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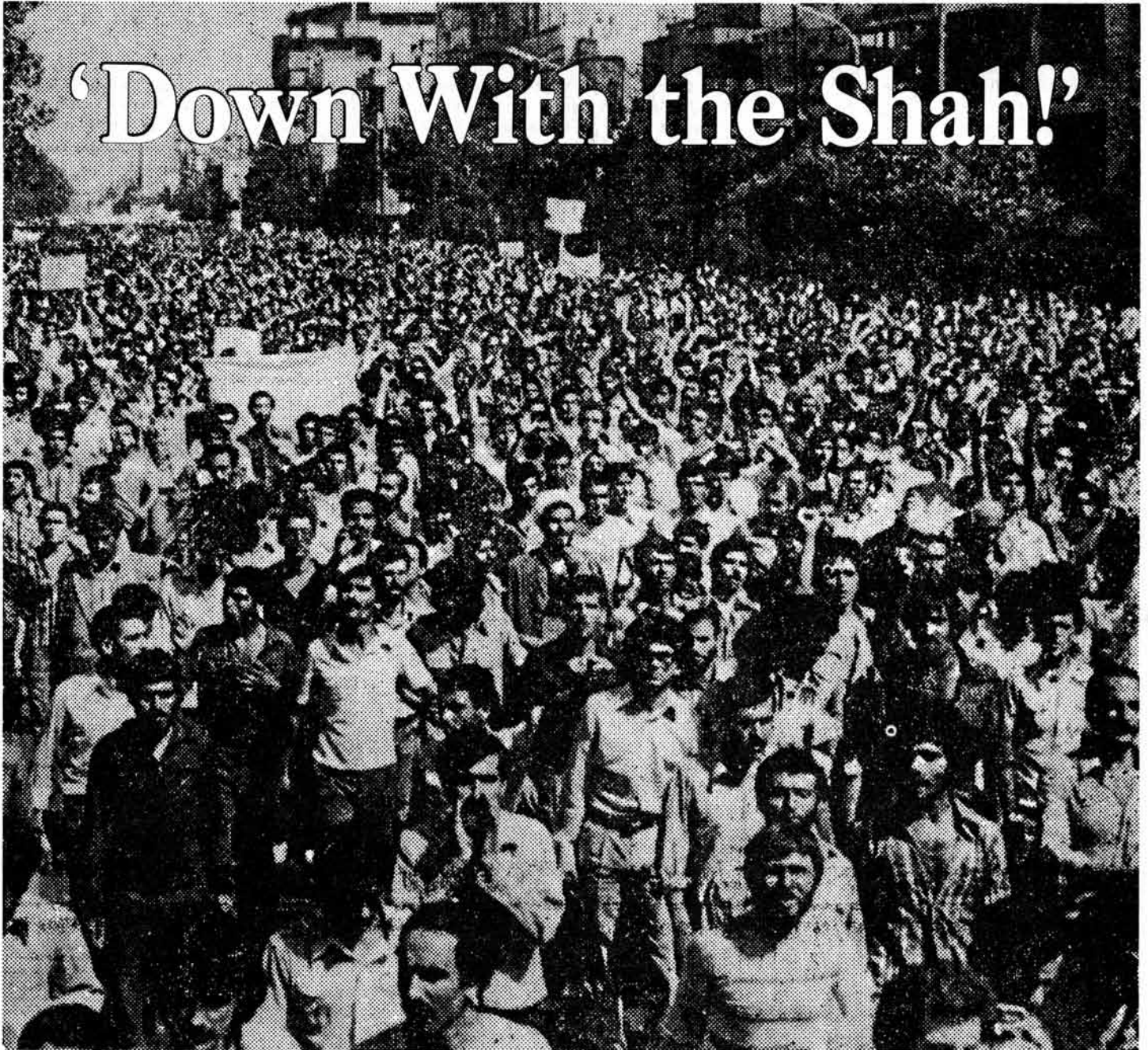
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**Three Victims**

**Terrorist Squads—New Threat in Peru**

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## Death Squads—New Threat in Peru

By Fred Murphy

Tens of thousands of striking workers filled the streets of Lima September 6, battling police and army troops that were trying to break up their demonstrations.

The demonstrators included public employees mobilized in a one-day strike against threatened mass layoffs, metalworkers on a two-day strike to demand job security and the reinstatement of fired union leaders, and miners protesting the brutal assault on their Lima encampment earlier in the day.

At 3 a.m., the military dictatorship had sent more than 300 police and troops into the grounds of San Marcos University's medical school. Using machine guns, armored vehicles, fire hoses, tear gas, and incendiary bombs, the troops routed more than 3,000 miners and their families who had been camped at the medical school for three weeks. The miners had marched into Lima from the mining districts and had remained in the capital to press the demands of their nationwide strike that began August 4.

In the predawn attack, the government forces destroyed the miners' makeshift housing and kitchen facilities and drove the miners and their families into surrounding streets. Large numbers were wounded in the vicious assault; some may have been killed. Later, many persons were rounded up, forced aboard freight trains, and sent under police guard back to central Peru.

As news of the attack spread, thousands of outraged workers came into the streets of Lima to protest, joining the marches of the striking public employees and metalworkers. "Down with the military dictatorship" quickly became the slogan of the day.

The government mobilized large contingents of troops and police against the protests. "The repression has been absolutely brutal," FOCEP<sup>1</sup> leader Jorge Lucar said in a telephone interview with the *Militant* September 6. "They have launched tear gas, beaten demonstrators, and have even fired on the marches." Nevertheless, Lucar said, "People are mobilizing throughout Lima. . . ."

"Sentiment against the dictatorship is so great, you can breathe it, you can feel it in the streets. . . . People are outraged. They are confronting the police, joining demon-

strations without knowing their exact purpose—that they are against the dictatorship is enough. The mood is very combative."

The September 6 events mark the high point thus far in a new wave of strikes that is sweeping Peru. All these strikes focus on three demands:

*"Labor amnesty."* The reinstatement of more than 5,000 union militants fired after the July 1977 general strike. The miners' central demand is reinstatement of 320 leaders of their union, the FNTMMP.<sup>2</sup>

*Job security.* Unemployment stands at more than 50 percent, but further layoffs are in store as the capitalists cut costs in face of the severe economic crisis. The regime announced in August that up to 100,000 public workers are to be laid off by the end of the year. This sparked mass meetings of workers in the ministry buildings in Lima, the organization of new unions of public employees (formally illegal), and a series of unprecedented work stoppages such as the one on September 6. The miners, metalworkers, and other unions are fighting to overturn a law decreed in March that gives private employers a blank check to carry out mass layoffs.

*Wage increases.* With inflation running at 70 percent, this demand has taken on special significance. The regime decreed a limited pay hike in mid-August, but real wages remain at their lowest levels in more than five years.

Sufficient concessions to satisfy these demands and defuse the upsurge are all but ruled out by the deep crisis of Peru's economy and the country's huge foreign debt (more than \$8 billion, public and private combined).

Facing this situation, the dictatorship continues to try to confront the workers movement militarily. The September 6 attack on the miners, the sending of troops and tanks into the mining districts, and the stepped-up repression of street demonstrations represent a certain escalation in this regard.

But the generals know that repression alone is insufficient. It has been used continually during the past thirteen months of upsurge, but the main effect has been to steel the workers in battle and give them a clearer understanding that the

dictatorship itself is the central obstacle to winning their demands.

At this point, a frontal assault aimed at really smashing the workers movement would be very risky for the Peruvian capitalists. The radicalization and mobilization of the workers and their allies is gaining strength; a Pinochet-style coup attempt might well touch off a civil war. Moreover, after ten years of military rule and three years of economic crisis, the bourgeoisie has largely lost confidence in the officer corps' ability to govern the country.

The military regime hoped that by granting elections to a constituent assembly and promising to restore civilian rule by 1980 it could stem the popular upsurge. But illusions in the assembly had already started to erode before the June 18 elections, owing to the blatantly undemocratic way the elections were being carried out. Now that the Constituent Assembly has begun to meet, the bourgeois parties that hold the majority have made it clear that they will do nothing that might upset the military's plans, nor take any concrete steps to resolve the acute problems of the masses.

More importantly, illusions in parliamentary solutions are waning because the masses are being presented with a clear alternative to both the dictatorship and its regimented assembly—the call by Hugo Blanco and other revolutionary workers deputies for a workers and peasants government and socialism.

In August, huge crowds of workers and peasants turned out in one provincial city after another to hear Blanco and other FOCEP leaders—6,000 in Moquegua, 8,000 in Cerro de Pasco, 10,000 in Tarapoto, 15,000 in Tacna, and thousands more in Cuzco and Arequipa. (See page 1032 for a report on the rally in Tacna and page 1034 for the text of Blanco's speech there.)

In some cities, such as Chimbote and Moquegua, bodies of workers and peasants delegates have begun to take shape, providing concrete examples of the governmental forms that Blanco and the FOCEP are seeking to popularize.

At the same time, reformist forces such as the Communist Party and the bourgeois-nationalist military figures who served in the Velasco regime are being bypassed by the mass radicalization. The dictatorship thus has scant possibility of arranging a "social pact" to cool the upsurge.

Faced with this situation, the regime is now stepping up official repression, while the bourgeois parties in the Constituent Assembly are hurrying to draft an undemocratic constitution. Once that is done, the military plans to accelerate the transfer of government to civilian bourgeois forces.

For this project to succeed, the further development of a revolutionary leadership with authority among the masses must be prevented. The military has thus appar-

1. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front).

2. Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos del Perú (National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers of Peru).

ently begun a sinister experiment with extraofficial terrorism.

On August 29, the home of miners union attorney and Constituent Assembly deputy Ricardo Díaz Chávez was bombed. In the same week, bombs hit the home of FOCEP deputy and bank workers leader Magda Benavides and the Lima headquarters of Benavides's party, the POMR.<sup>3</sup>

On September 3, two FOCEP activists were kidnapped as they left a meeting at one of the coalition's offices in downtown Lima. They were beaten, threatened with torture, and held for several hours at a clandestine location.

The assailants told the FOCEP activists that they were from the Alianza Anticomunista Peruana (AAP—Peruvian Anticomunist Alliance). They threatened more terrorist attacks against "the ultraleft" in general and the FOCEP in particular, and boasted that they had carried out the three bombings.

When the FOCEP gathering broke up later in the evening on September 3, about 100 persons—including Hugo Blanco—left the offices in a group after noticing that several cars without license plates had staked out the area. The group of FOCEP activists was at a busy intersection when three men started running toward them. Several persons were able to get Blanco to safety while dozens remained to confront the attackers.

The three terrorists then took out two pistols and a machine gun and opened fire. Apparently they fired into the air, since no one was injured. In the confusion they managed to kidnap Roberto Famjul, a journalist from the Colombian socialist magazine *Revista de América*. As of mid-afternoon September 6, Famjul's whereabouts remained unknown.

Evidence suggests that the "AAP" is simply the military in plainclothes. The kidnapers' weapons were of the same type as those used by the armed forces. One of the FOCEP activists was able to peek through his blindfold and see a man in a military officer's uniform at the place where he was being held.

Moreover, even before Hugo Blanco had issued a public protest of the attack the military-controlled press had already published a denial, claiming all that was involved was an attempted pickpocketing!

The emergence of the AAP is an ominous development. Government-sponsored, extralegal death squads such as La Mano Blanca in Guatemala, the *Escuadrões da Morte* in Brazil, and the Triple-A in Argentina have murdered thousands of worker militants and revolutionists in Latin America in recent years. That the Peruvian terrorists have chosen a name similar to that of the Triple-A—the Argentine

3. Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party), Peruvian affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Anticomunist Alliance—is particularly significant. The Triple-A's role was to complement the official repression, taking on those tasks that the bourgeoisie needed done but which the Perón regime could not do openly because it still wanted to maintain a democratic façade.

Until now, such extraofficial terror has been unknown in Peru. Thus the emergence of the AAP gives strong indication that the dictatorship has begun probing to see if it can launch a full-scale campaign to kidnap and assassinate prominent leftists and terrorize the workers and peasants movement. If this should happen, the principal targets would be Hugo Blanco and other leaders of the FOCEP.

What is called for is an immediate out-

pouring of international protest to help nip this new development in the bud. In Peru, all the workers parties in the Constituent Assembly have protested the kidnapping of Roberto Famjul, and they have been joined in this by assembly president Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Hugo Blanco and the FOCEP urge that protests demanding government action to free Famjul be sent to Peruvian embassies or to Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Presidente de la República, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru. Send copies to Hugo Blanco, Asamblea Constituyente, Lima, Peru, and to the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 853 Broadway, suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

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# Three Million Protest Shah's Rule

By Parvin Najafi

In early September Iran passed through one of the most turbulent weeks in its history.

On September 4, three to four million persons poured out into the streets of the major cities to voice their indignation against the bloodthirsty regime of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

On September 7, a demonstration of at least half a million was held in Tehran and smaller demonstrations occurred in several other cities, defying the government ban on all public protests and meetings.

Both days' demonstrations were peaceful, as the army and police refrained from firing on the marchers.

On September 8, another crowd, several thousand strong, gathered in Tehran's Jaleh Square at 5 a.m. to start a fresh round of demonstrations against the regime.

At about the same time the government declared martial law for six months in Tehran and eleven other major cities. But the announcement was not made public until 7 a.m. Despite the fact that the people who had gathered in the square could not have known about the decree, the army issued warnings and then began firing on the crowd indiscriminately—killing scores and injuring many more.

In a dispatch to the September 9 London *Guardian*, correspondent Liz Thurgood described the scene in Jaleh Square after the shooting began:

"In a brutal display of military force, troops and small tanks opened fire at 9:20 a.m. yesterday in Madan Jaleh at a spot where between 5,000-10,000 young people had gathered for a peaceful demonstration against the Shah. Men, women, and young children, many splattered with blood, ran screaming, 'They're killing us, they're killing us.'"

After the shooting, skirmishes followed in several different parts of Tehran, mostly in the central and southern districts. As large groups of people poured out into the streets in protest, the soldiers fired on them too.

Thurgood reported:

In a nearby hospital, Saveneh No. 5, I watched as a crowd of several hundred tried to storm the gates. Many were weeping relatives trying to see their dead and wounded, others had arrived to give blood that was in desperate short supply.

Six of the 13 wounded men who had arrived by 9:30 a.m. had died within an hour. The hospital's ramp was spotted with blood and inside frantic nurses tried to cope with the new arrivals.

Just before 11 a.m. troops roaring, "Shah,

Shah," moved in to disperse the increasingly angry crowd. "We will kill you," one yelled at us. "Go and hide."

"Shame on you," stormed the crowd. "Who pays for you?" Minutes later the troops fired.

For the first several hours after the mass murder by the shah's army began, the demonstrators did not disperse. Overturning city buses and cars, building barricades to defend themselves, they tried to resist the army. Meanwhile, more and more people poured out into the streets to help them.

In an amazing show of solidarity, the doors of many houses were opened to the demonstrators. The demonstrators would back down for a short while, retreating into nearby houses. From there they tried to reorganize to mount an effective resistance.

Reporting the mood in the streets, *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigin wrote:

"'We only need guns,' one youth screamed as he furiously slammed a piece of wood down on the street. . . ."

"Another young man said the people were only waiting for a signal from the religious leaders to launch a full-scale revolution, although they lack weapons. 'We're waiting for the religious leaders to say that, and then we will fight as hard as we can,' he said. 'But we can't wait much longer.'"

The official death toll is 58 killed and 205 wounded. But eyewitnesses reached by telephone in Tehran believe the actual number of dead and wounded may reach into the thousands.

Whatever the final figure, it is clear to the entire world that the shah's regime has cold-bloodedly carried out a massacre in an effort to break the will of the Iranian people to resist his dictatorial rule.

### Two Weeks of Demonstrations

The demonstrations September 4 were the biggest in the country's history. The first legal demonstrations against the regime in twenty-five years, they came after a week of mass mobilizations following the shake up in the shah's cabinet. (See "Demonstrations Throughout Iran" in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, September 11, 1978, p. 1006.)

