

Crisis in Haiti and the Tasks of Revolutionaries

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Haiti is in the midst of the greatest crisis in its history. The class struggle has taken an unprecedented turn, where all the centuries-old contradictions of Haitian society are tied into a knot and ready for political resolution. In this national historic juncture, in this revolutionary situation, all the classes are in motion, contending among themselves and trying to resolve the contradictions in their own class interest.

In this revolutionary period society is divided into two big camps: those who are fighting to maintain the existing structure, and thereby continue the centuries-old exploitation, oppression, misery and suffering of the masses, and those whose interests dictate that the defenders of the status quo be overthrown and the present structure dismantled and replaced by one that would serve their own class interests. Both of these camps, i.e., the camp of reaction and the camp of revolution, are further subdivided into two. In the camp of reaction there are the hardliners who claim that the only way to crush the masses' struggle is with violence, and there are those who maintain that while violence is necessary, deception, i.e., petty reform, is also a powerful weapon.

The camp of revolution is also divided into two groups. The bourgeois democrats and some petit bourgeois sectors who want some

partial transformation of the present order try to change things from above. But there are also the oppressed masses, i.e., the proletariat, the peasantry, the impoverished sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the classes that suffer the most under the existing order. Their interests lie in a total transformation of society: not reform and cosmetic changes instituted from above, but a thoroughgoing new democratic revolution from below, led by the proletariat, in which the reactionary forces are violently overthrown.

The Masses are the Makers of History

In the past three months the oppressed masses of Haiti not only made history, they changed history. They have stood up against the reactionary hereditary dictatorship of Baby Doc's regime, the foremost representative of the ruling class and the imperialists which have ruled over and oppressed them for almost thirty years. They forced that regime out of power and forced Baby to flee the country. The masses forced this reactionary out exactly in the period when the regime stepped up its repression against them and when the regime was claiming that it was "firm as a monkey's tail." The masses through their struggle have proven to the reactionaries how weak they are and that even with all their oppression and violence their

system is vulnerable. They stood up and broke up that firm monkey tail that Duvalier was bragging about, thus forcing the imperialists and the ruling class to remove the lackey Duvalier from the comfort of the national palace and sending him into exile, to be replaced by a military-civilian junta. The imperialists and ruling class were forced to make that move in order to cut their losses short, and to deceive the masses, but the masses were not deceived and have continued to wage battles against this rubber stamp Duvalierist junta put in place by the reactionaries to continue the "fine job" of repressing the masses that Duvalier and his cronies have done so well for the past twenty-nine years.

An Historical Crossroad

In this national historic juncture, Haiti is at a crossroads, where two paths are wide open before the Haitian Revolution. One is the path of the past, the old path of continued exploitation, oppression, suffering, starvation, mass murder of infants and ignorance... this is the path promised by the imperialists and the Haitian ruling class. The other, the path of the future, the path of revolution, is one of quick amputation of the decaying and gangrenous parts of the national organism. This path could put an end once and for all to all the suffering, misery, ex-

plotation, oppression, starvation and ignorance of the masses.

Thus it is obvious that the stakes are high for both the reactionary class and the revolutionary masses. It is this necessity that is forcing the imperialists and their national lackeys to frantically try to manoeuvre their way out of this crisis. The reactionaries are now on the defensive, they are trying to quickly recover from the blow they received from the masses' struggle. Now they are in the process of regrouping their reactionary troops for a counter-attack. For this attack they are calling on and are aligning all the compradors and aspiring compradors. They are calling on all their quacks and charlatans in order to perform micro-surgery on the monkey whose tail was broken by the masses' struggle so as to quickly restore the monkey's tail, strengthen the monkey and keep that monkey on the backs of the masses.

But the mass demonstrations and other actions against the civilian-military junta show clearly that the oppressed masses are tired of carrying this monkey on their back. On the contrary, they are trying through their struggle to throw the dead weight of the monkey off their back and to slaughter it. The masses need a revolutionary transformation of the existing order, the overthrow of the ruling class, the dismantling of the neocolonial structure and an end to the imperialist domination of the country.

Is This Task Possible at the Present Moment?

