to publish Mr. Fujiwara's book.

"He was promised lucrative publication rights for books recommended by the Soka Gakkai if he agreed, he said."

Minakawa refused to suppress the book. But when he sought to advertise it in commuter trains, the *New York Times* correspondent reports, he "was unable to buy space, being told that the ideographic characters for 'Slashing the Soka Gakkai' were too large and therefore agitational.

"He also tried to get Japan Book Sales and Tokyo Book Sales, Japan's two leading book wholesalers, to circulate the books nationwide, he said,

but was told that he would have to obtain orders himself from individual bookstores."

The Sokagakkai was forced finally to retreat. Kiyooki Murata (himself the author of a book on the sect that has been favorably received by the Sokagakkai hierarchy), summed up the situation in the February 7 *Japan Times Weekly*:

"On Jan. 16 came what is likely to prove a momentous occasion in the history of Sokagakkai. Komeito's Secretary General Junya Yano, in a press conference, admitted that Sokagakkai-Komeito did indeed 'make some contacts with the author, publisher and bookstores within the limits of having to safeguard our honor against unwarranted slander.' . . .

"Coming from Sokagakkai," Murata added, "this is a major concession. Because the Communists and the Democratic Socialists, however, plan to propose taking up the matter in the Diet when it is resumed in mid-February, the case of Fujiwara vs. Sokagakkai is expected to smolder for some time to come."

Bourguiba 'Upset'

"President Bourguiba, who is feeling very well and will soon return to Tunis, has been very upset by the demonstrations against a high dignitary of a friendly country," the Tunisian leader's press secretary Allala Laouiti announced February 12. "He was all the more upset," Laouiti continued, "because less than three weeks ago he addressed the students directly to tell them that he was sure they would be able to fulfill their duty to Tunisia, to work to assure its development and safeguard its stability at any price."

The "high dignitary" was U.S. Secretary of State Rogers, who was greeted in Tunis by an all-out student strike and demonstrations that were attacked by the police.

Three weeks before the dignitary's arrival, Bourguiba released thirty-one student radicals who had been imprisoned for participating in anti-imperialist demonstrations at the time of the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Apparently the neocolonialist head of state had counted on appeasing the students so that no "incidents" would occur during Rogers's visit.

Women's Rights Versus Drug Monopolists' Profits

By Jacquie Henderson

[The following article is from the January 26 issue of the revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Workers Vanguard*, published in Toronto, Canada. Jacquie Henderson is the executive secretary of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the Canadian Trotskyist youth organization.]

* * *

Who knows the truth about The Pill? Does it cause cancer, loss of sex drive, miscarriages, deformities, blood clots, diabetes, artery disease, or the hundreds of other frightening side effects that are being attributed to it by some doctors? Are women to have three heads, no breasts and two wombs by the time we're fifty, in order to have some control of our bodies today? We don't know. And if the big drug monopolies have their way, we'll never know—until it doesn't matter any more.

When doctors who had helped develop the birth control pill testified this month at a U.S. Senate subcommittee hearing, they said that drug firms pushed the "hasty exploitation" of the Pill despite "inherent risks." Dr. Roy Hertz, who helped develop the first oral hormone compound, revealed that when estrogen—the hormone used in most brands of the Pill—was used in chickens to fatten them, it was linked with cancer. The government immediately took these chickens off the market.

But the same hormone is used in about half of the birth control pills taken by nine million American women and hundreds of thousands of Canadian women! And it has been approved by both governments.

Hertz told the senators, "Daily ingestion of the Pill gives much more substantial and considerable exposure (to cancer) than occurs in poultry, neither of which I would recommend." He suggested abortion would be a better means of birth control than the Pill.

Other doctors and researchers have testified about the dangerous side effects of the Pill. Most doctors are more

hesitant. Dr. Robert Kistner of the Harvard medical school says reports linking the Pill to cancer are "inconclusive." But while the drug companies continue their leisurely investigations into the possibility that the Pill causes cancer, millions of women are serving as human guinea pigs!

On January 19 the Canadian government banned the mini-pill manufactured by Syntex because it produced cancer in dogs. In banning it they revealed that they were testing it on 300 Canadian women at the same time as they were testing it on dogs. The *dogs* got too much cancer so the government worried. How many other birth control pills is this true for?

The few facts that have leaked out suggest that the Pill in its present unrefined state could be maiming thousands of women. Yet nothing is done. We don't even have access to the facts. The doctors themselves have only those "facts" that are palmed off on them by the drug companies. And this advertising bears a suspicious resemblance to the "cigarettes are good for you" advertising of the tobacco companies.

The risk is high. But, reply the medical men, the drug companies, the government—so what? Are you suggesting women go back to pre-Pill days? A Toronto doctor who has done research on the Pill justifies the Pill on the basis that without it women would have to resort to kitchen table abortions.

Like it or lump it, women! Any way you look at it, the alternatives are pretty dismal. There is no assumption that women have a *right* to health; a right to know that the birth control method they use is perfectly safe.

The Pill—the first 100% sure birth control method, marked a great step forward, finally giving woman some control over her biology. But after ten years using the Pill—ten years!—its side effects are still improperly researched. Women have no guarantee that in taking the Pill they aren't endangering their future health or even that of their unborn children. They have only one guarantee—that the

drug companies will continue to make as much profit out of them as possible.

The answer of women should be to throw the cynicism of the companies and the medical profession back in their faces. We don't want a choice of poisons—we want control of our bodies! We want a completely safe birth control method. We won't be the guinea pigs for a multimillion-dollar business that is too profit-conscious to find a safe method.

We have seen in the past how the drug companies caused thousands of children to be born maimed when they shoved thalidomide onto the market before it had been properly researched. How many other drugs pose similar threats to this and future generations?

The drug monopolies' racket must be halted immediately. They should be nationalized. Only then will they be freed from the considerations of profit that they put before the considerations of health. The government must open an inquiry into the Pill without delay. The facilities of modern science must be turned to developing a completely safe and acceptable means of birth control, whether it be a perfected pill or another method.

When the U.S. state department decided to land a man on the moon, they called on all the best scientific resources from around the world. With a lot of money and the top scientists in the field, they did it. Surely the lives of millions of women deserve the same kind of effort!

But in the meantime women must have access to an alternative foolproof form of birth control. Free legal abortions, which should be a right for women all the time, must be available for all women who choose this method of birth control. Hospital services for abortions must be drastically expanded to handle the requests of these women.

Women who have enjoyed the freedom the Pill has granted them can't shut up about the scandal that has been revealed. We won't be satisfied with half-way measures. We demand this problem be resolved—now!

The Fight for Democratic Rights in the French Army

By Richard Wood

Paris

A court-martial in Rennes yesterday convicted and sentenced three conscript soldiers to prison for the "crime" of expressing antimilitarist views and for protesting against the brutal treatment of a fellow soldier by the French army brass.

Serge Devaux was sentenced to one year in jail, Michel Trouilleux to eight months, and Alain Hervé to four months.

The three were accused of inciting troops to commit acts of indiscipline. The "proof" consisted of some issues of a mimeographed soldiers' newspaper, and a draft of a petition, found by the military police in the soldiers' lockers during an "investigation" last October.

The petition, which the three never had a chance to circulate, protested the beating by an officer of a fellow soldier in the barracks. The victim had appealed to superior officers and was punished for his temerity with a month in the stockade.

The mimeographed soldiers' newspaper contained articles on such subjects as why the army should not be used against French workers and in colonial wars, and why soldiers should not fight against the workers in situations such as the May-June

1968 events. It reprinted an antimilitarist appeal published by the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor—the Communist party-led union federation] in the 1930s.

Serge Devaux, in a statement to the court, took full responsibility for the newspapers and the petition. The court was surrounded by the notorious CRS [Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Companies—an elite paramilitary security police force], who blocked off the center of Rennes to keep some 1,500 supporters of the defendants from getting near the trial.

Students at the university in Rennes held a general strike in support of the soldiers during the trial. When the cut-and-dried proceedings of the court-martial were over, 2,000 persons joined in a rally at the university condemning the convictions.

