

TO WIN

們獲得的將是全世界 **МИР ВБИГРАТЬ**

1985/1

A WORLD

MONDE A GAGNER

**INDIA : SURFACE CRACKS
AND THE TREMORS
FROM
THE DEPTHS**

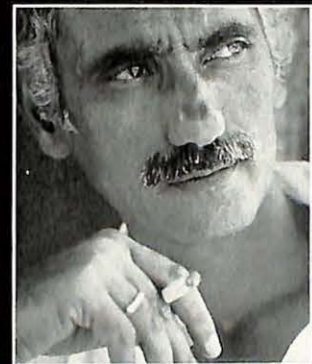
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KAZANILACAK DÜNYA

UN MONDO CHE GANAR

Homage to
Revolutionary
Filmmaker

Yılmaz Güney



Interview with

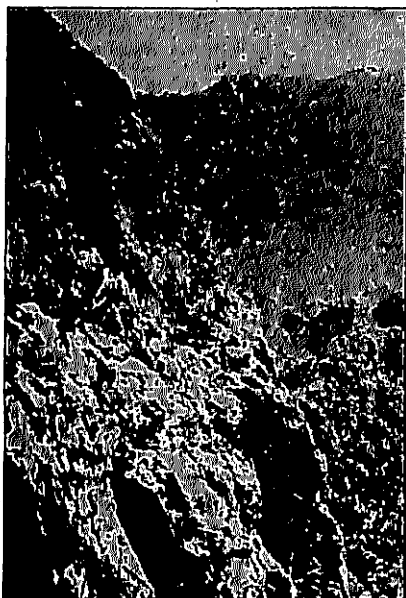
Costa Gavras

جهانی برای فتح **UN MOND**

GUADAGNARE



When the Andes Roar



The Andes mountains are the birthplace of the most significant revolutionary struggle in the world today—the People's War being led by the Communist Party of Peru, sometimes referred to as *Sendero Luminoso*. Today this struggle is quickly developing in scope and breadth as the "armed battalions of the poor" take on the Peruvian government throughout the country. "When the Andes Roar" examines the latest offensive, as well as the history and aims, of the Peruvian guerrillas. **page 24**

Surface Cracks and the Tremors from the Depths

"If you're talking about world revolution, you're talking about India." The 800 million people of India have long been among the most victimised of the imperialist system. The question is when, not if, these "wretched of the earth" will arise. **page 4**

Two Days of Popular Upsurge

Wilberto Ventura, leader of the Revolutionary Communist Union (Dominican Republic), analyses the recent mass explosion in the streets of Santo Domingo.

Ventura discusses the perspective of establishing a party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on this island nation right in Yankee imperialism's "back yard." **page 50**

THE PROLETARIAT HAS NOTHING
TO LOSE BUT THEIR CHAINS,
THEY HAVE

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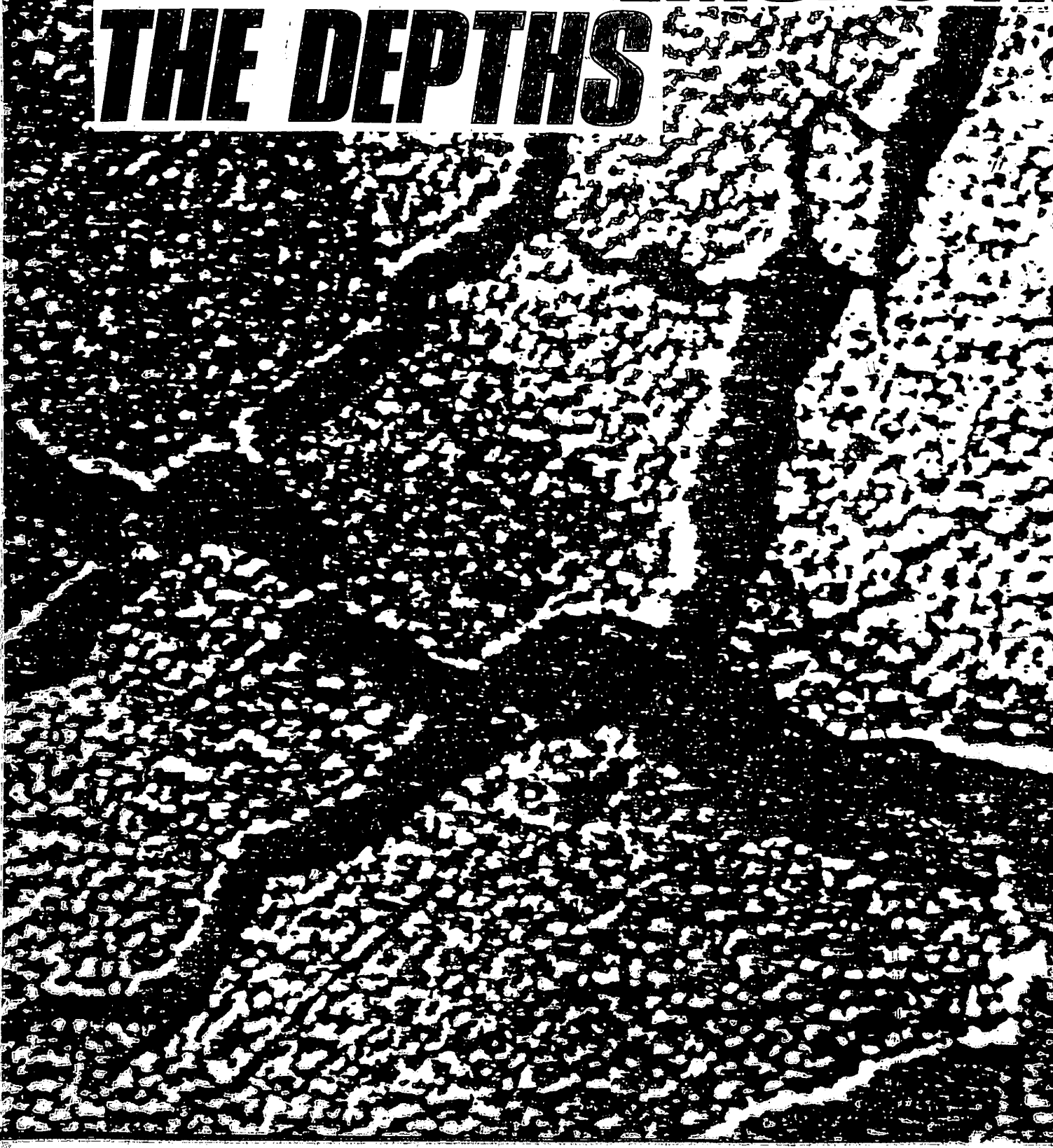
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INDIA: SURFACE CRACKS AND THE TREMORS FROM THE DEPTHS





India. Home for around 800 million people, that is to say one out of six human beings on the planet earth. A complex intermingling of nations and peoples, of different languages, religions and cultures whose historical diversity is greater than that of Europe. Eight hundred million people who have little in common historically other than to have shared the "honour" of being the Crown Jewel of the British Empire yesterday and being the common feeding ground of all the major imperialist powers of the world today. Eight hundred million people who share a common enemy and a common struggle against the all-India ruling classes and their foreign overlords.

Today a reactionary tyrant is dead. The orchestrated pogroms which were a fitting posthumous conclusion to Indira Gandhi's thoroughly sanguinary career could not hide the joy with which large sections of people in India greeted her demise. That Indira Gandhi was gunned down by those chosen and trained to protect her is evidence of the fragility of the rule of the exploiting classes that Indira Gandhi so faithfully represented.

For the majority of people outside of Asia, India is relatively unknown.

Today a reactionary tyrant is dead.

If its rulers enjoy a certain prominence in the world of international diplomacy, in the eyes of "international public opinion" its teeming millions have never been more than grist for imperialist profit mills and potential cannon fodder for their wars. If any mention at all is made of the masses of India in the reactionary press it is usually to coldly announce several thousands of victims of another flood, or perhaps a new outbreak of communal massacres. India, they would have one believe, is just a place where tragedies seem to accumulate one after another, where misery, disease and starvation are just "the way things are."

But "the way things are" is really the way the imperialist system, interacting with the archaic and reactionary social system that existed in India prior to the colonial period, has *made* them, and it is certainly not the way things *have to be*. The masses of people in India have shown re-

peatedly that they are entirely capable of taking their destiny into their own hands. In fact, the history of India shows, as Mao Tsetung put it, "wherever there is oppression there is resistance."

Transformations in India

India is a country where the necessity--and possibility--of waging the armed struggle for political power has generally existed. In large expanses of India's countryside countless millions of peasants continue to suffer the exploitation and suffocation of the feudal system, where the ownership of land is tantamount to the owner-

But "the way things are" is really the way the imperialist system... has made them, and it is certainly not the way things have to be.

ship of those who work it. Historically colonialism and imperialism made an alliance with feudal reaction in India, and they propped up this archaic form of production even while introducing new elements of capitalist production in the cities. But especially in the period since India achieved formal independence in 1947 and with an increasing rate since the 1960s, imperialism has introduced important changes into the countryside itself. In many parts of India the traditional feudal relations have given way to capitalist agriculture based on wage labour. This has led to a further intensification of class contradictions among the peasantry with the emergence of a class of capitalist farmers on the one side, who themselves are often compelled to struggle against the central state apparatus (see "Punjab: Genesis of a Rebellion"), and a large section of increasingly impoverished agricultural workers whose demands and forms of struggle tend to be along the lines of those of the proletariat and less marked by the traditional demand of "land to the tiller" typical of semi-feudal agriculture. The introduction of fertilisers and new mechanised farming methods in many parts of India is an indication of

this development of capitalist relations in agriculture.

The consequences of these developments are similar to those found in many of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The large cities of India have swollen in size; huge numbers of former peasants unable to find a livelihood in the countryside are condemned to perpetual unemployment or underemployment in the cities because capitalism is not capable of profitably exploiting their labour power. On the one hand imperialism has led to a certain development, on the other hand this development is stunted and deformed to meet the needs of foreign capital. The increasing export of capital has brought forward new capitalist elements but these very forces are themselves hamstrung by the imperialist-dominated economy.

All of this has also meant that India has become more and more tightly interwoven into the whole world imperialist system, and that her peoples are more and more subject to the shocks and dislocations emanating from the motion of development of the imperialist system itself. The further penetration of imperialism in India has not only increased the pressure below in the form of the intensification of class contradictions in the cities and countryside, but has also increased the cracks in the upper reaches of the ruling classes themselves. If all the exploiters of India are united in their determination to maintain their rule at whatever price necessary, they are far from united on the best means to do this, or with what forces internationally to ally. Moreover, the conflicts among these forces are themselves heightened by the further development of the capitalist mode of production in India. These developments have not in any way lessened the need for a New Democratic Revolution in India, a revolution led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, which alone can sweep away imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Thus while it is correct to note that, in many ways, India is a country that has long been ripe for revolution, it would be wrong to see this as an unchanging given. At the current moment this kind of view could well lead



India is indeed developing as one of the "weak links" of the imperialist system that Stalin spoke of...

one to lose sight of the fact that the *revolutionary situation in India is quickly developing at the present time*, that India is indeed developing as one of the "weak links" of the imperialist system that Stalin spoke of in describing the reasons that a successful revolution was possible in Tsarist Russia.

It is worth quoting from the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* concerning the tasks of revolutionaries in the colonial, semi (or neo) colonial countries:

"In the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America a continuous revolutionary situation generally exists. But it is important to understand this correctly: the revolutionary situation does not follow a straight line; it has its ebbs and flows. The communist parties should keep this dynamic in mind. . . ."

"... It is necessary to combat any erroneous view which would postpone the commencement of armed struggle or the utilisation of any form of armed struggle until conditions become favourable for revolutionary warfare throughout the country. This view negates the uneven development of the revolution and revolutionary situations in these countries, in opposition to Mao's statement, 'A single spark can start a prairie fire.' It is also important to note that the overall international situation has an influence on the revolution in a particular country; not taking this into account leaves the Marxist-Leninists unpre-



pared to seize the opportunity when the revolutionary process is hastened by the developments on a world scale."

The National Question in India

In the large majority of the world the "national question," that is the oppression of one nation by another, is not yet resolved. This is all the more true of India where the national question in all its aspects is very much at the heart of the revolutionary process. India itself, of course, is a country oppressed by foreign imperialism. But within the state borders of present-day India there are many nations which, in addition to being part of the imperialist feasting ground that India as a whole represents, are also subject to varying forms and degrees of national oppression at the hands of the central state apparatus and the all-India comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie whose principal political representative, at the present time, is the Congress (I) Party now led by Rajiv Gandhi.

In the past few years this "internal national question" in India has increasingly come to the fore. The British imperialists and, more recently, the all-Indian comprador bourgeoisie have long sought to make use of religious and national antagonisms and foment pogroms in order to keep the people divided and their own rule intact. But today the long-standing oppression of different nationalities within India is leading to increasing opposition to the reactionary rule of the central authorities. This is the reason why all of the imperialist powers, while certainly doing everything they can to make use of the contradictions in Indian society to reinforce their own positions

vis a vis their rivals, are greatly concerned by the menace of what they call the "disintegration of India."

The imperialists are not, and never have been, concerned with "sovereignty" of their neo-colonies. They have always considered it fair game to intervene at will in the internal affairs of India and issue orders to the comprador ruling classes. The recent release of the arch-criminal Warren Anderson, Chairman of Union Carbide, is a graphic reflection of the real nature of such "sovereignty" (see "Capitalism's Great Peacetime Slaughter"). But they are deeply worried that the centrifugal pulls in India and the corresponding challenge to the authority of the all-India state--which have been dramatically illustrated by events in the Assam in the North-East and most recently in Punjab--could make India "ungovernable" and endanger their considerable investments. Most of all, these imperialist gentlemen are aware to a certain degree that the current state of affairs could unleash what they find

All of the imperialist powers...are greatly concerned by the menace of what they call the "disintegration of India."

most menacing of all--the revolutionary struggle of the Indian masses. There is no saying what "havoc" this genie might wreak once released from the bottle. If opinions of Indira Gandhi reflected the differing interests of various imperialist powers, all are in agreement that her "iron rule" was fine as long as it was directed against the masses of people.

The current map of India was created by the British imperialists. The current "unity" of India is based on the subjection of many peoples and nations to an arbitrary central authority. It seems that this unequal and reactionary "unity" is doomed in one form or another. And the proletariat has no interest in trying to preserve such a "unity." On the contrary, what will replace present-day-India very much depends on the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. A truly unified state--that is, one based upon the equality of nations--can

only come about through the forcible destruction of the current Indian state apparatus and the establishment of true national equality. As the article in this issue of *A World to Win* by K. Chittaranjam illustrates, this perspective is currently a point of great attention among the genuine revolutionary forces in India who are knitting their brows and striving to develop the correct line and policies for developing the revolutionary movement in India and its various regions.

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* makes the following penetrating analysis of this situation common to the majority of oppressed nations:

"... In our era, the national question has ceased to be an internal question of single countries and has become subordinate to the general question of the world proletarian revolution, hence its thoroughgoing resolution has become directly dependent on the struggle against imperialism. Within this context Marxist-Leninists should uphold the right of self-determination of oppressed nations in the multi-national semi-colonial states."

As Mao Tsetung put it, "in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." National oppression, by its nature falls upon all classes in a nation except for the small minority of exploiters in league with the oppressors. But it is the masses of labouring people, especially the peasantry, who bear the largest burden of the oppression of nations. If the national struggles in Punjab and some other parts of India are currently led by bourgeois forces it is nonetheless true that underneath lie the struggles of the workers and peasants. This is the material basis for the current struggles raging in Punjab and other oppressed nations in India to become tributaries of a larger movement aimed not only at the central authorities but also at the imperialists behind them.

There will be no resolution of the national question in India without the New Democratic Revolution. Neither the efforts of the central authorities to reinforce their rule with the army and terror, nor illusory efforts at independence without rupturing with imperialism and reaction,

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can lead to the resolution of this problem.

India and Imperialist Contention

India, which had long been the private preserve of British imperialism, has in the more recent period been an area where all the major imperialist powers have been able to penetrate and extract wealth produced by the masses of people. This has led to a situation where both rival blocs of imperialist powers are present in India, where both have built up supporters among various sections of the exploiting classes and their political representatives. The traditional "private sector" of the economy continues to be dominated by Western imperialist interests, especially British and American. On the other hand, a large "public sector" has been built up since independence. This public sector has been particularly encouraged by the revisionist rulers of the Soviet Union who have loaned the Indian comprador ruling class large sums of money and have obtained a number of preferential trade agreements. This cozy relationship is disguised as the "non-capitalist road of development" or sometimes as a "step toward socialism" by the USSR. In fact, it is nothing but typical imperialist development.

At times, the presence of conflicting imperialist powers in India has given fuel to sharp disputes in the ruling classes themselves. All of the imperialist powers have sought to build up influence in the ruling classes and the state machinery. The Emergency, for example, declared by Indira Gandhi in 1975, was aimed not only at the revolutionary left but also at many of her bourgeois opponents, particularly those tied more directly to Western capital. The Western imperialists did not hide their pleasure at Indira Gandhi's temporary departure from power in 1977 and the subsequent Janata-led government.

The overall international situation has also had its repercussions on the Indian subcontinent. Indira Gandhi's successful war with Pakistan (allied with the US-led bloc) that led to the establishment of the state of Bangladesh in 1971 cannot be separated from the aid and encouragement her government received from

the Soviet Union (especially in the form of the 20-year treaty of cooperation, etc., which is actually a military treaty calling upon India to come to the aid of the Soviet Union if it is "attacked" and *vice versa*). Similarly, the repeated refusal of Indira Gandhi's government to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is testimony to the importance of the Soviet influence over Indian policy, as were India's border war with revolutionary China in 1962 and subsequent clashes, which were spurred on by the Soviets.

But the Soviet Union has not eliminated the influence and positions of the Western imperialist powers in India. In addition, all of the imperialist powers have adopted a common position when faced with genuine revolutionary struggle of the masses. The armed struggle of the Indian masses that spectacularly erupted in the late 60s and early 70s and came to be known as the Naxalbari movement (after the region in which armed peasant revolts first started) was suppressed by guns manufactured in the East as well as the West.

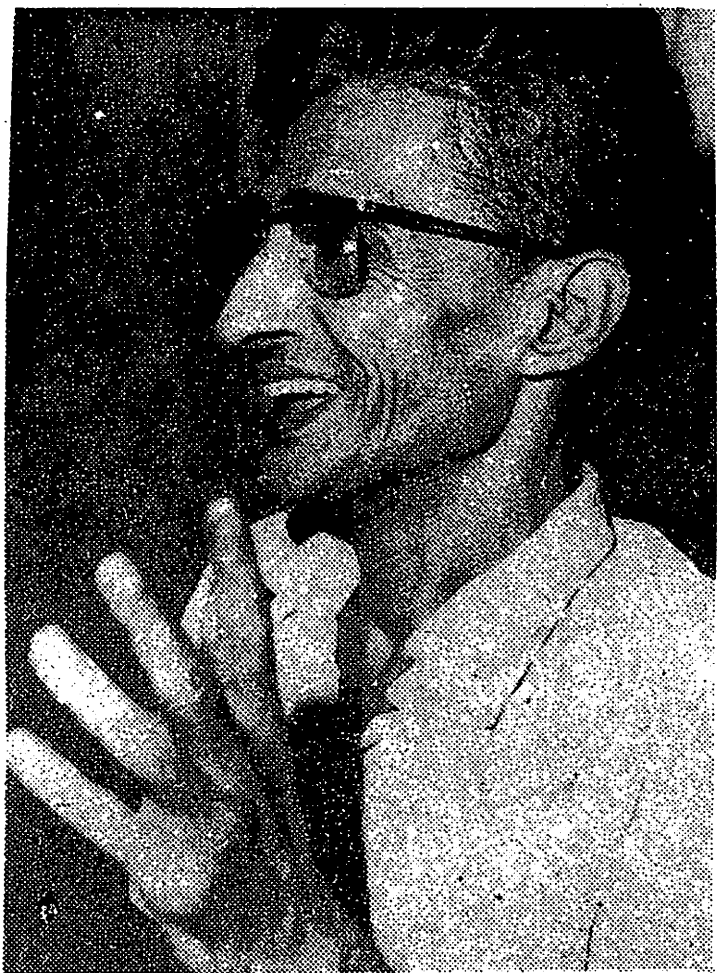
If this uneasy equilibrium between the rival imperialist blocs continues to exist in India at the present time, it is certain that the aggravation of contradictions in the world imperialist system, including the conflict between the imperialists themselves, will have further repercussions in India also. This situation is also creating more favourable opportunities for the independent revolutionary action of the masses as well as creating new obstacles that the revolutionary movement will have to surmount.

Imperialism has not only exported capital to India, it has also exported its ideology and its political trappings. The exploiting classes and the privileged engage in parliamentary acrobatics while the masses of the people are kept firmly in their place through the power of landlords' goon squads in large sections of the countryside or the police forces in the cities. Thousands of political prisoners are locked up in Indian prisons, some of whom are held without charges. The army, of course, is always ready to intervene to protect the rule of the exploiters. Parliament it-



self has been shown to be far from indispensable. For example, during the Emergency of 1975 Indira Gandhi simply arrested the main parliamentary opposition leaders. On numerous occasions in the course of inner bourgeois squabbles and infighting she simply disbanded first one and then another of elected state governments. In the last four months of 1984, the Indian army has been called upon to reestablish "order" an average of *once every three days*. Indeed, the sham democracy of Great Britain (and the West generally) takes on a particularly macabre, if ludicrous, form in the "World's Largest Democracy."

Even the communist movement has historically been far from free of the aping of the imperialists and their system. So-called communists have for decades called on the masses of India to put their faith in the peaceful road to socialism—in other words demanded that they peacefully allow themselves to be robbed and worse in return for the privilege of trotting out every so often to the polling booth and having some so-called workers representatives in the parliamentary talk shop. And in the recent period the Soviet Union has also actively promoted the worship of bourgeois democracy in India. But this pastime of the exploiters has worn thin over the years and when, under the influence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the great battle led by Mao Tsetung in the international arena against modern revisionism, a communist movement developed in India that was really capable of demonstrating *another road* to the masses, the revolutionary outpouring shook India from one end to the other. Although this grand re-



Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), martyred July 28, 1972.

volutionary movement led by Charu Mazumdar and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was eventually defeated in the early 1970s and Comrade Mazumdar was himself martyred, the legacy of Naxalbari is far from eliminated from the political landscape of India and

Indeed, the sham democracy of Great Britain (and the West generally) takes on a particularly macabre, if ludicrous, form in the "World's Largest Democracy!"

there are important Marxist-Leninist forces in India who are currently preparing a new revolutionary assault, building upon the achievements of the early battles and summing up the lessons, positive and negative, that have been learned from that experience.

India Ripe for Revolution

The death of Indira Gandhi and the surrounding events underscore one thing if nothing else: the hold of the reactionary ruling classes and imperialism on India is shaky. The objective conditions for revolution--the inability of the masses to live in the old way and the inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way--are rapidly ripening. The subjective factors for revolution, the communist forces, are also rapidly developing in India. These forces are engaged in the important process of struggling to come to a correct understanding of the nature of Indian society and the transformation it is going through

and to develop a revolutionary line that can lead the proletariat and the masses of people forward along the

The legacy of Naxalbari is far from eliminated from the political landscape of India.

path of People's War.

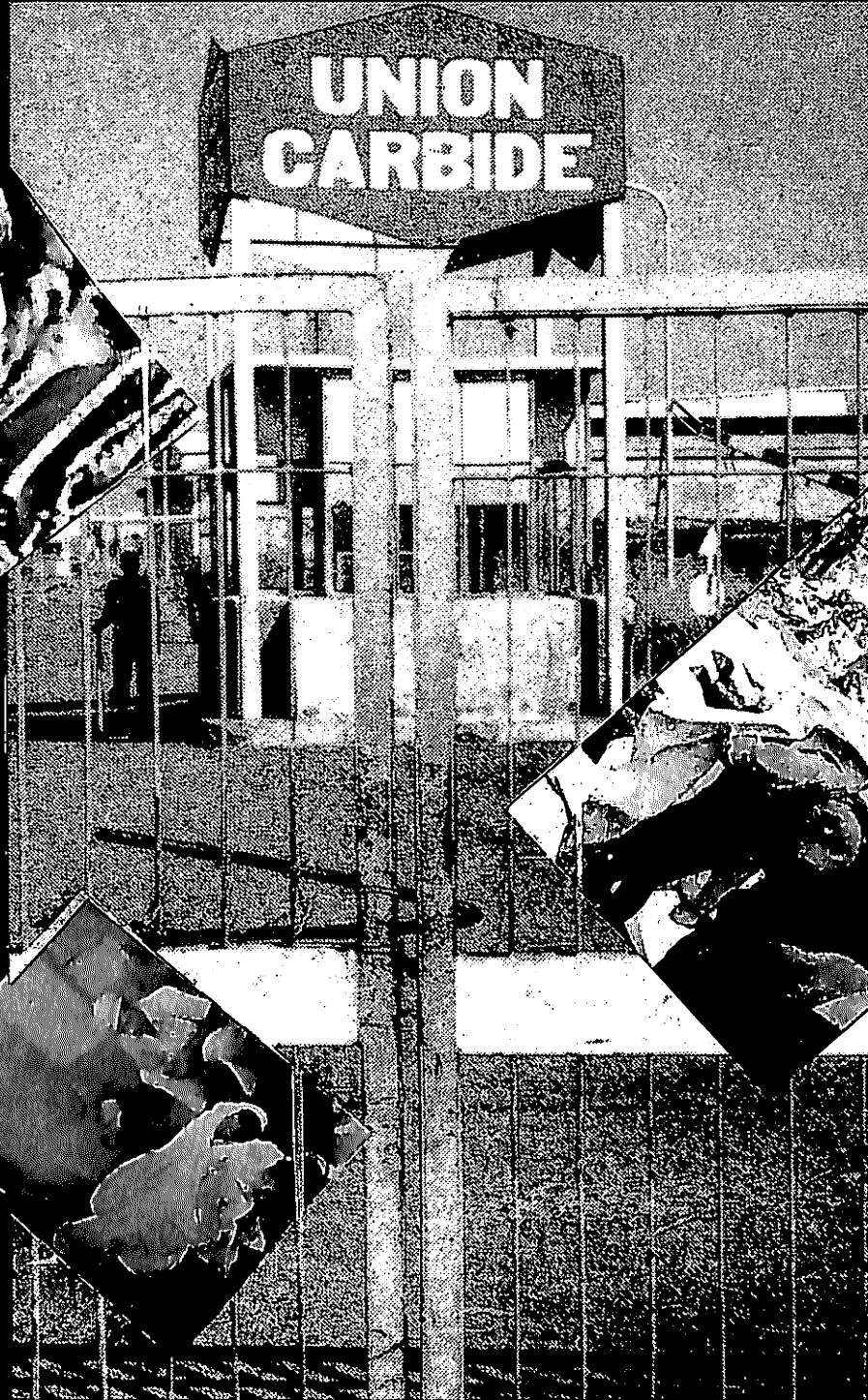
It is critical that the revolutionary masses the world over understand the importance of the stakes involved in India. What has long been a reserve for imperialism, a place upon whose misery imperialism has bolstered its system, can become a bastion of the world proletarian revolution. The recent formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, in which two organisations in India participate--the Central Reorganising

Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and the Organising Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, India--creates excellent conditions for the unity of the revolutionary movement in India and that of the world as a whole to grow stronger and bear fruit.

At a time when the contradictions in the world are greatly intensifying and the danger of a world war increasing, the possibility of unleashing a revolutionary war in India cannot help but be of great importance to the oppressed the world over. The unfolding of events in India over the next period could do much to change the equilibrium in the world and create a situation more favourable to the revolution. If you're talking about world revolution, you're talking about India.

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Capitalism's Great Peacetime Massacre



The toll at Bhopal, India, has now reached the staggering figure of at least 3,000 people killed. Over 150,000 have been treated in local hospitals. According to *Der Spiegel*, probably 20,000 will suffer permanent blindness. Forty percent of the dead are under the age of ten years old.

The incident is being called "the worst industrial accident in all history," "a chemical Hiroshima"--indeed, it could well be one of capitalism's largest single peacetime slaughters.