This task is definitely possible in this juncture. But the existing revolutionary situation, i.e., the weaknesses of the reactionaries in trying to control the situation and the intensifying of the masses' struggle, left to itself will not lead to revolutionary transformation and seizure of power by the oppressed masses. The one thing that could lead that process, i.e., the party of the proletariat and the leadership of the proletariat in those struggles, does not exist right now.

It is true that the proletariat and its allies — the peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie, the youth and other revolutionary elements — are in the



Masses topple statue of Duvalier.



Mausoleum of 'Papa Doc' Duvalier.

field and are waging struggle against Duvalierism and the whole reactionary order. It is also true that the proletariat and the other revolutionary forces are part of the forces demanding democratic rights and political liberty. But it is also true that the proletariat — which, along with its allies, is the only class force that can unreservedly carry the struggle through — doesn't have its independent party, program, banner and flag in the field. Therefore the proletariat and its allies now are marching behind the banner and flags of other class forces, whose interests prevent them from carrying through all the way the struggle against Duvalierism and for new democratic transformation.

Thus, in this period of unprecedented revolutionary opportunity, there is also the danger that the struggle of the masses could be usurped by pro-imperialist deceivers and reformists who are contending for the leadership of these struggles and who are trying to resolve the contradictions from above. To prevent that from happening the party of the proletariat must be built now, and the task of all Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries is to work to build this party soon, in order to put forward a program for revolution, begin the people's war that the proletariat and its allies must wage to overthrow their class enemies, seize power and establish a people's democratic dictatorship over the reactionary classes. But in order to accomplish these necessary tasks the party of the proletariat has to be built. As Mao Tsetung, the leader of the Chinese Revolution, summed up: "If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." Thus it is of utmost importance that all Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, and all patriots who would like to see a revolution in the interests of the proletariat, come forward to take responsibility to build the party of the proletariat and lead its struggle

and that of its allies to victory.

This revolutionary period has created unprecedented opportunities to build the party of the proletariat. Because we are at a historical turning point in the history of the Haitian revolutionary movement, where millions are in the street waging struggle against the old reactionary order, many new phenomena and new forces are emerging and coming forward. These fresh forces are boldly stepping on to the stage of history, wanting to assault heaven and at the same time are questioning both heaven and hell. There is a strong desire among these new forces to overthrow the old, transform the world and bring about the new. This new life is a source of vitality that is strengthening and invigorating the revolutionary movement. Consequently the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, the old movement people, the dispersed revolutionary forces, suddenly confront new challenges and new tasks. We are faced with two options: either rise to the challenge, i.e., present a revolutionary alternative that can channel these new forces for revolution, or remain in our present stage of small dispersed circles, conducting local and amateurish work that history will certainly leave behind.

Thus, in order for the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries to rise to the new tasks and challenges of seizing the revolutionary situation and leading the new revolutionary forces to make revolution, they must first change their methods of work, their orientation and vision. Second, they must develop a clear understanding of what is taking place right now, and the different forces that are contending for power. Third, based on this understanding, they must formulate a program for a party that could lead the struggle of the masses into a thoroughgoing revolution. Fourth, they must develop and put forward a strategic and tactical plan corresponding to the stage of the struggle and the revolution. In order to do these things the revolutionaries cannot simply resort to ready-made formulas; we must instead proceed from concrete analysis of the existing conditions of crisis in our society.

The Concrete and Existing Conditions in Haiti Today

A crisis exists that lays bare all the decaying parts of society. This crisis dwarfs all the preceding crises that took place in this century, both in intensity and in scope. No preceding crisis has so threatened the status quo, the neocolonial structure and the ruling class. This crisis has many features that differentiate it from the preceding ones.

For one, it is taking place in a pre-war period where the imperialists are trying to consolidate their war bloc. Because of Haiti's strategic position, the U.S. imperialists who dominate Haiti are worried to death and are trying their best to manage and control this crisis. Further, the Haitian ruling class, which has maintained "stability" for the past 29 years through a fascistic and oppressive dictatorship that violently crushed every dissent and discontent of the masses, is losing control of the situation and is forced into a defensive position. Never before in this century have the oppressed in the entire country stood up to challenge the reactionary rule. And since the imperialists are in a pre-war situation, their options and freedom are limited. Thus the imperialists are in a weaker position than they were in the 1910-1915 period when they were emerging as a new imperialist power, and were converting the countries of the Americas into neocolonies, or than they were in 1946 when they had just emerged victorious in World War II and were organizing capital internationally, or even in 1956-57 when they were strong enough to resolve the crisis in their favour.