The public was effectively barred from the trial because of the small size of the courtroom, and the widespread sympathy for the defendants was allowed no expression there. Moreover, the place was packed with plainclothes cops. The only persons admitted were the families of the accused and a few observers, including Michel Rocard and Alain Krivine, last

year's presidential candidates respectively of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party] and the LC [Ligue Communiste—Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International]. The Soldiers stationed at Rennes were sent out of town the day of the trial.

[The defense called Krivine and Rocard as witnesses, and introduced a letter from Jean-Paul Sartre on behalf of the defendants. The prosecution opposed allowing Krivine and Rocard to speak. The February 7-8 issue of *Paris-Jour* reported the exchange:

["When the former [Krivine] presented himself at the bar, Colonel Vanier observed that the witness had no direct knowledge of the facts.

["Presiding judge: 'In that case, it would be a personal statement.'

["Defense: 'This is a tradition in political cases!'

["Colonel Vanier: 'We haven't gone that far.'

["Finally the presiding judge allowed Alain Krivine to speak, 'so that he could say what he thought were Devaux's motives.'"

[The February 7-8 issue of *L'Aurore* reported Krivine's testimony: "The draftees of today," he said, "are part of the generation of the events of May and June 1968. They have become conscious, in a profound sense, of certain words: citizens, democracy, liberty. . . ."

["They have tasted discussion," Krivine added, according to the February 7-8 issue of *Le Figaro*, "they did not want to abandon their ideas when they became workers in uniform. Their gesture is a rejection of support for an army which is completely at the service of a specific social class."

[Rocard, *Le Figaro* reported, declared that the army "has become a place of ideological regimentation. . . . Those in uniform have the right to think. They should not be persecuted for a crime of opinion which does not exist in civil life."]

The sentences were exactly those de-



The great battles of the French army.
"Who said Dien Bien Phu?"

manded by the army prosecutor. He singled out Devaux as the "ringleader" and insinuated that there was "sabotage" in Devaux's barracks after he was arrested, "which resulted in the death of one soldier." He also asked for the stiff sentence against Devaux to set an "example," because, he said, the "subversive" movement is growing inside the French army.

Today I discussed the case with Alain Krivine, who has been active in organizing support for the three soldiers. Krivine himself was in the army when he ran for president of France last May, and is well acquainted with conditions in the army.

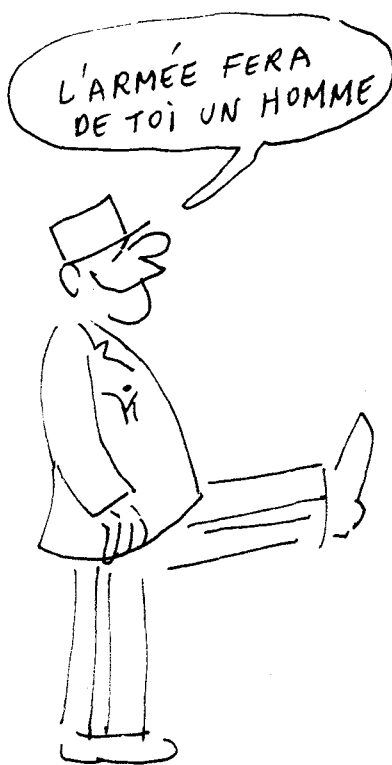
"Serge Devaux was arrested on October 23," Krivine explained, "and after further investigation, the other two were also arrested. They have been held in the stockade ever since. Many soldiers in Devaux's barracks were questioned, along the lines of, 'Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Trotskyist party?'"

Serge Devaux says he is in political solidarity with the Ligue Communiste. The French military code denies soldiers their right to participate in political and trade-union activities. They cannot even join a political party or trade union nominally, although the regulations are vague about conscripts who were members of such organizations before being inducted.

"The three first appealed to the Ligue Communiste for support and help in November," Krivine said. "At first the LC began to publicize the case, but it was very difficult to get anything into the daily press, including the left press.

"This began to change with the formation of the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers, which was supported by figures like Jean-Paul Sartre, and organizations like the PSU and *Lutte Ouvrière* [Workers Struggle], as well as the Ligue Communiste. This committee is a broad defense committee, and has now gathered considerable support throughout the country. On January 27, a press conference was held with Sartre, Rocard, and myself. Although only Agence France-Presse and two smaller provincial papers sent representatives to the conference, the story was picked up by *Le Monde*, and the daily press since then has given extensive coverage to the case.

"In the two weeks since the press

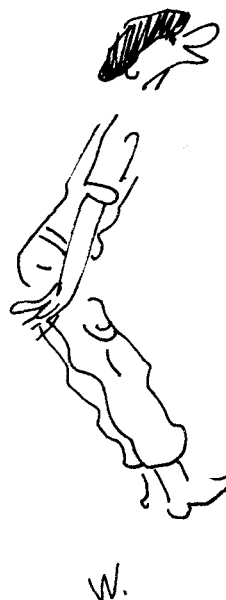


"The army'll make a man out of you."

conference, the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers has spread out at a tremendous rate. Hundreds of local chapters of the committee have been organized in the high schools, universities, neighborhoods, factories, etc. About 600,000 leaflets on the case have been distributed up to now, and 50,000 posters put up, throughout France.

"The number of endorsers of the original call of the committee has grown considerably, with thousands of workers, unionists, students, etc., signing the appeal. Even local union leaders of the CGT have supported the campaign, as well as local unions of the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail — French Democratic Confederation of Labor]. The CFDT ran a sympathetic article in their national newspaper, *Syndicalisme* [Unionism]."

There were meetings and demonstrations of solidarity with the victimized soldiers in many towns. One of the most important was a meeting in Rennes itself, where the trial was held. On January 29, 3,500 persons participated in the largest political meeting for any cause in the memory of the people of Rennes. The Communist party had urged its supporters



to stay away from the meeting — branding it as "adventurist" — although *l'Humanité*, the official CP newspaper, felt constrained to oppose the proceedings against the soldiers.

"The committee is receiving fifty to 100 letters of support every day," Krivine said, "and a significant number are from soldiers. There has been a good response among the soldiers themselves to this case."

Under French military law, the court-martial conviction of the three soldiers can only be appealed to the *Cour de cassation* [Supreme Court of Appeal], and only on the basis of technicalities and not on the content of the proceedings. I asked Krivine how the campaign will continue under these circumstances.

"The most pressing problem that the committee is now fighting," he said, "is to establish that the imprisoned soldiers are political prisoners and should have rights as political prisoners. Now they are classified as common criminals, which means they can have no newspapers from the outside, no radios, no watches, and only the books found in the prison library. They cannot leave their cells, except for a forty-five-minute exercise period during the day.

"Second, the axis of the campaign

remains centered around the immediate release of the soldiers, and we plan to continue to build wide support for this demand.

"Also, the committee plans to continue to fight for the general political rights of soldiers. Already there are other cases similar to this one, which the committee will take on. Three soldiers stationed in Landau, West Germany—Joseph Divet, Jean-Louis Fauthoux, and Jean-Michel Banet—face similar charges."

Besides giving full support to the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers, the Ligue Communiste is developing its own program for the army.

Krivine explained that certain bourgeois forces want to reform the incredibly archaic French army, and that such a reform is expected to be debated in parliament in April. This provides an opportunity for revolutionists to discuss the role of the army itself. The arguments of the "modernizers" center on the experience of May-June 1968, when it became clear that the common soldiers, and even a section of the professional soldiers, would not allow themselves to be used against the workers.

"Some bourgeois forces," Krivine said, "want to 'democratize' the army, by making army service obligatory for all youth when they reach eighteen or nineteen, in order to 'educate' them in 'patriotism.' They hope to be able to stem the youth revolt in this way."

The Ligue Communiste has put out a pamphlet on the role of the army under capitalism, which explains the need for an army under the control of the working class and peasantry. As immediate demands, the LC has raised the following:

- (1) Stop all forms of persecution and intimidation;
- (2) end the two-month period of forced confinement to the barracks during basic training;
- (3) recognize the right to leave the base after a day's work (eight hours);
- (4) grant free transportation for the draftees;
- (5) establish full freedom of expression and access to information, including the right to read all newspapers and political books, and the right to attend political meetings [at present, all left-wing newspapers are forbidden to soldiers];
- (6) raise wages to a minimum of 150 francs [US\$27] a month;
- (7) recog-

- nize the right to wear civilian dress while off the base;
- (8) station soldiers as close to their homes as possible;
- (9) grant regular passes and leaves as a right, not a privilege;
- and (10),

Brazil

Tortured to Limit of Their Endurance

Santiago de Chile

PRENSA LATINA, January 15 — The testimony of a Brazilian political prisoner tortured to the limit of his strength was written up in an extensive document issued by the "Brazilian Information Front" [Frente Brasileiro de Informaciones] and given to Prensa Latina.