Like Hiroshima, the deed was done almost as quickly as it began...and also like Hiroshima, its ravages will be felt for years to come. The carnage began early in the morning of Monday, December 3rd, when workers at the local Union Carbide plant were unable to control the pressure building up in a tank of chemical methyl isocyanate. Within an hour the toxic gas had spread far into the shantytowns of Bhopal, a city of one million. The alarm was spread by cries of agony, or sometimes by the simple sound of living beings falling over dead where they stood. People tried to flee--but no one knew where or how. A wrong turn in the night could mean instant blindness--more than a few were killed as they groped for their way and were struck by cars and trucks, whose drivers were sometimes blinded as well. The plant siren didn't sound until two hours after the leak began--some residents, mistaking it for a fire alarm, raced towards the factory...and right into the toxic gas. Almost two weeks later, the government announcement that the plant was going to be restarted sent hundreds of thousands fleeing the city.

Methyl isocyanate is used in pesticides and works by attacking the nervous system; on humans, the first signs of contact are often severe damage to the cornea of the eye and constriction of the nasal and bronchial passages. The resulting spasms killed many of the victims in India. Others literally drowned in secretions from their lungs, stimulated by contact with the methyl isocyanate. A Union Carbide spokesman assured that only a few people would suffer permanent effects and that "for most of the victims...the physical effects will prob-

ably disappear in time..." Sure--a lifetime. A number of experts have stated that at a minimum any contact with the chemical means higher susceptibility to lung infections--already a severe problem among the poor in India--as well as sterility and even mental retardation among children. Doctors in Bhopal have already cited an alarming rise in the number of viral pneumonia cases coming into the hospitals. Moreover, the Union Carbide statement is a calculated lie--the spokesman knows almost nothing at all about the long-range effects of MIC, because the company has not even studied the effects of the chemical on humans. They have no antidotes, nor even any real treatment. Nor were there any preparations made for an emergency like Bhopal. All too often medical personnel had nothing to give the victims staggering into hospitals except sedatives and pain-killers.

The Cover Up

As proof that the Bhopal disaster was purely an accident, Union Carbide spokesmen argued that it might have happened anywhere, even in the U.S. since, as company Chairman Warren Anderson explained, "Our safety standards in the U.S. are identical to those in India or Brazil or some place else. Same equipment, same design, same everything." This too was a calculated, cynical lie--there are differences in almost every major part of the safety systems--yet the press, and particularly the U.S. press, repeated Anderson's words as if they were chiseled in stone. *Time* magazine, for instance, reported that the two safety devices to either scrub clean or burn off excess MIC operated *automatically* just like Union Carbide's American plant--*days after* it was widely known that in India the devices had to be operated manually. Similarly, the Indian plant was equipped with only a one-stage manual warning system--a siren--whereas the U.S. plant had a four-stage computerised system. A Union Carbide spokesman explained that the Indians didn't have the spare parts to keep the computerised system running. They have what they need to run the profit-making equipment, but safety equipment--that, naturally, is a different matter.



This patronising chauvinism and casual indifference to the slaughter they wreaked was just a taste of what was to come. Why was a dangerous plant like this operating amidst such a population centre? Why you know how *these people* are, replied company spokesmen, there's just this "tendency in India for people to gravitate toward any centre of commercial activity." There was hardly anyone in the neighborhood when the plant was built, the spokesmen went on, but afterwards these "squatters" settled in and the company just didn't have the heart to force them to move. In fact, the plant was never in a deserted area, located only one kilometre from the city's railroad station (which was the scene of the most intense carnage) and thus close to historic concentrations of proletarians. It was for such advantages that the site was chosen in the first place--not least of which was accessibility to a large pool of some of the cheapest labour on earth. Union Carbide pays day labourers hired at the plant gate a hefty *one dollar per day*.

The Warnings

One moderate local politician, M.N. Buch, had the temerity to challenge the site as the plant was being constructed, citing an Indian law requiring factories producing dangerous substances to be constructed not less than 15 miles from population centres. Mr. Buch lost his post. It is worth noting that every single company requesting an exemption from this law has received it.

The history of the Bhopal plant is a

history of a disaster just waiting to happen:

- Dec. 24, 1978: a huge fire in the plant's naphtha-storage area envelops the city in a cloud of black smoke.

- Dec. 26, 1981: a worker named Ashraf dies from a leak of phosgene gas (used to make methyl isocyanate) inside the plant. The company claims he removed his gas mask during a leak.

- Jan. 10, 1982: another phosgene leak leaves 24 people severely ill, including a number of local residents.

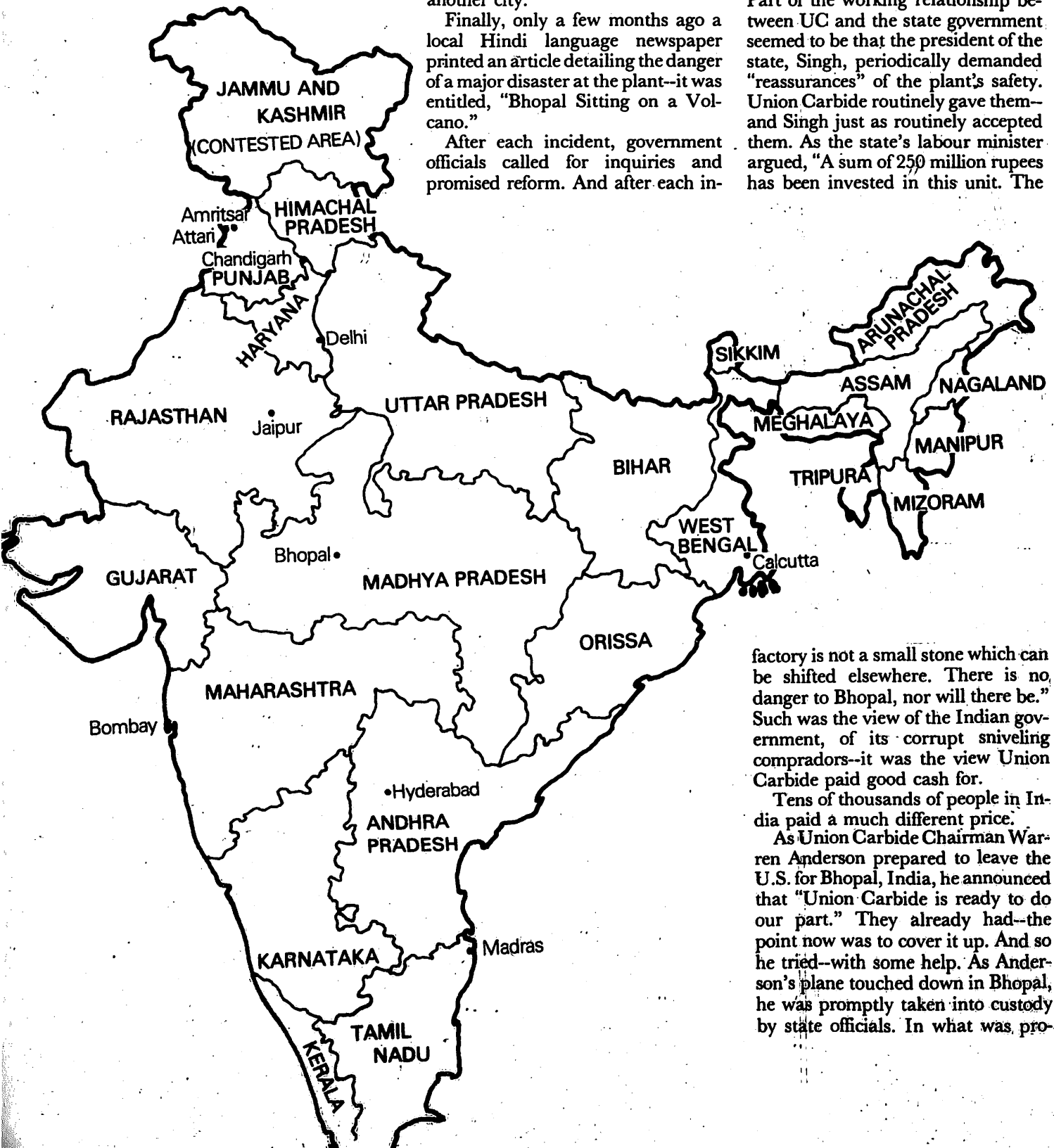
- Oct. 5, 1982: a pipe breaks, leaking gas into the neighboring shantytowns. What is described as a "mini-riot" breaks out.

- In 1983, there are two more minor leaks; in January 1984 another worker dies of chemical exposure. His family is "persuaded" to move to another city.

Finally, only a few months ago a local Hindi language newspaper printed an article detailing the danger of a major disaster at the plant—it was entitled, "Bhopal Sitting on a Volcano."

After each incident, government officials called for inquiries and promised reform. And after each in-

cident, nothing changed. In part this was due to the company's well-lubricated relations with the local government. Union Carbide's Public Relations director was a nephew of the state's former education minister. The plant's lawyer is a well-known local official of the Congress (I) Party. Another high-level job is held by the brother-in-law of the deputy chief secretary of the state government. Part of the working relationship between UC and the state government seemed to be that the president of the state, Singh, periodically demanded "reassurances" of the plant's safety. Union Carbide routinely gave them—and Singh just as routinely accepted them. As the state's labour minister argued, "A sum of 250 million rupees has been invested in this unit. The



factory is not a small stone which can be shifted elsewhere. There is no danger to Bhopal, nor will there be." Such was the view of the Indian government, of its corrupt sniveling compradors—it was the view Union Carbide paid good cash for.

Tens of thousands of people in India paid a much different price.

As Union Carbide Chairman Warren Anderson prepared to leave the U.S. for Bhopal, India, he announced that "Union Carbide is ready to do our part." They already had—the point now was to cover it up. And so he tried—with some help. As Anderson's plane touched down in Bhopal, he was promptly taken into custody by state officials. In what was pro-

claimed to be a "tough show of Indian sovereignty," they charged Anderson with several crimes. This orchestrated piece was deflated though when it came out that Anderson had been "jailed" in the plush Union Carbide guesthouse, that he had been surrounded by 50 armed guards for his own protection, and that Rajiv Gandhi himself had personally intervened to ensure Anderson's well-being and timely release. Anderson plunked down 2000 dollars bail and walked out. He was advised to leave India "at the earliest" because his presence "might provoke strong passion against him." The Western media hailed Anderson's trip as a brave display of concern. It was a show designed to protect the bloody hands of both Anderson and the local officials who have for years rested in complicity with Union Carbide.

A Deadly Logic

In response to the mounting evidence of the massive cutting of corners at the Indian plant, and of the web of corruption surrounding the operation, Union Carbide spokesmen have still insisted that "it's not as if there was anything unusual about this plant." True enough--Union Carbide is hardly some fly-by-night maverick running an operation greatly inferior to those of the industry as a whole. It is one of the largest chemical companies in the world, with plants in 38 countries, and its Bhopal operation was not only relatively modern (built seven years ago) but Union Carbide is also the largest American industrial complex in all of India, with 13 plants there. "Unusual"?--in a sense, no: its corruption and bribing of the local compradors, extending into the very top of the government itself; its construction of a plant using deadly chemicals in the midst of a population centre; its neglect of the most elementary safety precautions for both the workers and the local populace while it routinely doled out assurances of safety; and its wretched attempts now to wipe its hands clean by shelling out a pittance of its huge profits--these are the typical methods of capital, which in the oppressed nations take on especially sinister features.

Union Carbide came to India in

the first place as part of the expansion of Western capital in the years of the Green Revolution--a time when capital was turning over the traditional agrarian relations of the country and finding new ways to squeeze the life-blood of the labouring people. Union Carbide complains of people thronging into its environs, yet its fertiliser plants have been a key part of the process of transforming land relations, driving peasants off the land and into the city slums, where they in turn form a section of proletarians even more readily exploitable by capitalists like Union Carbide. Profit-saving methods like cutting safety measures are not then the atypical practices of a corrupt few, but an integral part of this whole logic. It is the same logic that leads Union Carbide to pay its day labourers a dollar a day, the logic that means that agricultural workers in the fields of the oppressed nations never cease working while pesticides rain down on their heads, leading, according to the World Resources Institute, to ten thousand deaths every year--and these are only the ones that are counted. Whatever the specific setting may be, from the famine-stricken lands of Africa to "cities of death" like pollution-enveloped Cubatao in Brazil, where birth-deformed babies are almost as common as normal ones, for imperialism these environments constitute priceless and unforegoable opportunities to accumulate--always murderously at the expense of the people. In a fundamental sense the Bhopal death machine did just what it was supposed to--and as such it is a more extreme example of countless others just like it ticking away particularly in these countries. Another exploded a month earlier in Mexico City in killing flames--it too was rooted in the particular twisted development of that country--and who knows where the next slaughter shall erupt tomorrow. The thousands of corpses in India and the tens of thousands who will suffer for the rest of their lives are the special product of these methods. And it is precisely men like Chairman Warren Anderson who head them up: men who stride into the mayhem they have caused and imperiously demand the price for beginning anew.

Many commentators have observed

that potential Bhopals threaten the inhabitants of every country. "Bhopal was a modern parable of the risks and rewards originally engendered by the Industrial Revolution: Frankenstein's wonder becoming Frankenstein's monster...industrialised society has created a shared fragility." Not even in the developed countries have their "wonders" ever really been anything but "monsters shared" only by the oppressed, as, for example, the thousands of inhabitants of Seveso, Italy, where in 1976 poisonous dioxin was spewed over the city and numerous children were scarred by chloracne. But it is undeniable that the dangers of Bhopals are distributed as lopsidedly as capital itself. One analyst for the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development coldly demonstrated how safety is related to profits: since it costs only one-hundredth as much to indemnify victims as is spent on safety equipment each year, it is generally more profitable for corporations to pay off casualties than prevent them. And when the killing costs less? A typical airplane fatality in the U.S. is indemnified at \$300,000 per fatality; in Spain, similar recent fatalities were paid off at \$70,000 apiece; the word from Wall Street is that Bhopal fatalities may go for no more than \$25,000 each. As for the old imperialist adage that "life is cheap in the East," it is apparent here just who it is that sets the price. Chairman Anderson returned to the U.S. from India and informed the corporate world that, "I am confident that the victims can be fairly and equitably compensated without a material, adverse effect on the financial condition of Union Carbide." After his trip to India and to the city which was reported to look like nothing so much as a scene following a blast from a neutron bomb, with the plant intact and corpses everywhere, Anderson solemnly proclaimed that, "I don't feel there was anything left to be desired regarding safety." Some journalists reported that when he was arrested, Anderson was visibly upset at being treated like a common criminal. He need not worry--men like Warren Anderson are far from common criminals, nor will they be treated as such. ■

Punjab:



Spokesmen of both East and West decried this summer's events at the Golden Temple and the subsequent assassination of Indira Gandhi as products of "the mindless zealotry of a religious fanaticism which is abhorrent to the modern civilised mind"—and especially abhorrent to these gentlemen who virtually frothed in fury at photographs of

Sikhs holding high their swords in celebration of Gandhi's death. But it is really the rebellion of the masses that terrifies the "civilised" reactionary mind.

In the hundreds of years of colonialist and imperialist plunder of India these gentlemen have mastered the art of encouraging and accentuating national, class, caste and other divisions in India in order to subjugate its peoples and carry out their strategy of "Divide et Impere." Today all reactionary forces present in India are manoeuvring once

again to turn the situation to their own advantage and they are keeping their predatory eyes alert for any opportunity to sink their fangs more deeply into India. Yet they are even more gravely concerned that these very antagonisms that they have nurtured and reinforced are now exploding in their faces. The hallowed peace of India is giving way to rebellions that are hammering at the central state and creating favourable new terrain for the revolutionary struggle of the masses. —ed.

Genesis of a Rebellion

Oh Lord, these boons of Thee I ask,
Let me never shun a righteous task;
Let me be fearless when I go to battle;
Give me faith that victory will be
mine,
Give me power to sing Thy praise;
And when comes the time to end my
life

Let me fall in mighty strife.

—Guru Gobind Singh
(1666-1708)

By K. Chittaranjam*

Punjab, the land of five rivers, takes its name from the mighty Indus and its branches. The banks of these rivers were the cradle of the ancient Dravidian civilizations and later of the Aryan tribes. Today this fertile land is giving birth once again: this time to a swirl of chaotic rebellion which is shaking all of India and reverberating around the world. The force which these conflicts—today assuming a religious form—have assumed, and the potential for other forms of struggle, can only be understood by an examination of the development of the divisions cleaving India and the ways in which they have been fostered by and interacted with the colonial subjugation of the country. Punjab, today the soft underbelly of the Indian central state, is a case in point.

Pre-Colonial Punjab

The roots of the evolution of modern nationalities in the Indian subcontinent can be traced back to the Bhakti movements beginning almost a thousand years ago. These movements of religious protest against orthodoxy, religious persecution and caste oppression shook much of what is today India. The Bhakti poets and preachers came from the artisan and untouchable castes, and they sang in the language of the masses. In the course of the movement the role of

A Package from the Ford Foundation

Sanskrit as the acknowledged literary language was shattered and the evolution of different dialects into modern languages was initiated.

Somewhat later, in the early 16th century, even as the Bhakti movements continued to influence events, the Lodi empire in Delhi was battered by invasion as the Mughal army of Babur blazed a murderous trail in pursuit of power.¹ It was into this tumultuous period of war and religious upsurge that Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was born. As he sang, "The age is like a drawn knife, the kings are virtual butchers." Nanak drew heavily from the prophets and fakirs of the Bhakti movement, from both Hinduism and Islam, to found his faith.² As it spread, Sikhism came quickly into conflict with the Mughal overlords: from birth it battled for survival. In the 17th century, the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh (male Sikhs conventionally take the name "Singh," which means lion) organised the Order of the Khalsa with the mission of wielding the sword in the cause of Sikhism. The Sikhs repeatedly sought to establish their own kingdom, only to be smashed and subjected to the medieval rule of the Mughals. It was through these protracted battles that the Sikhs gained their militant tradition with a host of religious martyrs.

Another key part of this process was the development of the language of Punjabi. Though it had existed both in its spoken form and in its literary form even before Guru Nanak used it to spread his gospel, its development into a modern language, along with the evolution of a distinct

Punjabi culture, can be marked by the advent of Sikhism.³

The development of modern nations in the Indian subcontinent definitely would not have been a linear progression from the Bhakti movements beginning almost a thousand years ago. Nevertheless the complex process begun during this period was abruptly interrupted through colonial intervention, which shored up and intensified religious and caste barriers and prevented their transformation.

Divide and Rule

After a long period of resistance, the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh finally succeeded in establishing a kingdom towards the end of the 18th century. It was short-lived indeed. By the middle of the 19th century, the British had invaded Punjab and established the United Punjab Province, which extended far beyond the borders of Ranjit Singh's kingdom. The Muslims, the largest group in this extended province, were mainly rural, as were the Sikhs; the Hindus, approximately 30 percent of the population, were based in the urban areas and were mainly merchants or petty traders.

The British took pains to maintain this pattern even as they restructured social relations to meet their own imperial needs. A series of irrigation works were constructed, and a new system of revenue collection was implemented which overturned traditional relations and converted land into a commodity. Through these and other measures Punjab was developed into a major grain producing area—but with the traditional divi-

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sions intact. For example, as new land opened up, it was Sikh peasants who were steered towards it. From 1857 to 1893, nearly 12 lakhs (1,200,000) acres (485,600 hectares) of cultivated land were grabbed by usurers. In 1901 the British enacted the Land Alienation Act which regulated the sale of land and maintained the division between Sikhs in the country-side and Hindus in the urban areas. A few years later the British went a step further and set up separate communal electorates through the Minto-Morley reforms: one reason advanced was that the Muslims were about to rebel against their domination by "inferior" Hindu traders and money lenders. At the same time the colonialists adopted a conscious policy of recruiting rural Sikh males as cannonfodder for their imperialist army.⁴ One member of the colonial administration hypocritically recorded their achievement thusly: "Sikhs in the Indian Army had been studiously nationalised and encouraged to regard themselves as a totally distinct and separate nation, their national pride has been fostered by every possible means."⁵

The growth of communal organisations was fostered by British policy—but this growth was also related to the different class bases of the various religions and to the response in India to the invasion of the British and to their efforts to impose Christianity.⁶

Politics of Religious Reform

As early as the end of Ranjit Singh's rule itself, before the British invasion, movements for religious reform (such as the Nirankari and Namdhari movements) had sprung up among the Sikhs. The Namdhari movement soon developed into an anti-colonial movement and was brutally crushed by the British.⁷ Later movements, though less militant, gave birth to the first Punjabi newspaper as well as to the Chief Khalsa Diwan, a religious-cultural-political organisation which spearheaded a drive to establish educational institutions among the Sikhs as well as to challenge the British use of feudal priests to control the gurudwaras (the religious centres of the Sikhs).

World War I saw the growth of anti-British sentiment among the masses. This was spurred on by the

Hindustan Ghadar Party, which carried out anti-imperialist and anti-war propaganda and even led a revolt during the war.⁸ For their part, the religious heads called on the Sikhs to supply more recruits for the British, and they excommunicated the Ghadar revolutionaries. They stooped to their lowest though when they awarded a high honor of Sikhism (the Saropa) to the British General Dyer, the butcher of Jalianwala Bagh.⁹ Disgust with this servile crawling led to the powerful Gurudwara Reform Movement: stretching over several years, nearly five hundred people were martyred and countless others suffered imprisonment and torture.¹⁰ The Akali Dal was formed in the course of this movement and then in turn helped to lead it; another institution, the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), also arose to finally take over direction of the gurudwaras. As shall be seen, both of these organisations play a central role in the politics of Punjab.

A Divided Nation

Around 1939, at the beginning of World War 2, the British government started decolonisation maneuvers in India to shore up support among the different political forces there. The communal divisions they had fostered established the terrain on which this decolonisation was carried out. The Muslim League had advanced schemes for separating areas with a predominantly Muslim population.¹¹ In response the Akali Dal, which, while working with the Indian National Congress, had also remained a vehicle for the political-religious aspirations of the Sikhs, put forward the call for Azad Punjab. During the war the Akali leadership supported the British war effort, yet in 1942 they rejected the Cripps proposal of the British government on the grounds that, upon the proposed decolonisation of India, provinces would be given the right to separate.¹² Their fear was, as one of the Akali leaders put it, "If India were divided the Sikhs would come under the majority of one community or the other; in that case, they would prefer a separate independent Sikh state with the right to federate with Hindustan or Pakistan."¹³

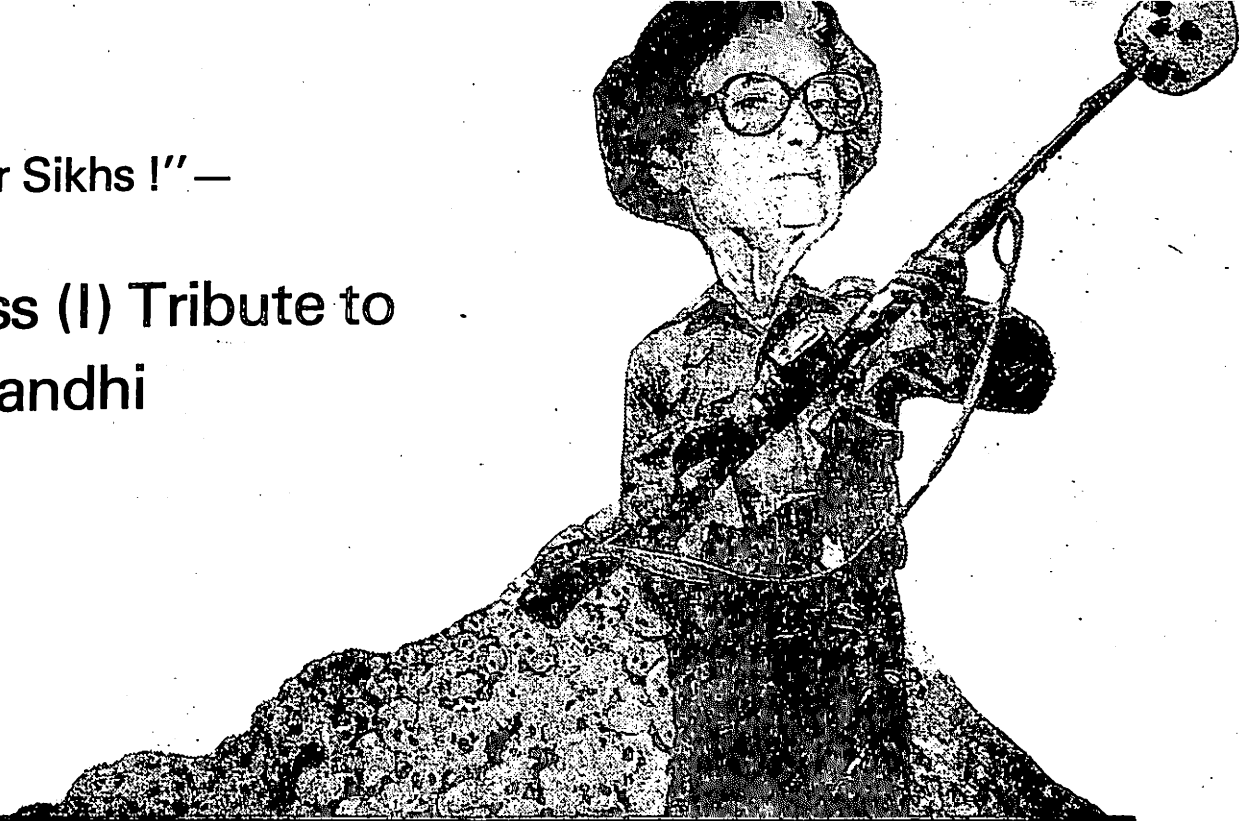
But by war's end the die had already been cast. Despite the vehement opposition of the Akali Dal, British Punjab was divided in 1947 between Pakistan and India. In the communal holocaust whipped up in both countries thousands were killed and hundreds of thousands were uprooted from their land and sent hurtling into an unknown future as refugees. Estimates put the number of Muslims who fled to Pakistan at 65 lakhs (6,500,000) while an equal number of Hindus and Sikhs were forced into India. The majority of refugees who fled into East Punjab were Sikhs, out of which a big section were businessmen and traders. For more than a decade to come Akali politics was to be influenced by these sections, desperately trying to build up a new economic base in competition with the established Hindu traders.

One of the immediate developments in Punjab after the Partition was the launching by Hindu communal organisations (such as the Arya Samaj), with the support of the new Indian ruling classes, of a conscious campaign to claim that there was no longer any basis for a separate religious existence for the Sikhs. Their argument was that Sikhism had developed to protect Hindu society from the Muslims and since the Muslims had been driven out (into Pakistan) the Sikhs were no longer needed!¹⁴ Hand in hand with this went a campaign to reject the Punjabi language and establish Hindi.¹⁵ On certain points the Akalis caved in completely. But in 1948, when they finally did advance a demand for communal safeguards and raised the prospect of a separate province, they met a storm of official denunciation and the charge that they were following in Pakistan's footsteps and fomenting communalism in "secular" India. This communalisation of the basic issues of the Punjabi nationality by India's new rulers was part of their effort to suppress national aspirations more generally. But it also had a particular target: the Sikhs, overwhelmingly concentrated in a homogenous territory along a sensitive border area and united by national ties, were a potentially serious threat to the ambitions of the new rulers.

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"Slaughter Sikhs!" —

Congress (I) Tribute to Indira Gandhi



The following excerpts illustrate that, far from spontaneous anti-Sikh riots, the vicious pogroms that occurred in the wake of Gandhi's death were highly organised undertakings of the Congress (I) Party itself. The excerpts are taken from the November 1984 issue of Mass Line, newspaper of the Central Reorganising Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

Inspired and led by the Congress Party (Indira), riots broke out in the late afternoon of October 31. The starting point was the premises of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in which the Congress (I) leadership, the local councillors and Ministers of Parliament were able to meet. The official announcement of Mrs. Gandhi's death was consciously delayed (till Rajiv's succession was ensured), during which time plans and arrangements for the ensuing lynching were made. Thus no sooner was the announcement made than attacks were mounted on every Sikh in sight, their vehicles and shops burned and smashed.... The Congress (I) was awarded three field days, starting 1 November (later proved by further evidence) and they systematically went around burning gurudwaras, shops and houses; Sikhs were lynched. Sikh drivers were

burnt alive along with their vehicles.... Taxis carrying Sikhs were upturned and put to the torch, with the Sikhs inside... In front of on-looking partisan police hundreds of people were roasted alive. Sikh passengers were pulled out from trains and brutally murdered. In some cases weeping children were thrown into roasting fires and burned alive.... Throughout the Hindi belt this is the general picture of the events staged. Rumours, all against Sikhs, were deliberately spread, keeping alive the tempo of aggression--this up to 3rd November when Mrs. Gandhi's body was torched. This is how the Congress (I) paid its rich tribute to Mrs. Gandhi, the giant killer--a sacrifice of two thousand lives in Delhi alone.