Furthermore, this sets the context for the severe crisis racking Haitian society. During the past two decades tremendous changes have taken place in Haiti. Imperialism has further penetrated and changed the economic and political features of the country, in both city and countryside. In fact, Haiti has become almost a laboratory for experiments for the imperialists. They have set up "free trade zones," where a lot of labour-intensive factories financed by foreign capital (in league with some Haitian capitalists) employ mostly women at very low wages,

and repatriate both profits and products back to the U.S. and other imperialist countries. Major imperialist organizations like the U.N., the World Bank, the I.M.F., the International Development Bank, the U.S.A.I.D., A.C.D.I., etc., have all invested heavily in building new ports, hydroelectric dams, primary roads and so on to better serve them in exploiting Haiti. These changes — the construction of roads, etc., in the countryside and the proliferation of sweatshops in Port-au-Prince — have resulted in further disarticulation and distortion of Haiti's economy and has led to the dispossession of thousands and thousands of peasants from their lands. This has created a double migration: both an internal migration from the countryside to the main cities as well as an external migration to other Caribbean islands and to North America.

For a while this external migration acted as a safety valve, alleviating the internal situation. But during the 1980's, under the Caribbean Basin Initiative of the Reagan Administration, two factors have further exacerbated the crisis: first, the emphasis on export-oriented development in the countryside which, along with the wanton destruction of almost the entire pig industry of the peasantry and its replacement by big capitalist pig farms, has led to even greater and more intense dispossession and land robbery; and second, the imperialists have closed the safety valve, virtually stopping peasants from leaving Haiti. On top of that, the I.M.F. has imposed an austerity plan that forced the government to raise the price of staple food, to ration gasoline and to deny the masses their very means of livelihood. Couple all that with the fascist regime of Duvalier stepping up its repression, and Haiti blew up like a pressure cooker, right in the face of imperialism and its lackeys.

So these factors, both external and internal, differentiate the present crisis from the preceding ones.

Brief Elaboration on the Previous Crises

The first revolutionary situation that developed in Haiti in this century

took place in the period of 1910-1915. During that period the landless peasants in northern Haiti were waging armed struggle against the landlords and the different reactionary governments representing that class. The peasants' struggle put the entire feudal system that emerged after the 1804 Independence War in jeopardy, thus forcing the U.S. imperialists to intervene militarily to crush the peasant masses, disarm them, and turn Haiti into a neocolony. They set up a state apparatus, including the army, police and justice laws, and consolidated the comprador bourgeois class to guard and maintain the new neocolonial structure and to defend the interests of the entire Haitian ruling class, including the archaic and reactionary feudal class that the peasants had fought to overthrow.

Even though a revolutionary situation existed in that period and the peasant masses fought the reactionaries arms in hand, they still could not take advantage of the revolutionary situation and transform it into a victorious revolution. All this struggle led to was some reforms, to mere change in the government, mere replacement of the reactionaries running the state for other ones. As a matter of historical fact their struggle couldn't lead to anything better than that because, as Mao said in talking about the Chinese peasants, the peasants have fought for centuries for their rights, but not until the advent of the proletariat and its party could the struggle of the peasants be successful. In the Haitian context of the 1910-1915 period we could say that one of the reasons the ruling class and the imperialists were able to crush that struggle and control the revolutionary situation was exactly the absence of the proletariat and its party, as well as the previously mentioned stronger position of U.S. imperialism at the time.

In 1946 another crisis unfolded. The then president Lescot, a mulatto comprador, wanted to remain in power after his term expired. A constitutional crisis developed that turned into a mass struggle. This struggle prompted the military to stage a coup to force Lescot from office, and a junta took power. The masses,

especially those in the capital, actively took up the struggle against Lescot, whom they viewed as a dictator. But there were also sections of the ruling class, and aspiring compradors from the petit bourgeoisie who were excluded by the mulatto sector of the ruling class, who were active. These forces were able to rally the masses behind their flag, banner and reactionary program. They purposely set out to deceive the masses by reducing the struggle against Lescot to a pigmentation struggle, i.e., dark-skinned Haitians against mulattos. Their main slogan was "Black power" (a slogan also later used by Duvalier in 1957), and with this reactionary slogan they rallied a major sector of the proletariat and the masses behind their banner, and thus diverted the masses' struggle by blurring its class content (and by concealing their own contradictions with the comprador section in power represented by Lescot).