"Operação Bandeirante" is an army operation in the state of São Paulo made up of questioners (or torturers), investigators, and "hunters." A major of the army named Valdir acts as its head.

Sergeants, officials, investigators, and delegates do the important work while soldiers only serve as jailers.

Handcuffed, the prisoner is dragged through two staircases. Since he is dragged by the handcuffs, a fall usually means a broken wrist. Antenor Meyer, a law student, after having both his legs broken, was dragged in this fashion and had his wrist broken.

The prisoner is then ordered to undress after being struck and kicked. If he refuses, they tear his clothes off while hitting him. Once he is naked, he is made to sit on the floor while they cover certain parts of his legs and arms so that the ropes won't leave visible marks. He is then left hanging between two wooden trestles about a meter and a half high. Then the electric shocks begin.

"I was [the] victim of five or six different types of machines. But the most commonly used is the 'Army Campaign Telephone.' The poles of this telephone are connected to the most sensitive parts of the human body and the shock it provokes is a violent, undescrivable pain with terrible muscular contractions. Although the elbows may be resting on the knees, the body rises in the 'Pau Arara' and turns over almost completely. The volt-

extend the right of university students to deferments to all young workers participating in job training or technical courses.

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age is 90 volts and there is another machine of 110 volts. The contractions of the muscles are so great that if the torturers don't fill the victim's mouth with cloth, he can bite his tongue to such an extent that he may be unable to talk or eat for days. This torture also makes the victim lose control of his bowels and bladder."

The document of the "Brazilian Information Front" ends on this grim note: the name of the author was omitted because he has not yet fallen prisoner again, but the other names mentioned are real. They belong to persons who are still in jail but have nothing to fear since they have already been tortured to the limit of their endurance.

The Japanese Way

It's a Dog's Life

A new hospital has opened in downtown Tokyo, specializing in plastic surgery—for dogs. It also sells fancy clothes and foods, and operates a beauty parlor—for canine customers, of course. As a sideline, the hospital boasts a dog hotel where man's best friend can live at his ease while his master (?) is out of town. The February 7 *Japan Times Weekly* described one of the class-A rooms (4,000 yen per day [US\$11.11]):

"It's equipped with a bath and a TV set. A dog staying here can also listen to recorded music if he wants.

"Hospital officials explain that because today dogs are always exposed to music and TV at home, they can't go without them even for a few days.

"Each A-class room has a waiting room that looks like servant's quarters. It is for the nurse you can hire to take special care of your pet. . . .

"Some doting pet lovers leave reminders for officials. One such reminder warned: . . . 'Let him listen to songs by Frank Sinatra when he goes to sleep, will you?'"

Dissident Students Put on Trial in Poland

By Gerry Foley

Five dissident Polish students went on trial in Warsaw February 9, charged with "engaging in activity hostile and harmful to Poland" and committing a series of crimes "damaging to the good name and interests of Poland and of socialism."

The indictment specified that these acts were not confined to Polish territory and it soon became clear that the case would have wide repercussions.

The five students involved — Krzysztof Szymborski, Jakub Karpinski, Maria Tworkowska, Marguerita Szpakowska, and Maciej Kozlowski — were arrested last spring. They were accused of illegally distributing the emigré journal *Kultura* and of smuggling a copy of the Czech 2,000-word manifesto into Poland over the Tatra mountains.

The case is being called the "Mountain Climbers Trial" because some of the five were members of either the student Alpine Club or the Speological Club of Poland.

According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch of February 7, the dissidents were accused specifically of distributing a special number of *Kultura* devoted to the March 1968 student demonstrations in Poland. This number contained the main statements issued by the protesting students. *Kultura* generally follows a liberal line and has been more flexible in reporting opposition activity in East Europe than most other emigré publications.

The charge of distributing illegal publications seems to have been expanded into one of espionage on the basis of the alleged connections of the Institut Littéraire de Maisons-Laffitte, which publishes *Kultura*.

The indictment cited this institute as a center of ideological diversion directed against Poland. It was alleged to have close connections with Radio Free Europe and the CIA and to be in collusion with the international Zionist movement and Israel. This entire complex, it was claimed, is engaged in espionage against the Gomulka government. The most prominent Polish

daily *Zycie Warszawy* wrote that the affair had its roots "in Tel-Aviv."

The French press has taken a particular interest in the case since the Polish government is pressuring Paris to impose restrictions on *Kultura*. The Gomulka regime is reportedly making this a negotiating point in Franco-Polish talks.

It seems unlikely that *Kultura* is the ultimate target of these pressures. This publication, to say nothing of the organizations it is accused of being connected with, appears to have ample resources. It would probably not be greatly inconvenienced if it had to set up shop in some other part of Europe.

However, sympathy for the Polish oppositionists has been especially strong among revolutionary French students. And, since May 1968, the interest of antibureaucratic as well as anticapitalist revolutionists has centered on France.

A reporter from Agence France-Presse was the only Western journalist allowed to attend the trial sessions. On February 11, he wrote: "The principal defendant, Kozlowski, defended himself with courage and conviction. Admitting most of the facts charged against him, he denied that he had done anything reprehensible, asserting that he was being tried for his beliefs.

"Kozlowski denied all collusion with the magazine *Kultura* and the American secret services. He said that he was impressed by the 'Prague spring' and sought to foster a similar movement in Poland. He traveled from Paris to Czechoslovakia four times in 1968 and 1969 and from there he entered Poland clandestinely twice."

Maria Tworkowska, who is reported to have lived in France in recent years, was Kozlowski's principal assistant.

The trial in Warsaw had an immediate echo in Czechoslovakia. On February 9, *Rudé Právo*, the organ of the Czechoslovak CP, reported that the journalist Jiri Lederer, a former editor of the anti-Stalinist weekly *Reportér*, and two other persons arrest-

ed January 27 were implicated in the case. *Rudé Právo* said subsequently that twelve Czechoslovak citizens had been called as witnesses in the Warsaw trial.

"The defendants could not have carried on their activities without effective support from certain Czechoslovak citizens," the CP paper declared. "However, the contacts with certain Czechoslovak citizens had more important objectives than distributing illegal literature. They involved espionage-type gathering of information on the social situation, especially in the army and in the Czechoslovak police, or about the places where Soviet troops are stationed in Czechoslovakia. They also involved setting up a new illegal radio station which would be more effective than Radio Free Europe in influencing the socialist countries, as well as organizing East European youth."

The Warsaw trial appears to testify to the increasingly internationalist character of the opposition in the bureaucratized workers states. Moreover, the trial seems to be only the first in a series aimed at dissident youth. According to the February 13 *Le Monde*, additional political trials are being prepared in Poland, including one in Krakow, the second most important university center in Poland.

Turn in Your Ribbon!

In all the editorial offices in the Czechoslovak provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, and in certain government offices, according to the February 1-2 *Le Monde*, orders have been given to remove all the ribbons from the typewriters and turn them in before leaving at the end of the day. The idea is to prevent anyone from copying news, documents, or speeches that have been banned from being made public, or cutting stencils to be used in getting out leaflets.

"As if any of that was done after work!" *Le Monde* quotes one of those affected by the order as saying ironically.

And, it might be added, as if anyone but a bureaucrat didn't know that to cut a good stencil it's best to remove the ribbon first.

Has the Kremlin Found a Tolerable Dissenter?

By George Saunders

A young Russian historian, Andrei Alekseyevich Amalrik by name, writes an iconoclastic essay with the sensationalist title "Can the USSR Survive Until 1984?" and openly sends it abroad to be published. The text soon appears in several magazine versions, is slated for publication as a book (New York: Harper & Row), and attracts the attention and comments of dozens of reviewers and columnists.

A preliminary judgment of this essay is now possible, although the full text is not yet available to us. The February issue of the New York monthly *Atlas* provides a "synthesis," taken from *L'Express* of Paris.