Behind the brutal massacre and massive looting no foreign hand was at work. It was an open assault organised by the communal government and the ruling party on a people....

Opposition parties and the press argued that the riots should and could have been put down. As an example, they pointed out how during Janata rule the Congress (I) riots (triggered by the arrest of Mrs. Gandhi) were checked. But they had missed the point: for now with

Congress (I) and the government itself jointly stagemanaging the "holocaust," who was supposed to contain it? Out of the many names of Congress (I) functionaries in Delhi cited by those attacked, those of Sajjan Kumar, Kamal Nath, HKL Bhagat (Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting) and Dharam Dass Shastri stand out. At AIIMS the local councillor and his followers had given the lead to start the attack. In Connaught Place and Rikabganj, Kamal Nath led the "loot-mar" march, while HKL Bhagat, with his numerous cohorts, could rampage the trans-Yamuna colonies. In terms of the number of killings, Bhagat ranks first among the Congress (I) leaders. The massacre conducted at Trilokpuri was the ghastliest and among all the killings that occurred throughout the country the one in block 32 of this colony is the biggest. One thousand people were finished off in Trilokpuri. The chief men behind this gory undertaking: Rampal Saroj Dulichand, Sadar and Abdul Khan, a DTC bus conductor. These goons led Gujjars, poor people from the nearby village Chilla and municipality workers residing in a nearby block. Like in any other reset-

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Revolutionary Communist Party, India :

Statement on the Death of Indira Gandhi

The following press statement was released Nov. 1 by the Organising Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, India. The RCP, I has been particularly active in the Indian state of Punjab, where the Sikhs have historically been concentrated. The translation has been revised by A World to Win.

The Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, has been killed in a daring attack by two angry Sikh youths. Indira Gandhi, whose brutal and repressive dynastic authority was notorious among the people, was brought back to power in the 1980 elections by the Indian big bourgeoisie who considered her their best representative. It is self-evident that this killing is the direct result of the communal and repressive policies pursued by Indira Gandhi over the years. She divided the people on regional, religious and caste lines; she pitted the people against each other while resorting to an unprecedented use of brutal force. The whole of the North East, Jammu and Kashmir, and Punjab stand as a monument to her medieval methods and Hitlerite repression. Her regime was marked by the increasing role of the military in the civil affairs of the Indian state and an increasing trend toward masked military rule under the guise of a Presidential form of government. For the working people of India there is nothing to grieve. A dictator in the offing is dead.

But there is nothing in this death for which the working class can feel relieved. The bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie which day in and day out sucks the blood of all the toiling people remains untouched and firmly in control of the Indian government. Rajiv Gandhi, the son of the fascist mother, has stepped in. This new and mild mannered politician will soon reveal his Gandhi-ite "peace" teeth which the people of India have en-

dured all these years. Not only Rajiv, but any other son of the Indian ruling class would act in the same way. The bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, faced with a threat to its "sacred" market and rule from the raging regional movements and the struggles of the toiling masses and faced with the overall crisis and war situation internationally, is forced to adopt a course of more and more centralisation of power accompanied with the suppression of the workers, peasants, other toiling people and the struggling nationalities. The Organising Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India warns the people not to overlook the fact that the fall of one representative of the exploiters will not end the tale of miseries, as many others are ready to step into the same shoes. The death of Indira Gandhi is not going to relieve the burden of imperialist and bureaucrat-capitalist exploitation at all, to say nothing of emancipation. This attack is as futile as it is daring. Emancipation can only come through the overthrow of the Indian state and the expropriation of the property of the imperialist, bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie and the big landlords and the establishment of a people's democratic rule under the leadership of the working class. In carrying out such a revolution the working class cannot rely upon such tactics as individual annihilation and for that matter no one should be complacent with this murder.

The Organising Committee forewarns the people of India that the Indian ruling classes will try their best to reap the maximum political capital out of the death of Indira Gandhi to once again raise the alarm of the threat to democracy and the security of India from abroad and from the just movements of the people and different nationalities. This hubbub will once again be used to

intensify the repression of the just struggles of the people and to step up efforts to curb the democratic and civil rights of the people. This daring attack is not only futile but has the capacity to send people into complacency, thus proving counter-productive and dangerous. Whether elections are held as scheduled or postponed, or not held at all; or what personality or political combinations remain or come into power--this is not of much consequence since the international and national crisis is pushing the Indian ruling classes to clamp down further on the Indian people and it will hardly be accidental if the ruling classes are enforcing virtual military rule while still keeping up the pretensions of democracy and the democratic system. The RCP, India warns workers and other people to oppose the national chauvinist slogans about the "threat to security and integrity" which will be the main vehicle for such a dictatorship. This must be opposed by the people of India stepping up their efforts for a new democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class.

A very dangerous effect of this attack will be the further polarisation among the people along communal lines and the heightening of tension between Hindus and Sikhs. Reported incidents of attacks on Sikhs in many areas will generate repercussions in Punjab. The working class should stand firmly for its class unity and the unity of all the toiling people and nationalities and must oppose communal divisions. The Organising Committee feels that the unity of the working class can only be preserved if national chauvinism and communalism are firmly opposed and rejected in all forms and uprooted from the working class movement. ■



Apartheid, Your Days Are Numbered

The word to describe the upsurge in South Africa during the last few months is "unprecedented:" upheaval and fighting with police on an unprecedented scale, unprecedented use of the army against the Black masses, unprecedented political strikes against white rule.

Although white rule in South Africa has faced increasing problems, still both a moment of what passes for calm there and the exigencies of the international situation had led the apartheid government to take some steps to stabilise the situation. Concretely this meant an election scheme to establish two impotent legislatures, one for those the government labels "coloureds" (of mixed African and European ancestry) and the other for the comparatively small number of people of Indian descent. This was designed to neutralise some of these elements and perhaps more importantly to create a political situation in which the western bloc could further reinforce white rule over the immense Black majority while pointing to

apartheid's putative "progress." Even this tiny mask of "democratic" rule which was never intended to provide even the charade of democracy for the vast majority of Africans was itself ripped apart when "coloureds" and Indians mounted successful boycott campaigns against the elections in August.

In a number of Black townships crowds surrounded and drove out the local Black government stooges. There was a spiraling series of confrontations in September and October between Black youth and police when the authorities tried to repress anti-apartheid high school boycotts, which drew in unemployed workers and others in the Black townships as well.

By November the government was forced to send the army into the Black townships, especially in the industrial areas. This was the first time the white regime has been forced to resort to such measures. The army occupied Tembisa, a shantytown for Black workers near Johannesburg, and

Sebekong, 40 kilometres south. Not even during the 1977 Soweto uprising was the fighting against the government so fierce on such a broad scale.

These actions drew in a large number of the Black industrial and service workers on whom South Africa (and imperialism) depend. Very successful strikes shut down many townships. On November 5th and 6th, a general strike was called by the two largest trade union federations, one legalised several years ago by the government in an attempt to separate the question of apartheid from union issues and the other associated with the anti-apartheid Black Consciousness Movement born out of the youth upsurges of the late seventies. These were among the first effective strikes of any kind in recent South African history. In the midst of the strikes there were further army occupations across the Transvaal industrial belt and a number of important violent confrontations. ■

Embezzling Stalin's Legacy

Over the last six months a number of unmistakable signs have appeared in the Soviet Union that could well be the buildup for a dramatic if hypocritical change in the official position of the Soviet rulers concerning Joseph Stalin, the head of the Soviet state from 1927-1953 when great advances were made in building and defending socialism in the USSR.

The rehabilitation of Vyacheslav Molotov, Stalin's main collaborator for several decades, the recent return of Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's

Gori, 1982. A parade of hypocrisy: Soviet military bigshots posing behind World War 2 medals to "celebrate" Stalin's birthday in his native town.

daughter, to the Soviet Union along with other events indicate that state interests of the USSR ruling clique may be leading to a new public "historical evaluation" of Stalin even while they continue to oppose, fear and attack Stalin's revolutionary legacy.

The Prodigal Daughter Returns

The defection of Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva from the USSR in 1967 in India represented a major propaganda blow against the social-imperialist leaders of the USSR. True, they had vilified her father re-

peatedly (Brezhnev, Kosygin, and the rest of the top leadership had all joined in the Khrushchev era denunciations of Stalin). Even so, Svetlana was still the daughter of the man who had headed up the Soviet Union virtually since its birth, she did have a certain status and renown in the country and the new leadership had taken pains to treat her carefully. Her defection hit hard.

Svetlana subsequently published two books in the West, the first and most popular entitled *Twenty Letters to a Friend*. It included such observations



as "I think of Russia as a land of unparalleled pain and trauma," and "When I now see Moscow in my dreams, I wake up in horror. It is as if one were dreaming of a prison from which one had escaped." Shortly after her defection, she revealed to the world that she had burned her Soviet passport. The Soviet authorities reacted to all this by denouncing her as a "tool of the CIA" and a "fallen woman"; they floated stories of moral degeneracy (in part using the fact of her three marriages), and finally in 1969 stripped her of her Soviet citizenship as a "traitress to the Motherland."

Given such a history, negotiating a return to the USSR could hardly have been easy. Yet it was accomplished with what virtually all observers have conceded was a surprising speed and facility. Upon her arrival in Moscow, Svetlana's Soviet citizenship was almost immediately restored by the Presidium of the Soviet government, and her 13-year-old daughter's granted as well. She was given an apartment and a bodyguard, among other reasons, in order to deal with Western reporters.

The decisiveness with which the Soviets responded manifested the increasing urgency with which they seize any and every opportunity to land such propaganda blows against the West. The past few months have witnessed a spate of testimonies from prodigal defectors who have returned to the USSR. The day Svetlana herself returned, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the youth organization's newspaper, featured a description of the experience of several Soviet youth entitled "Hell in Paradise." The affair of Oleg Bitov, a Soviet journalist who returned to the USSR after a year in the U.S. and Britain, has been widely commented on in the Western press. Bitov states that he was a prisoner of the CIA and the British Secret Service and that the anti-Soviet diatribes published under his name were either forged or written under threat of death. Western spokesmen have responded that the charges are ridiculous on their face ("don't all Russians long to come to the Free World?"). Regardless, Bitov's story received unprecedented play in the Soviet media and was serialized in the prominent Leningrad weekly,

Literaturnaya Gazeta.

Svetlana also provided ammunition against the West. After observing that she could no longer see any real difference between the American and Soviet political systems, she went on to bitterly remark: "Having found myself in the Free World, I was not free for a single day," and "What I confronted in the so-called Free World was enough to kill the ideology and enthusiasm of even a strong man. I am no strong man, and I have no 'nerves of steel'." Upon her defection in 1967, she was greeted with the tenderness of sentiments from the Western media, who lamented her harsh life and all the difficulties she had been through and witnessed. Now that her tracks pointed in the other direction, so did the press' affections. Explanations trotted out to explain the aberration of her return included stories that Svetlana had begun to suffer "fits of depression and despair," that she had had a series of "mental and nervous breakdowns," that she had begun to "drink heavily," and that "she had become increasingly reclusive and angry at the world"—the Western psychological equivalent of "anti-Soviet behavior." All in all, the explanations were more than a little similar to those run out by Soviet hacks 17 years ago.

The critique of the West captured in Svetlana's and Bitov's stories existed in direct relation to another theme: that it was time for Russians to come together. Whatever Bitov had done, however much Svetlana had attacked the Soviet Union (and in the pantheon of crimes in the USSR, like any imperialist country, nothing is worse than "traitress to the Motherland"), there was forgiveness and a place for those who returned to Russia. As Svetlana commented, "We have been welcomed here like the prodigal son in the times of the Bible." The return of Svetlana in particular was widely commented on in the capital in connection with another return: that of the eminent and long-dead Russian opera singer Chaliapin, the return of whose remains had been the object of a prolonged Soviet government initiative. As a Soviet historian commented on these developments, "All our history is coming home in time for the fortieth anniversary of the 1945 victory. It is

still the greatest achievement of the Soviet state, and it is inseparable from Joseph Stalin, who led us from Stalingrad to Berlin. It is inconceivable that the victory could be celebrated without honoring his memory too, whatever else he did."

It is in fact amidst a swell of Russian patriotism and celebration of the victory in World War 2, and more fundamentally of preparation for World War 3, that the memory of Stalin is being revived—conveniently now in part through association with his daughter. But the Soviet leadership has taken much more deliberate, and more significant steps, including the recent reinstatement to full Party membership of Vyacheslav Molotov.

Vyacheslav Molotov: A Signpost

It is the revival of Molotov, as much as any other single step being taken by the revisionists of the CPSU, which is an indication of the possible "reevaluation" of Stalin. It is not that the rehabilitation of Molotov *per se* has no interest for the revisionists—he does, particularly as a symbol of continuity from the pre-revolutionary tsarist days of the Bolshevik Party. Molotov, 94, is one of the last of the original Bolsheviks. He joined the Bolshevik Party as an adolescent in 1906, carried out underground work for which he was exiled, was a force in founding *Pravda* and then served on it as an editor in the days before World War I and went on to play a significant role in the October Revolution itself. Credentials like these are especially valuable for revisionists anxious to shore up an image tattered by several decades of counter-revolutionary theory and practice.

But what makes Molotov useful *right now* is that he is, in the Soviet mind and historically, associated with Stalin and Stalin's leadership in and immediately after World War 2 more than any other person living or dead. (And in this sense, the fact that Molotov opposed Khrushchev and at least to some extent Khrushchev's attacks on Stalin may even *enhance* his usefulness.) As Foreign Minister of the USSR before and during the war Molotov had great responsibility for international relations at this crucial period. It was Molotov who fashioned the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact in 1939.

But most important today is the role Molotov played in the war itself. When the German divisions crossed into the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, it was Molotov who made the fateful announcement to the people of the Soviet Union. In the name of the Soviet government and the party, Molotov took to the radio to call on the Soviet people to "stand as one person" in defense of the socialist USSR. He concluded with the words that are still known by millions throughout the USSR: "Our cause is just. The enemy will be vanquished. Victory will be ours."

Besides his position on the Politburo of the Central Committee, Molotov was also at this time Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of the government. He took part in the Allied war conferences at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Molotov also became the number two man on the five-person State Defense Committee established to head up the war effort. As such, he oversaw production of tanks, as well as anti-tank weapons (including the anti-tank inflammable liquid bottles that were to become known as "Molotov cocktails").

Following the war, Molotov was the chief Soviet representative abroad. In these years, as the U.S. set out to restructure the world and to organize its postwar empire, and as part of this to contain the Soviet Union, it was Molotov who at various ministerial conferences and United Nations meetings had to continually rebuff the U.S. offensive. For his dour persistence in opposing American policy, Molotov acquired numerous nicknames from Western diplomats such as "Old Stonebottom" "Mr. Nyet." and the like. Finally, Molotov is known also in the Soviet Union for his opposition to Khrushchev and the dismantling of Stalin's legacy. While the content of much of his opposition is not well-known, it was widely popularised at the time that, among other things, Molotov opposed Khrushchev's line of "peaceful coexistence" and insisted instead on the "inevitability of war" so long as imperialism continued to exist.

This then is what Molotov has come to stand for (even if Molotov's exact political role at the time of Khrushchev's takeover in the USSR remains unclear), and it was with all

this in mind that the Central Committee of the CPSU made the decision to rehabilitate him after over two decades in obscurity. More than just a symbol of the revolutionary ancestry of the current revisionist state, Molotov is a living representative of the Soviet victory in the last world war. He has come to stand for the spirit of incredible sacrifice made by the Soviet masses as they fought the German imperialist invasion, and of the continued implacability of their opposition to the imperialists after the war.

Three decades ago the Soviet revisionists seized on the weakness of the revolutionary forces, a weakness in no small part produced exactly by the great sacrifices required to defeat the imperialist invasion of World War 2, in order to seize power and establish the rule of capital. Now, as the Soviet imperialists face their greatest challenge—the prospect of all-out war with the Western imperialist bloc—they hope to use the memory of the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people to unleash patriotism and nationalism in service of their own goals of plunder and empire. Thus they raise the banner of "healing the wounds" that have rent Soviet society (not too unlike their American counterparts who seek to heal the divisions that split that society over the Vietnam war) in order to bring the Soviet people together under a common cause. In this way they hope to harness the sentiments of those who identify with that period of Soviet society—including as an important part of this their international audience.

That this is the actual purpose of the revisionists' moves can also be seen from the limited moves they have made to use the image of Stalin himself—and in what they have, and what they *have not* made use of. Joseph Stalin succeeded Lenin as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and led the Soviet Union through the extremely important battles to collectivise agriculture, build up a modern socialist industry, and to defeat the imperialist policy of encircling and suppressing the new socialist state, which reached its turning point with the successful defense of the USSR against the German fascist invasion in the course

of the Second World War. Throughout this period Stalin vigorously enforced the dictatorship of the proletariat against class enemies of all sorts within the USSR. For this reason Stalin has always been slandered and vilified not only by the Western imperialists but also by the new bourgeoisie that took power in the Soviet Union following Stalin's death.

The denunciation of Stalin and the hysterical "destalinisation" that accompanied the seizure of power by the revisionists led at the time by Khrushchev was absolutely necessary for them to be able to undo the gains of socialist construction and rebuild a capitalist system. Those who had been most associated with Stalin's line had to be suppressed and the supremacy of a different political line—and a different ruling class—had to be affirmed. In this sense there is much in common with the denunciations of the Cultural Revolution and the so-called "errors" of Mao Tsetung that accompanied the seizure of power in China by the capitalist roaders led by Teng Hsiao-ping.

The current Soviet leaders have not and cannot fully embrace Stalin any more than they can re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat—Stalin remains the symbol of what they had to *overthrow* in order to come to power. What they seem to be attempting is to *separate* Stalin's great achievement in defending the USSR from the German Nazi invasion from the political and social content of the regime he was defending. In other words, Stalin can only be upheld as a *patriot*, a defender of Mother Russia, and most definitely *not* as a defender of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For years the visage of Stalin was rarely if ever seen in Soviet society, other than occasional graffiti in his native Soviet Georgia. In the past few months though millions of Soviet citizens have encountered Stalin, many for the first time, on television, and many more will see him in a couple of forthcoming films. And the image they will view—certainly a product of careful consideration by the top Soviet leadership—is Stalin the war commander. The television footage showed Stalin in a variety of settings: planning the defense of Moscow in the summer of 1941, in his white

Revisionists on Motherhood :

"Babies or Jail"

In a recent policy move, Nicolae Ceausescu, head of the revisionist Romanian government since the mid-60s, has unleashed what can only be called gynecological cops. The aim is to halt abortions and force up the Romanian birthrate to a stated goal of three or four children per family. To accomplish this, the government is on a witchhunt after abortions, and is heavily clamping down on women generally.

In a stark example of the new policy, the Romanian authorities last spring conducted a lightning raid in the capital of Bucharest on a candy factory named Confex. Seventeen thousand women workers at the plant were compelled to submit to a gynecological exam right at the factory. Any woman showing signs of an abortion which has not been approved by the authorities is liable to a prison term. Women were reported to have attempted to escape by fleeing through windows at the plant.

Lightning raids like this are only one of the more extreme features of a widely-reaching system of control which the government recently esta-

blished. "Each month women in Romania are obligated to obtain a document from their factory or neighborhood clinic certifying that they have obtained a pregnancy exam. If a woman is pregnant, the pregnancy is followed by the authorities until birth. Without the certificate, a woman is deprived of other state health benefits, including dentistry and other medical care, and even of her right to a driver's license. Any woman failing to bear children is also subject to investigation. Women with fewer than three children must pay a monthly tax of up to 5% of their income.

The Romanian government's clampdown on doctors is also straightforward. According to *Agence France Presse*, any doctor giving unauthorized abortions is liable for up to twenty-five years in prison for the first offense. If caught a second time, the sentence is death. The new penalties were instituted in March; under the previous, more lenient system, the last doctor known to have been convicted was sentenced to ten years in prison. The penalties are not

marshal's uniform posing with Roosevelt and Churchill at Tehran and Yalta, and, in a later program, giving a dramatic speech to the troops in Red Square on Nov. 7, 1941, as the German armies closed in on Moscow. Stalin will also appear favourably in a filmed dramatisation of John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* and in a documentary of the life of Marshal Georgi Zhukov, where he is depicted

as a great commander-in-chief who successfully guided the Red Army to victory. Even this short list of the new propaganda ploys cannot help but reveal the real contradictions inherent in the revisionists' efforts to tailor some aspects of Stalin's legacy to their current needs and predatory plans: for instance, simultaneously trying to make positive allusions to Stalin as a prominent national leader on the one

simply for show.

In order to obtain an authorised abortion a woman must obtain the approval of the judicial authorities. There is no reason to think such approval will be anything but rare; already the rigidity of the authorities has led to dramatic consequences. It seems that one woman worker at the same Confex candy plant in Bucharest died of a hemorrhage after her doctor was refused authorisation to perform an abortion. On the day she was buried, the women at the plant launched a strike—a rare sight in Romania.

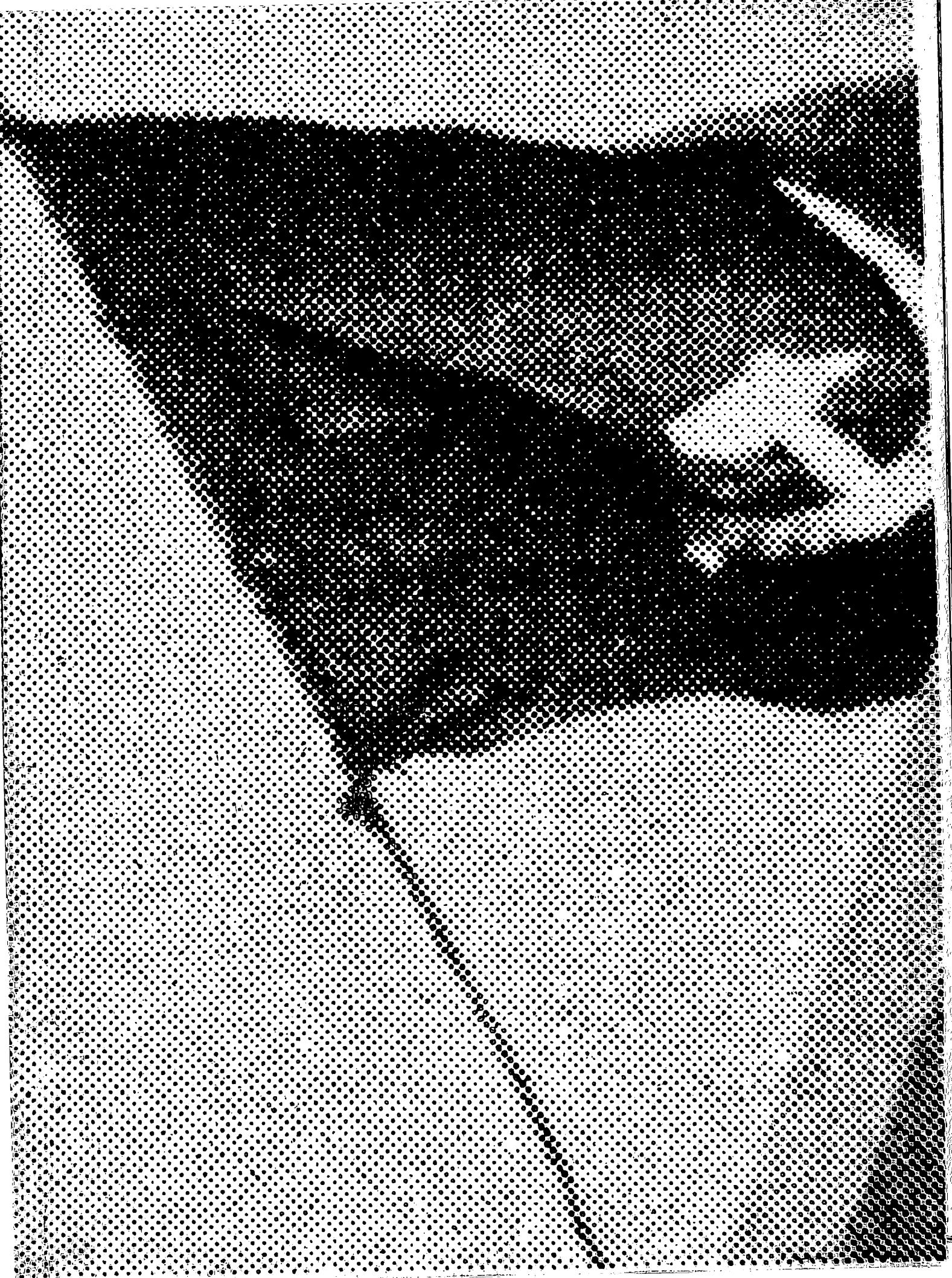
As part of the Soviet bloc, the Romanian party naturally professes to be guided by Marxism-Leninism. It is worth recalling, then, the long-held Marxist-Leninist tenet that the nature of a society is invariably reflected in the position of the women. For years abortion has served in Romania, as throughout most of the Soviet bloc, as the *only* means of birth control available. No prophylactics are manufactured in or imported into the country. How many abortions the Romanian woman averages in her lifetime is not known—the figure in the USSR is now approaching ten per Soviet woman. The Romanian economy, and the health care system itself, are easily capable of providing other means of birth control. This "abortion only" reflects a policy decision of the state—a policy of treating women principally as baby factories. Forcing women to confront the choice of "have the baby, or face the scalpel" makes for more babies. This is assuming grotesque and deadly forms under the Romanian government, as the choice is now reduced to "have babies—or go to prison." As revisionist chief Mr. Ceausescu sums up the place of women in that society, having babies is "the most noble patriotic and civic duty." ■

hand, while praising Zhukov, who was instrumental in dismantling Stalin's line and policies, on the other hand.

The attempt to "rehabilitate" Stalin as a bourgeois patriot while continuing to condemn Stalin the great proletarian revolutionary is very much a part of the Soviet revisionists' ideological preparations for war. ■

WHEN THE ANDES ROAR





In the offensive launched beginning in June 1984 the armed battalions of the poor led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) rattled the Andes from the southern tip of Peru all the way north. They shook the "eyebrows of the jungle" fringing the mountains on the east and the valleys overlooking the coastal plains on the west. The revolutionary army struck from within the shantytowns and plazas of the largest cities, including the capital. All this gave a foretaste of what the revolutionary initiative of the workers and peasants, unleashed by correct leadership, can and will do.

This offensive, which the PCP has entitled "Begin the Great Leap", shows signs of continuing in subsequent waves. The Peruvian press is downright hysterical about the armed struggle's advances; the media of the world's various imperialist capitals, while consoling themselves that there are no prospects for the immediate victory of the revolution in Peru, no longer find it possible to predict that the PCP is about finished.

When the Communist Party of Peru first launched the armed struggle in 1980, the world press and media carried out an active policy of boycotting it. After all, with counter-revolutionary garbage spewing out of China and elsewhere after Mao's death, was not Maoism itself supposed to be dead?

Then, when the guerrillas led by the PCP broke through this blackout, the coverup continued in another form—lies and distortions. The party referred to by the press as "Sendero Luminoso" was said to be guided by "messianic Inca nationalism" or just about anything else imaginable except what the PCP openly declared: "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism." The mobilisation and incorporation of masses of peasants, especially poor peasants, into the revolutionary war was described as the result of the PCP's "terrorist intimidation" of the rural population—as if anyone could hope to rival the slaughter carried out by the Peruvian government with arms and advisers supplied by the Soviet Union, U.S., France, etc.