The largest demonstrations were held in Tehran, the capital, which has a population of close to five million.

Four major demonstrations were organized there, one starting from Ghitareh in northern Tehran, a second starting from

Naze-Abad in the southern part of the city, a third starting from Farah-Abad in the east, and a fourth starting from Mohammed-Ali Jenah Parkway in the west. These, along with several smaller demonstrations, converged in the center of Tehran, creating an ocean of people. Estimates of the crowd range from 400,000 to one million.

The crowds began to gather at 5 a.m. and started to march after the morning prayer, which according to Islamic custom has to be completed before sunrise. The protests continued all through the day and well into the night, as smaller crowds demonstrated until 3 a.m. or 4 a.m. the next morning.

According to reports in the Iranian press, the biggest demonstration in Tehran was the one starting from the northern part of the city. Several hundred motorcyclists and bicyclists carrying banners and chanting antigovernment slogans cleared the way, alerting people in the street that the demonstration was approaching and that they should join.

The atmosphere was tense as the marchers came upon the first three army vehicles, which were full of soldiers carrying automatic rifles with fixed bayonets and contained a machine gun on a tripod.

After a few seconds the procession moved toward the trucks, showering them with flowers and chanting, "Brother soldier, why do you kill your brother?"

After the demonstrators realized that the soldiers were not going to fire at them, a carnival mood began to take over in the crowd. Tehran's newspapers wrote that there were tears of joy in many eyes as the demonstrators gave flowers to the soldiers.

Although provocateurs, most likely SAVAK [the secret police] agents, in several instances picked up rocks to throw at the soldiers or windows, they were stopped before they could act and were asked to leave the march. All through the march the demonstrators were vigilant to ensure that no acts of violence were committed in their name.

When the procession came upon the banks, a wall of marchers, chanting "We are not window breakers," covered the windows to prevent anyone from stoning them.

Most of the chants, however, demanded "freedom," "justice," "independence," and "Free the political prisoners!"

"On the orders of a clergyman," William Branigin reported in the September 5 *Washington Post*, "the demonstrators refrained from chanting more virulent slogans against Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. In open defiance of him, however, they called for the return of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini—exiled to Iraq by the shah 15 years ago. . . ."

Every time the marchers came across the soldiers they would start appealing to the army ranks, chanting "Soldiers, you are from us."

Residents on the route of the march had connected hoses to their faucets, making ample water available for the demonstrators on the hot summer day.

### Marchers Treated Like Heroes

As the procession passed, housewives and children rushed into the streets, bringing milk, bread, flowers, water, fruit, and anything else they could find to the demonstrators.

Although all the shops in the city were closed, the florists and bakeries along the route opened up their stores and distributed flowers and bread among the crowd.

In short, the demonstrators were greeted as national heroes. The people in the streets cheered them, did everything to make them as comfortable as possible, and joined them in great numbers. The Tehran daily *Kayhan* reported that at every intersection, every corner, and every street fresh forces would join in, making the demonstration bigger and bigger by the moment.

Every once in a while, *Kayhan* added, a group of demonstrators would come up to the reporters alongside the march and tell them that they supported freedom of the press and asked them to tell their readers about the feeling in the demonstration—the solidarity, unity, joy, and sentiment for freedom.

Reporters and television crews from around the world were on hand to film the demonstration. At one point, one of the helicopters carrying cameramen began flying at a very low altitude, coming close to the demonstrators.

At first the crowd became very tense, thinking this was an army helicopter. (In past demonstrations, especially in the February 18-19 demonstration in Tabriz, the army had sent in soldiers with machine guns in a helicopter. As the helicopter flew very low, soldiers opened fire, killing demonstrators indiscriminately.)

But as the helicopter came closer the demonstrators could see that it was filled with photographers. The tension vanished and the crowd began chanting, "You are from us. Take our picture, tell the whole world our message. We want freedom! We want freedom!"

When the procession passed Tehran University the demonstrators began chanting in favor of the students' demands.

As the march lasted more than fourteen hours, the demonstrators took frequent breaks to sit in the streets or listen to speakers, mostly religious leaders.

Most of the speakers talked about domestic issues but a few spoke about the Israeli aggression against our brothers. The crowd responded by chanting, "Palestinians are our heroic brothers."

At one point, near Housaneh Arshad, a prayer place that was closed down several

years ago, the crowd began chanting slogans for its reopening.

There one of the junior army officers made a speech saying they had been ordered to fire upon the people, that they



SHAH: Drowns protests in blood.

did not want to do it, and that the people should understand this. When he finished the crowd began carrying him on their shoulders.

Other major demonstrations occurred that day in Shiraz (150,000), Mashed (300,000), Yazd (100,000), Qum (100,000), and Ahwaz (150,000).

In Tabriz, the main center of the oppressed Azerbaijani nationality, the army and police did not allow any demonstrations to take place. On the morning of September 4, when crowds gathered in front of the city's mosques for the morning prayer and then to start a march as in other cities, they found that the doors of all the mosques had been locked by the authorities.

The army and police were stationed in front of the mosques to ask the demonstrators to disperse. They refused at first to leave, and the army opened fire. After five persons were killed and many more wounded, the demonstrators finally had to back down and leave.

### Women Join the Protests

Demonstrations did occur, however, in other smaller Azerbaijani cities, including Maragheh, Khoi, Banab, and Miyandu-Ab.

It is impossible to list the name of all the cities and towns in Iran where antigovernment demonstrations were held September 4, for it would include nearly all of them.

But one fact about all of the demonstrations that attracted the attention of reporters, both Iranian and foreign, was the large participation of women, who wore black veils and marched in separate contingents.

After the nationwide day of protest the overwhelming feeling in the country was one of victory. A jubilant mood had taken hold of Iran. The indignant population had shown the shah's regime their massive power, had stayed the hand of the army, and won the sympathy of many rank-and-file soldiers.

Many political and religious leaders, political parties, and organizations issued statements hailing this day as marking a new page in Iran's history. Even the *Rastakhiz*, the official government paper, had to hail the demonstrations in some way. It wrote that they were a sign of "the political maturity of the Iranian people."

Following the demonstrations, it seemed that everyone in Iran walked a little taller. The confidence of the masses in their power and readiness to stand up to the authorities was unmatched in the last twenty-five years.

Journalists, for example, began writing about censorship, exposing in detail how the Ministry of Information (whose true name should be the Ministry of Censorship) imposed its iron hand on the press in Iran, arresting, jailing, and firing those who refused to submit.

They gave a detailed list of the words, books, and writers that they had been forbidden even to mention in the press.

Some of the words whose use had been strictly prohibited, they reported, were: "friends," "comrades," "revolution," "political economy," "historical materialism," "dialectical materialism," "police," and "jungle."

### Workers Hit the Bricks

A massive upsurge in strikes accompanied the demonstration. In the days before and after September 4, walkouts were held by the workers at Alborz Industries in Tehran, the sugar mills in Haft-Tapeh (a city close to Ahwaz), the paper mills in Haft-Tapeh, two big construction firms in Ahwaz, the water department in Mashed, the bus line between Shooshtar and Ahwaz, the central bank of Iran, and the Medical School of the National University of Iran.

Most of the strikers' demands centered around better pay, better working conditions, longer vacations, and implementation of government programs instituted a few years ago but never really put into effect—such as health insurance, housing assistance, pension and retirement benefits, and profit sharing.

The biggest walkout of all occurred in Ahwaz. There 7,700 workers at four different companies belonging to the same industrial unit—Faster Viller, Mana, Bati-

man, and the Pars machine tool factory—went out on strike. In addition to higher wages they are demanding additional allotments for the expenses of their children, housing, clothing, and food.

Representatives of the workers told *Kayhan*, "Until those responsible for these four companies give us an official and definite answer, and until our demands are met, we will not start working and will remain on strike."

Even the peasants in outlying areas have been encouraged to stand up for their rights. For example, the peasants of two villages near Hamadan, in western Iran, gathered in front of the governor's office in Hamadan and sat down in front of the building, demanding that their grievances be met and that action to remedy their situation be taken.

### The September 7 Demonstration

On the morning of September 7 another demonstration was called by several prominent religious leaders to commemorate those killed in earlier protests. Scattered outpourings of angry but peaceful demonstrators had continued since the September 4 demonstration, and it was expected that the turnout for the new action would be huge.

However, on September 6, the eve of the demonstration, the government announced a ban on all public processions and meetings that did not have official permission.

The government said in its statement that it would use all means necessary to prevent any demonstrations without permits. The pretext for this was that the demonstrators in previous days had chanted slogans and demanded things that were clearly against the law—that is, demanding an end to the fifty years of Pahlavi tyranny and the overthrow of the shah.

On the same day, several religious leaders in Qum and Mashed, including Ayatollah Shariatmadari, Golpayegani, and Najafi-Mara'shi, issued statements to the press denying that they had called the demonstrations.

The religious leaders in Tehran then backed down, issuing a joint communiqué calling off the march but maintaining the business shutdown already in effect.

The National Front (the major bourgeois opposition force) and the association of shopkeepers, merchants, and tradesmen of Tehran's bazaar, which had also called for the march and demonstration, said that they would go ahead with their plans for an action.

Although the different statements were quite confusing, the presence of army trucks and soldiers all over Tehran convinced many people that the demonstration was going to be held after all.

The turnout for the banned September 7 demonstration was quite surprising, ending up even bigger than the action of three

days earlier. Estimates of the crowd range from hundreds of thousands to one million (the figure cited by *Kayhan*).

A summary of the report on the demonstration, as given by the Tehran daily *Etela'at* is as follows:

The crowd began to gather about 7:30 a.m. in the central part of the city, in the streets near Quba Mosque. Even though there were truckloads of army soldiers, the troops refrained from any violent action, even from the use of tear gas. They spoke peacefully to the demonstrators, asking them to disperse.

But the demonstrators, in remarkable discipline, began marching toward the northern part of the city. The soldiers simply followed. Although they numbered in the hundreds and were armed with machine guns and rifles with fixed bayonets, their only action was to throw tear-gas canisters into the crowd in one or two instances.

The mood and atmosphere of the demonstration was pretty much the same as it had been three days earlier. A large contingent of motorcyclists drove in front of the demonstrators, clearing the road for them and notifying the people ahead that the procession was approaching. Housewives again rushed into the street to bring food and water for the demonstrators.

At about noon, truckloads of food and drink approached the demonstrators from side streets. Fruit, bread, milk, and other items of food were distributed among the demonstrators.

The chants and slogans were pretty much the same as in the earlier demonstration, with the difference that this time the crowd also carried large posters of those killed in the previous demonstration.

The demonstration continued well into the night, almost extending over into the next day, when the bloodbath promised by the government was carried out in full.

\* \* \*

With the declaration of martial law that has become a cover for mass murder, the regime is trying to bleed the opposition movement white. Several leaders of the political and religious opposition have been arrested and many more are in hiding in fear for their lives.

Censorship has been reimposed on the press. Unconfirmed reports say that government agents took over the offices of *Kayhan* and *Etela'at* for several hours, arresting those journalists who had written articles against the regime in the previous two weeks.

General Ovasi, the new military governor of Tehran, has issued statements to the effect that he is a soldier and has no pity for anyone, that he would kill his own son if he were among the demonstrators, and that he won't leave alive any breathing thing that is against the shah.

One wing of the Rastakhiz Party, the

shah's own party, has issued a statement implicitly disagreeing with the imposition of martial law, pointing out that it cannot be a longterm solution for the discontent among the population.

Clearly the shah has embarked on a very risky gamble. He has staked all his chips on the bid to crush the movement to the ground. Whether he can actually do so still remains an open question.

Addressing the same question, *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigin quotes a European diplomat as saying: "Unless the government makes a bigger show of strength, these demonstrations and riots are likely to continue and the shah may be forced to step aside."

Branigin continued:

"There was speculation that the 12-day-old government of Prime Minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami did not deploy more troops because military leaders did not want to risk mutinies by some units."

With sympathy for the mass movement increasing inside the army, how long the shah can maintain discipline remains to be seen.

The Pentagon, it is clear, is not ruling out the possibility that help may be needed. According to a report in the August 17 *Los Angeles Times*, "Secretary of Defense Harold Brown already has been discussing the possible 'dispatch of appropriate U.S. forces to the scene [the Persian Gulf] in support of friends' and 100,000 U.S. troops are being trained for possible intervention in the Gulf."

But even in the absence of American troops, the ultimate responsibility for the bloodbath being carried out in Iran rests squarely on the shoulders of Washington, which has armed the shah to the teeth.

In a situation in which the extent of the mass murder in Iran has not been accurately reported in the world press, what is needed now is an effective campaign to get the truth out and for lifting martial law in Iran.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran is already organizing such a campaign. For more information contact CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. □

### Bargain-Baseament Reactors?

Argentina is ready and willing to supply nuclear technology to other countries in Latin America, atomic energy chief Adm. Carlos Castro Madero announced in late August. Besides an experimental reactor already under construction in Peru, the Argentine National Commission on Atomic Energy hopes to develop markets in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Uruguay.

Perhaps to make the offer sound more attractive, Admiral Castro Madero explained that Argentina has developed nuclear technology that is "free of superfluous sophistication."

## Shutdown Continues in Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

Gen. Anastasio Somoza's National Guard carried out hundreds of arrests during the first week of September in an effort to halt a nationwide shutdown of business and industrial activity aimed at forcing the dictator out of office. But as of September 6, opposition forces were reporting that about 70 percent of Nicaraguan commerce remained inactive.

The Frente Amplio de Oposición (FAO—Broad Opposition Front) initiated the shutdown August 24 with the stated purpose of dealing the "final blow" to Somoza, whose family has ruled Nicaragua with an iron hand for more than forty years.

The president of the Nicaraguan Development Institute (INDE) said September 4 that anti-Somoza businessmen were prepared to keep their operations closed down for one to three months, despite an effort by Somoza's government to use economic reprisals to bring the movement to an end.

Somoza outlawed two key capitalist organizations during the first week of the shutdown—the Federation of Chambers of Commerce (FCC) and the INDE. The FCC organizes some 40,000 small businessmen; the INDE includes 700 of the country's top industrialists.

Leading officials of both groups were detained in the wave of arrests that began September 3. Also jailed were various leaders of the FAO, including Somoza's cousin and ex-cabinet minister Rodolfo Sacasa Guerrero and the general manager of the Coca-Cola Company of Nicaragua, Rodolfo Portocarrero. Altogether, almost 700 persons were rounded up by the National Guard.

Nicaragua's capitalist class is split sharply between the Somoza family (reported to control as much as 10 percent of the country's wealth) and its closest partners on the one hand, and the rest of the bourgeoisie on the other. While the anti-Somoza capitalists have long benefited from the tight control the Somoza regime has maintained over the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, they now fear that mass hatred toward the Somozas could call into question their own profits and property as well. Somoza's intransigence has forced them into an uneasy alliance with more radical opposition elements—chiefly, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

In its statement offering support to the general shutdown August 27, the FCC called for a new government without Somoza but also "without the participation of the Sandinistas." It added that Somoza

had to go because "it is his dictatorship that has given rise to armed Sandinism, which is involving thousands of youth who have been denied political participation in the country."

While the FSLN forms a part of the Broad Opposition Front, its strategy is to engage in armed confrontations with the National Guard, from time to time carrying out spectacular actions such as the August 22 takeover of the National Palace in Managua. The Sandinistas hope in this way to spark a "general insurrection" that can bring down Somoza. Once that has been accomplished, according to FSLN leader Plutarco Hernández, a "democratic people's revolutionary regime" can be created, "in which all the forces of the opposition would be represented, including the bourgeoisie; that is to say, a government capable of making sufficient effort to restructure the country and bring it out of poverty and exploitation" (interview in the Peruvian weekly *Marka*, August 31).