It is worth noting also that different from the preceding crisis there was a small but emerging proletariat and there were two so-called "communist" parties in the field — the P.S.P. (Parti Socialiste Populaire) and the P.C.H. (Parti Communiste Haitien). These parties, though in word they claimed to be the parties of the proletariat, in deed were petit bourgeois parties that promoted reform, class collaboration and electoralism. In this sense their line made them like the other bourgeois parties in the field. They ended up deserting the cause of the proletarian revolution and delivering the proletariat and its allies to the bourgeoisie.

In 1956-57 another crisis developed. For approximately a year different pro-imperialist representatives of various sectors of the ruling class violently contended among themselves for power. During that period several military juntas assumed power and slaughtered thousands of Haitians under the cover of maintaining law and order. During that period the split in the ranks of the ruling class reached a critical level and the army which was supposed to be neutral was divided to the point where partisans of the different candidates within the army had a brief

bout of civil war.

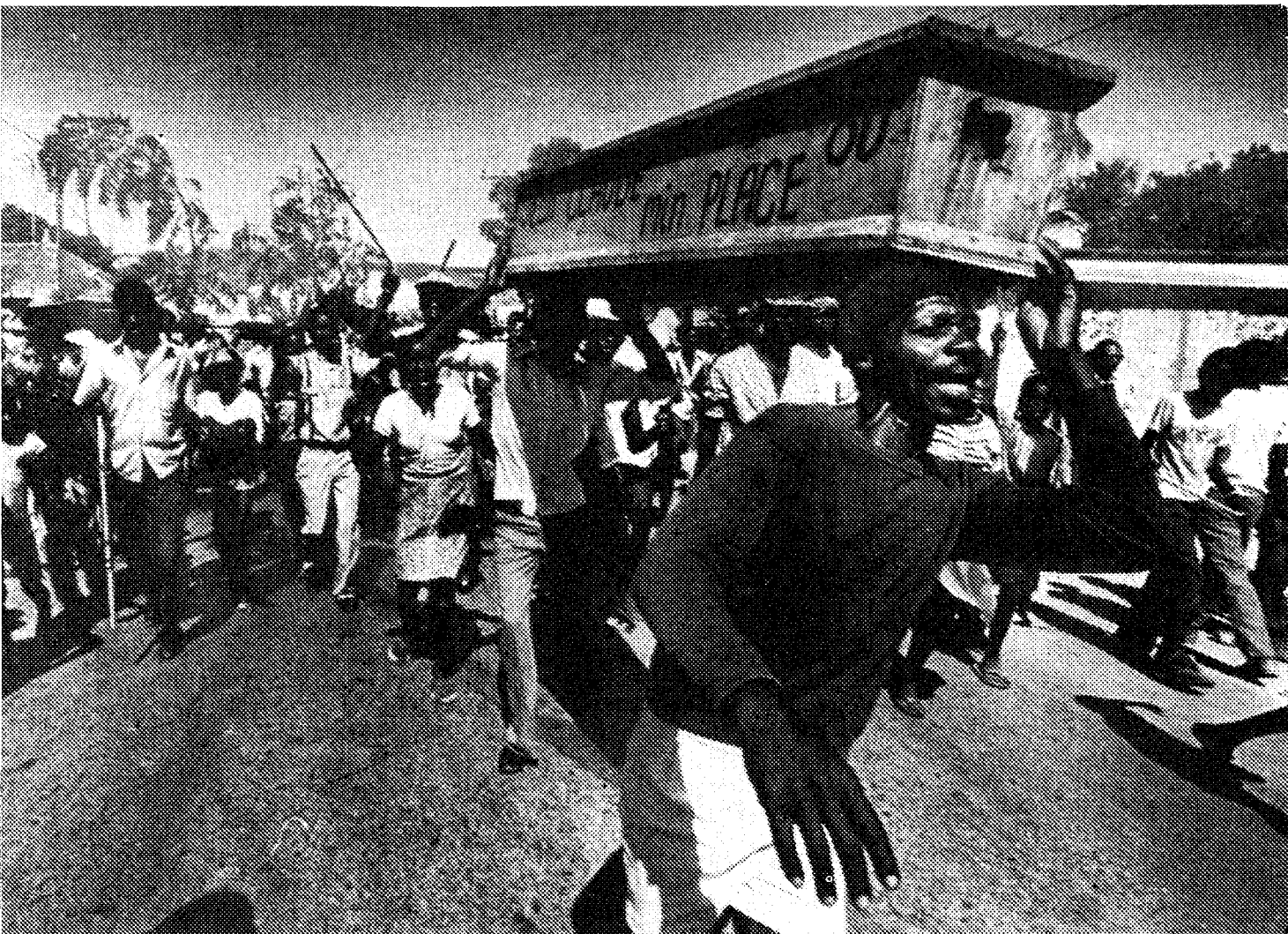
Once again the proletariat and its allies were in the field and actively waging struggle, but again had no political leadership, no party. Things were left wide open for the reactionaries to rally the masses behind their banners and programs, and once again the ruling class used