Today the progress of the armed struggle has meant that the imperialist media's blockade on the news of the revolution in Peru has be-

gun to break down. Now they are forced to say a few things about it. But what they all continue to try to cover up—and always will—is the real nature, content and aims of the revolution in Peru and its international significance.

Quite a bit has been accomplished since the PCP first launched the armed struggle in May 1980 with a relative handful of small, inexperienced detachments of fighters, consisting mainly of party members, and even since December 1982 when the guerrillas first had to directly confront the Peruvian armed forces instead of mainly the rural police and police counterinsurgency forces. At that time six provinces in Ayacucho and adjoining departments were declared an emergency zone under the military and political control of the armed forces. (Peru is divided into 23 departments which are further subdivided into provinces.) Since then, the guerrillas have been able to break through the military's efforts to encircle and suppress them, and have spread the armed struggle widely, so that the original emergency zone now includes 16 provinces with well over a million inhabitants. And now the military has been forced to open a second emergency zone several hundred kilometres northwest.

The establishment of the People's Guerrilla Army in 1983 marked a higher level of organisation of the revolutionary armed forces and their quantitative growth, reportedly reaching a strength of several thousand men and women under arms. Some units are made up of a majority of women and there are a number of women commanders as well as party leaders, which reflects the revolutionary content of the war being waged in a country where the "right" of the landlord and his cohorts to rape peasant women reveals the overall position of women. In addition to the main guerrilla forces, regional and village-level forces have developed, drawing broad masses of peasants into the armed struggle.

These military developments have made it possible to protect, develop and extend the areas where a new revolutionary regime and a whole new set of revolutionary social relationships are sprouting, and in this way to

prepare the conditions for the revolution to seize nationwide political power.

The June Offensive

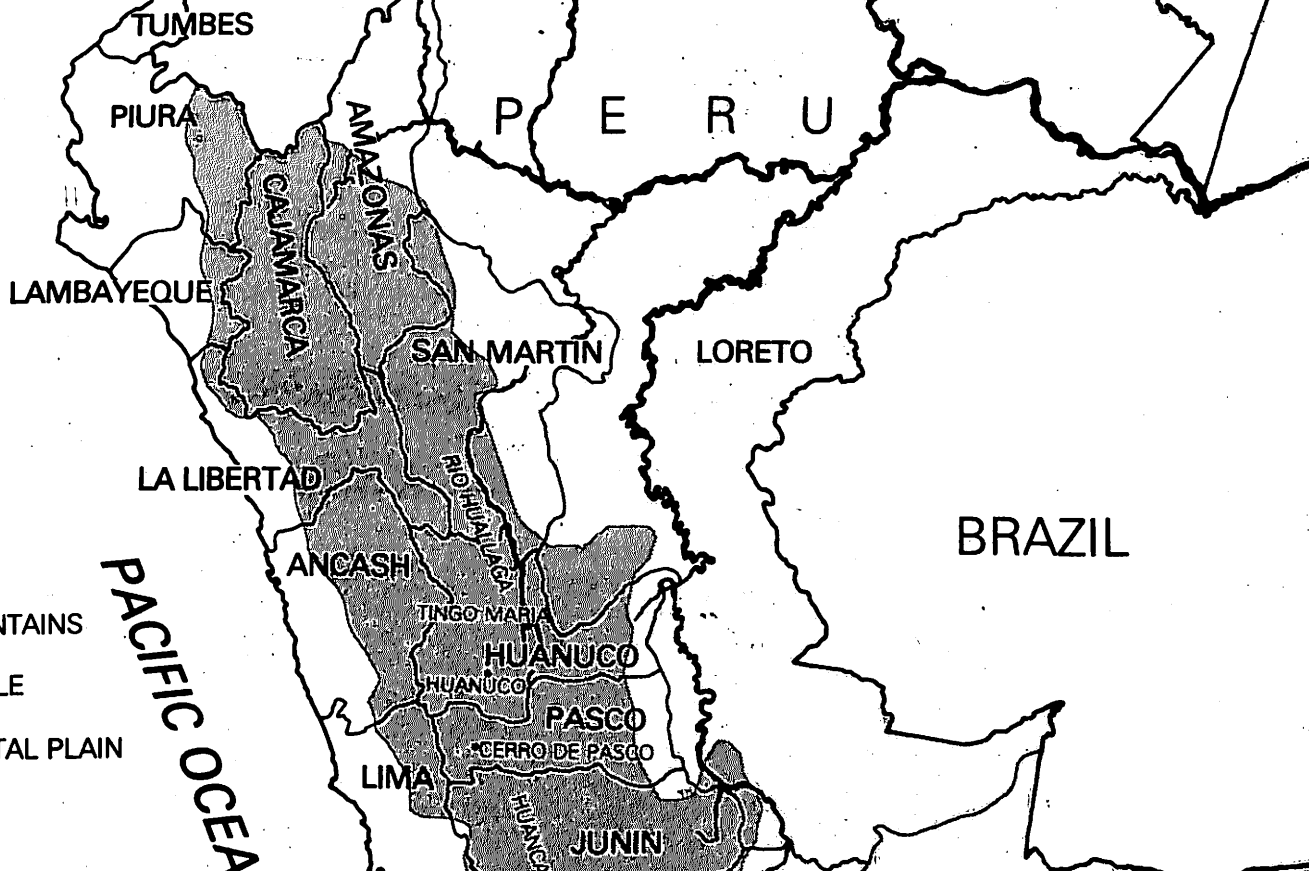
For some time now the PCP has been able to maintain relatively stable revolutionary base areas in the south-central Andes, especially the northern half of the department of Ayacucho and adjoining provinces in Huancavelica to the west and Apurimac to the east. Once this was a very productive agricultural area; in fact it produced a higher standard of living under the Inca empire 400 years ago than today. Since then, the lopsided development resulting from imperialism's search for profit has meant the concentration of capital in the coastal plantations which produce cotton and sugar for export. Most of Peru's tractors are concentrated there, along with its cities, factories, doctors and so on, while the half of Peru's population that lives in the sierras (mountains) is sentenced to rot there. Most of those who leave find an equally hungry existence in the shantytowns surrounding the cities.




In the sierras, the landlord's word is law—often literally so, since it is usually the landlord or his cronies who are appointed to be the local authorities by the central government, whose rural police and troops enforce these relationships. No self-respecting landlord returning from some urban outing would carry his own packages through the village if there was a peasant in sight who could be ordered to do the toting. These suffocating, feudal conditions confine many of the peasants to a few rows of grain, often sown with planting sticks.

Here, in the dry countryside 3000 metres high, the party's red banners are hung everywhere amid the mountain peaks, and boulders painted with revolutionary slogans abound. But because this area has been a stronghold of the revolution, it has suffered some of the worst repression, including armed forces occupation since the end of 1982 and recently aerial bombardment. In the June 1984 offensive, guerrilla units attacked rural police outposts and armed forces patrols in and around dozens of small towns in Ayacucho,

ECUADOR

COLOMBIA



-  MOUNTAINS
-  JUNGLE
-  COASTAL PLAIN

PACIFIC OCEAN

Where the armed struggle began



BOLIVIA

CHILE

including San Jose de Secce, Tambo and Huanta in the northern part of Ayacucho and Lucanamarca, Sac-samarca and Huancasancos in the department's centre, reclaiming areas where they had been driven back after the army came in, and reaching as far south as the small city of Puquio. They also carried out a series of actions in Huancavelica and incursions hitting eastward in the province of Andahuaylas in Apurimac.

At the same time there were strikes in the eastern mountain range near Cuzco and government offices in the city of Puno were hit. Arequipa, a major city, was blacked out; then guerrilla units blew up the city's "Palace of Justice" and other military and political targets. A particularly nasty surprise for the government took place when the guerrillas seized five districts with 10,000 inhabitants in Yaoyos, on the edge of the western sierras not far from Lima. According to newspaper reports, the guerrillas attacked police forts and posts, forced the local authorities to resign, and held mass meetings where the inhabitants declared their own laws. After a fierce battle with 300 counterinsurgency troops, the guerrillas reportedly retreated towards Huancavelica, while the pursuing troops, failing to catch them, confiscated every scrap of red cloth and every piece of printed material they could get their hands on. There was also guerrilla activity in the foothills of Ica overlooking the coastal plains leading toward Lima. While the PCP is still far from having carried out its strategic objective of surrounding the cities from the countryside, these moves show that it is becoming a material reality.

A series of clashes in the jungle highlands around Tingo Maria and the Huallaga River valley stretching north and south towards Huanuco showed the spectacular development of people's war in an area which until recently was not considered to be under the party's influence. For a long time the peasants in the valleys of this area have been dominated by enormously powerful cocaine gangsters. A U.S.-trained and supervised government antinarcotics unit had been operating in this "eyebrow of the jungle" region, but the fact that they

never saw much action before their first clashes with the guerrillas says something about their drug regulating mission. In fact, the national police later complained that they were surprised by the guerrilla attacks because they didn't have any agents in what has long been widely known as one of the main cocaine capitals of the world. Of course, after the guerrilla offensive the government declared the area the country's second emergency zone and sent in the armed forces. This guerrilla action was reported by the U.S. to "prove" that the PCP is in league with drug traffickers. But even a Lima newspaper pointed out that if that were so, then why did the guerrillas have to fight with stolen army guns, shotguns and tin cans filled with dynamite hurled with slings, when the drug dealers are well supplied with all kinds of automatic weapons, sniper rifles, speedboats and small planes, etc.

Another significant development was indicated by the guerrilla attacks shaking the mining region of Cerro de Pasco where the PCP has had some beginning but important influence. These Quechua-speaking miners have strong ties with the overwhelmingly Quechua-speaking peasants; at the same time they make up an important part of Peru's industrial proletariat. Until recently they were considered an exclusive stronghold of the legal "Left." Apparently the political situation among these miners has become explosive. A major railroad bridge across a mountain gorge at Infiernillo, considered a monument to the U.S. and British imperialists who built it, was completely destroyed; a mining train was seized and sent hurtling down the mountainside, taking a lot of track with it. Attacks in the department of Junin reportedly included an assault on an army barracks in Huancayo.

Assaults reported in the north, in the cotton plantations of Piura as well as in the mountains of Cajamarca, La Libertad and Ancash, completed the picture of a revolutionary army able to strike almost simultaneously from one end of the country to the other, mobilising forces from diverse sections of the people and areas.

The offensive manifested dramatic advances in the party's ability to

carry out warfare and influence events in the cities, in accordance with the PCP's conception of the armed struggle in Peru as a unity of fighting in the countryside and cities with the countryside being principal.

The city of Ayacucho has long been considered a "senderista nest," whose lower classes, especially among the city's youth, are considered fair targets by the occupying armed forces. Now this is increasingly the case among the urban poor in the shantytowns of Lima and other cities as well. The almost total unemployment in many of these suburbs built of shacks (unemployment even if in the disguised form of people trying to feed their families by selling cigarettes one at a time on the downtown sidewalks) is also a reflection of the situation in the countryside from which many of these people have been driven by hunger, and lately by the repression as well.

The ruling classes can hardly be said to feel secure in the city of Ayacucho or even in Lima and other cities where until recently they were able to impose a certain atmosphere of "normality." This has been abruptly replaced with repeated periods of military control. Within a 72-hour period in July 19,000 people were swept up in Lima, Ayacucho and other cities. Police swept through bars, restaurants, gambling halls, stores, plazas and streets detaining everyone who could not present proper identity papers or aroused their suspicion in any other way (such as perhaps being too poor and/or too Indian). This operation was supposed to be launched in secret—presumably the passers-by in large cities were supposed to be sufficiently accustomed to tanks, helicopters and soldiers to suspect nothing out of the ordinary. Those detained were held while police sorted through them searching for real or suspected revolutionaries. One of those caught in these dragnets was the schoolteacher Laura Zambrano Padilla, said to be "Comrade Meche" of the PCP. Lima and the adjoining port city of Callao were occupied by the military again in August; again in November many thousands were picked up in similar raids.

Nevertheless, such "pre-emptive measures" failed to stop the spread of

armed organisation among the urban masses nor to prevent major urban military actions against police and armed forces posts and patrols, government buildings and other symbols of the reactionary order. One of the many dozens of these, in addition to those previously mentioned, was the destruction of the offices of the Soviet airliner Aeroflot, located appropriately in the ultra-luxurious Sheraton Hotel, a building itself widely hated as a symbol of imperialism and burned down once before during a mass upheaval in Lima ten years ago.

Bloody Revenge

In the face of this nationwide revolutionary offensive the authorities have exacted a costly revenge. In July, the *Sinchi* ("Allpowerful," in Quechua) counterinsurgency troops, a part of the *Guardia Civil* police modeled after and trained by the U.S. Green Berets, were withdrawn from the countryside and the armed forces were given complete control of all anti-guerrilla operations. Almost 500 people were reportedly killed in August alone. The official death toll since May 1980 reached 3,300 in September 1984; by all accounts there have been over 5,000 killed, the vast majority by the armed forces and police and civilians under their command. There are almost 900 prisoners charged with "terrorism," including over 80 women. Only a tiny handful have ever been brought to trial and the government hardly seems inclined to do so.

A hypocritical "national debate" in the halls of parliament on whether or not to restore the death penalty seems merely an exercise in who can call for the most cruelty--the partisans of summary execution debate those more legalistically inclined who favor military tribunals, which one newspaper labeled "waiting rooms for the firing squad." Meanwhile, in the countryside there isn't much question of legalism or even of such niceties as firing squads.

There is simply unrestrained mass counterrevolutionary terror. Captured guerrillas are often hacked to death or crucified; sometimes their heads are cut off and displayed on poles in front of *Sinchi* encampments to terrify the peasants. The army

command openly boasts that it takes no prisoners in the countryside. The original armed forces head of the emergency zone, General Cisneros, spoke of having to kill 60 peasants to get three "senderistas." His replacement, Clemente Noel, explained the fact that armed forces communiqués consist almost entirely of "body counts" by saying "We don't have time to identify dead "senderistas." Officially almost a thousand people are listed by the government as "disappeared." The real number is acknowledged by almost everyone to be many thousands, probably 5,000 since 1982 in the emergency zone alone.

At first it was government policy to cover this up. Later the authorities found it necessary to publicise their terror.

In January 1983, shortly after the army was officially sent into Ayacucho, eight journalists were found murdered near the Ayacucho town of Uchuraccay. They had gone there to investigate government fanfare surrounding what the government said was the spontaneous slaughter of guerrillas by local peasants tired of being bothered. A government investigation headed by internationally famous Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa declared the government innocent of any complicity in this latter incident, which the commission said came about when peasants mistook the journalists for more guerrillas and killed them also. Later it came out that there had been no mistaken identity (the journalists' film rolls were discovered and developed, showing the whole incident). It was also revealed that the Vargas Llosa commission had specifically decided not to find out what a *Sinchi* patrol had been doing in the area at the time. After these revelations, there was no further investigation.

Now there are open concentration camps, like the one run by the marines in a sports stadium in Huanta and the army's Los Cabitos barracks in the city of Ayacucho. When a journalist disappeared after voluntarily walking through the main gate of the Huanta stadium to investigate, the government paid no attention at all to the protests of those who had not yet realized what things had

come to.

In August, the stench of corpses led people searching for the body of the disappeared journalist to three unmarked mass graves dug in the dry earth near the village of Pucayacu in Huanta. Reports on the number of bodies ranged from 50 to 89. They had been hacked to pieces with their hands tied behind their backs, all killed a few days before in what appears to have been one single mass execution. One of the very few pieces of bodies that could be identified was that of a peasant last seen alive in the hands of the marines in the Huanta stadium. The armed forces issued a bland communique claiming that what had been discovered was a grave where the guerrillas had buried their comrades killed in clashes.

"Democracy" and Armed Decisions

Of course, with a pro-U.S. government in power, Peru still ranks high on the U.S. bloc's list of democratic countries. There is even to be a presidential election in April 1985, though the raging civil war and the repeated imposition of national states of emergency are interfering somewhat with campaigning. Peru's President Belaunde met with Reagan in September 1984. Allegedly to support Belaunde's "democratic" efforts, Reagan granted him some temporary and minor relief from the International Monetary Fund's relentless demands on Peru, an economic concession granted in view of the U.S. bloc's overall pressing political necessities. The French government, which for various reasons has found it expedient to distance itself from U.S. policy elsewhere in Latin America, has given Belaunde arms and other encouragement.

But at the same time Peru's legal political life is taking place within increasingly narrow boundaries. As the armed workers and peasants have stormed onto the political stage, the country's legal "opposition" has increasingly been forced by the necessities of the counterrevolution itself to define its position in relation to a real and present revolution. This situation also has made it increasingly clear to all that none of Peru's important contradictions are going to be settled

(continued to page 34)

Message of the Second International Conference to the Communist Party of Peru

A WORLD TO WIN 1985/1

The Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations sends its fraternal greetings to the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru which is boldly leading the Peruvian proletariat and people in waging an heroic armed struggle against the reactionary Belaunde regime and its imperialist masters. The Communist Party of Peru, which is continuing on the shining path charted by its founder, Carlos Mariátegui, has dealt a mighty blow against revisionists of all stripes, in particular against the revisionist usurpers in China who have attempted to force the proletariat and oppressed peoples to capitulate to imperialism and its servants and against the treacherous attempts of the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania to deprive the communists and the masses of Mao Tsetung's qualitative development of the science of Marxism-Leninism. Thus the advance of People's War in Peru inspires and strengthens the Marxist-Leninist forces the world

over who are struggling against modern revisionism and its recent ugly manifestations.

The advance of the struggle in Peru is of great importance in the context of today's situation in the international communist movement and the revolutionary movement in general. In the absence of a correct Marxist-Leninist line most of the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations that are being waged today are being utilised by the two imperialist blocs in their rivalry. But the revolutionary war in Peru concretely shows that a correct line can enable even the people of a small country to initiate and develop their just war against all imperialisms and their reactionary puppets. This is why both imperialist blocs are actively involved in trying to suppress the struggle in Peru and are spreading a barrage of lies and distortions through their media and by other means. But as Mao Tsetung put it, "To be attacked by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing."

Despite the savage repression of the reactionary regime backed up by the imperialists, the proletariat and people of Peru--led by their vanguard Communist Party--have persisted in their struggle and have achieved important victories.

The Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations calls on all the participants in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, on all genuine communist forces, to actively take up support for the New Democratic Revolution in Peru under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru and its Chairman Comrade Gonzalo. The Marxist-Leninist forces of every country must mobilise the class conscious workers and revolutionary masses to support this struggle through propaganda, sympathy and material aid.

Long Live the Armed Struggle in Peru!
Support the Communist Party of Peru!

Letters from the PCP to the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

To the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

The PCP sends its most cordial greetings to the Committee and hails the successful carrying out of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations, which has taken the immensely significant step of forming the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to which we've adhered and whose Declaration we've signed by express agreement of the Central Committee of our Party.

Comrades, the process of the proletariat, of its communist parties and of the world revolution, has won great victories and confronted hard setbacks, but from them it has summed up substantial lessons, especially from setbacks which are always very educational, and today, clearly, it is more and more entering a new period of powerful revolutionary storms. It is within this context and with this perspective that we communists are once again uniting and surging forward as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement so as to continue and of necessity develop the glorious road of the International Communist Movement concretised in the invincible ideology of the proletariat and its three great peaks.

Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung. Thus we firmly believe that this resurgence of such far-reaching historic importance for the world revolution, signified by the RIM, is born under the lasting watchword "Proletarians of all countries, unite" and will develop upholding, defending and applying imperishable Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

As for the armed struggle in Peru, we would simply like to emphasise that it continues to blaze victoriously four years after it was begun, advancing further in the construction of the People's Guerrilla Army, in the building of the basis of the New State applying the slogan "Strengthen the People's New Democratic Republic", all under the leadership of the Party which has won new and remarkable victories in its combat against the armed forces and police of the reactionary Peruvian state, having achieved the extension of the armed struggle to other areas of the country in order to generalise guerrilla warfare through developing high mobility. And it is most important to reiterate that the armed struggle led in Peru by our Party under the invincible banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is only a part of the world revolution which it serves and for

whose sake it develops, all the more now that we adhere to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!
Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru, Peru 1984

INTRODUCTION

Together with the above letter the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement received the following reports on May 1 activities in Peru as well as the launching of a new offensive by the Communist Party of Peru. May 1st activities were carried out by all the participating parties and organisations of the RIM under unified slogans representing the important leap marked by the formation of the RIM. The forms of struggle were determined by the participating parties and organisations in keeping with the concrete stage, tasks and development of the revolutionary struggle in each country.

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Letter to the Committee

Report on May Day and the New Offensive

Comrades:

We want to report on two questions:

1) *On the Celebration of May 1*

We have printed the poster, announcing the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. This poster was and will continue to be used mainly for propaganda and agitation; it has been distributed to Party organisations, platoons of the People's Guerrilla Army, People's Committees (forms of the new state power in the villages and small towns), unions and peasants organisations and people's organisations in general. The majority of the posters were sent to the countryside for the education and mobilisation principally of the poor peasants; in the cities it was centred especially among the proletariat and also the poor working masses who live in the slums, as well as among university students. The centre of this campaign is the RIM as a new world unification of communists faithful to Marxism; and the explanation of the revolutionary content of "Break the Chains" and "Proletarians of All

Countries, Unite" is of great importance.

Also a hundred thousand leaflets were printed with the designated slogans. . . The distribution and development of this leaflet campaign has been along the lines previously described; nevertheless, we should emphasise that because of the concentration of workers and of greater literacy in the capital, almost 30% of the leaflets were distributed there.

Finally, we've also celebrated this May 1 by carrying out various armed actions: hanging banners, launching red balloons painted with hammers and sickles, wall painting campaigns, blackouts, harassment, sabotage, liquidations and arms capture, the seizure of a radio station to broadcast the message, incursions, attacks on police posts, razings and ambushes, all this in different parts of the country, which made the reactionary dailies speak of a "Wave of attacks," "New terrorist (sic) escalation," and publish a rather telling front page headline, "Terrorists (sic) Work on May 1." Keep in mind that these actions were carried out after the con-

clusion of a military plan.

Among these actions we would emphasise the blowing up of 30 metres of the oil pipeline in northern Peru, a hard blow to the reactionary state as the Minister of Energy and Mines himself admitted. This action was carried out exactly on the dawn of May 1, as were the majority of those mentioned. We'd also underline that the most resonant of these actions were carried out in the region of Ayacucho and in the city itself, and in the very capital of the republic. And there were also celebrations among the ranks of the party, in the PGA, the People's Committees, the People's Schools and especially in the concentration camps where the prisoners maintain as always their unbending revolutionary spirit.

The hanging of red banners with hammers and sickles has a great impact among our people, because in them they see the symbol of the armed revolution on the march, the defiant unfurling of their centuries-old aspirations. We will quote the pro-government daily *Expresso*: "Also in an audacious action at dawn today

the subversives raised two enormous red banners with the hammer and sickle symbol on the 35 metre high antennas of the radio stations "Ayacucho" and "Voice of Huamanga". . . With the first appearance of the sun's rays the people of the slums saw five metre long banners waving on the metal towers of these radio stations. This took place despite the fact that the antennas are surrounded and under permanent guard."

This May 1 has been a brilliant day of combats and revolutionary successes for our people; and it took on a higher significance being part of the worldwide celebration agreed upon by the RIM. The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has been a great revitalising inspiration for the Peruvian proletariat and people, for the revolutionaries, and especially for the armed fighters and communist followers of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and at the same time it has been a hard blow for reaction and electoralist opportunism, especially revisionism.

For the workers, peasants and working people of our country the emergence of the RIM is something with great prospects, as they themselves say: "It's great that the real communists are once again united," "this is a guarantee for the development of the revolution," "it is a great service to the international proletariat that we organise and unite ourselves in an international centre," or as the fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army and the rank and file communists say: "To march together under the same banner, is decisive for the world revolution which we serve;" "To unite ourselves under Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on a world level is the condition for victory in the world." The poster and the leaflet have had an outstanding welcome among the government workers (500,000 workers employed by the state who have held out for more than three weeks in an indefinite strike). Agitation, with the RIM documents, was carried out in the midst of their strike, especially in their protest marches and confrontations with the police.

In sum, this May 1 has been a successful fighting celebration of the

Peruvian proletariat and people, and together with the campaigns underway served to root the RIM among the lowest and most combative layers of our people, among those who have little or nothing in this world except the necessity to build a new one.

2) *On the New Military Campaign*

June 22 we began a new military campaign called "Begin the Great Leap!", which is the first of various successive campaigns with a view towards the political conjuncture in which we are developing in this country, including as one component the 1985 general elections. The current campaign is developing as part of the political strategy of "Conquering Bases" (that is, revolutionary base areas) and it serves to concretise the orientation of "Strengthen the People's Committees, develop the base areas and advance the People's New Democratic Republic."

The objective conditions are broadly favourable, since a developing revolutionary situation is continuing to unfold; even more so spurred on by the armed struggle. As far as our revolutionary forces are concerned, they have grown remarkably: the Party has grown in membership, especially in terms of poor peasants, and it has been strengthened and further tempered. The People's Guerrilla Army, organised in the first part of 1983, has become several times larger through the massive joining of peasants, especially poor peasants; the People's Committees have multiplied considerably, and most importantly, have developed in terms of their exercise of state functions. An Organising Committee of the People's New Democratic Republic has been formed, while the Revolutionary People's Defense Front in the countryside and in the city the Revolutionary People's Defense Movement are taking form, with the centres of resistance as their axis. Finally, 1983 saw more than half of the 15,000 armed actions carried out in the four years of armed struggle. Thus we can say that this year of combat against the armed forces (which came in to fight against the guerrilla actions at the end of 1982, setting up a Political-Military Committee in the state of emergency zone which now includes 13 provinces of

the departments of Ayacucho, Huanavelica and part of Apurimac, under the orders of a brigadier general), has been fruitful in every sense for the development of the revolution.

Nevertheless, the reactionary state, through its representatives, had been bragging, as they usually do every time we finish carrying out a plan and enter a period of preparation for a new campaign, that we've been turned back, that we've retreated and shrunk, so that according to them we were in full retreat under the blows they boasted of dealing us. As a result, the campaign "Begin the Great Leap" has taken them by surprise and at present we are carrying forward the greatest offensive we've carried out so far . . . both in breadth (at this point we are active militarily in 15 of the country's 24 departments, in the mountains as well as the coast and the jungle highlands) and in terms of our armed struggle reaching a higher level. We are dealing very heavy blows to the reaction, its armed forces and police, and, very importantly, we are taking back areas we'd lost and until now could not reconquer, while at the same time our action is reaching into new areas.

The struggle is taking a very cruel form and the bloodshed will grow as the reaction launches its counteroffensive; thus the repression applied so far will worsen in every way. But taking into account the grave problems and contradictions which burden the reaction in this country, and above all the objective conditions and the development of our revolutionary forces, we have the ability and the resolve to pay the necessary price, no matter what, to carry forward the armed revolution in our country, unshakeably decided to build the New State which has already begun to be built, since, as Lenin said, "Without state power, everything is an illusion."

This is our commitment and responsibility to the Peruvian revolution and even more to the world revolution of which we are a component part and which we serve and will serve. . .

With Communist Greetings,

Central Department
of the Central Committee
PCP, Peru 1984

Free Meche !



A WORLD TO WIN 1985/1

This letter was sent all over the world from Peru in July:

"This is to tell you that Laura Zambrano Padilla, a teacher, known as Meche and a great revolutionary fighter, was arrested this past July 20. We must develop a campaign to save her life, and against the cruel and savage torture to which she has been subjected. They are trying to kill her--this was openly threatened by the head of DIRCOTE (Police Anti-terrorist Command) himself, whose name is Gastelu, and it must be exposed.

"Here a campaign is developing to defend political prisoners and denounce the "disappearances": Since the struggle has reached its highest level, once again they are carrying out massacres and bodies are appearing in the hills and ravines. On July 25, 80 Guardias Republicanas (police), called the *Llapan Atiq* in Quechua, went into the prison at Callao where 84 women fighters are locked up. They violently abused the women, robbing them of all their possessions that might be worth anything, and destroying everything

else. They threw in tear gas bombs and beat the women brutally. Ten women were injured in this way: comrades Delia Taquiri, Elizabeth Romani, Dihla Ruiton; Juana Cuyubamba, Jenny Rodríguez, Isabel Gonzales, Nancy Burga, Dora Munoz, Isabel Carhuentico, Aida Zaire, Lina Romero and Marina Infanzon. But of all this, the centre of the exposure campaign should be the teacher Laura Zambrano, known as 'Meche.'"