The Sandinistas have on occasion sharply criticized their bourgeois allies, however. In a communiqué that was given wide publicity by the Somoza regime as one of the concessions to end the FSLN occupation of the National Palace, the Sandinistas denounced the capitalists' longstanding "silent complicity with Somoza."

"The people and the anti-Somoza forces must unmask the financial bourgeoisie and destroy it," the FSLN statement said.

The burgeoning popularity of the Sandinistas is thus quite disturbing to Somoza's bourgeois opponents. But thus far its main effect has been to make them still more anxious to get rid of the dictatorship. "We estimate that the maintenance of the Somoza family in power makes the political instability of Nicaragua more grave every day and is leading the country toward an undesirable extremist transformation," a statement by the INDE said September 4.

Somoza refuses to budge, however, continuing to rely on the military might of the National Guard. The guard is a 7,500-member combination army and police force that has been the bulwark of the Somoza dynasty since it was created with the help of the U.S. Marines in the 1930s. Rampant corruption and lavish privileges have kept the ranks of the guard effectively immune from popular pressure. Some of its units are also reported to include U.S. veterans of the Vietnam War hired as mercenaries by Somoza.

The Somozas' other long-time pillar of

support has been U.S. imperialism. Washington has provided billions of dollars worth of military aid and loans to the Nicaraguan dictatorship over the years, as well as training for all National Guard officers at U.S. bases in the Panama Canal Zone. But the American government now appears to be increasingly worried that Somoza has outlived his usefulness as a guarantee of capitalist stability in Central America and is instead becoming the chief source of instability.

Washington cannot simply dump Somoza, however, since it has little confidence in the ability of his bourgeois opponents to keep the lid on the situation if the dictatorship should fall. The aid of other key allies in the area has thus been enlisted in hopes of forcing a compromise solution on Somoza.

Chief among these allies has been Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez. Pérez offered some public advice to Somoza and his opponents on August 29: "I think what is necessary is the maximum capacity for reflection on the part of the leaders of [Nicaragua]—those in the government and those outside it—to try to seek a solution to a problem so grave that it threatens an outcome with unpredictable consequences." Pérez called for "an understanding, in order to create the conditions for a solution without blood, without guerrillas, without confrontations, and without hatred."

The Venezuelan president followed up with a request for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Organization of American States to consider the "extremely dangerous war situation in Nicaragua."

Meanwhile, Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo sent his foreign minister, Rafael Angel Calderón, on a trip to Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, in an effort to put together a "mediation commission" composed of Central American presidents.

Washington, of course, hailed these moves. State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said September 7 that the U.S. "supports the notion of a Central American initiative because we are worried about the present situation in Nicaragua and its possible effects on the security of the region."

However, when asked if Washington would support "an effort designed to replace the Somoza government," Carter answered pointedly: "No."

Thus far Somoza's reaction has been to threaten to break diplomatic relations with Venezuela and to accuse the State Department of harboring "communists and leftists" on its staff. But with no end in sight to a business shutdown that is beginning to severely affect Nicaragua's economy, and with the danger of further uprisings of the kind that drove the National Guard off the streets of Matagalpa for five days in late August, Somoza may yet recognize who his best friends really are. □

## A Day on the Road With Hugo Blanco

By Pedro Camejo

Tacna is a city of 70,000 near the border between Peru and Chile. In the province of Tacna, 25,000 voted in the June 18 elections. The Trotskyist-led electoral front, FOCEP,<sup>1</sup> received 10,000 votes.

Hugo Blanco, his wife Gunilla, another comrade, and I boarded a plane in Lima August 25 bound for Tacna. I was stirred by the prospect of visiting the town where twelve years ago Blanco was tried by a military tribunal for the "crime" of leading a massive peasant struggle for land reform.

In 1966 the military sought a death sentence for Blanco. They held the trial in the remote town, hoping to avoid popular protest. The newspapers joined in a campaign of lies telling the people of Tacna that Blanco and other peasant leaders were murderers.

Blanco's trial lasted from August 30 to September 8, 1966. Yet in that short time the people of Tacna were won to his side. Visiting day became a long reception line. Mass pressure both in Peru and internationally forced the military to back down from a death sentence and instead Blanco was given a twenty-five-year sentence. Arrested in May 1963, he spent more than seven years in prison until he was freed on December 22, 1970, under a general amnesty for political prisoners.

Tacna had not forgotten Blanco. He swept the elections there, making the FOCEP the strongest electoral front. The FOCEP received three times the number of votes cast for Peru's largest bourgeois party, APRA.<sup>2</sup>

Blanco had planned to go to Tacna during the election campaign but the military had him deported (for the third time) for his support to striking workers.

As Blanco entered the Tacna-bound plane, people whispered, "Look who's here." Joining Blanco on the trip were Hernán Cuentas, who is a miner, a member of the Constituent Assembly for the FOCEP, and a leader of the Trotskyist

POMR;<sup>3</sup> and Javier Diez Canseco, a central leader of the Maoist-led UDP<sup>4</sup> and also a member of the Constituent Assembly.

As the plane landed one could see the roof of the terminal lined with people holding red flags. As Blanco descended from the plane a cheer went up: "Viva Blanco!" "FOCEP, FOCEP!" Some 200 workers from FOCEP committees had come as an honor guard to bring Blanco in the city.

A small caravan left the airport waving red flags to inaugurate a FOCEP headquarters in one workers district. Cuentas, Diez Canseco, and Blanco each gave a short speech.

From there the caravan went to the main FOCEP headquarters in the center of town where Blanco and the other workers deputies were given a formal welcome from the Tacna FOCEP.

Later that day a press conference was held in the central FOCEP headquarters. A single reporter for the bourgeois press appeared. He was surrounded by hundreds of workers straining to hear Blanco and the others.

Worker leaders pressed forward for a quick word with Blanco. Peasant organizers asked Blanco about an upcoming national peasant congress. A miner from a mine a few hours away came forward to inform Blanco of their situation. "The army has all the mining town surrounded. We had to sneak out at night past their lines to get here. We want you to know the strike is completely solid. The press is lying when they say the strike is falling apart."

The time came to go to the main rally in the center of town. As Blanco rose to go, a defense guard of young workers tried to hold the crowd back, but to no avail. Hundreds pressed forward to cheer Blanco on. Slogans rose from the crowd: "For a Workers and Peasants Government!" "Blanco to Power!" "FOCEP, FOCEP!"

Outside the FOCEP headquarters a thousand persons were waiting to march with Blanco to the central plaza. The march turned into a demonstration. Slogans swept back and forth across the crowd. "Support to the Miners!" "Down

With the Dictatorship!" Repeated over and over again was the call, initiated by the Trotskyists, for a workers and peasants government.

(All other currents on the left, using various slogans, call for a government that would include so-called progressive capitalists. But only the Trotskyist slogan is shouted.)

As the march proceeded, more people joined in. On the sidewalks bystanders applauded or waved to Blanco. I saw a girl of about ten point out Blanco to her younger sister. A banner of the Trotskyist PST<sup>5</sup> was carried at the head of the procession.

As we approached the central Plaza we could see thousands waiting for the rally to begin. The crowd continued to grow into the night until it became the largest gathering in Tacna's history, finally reaching around 15,000—a substantial turnout in a town of 70,000.

A series of speakers opened the rally. Diez Canseco, a young and brilliant orator, tore apart the bourgeois parties for their support to the military dictatorship and their failure to respond to the demands of the masses. He, like all the speakers, reflected the growing awareness of the need for united-front efforts between workers parties on specific demands. Shouts of "UDP-FOCEP Unity!" "Rehire the Fired!" and "Blanco to Power!" interrupted his speech.

The next speaker, Hernán Cuentas, took up the cause of the miners strike, which is in the vanguard of the class struggle. The military government was roundly denounced, including the town's appointed mayor, by local FOCEP leaders.

The crowd reflected the town of Tacna. Most were poor working people. Some of them wore traditional peasant clothing. All bore the features of their Indian ancestors of the pre-Spanish era. Close to the front were the younger and poorer layers of the population.

Shortly after nine p.m., Blanco stepped forward to speak. He started by explaining what happened in the peasant movement of the early 1960s, which resulted in his being brought to trial in Tacna twelve years ago.

The audience became still. Every face seemed to be tense with expectation. Blanco's style is not one of agitation but of explanation.

Using the examples of the peasant movement in Chaupimayo in the early 1960s and the struggles of the Chilean people in more recent history, he explained why working people must take control of society themselves, why they must be prepared to defend themselves arms in hand if need be.

5. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party), the organization of which Blanco is a member.

1. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front), the electoral slate for which Blanco was a candidate.

2. Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance).

Pedro Camejo was the presidential candidate of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party in 1976.

3. Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party), a group that shares the views of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

4. Unidad Democrático-Popular (Democratic People's Unity).





Pedro Camejo/Militant

Crowd lining roof of terminal to greet Hugo Blanco.

He explained why the Socialist and Communist parties failed the workers in Chile and led them to disaster: Allende told the people to trust the capitalist military generals. But our exploiters are not to be trusted, can never be trusted, Blanco said.

"We promise you that we are not going to repeat that mistake here in Peru. We promise that the FOCEP leaders, the leaders of the revolutionary parties, are never going to tell you: "Trust the patriotic military officers, trust the good capitalists who are with us against the imperialists.""

An hour passed as Blanco spoke. No one moved. Occasionally applause or shouts interrupted him but it was clear he was not trying to get applause—only to educate. "We need a party, a truly revolutionary party, throughout Peru," he continued, explaining that the masses cannot be united without a party.

Blanco announced the coming unification of Trotskyist groups October 8 by explaining that like the need of the masses to unite, his movement is also confronted with the need to unify.

Blanco elaborated at length on how the bourgeois press lies day in and day out, and why workers must have their own

press, their own sources of information. He announced that a new revolutionary paper will soon be published, of which he has been named the editor, and he asked the people of Tacna to help finance the publication.

The collection for the new Trotskyist newspaper surpassed the preceding collection for the FOCEP.

Blanco concluded by explaining that nothing is to be expected from the Constituent Assembly, that only a government of working people can solve the problems of Peru.

He explained the concept of soviets, or workers and peasants councils, using the recent appearance of such forms in the class struggle of Peru. He explained how democratically run committees of workers, peasants, and the urban poor will be formed, and said that it is through these committees that the working people will run Peru.

He made no attempt at a dramatic finale. A masterful speaker, he could easily have drawn a huge ovation from his attentive audience. But that was not his goal. He wanted to convince, to draw into active participation, the oppressed before him—to transform their trust in him personally into an understanding of his political program.

The masses are unorganized. The revolutionary party is much too small. There is no time to waste on theatrics. Blanco closed by simply announcing that he had promised to inaugurate another FOCEP headquarters organized by Trotskyist comrades. Amidst cheers, applause, and shouts he was carried off, accompanied by 5,000 persons, to open the new headquarters.

Blanco then went to the rooftop of the FOCEP office to say a few words to the crowd. Afterward, he attended a dinner organized in a workers slum area in his honor. Soon it was 1:30 a.m. and Blanco asked to be excused to drive to Arequipa, six hours away. There he was scheduled to catch a plane for Cuzco at 8 a.m. to begin another day of speeches.

The next day Tacna's only newspaper hit the streets. It contained not one word of the events of the previous day, as though nothing had occurred. Instead the paper carried a headline claiming that the miners strike was ending—a completely false report. The paper was like something straight out of 1984.

Two days later Peruvian dictator Morales Bermudez arrived in Tacna and delivered a speech answering Blanco without so much as mentioning his name. The dictator's speech was carried on the front page of the local sheet. □

## 'We Are Calling for the Workers to Take Power'

[The following is the text of the speech given by Hugo Blanco at a rally of 15,000 in Tacna, Peru, August 25. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

[*Applause, shouts of "Hugo Blanco to Power!"*]

Compañeros, we see each other again for the first time since 1966. It was then I made my first acquaintance with Tacna. Today is my second visit. When I first came here I was in handcuffs [*shouts of "No!"*] and being escorted by the repressive forces. I could not walk through the streets then because I was locked up in a jail, which I had the good fortune to be able to visit again today. [*Laughter and applause.*]

And this time again, I have been greeted with affection by the town of Tacna. I am glad that compañero Narvarte<sup>1</sup> is here tonight, because for me he symbolizes the affection that the people of Tacna showed at that time to the peasant fighters from the valley of La Convención.

And why were we brought here to be tried? Why did the controlled press—which was not as controlled then as it is today—say that we were murderers?

The peasants of La Convención, like the peasants throughout our country, had been crushed under the weight of oppression for centuries, serving the big landlords. They had been working for years for the benefit of others. In La Convención, the peasants were given a piece of land to work for themselves, and in exchange for this they had to work for two weeks for the landlord without getting a penny in wages.

And when a piece of land that had been given to a peasant began to produce coffee or tea or fruit, the landlord kicked him off the land and kept the coffee trees, the tea bushes, the cacao and fruit trees. That was the way of life in the province of La Convención.

And who had given the land to the landlords? Some of them were foreigners, as the peasants in La Convención said, and they did not bring in the land in packs on their backs. There was no reason the land should belong to them.

The land had been there before the landlords were born. And it had been made productive by the peasants who were working it, or by their parents or grandparents. There was no reason why the landlords should become owners of the land. It was

as if they took out a title to the air we breathed. It was as if they made themselves the owners of the roads, of the sea. They did not make this land, and so they could not own it.

Nonetheless, they used the land to enslave the peasants. And that was not all. The peasants suffered many other forms of exploitation besides.

For example, the women and children also had to work without pay for the landlord. The landlords did not allow any schools on their haciendas. They would not let the peasants wear shoes, saying that shoes were only for the bosses. On one occasion, a landlord took a peasant's shoes away from him because he had the audacity to hire a teacher to teach his children how to read.

On another occasion, this same landlord, Romainville, who was the landlord of the hacienda covered by the union I belonged to, ordered a peasant to fetch a horse to carry six arrobas [150 pounds] of coffee. And when the peasant could not find a horse, he came back to say: "Father, I could not find a horse." He had to call the landlord "father." [*Shouts of "Down with him!" "Down with him!" "Down with the landlords!"*]

The landlord told him, "Oh, you couldn't find a horse? So, you get down on all fours." And he ordered the overseer to put a pack and bit on him and load him with six arrobas of coffee, and he had to crawl around the patio on all fours.

That's the way the landlords treated the peasants. These worthy gentlemen, the noblest families in the country, the gentlemen who stand out on the society pages, that's the kind of moral sense they have.

And what were the compañeros of the peasant who was being treated that way doing? They were looking on in fear and trembling; they didn't dare say a word. They didn't dare protest.

On another occasion, for a minor infraction, another peasant was stripped and hung up naked on a mango tree to be whipped by an overseer. And since the overseer couldn't get himself worked up enough to do the job with the kind of enthusiasm the landlord wanted, the landlord himself took away the whip, saying: "You idiot, you can't even be trusted with a job like this. Watch me, and I'll show you how it's done."

He began to whip the peasant, who was hanging from the tree, and kept it up all day long. From time to time, the landlord took a break, taking out his handkerchief to wipe the sweat from his forehead, and then went on beating him. He did this also

in the presence of all the peasant compañeros, who didn't dare open their mouths to protest and remained in a cowed silence, trembling.

But everything on this earth comes to an end. And the fear of these peasants also came to an end. One day they joined together to raise a very loud outcry. And it was precisely the peasants on this hacienda, the peasants in the Chaupimayo union, who raised their voices the loudest. Today the name of Chaupimayo is known throughout the world. Today this name is associated with courage, and not with the cowardice from which we suffered before. [*Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"*]

All the peasants in the valley of La Convención united. In the beginning there were only a few peasants. In the beginning, it was only the peasants of eight or nine haciendas. They began to organize, to form unions, to present lists of demands. It was the same story we all know so well. Form no. 5, form no. 6, the inspector of labor, the judge, the court clerk, the notary, the higher court, the supreme court, and on and on. [*Laughter.*] The same story as always. [*More laughter.*]

So, what was the result of all this? The same as always. [*Laughter.*] The landlord committed abuses against the peasants, and when the peasants appealed to the courts, they were the ones who ended up in jail. The landlords got the peasants' land and the fruit of their labor.