The most interesting thing about the essay is its discussion and description of the opposition movement that has grown up in the Soviet Union in the past few years. Amalrik distinguishes between the cultural opposition, which arose "out of the ruins of the Stalin era" and which "the regime is now resigned to tolerate . . . in certain forms," and the political opposition.

"True, that some political opposition has also arisen, and has begun to attack the regime's policies and ideology. The voice of this opposition is the Samizdat or 'Home Edition,' by means of which thousands of photostatic copies of novels, articles and studies are circulated clandestinely."

According to Amalrik, the opposition is known as the "Democratic Movement." Its size, he says, is "difficult to estimate," but it has "a dozen activists" for leaders and "hundreds of sympathizers."

He sees three currents in the Democratic Movement: "First, Marxism-Leninism. (Its partisans believe that the regime has betrayed the purity of the doctrine.)" Second is a kind of Christianity he says is "related to the Pan-Slavist idea." The third current he calls "liberalism," which would like to follow the Western parliamentary model while retaining "collective and state property."

These divergent currents explain for Amalrik "the Movement's inability to formulate a program beyond the vague goals of due process of the law and respect for the rights of man."

He tends to dismiss the Movement as consisting primarily of intellectuals: "those people least inclined to take action." He terms them "the new Soviet middle class," commenting that the writers, painters, technocrats, and academicians "enjoy a relatively high standard of living" and are vegetating in their own mediocrity, not wishing to beat their heads against a stone wall.

The regime, too, he sees as temporizing and indecisive. It "does not particularly want to return to Stalinism, to persecute the intellectuals or to 'give brotherly aid' to those who don't want it." This official attitude he sums up with a slogan, "Don't make trouble and we will leave you alone." The bureaucracy, he says, would like to "continue to strike a balance between minor concessions and minor repressions," maintaining the status quo.

Amalrik takes up the question whether the Movement has a revolutionary potential. "I think that the middle class is incapable of regenerating society on its own, unless it can extend its popular support." However, nobody knows what the masses are really thinking, Amalrik contends. No one, that is, but himself; for he goes on to give the following estimation.

"The people feel vaguely discontented, and they express this discontent more and more often. They are not against the essence of the regime, for they know nothing else, but they are against specific aspects of it: controls, low pay, shortages. The desire for a higher standard of living and more housing are steady irritants and the people express their dissatisfaction. Economic expansion is bound to slow down as the sclerosis of the system progresses. If the expansion stops, the wrath will explode."

Amalrik seems to rule out the possibility of the oppositionists reaching the masses with a program that can lead them to revolutionary change. Instead of a social analysis of the various segments of the working class and peasantry, to determine their interests and potential political development, he follows an abstract moral-cultural-psychological method: "The people are guided only by their national fervor and by the power of a regime they fear."

He sees the bureaucracy intensifying its attacks on the "middle class" and on expressions of "lower class" dissatisfaction. Defense against such repression, it would seem, could become the basis for a powerful unity against the bureaucratic enemy. But not for Amalrik. Instead he envisions a violent convulsion making "the horrors of the two Russian revolutions of this century . . . pale by comparison."

Even from the limited information so far available on the character and scope of the new Soviet opposition, it is clear that Amalrik overlooked a fourth major current, one not restricted primarily to intellectuals and having great revolutionary potential—the struggle of national minorities for self-determination within the Soviet state. The participation of Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars, Latvians, Estonians, Jews, Uzbeks, peoples of the Caucasus in the opposition movement has been considerable, much of it consciously following the Leninist tradition of revolutionary internationalism. Oblivious to this current, Amalrik makes only passing comment on the explosiveness of the national question.

If Amalrik's outline of the forces operating within the Soviet Union is of interest, though not definitive, not even that can be said of his views on the international arena, where his knowledge is no longer firsthand. He confidently predicts a Sino-Soviet war "between 1975 and 1980" and the consequent collapse of the bureaucracy, "unable to run the war and maintain order at the same time."

He prophesies that if the Democratic Movement cannot take power to replace the bureaucrats, "the Soviet Union

will dissolve into anarchy, hate and violence." If the "middle class" were to take power, "the various peoples of the Soviet Union would obtain their independence." The USSR might then make peace with China and its European neighbors, he speculates, and evolve into a federation similar to . . . the Commonwealth or Common Market! (Here Amalrik lends his credence to the liberal perspective.)

If these speculations about war with China are far-fetched, the concluding remarks—with their Spenglerian theme of civilization's imminent demise—are pure pretension. Amalrik poses as the astute chronicler of an empire's collapse, but in fact he has taken the passive position of sideline observer.

Interesting for its picture of the internal situation, the document lacks any of the active, fighting spirit expressed in the best of the recent opposition statements, Grigorenko's, Yakhimovich's, even Solzhenitsyn's.

Is Amalrik a KGB agent, a secret policeman? Some have charged that he is, because he has not been arrested despite his flagrant defiance in having his material published abroad.

He also attracted attention, and roused some suspicions, in connection with the writer Anatoly Kuznetsov's defection last summer. Amalrik wrote an open letter criticizing Kuznetsov for having collaborated with the KGB and for denouncing other writers as a means of getting out of the country. To Kuznetsov's behavior Amalrik counterposed his own record of not collaborating with the authorities in the first place, thus avoiding the trap that made Kuznetsov flee. Amalrik's points were well taken, and not favorable to the KGB—an odd thing if he were an agent. It is also hard to see the advantages to the KGB of his "1984" essay.

Amalrik's record as a dissenter has been colorful, if rather peculiar. He was expelled from Moscow University in 1963 (because of a paper on Norse influence in the founding of the Russian state), but was later readmitted. In February 1965 he was exiled to Siberia for circulating "anti-Soviet and pornographic" plays; but after sixteen months a higher court dismissed the case against him. Returning to Moscow, he obtained a job as a journalist with the Novosti Press Agency. He was fired because of secret-police pressure, according to one account, or because he demonstrated against Britain's Biafra policy, according to *Atlas*. Now, at thirty-one, he works as a mailman and, again according to *Atlas*, expects to be rearrested at any time.

Moscow correspondent James F. Clarity, in the *New York Times*, December 24, 1969, reported that a leading Soviet oppositionist, Viktor Krasin, had "assured an American correspondent that Mr. Amalrik was absolutely above suspicion." Krasin, who has since been exiled himself, was quoted: "He [Amalrik] is of a new generation. He fights the authorities. He confronts them directly. He does not have the fear of Stalin's labor camps in his bones." Another leading oppositionist, Pyotr Yakir, nodded his agreement to this, stated Clarity.

Was this an elaborate whitewash by the *Times* man? Doubtful, for what would he gain? Moreover, if not being under arrest is grounds for suspecting Amalrik, several oppositionists whose credentials are hard to question, such as Yakir himself, fall under the same suspicion.

Until more information has come in, the most plausible

explanation is that this clever and enterprising figure has benefited by the very same inconsistent and hesitant Kremlin policies that he himself has described. By defying the censor at a relatively safe moment, he has made a big splash and become a new literary personality internationally. His uncensored message, however, does not particularly contribute to the revolutionary alternative to bureaucratic rule. If it did, arrest would no doubt come without much delay.

Belgian Miners' Appeal

German Workers: Help Our Strike!

[The following appeal for solidarity was issued February 7. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The Permanent Committee of the Campine Basin strike, which is directing and organizing the strike of 23,000 Limbourg miners, appeals urgently to all German unionists, worker militants, and workers.

Our strike has gone into its sixth week. For six weeks Flemish, Walloon, Turk, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Moroccan workers have held together shoulder to shoulder in their struggle against big capital to win a 15 percent wage rise now. Our struggle has reached a critical point. We have already blocked several attempts by the government and the bosses to break our strike.

We are convinced that we can win this strike because the financial groups that control the coalfields also own the Belgian metal industry, which is now suffering from a great coal shortage.

We make an urgent appeal for solidarity across the border because we believe that a common enemy faces us—a big capital organized on an international scale.

That is why we ask you to honor our picket lines, and not to stab us in the back.

Do not supply German coal to the bosses of the Belgian metal industry!

Help us win this strike by showing active solidarity!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers against international capitalism!