(continued from page 16)
by elections.

The significant splits within Peru's ruling classes have been intensified by the government's failure to halt the armed struggle. Powerful forces within them are preparing public

opinion for an armed forces coup d'etat—a step favored by some pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet elements. Peru's President, Belaunde delayed giving the armed forces exclusive control of the anti-guerrilla struggle partly because the last time he did so,

in the 1960s, the armed forces overthrew him and set up a military junta that flirted with the Soviets.

It is a real barometer of the changes in Peru's political situation that when Belaunde finally did take this step, it was applauded by Lima Mayor Al-

fonso Barrantes, president of the United Left coalition which groups together most of Peru's reformist parties, including the pro-Soviet CP and those who have followed China's current rulers into an accommodation with the U.S.:

"We consider that this decision is a step that the President of the republic should take but we affirm that war measures are insufficient if they are not accompanied by social and political measures to stand up to terrorism." In order to achieve such measures, he said, what is necessary is "the unity of all democratic forces against this phenomenon of Senderism." After the discovery of the massacre at Pucayacu, Barrantes declared that criticism against the excesses of the police should not become a condemnation of them as an institution. While some in his coalition whose social base requires more radical demagogery have called for the government to institute a "dialogue" with the guerrillas--a "dialogue" which would require the PCP to abandon the armed struggle--Barrantes criticised such a stand as "utopian." Clearly this probable standardbearer of the "Left" in the 1985 presidential elections recognises quite well that the interests of the ruling classes as a whole, whatever their differences, lie in unrestricted warfare against the revolution. This is quite a changed tune since 1983 when Barrantes was running for mayor of Lima. Then he did his best to avoid the question of the armed struggle altogether and run on purely economic issues, in an effort to rope in the intermediate who didn't support the guerrillas but didn't support attacks on them either; then the slimy Barrantes called the guerrillas "compatriots." (The main role of the "Left" in those November 1983 elections was to propagandise in favor of electoralism in general. The PCP called for an active boycott of the elections. Despite the threat of heavy fines--and implicitly, death--for not voting, a majority of the population in the country as a whole didn't. Quite a few of those who did cast spoiled ballots. In some sections of the emergency zone, the government was unable to hold any elections at all, supposedly due to a lack of candidates.

Barrantes' open taking of sides with the government shows how much the political climate has become polarized and dominated by the armed struggle in the last year. It is also a sharp example of what Lenin called "the split in socialism," between revolutionary Marxists and those who use phoney Marxist rhetoric to justify counterrevolution, a split which has come to mean two camps facing each other around the world. Barrantes, after all, has been hailed as a model not only by both the pro-Soviet and pro-Teng Hsiao-ping revisionists in Peru, but also by a variety of reformist "leftists" in the U.S., Europe and elsewhere.

Origins and Development of the PCP

The Communist Party of Peru was founded in 1928 by José Carlos Mariátegui. After studying Peruvian reality and the great revolutionary events then shaking the world, Mariátegui had come to the conclusion that Marxism represented the "shining path" (*sendero luminoso*) to emancipation. But although the party affiliated with the Third International of Lenin and Stalin, after Mariátegui's death the revolutionary struggle was set aside for over a generation, until the early 1960s when Mao Tsetung's polemics against Soviet revisionism led to a rebirth of the Marxist spirit and a rediscovery of Mariátegui. (Later in the decade the influence of the Cultural Revolution in China was also extremely important.) Pro-Cuban forces who had refused to make a break with revisionism took up the armed struggle and were crushed. For the Marxist-Leninists in the PCP, the party's inactivity in the face of this situation was intolerable. As Comrade Gonzalo, then leader of the party's work in Ayacucho, later declared, "It is not enough to criticise revisionism. We must assume our own responsibilities."

Rebuilding the party along revolutionary lines under Comrade Gonzalo's leadership took fifteen years, with difficult twists and turns and several major splits. This process clarified the party's strategy of building up revolutionary strength by waging people's war, essentially a peasant war led by the proletarian

party surrounding the cities from the countryside until eventually the cities too could be taken and a New Democratic Republic established, clearing the way for socialism. The party would forge and lead a united front, in the course of and for the purpose of waging war against the regime of feudalism and comprador and bureaucrat capital (big capital linked to the landlords and subordinated to imperialism). This united front would include the working class and the peasants, especially the poor peasants, as well as the rural and urban petit bourgeoisie and, to a certain degree and under certain conditions, the small-scale national bourgeoisie as well when the revolution acquired sufficient strength. In this way the proletariat and its party could lead the revolution in Peru as part of the world proletarian revolution with the final aim of eliminating classes and class society everywhere in the world. This is the explanation for what the bourgeois press finds most incomprehensible about the PCP: the fact that while preparing for and fighting rural guerrilla warfare, in a region with few roads in a relatively isolated country, it has paid such close attention to matters such as the Cultural Revolution and the overthrow of proletarian rule in China after Mao's death, and the task of rebuilding the international communist movement--questions upon which more than a few parties have crashed. More than that, it has gone to great lengths to educate the broad masses in these matters which learned commentators may find unfathomable but which workers and peasants find very relevant to the goal of emancipating mankind.

Before the party launched the armed struggle in 1980 there was a year of concentrated preparations. A careful survey was done of the conditions and sentiments of various sections of the masses, which along with geographical considerations was used to determine where to launch the armed struggle. A summation of the previous experience of armed struggle in Peru and elsewhere in the world and especially of the military line Mao developed in China led the PCP to some clear criteria in this regard. While in early stages protracted people's war could not be sustained in

the areas most accessible to the government's armed forces, where the enemy could bring his full strength into play, at the same time such a war could not be fought relying on terrain considered inaccessible to the enemy, as did the Peruvian guerrillas inspired by the Cuban "focoist" theory in 1965 who concentrated their efforts in the sparsely populated upper heights of the mountains. Instead, in order to be able to rely on the masses and develop as a war of the masses, the armed struggle would have to be concentrated in those areas where it was possible to work towards developing revolutionary base areas, the embryo of a revolutionary political regime under the party's leadership, in order to fully mobilise the masses in these areas for the revolutionary war and on this basis exert revolutionary influence more broadly throughout the country and society. A party military school was established to train the first party cadres to lead the armed struggle.

The first campaign was called "Initiate the Armed Struggle." Actions were centred in the countryside, focused on the land question: seizures of crops, land invasions where the peasants invaded the landlord's fields to plant their crops and later returned to collect their harvest at gunpoint, sabotage of the infrastructure, boycott of local elections, armed agitation and propaganda. A large hacienda would be seized and a mass meeting called to distribute the contents of the hacienda's warehouses among the peasants. The landlord's buildings would be burned down and the landlord's bullies who had terrorised the peasants would be punished.

On mountain peaks overlooking cities, at dusk, enormous flaming hammers and sickles illuminated the sky. Soon the party's first detachments grew to platoon size. They marched by night, avoiding the roads, and attacked by day, often every day. The police and paramilitary bands organised by the landlords chased them all over the countryside, without being able to engage the guerrillas in unfavourable decisive battle. The revolutionary forces divided up so that the reactionaries would be forced to divide up to follow them; then the guerrillas regrouped and attacked. In this the party was

guided by Mao's line about dividing up the enemy and eating him up piece by piece. Guerrilla units learned to move rapidly on foot through the mountains, sometimes fighting and marching over many hundreds of kilometres without pause.

The party also organised units in the cities, based especially in the shantytowns but reaching into different classes and strata. In addition to supporting the armed struggle in the countryside, urban party units also had the task of "forming armed detachments to put themselves at the head of the mob," as Lenin put it in describing preparations for the insurrection in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. They learned how to mobilise hundreds or even thousands of people on the streets in a matter of minutes for a lightning rally and to surround and destroy a government building or other target and then scatter again. Lima and other cities were repeatedly blacked out both to facilitate military attacks and to demonstrate the weakness of the government and the guerrillas' growing power.

By the end of the first year of the armed struggle, the guerrillas had opened up several zones in the countryside where they could operate more or less freely, along with other new zones where they were active. In order to seize arms, build up larger revolutionary armed units and create the conditions for building base areas, the PCP launched a campaign called "Dealing Blows." Police outposts in the countryside were attacked and wiped out, effectively wiping out the old political power in much of the countryside in the five northern provinces of the department of Ayacucho. This was in the context of the party's over-all efforts in this period to release the revolutionary initiative of the masses and "shake the countryside and city with armed struggle" so as to create the new political conditions that would allow these revolutionary base areas to come into being.

Two events in the city of Ayacucho in 1982 gave what was to the authorities terrifying evidence of the qualitative growth in the guerrillas' support and armed strength. In

March of that year, a relatively small guerrilla force in the city of Ayacucho blew up power lines, surrounded and pinned down the police and counterinsurgency troops in their barracks and blew their way into the departmental capital's prison. There the guerrillas and the 300 prisoners raised the red flag over the prison courtyard, sang the "International" and then escaped. Enraged, the next day the police took their revenge on three suspected guerrillas who were murdered in their hospital beds. Six months later, Edith Lagos, a 19-year-old party member who was one of the prisoners freed in the Ayacucho jailbreak, was captured by the police in the aftermath of an attack carried out by her unit. She was then cut open by police bayonets. Her funeral was a phenomenal outpouring of the revolutionary masses which shook the whole country; 30,000 people in this town of 80,000 filled the streets as she was buried wrapped in the party's red banners.

Later, in January 1983, when armed forces tanks were arrogantly rolling up and down the streets of this city, a successful general strike called by the party under its own name made it unmistakably clear just who commanded the loyalty of the masses and who had nothing to rely on but terror.

"Peasants Killing Peasants?"

Especially after the armed forces first came into the mountains, many of the most aggressive actions against the guerrillas were carried out by *mesnadas*, paramilitary bands based on rich peasants and corrupt elements, often led by retired army non-coms and sometimes directly run by the counterinsurgency forces. Such attempts to build up reactionary counter-guerrillas have been standard CIA tactics from Vietnam to Turkey and bear striking resemblance to the procedures spelled out for the U.S.-supported *Contras* in Nicaragua. Whatever crimes these bands commit against the people—and the opportunity to rape and loot seems to be one of their main recruiting promises—are conveniently ascribed by the government to the re-



VIVA LA LUCHA ARMADA

PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU

volutionaries. When these mesnadas assassinated suspected members and sympathisers in the villages, as they did often, or succeeded in killing a guerrilla unit after first gaining their confidence by pretending to be revolutionary sympathisers themselves, as also happened a few times, it was reported in the press as a tragic case of "peasants killing peasants"--driven mad, as Vargas Llosa wrote, by a war that had nothing to do with them and which they could not understand. When these mesnadas were wiped out by the guerrillas, the press reported it as a massacre of innocent peasants by mindless fanatics.

By mid-1983 most of the mesnada bands had been destroyed or decapitated. The government (and its U.S. and Israeli advisers in counter-revolutionary warfare) has certainly not given up utilising better off strata and different contradictions among the peasants to its advantage, including even some former leftist

peasant leaders who acquired the status of new landlords through various agrarian reforms. After all, the countryside includes members and representatives of all the different classes and political positions.

But there are limits to what can be done with such bands, especially when there is a genuine and growing revolution and the main thing motivating these armed bullies is the punishments and blandishments of the bigger armed bullies in power. Now official government policy is not to give them firearms which they could willingly or unwillingly lose to the guerrillas.

During the last half of 1983 and the first half of 1984 the party was said by the enemy to be "on the run" in much of the original emergency zone. Certainly the first year of direct confrontation with the armed forces was very hard for the revolutionaries. Yet it was during this period that they were engaged in the difficult but successful

campaign to "Defend, Develop, Build"--defend the People's Committees the PCP led among the peasants, develop its mass work and the guerrilla war and build new People's Committees as widely as possible. It was this campaign which made the June 1984 "Begin the Great Leap" offensive possible.

The first People's Committees had sprouted towards the end of 1982. When the landlords and the rest of the local authorities were overthrown, many peasants wanted to divide up the land. But although the PCP holds that feudalism cannot be abolished without dividing up the land among those who work it, it considered such a step premature without sufficient political power to enforce and guarantee--relatively--this new social system. Still it was necessary to establish the embryonic basis of the new revolutionary order, or in other words, of a new regime.

The People's Committees arose out

The PCP Speaks on "Terrorism"

The mountains and countryside are a powerful and natural base for any revolutionary war in our country. Ours is peasant war, led by our party, which is converting the countryside into the armed bastion of the revolution, in the concrete form of base areas--embryos of the New State of workers and peasants--and isolating the reactionaries and their imperialist masters in the cities. There the proletariat and the masses burn the bottoms of the enemy's bloody paws mainly through armed actions which serve the struggle in the countryside, the centre of the storm, and prepare the conditions for the final assault on the cities and the total, complete and thorough defeat of the reactionary order and the army that maintains it. This road, the only road to revolution, is now open; this is the road on which more and more of the proletariat and the masses, our people, are moving towards their own armed

emancipation, by their own hands, since "The people and only the people are the motive force of world history".

What is the essence of the government's political and military position with regard to the guerrillas? It is to combat them as "terrorists." But in this the Peruvian reactionaries, their state and the Belaunde government are only following the pattern set by their Yankee imperialist masters. It is well known that U.S. President Reagan, his Secretary of State Al Haig and the rest of his followers put the "terrorist" label on the revolutionary wars now being waged in the world. With this they try to discredit armed action, playing on the masses' correct rejection of the old individualist, anarchist, dead-end terrorism long condemned by Marxism, lumping together the defense of property and so-called "social peace" along with what they claim is the de-

fense of life--all with the idea of winning the masses to their side or at least neutralising them.

Calling the armed struggle "terrorist" is nothing but taking up the demagogic and reactionary position of Yankee imperialism in order to oppose the armed revolution, seeking to cover it with slander while they mount the bloodiest repression and genocide. Further, they use this rotten manoeuvre in their contention for world hegemony with Russian social-imperialism; they try to link revolutionary action to the social-imperialist superpower through this so-called terrorism. This is another way in which they seek to discredit genuine revolution which has nothing at all to do with the sinister centre of contemporary revisionism that has converted the country of Lenin and Stalin into the hegemonic superpower of today.

It is to be expected that the Peruvian reaction, their Belaunde government and their media hacks can't do anything but carry out the orders and directives of their imperialist masters. But they are not the only ones who condemn our armed struggle as "terrorism." Also climbing on this bandwagon are the opportunists

of the first committees established by the peasants to divide up the harvests they'd seized by force of arms, committees which soon took on the additional tasks of organising the collective planting of future harvests and work in general, and increasingly exercising other functions of political rule as well. For instance, a captured document recording the decisions of the first mass meeting establishing revolutionary power in a shantytown near Lima, was published by the Lima press in 1984. Decisions were made to ban gambling, drugs, fortune telling, continual drunkenness, beating women or other family members; robbery, bullying, and collaborating with the police. Penalties established for these violations ranged from small fines to cutting hair to execution in the case of outright police agents. The bourgeois press howled against the "injustice" of this last penalty, but it is absolutely necessary for the masses to impose

their will in this way in order to be able to release their initiative. There are still few places in Peru where the authorities cannot enter if they amass sufficient force, although their ability to do so is limited and can only be applied to a few places at any one time, while large areas of the countryside especially remain out of their control. When the authorities do come in they always take reprisals, combining the selective public torture of suspected communists with indiscriminate terror.

At first the five members of each committee were chosen by all of the masses in a particular village at a public meeting, but this policy proved impossible to maintain in the face of the repeated murder of committee members, who are now chosen by representatives of the masses and maintain the secrecy of their identity. These commissars--so-called because they have a commission from the masses which can be revoked--in-

clude a committee secretary, a commissar of security to watch over class enemies in the village, a production commissar to lead the organisation of production and commerce, a commissar of community affairs to deal with registering births and marriages, education (a particularly important task since the army and police have driven many school teachers out of the countryside), recreation, etc., and a commissar of people's organisations to lead various mass organisations such as the poor peasants' movement, the class conscious workers and labourers' movement, the popular women's movement, the youth movement and now even a children's movement which arose completely unforeseen by the party because of the demands of the children themselves.

An Organising Committee of the Peoples' New Democratic Republic has been set up on the basis of these People's Committees and in con-

manipulated by the hardened revisionist Jorge Del Prado (head of the pro-Soviet Peruvian Communist Party-ed.) and his clique, obediently following the baton of that Russian imperialist boss and world-wide puppeteer Brezhnev.

It is natural that these enemies of the revolution act this way since they cannot stand by with folded arms while their position is undermined--their position of riding on the backs of the masses whom they've sold out for so long in the service of social-imperialism's collusion and contention with Yankee imperialism. But also in this same chorus we find "Patria Roja," which issues furious calls to the self-proclaimed "left" to unleash a holy war against supposed "terrorism." The sinister division of labour they propose is that they take up the ideological and political struggle against "terrorism" while the government carries out all-around repression. Yesterday enemies of Teng Hsiao-ping (when Mao, whom these revisionists claimed to support during his lifetime, had Teng removed from office-ed.) and today his admirers, they have to attack us for fighting Yankee imperialism, the partner of their new revisionist boss, and even

more for applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism which yesterday they invoked and today they reject. Nevertheless, this chorus line has been joined by others who are still dazzled by the so-called "democratic opening" and "democratic road"....

The more the people support us and gain heart, strengthening our forces, the more desperate will be those who want to hide and smother our revolutionary advances under the ragged cloak of "terrorism," since we are the armed revolution in development. There are those who call us "Sendero Tenebroso," the gloomy path, while they try to preserve the shadows that are being pushed back by the brilliant light of our actions guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There are those who call us "unpatriotic" while they sell out the country to imperialism. There are those who call us "infantile" without any proof and without understanding that even if that were the case, the genuine struggle of the class and of the people teaches us and matures us while opportunist senility has set in among them spreading its contamination without regard to age. There are those who brand us as "provocateurs" without realising in their

blindness that they are persistently provoking the righteous anger of the people with their unrepentant although frustrated promotion of capitulation. And finally there are those who call us "adventurers" without noticing in their political stupidity that they are just the same old political swindlers and careerist politicians. Nevertheless, on one thing they are completely correct: we have no love for parliamentary cretinism and do not worship electoral opportunism. We are plainly and simply Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.

Chairman Mao has taught us, "It is a good thing to be attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black without a single virtue. It demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line between the enemy and ourselves, but have achieved a great deal in our work."

From "Desarrollemos la Guerra de Guerrillas" (*Develop the Guerrilla Warfare*), a pamphlet signed by the PCP Central Committee, dated March 1982, which was circulated in an illegal edition of several hundred thousand in Peru. ■

junction with the development of the Revolutionary Front of Popular Defense in the countryside and the Revolutionary Movement of Popular Defense in the cities (both forms of united front organized according to the party's conception of the different tasks in the countryside and in the cities at this moment).

These political steps made possible by advances in the revolutionary war contribute both to further accelerating the armed struggle and to preparing for the eventual seizure of nationwide political power. By the time of the launching of the June 1984 offensive there were about 100,000 people living under and participating in the new political power led by the party in its base areas.

Training Proletarian Revolutionaries

In the first few years of the armed struggle the party lost a very large number of its members. Since then its ranks have grown many times over. Formerly based especially among students, many of whom were the children of peasants, today it is composed mainly of poor peasants themselves, as well as some workers. This has posed in an increasingly sharp way the task of training party members and the masses in the stand and science of the international proletariat. The basic list of materials for training party members focuses on Mao's writings (including *Struggle in the Chingiang Mountains*, *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*, *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan*, as well as a selection of his writings on philosophy), some works by Lenin (including *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism* and *The Collapse of the Second International*) and selections from Mariategui, among others. Hardly a reading list for "messianic Inca nationalists!"

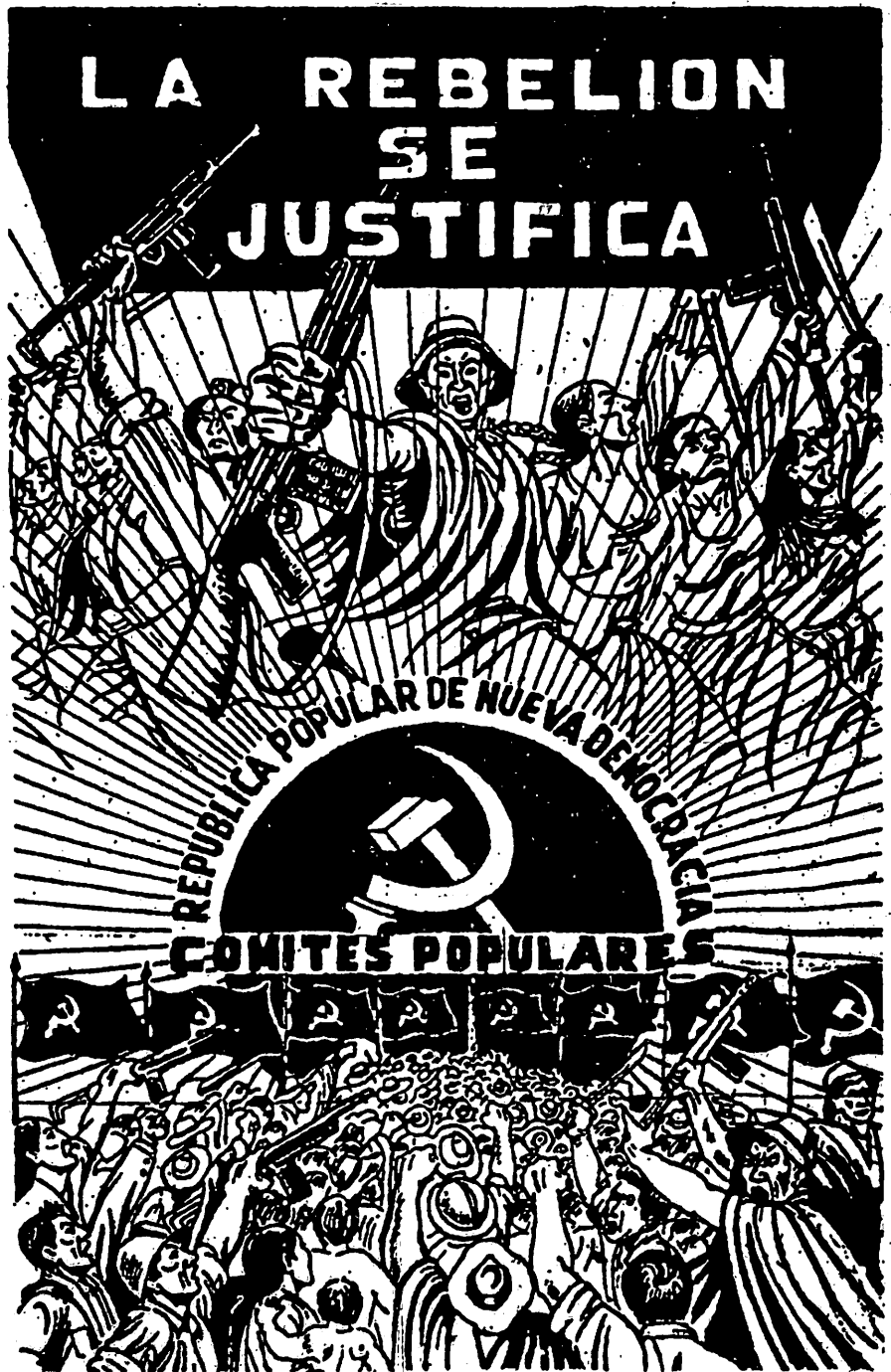
Several party pamphlets have circulated in the hundreds of thousands as have revolutionary posters which along with the seizure of radio stations on several occasions have been a means of agitation reaching the majority of the peasants who can't read.

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* has also appeared in a Peruvian edition.

For a while the Peruvian press excoriated the PCP for its alleged "nationalism," which really meant criticising it for opposing revisionism (that is, the fact that it opposes revisionism in power in the USSR, as well as China and Albania, and its stand on Soviet "aid": "It's better to have simple weapons than sell your soul to a new master). More recently the Peruvian press has taken to trumpeting about the PCP's "internationalist connections" (claiming

It's right to rebel

that the PCP isn't nationalist enough) and running article after article about what it refers to as the "Senderista International." But senior journalists in London and New York told RIM supporters who had brought the PCP's open letters affirming its RIM adherence to their attention that they would not be allowed to report anything that would interfere with the blackout of the Peruvian armed struggle's real aims (continued to page 42)



Life and Death in Peru

Population:

18 million
Lima/Callao--5 million
49% Quechua and other Amer-Indian
33% mestizo
12% European
6% African

Life expectancy:

58 years--national average
49 years--rural average
45 years--Ayacucho average
Almost a third of all babies born in Ayacucho die before their first birthday.

Income:

\$1100 per capita GDP (gross national product divided by population)
\$100 per capita in Ayacucho
Minimum 1983 wage could buy one-half of minimum amount of food for survival of a family of five.
Average 1983 wage could buy 80% of that amount.

Unemployment:

Up to 60% in urban areas
No figures on rural unemployment
30% economically active population fully employed.

Occupations:

1980 figures not released. 1970 figures for occupations. 1972 (post agrarian reform) figures for landholding:
45% economically active population is involved in agriculture (or fishing--a small number).
77% of holdings are under 5 hectares (12 acres).
34.4% holdings under 1 hectare
17% 5-20 hectares (middle peasants)
4% 20-100 hectares (mainly capitalist agriculture)
2% over 100 hectares (These holdings, which amount to over 54% of total arable land, include traditional latifundia, vast grazing enterprises and coastal capitalist plantations)
14% economically active population is employed in manufacturing, of which
35% in factories
Majority in shops of under 5 people (mostly artisanal workshops)
85% in shops of 50 or less people
(Figures for considerable agricultural proletariat employed in modern plantations not included)

Foreign investment:

48% U.S.
13% Switzerland
9% Panama
4% Italy
4% U.K.

Government Arms:

250 Soviet T54 and T55 tanks
170 U.S. French medium tanks
42 Soviet M 18 helicopters, plus U.S. and U.K. light helicopters
32 Soviet Sukhoi fighters
24 French Mirage fighters
6 West German subs
2 Italian guided missile frigates (with French missiles)
160 Soviet military advisers
No public figures for U.S. and Israeli advisers, although many sources including U.S. semi-official mercenary *Soldier of Fortune* magazine report their presence



And the Reaction of the Bourgeoisie

"'What do you want,' said the lieutenant, 'These kids are fanatics. Fourteen, fifteen years old at the max. They yell, 'Long live the Communist Party of Peru!' as we shoot them.'"

"Today the words 'Sendero Luminoso' make the native bourgeois in suburban Miraflores tremble. Every time Sendero makes the lights go out, they imagine that the cholo (Indian) hoards who live in the shantytowns are about to descend on their deluxe ghetto."

"I couldn't meet the senderistas in the mountains or the jungles, but I could meet their families and friends who visit the Fronton, an island prison for senderistas. Many of them, from all levels of society, support Sendero's ideas. Unfortunately the discussions with them didn't go beyond cliches about the armed struggle, the guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo, the people's republic that will arise from a new democracy, the heroic resistance of the prisoners. But the strangest thing is that this delirious talk is completely shaking Peru."

Le Nouvel Observateur, 7 December 1984

(continued from page 40)

that the media has still been able to impose to a large extent on an international level.

The Peruvian government and its West and East bloc "advisors" have already gone to unprecedented extremes against the revolution, including not only the mass murder, "disappearances" and concentration camps already all too familiar in Latin America but even aerial bombardments, strategic hamlets and other advanced techniques of imperialist domination developed in Algeria, Vietnam and Afghanistan. Experience has proved that there are no limits to the cruelty of reaction; certainly they have even more suffering in store for the Peruvian mas-



ses. The People's War will certainly be protracted before reaching final victory. But the revolutionary armed struggle under the party's leadership has begun, which was a very difficult step, and it has endured and grown in the face of four and a half years of increasingly fierce attacks, which has been no less difficult. The revolution in Peru is advancing, and advancing the world revolution of which it is a component and which it serves; its base areas are base areas for the world revolution and the red flag flying over them calls on all those who yearn for revolution. ■

Uninvited Guests

In July of 1980, President Belaunde, the entire diplomatic corps and several thousand invited guests as well as some uninvited masses were attending the annual military parade. Suddenly the air was filled with red balloons painted with hammers and sickles, which held aloft red banners declaring "Long Live the Armed Struggle! Long Live the PCP! Workers and Peasants Government! Down with the Belaunde Government!" Guerrillas in nearby plazas had studied the wind currents and released the balloons so that they would fill the sky over the parade. Pigeons carrying banners were also released.