This is what always happens. This is what you have just complained about with regard to your local policeman, for example, what you have just complained to the courts about. That is, it was business as usual in Cuzco. The courts, the labor department authorities, the PIP [Policía de Investigaciones del Perú, the political police], the Guardia Civil, they were all doing the bosses' dirty work. They were all trampling on the law, and not just on the law but on the peasants, who were like the serfs of the landlords.

And the press, of course, was saying bad things about agitators, who were supposed to be disrupting production. It was saying good things about the landlords, who were supposed to be building the good name of Cuzco and increasing the productivity of our land.

But the peasants got tired of so much paper shuffling. They got tired of making complaints to judges and courts and finding that they were the ones who had to go to jail. They began to hold meetings like this one. They began to use the microphones to sing about their lives and their landlords. They began to tell about all the

1. A previous speaker at the rally, who had helped defend Blanco in 1966.—IP/I

crimes that had been committed against the peasants.

A landlord was denounced for mistreating peasant women, for raping them, and then drowning his illegitimate children in the river. His name was Márquez. I name him today as I did then. He hasn't dared to sue me for libel, and if this were an untrue accusation he certainly would have.

These were the sort of outrages that were being committed by the landlords in La Convención, and they were denounced in meetings such as this one. The peasants began to develop a feeling of power, the peasants who could not vote in these last elections because they are not supposed to have any civic consciousness.

But they have enough civic consciousness to end this exploitation. These peasants didn't need to know how to speak Spanish, they didn't need to know how to read and write. They began to denounce these crimes in our language, in Quechua, which is the language of the peasants in Cuzco.

And so, these peasants began to develop a feeling of power, because they saw that they were multitudes. They saw that they did not have to remain on their knees. They saw that they could raise their heads. They saw that they could tell the truth in Quechua. They saw that they didn't need to know how to read and write. They saw that they didn't need any form no. 5, or 6, to tell their exploiters the way things really were. Telling them didn't settle things, but it started things moving toward a solution because the people were beginning to feel their power.

We are going to see this process repeated many times, *compañeros*.

Just as there have been denunciations here, we are going to hold a lot of other rallies. And from this or other platforms in the new towns [the slums ringing the big cities], you yourselves, the workers, and every section of the exploited people, are going to speak out against the abuses that are being inflicted on them, as you have just denounced this cop. We are going to continue exposing these injustices, we are going to begin to make people conscious of them, and that was the way it started there [in Chaupimayo].

So, what happened after that in the valley of La Convención? Strikes began. The whole province was paralyzed. Because by holding rallies the peasants gained a feeling of strength. And when the peasants marched through the streets, everything had to be shut down. Nothing moved on the roads. Nothing moved over the bridges. There were peasant picket groups throughout the province, and they made sure things were shut down. Both men and women stood guard in these picket groups under the heavy rains that fall at the jungle's edge.

When anyone said, "You poor peasants, your wicked leaders have made you stay out here in the rain," they replied: "We



Pedro Camejo/Militant

Part of march of thousands to rally where Blanco spoke.

have spent years out here in the rain, working for the landlord. We are still out here in the rain, but now it is to make them respect our rights, and so we can stay out here in the rain all year long." [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

The exploiters inflict suffering on the working people in a thousand different ways. But the working people are no longer intimidated by this suffering, instead it spurs them to rebel. So, today the Peruvian people are being starved to death, and they would rather die fighting than perish from hunger. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!" "Hugo Blanco to power!"]

That was how the struggle continued. The more we fought, the bigger the concessions, the more victories we won, the more the peasant organization grew, until we went from the few locals we had to a federation of about 150 unions, including the workers on 150 haciendas, and many other workers in the rest of the department of Cuzco and the other departments.

And what happened then? We had been appealing for justice year after year, demanding that the authorities decree that the peasants should do less work for the

landlords. And then, one day, the union that represented precisely those peasants who were most exploited, those people that I saw trembling as the landlord whipped one of their brothers all day long, who had watched one of their brothers be forced to crawl on his hands and knees like a beast of burden, this union started the agrarian reform in La Convención. It was not like Belaunde's agrarian reform, or Velasco's, or Beltran's, or the agrarian reform decreed by any such gents. No!

This agrarian reform was carried out by the peasants themselves. They decided not to go back to work for the landlord. They decided that each one of them was the owner of the land he was working, and that they would not give the landlord a day's work for it and not even a penny, since he didn't put the land there.

Then the peasants decided to work the land that the landlord had left uncultivated. But they were going to tend these coffee trees and all these crops, not for the landlord, but to maintain a school and to build a septic tank, and to help the families of the imprisoned leaders. And finally, they were going to cultivate these crops to buy guns to defend themselves against the

repressive forces. That is why they went back to work this land. [*Applause, shouts of "Bravo!" "Long live the working class!" "Long live the workers!" "Down with Yankee imperialism!" "Down with it!" "Down with its stooges!"*]

The peasants also decided to divide up all this land that had been left unproductive, that was not being worked by anybody. Why was no one working this land? Because it had an owner, and the owner didn't work, because this gentleman never worked. And so, the peasants decided to divide it up and give it to all those who wanted to work it.

That is the kind of agrarian reform that was carried out by the peasants in La Convención and Lares. And it was my union, the Chaupimayo union, that started it, but it spread to the entire valley of La Convención and Lares.

Of course, the landlords weren't going to stand for this. The government was not going to stand for this. The capitalists in the country were not going to stand for this, and still less the imperialists.

The capitalists and the government weren't very concerned about this handful of landlords. They didn't care if they went under. The problem for them was that if they let the peasants in La Convención carry out their agrarian reform in peace and take the land they were working, all the peasants in Peru would learn this lesson and do the same thing. The workers in the factories would also learn this lesson, and take them over and throw out the bosses. Because they were already learning that they didn't need the bosses, and that they could get along quite nicely without the bosses. [*Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"*]

So, the repressive forces came. The landlords were in a frenzy. They started carrying guns, and began threatening the peasants. The peasants who were threatened came to the peasant federation to complain. They told us, "Compañeros, we are being threatened." And the peasant federation people told them: "Look, compañeros, go to the Guardia Civil headquarters and complain."

The peasants went to the Guardia Civil, and they were told: "You miserable clods, the bosses have the right to shoot you down like dogs, because you have taken their land away from them and you don't want to work for them."

Then the peasants came back to the federation. They raised the same complaint again. And the delegate assembly of the federation of peasants of La Convención decided that since the landlords were threatening to kill the peasants, although the peasants had carried out the land reform in a completely peaceful way and without any bloodshed, and since the Guardia Civil, who were supposed to be the upholders of public order, did not want to maintain the peace, the only recourse the

peasants had left was to defend themselves.

In a general assembly of the peasants of La Convención and Lares, it was decided to organize a committee for armed self-defense to repel the attacks of the repressive forces. I was given responsibility for organizing these defense committees. [*Applause and shouts of "Viva!" and "Bravo!"*]

So, I didn't do this out of a lack of respect for democracy, as these gentlemen have a habit of saying. I did no more than accept an assignment given to me by the masses of workers. Democracy means accepting the will of the majority and not the military, who are sitting up there for some unknown reason.

So, we are not the totalitarians. The trouble is that the military are not just attacking the people economically, they are not just attacking us materially. They are even murdering the dictionary. They don't know what words mean anymore.

They call us totalitarians, when nobody gave them any right to install themselves up there. And a military officer is still up there, just the same as before; and nobody asked him to sit up there either.

So, the most democratic thing there was was the mandate I got from the peasant masses to organize defense committees to protect them against the violent and undemocratic attacks carried out by a military dictatorship that no one elected. So, we rose up for democracy, for the rights of the people, against a military dictatorship. That is what we did. And that is the great crime they talk about.

The great crime was that we didn't sit back and let them kill us. [*Laughter.*] They opened fire on us, and those who survived the massacre went to jail—for attacking the armed forces. That's how it is.

Some compañeros are in jail today. Why? Because they weren't killed. That's their crime. [*Laughter.*]

What kind of weapons did we defend ourselves with? They claim that we got guns from Russia, from Cuba, or from Mars and Saturn, I don't know where. [*Laughter.*] That wasn't the way it was.

The peasants living along the edge of the jungle have shotguns and .22 carbines to defend themselves from the wild animals there. And since still more savage animals came out, they started to defend themselves. [*Laughter and applause, shouts of "Bravo!" and "Workers, peasants, to power!"*]

There is something more, compañeros. They were building a highway there, and a foreman on the project sympathized with us. Our compañeros went to ask him to give us dynamite, and he did. Since we didn't know how to use it, he came to teach us.

So, no one sent us a thing from outside the country. It was the people themselves, realizing that they had to defend themselves, who set in motion a mechanism for

finding things and established their own law and order. A people that wants to fight finds ways to do it. It doesn't need anyone sending it things from the outside. That is what happened in Vietnam. And that is what happened among the peasants in La Convención.

The peasants there were still tending the landlords' cattle. Who was it who raised these cattle? It was the peasants, these peasants who had never tasted this meat.

So, the peasants decided to begin to try the meat that was the fruit of their labor. They began in an organized way to confiscate these cattle and sell the meat at a low price to their fellow peasants. And they used the money from the sale to buy arms for defense against the onslaught of the repressive forces. [*Applause. Shouts of "Bravo!"*]

But in southern Peru, there were no guns to buy. Long before, the government and the press, all the oligarchy's papers and magazines, had raised a hue and cry, "guerrillas in La Convención, guerrillas in La Convención," although there was nothing of the sort. Then, they banned the sale of guns throughout the southern part of Peru. But the capitalists think only about profits. They aren't even concerned about sticking together as a class. They are not like us. Sometimes, they do stick together as a class, but that doesn't last long. Business is business, as they say.

So, when the arms dealers read in the Lima press "there are guerrillas in La Convención and therefore the sale of arms has been banned," these merchants said to themselves: "What a great chance to make money. There are guerrillas in La Convención, arms sales are prohibited, so we can set up a fabulous contraband operation." [*Laughter.*]

So, with the money they got from selling the cattle that they confiscated from the landlord, the cattle that were the product of their labor, the peasants began to buy these guns. Other peasants had relatives who were technicians and made fireworks, and they began to give the peasants gunpowder.

I am explaining these things to you, compañeros, so that you won't believe the lies about our being sent guns from other countries, from Russia, Cuba, China, or I don't know where else.

Finally, the peasants got guns from the landlords themselves. The landlords had guns to use against the peasants. But later, when the peasants organized and began to wage a powerful mass struggle, the landlords got frightened and ran away, leaving guns in their homes. All the peasants had to do was go in and take them. That is how the peasants armed themselves.

And with these guns, the peasants fought back against the repressive forces. The resistance did not last a long time, it was not on a really large scale, it was not a vast thing. It was a beginning. But this

## 'Revolución'—New Trotskyist Newspaper Published in Peru

[The following article by Hugo Blanco appeared in the first issue of *Revolución* (Revolution), the newspaper of the Comisión de Unificación Trotskista (CUT—Commission for Trotskyist Unification). The CUT, which includes the majority of the Trotskyist groups in Peru, has scheduled a congress for October 8 to found a united section of the Fourth International in Peru. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

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August 20, 1940: A murderous weapon ended the life of one of the leaders of the Russian revolution, Comrade Leon Trotsky, organizer of the Red Army.

This fact symbolizes an era, the era of defeats for the world revolution—the Nazi-Fascist terror crushing the working class and the entire population in major countries of Europe; the so-called “Western democracies” imposing their own repression; bureaucratic Stalinism smashing many of the gains of the Russian revolution, murdering thousands of Leninists, and putting a brake on the revolution in Europe and around the world.

In that context, the Leninist party, the workers international, could be nothing more than a handful of unshakable optimists, who in the midst of the storm held aloft the banner of the socialist revolution, the banner of internationalism, the banner of no compromises with any sector of the bosses. That was the Fourth International in 1940—though small, it was Trotsky's great legacy and the theme of his last words.

August 20, 1978: Peruvian Trotskyists from a number of groups gather under one roof, taking a giant step toward the



Front page, first issue.

formation of a *single* big party.

This fact also symbolizes an era—the era of permanent revolution, the era of extreme decay of world capitalism, the era of revolutionary upsurges. Thus it also symbolizes the era of the fragmentation of Stalinism and the qualitative and quantitative development of Trotskyism, of the Fourth International.

Never before in Peru have so many Trotskyists joined together, united by our conviction that the only salvation of our people lies in the socialist revolution, and that on this road we must struggle against *all* sectors of the bourgeoisie. We are also united in the conviction that we will not be able to bring about socialism through a revolution in our country alone, but rather that the socialist revolution must be extended throughout the world to be really victor-

ious, so as not to regress, so as not to degenerate. We are united, too, in our understanding that we are only a part of the big international party of workers that Marx, Engels, and Lenin wanted, the international resurrected by Trotsky, never to die again, so that it might accomplish the goals of the three earlier ones; we are united in our Fourth International.

Moreover, we are united in order to debate our tactical differences, because that is what Trotskyism is—free internal discussion, the existence of tendencies that can bring out the truth through debate, and firm unity in action.

This newspaper is the voice of that unified Trotskyism. It is the first public expression of the unified strength that has emerged from our discussions. This paper will grow, and our unified party will grow bigger and bigger, because the consciousness of our people is growing and because when the people become revolutionary they reject monolithism and seek unity. Because when the people become revolutionary they seek neither regimented unity nor the division into sects. They want a big party of the working class.

Fighting workers want a strong, unified socialist party as a tool of struggle. That is the purpose of this newspaper—to build such a tool. Read it, brothers and sisters, and get others to read it. Discuss it, correct us, help us to distribute and strengthen it. Our enemies already have more than enough newspapers and radio and television stations to lie to the people with. Let us help this voice of ours to grow stronger and stronger, bigger and bigger, so that from every corner of the land the light of reality can shine forth, the reality that the enemy is trying to hide with its straitjacketed media.

beginning was an example, because it showed that when the people are organized, they find ways to defend themselves against the repressive forces.

It showed that the repressive forces can be stopped. And the peasants of La Convención and Lares were the only ones that could stop them. Because although they took many of us prisoner and killed other compañeros, they were still checkmated, and today this land is still in the hands of the peasants.

So, it was shown that it could be done and that we could do it. The problem was that at that time, this was done in only one province. What happened in the rest of Peru? In the other parts of the country,

there was no such organization and no such struggle. But what was the mood in the rest of Peru?

We thought that there was nothing going on in the rest of Peru. Later, when I was in prison, and the few times that I have been a free man in Peru, because they just let me come to my country for vacations [laughter, applause, shouts of “Bravo!”], I learned that there had been support for us in every part of the country.

I learned that in the center of the country, they blocked a highway in support of us, that sabotage actions had been carried out on the sugar plantations in solidarity with us, and that there had been rallies and other demonstrations in Lima support-

ing us. Students, workers, peasants—in the north, center, and south of the country—all told me later, one by one, that they had been with us. They had been with us, despite all the lies in the press.

So, what happened? Why did they let us fight alone and be crushed in La Convención if they were all with us? Because there was no organization. What could the peasants in the north, the peasants in the center, or the workers in Lima do? What could they do to help us when we were fighting? By what means could their support and solidarity reach us? What could they give us?

What was lacking was organization. It was because there was no party that could

organize the workers throughout the country that La Convención remained isolated. We learned this through experience, compañeros. That is why we have to build FOCEP in every corner of Peru, so that we will have an instrument that can unite all of us, like a single fist, so that we can fight the way we must—as we are doing today and in the forms that will be necessary later on.

That's what the party is for us—the organization that unites all the workers in their struggles, leading them toward the seizure of power and socialism. For us the party is not just an organization to carry on electoral propaganda, to put forward its viewpoint in elections, to get our candidates elected members of the Constituent Assembly, or to get compañero Hugo Blanco elected president in 1980.