portunity. Thus the ruling class was able to control the situation and consolidate their dictatorship over the masses. They were able to consolidate their reactionary order not because they were strong but because the revolutionary forces were weak, and absent from the field.

mulated and outlined his "two elites" theory, which was a call for reconciliation among the rulers.

Duvalierism: Extremist Measures for a Period of Crisis

What is Duvalierism? Duvalierism is a specific form that the dictatorship of the ruling class took in a crisis



March in Port-au-Prince. Writing on coffin says, 'My place is here,' quoting Duvalier.

the question of color and pigmentation as a major rallying point.

The fratricidal war that the ruling class was waging among themselves had opened up a lot of cracks and fissures through which a thoroughgoing revolutionary struggle of the masses could erupt, but lack of a revolutionary party and program to lead the oppressed to wage that struggle made the proletariat lose this revolutionary op-

Duvalier came out on top in that struggle with the help of the CIA and the army. Duvalier was exactly the man they needed in this period of indecision and crisis. As soon as he took office he outlined his program based on the doctrine of Duvalierism, and to reassure the imperialists and the Haitian ruling class that he was their man, he proclaimed that he wanted Haiti to be a second Puerto Rico. He also for-

situation. It is a fascistic ideology and use of fascistic methods to crush the oppressed masses into submission. This dictatorship serves the interests of the entire ruling class and their imperialist backers.

Duvalierism was a method developed by the reactionary classes to crush all forms of dissent among the proletariat, the peasantry and other oppressed sectors of Haitian society. With sheer terror and nak-

ed oppression the ruling class robbed the Haitian masses of all the basic democratic and human rights they had formerly won through their struggle; with the use of their death squads, better known as the Tonton Macoutes, they destroyed all the mass organizations.

Duvalier created the Macoutes, but it was the USA, Israel and other reactionary imperialist states that trained and armed them. They were created to maintain the status quo and to protect the interests of the propertied classes. The entire Haitian ruling class and all the imperialists benefited from their terror and crime.

Under Duvalier and Duvalierism it is not only Duvalier and his cronies that plundered the resources of the country. Haiti was a paradise for the ruling class as a whole and their imperialist masters. While Duvalierism turned Haiti into a living hell for the masses, it allowed the entire ruling class to exploit the masses with absolute freedom; it allowed the compradors to accumulate millions on the backs of the masses; it allowed the landlord class to rob the peasants to the point of starvation, to dispossess millions from their land with impunity; it opened the country to the imperialist sweatshops and allowed them to exploit the masses for a daily wage of \$2.64 or less, and for them to then freely repatriate the surplus value; it allowed imperialist agro-industry to penetrate the countryside; it allowed the USAID to slaughter all the peasants' pigs in order to establish eight big capitalist-style piggeries; it dispossessed peasants from the most fertile land in the country in order to provide the imperialist sweatshops in Port-au-Prince with electrical power; it allowed thousands of unemployed, landless and starving peasants to be employed by the imperialist infrastructural companies for a miserable bowl of food. Duvalierism gave USAID, the World Bank, the IMF and other imperialist institutions so much freedom to implement their austerity plans that the IMF complimented Haiti as "a textbook example of how an austerity plan should be implemented." It also enabled an army of petit bourgeois bureaucrats to live as parasites by

plundering the country's treasure and milking the masses dry.