Signed for the Permanent Committee:

Désiré Dielet.

'No Grapes!' Say British Dockers

British dock workers and market porters, acting in solidarity with striking American farmworkers, are refusing to transport grapes imported from California.

The February 8 London *Times* reported: "The ban on Californian grapes began in Covent Garden market on January 23. . . . During the same week the ban spread to the docks. On January 28 dockers refused to unload a large consignment of grapes on the SS Valangar.

"Last Monday dockers demanded that a consignment of Californian grapes which had been unloaded in the Royal Group of docks be put back on the ship. The ban spread to the Borough and Brentford Market in London, and the Birmingham market."

Bejar, Gadea, Blanco on the Peruvian Revolution

[The following interview, which assembles the answers recently given by three revolutionary leaders in Peru to the same four questions, will be of interest to those who are following the current discussion among the Latin-American vanguard on such questions as the role of guerrilla war, its relationship to building a revolutionary combat party, the positions of the various tendencies in the far left, the character of the new regimes in Bolivia and Peru, and the attitude of the Cubans toward these regimes.

[The questions were put to Héctor Béjar and Ricardo Gadea, who are serving sentences in Luringancho prison, and Hugo Blanco, who is serving his sentence in El Frontón. The answers were then assembled by the interviewer so as to obtain something like the symposium which the three political prisoners would like to have participated in, with a chance to refute each other or at least carry on the discussion further.

[Héctor Béjar is the author of the essay now running currently in *Intercontinental Press* which received the 1969 prize of the Casa de las Américas. He represents the position of the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army).

[Ricardo Gadea speaks for the position of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left). Like Béjar, he was active in the guerrilla struggle of 1965.

[Hugo Blanco, who gained world fame in the first great peasant upsurge in the early sixties, is the leader of the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International.

[The reference to Fidel Castro in one of the questions concerns a speech made by the Cuban leader at the Antonio Guiteras Sugar Mill at Puerto Padre in Oriente Province, July 14, 1969, in which he said that "if a genuine revolution develops in Peru, regardless of the fact that its leaders are military men," Cuba would defend that revolution. As to the possibility of such a thing happening in Peru, Fidel Castro stated: "What could develop out of this process is that it could continue advancing and could triumph completely. . ."

[While such a stand is not without precedent for the Cubans, corresponding as it does to their diplomatic posture in many areas, it became involved in the current discussion among the Latin-American vanguard.]

* * *

Question: How do you view the relationship between the party and the revolution?

Béjar: I do not believe it is necessary to have a "party" to make a revolution. In Peru there are many revolutionary organizations. There is a division of labor among them at present. For instance, the FIR has done work among the peasantry; the Revolutionary Vanguard has worked among students and workers. The Maoists are

doing work in the student and peasant movements. In this sense, the party is there. It is true there is no united leadership, but I do not believe that is possible at this time.

To try and create a party now with a centralized leadership rather than helping the revolution would become a barrier. We need freedom of expression of all the tendencies within the movement and a party would retard this process.

Gadea: No party exists today as a vanguard organization. A series of organizations exist that have some areas of agreement and some disagreements. We are going through a process with regard to developing a party.

In my opinion the party will be formed in the process of revolutionary struggle. I disagree with those people who think you can form a group and then call yourselves "the vanguard."

I belong to the MIR. We favor a Marxist movement. We do not consider ourselves *THE* vanguard but one part of the formation of the vanguard.

We believe that all revolutionary groups should maintain complete independence from the government. The present regime is a reformist capitalist regime. The revolutionaries and the proletariat in Peru have to prepare for a real revolution; there is no other path. The present task is to prepare politically-militarily. To do this the left must participate in the mass movement. The left is weak today. While the left works to strengthen itself it must remember that the perspective is a war, a revolutionary war. Organizationally we must prepare to fight with arms.

We need to work among the masses to strengthen ourselves and to raise the level of combativity of the masses. Right now this is the most important work. But each member, each revolutionary, should imbue himself with the understanding that at a certain moment he will be a fighter and the organization must have the qualities that will enable it to engage in combat. All our work must be in preparation for a future revolutionary situation.

Blanco: Any human endeavor requires organization in order to bring it to fruition. A social revolution is a great and complicated endeavor. Although it is the masses who realize this endeavor, they are not fully conscious of the process until the moment of culmination.

The "conscious vanguard," which knows the goal it seeks, and, in general terms, how to get there, is only a minority.

How can one justify not organizing that vanguard?

The anarchists had one explanation, the *guerrillistas* [advocates of guerrilla warfare as a panacea—*IP*], who are not too-far-off relatives of the anarchists, have another.

The position of the *guerrillistas* is derived directly from their concept of the revolution. For them, revolution is synonymous with guerrilla warfare, and therefore revolutionary organizing work is synonymous with the organization of guerrillas.

For us, as Marxists, the revolution is a process, of which one critical phase is armed struggle; one form which this armed struggle can take is guerrilla warfare. Therefore, the conscious vanguard, which will organize and lead the masses throughout this complicated and broad process, requires an organization appropriate for that task. That organization is the party.

To show the ineffectiveness of the Communist parties as a demonstration of the ineffectiveness of a party is an incorrect amalgam. Those parties are inoperative for the revolution because their objective is to maintain peaceful coexistence and not to make a revolution. What we ought to learn from this is that we need to organize a party that participates in all aspects of the revolutionary process.

Precisely the great deficiency in our mass work among the peasantry was that under the impact of the mass movement we did not devote sufficient time to building the party; that omission we paid for very heavily. Reality hit us very hard, once again showing us that Lenin was correct when he held the party to be indispensable.

Q: What role do you see for each of the four major world currents in the communist movement—Moscowists, Maoists, Trotskyists, and Fidelistas—in the Peruvian situation?

Béjar: I believe all tendencies have a role to play and that the existence of tendencies is inevitable.

I oppose the concept of an Ideological Mecca from which all truth flows. Otherwise all we would have to do is follow instructions from Moscow, Peking, or some other place. What we have to do is work towards a revolution based on our Peruvian experiences while taking into account the Russian and Chinese experiences as a point of critical analysis. This holds also for Cuba.

We believe that in effect there is a new international. That is the student movement of Europe, the black struggle in the United States, the antibureaucratic movements in Eastern Europe, and the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

Gadea: The tendency to look for and copy the experience of other countries reflects the weakness of our own Peruvian vanguard. We have ourselves experienced the problems of putting an abstract idea forward without checking the concrete situation out sufficiently. Our guerrilla experience has made us keenly aware of this. It has made us look more carefully at our own Peruvian experiences, like that of Hugo Blanco. We must deal with the realities of Peru. From these experiences and a study of our national reality will come the Peruvian approach to revolution.

The Communist party is falling into the error of thinking the present government is nationalistic and anti-imperialist and therefore gives it support. We disagree with this position.

Other tendencies, like the Maoists, maintain that we must have a united front with the "National Bourgeoisie." Some of the Trotskyist tendencies, that of Frias and Posadas, give the present regime support. As we see it, the correct, truly revolutionary politics for Peru is opposed to all of this.

Blanco: The pro-Moscow Communist parties are organizations at the service of the Soviet bureaucracy. Their objective is not revolution but the maintenance of peaceful coexistence. In Peru they are happy because we have

a Soviet embassy so they give support to our pro-imperialist bourgeois government.

The Pekingese represent a current that was correct in breaking positively to the left from the old Communist party. But, unfortunately, from the start they acted according to the needs of the Peking-Moscow faction fight, not in accordance with the needs of the revolutionary process in our country. Their old Stalinist sectarianism has reached grotesque proportions. They are not only sectarian towards the Moscow CP but towards all other currents, including revolutionary groups, the result being that they ended up in sectarian infighting among themselves. Regarding this last point, I'm referring to Peru but I would not be surprised if this is a general characteristic of the Maoists.

Their failure to break with Stalinism, their substitute of diatribes for political discussions, their acting in accordance with the needs of Peking, makes them incapable of playing a leading role in the Latin-American revolution. Nevertheless there are self-sacrificing and dynamic revolutionaries within the ranks of the Maoists, some of whom may overcome the above-mentioned weaknesses and participate in a positive way in the revolutionary process.