Suddenly dozens of penguins dressed up like presidents with tuxedos and presidential sashes were thrown into the contingents of the parade. The result was complete pandemonium. The police arrested everyone in sight, including the penguins, but although some revolutionaries ended up in jail cells for the night alongside the furry fake presidents, the police never could figure it all out and finally released them all.

On another occasion, the revolutionaries dressed up a dog to look like the leader of the pro-Soviet revisionists and released it in Congress. Another famous incident of the early days of the guerrilla war was the hanging of a dead dog, Indian symbol of a tyrant sentenced to death by the people, on a lamppost outside the Chinese embassy along with banners proclaiming solidarity with Mao's widow Chiang Ching and other revolutionaries jailed by the new revisionist rulers in China.



MAO TSETUNG :

Talk to the Albanian Military Delegation*

I once said at a rally of 7,000 people in 1962: "In the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, it is yet uncertain as to which will win and which will be defeated, it being highly possible that revisionism will triumph and we will be defeated. We used the possibility of defeat to alert the public, and we found this to be highly conducive to heightening our vigilance against revisionism, as well as to preventing and opposing revisionism ..." Actually, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines within the communist party has always existed. Nobody can deny it, and being materialist ourselves, we of course should not deny it. Since that rally, the struggle between the two classes within our party has manifested itself in the forms of "left" in appearance but right in essence and the opposition to same, a denial of the existence of class struggle and emphasis on the existence of class struggle, and in compromises and accentuation of proletarian politics, etc. This has been discussed in pertinent documents that appeared prior to that occasion.

Today the military delegation of Albania has come here to understand our nation's Great Cultural Revolution. Let me first of all talk about my approaches to this problem.

**This speech was given by Mao Tsetung to a visiting military delegation from Albania on May 1, 1967, at the height of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is the first time it has been made widely available outside of China, where it appeared in an unofficial Red Guard publication during the Cultural Revolution. The phrases in parentheses are from the original, with the exception of editorial additions which are noted. This speech was given before Lin Piao, then Vice Chairman of the Chinese party, had been exposed as a counterrevolutionary.*

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began with Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* in the winter of 1965. At that time, certain departments and certain localities in this country of ours were dominated by revisionism. It was so tight that even water could not seep in and pins could not penetrate. I then suggested to Comrade Chiang Ching that she organise some articles to criticise *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. But this was impossible to accomplish here in this red metropolis, and there was no alternative but to go to Shanghai to organise it. Finally the article was written. I read it three times, and considered it basically all right, so I let Comrade Chiang Ching bring it back for publication. I suggested that some of the leading comrades of the Central Committee be allowed to read it, but Comrade Chiang Ching suggested: "The article can be published as it is, and I do not think there is any need to ask Comrade (Chou) En-lai and Kang Sheng to read it." (Comrade Lin Piao interrupted, saying: Some people say that Comrade Mao Tsetung used one faction to fight another faction. But now all of the central leadership comrades have prestige among the revolutionary masses, and they were all briefed beforehand by Chairman Mao on the Great Cultural Revolution, and so they did not commit any errors. I think the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an examination without examination, and whoever follows Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought closely is a proletarian revolutionary. So I have always said that Mao Tsetung Thought must be implemented both when we understand it and when we may temporarily not understand it. After Yao Wen-yuan's article was published, most of the newspapers in the country published it, but it was not published in Peking and Hunan. Later I suggested that a pamphlet be issued, but it was also opposed and did not go through.

Yao Wen-yuan's article was merely the signal for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Consequently, in the Central Committee, I was especially keen on drawing up the May 16 Circular. Because the enemy was especially sensitive, once the signal was sounded here, we knew that he would take action. Of course, we also had to take action on our own. This circular had already been very precise in bringing out the question of line, and the question of two lines. At that time, the majority did not agree with my view, and I was left alone for a time. They said that my views were outmoded, and so I had to present my views to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee for discussion. After some debate I gained the endorsement of a little over one-half of the comrades. There were still many people who would not agree with me, including Li Ching-chuan and Liu Lan-tao. Comrade (Chen) Po-ta went to talk with them, and they said: "I couldn't endorse it in Peking, and after I returned (home) I still could not endorse it." Finally I had no choice but to let practice make further examination!

After the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee, the emphasis was on the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line that had been taking place during the three months of October, November and December 1966, and this resulted in public disclosure of contradictions within the party. Here, I would like to mention another problem and that was that the broad masses of workers and peasants, and the hardcore cadres of the party and (youth) league were deceived during the process of criticising the reactionary line. Having studied the problem what could we do with regard to those comrades who were deceived? I have always felt that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are good, the overwhelming majority of party members and league members are good, and that they have all been the principal forces during every stage of the proletarian revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is certainly no exception.

Since the broad masses of workers and peasants are involved in actual labour, they naturally know very little about conditions in the upper echelons. Moreover, the vast number of hardcore cadres of the party and youth league have heart-felt devotion to the party and have boundless love for the party's cadres, while the "power holders taking the capitalist road" have raised the red flag to oppose the red flag. For this reason, they were so deceived that for a relatively long period of time they could not get out from under their delusions, but there were historical factors behind all of this. As long as those who were deceived reformed themselves, it was all right! As the movement developed, they again became the main force. The "January Storm" was launched by the workers, and it is just as true for the democratic revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The "May 4th" Movement was launched by intellectuals, thereby fully demonstrating their foresight and awareness. However, we must depend on the masters of the time, the workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying through thoroughgoing revolutions on the order of a real Northern Expedition or Long March. In point of fact, workers, peasants and soldiers are really only workers and peasants, since soldiers are only workers and peasants dressed in army uniforms. Although it was the intellectuals and the broad masses of young students who launched the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, it was, nonetheless, incumbent upon the masters of the time, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying the revolution through to completion, once the "January Storm" had seized power. Intellectuals have always been quick in altering their perception of things, but, because of the limitations of their instincts, and because they lack a thorough revolutionary character, they are sometimes opportunistic.

From the standpoint of policy and strategy, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution may be generally divided into four stages. From the publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee may be considered the first stage, and it was primarily a stage of mobilisation. From the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee to the "January Storm" may be considered the second stage. The third stage consisted of (Chi Pen-yu)'s "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" and "The Key Point of 'Cultivation' Is That It Betrays the Proletarian Dictatorship." The period thereafter may be considered the fourth stage.

During the third and fourth stages the question of seizing power was paramount. The fourth stage was concerned with seizing power from revisionism and the bourgeoisie ideologically. Consequently, this was a crucial stage in the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and this was the main and proper theme of the whole movement. After the "January Storm," the Central Committee repeatedly concerned itself with the problem of a great alliance, but it did not work out. Later, it was discovered that this subjective wish was not in keeping with the objective laws of the development of class struggle. This is because each class and political power wanted to exert itself stubbornly. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies burst forth like unbridled flood waters, thus undermining the great alliance. It was impossible to work out a great alliance, and even if it were, it would eventually be broken up. Thus, the present attitude of the Central Committee is merely to promote it, not to work it out. The method of pulling the sprout to accelerate its growth is unfeasible. This law of class struggle cannot be changed by anyone's subjective will. On this question there are many examples which can be cited. In the workers' congress, the Red Guard congress, and the peasants' congress in municipality x, it seems that with the exception of the peasants' congress, the workers' and Red Guard congresses have had many squabbles. I think the revolutionary committee of municipality x may yet have to be reorganised.

I had originally intended to train some successors from among the intellectuals, but this would now appear to be impractical. It seems to me that the world outlook of intellectuals, including those young intellectuals who are still receiving education in schools, and those both within and outside the party, is still basically bourgeois. This is because in the more than ten years since liberation, the cultural and educational circles have been dominated by revisionism, and so bourgeois ideology has seeped into their blood. Thus, revolutionary intellectuals must carefully remould their world outlook during this crucial stage of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Otherwise, they will go contrary to the revolution. Now I would like to ask you a question: What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? (Someone answered on the spot: It is to struggle against power holders within the party who take the capitalist road.) To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook; it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.

The Central Committee has emphasised time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time. The cost of this Great Cultural Revolution has been very great, and even though the question of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads cannot be resolved by one, two, three or four Great Cultural Revolutions, still, this Great Cultural Revolution should consolidate things for a decade at least. In the course of one century, it may be possible to launch such a revolution two or three times at most. Thus we must focus our attention on eradicating the roots of revisionism in order to strengthen our ability to guard against and oppose revisionism at any time.

Here I would like to ask you another question: Who would you say are the power holders taking the capitalist road? (No response from the audience.) The so-called power holders taking the capitalist road are those power holders who take the road of capitalism! What I mean by this is that during the time of the democratic revolution, these people actively participated in opposing the three big mountains (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism-*ed.*), but once the entire country was liberated, they were not so keen on opposing the bourgeoisie. Though they had actively participated in and endorsed the overthrow of local despots and the distribution of land, after the country's liberation, when agricultural collectivisation was to be implemented, they were not very keen on this either. He who would not take the socialist road and is now in power—is it not he who is a power holder taking the road of capitalism! Let's just say that it is "veteran cadres encountering new problems"!

Nonetheless, those who have a proletarian world outlook will (not-*ed.*) follow the road of capitalism. This means that the bourgeoisie wants to transform the world in accordance with the bourgeois world outlook, while the proletariat wants to transform the world in accordance with the proletarian world outlook. There are those who have committed errors of orientation and line in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and this has been said to be a case of "veteran cadres encountering new problems." But the fact that you have erred tells us that you veteran cadres have not yet thoroughly remoulded your bourgeois world outlook. From now on, veteran cadres are bound to encounter even more new problems.

To ensure that you will resolutely take the road of socialism, you will have to undergo a thorough proletarian revolutionisation ideologically. Let me ask you, how can you actually proceed from socialism toward communism? This is a great event for the nation, and a great event for the world.

I say the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary little generals is very strong, and this is excellent. But you cannot step onto the stage now, because if you step onto the stage now, you will be kicked off the stage tomorrow. But this word has been leaked out by a Vice Premier's own mouth, and this is highly inappropriate. As far as the revolutionary little generals are concerned, it is a question of nurturing and training them. At a time when they have committed certain errors, to use such words will only dampen their spirits. Some say that elections are very good and very democratic. As far as I am concerned, election is merely a fancy word, and (I-ed.) do not feel that there is any genuine election. I have been elected by the Peking district to serve as a representative to the National People's Congress, but how many in Peking really understood me? I feel that Chou En-lai's premiership was an appointment by the Central Committee. Others say that China is profoundly peace-loving, but I cannot see how profound that love is. I think Chinese are militant.

In regard to cadres, we must establish the belief that 95 percent or more of them are good or relatively good, and we must never depart from this class viewpoint! In regard to leading cadres who are revolutionary or want to be revolutionary, one should protect them, protect them forthrightly and bravely, and liberate them from their errors. Even though they have taken the capitalist road, we must allow them to make revolution after they have undergone long-term education and their errors have been rectified. There are not many really bad persons. Among the masses, they constitute at most 5%; within the party and league, 1 to 2%; and there are only a handful of power holders who stubbornly take the capitalist road. But we must regard this handful of power holders within the party who take the capitalist road as the principal target of attack because their influence and insidious poison are deep and far-reaching. Thus, this is the principal task of this Great Cultural Revolution.

As for bad elements among the masses, they number at most 5%, and they are scattered, without much strength. If the 35 million of them, calculated at 5%, should band together to form an army and oppose us in an organised manner, that would be a problem deserving serious consideration. But since they are diffused in various localities and powerless, they cannot be the principal target of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, it is necessary for us to heighten our vigilance and, especially at this crucial stage of the struggle, prevent these bad elements from wreaking havoc. Thus, there should be two premises for the great alliance: one is to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest; the other is that there must be a struggle. Without struggle the great alliance will not be effective.

The fourth stage of this Great Cultural Revolution is the crucial stage of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Thus, a relatively longer period of time will be needed to arrange mass criticism. It is still being discussed by the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee. Some feel that the end of this year would be an appropriate time for this, and others feel that next May would be more appropriate. However, the time must conform to the laws of class struggle. ■



On April 23 and 24, a social earthquake shook the Dominican Republic.

Santo Domingo

Two Days of Popular Upsurge



By Wilberto Ventura*

"During a revolution, millions and tens of millions of people learn in a week more than they do in a year of ordinary, somnolent life. For at the time of every sharp turn in the life of an entire people it becomes particularly clear what aims the various classes of people are pursuing, what strength they possess, and what methods they use."

V.I. Lenin, "Lessons of the Revolution"

A social earthquake shook the Dominican Republic April 23 and 24, 1984. This social earthquake took place on a date of revolutionary remembrance for the Dominican people, the 14th anniversary of the civil war which began April 24, 1965 and the patriotic war we waged for three months against troops sent in by Yankee imperialism after the

overthrow of its government of that time, the fascist triumvirate presided over by Donald Reid Cabral. Forty-two thousand marines invaded us to restore "order" and save "democracy"—that is, of course, to save the U.S.-style criminal and genocidal democracy through which these imperialists have grown fat massacring the peoples of the world and subjecting them to oppression, plunder and merciless exploitation.

But there is a big difference between the events of 1965 and those of 1984. In 1965 the mass insurrectionary movement was unleashed by a military insurrection which Yankee imperialism could not control in time. At that time the pro-Constitution elements among the armed forces found themselves outnumbered by those more tied to U.S. imperialism, so that the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), the party of the national bourgeoisie involved in the so-

called Constitutional movement, had to call upon the people to take to the streets of Santo Domingo in support of the constitutional troops locked in battle with the troops supporting the fascist Donald Reid government.

In 1965 the PRD had a certain anti-imperialist coloring. But after putting up a brief resistance to the imperialist forces, it sold out the revolution to the Yankees by signing the so-called "Institutional Agreement" which ended the anti-imperialist war. The signing of this agreement was carried out in the Yankee embassy in Santo Domingo in order to underline the fact that the national bourgeoisie had thrown itself into the arms of U.S. imperialism.

Things happened differently in

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April 1984: thousands and thousands of people took to the streets without warning, attacking banks, vehicles belonging to the government and giant imperialist enterprises, destroying supermarkets and the food outlets of the state capitalist Price Stabilization Institute; they burned offices of the governing party (the social-democratic PRD), drugstores and everything that seemed to belong to the imperialist and native bourgeoisie. At the same time, the masses of people built barricades and furiously took on the reactionary armed forces which the social-democratic government immediately called out with orders to wipe out everyone in their path. The rage unleashed by the masses of Dominican people was provoked by the implementation of measures secretly agreed to by the International Monetary Fund and the Dominican government which sent prices skyrocketing for basic necessities such as rice, bread, milk, etc., as well as for medicines. The country has been handed over even more nakedly to the voracious Yankee imperialists and to dependency, as Yankee imperialism has sought to tie us even more tightly into neocolonial bondage.

The mass uprising began in the neighborhood of Capotillo with the burning of tires and a public transport bus and immediately spread throughout the country. Though the armed forces brought out their whole arsenal of weapons, they found themselves in check by the masses, who sought arms in order to take on the military and even assaulted police barracks in the country's interior. There had never before been a mass outpouring like this throughout the country. The masses attacked the property of the big owners, burning plantations and building barricades on all the roads and highways to keep the reactionary forces out of the fields and the cities.

Despite the fact that the uprising of April 23 and 24 and the resistance of the 25th was smashed by the forces of the government and imperialism—Yankee military advisors personally led regular troops against the people, to kill without hesitation—the capitalist system was shaken to its foundation, demonstrating the potential of the people's struggle and its

determination to put an end to the Yankee imperialist plunder to which the broad masses of our country are subjected.

For the Revolutionary Communist Union (UCR) the events of April 1984 in the Dominican Republic have a historic significance without precedence in the class struggle in our society, because this coordinated expression of a whole people against the government and imperialism, although spontaneous, is an example of the great revolutionary potential of a people striving to liberate itself from the oppressive clutches of international capital, and at the same time these events have led the masses of people to clearly understand that the only escape from imperialist oppression and exploitation is through the violent action of the people.

Yankee Imperialism

Yankee imperialism is the source of all the evils we Dominicans suffer. Since the Yankees consolidated their domination of the Dominican Republic the great majority have suffered the most savage treatment at the hands of those in power. Yankee imperialism, together with its native flunkies who clean up the crumbs, has plundered our wealth, but at the same time it has had to contend with a people undaunted in its struggle against imperialist domination. Beginning in 1930 Yankee imperialism was able to shape a ruling class in our country based on the hated tyranny of Rafael Trujillo, a government the imperialists imposed by means of the infamous Civil Guard created by the Yankees to replace the U.S. Marines who had occupied the country from 1915 to 1924. Through the tyrannical Trujillo government the Yankees began to develop the sectors of the economy which would give rise to the present-day ruling class. Under the leadership of U.S. capital and linked to its development, there was a concentration of these economically powerful forces, the industrialists, the importers and exporters, the landlords and the state bureaucracy. These sectors became imperialist servants for the expansion of U.S. capital and shamelessly allowed the Yankees concessions to plunder our wealth with impunity while they became the lords and masters of

Dominican society.

But together with the development of imperialist domination in our country there has also been the development of the proletariat, truly the most revolutionary class in modern society, as well as other oppressed strata which ceaselessly struggle against the yoke of imperialist power. Furthermore, in the Dominican Republic the peasant class plays an extremely revolutionary role, traditionally suffering under the heel of the big landowners and the demagogery of the bourgeoisie's most infamous politicians.

These classes face each other in a constant bloody struggle. This struggle among them is the motive force of Dominican society. The bigshots who make up the ruling class resort to thousands of tricks to maintain their rule, while the oppressed struggle to overthrow this owning class whose exploitation of man by man has made them "all-powerful" lords of the noose and the knife massacring the masses whenever they rightly rebel against the oppressor's bloody rule and cruel exploitation.

This was exactly what occurred in April 1984: the masses of Dominican people rebelled against the rule of hunger, poverty, unemployment, repression, oppression and exploitation to which Yankee imperialism has subjected us, even though this insurrection lacked a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist leadership which could turn it into a revolution. All the forces of the oppressed converged in a mighty human volcano sweeping away everything in its path, everything that stank of private property. This is what the government labeled "looting" by "conspirators against the established order." In reality the masses of people took action against the owners, against those responsible for our suffering, angrily demanding arms to take on once and for all the bourgeois democratic government which today stands as the guardian of imperialist interests in the same way as any fascist government, that is, by mass murder against the Dominican people.

The importance of these events for the Dominican revolutionary movement is concentrated in the fact that this confrontation between the people and the reactionary forces spread

throughout the country, and that the repressive forces, unable to contain the revolutionary avalanche of the masses, were forced to resort to using the opportunists and revisionists grouped in the so-called Dominican Left Front (FID) to suffocate the fury unleashed by the people against the imperialist oppressors and their native flunkies.

The Failure of Bourgeois Democracy

Eyer since the foundation of the Republic in 1844, the history of our country has been characterised by tyrannical regimes, fascist dictatorships which have strangled the struggles of the masses without hesitation, keeping themselves in power for decades. That's how it was with the tyranny of Trujillo--from 1930 to 1961--and more recently the Balaguer dictatorship which murdered revolutionaries under a permanent state of siege which permitted the stabilisation of imperialist rule and the drowning of the revolutionary movement in blood. The Balaguer regime lasted from 1966 to 1978, when a bourgeois-democratic government was installed under the leadership of the social-democratic Dominican Revolutionary Party.

Balaguer, Trujillo's disciple, carried out U.S. imperialism's counter insurgency policy perfectly, extending Yankee power and stabilising a government which faithfully carried out imperialism's interests. In this way imperialism was able to develop its capital in combination with a period of terror and repression just as ferocious and bloody as that of Trujillo, closing any political opening which might have existed in the liberal sense, carrying out a policy of neo-Trujilloism.

In the face of this there arose groups which were anti-government but pro-imperialist. The PRD played an active part in the opposition to the autocratic Balaguer government. It maintained a demagogic but phoney revolutionary, anti-imperialist stance until 1974, when the national bourgeoisie and the PRD abandoned their policy of violent opposition to the Balaguer dictatorship and threw themselves into the arms of Yankee imperialism--the so-called liberals in Washington, the imperialist Demo-

crats--in preparation for coming to power by peaceful means, through the ballot box. From that point onward the PRD lost its nationalist colouring, distanced itself from the progressive and revolutionary forces and set out to get into the government by jumping into bed with U.S. imperialism, even while mouthing some timid criticisms of imperialism and promising "profound changes" if they were elected. Basically, the PRD was preaching the imperialist policy later baptised with the name "Carter Doctrine," which promised respect for human rights and the establishment of a pro-people, democratic rights regime. It was a hypocritical policy to trick the masses of people fed up with the Balaguer dictatorship whose days were numbered.

The Balaguer dictatorship, despised by the people because of its shameless crimes and rampant corruption, found the PRD to be a formidable electoral opponent. The PRD had arisen with a "revolutionary" halo and promised the people "change" and a way out of the enduring misery and domination which imperialism has imposed on us. The masses of people fell under the illusion that the solution to their problems lay in an electoral triumph for the PRD in 1978, and they voted for it with the idea of winning "freedom" and "democracy" and an end to oppressive imperialist neocolonialism.

Thus the PRD, a member of the social-democratic international, the Socialist International, took over the government in the Dominican Republic through "free" elections run by U.S. imperialism, having enjoyed the support of the vast majority of Dominicans in 1978, when opportunist and revisionist forces called on the masses of people to "give critical support to the PRD." With the establishment of bourgeois democracy in 1978 the political situation took a new turn. For the first time there was a bourgeois-democratic government ruling under imperialist auspices. The first attempt at a bourgeois-democratic government, led by Juan Bosch of the PRD, was overthrown by the U.S. after seven months in office, in September 1963, when it tried to implement reforms which came into conflict with Yankee imperialist

policy.

At the time of the Bosch government the national bourgeoisie had not broken with the anti-imperialist line, that is, it still had certain nationalist and revolutionary features. The imperialists decided to overthrow Juan Bosch and install a government which would be completely submissive to U.S. imperialism's orders. Thus Bosch was followed by the triumverate and a new period of our people's struggle.

In 1965, during the patriotic April war, it was the national bourgeoisie that led the movement; in other words, the PRD put itself at the head of that revolutionary achievement and at the same time demonstrated its incapacity as a class to lead the people in the anti-imperialist struggle because it ended up betraying the war, selling out to Yankee imperialism. This lesson was not assimilated by the Dominican left, especially the Dominican Revolutionary Movement (MPD), at that time the Marxist-Leninist party and thus the vanguard of the Dominican proletariat.

After 1966, with the betrayal of the patriotic war by the PRD and Yankee imperialism in control of the situation through its military occupation of the country, the Joaquin Balaguer government was brought in. Balaguer was a well-known Trujilloite who had been the country's "president" when Trujillo was killed. Balaguer represented the neo-Trujillista oligarchy and was--and still is--a U.S. imperialist puppet whose mission was to carry out imperialism's counterinsurgency plan by assassinating the best-known revolutionaries and to reestablish "peace and tranquility" in Dominican society by whatever means necessary, so that Yankee imperialism's claws would be free to plunder the country's riches and develop capitalism according to its bloody and cruel pattern.

The Balaguer government lasted 12 years. They were 12 years of hunger, misery and repression through which imperialism increased its domination of the country. But the people resisted. This resistance increasingly threatened imperialist domination, so that it had to seek other imperialist options to maintain its control. Thus it was the PRD

which could best protect imperialist interests in the Dominican Republic, since this party had already abandoned itself to imperialism's embrace in an open way after 1974, which meant that the so-called national bourgeoisie would cease to be an ally of the proletariat in the struggle against imperialism.

Furthermore, for a certain period the PRD maintained the stance of radical opposition to the Balaguer dictatorship in alliance with the communists—with the MPD which was the party most attacked by the government and imperialism—and this brought widespread support from among the masses. This accounts for the huge quantity of votes the PRD won in 1978 when the Yankee government under Carter's direction forced the Balaguer dictatorship to admit defeat and turn over the government to the PRD. But the PRD has in no way kept the promises it made to the people during the electoral campaign. The "freedom" and "democracy" the social-democrats promised have turned into a living hell for the Dominican people, freedom and democracy for the imperialists and their flunkies to murder the masses of people when they protest and demand a better life.

It can be said categorically that bourgeois democracy has failed in the Dominican Republic, that Yankee imperialism cannot continue dominating the country in the old way, and that today it confronts an acute socio-economic and political crisis which grows deeper every day. There is a crisis at the very heights of society, among the ranks of the ruling class itself, and the masses are willing to fight against the foreign and native exploiters and are no longer willing to live under this hellish capitalist system.

Neither open fascism nor bourgeois democracy (disguised fascism), neither form of government, can appease the wrath of the masses of people or extinguish the yearning for revolution spreading throughout the country among ever wider sections and layers of people. The demagogery of this bourgeois democracy is as unlimited as its shamelessness to the masses. No Dominican government has ever done what this "democracy" has accomplished in two days,

shooting close to 200 people point-blank. This butchery of human beings showed what a democratic government in the service of the U.S. can do—a government which has perfectly carried out the defense of the interests of the whole ruling class.

But in the midst of this rotting bourgeois democracy which has created millionaires overnight and murdered the dispossessed without a second thought, the working class, the peasants and other exploited sections of the people have raised the banner of the people's combat and with their bare breasts and fists are defying all the capitalists' power. Fairy tales can't help because the imperialist social-democrat government has been a total failure and it hasn't kept even one of the many promises it made during the 1982 election campaign.

Where are the one hundred miraculous economic measures which were going to rev up the Dominican economy, measures that Salvador "the Savior" Jorge Blanco was going to carry out during his first one hundred days in office? Where is the economic democracy these imperialist charlatans and hypocrites promised? Where are the 10,000 new homes each year Jorge Blanco promised to give out to the immense number of homeless families? Where are the peasant cooperatives? Has the latifundia system in the countryside been eliminated? Where is the promised agrarian reform? All this has turned out to be lies by the imperialists and native reactionaries to fool the masses and shore up their criminal rule over the Dominican people.

The Dominican masses have tasted bourgeois democracy. Six years of bourgeois democracy are more than enough for the people to understand the necessity to prepare for the overthrow of imperialist domination and its expression in governments rotating in and out of power, one after another, whether they be bourgeois democracies or open fascism. The April events are the most eloquent proof that bourgeois democracy does not hesitate to bathe the Dominican people in blood if they dare to struggle against the exploiters and menace imperialist rule. In place of the economic democracy and the right to

exercise so-called political liberties that the government promised the people, what the government has given the people instead—and often—is a hail of machinegun bullets cutting down anything in its way.

With the failure of bourgeois democracy in the Dominican Republic U.S. imperialism finds itself in a very difficult situation to maintain its domination. Now that the social-democratic government has had to implement the reactionary IMF agreements through gunfire and bloodshed, the "democratic" card has been dropped—the government has had to kill hundreds of Dominicans and multiply the hunger and misery of the broad masses of people. We are living in an important time in the class struggle in the Dominican Republic, when there are objective factors rapidly leading towards the development of a revolutionary situation; a time when the prospects for making revolution are brighter than ever.

Strategic Importance for Global Plans

The Dominican Republic and Haiti, in other words, the island as a whole, plays a strategic role in U.S. imperialism's plans to unleash a war against their counterparts, the Soviet social-imperialists. The Soviets are accumulating strength in the region, and the U.S. imperialists are constantly manoeuvring to cut them off, since, as is well known, the Yankee imperialists consider Latin America their back yard which nobody can snatch from them. Not only do the Yankee imperialists believe that our countries are their exclusive property, but according to their imperialist point of view we can't even be allowed to seek an independent road to becoming free and sovereign nations. Thus our society is dependent on the interests of international capital, concretely the interests of U.S. imperialism, which suffocates us with its vile neo-colonial policies.