The most valuable service of Duvalierism to the reactionary classes is that with its repressive apparatus, its instruments of torture, the army, the dungeons... it held the masses hostage, terrorized them, forced them to live in a miserable and exploitative situation for 29 years — 29 years of "stability and peace" for the imperialists and the Haitian ruling class. But the oppressive and terrorist methods utilised by the imperialists and the ruling class to keep the masses down and to maintain stability for so long are running up against their limitations and are now backfiring on the reactionaries. The oppression and terrorist action of the reactionary classes breeds resistance among the masses and now the neocolonial structure the entire ruling class sits on is cracking underneath them.

In that context the struggle of the Haitian masses against the Duvalier family and the Macoutes threatens the neocolonial structure and the ruling class. If the struggle in Haiti now aims at the corrupt regime of Duvalier and the Macoutes, it is because these were and are the most visible targets and the foremost representatives of the entire reactionary order and classes. But in essence the struggle is a class struggle that will soon go beyond the most visible target to include all the reactionaries.

The imperialists and the Haitian ruling class are aware of that, and that is why they are frantically trying to put the lid on the struggle of the masses and to distance themselves from Duvalier. A clear example of this tactic appeared in a Miami *Herald* article where a spokesman for the Reagan Administration claimed that "Duvalier was the only object of dissension which is very rare in the region, he was the only one they hated." All this is wishful imperialist thinking; in reality this is not so, and the masses are systematically hunting down Macoutes, cutting off their heads, setting up people's tribunals to try Macoutes, burning their houses, demanding that all Macoutes be kicked out of the interim government, etc. It is clear that

the imperialists wish to limit the masses' struggle to Duvalier alone, but this time it won't work. Even the junta they put in place to replace Duvalier, which the masses call a photocopy of Duvalier, is under fire now as it begins to show its true, i.e., its violent and reactionary nature. It is clear that the forces of reaction are on the defensive and they are trying to manoeuvre to control the struggle of the masses. But this time their chances are slim because the masses are more and more identifying them as the class enemy, as accomplices of Duvalier and upholders of Duvalierism.

The Struggle Between Two Orientations in the Camp of the Opposition

In the camp of the revolution there are two orientations: the orientation of the bourgeois democrats and other petit bourgeois forces who want to bring about reform from above, and the orientation of the proletariat and its allies, who want to bring about a revolutionary transformation of the entire society from below.

Even petit bourgeois and bourgeois democrats are now calling on Namphy and the military junta to eliminate all Duvalierists from the military and the government, to dissolve the Macoutes, to lift the state of siege, to eliminate the torture chambers and torture instruments, to try corrupt officials, to eliminate entry and exit visas for all Haitians, etc.

These demands should be supported and upheld by all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, regardless of the classes that are calling for them. Even if these demands come from bourgeois democrats and petit bourgeois forces, they are genuine democratic rights that would benefit the proletariat and other oppressed masses and they are correct demands for the stage of the struggle and revolution that has to be waged in Haiti, i.e., a new democratic revolution.

Although we support every just democratic demand of the masses in this period, what we cannot support is the notion that the pro-imperialist junta will truly democratize the country and grant the democratic demands of the masses. In fact what

we have seen is that every concession made by the junta to the masses results from the masses' struggle. A clear example is that to even change the black and red flag of the Duvaliers to the blue and red, the masses have to take to the street. In fact, the reason the junta didn't take the black and red flag down when Duvalier left is because it is their flag also! They have defended it with weapons for the past 29 years. Thus it is obvious that the junta will not on their own grant the democratic demands of the people, although, on the other hand, due to the masses' pressure they would grant *some* of those demands. But even when they grant those demands they are doing it to buy time in order to lull the masses into submission, or for them to be able to recover and regroup their troops to repress the masses. Could anyone imagine the junta eliminating the Macoutes, the Leopards or the entire repressive machinery in place to repress the masses and to protect the interests of the ruling class and the imperialists? To do so would be illogical from the vantage point of class; for the class interests the junta is put in place to defend, it would be suicide! It is for that reason that the junta is sheltering the Macoutes, giving some of them safe passage out of the country and even putting others in army uniforms!