No, that is not what the party is for us. The party for us is the organization that is going to knit together the entire body, like a nervous system, the party is going to be the network of nerves uniting the workers throughout Peru, the peasants, the white-collar workers, the itinerant peddlers, the teachers, the peddlers in the markets, and so on, that will unite all of us and lead our struggle against the common enemy. That is what the party is, and that is why we have to build it. That is what FOCEP is for and what the parties in FOCEP are for.

I refer specifically to the parties in FOCEP, because it is a front that includes different parties, and among ourselves we have some differing opinions. But we all agree that we have to form a broad front in which we work together and that we have to fight so that the workers can take power and so that we can achieve socialism. On this, there are no differences.

So compañeros, in this respect we are in a better position than we were in the 1960s. Because we are already building the political organization that can help the workers take power. That is one of the lessons we drew from the experience of the 1960s.

So, what role did Tacna play in all this? Why did they take us to Tacna? There were no haciendas here. Nor was the headquarters of the military region located here. The headquarters of the military region was in Arequipa. I was held in that city for years, without a trial. This was despite the fact that according to the law they had to try me within six months. But I was kept in jail there for three years. The events had occurred in Cuzco, so the trial should have been there, or at least in Arequipa.

But what happened was that these gentlemen were afraid. They realized that the people in Cuzco and the people in Arequipa already knew the truth.

They knew that if they put us on trial in those cities, it would have touched off a mass struggle, mass demonstrations supporting us. That's why they took us to Tacna, because in Tacna the people weren't familiar with the case. They had lied to the people of Tacna, as they had to

all the people of Peru, telling them that we were bloodthirsty killers. They only stopped short of telling them that we ate babies raw. [Laughter, applause.]

They said that we had done harm to the worthy landlords who were working on their land, and that we had set back production, and I don't know how many other stories they told. They buried us in mud. When we came here, we listened to all that propaganda.

They wanted to be able to hold an open trial in a big hall. They couldn't do this in Cuzco or Arequipa, because the gallery would have filled up with people who knew the real story. So, they said to themselves: "Well, we can do it in Tacna, and let's show the international press that we are not afraid of conducting this trial in an open hall, since the people there know nothing about what happened."

And so the people in Tacna came to get a look at the cutthroats, to see what a killer looks like. [Laughter.] They began to listen to the trial. But the people in Tacna were not stupid. The military thought they were, but they were wrong. The tables were turned on them. [Laughter, shouts of "Bravo!"]

The people of Tacna watched the trial for a week. They listened to our denunciation of all the crimes that had been committed, they listened to all the outrages we had suffered, they listened to see why we took the attitude we did, they listened to find out what our struggle had been like, and the people of Tacna decided that we were in the right.

They showed us their solidarity in a thousand ways. Every day they brought fifteen quarts of milk to the jail. They brought us so much fruit and bread that we couldn't eat it all. They brought us clothing. On the only visiting day we were allowed, there was a line of people two blocks who wanted to visit us. All that we could do was embrace each one, and no more, because there was a line of people two blocks long.

Even some Civil Guards took the chance involved in coming to visit us, although they had to show their documents and of course suffered reprisals because they came.

But to show you that these police are also part of the people, so that you can know, now that there is no danger, I will tell you what these Republican Guards did. When they stopped me from denouncing the brass hats, from saying that they were the murderers and not we, when they stopped me from saying this right in the middle of the session, the Guards dragged me away to my chair. But, it seemed, two Guards together were not enough to make me sit down. It wasn't because I was so strong. I wasn't half as strong as any one of them. When an officer came by, they said: "Listen, sit down." When he went away, they told me, "OK, Hugo, give it to

them." [Laughter, applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

I denounced them as murderers and cowards, because they were sending poor people like us to get themselves killed and kill us, while the brass hats waited in a nice safe place. And they were supposed to be the great defenders of the fatherland, the heroes, the brave men. These brave men, the only thing they were good for was to order the police and the army to open fire on the unarmed people. [Applause.]

So, of course the policemen in the Civil Guard liked listening to me tell the truth about these corrupt officers who trampled on them too, day after day. They are all part of the people, compañeros, the Civil Guards and the Republican Guards. This is why, as I just said to compañero Narvarte, I told the soldier who shot at me that I would not stain my hands with the blood of any of my brothers in the Civil Guards or the Republican Guards, who are sons of the people. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

So, compañeros, that is what the Tacna trial was like, that is what the solidarity of the people in Tacna was like. On the last day, when we shouted: "Tierra o muerte!" [Land or death!], the people answered us, shouting: "Venceremos!" [We will win!]

As compañero Narvarte said, this town of Tacna, which they wanted to see become the tomb of the fighters from La Convención, became the savior and the liberator of the peasants in La Convención. And so we respect the people of Tacna, because we know that they are by no means stupid.

The problem was that before the people of Tacna were not informed. We also have to draw some conclusions from that experience, compañeros. It is very important to inform people, otherwise they will always be deceived by means of the newspapers, radio, and television. This is truer than ever today when the press is controlled and won't print a word of what we're saying in the Constituent Assembly, won't print a word about what is happening in the mines, about the abuses the military junta is committing, or about the success of the courageous struggle that the miner compañeros are continuing to wage. How are we going to make up for this lack of news ourselves? We are trying to do that here by means of rallies where we can tell the truth to the people about what is happening in the Constituent Assembly.

We have the great misfortune, which is a great disgrace for the Peruvian press, that when there is a horse race or a football game, everybody knows what happened, what horse won, by how many heads or how many tails, or whatever.

However, when their future is being discussed in the Constituent Assembly, the Peruvian people aren't told anything about it. Not a word. All they are told is what kind of a belt Hugo Blanco wore, whether his shirt was dirty, or whether he wore a tie. That's big news for the papers. But

they don't say anything about the political discussions that are going on there. That is a crime that is being committed against the people. We have to fight against this.

[Blanco went on here to explain the need for a working-class newspaper to inform the masses and draw together the experience of the various struggles. This section was lost because of a break in the tape. When the tape resumes, he is talking about another subject.]

We have the example of Chile. The Yankee imperialists and the other imperialists started to boycott Chile. They started stopping investments in Chile, they started not sending machinery to Chile, they started not buying Chilean products, so as to throw the country into crisis and discredit the left government.

And what did the capitalists do inside Chile? What did the landlords do? The landlords started not cultivating the land, so as to throw the country into crisis. The capitalists cut production. Sometimes they removed vital parts of machines, so they couldn't run. They failed to buy raw materials, so that there would be scarcities that would discredit the left government.

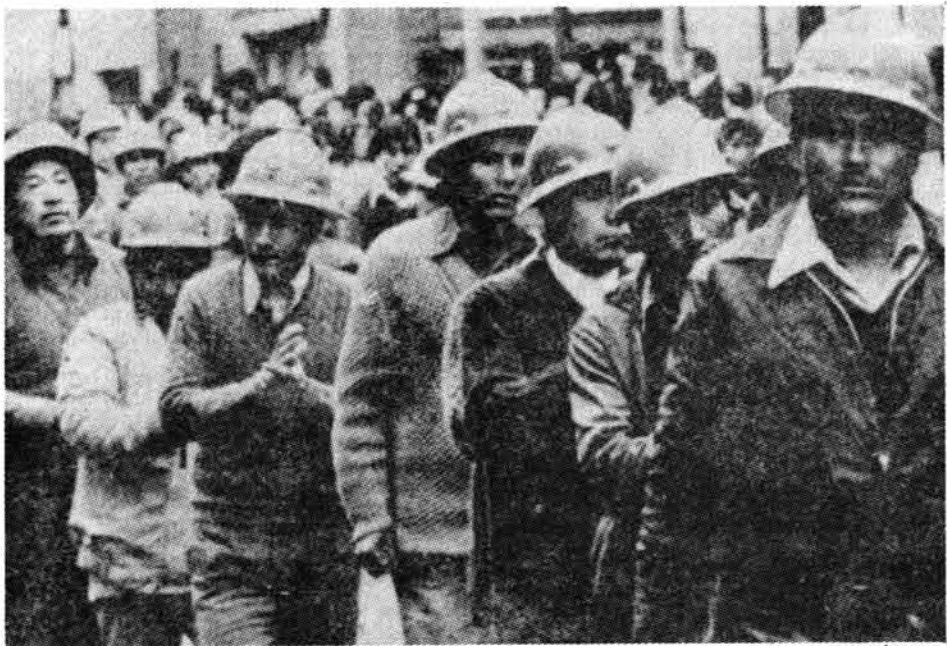
What did the big merchants and the owners of the transport companies do? They paralyzed transportation and retail trade, to wreck the country and wreck the Allende government.

What did these capitalist gentlemen and landlord gentlemen do with their money? Since the prices of necessities dropped in Chile under the Allende government, these products were hoarded by the big capitalists, by the big retailers. They didn't let the people get at these goods. They were sold on the black market at prices three or four times higher than the official ones. In this way, the Chilean capitalists and the international capitalists began to push Chile under, and to discredit the government of Salvador Allende.

And what did the Chilean people do? How did the Chilean workers respond to this attack by the capitalists? They responded in the best way. When the landlords did not want to cultivate the land, the peasants took it to work it themselves. When the capitalists did not want to operate the factories, or operated them only two or three days a week, as is happening in the case of some factories in Lima, the workers took over the factories, they ran them, and maintained production themselves.

When the owners of the transport companies staged a shutdown, the workers took the trucks and buses, and ran them themselves.

When the big retailers paralyzed retail trade, paralyzed distribution, and diverted the goods to the black market, the shantytown dwellers, the people in what they call



Miners march into Lima August 14.

Amauta

shanty towns or new towns,<sup>2</sup> organized distribution themselves. The workers took the goods to them so that they could distribute them directly, eliminating the big retailers. The peasants did the same thing. They brought their products directly to the new towns.

The organized people in those areas knew best how many persons there were in each family in the neighborhood. So they knew how to distribute the sugar, how to distribute the rice, how to distribute the milk, and all the products that were in short supply. In this way, they began to effectively counter the capitalist boycott, in agriculture as well as distribution of farm products; in the factories, as well as in the distribution of manufactured goods; and in the field of transportation.

And who was doing all this? The workers in the countryside, the workers in the cities, the inhabitants of the new towns. They were showing all Chile that the country could get along quite nicely without bosses, that the bosses were good for nothing but trying people's patience, and that the best insurance against any crisis was for the workers to take over production and distribution themselves.

And when the fascist gangs organized, the bosses' gangs, the armed gangs of the bosses, to attack the workers who had taken over the factories, when the landlords' gangs organized to attack the peasants who had taken the land, when the police started to attack the workers who

were running the factories, what did these workers do? They did the same thing that the peasants in La Convención and Lares did in 1962.

They decided to defend themselves against this repression. They started to arm, to form committees for armed self-defense against this repression, because, as I said before, when the people realize that they have to defend themselves with arms, they know how to arm themselves. They don't need to have anybody sending them stuff. And so they began to defend themselves.

The soldiers and sailors were also against their officers. And so what happened? Why were the Chilean people crushed? Unfortunately, the leadership they had, the leaders of the Unidad Popular, of the Socialist Party, and of the Communist Party, did not have a revolutionary outlook.

These leaders had confidence in the military. They thought that the military were going to respect democracy in Chile. They had confidence in the capitalists and imperialists, believing that they were going to respect democracy. They said: "Well, compañeros, when we get a majority for the left parties in both houses of parliament, we are going to establish socialism. In the meantime, compañeros, please take it easy, be calm. Don't take over the factories, because if you do that you are going to upset the progressive capitalists. Don't take the land, because if you do that's going to make them angry, and they'll carry out a coup against us.

"Don't set up these armed self-defense bodies. Because if you do, the democratic and patriotic military officers are going to get angry, and they'll carry out a coup against us. Please don't get worked up. The patriotic military officers are going to

2. "New towns": in Spanish, *pueblos jóvenes*. The term originated as the government's euphemism for the vast shantytowns of marginally employed workers that have sprung up on the outskirts of many cities in Peru. It is now generally used to describe these communities.—IP/I

defend us. They are going to guarantee the democratic process in Chile. They are going to respect the will of the majority. The army has always been respectful of the law and respectful of parliament. You have to have confidence in them."

That's what the leadership of the Unidad Popular told the masses who followed them. And so the people's hands were tied. And when the masses began to organize people's courts to replace the corrupt court system, which is the sort of thing *compañero* Navarte has just referred to, Allende and the whole Unidad Popular leadership thundered against it.

Of course, these leaders didn't do this because they were bad people. They didn't necessarily do it because they were traitors. They did it because in their view this was the way you had to work. But Pinochet didn't see it that way, nor did the military. And this is why the people who were facing up to the crisis in the best way had their hands tied by their own leadership.

So, this opened the way for the Pinochet coup, which was backed by the capitalists and the imperialists, and supported as well by a desperate middle class, which, seeing that the left was offering no real solution for Chile, lined up behind the right.

We drew the lesson from that experience, *compañeros*. And we promise you that we are not going to repeat that mistake here in Peru. We promise that the FOCEP leaders, the leaders of the revolutionary parties, are never going to tell you: "Trust the patriotic military officers, trust the good capitalists who are with us against the imperialists." We are never going to tell you that.

We will always tell you: "Trust only in yourselves. Don't believe that the factories are going to be run well and serve the people of Peru until they are in the hands of the workers and operated by them. Don't believe that the land is going to be used for the benefit of the country until it is under the control of the peasants themselves.

"Don't believe that distribution and the national economy as a whole are going to function well until they are in the hands of the workers. Don't believe that the courts are really going to dispense justice until they are in the hands of the workers themselves, until the workers and the new towns elect their courts and the entire people gathered in assembly elect their own court, and can recall the judges when they want, when they see that the judges are not living up to their responsibility." This is the only thing we have confidence in. [*Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"*]

So, *compañeros*, we are seeing that this process that developed in La Convención, this process that developed in Chile, is beginning to develop today throughout Peru. And we must take up the positive lessons of La Convención and apply them in our struggle. We must also take up the

positive lessons given by the people of Chile and apply them in our struggle.

We have to learn from the negative experiences in La Convención and Chile in order not to repeat them. We need a political organization that can lead the workers to power. There was no such organization in La Convención, and as a result the struggle was isolated. That is why we have to build FOCEP.

We need a political organization that won't tell the workers, as the Unidad Popular did, not to mobilize, not to take power, but to trust in the military officers and trust in the parliamentary road.

And so we have to say that the FOCEP is not going to be an organization like the Unidad Popular. It is not going to tell the people to trust in the progressive officers or in parliament. It is going to tell them to rely only on their own organization, on their own struggle, and on their own might.

We have already seen what this Peruvian people are capable of. The military junta imposed a curfew on them. It suspended their constitutional rights. It took away freedom of the press. It jailed hundreds of persons and deported many persons in 1976. In June 1976, it trampled on the few rights the people had left. For a year, the people put up with this.

And then in July 1977, despite the suspension of constitutional guarantees, despite the lack of freedom of the press, despite the fact that hundreds of persons were in prison, despite the deportations, despite all the threats of firings, this Peruvian people was able to rise up in a number of places. And this led to the heroic general strike of July 19, this valiant action that opened up a new stage in the history of the Peruvian people, which opened up the stage of the socialist revolution in Peru.

With this general strike, a new era began in Peru. Because this general strike forced the military dictatorship to back down, it forced the military to lift their curfew, to end the suspension of constitutional guarantees, it forced them to restore a measure of freedom of the press. And despite the fact that 5,000 persons were fired from their jobs, the people were not intimidated and kept fighting. There was another general strike, and then another. Through these struggles the people also won the release of the political prisoners and freedom for the deportees to return.