The Fidelista comrades confuse revolution with guerrilla warfare and they substitute guerrillas for the concept of the party. This is what has weakened them most noticeably. In spite of the great prestige of the Cuban revolution, of Fidel and of Che, they are becoming weaker.

They have some contradictory aspects. Without a deep analysis, their repudiation of the opportunism of the Communist party led them to repudiate Marxism-Leninism in many fundamental aspects. They underestimate the importance of the party. They underestimate the importance of the mass movements. They overestimate and glorify isolated heroic acts, etc. On the other hand, the heritage of Stalinism, which many of them carry, results in their having many Stalinist aspects such as concepts of a "progressive bourgeoisie," lack of clarity of the nature of our revolution, repetition of the "characterization" of Trotskyism given by the Stalinists, etc.

In Peru, reality is forcing them towards mass work in a positive manner. I hope they will incorporate themselves in the real mass revolutionary process and realize that as a "guerrillista" current they have no future. On top of all this, in our country the Fidelistas have the problem that they must fight a government that Fidel is supporting. Under such conditions how can the Fidelistas lead our revolution?

We Trotskyists believe that the revolutionary process must take as its starting point the needs felt most strongly by the masses, at their actual organizational level, and at their present level of struggle and consciousness.

A socialist revolution is the only definitive solution of all the problems of the masses and it is to this end that we must orient.

Regardless of how small each conquest of the masses is, if it is won through their mobilization it helps to educate, to raise their consciousness, to strengthen their organizations and their methods of struggle.

This entire process, broad and complex as it is, should be guided by a general strategy that takes into account all aspects of the struggle, that reaches out to all popular sectors of the people. This is the conception of the

Communist Manifesto, the conception of Leninism, the conception of the *Transitional Program*, the document on which the Fourth International was founded.

I am a Trotskyist, a member of the Fourth International. I believe in its methodology and its practice. I consider it fundamental to organize parties in each country under these general concepts.

Q: What do you think of Fidel Castro's speech where he states it is possible that Peru's military regime could possibly lead the Peruvian revolution?

Béjar: I believe Fidel is wrong. The Peruvian army continues being an army of the bourgeoisie. This is not simply a dogmatic assertion but a reality carried out by the government in its acts.

Gadea: We disagree with Fidel's speech. We recognize that for many years Cuba has maintained an internationalist revolutionary line towards Latin America. The MIR is itself a testimony to that. But the MIR from its origin has been an independent organization tied to the reality of our country.

The actuality of the present government is that it is not revolutionary. Its reforms are aimed at reinforcing a monopoly capitalist development which is dominated by imperialism. This process is not conducive to the liberation of our country. Instead it is deepening the dependency of the country—very clearly so, after the sellout regarding copper to the United States through the politics of the "Open Door" policy to foreign investors. This development has increased in recent months.

Blanco: It is very sad that Fidel supports the bourgeois, proimperialist government because of its policies for developing the country and its anti-imperialist demagoguery. This is the government that has massacred peasants; that stands with the national bourgeoisie and the imperialists in conflicts against the Peruvian workers; that is repressing the students for their resistance against the government's project of forcing the university into the role of service centers for the development of the interests of the imperialists.

In Peru all the revolutionaries are against the government, including the Fidelistas, of course.

There is an incident that I'm reminded of: In Chaupimayo I was once awakened by a peasant woman who was coming from her home quite a distance away, shouting at the top of her voice. I thought something terrible had happened to her. So I asked if there had been an accident. She answered, "No! I heard over the radio that our beloved Fidel has been murdered!" Later when our guerrillas were in the jungle, it thrilled us to hear the fervorous support of "Radio Habana." I'm sure that the peasant compañera was likewise touched in her hut by "Radio Habana."

Although we must always be truthful to the people, it is very painful to think that that compañera is hearing what Radio Habana and our Fidel is saying about the Peruvian government. That compañera today is in control of the land that she won in the peasant struggle. The bourgeois governments have not dared to retake the peasants' land. This present government is trying to get her to pay for it. The peasants are resisting, they defend the land reform they made, they are defending it against the "land reform" of the government.

Why does Fidel place confidence in a government that

is fighting that peasant woman? Why doesn't he trust in the compañera who fought for her land and who fed, clothed, and protected *her* guerrillas who fought in the mountains? Does Fidel believe that only guerrillas or bourgeois armies are capable of making a revolution? It will be the masses of Peru that make the revolution, Comrade Fidel; they will use guerrillas as *one* of their weapons.

Q: Do you think that we will see guerrilla warfare again like that initiated by Che Guevara or will revolutionaries use other strategies and tactics in the future?

Béjar: I believe that guerrilla war continues to be the basic approach in Latin America to begin the revolution. But it is only a method of starting it.

We must try to give the people of Latin America as complete freedom of action as possible. We must avoid trying to enclose their struggle in preconceived concepts. I have no doubt that the people will know how to develop a series of forms in the struggle that cannot be imagined today. And that we will see the participation of various mass sectors and political formations. And they will have only one, common aim, which is socialism, which in my opinion is the only way out for Latin America.

Gadea: We believe that the tactics and strategy in the future will be new. There are some important changes taking place in our country.

The present capitalist reforms reflect an urbanization of the economy and of society in general. In the countryside it is possible that the land reform will create a privileged peasant sector and the marginal people, both rural and urban, will grow rapidly. Under these conditions the revolutionary struggle will be reflected in quite a variety of ways politically and in the use of arms.

The process of a people's war moving towards power will have to end in socialism. In this we are with Che.

Blanco: From the answers to the other questions, it is clear that we do not conceive of the guerrilla struggle as a strategy but only as a tactic to be used in certain moments, under certain conditions.

To raise rural guerrilla warfare to a general strategy for all the countries in Latin America was a great error for Fidel and Che. It has been a very painful experience for Latin America. Fortunately the harsh reality is forcing many of the Fidelista comrades to reconsider. They are beginning to understand that the option is not opportunism or guerrillas, but opportunism or revolution.

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Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*

By Hector Bejar

[This is the fifth installment of a translation by Gerry Foley of Héctor Béjar's essay.]

Chapter V: 1965

The 1965 actions extend from the seizure of the Runatullo *hacienda* and the Yahuarina ambush on June 9 to the liquidation of the "Javier Heraud" guerrilla group and the disappearance of Guillermo Lobatón in December. These seven months were months of intense fighting, above all on the *Frente del Centro* [Central Front] commanded by Guillermo Lobatón and Máximo Velando.

In mid-1965 the following guerrilla fronts existed, going from south to north:

1. The Mesa Pelada front in the province of La Convención, Department of Cuzco, which was led by Luis de la Puente Uceda. This was also the command center of the MIR.

2. The front in La Mar province, Department of Ayacucho, where the ELN guerrillas were active.

3. The front in the Concepción and Jauja provinces, Department of Junín, where the guerrillas led by Guillermo Lobatón and Máximo Velando (MIR) operated.

The MIR had organized a fourth front in the north, in Ayabaca province, Department of Piura. This was under the command of Gonzalo Fernández Gasco and Elio Portocarrero. By decision of the national leadership of the MIR, it was never activated.

A Resume of the Actions

The task of listing the 1965 actions is complicated by a lack of adequate documentation and by the fact that almost all those involved died in battle, were murdered, or are in hiding. However, a rough chronological order can be established of the battles that were reported in the Lima press.

Early in June, "a mine was attacked, a bridge on the road to Satipo, near the Runatullo *hacienda*, was blown up . . . one group attacked this ranch and another the police station in Andamarca—all on the same day. . .

"These two operations were extraordinarily effective. Every action was accompanied by armed propaganda,

at the mine, at the *hacienda*, at the bridge, in the town. They held meetings and distributed food from the storage places all along the road. . .