For a long time U.S. imperialism has manoeuvred to install a military base on our island, in Samana Bay, from which the sea lanes crossing the Carribean can be well controlled. The Dominican Republic is also an excellent supply depot in every way, which obliges the U.S. to strive to

keep our territory under its control by whatever means necessary. Haiti, as well, plays an important role in Yankee imperialism's war plans, because while the Dominican Republic faces Puerto Rico where the Yankees have their well-known military base in Vieques, the other end of the island is only a hundred miles from Cuba, a political and military base for the Soviet social-imperialists which has really worried the Yankees.

Yankee imperialism has lately begun studies to decide where to put its military base, in the Dominican Republic or Haiti. The truth is that the U.S. needs to install another military base in its "back yard," because Soviet influence is advancing in the region and the Yankees will not peacefully tolerate social-imperialist expansion. Current examples of this are U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, to overthrow the pro-social-imperialist Sandinista junta, and in El Salvador, to prevent the triumph of guerrillas controlled by the social-imperialists as well as pro-U.S. elements who are fighting the genocidal government of Jose Napoleon Duarte.

In the wink of an eye the U.S. swallowed Grenada, a small island controlled by a pro-Soviet government since 1979, where the social-imperialists had planned to build a huge airport to facilitate military maneuvers. In other words, the social-imperialists have penetrated into the Yankee's "back yard" to a certain extent, and it is an objective reality that all of the Americas, as indeed the whole planet, will be shaken by the events of an imperialist third world war, if proletarian revolution does not cut off the imperialists' criminal plans.

It is within this global framework that the U.S. wants to build a military base on the island, especially in the Dominican Republic. Furthermore, U.S. imperialism knows very well that a revolution either in the Dominican Republic or in Haiti would echo through both sides of the island, which is why the Yankees prepare the ruling classes of both sides to pour chauvinism among the masses and prejudice the masses of each side against the other, so as to be able to use one people against the other if revolution triumphs in one of

the two sides. In fact, no matter on which side of the island a revolution were to take place the other side would also be set ablaze against the ruling class and imperialist domination because we of both sides suffer the same vicissitudes imposed by U.S. imperialism's neocolonialism.

Thus the U.S. will have to deal with the reality of a revolution against them in our country and not just with the social-imperialists; at present, the eruption of a mass movement against the Yankee imperialists is much more likely than a confrontation between two sets of imperialist forces over which of them will have hegemony in the Dominican Republic. With this perspective, the Dominican revolutionaries have to prepare ourselves and the masses of people for the great battles to come, so that we will no longer be stepped on by the U.S. imperialists nor allow ourselves to be used by them as cannon fodder in their sinister plans for an imperialist war against the Soviet social-imperialists.

Our Tasks in Light of the April Events

We revolutionary communists/proletarian internationalists in the Dominican Republic have immense tasks ahead of us, at a time when the social contradictions at the national level are intensifying rapidly and in the international arena the imperialists are preparing for a third world war. Without for a moment forgetting that we are proletarian internationalists, the Revolutionary Communist Union has to take up the task of solving the problems posed by the Dominican revolution. It is clear that the Dominican revolution, in its two stages, is a part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

It is with an internationalist outlook that we analyse the Dominican revolution. We have to resolve the cardinal question of every revolution: the question of political power. With this in mind, we must firmly uphold the teachings of Lenin and Mao regarding the party, the analysis of classes in Dominican society, allies (that is, sketch out a political line regarding allies), the question of the revolutionary front and the revolutionary army. Along with all these tasks it is also necessary to unmask

opportunism and revisionism before the masses, because these tendencies have taken over the movement and consistently betray the proletariat's revolutionary struggle against the government and imperialism.

The common denominator of current political experience throughout Latin America is the denial of the leading role of the communist party in the democratic and socialist revolution, replacing the party with the front and rejecting the revolutionary role of the proletariat. We are in the process of building the revolutionary communist party because without it the working class and all the oppressed cannot possibly truly free themselves from imperialism's clutches. This is an immediate task. We cannot allow the masses to continue to rise up without revolutionary political leadership, because the ruling class will just mercilessly smash the masses who so bravely defy imperialist rule.

The work of party building must be urgently speeded up. Our newspaper, *La Chispa Revolucionaria*, is playing an important role in this. But together with this there is the vital task of chalking out the programme and carrying out a concrete analysis of classes in Dominican society. For the moment, the UCR is deepening its work of revolutionary propaganda and political education.

It would be cowardice and a failure of revolutionary energy and spirit to leave the masses of Dominican people deprived of communist leadership, now when it is more necessary and urgent than ever, when we find ourselves in a situation of mass upsurge and the masses themselves demand political leadership from the communists. During the April events, the masses asked for arms and demanded that the communists participate actively. It was common to hear many people say, "Where are the communists?" That is one of the great lessons we can draw from the spontaneous April insurrection. We have to set the stage for the construction of a powerful proletarian party, in order to seize upon the sentiments of the masses at times such as the present in the Dominican Republic and thus be able to destroy this suffocating imperialist domination. Only in this way can we storm the heavens. ■

Revolutionary Internationalist

May Day 1984

On May 1st, 1984, for the first time in many decades revolutionary workers and Marxist-Leninist vanguard forces from around the world raised common slogans bringing out all the more fully the proletarian internationalism that May 1st symbolises. The impetus for this was the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement by the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations announced on March 12, 1984. The Committee of the RIM established slogans which were raised by participating parties and organisations in over a dozen countries.

In a number of countries participating parties and organisations organised May Day demonstrations and activities. New Delhi saw a very significant demonstration of 1500 people responding to the joint call of the Central Reorganising Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Organising Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, India and Communist Viewpoint. The large contingent of women who led the march was of particular significance.

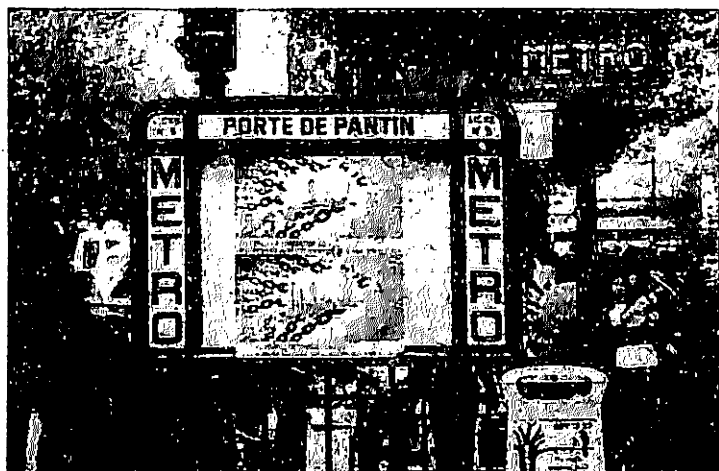
Activities of the Communist Party of Peru on May 1st were reported on at length in their letter to the Committee of the RIM reprinted elsewhere in this issue.

Demonstrations also took place in several cities in the United States, in Stockholm, in Paris, and in other cities.

However important was the raising of common slogans throughout the world, May 1st 1984 will undoubtedly be remembered in history as the day on which the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* was released to the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. Adopted by the Second Conference and distributed in a score of languages, the *Declaration* was eagerly grabbed up by thousands on May 1st. ■



May Day in New Delhi

May Day in Paris**RIM May Day 1984 Slogans**

Long Live Red 1st of May,
 Symbol of World Proletarian Revolution!
 Build the Unity of the International Proletariat!
 Hail the Formation of the Revolutionary
 Internationalist Movement!
 Prevent World War!
 Step Up the Struggle for Revolution
 Throughout the World!
 Develop the Struggle of the Masses Against Imperialist War
 Preparations as a Mighty Force for Revolution!
 Support the People's War in Peru and All Revolutionary
 Struggles of the Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism
 and Reaction!
 Solidarity with All Imprisoned Fighters for Revolution!
 Fight for Their Liberation!
 Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty
 Force for Revolution!

May Day in the U.S.*May Day in Stockholm*



Batie Refugee Camp in the Wollo region

There are now numerous refugee centres in Ethiopia where at dawn they come to take away the dead whose life, already sucked nearly dry by malnutrition, has finally been stolen by the early morning chill. Each morning, in each camp, there are dozens of dead. Estimates of the number of Africans killed by starvation in the months of November and December run as high as three-quarters of a million. Two hundred thousand people are said to have died in Mozambique in the last two years.

The governments of the West and East, many of whose granaries are bursting with food, have finally begun to trickle supplies into the region. They call this "humanitarian aid," and talk of how their more advanced economies are coming to the aid of their weaker brethren who are suffering from a "natural disaster," from drought, lack of water, "too many people," plus the vicissitudes of internal war. Their "humanitarian aid" is as phoney as their explanation of the disaster. In fact, the imperialist system itself has everything to do with the large scale starvation in Africa.



Ethiopia



International "Relief"—a protein tablet

Famine — the Harvest of Imperialism

Cash crops such as coffee and cotton have replaced food crops in many areas. "Aid" programs have often discouraged grain production by the peasants. The depletion of the water table lying right below the surface of much of Northern Africa is due in part to imperialist introduced "modern" methods of farming inappropriate to local conditions. Food production dropped 10% in Africa as a whole from 1970 to 1980.

Now the imperialists are attempting to use the victims that they have created. The latest estimates are that 7.75 million are threatened by famine in Ethiopia alone--as pawns, to be

killed or saved depending once more upon how it serves their own ends. Reagan and the U.S. portray themselves as riding to the rescue of millions. In fact, West bloc aid, amounting to less than one fourth of what relief agencies estimate is needed, is hardly designed to end the starvation anyway.

Instead, the strategists of the West are hoping to use their "relief" to weaken the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia which is under tight Soviet tutelage. The death of hundreds of thousands of the starving is only consequential to them insofar as it affects this, their principal goal.

The Soviets and their clients in Africa have demonstrated an equally callous hypocrisy in face of the famine. Their own actual concerns were graphically illustrated in an incident in early December 1984 when refugees who had been organized by national liberation forces in Tigray to go to refugee centres in Somalia (so as to avoid those controlled by the fascist Ethiopian Dergue) were bombed by Soviet-supplied planes in the Ethiopian military. Shortly afterwards, Chernenko personally commended Dergue chieftan Mengistu for his "determined effort" in the face of the crisis. ■

Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* was adopted in March 1984 by the delegates and observers at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The following are the participating parties and organisations of the RIM:

Central Reorganisation Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
Ceylon Communist Party
Communist Collective of Agiu/Prop (Italy)
Communist Committee of Trento (Italy)
Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist)
Mao Tsetung Regional Committee
Communist Party of Peru
Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist
Haitian International Revolutionary Group
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups (Britain)
Proletarian Communist Organization, Marxist-Leninist (Italy)
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (Bangladesh)
Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
Revolutionary Communist Party, India
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Revolutionary Communist Union (Dominican Republic)
Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

"The constitution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, based on the higher level of ideological and political unity of Marxist-Leninists achieved through principled struggle, represents an extremely important step for the international communist movement. But the need to race to catch up with the objective developments in the world is still apparent. The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people in all countries is crying out for genuine revolutionary leadership. The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, in individual countries and on a world scale, have the responsibility to provide such leadership even as they continue to struggle to solidify and raise the level of their unity. In this way the correct ideological and political line will bring forward new soldiers and will become an ever more powerful material force in the world."

Available in (partial list):

Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannada, Malayalam, Nepali, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish

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Maelstrom in the Gulf

The current crisis-ridden state of the imperialist world order has created a dangerously swirling maelstrom in the Persian (or Arab) Gulf. Three hundred thousand people have been killed in the war between Iran and Iraq that has already gone on for four years.

The climbing insurance premium for navigation in these warm waters is a commercial but ominous metaphor for the scale of the centripetal forces that threaten to hurl conflicting interests at one another in an explosive confrontation at the centre of this maelstrom. Press accounts refer to the alleged "neutrality" and "shared concerns" of the U.S. and the Soviet Union with regard to the Iran-Iraq war. U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz was quoted recently as saying that the Iran-Iraq war is the one issue that had not become "part of the East-West conflict. We have some differences of interest, but basically both we and the Soviets want to see the international waters remain open." The reader would have to be suffering from amnesia not to recall that the same authoritative representatives of both rival blocs have been vehemently denouncing each other's government for belligerence, power projection, provocation, disturbing the peace, etc., in the region. Both the U.S. (along with its Western allies) and the Soviet Union share the responsibility for the carnage and the continuing misery caused by the war, even more so than those immediately conducting it.

The resounding collapse of the feudal-comprador regime of the Shah under the revolutionary onslaught of the Iranian people in February 1979 sent political tremors pulsating throughout the Middle East. After decades of unbridled tyranny, brutal exploitation and national subjugation, a well-groomed and protected U.S. protégé, the fascist Shah, barely managed to flee the country with his

throne in flames. A gaping hole was blown open in the U.S. regional network of vassal states and faithful lackeys. What had been for so long billed as "an island of stability" was ablaze; the whole society was sprung free of the Shah's bloody reign and U.S. control.

Although the proletariat could not place itself politically at the head of the march of events, a tremendous revolutionary ferment nonetheless was underway; all classes and social strata victimised and plundered by foreign capital were actively participating in the revolutionary process. Understandably, this social upheaval and the demise of a prototype puppet did not sit well with the imperialists and their vassal states. What was a jubilant sight for the oppressed worldwide was no doubt a chilling one evoking images of future "horrors" for the oppressors.

The objective conditions were present in Iran for the proletariat to wage a struggle for political power. The opening was enhanced by inter-imperialist rivalry while simultaneously aggravating it by wrenching a strategic piece of territory away from contending imperialists who desperately needed to get hold of it not only for plunder but also for overall geopolitical reasons. Thus, for the imperialists, the situation was not only extremely sensitive but also called for even more aggressive prodding and manoeuvring.

The damage inflicted to U.S. interests in the region by the Iranian revolution and the weakness of the genuine proletarian forces there gave the Soviet Union cause to hope it could advance its interests through the new opening. But they too, as well-seasoned international exploiters, had their apprehensions about the revolutionary storm that broke loose on their very borders. Besides, the Soviet Union had learned to live with the Shah to some extent, par-

ticularly toward the end. There were even certain joint economic ventures such as the 1975 IGAT-II agreement to export massive amounts of natural gas to the Soviet Union.

U.S. and the USSR

The U.S. imperialists felt the urgency to announce, with as much clamour as they could muster, the regional ramifications of its Carter Doctrine: the U.S. would not spare the use of military force, including nuclear weapons, to protect its strategic interests in the Gulf, were the Soviet Union to infiltrate the region destabilised by the Iranian revolution. The Soviet troops' invasion of Afghanistan, which occurred after the Iranian revolution, significantly accelerated the whirling of the maelstrom.

Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, while issuing ultimatums to warn their opponent about the consequences of "power projection" into the so-called "power vacuum" in the Gulf, have been nevertheless manoeuvring to fill it by any possible means. It is the nature of such "vacuums" to attract imperialist powers. However, "the vacuum fillings" in the region had to be conducted according to the calculus of strategic interests and without undermining the overall considerations of the imperialists in the region and worldwide.

It has been well over four years since Iraqi troops attacked Iran in September 1980. Occurring within a volatile international situation, and in the midst of the so-called "hostage crisis," the mercenary mission of Iraq not only enjoyed Washington's support and blessings but figured prominently in the U.S. arsenal that could be deployed against both the revolution and possible Soviet gains in Iran. The U.S. options were limited. Any direct U.S. intervention would certainly have been met with massive

resistance in Iran and the consequent danger of a deepening of the revolution. The reaction of people around the world, including large sections in the U.S. itself, would have been predictable. Furthermore, such an intervention would have brought about a face-to-face confrontation with the Soviets. It is noteworthy that the USSR continues to loudly proclaim its adherence to the 1921 treaty with Iran calling for mutual defense in the event of aggression--despite the fact that the successive Iranian regimes have declared the treaty null and void.

Already a number of attempted CIA coups in Iran had misfired, including the infamous "hostage rescue operation" that ended in a humiliating miscarriage in the desert. The economic blockade imposed by the Western imperialists and the freezing of all Iranian deposits in U.S. banks by the Carter administration were all part of the variegated U.S. efforts to force Iran back into the fold. Set in this context, Saddam Hussein's mercenary services were indeed invaluable, not just to the U.S. and Western imperialists but to the Soviet social-imperialists as well.

The Iraqi invasion was an opportunity for the U.S. to try to recover its losses by destabilising the Khomeini regime, pressuring it into capitulation and creating favourable conditions for the pro-U.S. forces (in and out of the new regime) to stage a comeback. This way the U.S. hoped to put an end to the tumultuous period of social upheaval and revolutionary ferment by restoring the guardians of yore back to power and also saw an opening to increase its influence in Iraq as well. However, the complexity of the situation and the intensity of the imperialist contention in the region militated against the U.S. putting its full weight behind Iraq in this war, which would have risked pushing Iran decisively into the arms of the Soviets. It was not accidental that U.S. clients such as Israel, South Korea, Chile, Brazil, not to mention major imperialist U.S. allies such as Britain and W. Germany were--and still are--selling arms to Iran. Thus, by actively playing both sides of this war the U.S. tried to safeguard and advance its interests.

For a brief period at the beginning,

it was just and legitimate for Iran to wage a war against the Iraqi aggressors who were clearly aiding the imperialists to restore their stranglehold and to thwart revolution in Iran. Later on, with the counter-revolutionary forces in Iran consolidating their power around June 1981, the Iran-Iraq war lost any progressive character and became a completely unjust, reactionary war on both sides, opposed to the interests of the proletariat and peoples of both Iran and Iraq.

Fueling Both Sides

The Soviet Union, driven by its own imperialist necessities, also pursued a policy of arming and fueling both sides in this war, despite initially tilting towards Iran. It feverishly manoeuvred to exploit the economic and military difficulties of the Khomeini regime, particularly through the Tudeh Party and the Fedayeen (Majority), which were used to bolster the Soviet's influence in the regime by openly aiding the counter-revolutionary pogroms and the attacks upon the communists and the revolutionary masses. During this period, with the expectation of getting a foothold in Iran, the Soviets considerably reduced their military aid to Iraq (whose armed forces had been heavily dependent on Moscow), while providing military equipment and ammunition to the Khomeini regime, directly and indirectly, through its East-bloc allies and North Korea.

The execution of this war clearly has taken tremendous tolls on both sides. It should be pointed out that neither Saddam Hussein nor the Ayatollah Khomeini were mere innocent pawns in the hands of the contending imperialist powers. Khomeini took advantage of the war to clamp down on the revolution, legitimising the most reactionary measures in the name of national unity in order to consolidate his reactionary class rule. Saddam Hussein was also hopeful that the prosecution of the war would enable him to silence the opposition brewing among the country's Shiite majority and among the Kurds. What appeared to the prosecutors of the war at the beginning to be a way of achieving national unity under their class rule now stands as a major factor undermining

the stability of both regimes.

Cost of War

The war has taken close to 300,000 lives up to now, and neither Khomeini nor Saddam Hussein has any gains to show for it. Out of the 14 million population of Iraq 1.65 million men are now under arms fighting a war with no victory in sight. The Khomeini regime in turn has to reckon with more than 2 million people who have been uprooted from border towns and rendered homeless by Iraqi shelling.

With inflation running at 600%, extensive food rationing, payments on foreign loans frozen, the political cost of continuing this war is bound to reach explosive heights for the Islamic Republic. Having to pay 2 million rials to the families of war "martyrs" hardly testifies to the regime's success in rallying the Iranian people behind its "holy jihad." The Iraqi government has also resorted to cash payments of 160,000 dollars (U.S.) to the families of soldiers who have lost their lives in the war. Not confident of the Iraqi officers' loyalty (nor, apparently, his own brother's) Saddam Hussein has been replacing and rotating his commanders at the front. With thousands of deserters, the Khomeini regime has been facing similar problems at the front as well.

In spite of the bloody and costly stalemate that continues to exacerbate the internal political and economic contradictions of both sides, the political consequences of ending the war are not any safer for either of the regimes, since those who have been conducting the war will be held accountable by the people who have had to bear the misery of it. That is indeed part of the downward pull of the maelstrom spinning in the Gulf.

Brazen Hypocrisy

All of the imperialists, with brazen hypocrisy, now announce themselves "innocent" and "neutral" although they have actively fueled and encouraged the war right from the beginning. That being the case, they could not possibly be indifferent or impartial to its outcome. In fact, the vested interests of the imperialists from both blocs tend to favour a tilt towards Iraq. The U.S. has made it clear it will not tolerate Iraq's defeat,

which at the moment does not appear to fit too well with Soviet calculations either. This situation is also a product of the considerably revved up contention over influence in Iraq itself. The Soviet Union, which had reduced its arms shipments to Iraq since the beginning of the war, has now resumed delivery on its old promises along with providing 2 billion dollars worth of credits to Saddam Hussein.

The French imperialists have been quite active trying to reduce Iraq's dependence on the Soviet Union for its military supplies by supplying, most notably, Super-Entendard aircraft equipped with Exocet missiles, F-1 Mirages and Frelon helicopters. During the recent visit of Iraq's deputy prime minister Tariq Aziz to the West, the French government also agreed to rebuild Iraq's nuclear reactor destroyed by the Israeli air attack in 1981.

However, both the U.S. and the Soviets are still holding cards in Iran. Recently, Moscow held talks with a high-level delegation from Tehran. And in turn, after a two-day visit to Tehran, W. German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher said that Iran was ready for a dialogue with the West and "we should be receptive to this, for nothing would be more wrong than to isolate this big and important country."

Although it has been obvious for some time that an Iraqi victory is not really possible, Iran's victory, on the other hand, is particularly objectionable to the imperialists. With signs of exhaustion that need no deciphering, the further prolongation of the war also harbors dangers of drastic changes that can suddenly bring both blocs face to face in what they call a "horizontal escalation" of the war.

Since Iran repelled Iraqi troops back to the border, Saddam Hussein has been scurrying to find a way to "honourably" end the war. The fact that what Baghdad came up with was nothing but the escalation of war into the Gulf, by attacking oil tankers and installations, is an indication of the nature of the options left open in an ever tightening of the knot of contradictions in the region.

There are signs pointing to the existence of differing views within the

Khomeini regime regarding the war, which are closely connected to conflicting interest groups within the ruling Islamic Republican Party. The clerics are concerned, to say the least, about the deteriorating situation and the mounting opposition within the country, which will inevitably be further aggravated by the continuing war. Various statements from the representatives of the Iranian government indicate that the clerics might forego their insistence on the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and billions of dollars of war reparations payments as a condition of ending the war. All this could possibly lead to a winding-down or even the cessation of the war. However, the winding-down of the war ironically is only a manifestation of the tighter winding-up of the contradictions that gave rise to it in the first place. And it testifies not to the stability but the fragility of the situation in the region.

Revolutionary Opening

The desperation of the reactionary regimes faced with diminishing economic and political stability is increasing the prospects for preparing and waging revolutionary warfare against the regimes in power in the region. Such revolutionary developments are not only probable but already a source of growing fear for the region's puppet states. In both Iran and Iraq the reactionary regimes have met armed opposition in the Kurdish regions from revolutionary forces. Although the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces are not yet in leadership of the revolutionary struggle there, the possibility remains that these areas will play an extremely important role in the overall revolutionary process in the region. The war has, to a certain extent, kept the reactionary Iranian and Iraqi regimes from concentrating their forces against the Kurdish revolutionaries.

The Turkish regime, for example, has been increasingly worried about the "contamination" of the Kurdish region of Turkey adjacent to those in Iran and Iraq. The recent agreement between the fascist governments of Turkey and Iraq allows the Turkish army to cross the border into Iraq in order to help suppress the Kurdish insurgents in the area. Nothing speaks better to the weakness and the

panic of these regimes.

This counterrevolutionary pact is, however, also an insidious product of the intensifying inter-imperialist rivalry and war preparations in the region. The compulsion to increase the war preparedness of half a million Turkish troops, which can strike across borders with the consent of friendly neighbors (and already have twice since the Soviets' shoring up of Syria's military capacity during the bloody war in Lebanon), stems largely from the overall heightening of tension in the area and cannot be accounted for simply by the need to carry out counterinsurgency operations. Since the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war both imperialist blocs have considerably increased their military presence in the Middle East. Several divisions of Soviet troops are engaged in active combat duty in Afghanistan. Soviet warships more frequently cruise the warm waters. Syria provides a significant position for possible Soviet troop deployments and is already heavily armed by the Soviet Union.

In turn, the U.S. has established its Central Command (previously called the Rapid Deployment Force) with a capacity of 270,000 troops and a budget of 20 billion dollars. In Saudi Arabia and Oman, the U.S. has built billions of dollars worth of deep-water ports, landing strips, military hospitals and other military infrastructure that can facilitate U.S. troop movements. Even Kuwait received 82 million dollars from the U.S. to upgrade its air defence. Both blocs have been exploiting all of the different contradictions in the Gulf to gain ground at each other's expense, to position themselves most advantageously for the worst possibilities throughout the region. Whatever the immediate outcome of the Iran-Iraq war may be, the contradictions that gave rise to it will continue to intensify throughout the region, rendering the existing order ever more brittle in the face of blows from revolutionary struggles and the strains of rapidly mounting imperialist contention. Genuine revolutionary forces, if guided by scientific analysis, will certainly face prospects not only to grow in strength but to send many a crown spinning down the maelstrom in the Gulf. ■

Iranian Communists Commemorate Martyrs

Leaflet distributed in Teheran by the UIC (Sarbedaran)

The following is the text of a leaflet distributed in Tehran by the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran). The leaflet was released on the anniversary of the death of the first martyrs of Sarbedaran on 9 November and 13 November 1981. These martyrs were killed in the course of several battles that preceded the uprising in Amol on 25 January 1982. The Amol uprising, in which armed units of Sarbedaran, the military organisation led by the UIC, seized the northern Iranian town along the Caspian Sea, was the largest-scale and most important armed revolutionary assault against the reactionary Khomeini regime outside the region of Kurdistan. For two days the masses in this town of Amol were liberated from the reactionary Khomeini forces and the masses were aroused and mobilised to deal out revolutionary justice to their tormentors and their flunkies. Almost a hundred reactionaries were killed.

Hail the memory of Sarbedaran comrades Behnam and Morteza!

Heroic people of Iran!

More than three years have passed since the infamous coup d'état by the heirs of Sheikh Fozolah Nouri¹, headed by the traitor Khomeini. More than three years have passed since all of the fruits of the glorious revolution, fruits nurtured with the blood of your best sons and daughters, have been trampled on. A new period of struggle began in the winter of 1980-81 when the treachery of Khomeini was revealed and this hypocrite openly sided with the anti-people, reactionary front such as the chieftains of the Islamic Republican Party. The resistance of the people against these thugs reached the threshold of armed struggle. These struggles for liberation were so sweeping that even liberal vacillating elements such as Bani Sadr, who up until then had only grumbled, began to resist the reactionary forces. But the way to deal with these reactionaries was not passive resistance but an all-out assault aimed at

smashing the source of their power. The Jamaran Palace needed to be blown right down on Khomeini's head. Yes, there needed to be an insurrection to finish off the task. But the lack of a centralised and efficient leadership, the absence of working class leadership capable of mobilising the millions of people who were ready for insurrection and toppling the government of these ostentatious and anti-national forces, meant this task was not accomplished and the leadership of the liberation movement remained in the hands of the liberal Bani Sadr, who could do nothing more than haggle with reaction and say fine words about resistance. Thus it was possible for the reactionaries to launch their vicious coup d'état against the revolution. The reaction saw well that the upheaval of the masses might soon destroy it.