And if I am talking to you this way, and so freely, it's not because of any generosity on the part of the military dictatorship. It's not because the military dictatorship has become democratic, or because there is anything democratic about the majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The majority in the Constituent Assembly kept silence about all the abuses committed by the military junta. If we are talking together this way, it is because you won this right. And in the same way you

won this right, just as you are going to win many more, along with the rest of the Peruvian people. It all depends on your fighting spirit and your organization. This is the example, this is the lesson, that we have drawn from July 19 and the subsequent struggles.

It was the people as well who forced the military junta to call elections for the Constituent Assembly. It's true that the people did not ask the regime for a Constituent Assembly. But the rulers knew that what the Peruvian people most hated was the military dictatorship. So, in order to deceive the people, they decided to give them a lollipop.

They said: "OK, OK, pal, we're leaving, don't worry about it, we're leaving in 1980. First we're giving you elections for a constituent assembly, then afterwards there are going to be elections in 1980, there is going to be a president, whoever suits you most, there are going to be deputies and senators, we are leaving, and everything is going to be settled."

They did this to deceive the Peruvian people, so that the people would not continue their struggles, would not continue their strikes, would not continue their work stoppages. But fortunately, the Peruvian people didn't let themselves be fooled. The Peruvian people kept on fighting and they are still fighting. They're not impressed by stories about constituent assemblies and elections.

And so, in the middle of the election campaign, when the junta had the nerve once again to decree the economic package in May, the working class responded with the biggest general strike in the history of this country, the strike of May 22-23. [*Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"*]

It was a heroic struggle, which has not yet been described in its full dimensions. None of us yet know how large it was. Every day we are learning about things that happened in every corner of Peru on May 22-23 that we didn't know about before. Despite the lack of communication among the various sectors of the population, despite the fact that the press is controlled and that the radio talks about everything but what is happening in Peru, despite all this, the valor of the Peruvian people made itself visible in a thousand ways in those days.

Maybe you didn't know that in Morochocha, the miners drove the repressive forces into retreat with dynamite. [*Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"*]

I don't know if you are aware that our brothers in the police in Arequipa refused to fire on the people and presented a list of demands saying that no one should hold a rank higher than that of major and that the officers should be elected by the ranks and not appointed from above.

Because of this courageous attitude on the part of our *compañeros* in the Arequipa police, their leaders are in prison today, and we must all fight for their release.



Because they are in prison for us, they are our heroes, our brothers, and they are in prison because they did not want to fire on us. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

The controlled press doesn't talk about these things, because the military junta is afraid. It's only a handful of exploiters that are grinding us down. Up till now these exploiters have used the police, they have used the soldiers to crush us, to massacre us, so that they could continue exploiting us.

But what's happening? This is going to come to an end some day. When the workers and the peasants are strong and united and carry out strikes like those on May 22 and 23 [another break in the tape]. . . .

So the police see that there is a power, and that this power is their brothers and sisters, and they are no longer afraid and stop shooting at us and start shooting at those they should shoot at. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

Compañeros, we have already seen the beginning of the end of our exploiters. It began on July 1977, and this struggle is continuing. As I told you, if we can discuss here, it is not because of the bill on parliamentary immunity, it is not because the military junta has any respect for the Constituent Assembly, it is not even because the Constituent Assembly has any respect for itself, because it doesn't.

The deputies there are ready to lie down and let the military junta walk over them like a carpet. They know also that in 1980 when Haya de la Torre gets in, or Bedoya, or any of these gentlemen, they are going to do the same thing that the military junta is doing, they are going to be agents of the policy of the International Monetary Fund.

As my fellow left deputies have already said, they have refused to give this Constituent Assembly a chance to solve the problems of the people. The other deputies are down on their knees before the junta, they are going down on all fours in front of the junta, these same people who did so much talking against the military. Now, they don't want to say a word against the military dictatorship. So, no one should have any hope in them

From this platform, moreover, my compañeros have talked about other things. They have talked about the fronts to defend the interests of the people that are springing up in many parts of Peru. I got a chance to see this in the department of San Martín. I got a chance to see two towns that have, in one case, elected a mayor; and, in the other, a deputy mayor. And they are struggling to establish their authority. They are struggling to defend themselves against the deputy mayor and the mayor imposed from above by the military dictatorship.

This is the kind of government we want, governments elected by the people, governments that represent in every town, in

every corner of the country, the will of the workers, the peasants and the people in the new towns.

Compañero Cuentas has also spoken about the people's congresses in Chimbote and Moquegua. I also got a chance to see what these people's assemblies are, compañeros. They are bodies of delegates representing the workers, the peasants, the new towns, the white-collar workers. And these assemblies are already beginning to do some things.

What we are fighting for is for these bodies to be able to function on a permanent basis, and to be brought together under a great national people's assembly made up of delegates of the workers, peasants, soldiers, inhabitants of the new towns, the white-collar workers, the teachers, the fishermen, the small shopkeepers, the itinerant peddlers.

We want this people's assembly, representing all the workers in every corner of the country, to be the government. We are not calling for Hugo Blanco to power but for the workers to power, the delegates of the workers, peasants, and new towns to power, for an assembly representing all of them.

And when the people lose confidence in any of the delegates they sent there, when the people don't like what their delegate is doing, they can just remove this delegate and put in another. Because Peru has millions of people who can represent themselves and their brothers and sisters. Hugo Blanco is not indispensable, nor any other compañero. Anyone can represent the interests of the workers. In every factory, in every peasant union, in every new town, we see examples of this. And if one person doesn't work out, another can be put in.

This is the kind of government we want, this is what we call a government of the workers, this is what we call a workers and peasants government. And this is the only kind of government that can make sure that the Peruvian people finally get to enjoy the wealth that belongs to them.

Only such a government can guarantee that the workers will be able to work, that all of us will be able to work. As you know, there has been talk about an assembly of itinerants. The problem of itinerants exists in Lima in gigantic proportions, and it exists throughout Peru.

The unemployed have no other way of making a living but selling things out in the open. And yet the mayors have the nerve, the shamelessness, just like the military dictatorship, to ban peddling in some areas, when the junta can't provide jobs for half the Peruvian people, when half the Peruvian people can't work because they cannot find jobs. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!" and "Down with the military junta!"]

So, since the mayor has had the gall to say that there are areas where the itinerant peddlers can't conduct their business, in Lima we in FOCEP have told the

peddler compañeros: "Compañeros, as long as the military junta doesn't guarantee regular jobs for you, you have the right to sell your goods in the Constituent Assembly and in the government palace. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

So, compañeros, only a government made up of delegates of the workers, peasants, delegates of all the working people can say that the factories are going to be run by the workers in the interests of the people.

Only such a government can say that the land is going to be held by the peasants in the interests of the people, and that the whole economy is going to be in the hands of the working class as a whole, and that the workers delegates are going to decide where factories should be located, what roads should be built. And we are going to say that our money should not be spent for repression, should not be spent to buy whiskey for millionaires. It should be spent for schools in the new towns, for septic tanks, for hospitals.

We want a workers government. This government is not going to give a penny to the capitalists, because they've robbed us enough already. This government is not going to give the landlords a penny. And this government is not going to pay the foreign debt, because that money was not lent to us, it was lent to Morales, so let Morales pay it back. There is no reason we should pay it. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

Compañeros, it's already time for us to leave, because we have to go inaugurate a support committee for FOCEP, and then we have to go on to Cuzco, where there is a national peasant congress. I am a member of the executive of the peasant confederation, and I have to be there. But there will be no lack of other opportunities, I hope, to come back and meet with you and to discuss the many things we have to talk about.

For twelve years, we have been kept apart, compañeros. But thanks to the struggles of the entire Peruvian people we can be here today. I hope you won't let them separate us again. That depends entirely on your strength, and on your determination, compañeros. It is because a lot of power and a lot of determination were demonstrated, because of your determination, that I am here, that I am alive and a free man.

[Applause. Shouts of "Bravo!" and "Hugo Blanco to power!"]

Viva a workers government! [Shouts of "Viva!"]

Viva Socialism! [Shouts of "Viva!"]

Compañeros, here is a better slogan than "Hugo Blanco to power." It is "Luchar, Vencer, Obreros al Poder!" [Fight, win, workers to power!] I call on you to take up this slogan for now: "Down with the military junta!" [Applause, a lot of shouting, and chanting led from the platform: "Luchar, vencer, obreros al poder!"] □

# BOOKS

## The Canadian Mounties: Spies and Burglars

Reviewed by Matilde Zimmermann

To believe the television shows, a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is not just your ordinary, detested cop on the block. He is something special—friend of the great outdoors and implacable foe of all types of deception and crime.

This fantasy will not survive a reading of *RCMP: The Real Subversives*. Richard Fidler's careful documentation of RCMP activity presents quite a different picture. An arson squad that torches a Québec barn to prevent a meeting from taking place. Burglars who carry out elaborate break-ins involving twenty to fifty people as often as three times a week. An activist in the right-wing terrorist outfit Western Guard. A provocateur who tries unsuccessfully to get Native militants involved in blowing up bridges. Scribblers of poison pen letters. Conspirators plotting to hijack an airplane. Bombers. Thieves. Rats who read other people's mail and poke through their garbage. Generally the type that is more at home hiding out in a projection room or laundry closet than riding a horse through the north woods.

*The Real Subversives* explains how the facts about the RCMP's illegal activity came to be known. It started with a sensational disclosure in March 1976 that the RCMP had been responsible for the 1972 burglary of a radical news agency in Québec. The government was unable to stop the flood of disclosures that followed, as individual RCMP agents pled general practice or pointed the finger at superiors to save their own necks. Two commissions of inquiry were set up to try to persuade the Canadian public that something was being done to halt RCMP crimes.

The whole purpose of the RCMP, Fidler explains, is to suppress dissent and prevent any challenge to capitalist rule. Much of the RCMP's attention is directed against the Québec nationalist movement, which represents the most serious political threat to the Canadian government.

The use of repression as an instrument of government policy is rooted in the very nature of Canada. Like the Czarist empire, the Canadian state is a veritable "prison house of nations." It was built on the oppression of the Québécois, the near-annihilation of Native peoples, and the degradation of the Acadiens and other francophones outside Québec.

Fidler explains why the government is trying to give its political police greater

powers, and why it is having such a hard time.

The Canadian ruling class today confronts the worst economic situation since the 1930s, and its most serious political crisis since Confederation. Its response to both challenges entails increased

*RCMP: The Real Subversives*, by Richard Fidler, Toronto: Vanguard Publications, 1978. 95 pp.

repression, including stepped-up political policing. However, the same conditions also stimulate opposition to government policies and undermine public tolerance of repression.

The book provides answers for the various arguments used to defend political spying, the most common of which is that such tactics are necessary to combat terrorism. In fact, Fidler shows that the much-publicized "terrorist network" called the "FLQ" was largely a creation of the RCMP. In one case involving an alleged conspiracy of five "FLQ" members to hijack an airplane, at least three of the plotters, including the initiator of the scheme, were RCMP agents.

The real targets of RCMP repression are not "terrorists," but rather activists in the trade unions, the Québec independence movement, women's liberation and gay rights organizations, and student groups.



Revolutionary socialists in the Revolutionary Workers League have been victims of RCMP harassment, as is documented in a RWL brief to one of the government commissions investigating the RCMP.

The RWL, of which Fidler is a leader, is not involved in illegal activity and does not support terrorism. The reason the RCMP singled out the RWL for victimization is precisely because of the organization's support for the mass movements of the oppressed and for an extension of democratic rights. The book includes as an appendix the Statement of Principles of the RWL, so that readers can find out for themselves exactly what the organization stands for.

*RCMP: The Real Subversives* is more than just a compilation of the evidence against the RCMP. It is more than just a political analysis of why the RCMP wages war on individual rights. It is above all a strategy for fighting back, for defending democratic freedoms against institutions like the RCMP. Exposing and fighting against RCMP harassment, Fidler explains, strikes a blow for Québec self-determination and strengthens the ability of the Canadian working class to defend its standard of living. At the same time, building the mass social movements is one of the best ways to defend democratic rights against their real subverters—the RCMP and the class it serves.

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### Janata Party Starts Down Slippery Slope

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—Since coming to power in March 1977, the Janata Party has failed to win the confidence of the Indian bourgeoisie in its capacity to assure stable bourgeois rule.

The Janata government in New Delhi displays all the weaknesses of a power bloc in which industrial interests are in conflict with agrarian capitalists over political dominance. The regime has been characterized by endless bickerings and squabbles over power, corruption, personalities, and the formation of various battling cliques and groups.

Three months ago these disputes culminated in a major crisis in the Janata Party. Home Minister Charan Singh, who represents the rich agrarian layers, resigned, as did Health Minister Raj Narain. Various attempts have been made to reconcile Charan Singh with Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who represents the industrial interests within the Janata Party.

As a conglomeration of four parties, the Janata Party could not weld itself into a cohesive unit. Charan Singh represented the newly rich agrarian bourgeoisie and uppercaste landlords of rural India against the urban-based industrial, trading, and small-scale sectors of capital represented by the former Congress (Organisation), the Jan Sangh, and the Socialist Party. As a member of a rich Jat landholding community, Charan Singh had a strong base in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Madhya Pradesh and had a decisive voice in the formulation of the Janata Party's economic policy. But for the moment he has been politically defeated.

Its "democratic" pretensions notwithstanding, the Janata Party is coming out more and more as a party of "law and order." In face of the current working-class upsurge, it has used bayonets against the struggling masses to a much greater extent than even the former regime of Indira Gandhi did.

The Janata Party has still not been able to strike roots in the south. And given the weaknesses of the Congress parties of Indira Gandhi and Y.B. Chavan, the Indian bourgeoisie does not now have a single all-India party. This is one of the elements of the developing political crisis.

The recent crisis in the Janata Party has become a national issue because of its far-reaching implications. According to a report in the July 16-31 issue of the New Delhi fortnightly *India Today*, administration in the northern states has come to a halt. The report expects frustration among

the people to rise: "Demonstrators without leaders could stalk the cities of the Gangetic belt demanding the resignation of ministries."

All the main political parties have taken a position on the current crisis.

Indira Gandhi herself has remained aloof, allowing the Janata Party leaders to discredit themselves to her benefit.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), which politically supports the Janata Party, expressed its concern in a Political Bureau statement published in the July 9, 1978, issue of the party's weekly *People's Democracy*. It said that the crisis "manifests the dangerous weaknesses of the Janata Party—lack of cohesiveness and persistence of loyalty to old groupings." The solution to the crisis, it said, was "to turn the attention of the leaders of the party from personal and group disputes on sharing of power to questions of policy affecting the daily lives of our people."

In an article in the same issue of *People's Democracy*, CPI(M) General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad tried to draw attention to the Janata Party's alleged role as a "savior of democracy." The CPI(M) thus thinks that the crisis in the party will only benefit Gandhi's Congress Party.

A dispatch from New Delhi in the July 15 *Economic Times* reported that the CPI(M), which is following a policy of "responsive cooperation" with the ruling party, has decided, along with the former Jan Sangh segment of the Janata Party, to support Charan Singh against Desai. The reason? Because, according to the CPI(M), Desai is "soft" towards Gandhi.

According to the July 21 *Economic Times*, The Satyanarayan Singh grouping of the Maoist Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has also decided to support Charan Singh. It thinks that "objective reality" demands support for Charan Singh against the domination of the ruling-class elite. Another reason is the former home minister's avowed aim of ensuring "adequate representation" to the "intermediate classes and castes and backward village folk."

The Communist Party of India (CPI) seems to have a more advanced position at the moment, at least superficially. Unlike the rival CPI(M), it is not bound by the need to maintain political collaboration with the Janata Party and can thus take a more critical stance toward it.

Thus Bhupesh Gupta, a leading CPI theoretician, is able to point out in the April 2 *New Age*, the party organ, that

bourgeois rule in India is in crisis and the Janata Party has failed to stabilize the situation. He even recognizes the need to liberate the masses from the spell of bourgeois politics. He argues that the CPI(M) cannot do this, because its support to the Janata Party helps foster mass illusions in that party.

What is the way out? To Gupta, it lies outside the framework of bourgeois politics—in asserting with even greater weight and force the role of the working class. So far, so good.