"The *Alegria hacienda* was attacked and converted into a peasant commune. Its property (livestock and produce) was distributed to the peasants."⁴¹

On June 9, 1965—the battle at Yahuarina between seventeen guerrillas led by Máximo Velando and fifty or sixty *guardias civiles* armed with machine guns under the command of Major Horacio Patiño. "The guerrillas killed nine members of the repressive force, wounded several and took twelve prisoners, including an officer. The captured men were released without suffering the slightest mistreatment."⁴²

The battle of Pucutá—the guerrillas led by Guillermo Lobatón routed a group of rangers in their own camp, seizing arms and provisions "and inflicting many casualties, both dead and wounded."⁴³

September 25, 1965—the seizure of the Chapi *hacienda* by an ELN group and the death of the *hacendados*, the Carillos.⁴⁴

These seven months can be divided into two distinct phases. The first was clearly successful for the guerrillas, who dealt well-aimed and effective blows. The second was the counteroffensive of the army, backed up politically by a counterrevolutionary front of the bourgeois parties. The Yahuarina and Pucutá actions belong to the first phase. To the second phase, the capture and murder of Máximo Velando, the disappearance of Guillermo Lobatón, and the death of Luis de la Puente.

There has been frequent talk of the errors of conception in setting up the guerrilla movements. It is true that the leaders in 1965 were limited by the conceptions and prejudices of their time. Thus, going back over the record of those years we find marked confusion in characterizing the country and in analyzing its social classes and their peculiarities. But this by itself cannot explain the defeat. The Peruvian revolution is not the only one that began with confused, unclear, or false ideas that were later corrected and clarified in the course of the struggle.⁴⁵

There was obviously something more to it than that. I think that part of the explanation for the defeat must

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41. The first part of the "Tupac Amaru" guerrilla group's operations, written by Guillermo Lobatón. *Ibid.*, page 153

42. The official report of the MIR published in its clandestine organ *Voz Rebelde*, No. 46, pages 11, 15.

43. *Ibid.*

44. This action brought the existence of the "Javier Heraud" guerrilla front to public attention for the first time. It had been active since April of that year.

45. In the same sense, I could mention the article by Americo Pumaruna: "Peru, revolucion, insurreccion, guerrillas," published in Peru by the group "Vanguardia Revolucionaria" in 1966.

be sought not in the general theoretical conceptions of the guerrillas but in the way they applied their tactics.

The MIR Guerrillas

The MIR had distributed its men among the three fronts mentioned above, of which only two functioned.⁴⁶

The aim of this deployment seemed to be to get the army to disperse its forces. The guerrillas were trying to force it to fight in several different places.

Before the armed actions started, the activity of the guerrilla cadres was guided by their concern for party building. In all areas, they tried with varying degrees of success to build the party before firing their first shot.

It seems that Mesa Pelada was the region where they achieved the best results, if we can rely on the statement of the Central Committee of the MIR in its analysis of the experiences of 1965:

"In the south it was shown that the work of building the party and, *on this foundation* (my emphasis—H. B.), organizing the masses was in full swing, on such an extensive and deep-going scale as to sufficiently justify the assertion that if it had been continued, the armed action would have enjoyed broad and firm mass support. In the central region, it was shown that the 'Túpac Amaru' guerrilla group had done intensive work establishing ties with the peasant masses in the area and had developed a vigorous and effective guerrilla capacity. It suffered, however, from deficiencies in party building, which prevented it from more systematically and effectively channeling the support and the extraordinary sympathy that it won among the peasants."⁴⁷

From this it can be deduced that the guerrillas did not apply the same standard in building the party. While Lobatón and Velando tied themselves *directly* to the masses, *De la Puente did so through the party.*

Needless to say, once they began to construct an organization, the fronts could not carry forward their work at the same pace. Given the different areas and the different people involved, some fronts developed faster than others.

What level of organization was considered necessary to start the actions? We do not know. The fact is that it seems to have been the army which, by discovering the Mesa Pelada group in early 1965, forced the MIR to reveal its plans and precipitate the clashes.

The lack of coordination among the fronts, and between the fronts and the city propaganda organization, became evident when Lobatón started hostilities in June without De la Puente being ready; and still less the northern front, which did not succeed in becoming operational. It was demonstrated also when the commander's presence in Mesa Pelada was revealed prematurely.

In any case, located in areas with different characteristics, it was impossible for the guerrillas to begin fighting simultaneously. Without this, the objective of dispersing the enemy was not achieved; he was able to take

on the guerrilla groups one by one largely at his convenience.

Moreover, it was overlooked that the Peruvian army had 50,000 men under arms and had the capacity to fight on several fronts, even if they were all active simultaneously. By spreading themselves out, the guerrillas did not force the army to disperse its forces; they dispersed their own.

Building the Party, or what they chose to call a "minimal party," before starting the operations does not seem to have produced the desired results.

Because of their dispersion, the Peruvian peasants are reluctant to organize in cells. Because of their communal spirit, they prefer big assemblies to small and secret meetings. Hugo Blanco himself was unable to organize an effective party structure despite the influence he had in La Convención and Lares. He experienced "the difficulties involved in this task."⁴⁸

Setting up a party structure required enlisting people who had not yet been tested under fire, thus permitting enemy infiltration.

In this way, unreliable elements made their way even into the "*comités regionales*" [regional committees] that were organized in every guerrilla zone. They participated in the vital tasks of logistic preparation which by nature must be secret and strictly limited to insurrectionists.

This was how Albino Guzmán, a peasant native to the area, "an active participant in the peasant struggles during the Hugo Blanco stage,"⁴⁹ managed to get on the *Comité Regional del Sur* [Southern Regional Committee] and in this capacity he took part in preparing the area. Thus, he knew not only the location of the arms and food caches but the trails, the camps, the guerrillas, the quality of the weapons and . . . the members of the Party, that is, the liaison network. When he deserted, he became the guerrillas' most dangerous enemy and the army's most active collaborator. The capture and liquidation of De la Puente and his companions is ascribable largely to him.

The MIR Central Committee has characterized this grave development as "fortuitous." However, for anyone who reviews in the history of the guerrilla movements the numerous cases of guerrillas who deserted to become army collaborators, this incident does not seem entirely fortuitous. It resulted from a conception, from a method which put the guerrilla movement in the hands of collaborators who were brought in and allowed to rise to the top of the organization without undergoing the indispensable acid test of combat.

When a party is built not on the basis of action but of political education [*politicación*], it may have many members but in difficult moments it is weak and ineffective. Perhaps the "deficiencies in party building" which the MIR Central Committee attributed to the guerrillas in the central region enabled them to continue the fight longer and more effectively against the enemy.

Newcomers to the area, without any knowledge of life of the valley, the southern guerrillas were excited by the traces of Hugo Blanco's political and trade-union work which they found at every step. They tried to revive this

46. The objective of the MIR may have been to form still more guerrilla fronts. However, it was unable to achieve this for lack of resources.

47. *Conclusiones de la Asamblea del Comité Central del MIR*, extracted in: *Mercado*, Rogger. *Op. cit.*, page 169.

48. Blanco, Hugo. *Op. cit.*, page 63.

49. *Conclusiones de la Asamblea del Comité Central del MIR*, extracted in: *Mercado*, Rogger. *Op. cit.*, page 170.

political work with the intention of setting up a clandestine party organization that would serve to back up the guerrillas, supplying them with provisions and information.

On the surface, they seemed to be achieving one of the conditions for all guerrilla struggle—rooting themselves in the people. But inadvertently the guerrilla movement changed from a combat organization into a nucleus of political activists and organizers.

The preparatory work of the guerrilla *foco* [center] was impressive. There were, indeed, a large number of peasants who were collaborating with the guerrilla movement and no great effort was needed to capture the leadership of the peasant union organization in the valley. But when the army arrived, a great many doubtful elements went over to the enemy forces, which were able easily to find the caches that had been laboriously concealed by the insurgents.

Moreover, the guerrilla group, which had been absorbed in political work, became lax about its military readiness. Its men lacked the mobility to elude the encirclement, break out of it, and establish themselves in another location. In order to do this they would have had abruptly to abandon not only a year's work but the conception that had guided it.

Something more can be said about the dispersion of the guerrillas. When two or three guerrilla fronts begin operating against a numerous enemy force in a country as big as Peru, it is impossible for them to communicate except through the cities. And these are precisely the places where the enemy's intelligence services function most effectively.

After a revolutionary organization has spent years fighting in the city and the countryside in the most difficult conditions, liaison through the urban centers is perfectly feasible. But when such experience does not yet exist and there is more of a tradition of liberalism and carelessness about security, when the organization has never really experienced periods of severe underground conditions, making contact through the cities means handing over militants to the enemy.