By saying that, we don't mean that the junta is all-powerful. As a matter of fact, regardless of the wishes and aspirations of the junta, they have to objectively deal with the rage and the struggle of the masses, and the fact that they weren't able to let Luc Desyr leave the country is an indication both of their weakness and of the power of the masses' struggle to affect events. It is even conceivable that from the pressure of the masses the junta *may* even put some Macoutes on trial. But the junta is a carbon copy of the Duvalier regime and it will never dismantle the machinery that is put there to keep the masses down and to protect the interests of the imperialists and the Haitian ruling class. The junta, and the bourgeois and the imperialist forces they represent, cannot lead a thoroughgoing revolution against imperialism. Only the pro-

letariat can break imperialism's chains on Haiti, and break up not only the Macoutes, but the entire repressive machinery.

It should also be clear that neither the junta, the various compradors and aspiring compradors who are lining up for the projected electoral farce, the church, nor the bourgeois forces that are now leading the anti-Duvalierism struggle can carry that struggle all the way, i.e., for full democratic rights, the total dismantling of Duvalierism and the establishment of a new-democratic order that fundamentally breaks with imperialism. The proletariat alone can lead those masses, especially the peasantry, who have a genuine interest in driving out imperialism and instituting the new-democratic revolution.

What Should the Tactics of the Revolutionaries Be in this Present Juncture?

In this present juncture we must not remain aloof from the class struggle of the masses. We must not let the bourgeois democrats and other non-proletarian forces have the leadership of the struggle for democratic rights and the struggle to put an end to Duvalierism. We must get right in the midst of this struggle, and contend for its leadership so that it can be pushed further. In this context all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists must support all democratic demands that are beneficial to the oppressed masses, even if these demands are being put forward by bourgeois democrats and other non-proletarian forces. At the same time, we reject and criticize their "from above" or reformist orientation. Also it is our duty to support the initiative of the masses to take matters into their own hands. Thus, we must firmly support Opération Dehouke, and even take part in it, for the struggle to eliminate the Macoutes is a righteous struggle and a revolutionary initiative of the masses. We must also support and promote action such as the people's tribunals that were set up in Gonaives that judged and jailed two hundred Macoutes for crimes committed against the masses. We must support fully the masses when they are dragging the Macoutes away

from their hiding places, and we must support the students who refuse to go back to the rotten school system and instead want to go and teach the masses how to read and write.

Besides supporting the initiative and struggle of the masses, we must keep in mind that these positive steps taken by the masses would not in themselves lead to a revolution. The proletariat and its party (which remains to be built) are not leading the class struggle right now, and if the proletariat does not lead it other classes will, and these forces are already trying to restrain the masses. Some are already saying to the masses that their actions are terrible, they are already calling for calm and an end to the bloodshed, etc. They are telling the masses that the Macoutes, the ruling class and the repressive forces are their brothers, that they should not hate them, that they should show them kindness and forgiveness! In fact, they are telling the masses that all they need now are some petty reforms.

We revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and all conscious patriots should not let this happen. We should not let these forces co-opt the mass struggle and turn it into a reformist struggle. We should step up our struggle to prevent that from happening. We should fight to erect the party of the proletariat with its independent banner where its demands and program is boldly inscribed. This task cannot be postponed — it must be undertaken now.

Immediate Tasks of Marxist-Leninist Revolutionaries

The main task of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries is to work to lead the proletariat and the oppressed Haitian masses to resolve in their own class interest the centuries-old contradictions of Haitian society through armed revolution, to seize power through people's war and then to establish the democratic dictatorship of the people over their class enemies. To do that the party of the proletariat must develop and formulate a program that could lead the proletariat and its allies to victory.

The party must be built with the



Banner carried by demonstrating Haitians in New York.

objective of leading the proletariat and its allies to wage people's war, to lead the masses to make a thoroughgoing revolution and then seize power. The party's program should not only provide answers to how the proletariat is going to seize power; it must also lead the peasantry to resolve the age-old contradiction against the landowner, providing concrete answers to waging the agrarian revolution, based on the worker-peasant alliance.

As a basic guide and framework for developing such a program, we are fortunate to have and must make full use of the summed up experience of the international communist

movement in the form of the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*. Most fundamental to that are the great contributions made by Mao Tsetung, whose theory, as the *Declaration* points out, forms "the point of reference for elaborating revolutionary strategy and tactics" in countries like Haiti.