But from there onwards the class-collaborationist perspective of the CPI begins to creep in. The role of the working class is not conceived of as the leader of the revolution, but as a "unifier of all democratic classes in a new realignment and in a national democratic upsurge of which the political platform has necessarily to be the unity of the left and democratic forces on the broadest possible scale."

The only merit of Gupta's contribution is that it clearly outlines the current straits of bourgeois democracy in India: "The bourgeois rule has now reached a stage when it cannot guarantee that even the bourgeois parliamentary democracy and the democratic gains which have been made under it are safe. With the aging of bourgeois rule, dangers to democracy have grown and social contradictions sharpened."

The factional struggles in the Janata Party and its relatively poor performance on the socioeconomic level have given rise to serious misgivings among all strata and classes in India. It has failed to stabilize the highly volatile political situation in India, which is characterized by the absence of any national bourgeois political formation and in which the bourgeoisie is confronted with a rising tide of often violent mass and class struggles.

The class initiative, however, still lies with the bourgeoisie. Because of their class collaboration, both Stalinist parties, which together hold the allegiance of the majority of the organized working class movement, have failed to provide an independent proletarian political alternative to the capitalist parties. Those Marxist parties and groups that propagate such a perspective have still to strike firm roots in the ongoing mass and class struggles.

But bourgeois-democracy in India has nevertheless entered a prolonged period of crisis and instability.

August 8, 1978

#### How Optimistic Can You Get?

"Jimmy Carter's idea of a successful presidency is not to have a Vietnam or a Watergate. . . ."—White House adviser quoted by columnist William Safire in the September 5 *International Herald Tribune*.

# Zimbabwe—The Tide Turns Against Smith

By Ernest Harsch

Kayisa Ndiweni, a Black minister of internal affairs in the Rhodesian government, booked a football stadium in Bulawayo, the second largest city in the country. It was to be the scene of one of a series of mass rallies and meetings to whip up support for the coalition regime set up by Prime Minister Ian Smith and several prominent Black figures. On the day of the rally, nine people showed up. Some of them were plainclothes policemen.

In early August, Ndabaningi Sithole, one of the four members of the regime's Executive Council, traveled to the Mrewa Tribal Trust Land for a similar rally. No one came.

For the first time since the guerrilla war against the Smith regime began in 1972, the House of Assembly was adjourned ninety minutes early on June 22 to allow members living in "sensitive" areas to catch the afternoon armed convoys home.

A capacity crowd of 45,000 Blacks attended the Chibuku Trophy soccer match at Rufaro Stadium near Salisbury August 6. During the breaks in the match, Thomas Mapfumo, one of the most popular Black singers in the country, entertained the audience. His repertoire included songs about the plight of refugees from the war zones and about the problems of Africans in the regime's "protected villages." The audience cheered when he sang praises to "those who have died in the bush" fighting against white minority rule. Mapfumo received thunderous applause for his hit song, "Send Your Children to War."

\* \* \*

Ian Smith took a gamble when he signed the March 3 "internal settlement" and brought Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau into the government with him.\* He had hoped that the inclusion of a few Black faces in the regime would undercut the Zimbabwean masses' support for the freedom fighters and allow the retention of white privilege for some time to come. It is now increas-

ingly apparent that Smith has lost his gamble.

Under the impact of a rapidly sharpening struggle for Black majority rule, effective control over significant sections of the countryside has slipped out of the hands of the white supremacists. The morale of the remaining 230,000 whites has plummeted to an all-time low, while at the same time the militancy of the country's 6.7 million Africans has heightened. The white colonial-settler state is now in the most desperate position it has been in since its establishment in 1891.

The reasons for the foundering of the internal settlement are not hard to find. They are rooted in the transparently fraudulent nature of the settlement's promise to achieve Black rule. Although Muzorewa hailed the agreement as the beginning of a "genuine transfer of power from the minority to the majority," its provisions actually sought to entrench white social, political, and economic dominance.

First of all, the coalition regime that was formally established March 21 did virtually nothing to change the white supremacist character of the state. The civil service, the judiciary, the police, and the military forces were untouched. All the major military decisions are made by the War Council, a body composed of five white military and police commanders who are informally answerable to Smith, but not to the Black members of the government.

The coalition regime includes an Executive Council, a supposedly supreme governing body composed of Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau. Since all decisions are to be made by consensus, Smith has veto powers. Below the Executive Council is the Ministerial Council, a cabinet in which the nine portfolios are each shared by a Black and a white minister. The white ministers in effect continue to run the show.

Although the March 3 settlement promises "majority rule" by December 31, it clearly envisaged the maintenance of significant white privileges after that date.

To choose a new Parliament, it projected elections in which whites would have preferential voting rights. Out of the new 100-seat assembly, twenty-eight seats were to be reserved for whites for at least a ten-year period. That would mean that each white vote would carry more than nine times the weight of a Black vote.

The agreement also stipulated certain "entrenched" constitutional provisions

that could not be changed without the approval of seventy-eight members of Parliament, giving the white members effective blocking power. Those provisions included a "guarantee" against deprivation of property unless "adequate compensation is paid promptly," which would preclude any large-scale land reform or rapid nationalization of white-owned business.

Both Muzorewa and Sithole had led significant struggles against white supremacy in the past, but their willingness to go along with such measures—and to present them as big advances for Zimbabweans—represented a betrayal of the struggle for real majority rule.

Smith and his lieutenants were pleased. While explaining the settlement to an April 19 closed meeting of supporters of the Rhodesian Front, the ruling party, Minister of Foreign Affairs P.K. van der Byl stated, "Our advantage now is that whereas we [whites] were alone, we now have the advantage of authentic black nationalists defending our political position."

### Myth vs. Reality

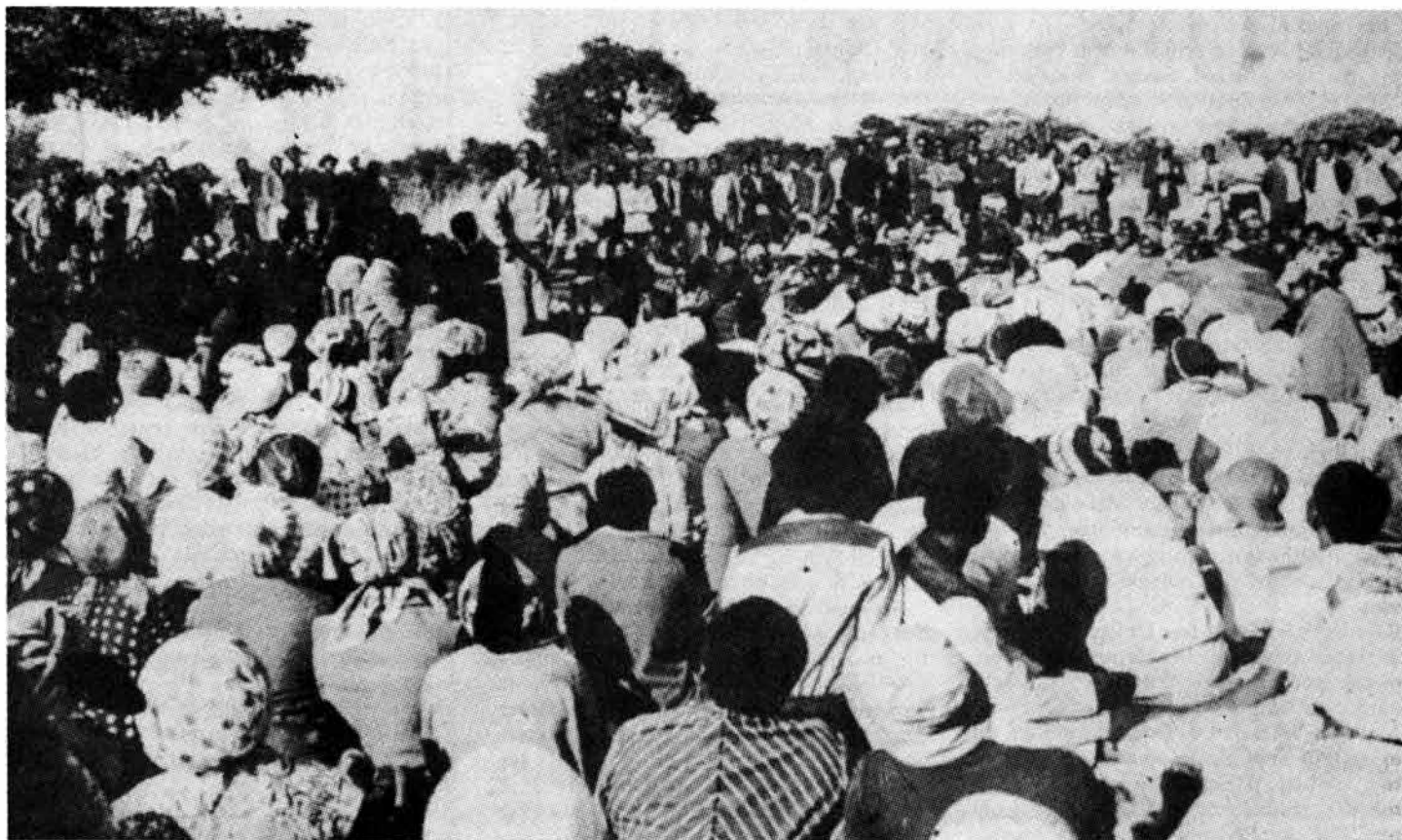
Aside from adopting a partial Black cover, the regime also tried to give the appearance that it was moving away from some of its previous racist policies.

On August 8, it announced that it would henceforth be illegal for whites to bar Blacks from such public facilities as hotels, movies, and swimming pools. Blacks who could afford to were also to be able to open commercial and industrial operations in previously all-white districts.

Yet nothing was done to end racial segregation in schools, hospitals, and housing. Nor has anything been done to end the vast gap between white and Black living standards, the real core of racist rule. Although average earnings for whites, Asians, and Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry) were R\$5,583 in 1976, they were only R\$517 for Africans. More than 80 percent of the urban Black labor force receives incomes below the official poverty level, while most white families can afford African servants. Half of the land in the country is reserved for white occupation, largely by 6,000 white farmers. Yet millions of Africans are crowded into the impoverished reserves, called Tribal Trust Lands.

The regime's real attitude was openly displayed April 28 when it dismissed Byron Hove, a member of Muzorewa's

\*Since Muzorewa and Sithole function openly within the country, and not in exile as some other nationalist leaders do, they have been called the "internal" nationalists. Chirau is a government-paid tribal chief, and unlike Muzorewa and Sithole, has never led any struggles against white rule.



SANA Pix

### ZAPU rally in Seki Tribal Trust Land, near Salisbury, in June 1978.

party, from his post as co-minister of justice. All Hove had done to arouse the ire of his colleagues was to call for preferential hiring of Blacks in the police and judiciary.

The regime also made a big show of its release of some 700 political prisoners and the lifting of the formal bans on the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which are now allied within the Patriotic Front and are engaged in a guerrilla war against the regime.

Yet these moves could do little to cover up the sharp increase in repressive actions against those opposed to the settlement. First of all, before their release, the prisoners were obliged to sign a pledge not to oppose the settlement. Those who refused, including several hundred ZAPU and ZANU supporters, remained in detention.

Though ZAPU and ZANU are now officially legal within the country, their supporters continue to face arrest and other repressive acts. In the two months after the signing of the accord, at least 200 political activists were known to have been detained. The number of political prisoners is now estimated at 1,500. Political trials are still held, and while executions have been suspended for the moment, death sentences are still being passed.

There are also indications that the military is resorting increasingly to the kill-

ing of dissidents in the field, rather than arresting them. One of their victims was George Simbi, the assistant treasurer of the People's Movement (ZANU's internal wing).

Salisbury has also stepped up its campaign of mass terror. Strict curfews have been imposed in a number of the Tribal Trust Lands, some of them lasting twenty-two hours a day. Anyone found outside during curfew is shot on sight. Leaflets dropped over two areas earlier in the year warned that no children would be allowed outside the village at any time "or they will be shot."

According to a report by Godwin Matatu in the May issue of the London monthly *Africa*, "... the war has grown more vicious with the Rhodesian forces putting their Cessna Lynx aircraft, known locally as the 'push-pull,' with its deadly rockets into more use. In some cases they have used 'Frantam,' a local variant of napalm. The victims have been, inevitably, the rural Zimbabweans for the most part."

In the southern parts of the country, tens of thousands of African villagers are being uprooted and forced to move into "protected villages," virtual concentration camps through which the military forces hope to maintain control over the population. On March 28, when a large group of Africans refused to move, Rhodesian troops, backed up by aircraft, attacked,

massacring more than 100 villagers.

On the night of May 14, Rhodesian troops fired into a political rally in Gutu, near Fort Victoria, massacring another 100 Africans. The regime's official version was that fifty Africans were killed in a "crossfire" between troops and guerrillas. A similar excuse was used to justify a third massacre, this time of twenty-two Blacks, at Domboshawa in early June.

In the five months after the signing of the March 3 agreement, 1,787 Blacks were killed in the war, according to official figures. Since the beginning of the guerrilla war in late 1972, the regime has uprooted more than a million Africans, many of them after March 3. Fleeing from Smith's stepped-up terror operations in the reserves, some 500,000 African refugees have drifted into the Black townships around the two major cities, Salisbury and Bulawayo. Tens of thousands more have fled to neighboring countries, especially Mozambique and Zambia. Of the 70,000 Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique, 40 percent arrived since the beginning of the year.

But even those who have fled the country have not been able to escape Smith's repression entirely. Under its policy of "hot pursuit," the racist regime has repeatedly attacked refugee camps in Mozambique, killing some 2,000 Zimbabweans since last year. With the coming into effect

of the internal settlement, the size of these operations has been scaled down, but they have not been halted. Several raids have been made into Zambia, the first just a few days after the agreement was signed. On June 23, Rhodesian forces killed seventeen refugees in the Mozambican province of Manica. And in late July they again struck into Mozambique, claiming to have hit ten guerrilla bases.

### The 'Three Blacksmiths'

Although Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau have little real power in the regime, they nevertheless play a central role in trying to cover up and justify Smith's brutal attacks against the African masses.

At an August 2 news conference in Salisbury, Sithole openly defended the regime's raids into Mozambique, as did Chirau. Although Muzorewa adopted an elusive posture, he refused to condemn them.

During a visit to the United States in July, Muzorewa pleaded for an end to the United Nations-sponsored trade embargo against the Smith regime.

James Chikerema, a veteran nationalist leader and now vice-president of Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC), has been especially apologetic on behalf of the Rhodesian military forces. Dropping earlier demands for the dismantling of the Selous Scouts, an elite commando unit known for carrying out atrocities, he said they only needed to be "reoriented." In April, he warned that those guerrillas who continued to "harass the Government" would be "severely dealt with." Both Muzorewa and Sithole have urged their supporters to join the Rhodesian army.

In a lame attempt to give the appearance that they have some following among the guerrilla forces, Muzorewa and Sithole have paraded young Blacks dressed as guerrillas before the news media. There are indications that the alleged guerrillas are actually unemployed youths recruited for the publicity display. But they may not be totally for show. Both Sithole and Muzorewa are reported to be training their own military wings, possibly in preparation for a future struggle for power with their rivals.

The failure of Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau to rally popular support for the coalition regime has become patently obvious. Just after the signing of the March 3 accord, Muzorewa was still able to rally a crowd of 100,000 Blacks in Salisbury. He has not been able to repeat the performance. Meeting after meeting set up in the townships or in rural areas has flopped in recent months. Either no one has shown up, or the audiences have been markedly cool toward the government speakers. Questions have generally focused on the stepped-up repression and the atrocities committed by the security forces. David

Mukome, a leader of Muzorewa's UANC, has acknowledged the poor turnouts, commenting, "Villagers know in advance that they [the government ministers] have nothing much to report."