In Latin America many valuable guerrilla cadres have been captured or murdered when they tried unsuccessfully to make contacts through the cities. The best known case is Fabricio Ojeda in Venezuela. In 1965, Máximo Velando, the man who had led the Yahuarina ambush, was arrested in Puerto Bermúdez and later tortured and murdered. Presumably he was trying to make contact with his organization.

The 'Security Zones'

An important element of the insurrectionary theory followed by the MIR was the concentration on so-called security zones.

Although this principle was never developed as a theoretical proposition in any document, repeated references to zones of security or refuge appeared in the MIR's manifestos before the armed actions began and even afterwards, when they were making a balance sheet of the defeat.

The MIR leadership seems to have thought that the guerrilla organization could select some inaccessible places, which are very numerous in our rough terrain,

stock them with caches of ammunition and food, and block off and mine all the access routes to keep the army out.

This may have been the premise that led Luis de la Puente to take refuge in Mesa Pelada, an uninhabited place high up in the mountains in the north of the Department far from any peasant center.

As late as September 5, a little more than a month before the death of De la Puente, the MIR said in one of its communiqués: "Anyone who tries to approach Illarec Ch'aska will be annihilated!"⁵⁰

In making its analysis of the 1965 experiences, the MIR Central Committee acknowledged the existence of a defensive plan of guerrilla bases:

"Moreover, the grave error was made of revealing the presence in this location of Compañero Luis de la Puente, the Secretary General of the Movement. As a result, the enemy concentrated his attention on this zone. And what should have been the command area in the rear of the front became the first line of battle. Despite this, the *defensive preparation of the area, such as mine fields* and the activity of the guerrillas themselves kept out the repressive forces for a considerable time."⁵¹ [It is not indicated whether the emphasis is in the original or has been added. — *IP*]

The "security bases" were to be created in the central and southern regions, but it was in the second area where this plan was followed most strictly.

In the central region, the guerrillas of Lobatón and Velando had to abandon this principle in the face of the enemy onslaught. On the other hand, in Mesa Pelada, where other factors such as the ill-health of De la Puente and the lack of adequate military preparation on the part of the rest of the guerrilla movement limited their mobility, the guerrillas were surrounded in their own security zone, which became a death trap.

It was demonstrated then that no place is inaccessible for an army with a certain knowledge of antiguerrilla warfare.

In fact, only excessive naïveté could have inspired the belief that the army could not go where the guerrillas went.

The "security zone" concept is absolutely contrary to the tactics of guerrilla war. Furthermore, it is dangerous because it inspires in the fighters a false confidence in the protection afforded by the terrain.

In the first phase of the war, the guerrilla's only safety lies in himself, in his mobility and his knowledge of the lay of the land. Restricting the guerrillas to defined areas robbed them of their only margin of safety—their ability to move around quickly.

Moreover, tied to their caches and relying on their contact networks, the guerrillas were defenseless when these stores fell into enemy hands and their networks were destroyed.

In the last analysis, the "security zone" concept is a vestige of the self-defense tactics tried so often in Latin America.

For the benefit of those who claim that the Peruvian

50. *El Guerrillero*, No. 2, September 5, 1965.

51. Transcribed in *Mercado*, Rogger. *Op. cit.*, page 169.

failure was owing to mechanical imitation of the Cuban tactics, it might be worthwhile citing Debray:

"For the guerrilla force to attempt to occupy a fixed base or to depend on a security zone, even one of several thousand square kilometers in area, is, to all appearances, to deprive itself of its best weapon, mobility, to permit itself to be contained within a zone of operations, and to allow the enemy to use its most effective weapons. The notion of the security zone raised to a fetish is the fixed encampment set up in reputedly inaccessible spots. This reliance on the characteristics of the terrain alone is always dangerous; after all, no place is inaccessible; if anyone has been able to reach it, then so can the enemy."⁵²

In this as in other aspects we find a contradiction between what the Cuban guerrillas did and what the MIR did.

While here in Peru, De la Puente and his companions tried to construct security zones before beginning their actions, in Cuba, according to Debray: "It was only in April, 1958, after 17 months of continuous fighting, that the rebels set up a firm guerrilla base in the center of the Sierra Maestra."⁵³

Overlooking this important contradiction, ill-informed commentators have attributed the Peruvian defeat to an attempt to copy the Cubans. Huberman and Sweezy went so far as to raise this question, referring to Debray and the "disastrous attempt of the Peruvian MIR":

"When it is considered that De la Puente had spent time in Cuba and was consciously trying to apply the lessons of the Cuban experience, one can only ask: Why did Debray evade this issue? Was he perhaps afraid that an analysis of the failure in Peru would cast doubts on the validity of his own theory?"⁵⁴

The answer is clear. De la Puente tried to create a new method, which, as he saw it, corresponded more to the Peruvian reality. He attempted to combine a peasant base with a party and a party with the guerrilla movement. But he fell back unconsciously on the outworn tactics of self-defense. He made his guerrilla force into a sedentary group, and as such it was condemned to death.

I can venture to say that the front in the central region was the only one that put up a real fight against the army in 1965 and was able to carry off repeated actions successfully. It was developing a very mobile campaign up until the disappearance of Guillermo Lobatón.

For an analysis of the defeat in 1965, it is highly important to study the experience of Guillermo Lobatón and his group. The lack of reliable documents and accounts prevents me from doing this.

It is possible that the guerrillas in the central region, whose major area of influence was in the peasant communes of Concepción, retreated toward the jungles in the province of Jauja, believing that they could resist more effectively from there.

Having thus abandoned their "security zone"—let me note in passing that they staged the ambush of Yahuarina

to defend their refuge,⁵⁵ hoping to cut off the army's line of march—they withdrew further and further toward uninhabited regions. The last news of Lobatón put him at the mission in Obenteni, in an area inhabited by tribes and frequented by Catholic missionaries. It appears that this is where he fought his last battle.

The Lobatón group seems to have perished because it could not surmount a contradiction peculiar to Peru—the population likely to support guerrilla struggle lives in open areas, while the forests are virtually uninhabited.

The Changes in La Convención

As I have said previously, the peasants in La Convención had trade-union and even political experience since they were organized in unions in their struggle against the landowners. Revolutionary arguments were not new to them; in fact, they were ready to support them in word and deed.

However, something had changed.

In the first place, social changes had occurred. Blanco's campaign, the unions, Belaúnde's agrarian reform, and the agrarian law of the *Junta Militar* [Military Junta] had inspired certain reformist hopes in the peasantry.

Few landlords were left and a large sector of the peasants were assured possession of their land. The slogan "Land or Death" no longer had its previous urgency.

Moreover, with the expulsion of the *gamonales* [worst type of landlords], the "front of classes" which had functioned in Blanco's time was broken.

Secondly, political changes had occurred. The replacement of Prado's regime by Belaúnde's reformism had been reflected in an influx of agrarian reform functionaries and in the rich peasants placing hopes in state-financed cooperative institutions. While it is true that the reformist road is illusory and purely demagogic, it had not lost its attractiveness to the small peasant proprietors.

At the same time, La Convención was the object of special attention by the state and imperialist bodies, since it had been the center of the greatest conflict. There was an influx of resources, loans, social investigators . . . and the rest.

Thirdly, between Blanco and De la Puente, an extensive and deep-cutting repression had been carried out. The influence of the *Federación Provincial* had declined in the valley. Many peasants had become scabs out of corruption or fear and were ready to serve as a "social base" for the army when it arrived.

The mere fact that despite all these very important changes so many peasants collaborated spontaneously and self-sacrificingly with the guerrilla movement demonstrates the revolutionary potential of the peasantry in Peru.

Nonetheless, the choice of La Convención as an area of operations—the result probably of a desire to succeed Blanco in the leadership of the peasantry—was purely mechanical. In 1962 it would have been correct; in 1965 it involved great risks.

[To be continued]

52. Debray, Regis. *Revolucion en la revolucion?* Fondo de Cultura Popular. Lima, 1968, page 50.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Huberman, Leo; and Sweezy, Paul. *Debray: su fuerza y su debilidad.* In *Monthly Review* (selections in Spanish), September 1968, page 11.

55. Communique of the MIR quoted in: *Mercado*, Rogger. *Op. cit.*, page 58.