To build this party as soon as possible, the revolutionaries cannot stand aloof from the mass struggles now being waged, but should actively participate in this. We should adopt a two-pronged strategy:

(a) Unite our ranks, draw firm

and definite lines of demarcation between the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism, elevate the political consciousness of the masses with socialism, formulate correct strategy and tactics for each stage of the revolution, and rally the revolutionary masses behind the ideology, banner and program of the proletariat.

(b) While bringing the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the proletariat we must also learn from them, learn about their needs, their demands, their methods of struggle, and learn also to rely on them and have faith in them. We must also support the demands of the masses for democratic rights and political liberty, while raising their sights and preparing them for the final assault on the enemy fortress. In that context, we fully support and call on all to fight for:

1) The struggle to destroy the Macoutes, from below, and prevent their reincorporation into the reactionary state apparatus. In addition, support the struggle against the Leopards and other repressive arms of the state.

2) The ouster from government, the state sector and the armed forces of all Macoutes and Duvalierists, and their jailing.

3) The freedom to speak out, debate and discuss fully the question of transforming Haitian society into a just one.

4) The right of the workers to form unions and of the peasants to organize.

5) The right to publish literature.

6) The right for political parties to organize.

7) The elimination of torture chambers and torture instruments.

8) The abolition of the 1969 anti-Communist law.

9) The right for all Haitians to enter or leave the country without visas.

10) An end to the dispossession of land in the countryside.

11) Nullification of the USAID project to take 30% of the land out of production of food crops.

12) Return of all land that was taken from peasants during the past



Woman selling water by the cup in a Port-au-Prince market.

29 years.

13) Extradition of Duvalier and his family and repatriation of all money stolen from the people.

14) U.S. imperialism to immediately withdraw its 32 warships from Haiti's coastal waters.

15) Support the repatriation and compensation of Haitian cane-cutters now in the Dominican Republic. No more slaves to the Dominican Republic!

It should be clear to all that these 15 basic demands are not the program to form the party. This program remains to be forged in the coming period. But they are basic fighting demands for the current situation. While the ruling class and their imperialist masters are trying their desperate best to stifle and put a stop to the struggle of the masses, we the revolutionaries should fight to the death to keep the flame of the masses' struggle burning, for the more the crisis develops the more the possibility there will be for a revolution, and the more chance for us to develop the fighting ability of the masses and ourselves to make that revolution. Lenin told us that "the proletariat seeks its salvation not by avoiding the class struggle but by developing it, by extending its scope, its own class consciousness, organization and determination. The (communist) who debases the task of political struggle becomes transformed from a tribune of the people into a trade union secretary. The (communist) who debases the proletariat's task in a democratic bourgeois revolution becomes transformed from a leader of the people's revolution into a mere leader of a free labor union."

Comrade revolutionaries! Let's be tribunes of the people. Let's be leaders of the people's revolution. Let's take part in the class struggle to develop and extend the scope of the organization and fighting determination of the proletariat and the oppressed. In that spirit we call on all revolutionaries and conscious patriots to step up the struggle to form the party and to keep the crisis "out of control." Thus all of us who are in exile should strive to return to Haiti in an organized and well-planned way to push the process of

building the party of the proletariat and to keep the flame of the masses' struggle burning. And a very important link to do these two things right now is the formation of a revolutionary newspaper, as described in the call we have put out.

Comrades! This is indeed an exciting and historical moment. Let's seize the time, let's transform that revolutionary situation into a revolution. To finish this text we turn to Lenin and Mao:

"Revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and exploited. At no other time are the mass of the people in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order as at a time of revolution. At such times the people are capable of performing miracles, if judged by the limited, philistine yardstick of gradualist progress. But it is essential that leaders of the revolutionary parties, too, should advance their aims more comprehensively and boldly at such a time, so that their slogans shall always be in advance of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serve as a beacon, reveal to them our democratic and socialist ideal in all its magnitude and splendor, and show them the shortest and most direct route to complete, absolute and decisive victory."

And as Mao said, when China

stood on the verge of upheaval, as Haiti does today:

"In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly."

These passages capture exactly what we must do and what our attitude must be in this historic moment. Onward to the new-democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary classes, led by the proletariat. Comrades — let's go for it!
March, 1986