The popularity of the Black figures in the government has declined considerably, and many former supporters have shifted their allegiance to those groups still fighting against white minority rule. In the eyes of the rural masses, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau are now identified with Smith's brutal terror campaign. They have earned the nickname of the "three Blacksmiths."

The growing opprobrium toward the "internal" nationalists has caused some dissension within their own organizations.

Disenchantment with Sithole's role has been expressed by members of the Central Committee of his African National Council-Sithole. A number of prominent ANC-S figures have defected.

An important rift in Muzorewa's UANC appeared when a number of leaders called for an emergency congress. On August 3, four leaders of the UANC issued a public statement attacking Muzorewa for betraying the group's fundamental principles. The four dissidents were promptly expelled, as was Byron Hove, the former commissioner of justice.

### The Masses Stir

The basic failure of the March 3 agreement to win any significant Black support has come in the context of a rapidly widening struggle by the Zimbabwean masses.

Thousands of Black youths have left the country to join the freedom fighters. While the guerrilla war is now one of the main forms that the struggle has taken, resistance is also beginning to become more and more generalized among the population as a whole.

Besides giving assistance to the guerrillas, peasants in the rural areas are now frequently refusing to pay taxes to the government.

Nor have the urban masses been passive. On April 2, thousands of persons demonstrated in Mpopoma, a Black township near Bulawayo, to express their opposition to the internal settlement (ZAPU claimed that 75,000 persons participated). Police attacked the demonstration, dispersing it with tear gas. On May 27, according to a Reuters dispatch, ZAPU held another rally in the township of Mabutwen, also near Bulawayo, attracting 50,000 persons. Amid cheers, ZAPU leader Josiah Chinamano denounced the white regime "with Black faces."

In response to the killing by Rhodesian security forces of Mrs. Tamangani, an organizer of ZAPU's internal wing in the Sinoia area, some 100,000 persons attended her funeral in April, according to a report in the June-July issue of the New

York journal *Southern Africa*.

In Salisbury, Black students from the University of Rhodesia held two public demonstrations April 24-25 to protest the internal settlement. They expressed their support for the Patriotic Front, carried banners reading "Down with the sell-out pseudo agreement," and condemned Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau. During the second demonstration, nearly eighty students were arrested and sentenced to suspended jail terms. The crackdown was protested through a boycott of classes by most of the 1,300 Black students at the university.

Encouraged by the political ferment, Black workers have also begun to press their demands. In late July, more than 500 Black employees of the Rhodesian Chrome Mines went on a two-day strike to express their dissatisfaction with a limited pay hike. A little more than two weeks later, on August 14, the entire African work force at the Mangula mine, the largest copper mine in the country, went on strike for higher wages. The next day, about 3,000 strikers rallied outside the mine offices. Police fired into the crowd, killing four workers and wounding at least five others. Mine officials blamed the strike on political unrest in the area.

The mounting sentiment against the regime has even prompted some of the traditionally more conservative sections of the Black population to express a degree of defiance. Four Black members of the Rhodesian Parliament have drawn up a statement opposing the internal settlement and urging negotiations with the Patriotic Front.

### Smith's Losing War

Despite the Rhodesian military's experience, training, and armed might, its grip over the countryside has begun to weaken seriously. Though still greatly outnumbered and outgunned, the guerrilla forces, with the support of the rural population behind them, have been able to establish some influence over large areas.

There are now estimated to be 6,000 active guerrillas within the country. The majority of them belong to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the military wing of ZANU, and operate in a wide arc along the eastern border with Mozambique, where their bases are located. The rest belong to the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), ZAPU's military wing, and are active in the west.

Both ZAPU and ZANU carry out political activities in the areas under their respective influence—ZAPU organizing rallies in its traditional stronghold in the west and to an extent elsewhere, and ZANU holding frequent meetings with villagers in the east. Josiah Tongogara, the commander of ZANLA, claims that ZANU has 15,000 activists in the country,

many of them functioning as heads of village committees and in other political capacities.

While the guerrillas previously operated in small bands, staging hit-and-run attacks against vulnerable targets, they are now exhibiting greater confidence and are moving in larger groups, sometimes of up to 100.

Government troops have in effect conceded at least six of the Tribal Trust Lands to the guerrillas and no longer send regular patrols through them. If they enter at all, it is only in force. The Maranke Tribal Trust Land in the east, with a population of 80,000, has become an especially strong base for the guerrillas. An estimated two-thirds of the rural areas are now combat zones. A few guerrilla actions have been carried out in Salisbury itself.

Civil administration in the countryside is breaking down. According to a report by Michael T. Kaufman in the July 10 *New York Times*, "More than half the local councils, which are the smallest unit of authority in the black rural areas, are inoperative, no longer running schools, clinics and cattle-immunization programs or collecting taxes. The members have quit, either intimidated or convinced by the guerrillas."

James Wilkie, Africa secretary for the British Council of Churches, described the situation he witnessed in a report in the July 24 *London Times*. In the eastern areas under ZANU's sway, he said, "There are stories of schools being reopened on the orders of the guerrillas, and of the encouragement of local agriculture so that the people are saved from starvation."

In the western areas where ZAPU is based, "... nothing operates, neither schools, nor district offices, nor dip-tanks, nor stores. Bus services run by permission of the guerrillas on certain days only, and the population is closely controlled."

For the regime, the costs of fighting the war are becoming staggering. Military expenditures now run at about \$1.3 million a day, and absorb more than a quarter of the regime's total budget. Rhodesia's capitalist economy, moreover, is slowing to a crawl, with its gross national product having dropped 10 percent during 1976 and 1977.

White morale is also breaking down. According to Wilkie, "I did not meet one white Rhodesian who believed the battle could be won on the present terms." Increasing numbers of whites, fearful of losing their privileges or unwilling to live under a Black regime, are taking the "chicken run," that is, emigrating elsewhere, many of them to South Africa or Britain. Over the past two years, 40,000 to 50,000 whites have left. All outgoing flights are booked solid through the end of the year.

While the exodus of whites has not yet reached panic proportions, it is seriously

sapping the regime's only real base of support and is making further white conscription into the military difficult. Smith made a personal television plea August 20, calling on whites to stay at least a few more months.

### The Patriotic Front

As the main organized force now opposed to the white minority regime, the Patriotic Front has reaped most of the benefits of the upsurge, recruiting thousands of new adherents.

Yet neither ZAPU nor ZANU has advanced a program or a strategy of action that is capable of fully mobilizing the Zimbabwean population against all aspects of their oppression and of truly freeing Zimbabwe from imperialist domination. They are essentially nationalist organizations and do not have a perspective of carrying through a socialist revolution.

Both Nkomo and Mugabe have participated in past negotiations organized by the imperialists with the aim of establishing a Black neocolonial regime. Both have made appeals to the British imperialists to intervene more forcefully on their behalf, and have agreed to an American and British proposal that United Nations troops be sent to Zimbabwe during a "transitional" period to Black rule. Nkomo in particular has close ties with imperialist interests, as well as with the pro-Western regime in Zambia.

Given their political orientation, the Patriotic Front leaders have generally sought to control the upsurge by channeling it into the guerrilla campaign, which has been used as a pressure mechanism to try to force Smith into negotiations. Aside from the ZAPU demonstrations in Bulawayo, they have not tried to mobilize the urban population in any way that could likely escape their control.

The leaders of the Patriotic Front fear the potential power of the ongoing struggle. They fear that as the Black masses mobilize against their national and class oppression, they will throw up more radical leaderships and raise demands that challenge the perspective of a neocolonial state. In his own way, Josiah Chinamano, one of the main ZAPU leaders, recognized this dynamic, stating that "if the war is prolonged, the next rulers of Zimbabwe will not be the Mugabes or Nkomos and Chinamanos. Authority will pass to the young men with the guns, and all of us will dance to their tune."

To avoid such a possibility, the leaders of the Patriotic Front would prefer a negotiated settlement—but on terms that would not seriously damage their credibility. Nkomo and Mugabe are under considerable pressure from their followers, and realize that they cannot make the same kinds of concessions as Muzorewa and Sithole did without also risking their politi-

cal futures. So far, the main obstacle to such a negotiated agreement has been Smith's continued refusal to hand over real political power to a Black regime, even to a neocolonial one.

In spite of the political shortcomings of the various nationalist leaders, the Zimbabwean masses are moving into action on a greater scale than ever before. It is their struggle against white supremacy and all forms of class exploitation that revolutionists support unconditionally, no matter what the character of the immediate leadership. Insofar as ZAPU and ZANU—or any other groups for that matter—are actively engaged in the liberation struggle, they must be supported against the white racist regime.

### Imperialist 'Rescue' Mission?

It is the mobilization of the Zimbabwean masses that the imperialists fear above all. If Washington and London are unsuccessful in installing a Black neocolonial regime willing and able to protect Western interests, their stakes in all of southern Africa could be put in jeopardy, especially their billions of dollars in investments and their substantial political interests in neighboring South Africa.

As long as the conflict in Zimbabwe continues, a massive revolutionary upsurge of the Zimbabwean workers and peasants remains an immediate possibility. The first signs of it are already on the horizon.

The imperialists likewise fear that as the war escalates, Cuba's anti-imperialist fighters could become involved, giving a further spur to the African revolution (Nkomo has revealed that Cubans are already helping to train his forces).

For the past few years, the major imperialist powers, especially London and Washington, have been trying to head off a massive social explosion by pressing for a negotiated transfer of power to a "reliable" Black regime. So far, all their attempts have failed.

With the obvious weakening of Smith's hold, London and Washington are redoubling their efforts to retain some control over the situation. Another "round-table" conference including Smith and all the nationalist factions has been proposed. The so-called front-line states (Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola), now reinforced by Nigerian diplomacy, have also been trying to arrange such a conference, putting some pressure on the Patriotic Front leaders to adopt a more "moderate" stance.

Smith acknowledged on September 2 that he had met secretly with Nkomo in Zambia three weeks earlier for "exploratory" talks. Nkomo claimed that Smith had offered to hand over power to the Patriotic Front, a claim that Smith emphatically denied. But whatever was actually discussed, the very fact that the meet-

ing took place at all marked a tacit admission by Smith that his internal settlement was in desperate straits.

Whether the Patriotic Front, or a segment of it, manages to hammer out a deal with Smith remains to be seen. Even if it does, the prospects for a "smooth" transition of power to a neocolonial regime are not necessarily assured, given the increasing militancy of the Black masses.

The imperialists themselves have not displayed much confidence in such an outcome. In fact, they have already begun laying plans for possible military intervention should that become necessary to protect their interests.

British Foreign Secretary David Owen announced June 15 that a British battalion had been placed on standby alert for possible intervention in Zimbabwe. Using a justification similar to that employed during the French-Belgian-American-British aggression in May against rebel forces in Zaïre, Owen claimed that the purpose of the intervention would be to "rescue" whites and Blacks in the event of a breakdown of "law and order." At the same time, he alluded to other considerations, warning the Cubans that it would be ominous if their troops became involved in the conflicts in Zimbabwe or Namibia.

*New York Times* correspondent Roy Reed reported in the August 8 issue that similar "rescue" plans were under discussion in Washington as well.

Reed continued, "There is also the feeling that South Africa would probably start a rescue operation on its own, with whatever troops it thought necessary, should white Rhodesians be seriously threatened."

There are some reports that South African forces have, in fact, already begun to intervene. In December 1977, officials in Mozambique charged that South African Mirage jet fighters, flying from bases in South Africa, were involved in the Rhodesian bombing raids against Zimbabwean refugee camps in Mozambique. South African police are also reported to be operating in southern Zimbabwe, and Mugabe has claimed that his forces have on occasion clashed with them.

Whatever guise direct imperialist intervention in Zimbabwe might take, it would represent an extreme threat to the advancing liberation struggle. All supporters of the fight for freedom in southern Africa must be on the alert and ready to move into action to oppose any form of imperialist aggression in Zimbabwe—or elsewhere in Africa. □

### A Natural for the Job

Pope John-Paul I, the new vicar of Rome, opposes birth control, abortion, and divorce, as well as "those Catholics who talk much of pluralism and demand unlimited freedom of political choice."

## Portuguese Parliament Protests Arrests

## Socialists Still Jailed in Brazil

As of September 6, thirty persons had joined a hunger strike begun five days earlier at the Pontifical Catholic University in São Paulo. The hunger strikers are demanding the release of ten persons arrested August 22 by the Brazilian political police. A second hunger strike was initiated in Rio de Janeiro on September 6 by five persons, including the brother of one of the prisoners and representatives from student organizations.

The ten political prisoners include eight activists from the Brazilian organization Socialist Convergence and two Argentine citizens. All are being held on charges of violating Article 14 of the National Security Law, which prohibits the formation of political parties deemed "subversive."

Twelve other persons arrested August 22 have been released. These include Portuguese socialist Antonio Maria Sá Leal, who was deported from Brazil September 6 on direct orders from President Ernesto Geisel.

Geisel acted after the Assembly of the Republic of Portugal (the national parliament) passed a motion condemning the "arbitrary and unjustified detention" of Sá Leal and Argentine citizens Hugo Bressano and Rita Strasberg.

"In the case of Antonio Sá Leal," the motion read, "we consider his imprisonment completely intolerable. He is a Portuguese citizen and political leader who is not persecuted for his political beliefs in Portugal. Neither should he be persecuted, under dubious and nonexistent pretexts, in a country with which Portugal maintains diplomatic relations." Earlier, sixty members of the parliament had sent Geisel a telegram demanding Sá Leal's release.

Street demonstrations and student rallies in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro protested the arrests soon after they occurred. Another demonstration was held in Porto Alegre in southern Brazil on September 5, but was broken up by police on the pretext that no permit for it had been issued.

Socialist Convergence was founded in January of this year. Its aim is to organize a new socialist party in Brazil. To that end, it has been holding public meetings and helping to produce a supplement to the legal monthly newspaper *Versus* called *Convergência Socialista*.

"This case has nothing to do with the National Security Law," says attorney Idibal Riveta, who is defending the imprisoned activists. Socialist Convergence, Riveta says, has "been trying, in a public way, to organize a party in accord with Brazilian law—holding public assemblies

and gathering funds to pay for the necessary proclamations in the newspapers of seven states so as to begin collecting signatures" (*Jornal do Brasil*, August 31).

Six other Socialist Convergence activists were arrested in mid-July; so far as is known, they too are still being held. They are: Mário Gonçalves, Beliza Maria Gonçalves, Vera Lúcia, Alcides Bartolomeu de Faria, Flávio Lúcio de Faria, and Edilson.

The ten persons arrested August 22 who remain in jail in São Paulo are Waldo Mermelstein, Aldo Schreiner, Maria José da Silva Lourenço, Bernardo Viana Marques Cerdeira, Oscar Itiro Kudo, José Aziz Cretton, Maria Gerbi Veiga, Edson Silva Coelho, and the Argentines Hugo Bressano and Rita Strasberg.

Also still being held is high-school student Ronaldo Eduardo de Almeida. He was kidnapped in Rio de Janeiro August 23 and later turned up as a prisoner of the political police in São Paulo. Socialist activist Marcos Faria de Azevedo was captured along with de Almeida, but was released by the cops on September 1 and subsequently joined the hunger strike in Rio.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has issued an appeal on behalf of all these victims of the Geisel regime's political repression. USLA urges that letters and telegrams demanding their immediate release be sent to Brazilian embassies or to President Ernesto Geisel, Palacio Presidencial, Brasília, Brazil.

Please send copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

### Pollution: a Major Killer

Pollution of the environment "may now be a major cause of death in the United States," according to a federal government report released August 26 by the Environmental Protection Agency.

"Cancer, heart and lung disease, accounting for 12 percent of deaths in 1900 and 38 percent in 1940, were the cause of 59 percent of all deaths in 1976," the report said.

"Growing evidence links much of the occurrence of these diseases to the nature of the environment."

The report noted that although one American in five now dies of cancer, only 6,000 of the 100,000 chemical compounds known to be poisonous have been tested for their cancer-causing potential.