The coup d'état and the bloody suppression of the revolution and the popular forces were launched in the summer of 1981 with vicious, unprecedented murders. Leaving aside reactionary forces like the Tudeh Party and its offspring, the Fedayeen (Majority), who were acting as the lackeys of reaction, this coup d'état caused different reactions in the revolutionary movement and among the different political groups. Some of these groups who were shocked by this tremendous blow "ran for cover" and tried to justify their passivity in the face of reaction and the coup d'état. In spite of the heroic struggle of the People's Mojahadin, at the time the most widespread revolutionary force in society, this organisation with all of its potential strength failed to overthrow the government or even to strive for the conquest of political power, instead contenting themselves with isolated attacks that could never be useful. Of course, nothing else can be expected from such forces:

In this period, a section of the membership and supporters of the Union of Iranian Communists,

learning from the teachings of Sattar Khan, the heroic leader of the Constitutional Revolution² and relying on Marxism-Leninism, the liberating science of the working class, stepped onto the terrain of an unequal head-to-head confrontation, sacrificing its own blood to cleanse the revolutionary motherland of these filthy reactionaries responsible for the coup d'état. Although a tide of passivity and willingness to leave the masses alone in front of the regime's firing squad had swept over a small minority of our organisation, this could not block the path of Sarbedaran. Sarbedaran, the genuine sons and daughters of the nation, decided, with guns in hand and their lives on the line, to launch a rebellion—originally planned for Tehran and then switched for various reasons to Amol.

The plan called for the uprising to begin on November 9th 1981, despite the shortcomings of Sarbedaran. As the Sarbedaran forces were approaching the city, some unforeseen developments and clashes with local lackeys of the regime made it necessary for Sarbedaran to return back to the forest. For four days following Sarbedaran's arrival in the forest, the Khomeini regime prepared an all-out assault, which it then launched under the pretext of eliminating "bandits." The reaction was not aware of the determination and faith that led these valiant men and women to go into the depths of the forest. On November 13th the Khomeini forces, many times stronger than Sarbedaran, received a smashing blow that shook the teeth of Khomeini himself, that reactionary chieftain of the coup d'état. In this battle more than fifty lackeys of the regime and the coup d'état were sent to Hell and suffered such a defeat at the hands of Sarbedaran that the reactionaries never reported the news of the event.

The joy of the first triumph of Sarbedaran was coupled with the grief of the loss of two of our best militant



Heroic fighters of the UIC (Sarbedaran) in the forest before the Amol Uprising

communist comrades, Behnam Rudgarmi* (Comrade Bagher) and Morteza Rāhbar*(Comrade Mostafa). We, the companions of these militant communists, will submit the summation of the subsequent struggles of Sarbedaran³, as well as the history of Sarbedaran's combat on other occasions, to the judgement of the heroic people and the revolutionary movement.

These communist comrades lived up to the slogan of Sarbedaran: "Either we smash the head of the enemy or he will hang us from the gallows."

We honor the memory of the martyrdom of these comrades for the re-

volution and declare once again our faith in the noble ideal of Sarbedaran.

**DOWN WITH THE ISLAMIC
REPUBLIC REGIME!
ESTABLISH THE PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF
IRAN!**

Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran). 9 November 1984

* Comrade Behnam, the first martyr of Sarbedaran, was killed on 9 November 1981.

* Comrade Morteza was killed on 13 November 1981.

1. A reactionary mullah at the time of the Constitutional Revolution 78 years ago. He was hung by the people.

2. When the reactionaries attacked the Constitutional Revolution, Sattar Khan, who was in Tabriz at the time, was the leader who stood foremost for carrying forward the revolution with armed struggle.

3. This refers particularly to the uprising in Amol led by Sarbedaran shortly after the incidents described here. ■

Confessions from Peking

On December 7, *People's Daily* published a revealing front page article that was immediately echoed by the bourgeois press throughout the world. "The works of Marx and Lenin," wrote the organ of the Central Committee of the CPC, "are no longer capable of solving today's problems." The next day *People's Daily* published a full page correction. Due to an unfortunate "typographical error" the word "all" had been eliminated from the article in question, leaving open the possibility that Marx and Lenin may be useful for solving *some* of today's problems. If they want to keep "*some*" thing of Marxism, it is only for the purpose of preserving the authority and rule of what has become an utterly counter-revolutionary, anti-Marxist party.

In fact, the Communist Party of China abandoned Marxism-Leninism for the solution of *any* of their problems after the coup d'etat of 1976 following the death of Mao Tsetung.

The *People's Daily* confession shows more than just how far and fast these revisionists have gone. After all, the revisionists in China had been attacking basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought even before they seized power in 1976 and have become increasingly brazen ever since then. But to openly discredit Marxism-Leninism is largely to be explained, ironically, by the past strength of Marxism in China and the support it still finds today among many millions. For the revisionists to carry out their complete restoration of capitalism, and to try to squash the resistance to their bourgeois rule, it is necessary for them to wage an all-out ideological offensive to prevent the masses from measuring the line and program of these usurpers in the light of revolutionary Marxism.

As one unnamed high Chinese official was quoted as saying, "for the

first time in the history of our Party, we have placed production in command." It is certainly true that the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung had always struggled against the revisionist idea of putting "production in command." Under Mao's leadership the central task of the CPC had always been making revolution—first in the long decades of warfare leading to the liberation of China and later during the period of socialism itself when Mao led the people in fighting to continue to revolutionise society. Mao Tsetung succinctly summarised the relationship between revolution and the struggle for production with the formula, "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production," that he raised during the Cultural Revolution.

The last great battle of Mao Tsetung was aimed precisely at those who under the guise of "modernising" China and "boosting production" were attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And the leader of the revisionists in China at the time was, of course, none other than the current Chinese strongman Teng Hsiao-ping.

Ever since the coup led by Teng and Hua Kuo-feng it is not the works of Marx and Lenin, but the dictum of Teng Hsiao-ping that is guiding China's policy: "Black cat, white cat, what's the difference as long as it catches mice." If Marxism-Leninism is not useful in catching mice, why perhaps capitalism will do better. And in fact this is exactly what is going on in China where the revisionists are restoring the capitalist system of exploitation at breakneck speed. Mao Tsetung himself had pointed this out when he warned, "if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up

the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works.

The total dismantling of collective agriculture in China's vast countryside, the institution of "international zones" where imperialists have free rein to set up and administer sweatshops, the total reversal of the transformations in the educational and artistic spheres that had been brought about through the Cultural Revolution, frequent public executions of alleged "common criminals," the enrollment of China in the U.S.-led war bloc—these are just some of the fruits of Teng Hsiao-ping's capitalist mice-catching. The restoration of capitalism and the putting of production (really profit) in command has brought forward a whole series of new problems in the economy and society which the Chinese revisionists are now trying to blame on Marxism. It is true that the only solution that Marxism offers for the problems of capitalism is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Eight years after their coup d'etat, the Chinese revisionists still feel compelled to continue their campaigns against the "ultra-left influence of the Gang of Four" remaining from the Cultural Revolution. Millions of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals were brought forward and were trained in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of the Cultural Revolution. Revolutionary leaders like Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao emerged, who stood alongside and led the masses into battle against the revisionists, and who continue to defend the revolutionary line in the face of bitter defeat. All of this is of great concern for the revisionist "cats" ruling in China today who know that they are up against more than mere mice. ■



Street Battle in Santiago

Chile's hot spring began in November. It was the stormiest month since March 1983 when mass street protests first began to interrupt the silence of the tomb Chile's U.S.-backed generals had tried to impose on the country since they took over a decade earlier.

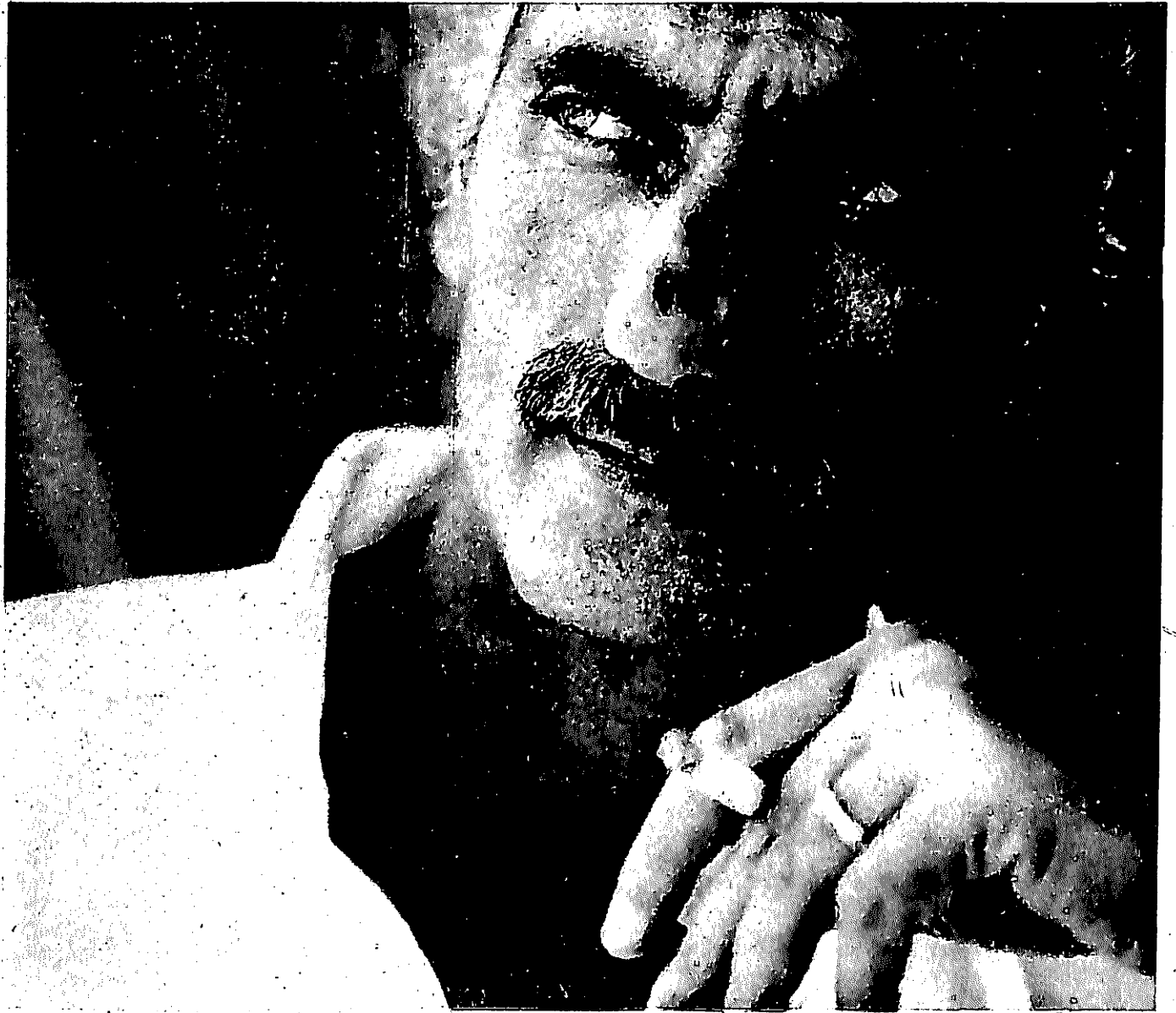
On November 6th General Pinochet (shown above) reimposed a national state of siege. The national stadium, where soccer fans had recently broken out in chants of "Va caer" (the government will fall) earlier in the month, was used to hold the 10,000 workers and others rounded up by police and troops in the capital city of Santiago. The Pisagua desert concentration camp was reopened for business. On the eve of Chile's twelfth consecutive National Days of Protest starting November 28, troops in La Victoria, a working class slum which has been the most violent centre of resistance, dug themselves World

War I-style trenches from which to fight. The fighting lasted almost three days in the slums, on the streets of downtown Santiago and on university campuses.

The decree reimposing a state of siege was co-signed by Sergio Jarpa, a life-long fascist who as Chile's Interior Minister was leading what was billed as Chile's "democratic opening." Although it was the U.S. which unleashed Pinochet over a decade ago, nevertheless the U.S. gave signs of being disturbed by the clanging shut of this "opening" at least for now. This "opening" had failed to make the junta more popular among the middle classes who once supported it or more powerful in the face of the rebellion of the masses. So far despite all the U.S.'s efforts it has failed to negotiate a transition from a military junta made in the imperialist blood sausage factory to a civilian government made of another skin with the

same stuffing.

There are two related reasons for this. The first is that no civilian government is likely in Chile without considerable influence for the pro-Soviet forces and space for them to work towards a "historic compromise" undermining exclusive U.S.-bloc control. It was partially to prevent this that the U.S. had Chile's last civilian government overthrown. The second reason is that these days of protest which began amid sordid political manoeuvres have been the occasion for outbursts especially among the youth, particularly proletarian youth, that have increasingly terrified not only the country's rulers but also some of the forces scheming to use their ability "to control" the masses as capital. In Chile, as elsewhere in Latin America and the world, these youth are a new factor in the game which none of the traditional players welcome. ■



Kurdish Institute

HOMAGE TO YILMAZ GÜNEY



A Look at *Yol* with Costa Gavras

The following is an interview with film director Costa Gavras, who along with Yilmaz Güney, won the 1982 Palm d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival for his film, Missing.

A World To Win: As another distinguished filmmaker, how do you evaluate Yilmaz Güney's accomplishment in cinema, especially as reflected in *Yol*? Perhaps you could also comment on his other films as well.

Costa Gavras: First let me tell you that it wasn't through *Yol* that my friends in Paris and particularly at the Cinemateque came to know Yilmaz—we knew him since *The Herd*. If you go to the Cinemateque museum; the image you see there is what Yilmaz means for us; for a small number of people, Yilmaz was already one of the important directors, the most important Turkish director. He became known worldwide with *Yol*, because in *Yol* he shows the Turkish way of life, without the least contrivance . . . it is not only pro or con like many movies, he just shows how life is and *Yol*, I think, is probably one of the most pro-Turkish movies ever made. I know some Turkish people are against the movie because they think it shows the bad side, some bad parts of the Turkish way of life and social relationships, but I think what is really extraordinary is the way we see them, we understand them. We probably would condemn them, but after all the most important thing is that we understand them and we can see another, different culture. As far as that is concerned, I consider Yilmaz the most important Turkish director, and I'll add to this that I don't know all the others. But of the few Turkish films I've seen, this one is the most powerful. It won him international recognition. What he accomplishes as a film director is that he succeeds in recreating reality, and he treats it in an almost documentary manner. You know that you are

looking at actors playing a part, and that the story probably didn't happen, but at the same time you are convinced, you link it to life, to everyday life, and this is the strongest accomplishment in film for a film director. After this comes the, let's say, political aspect, or the social aspect—I'm speaking about the director's accomplishment. They are linked, but I don't know if I've answered completely your question.

AWTW: Could you speak to the themes, imagery and metaphors Yilmaz uses in *Yol*?

Costa Gavras: Yes. The analogy he uses is that people are being freed from a prison—it's like a people, a

whole people, a whole country living in a certain kind of prison—then they become free to go around and they meet their families, they meet the country, they meet freedom, and this freedom finally, because it's a momentary freedom, becomes a drama for them. I think this is the first analogy. The other analogy he makes with freedom is the dead horse; that comes back again and again. And the extraordinary thing is that freedom always ends up as a drama. . . . you cannot say to the people, "You are free, go ahead, be free." It's not enough for one man to be free, the others must also be free, must understand and respect your freedom, and

May 1982--Güney and Costa Gavras sharing the top award at Cannes.



this is a very long cultural process. I think this is probably the strongest message the movie gives.

AWTW: The oppression of women recurs as a strongly anchored theme throughout the film. How skillful is his condemnation of this, and how well do you think he succeeds in conveying his idea that social relations among people in general are concentrated and shown in the woman question?

Costa Gavras: I don't think he really takes a position of condemnation, he just shows how women are treated. How can I put it, it's like they're animals--that's a very strong word--but they're like property, man's property, and they have to obey; they have to be a certain way and they have to act in a certain way. If they don't, they are rejected, they are just killed; or they are no longer considered as human beings. They are not worthy of living. They are rejected from the moment they stop fulfilling man's wishes and beliefs; they are pushed aside and no longer deserve love or man's company. They are just rejected. So this is that close (illustrating with fingers) to being slaves, finally, to being considered a slave. I also don't think that happens only in Turkey, I think it's a problem of most of the countries. And it exists even in France in a different way, with a different approach, but you can find the same attitudes towards women.

AWTW: How do international audiences react to his portrayal of the woman's situation in Turkey, a backward, more underdeveloped country? Do they identify with it, does it correspond to their experience on a different level in the western countries?

Costa Gavras: I think in the western world there are two approaches, or let's say three. One approach is that they don't even see it. Another approach, which is probably very common, is that they see it as a problem in Turkey--some kind of wild people acting that way, coming from another place--and don't make any connection between their own way of being and acting and the way of life in the film. Then there is a third approach, in which, I think, clever people can identify with that kind of situation. Maybe it's not so dramatic,

but their feelings towards women are the same. They say to themselves, as I try to do myself, and as some friends I've spoken with: Hey, in a certain way, we are like those people, in a different place and under different conditions, but deep within ourselves we act like this with women, even if we don't kill them. . . because we can't. We can't even if we wanted to anymore--because the police would come!--but internally we are that way.

Let me tell you that there is no international success, let's say international comprehension of a movie, of any piece of art, without that kind of relationship between the viewer and the creator in which he speaks about something that concerns everyone, personally.

AWTW: There is a lot of controversy about whether this work, *Yol*, and Güney's work in general is universal or whether its strength lies in its power to unfold the particular situation in Turkey. That's something that always confronts a filmmaker.

Costa Gavras: Yes, there's nothing more particular than *Hamlet*, from Shakespeare, nothing more particular, and also nothing more international and universal, and we can say the same thing with the Greek tragedy and all the classics. The more it is particular, the more it is universal.

AWTW: Is there anything else you would like to say about the skill of the movie in terms of the imagery, the cinematography?

Costa Gavras: What is quite interesting in this movie is the kind of parallel cutting of the different stories one after the other, starting together and then diverging. At the end you come out of the theatre and you have all of them in your head. They're all together at the same time because in a certain way they're all telling the same story from different angles, from different situations and characters; but after all they're the same story.

AWTW: Would you comment about Seyit, the man who killed his wife in the snow, and how that character's anguish and contradictions are portrayed?

Costa Gavras: I would say he was the most Güneyan character. I think Güney identifies to some degree with

this character, with his strength, his tenderness, with the violence he is capable of and also the lyricism; because the scenes in the snow--Seyit's whole relationship with his wife and their going from one place to another--are one of the strongest images in modern cinema. You can find that kind of lyricism in Soviet movies in the early years before Stalin, and in Japanese movies. I think the western world doesn't know how to do this anymore because I'm afraid that with the pragmatism in which we are living more and more, we are losing our primitive poetry. Not just our sense of poetry. . . but in the human being there is a poetry, and I think it is leaving us because of too much civilization.

AWTW: This character, Seyit, loved his wife but he also felt compelled to follow tradition, which required killing her.

Costa Gavras: He leaves one prison, as we were saying at the beginning--the real prison--and then he goes to the other prison, the prison of family, the prison of tradition, and is destroyed because of the second prison, which is probably stronger than the first one, finally. It turns out to be a drama. . . and he has to kill his wife.

AWTW: What do you think Güney is saying in the last scene of *Yol* in the train, when Seyit is on his way back to prison by himself, looking out of the window and clearly is in agony?

Costa Gavras: The impression it left me with--first I would like to say how strong this movie is, to be able to remember all these scenes after over two years--what you are talking about is called being alone, meaning that he doesn't succeed in really freeing himself. He's caught, he's more caught than ever because not only is he in this small space but the train is moving so fast he can't leave it. In other words, here is society gripping him so forcefully, enclosed in itself and in its customs and traditions and going at such a pace, such a great speed, that he can't change it, get away, get out. Along this theme, he can also see himself in the window, see his acts, but at the same time he cannot get rid of them, of that whole environment.

AWTW: In regards to his development culminating with *Yol*, how



did it compare with *The Herd*, *The Wall*, and some of his previous movies like *The Poor Ones*?

Costa Gavras: I think with movies you can't say this one is better than that one. . . they have different subjects, they were made with a different kind of passion and have a different universality. *The Herd* for example--I think a lot about *The Herd* now, because I saw it a month and a half ago. And I was really very strongly taken by the movie and by the content and by the images--I think it's very close to *Yol*. *The Wall* is very strong also. . . comparisons between movies is something I don't like to get into--it's like human beings; you have to take them one by one, to examine them, to see what they have, the approach, the intentions, what is the interiority, the kind of poetry they can have. I don't think movies are like marathon runners. You can't compare them, this is

better than that, like football teams.

AWTW: Yilmaz did have definite political tendencies--he was a revolutionary and he considered himself a communist. He was opposed to the atrocities the Soviet Union is committing now, and at one point he supported Mao, particularly when Mao was attacked after his death. But the question always confronts the politically conscious artist: Is it possible to make movies that are both revolutionary and artistically powerful, which speak to a very broad audience?

Costa Gavras: I don't think you need to be ideologically in this or in that particular party to be able to make powerful movies. I think first of all you have to have the talent. I used to speak sometimes with Yilmaz about his political feelings--we didn't always agree about it. But what I've always said is that Yilmaz was coming from a completely different reality

than mine, here, or ours, here. So the solutions he was trying to find in that particular reality sometimes had to go through communism or Maoism--and I can understand that, because it's like getting back to the problem of the prison--the people are in prison without freedom. Yilmaz was like a man, like the Turkish people in prison. When a man is in prison he tries to break out through different ways: through the window, through the ceiling, through the doors, so he tries communism, he tries this, he tries that. He can try and then one day he'll find the real way to get out to freedom. So I consider Yilmaz to be someone like this, trying. Whatever his position was, he was right, because it came from a very profound, sincere feeling and necessity to free himself and free his people. ■

Yol

An Autobiographical Sketch

(These excerpts are from an interview with Yılmaz Güney which appeared in the 1 October 1982 issue of the Revolutionary Worker, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.)

I was born in a rural area. My parents were poor peasants. And at the same time, they were Kurdish. So I was conditioned by the rural ideology, the peasant ideology, which was mainly, essentially, a bourgeois ideology. But to be born among and to live among the poor peasants, and especially to be part of an oppressed nation, the Kurdish nation, influenced my views. And that influence pushed me to search for something. I didn't know what. I didn't even know what its name would be, but still I was searching for something. And in the beginning of the 1950s I met some elements; for example I heard Nazim Hikmet's poems (the Turkish communist poet) on the Spanish Civil War. In 1952 there was a broad communist arrest in Turkey, and there were some poets among these people so I heard their poems. Of course, all these coincidences were illegal. It was just through some people I met. But it wasn't scientific socialism really, it was rather idealistic, it was rather utopian. No one talked about the working class, no one talked about Marxism-Leninism, no one talked about dialectical materialism. It was just some literature about humiliation, about poverty, and about the necessity to change that course of life. But they didn't explain whom we had to fight, how we had to fight, with which ideology we had to fight, there was none of that. Then under that influence I started to

write short stories and I started to talk myself and that's how I happened to have my first contact with the political police.

In 1955, for a short story I had written (I was still in school) I was sent in front of the court for communist propaganda. It was rather a short story, full of feelings, but I had a very long trial and in 1961, I was convicted to 2 1/2 years in jail and exile. But during the trial in 1957 I had to leave Adana, my city, where I had passed my adolescence and where I had studied, and I went to Istanbul to find the Communist Party because, despite the fact that I didn't know really what it was, people called me like this, so I went to Istanbul. But I was deceived. Every communist I met disappointed me. At the moment I didn't know how to explain this, what name to give to this deception. It was not until 1972 when I was again in jail and I started to study, that I was able to give the name to that deception. Then I knew that I was deceived by revisionism. But at the moment I didn't know Marxism-Leninism. I don't mean that I know it perfectly now, but I started to study it. So between 1961 and 1963, I was in jail and exile and after 1963, a new period started in my life.

In 1963, I started as an actor. I had planned in jail to become an actor, the most famous one in the country, in order to put into practice all my aims. So I made all the calculations; I developed all the tactics in jail; and once I was out, I applied them one by one. So already in 1965 I was one of the most popular, I was one of the actors at the top. I can't say the films that I acted in were revolutionary or democratic films, but all of them were popular films.

They reflected the suffering, the ill-being of the people and their regard and feelings. Many of them, of course, had some errors in the ideological or the political sense: some of them were reformist; some could be called anarchist; some had some lumpen aspects. But all that experience permitted me to have broad and very tight relations with people, with the masses.

Between 1965 and 1966, I started to feel a strong anguish. I wasn't happy with what I was doing. In 1966 I tried to be more choosy about the films that I acted in, and I acted in positive films. But at the same time, for financial needs I had to act in some negative films, because, since I had started to be an actor, my real goal was to be popular, to be able to make films myself. But the only way for me was to have first of all an actor's career. So after 1966, I decided to be myself behind the camera, to put into practice my real aims. So in 1968 I had my first attempt.

In 1968 after my first attempt as a filmmaker, I went to make my military service which lasts 2 years. That was a very important change in my life, the military service, because for the first time, for 2 years I had the possibility to read systematically. That doesn't mean that I didn't read before, but I didn't read systematically. The practical concerns of the cinema had the most weight in my life, whereas in the military I was able to read systematically books by Lenin, Marx and Mao. I was ready to make a very important step forward once my military service would be ended; and that's what happened in 1970, when I finished the service. I made my first important film, *The Hope*. But to make this film, to fi-



The Herd

nance its production because I was the producer, at the same time I was obliged to act in many gangster films to earn money to finance my own film.

At the same time my political searches led me to have contacts with various political movements; since I didn't have a clear position, I had various contacts. At that time, we had various movements; we had student movements, we had workers movements against the reactionary forces, so I had solidarity with them. I helped them, and in 1972, because they arrested the members of one of the organisations which I was helping, I went to jail also for helping them. But this arrest in 1972 was really the turning point in my life, because in jail, thanks to the illegal network, I was able to learn Marxism-Leninism. I learned about re-

volution, about revisionism, about the Soviet Union. At the moment I was still not ready to call the Soviet Union social-imperialist but I knew it wasn't a socialist country. At the same time, I learned how to distinguish between the adventurist tendencies, the trends of some petty bourgeois movements and what a real socialist movement should be. I learned about the leading role of the working class and I changed also my personal attitudes in life into a revolutionary attitude. And as for the cinema, also I started to think in detail how to make films from now on. So I had a clearer and a deeper view of cinema in theory. Once I was out, in 1974, I was ready to make again a very important step forward in my cinema career as a filmmaker. But I was able to finish only one film, *The Friend*; and while I was shooting the

second one, I was put again in jail in 1974.

Between 1974 and 1981 I was in jail, and in the jail I wrote novels, short stories. But I also had political writings and I tried to make films five times. The first two weren't very successful but the latest three of them had international success since I was more into their preparations. Those are: *The Herd*, *The Enemy* and *Yol*, the last film. And *Yol* is again the one which belongs even more to me because I did all the editing of the film. Now I have more means than before, but I'm in exile. That is to say that, with these means, if I were able to make films in my own country, I could do something different and even better. But from now on, what I will be able to accomplish will determine my artistic character. ■

Güney on "the language of art"

(Excerpt reprinted from the Revolutionary Worker, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, 1 October, 1982).

RW: In the film *Yol*, that point you just mentioned in relation to the backward attitudes of men is well demonstrated, even among the revolutionaries that are portrayed in that movie. One question that is posed by this approach is, in what way is it possible to put forward positive or heroic characters; in other words, one of the criticisms that I've heard of the film *Yol* is that it exposes the reality of the situation, of the oppression, of the masses' problems and so forth, but it lacks, in terms of a dramatic personage in the film, a clear heroic role.

Yılmaz Güney: No, there is no clear heroic role.

RW: Perhaps you could comment on that.

Yılmaz Güney: To this criticism I have just one answer. What others understand from a positive hero is completely different from what I understand as being positive, because in my film there are lots of positive aspects. But me, I try to see and I try to show what's positive in a negative hero or in a negative situation because the contradictions always exist together; that's what we call the unity of opposites. Let's take some examples from the film. Seyit lets his wife die in the snow, but at the last moment and since the beginning he has an inner contradiction; he isn't sure of himself. He has an inner anguish and

at the last moment he tries to save his wife, and when she dies, he has a very strong sorrow, a deep pain, and afterwards the remorse destroys him; he has a very strong remorse. That's very positive for me. Or Mehmet, the one who is killed by his in-laws. That man has based his life on lies. He was lying, but he changes; not suddenly, he changes slowly, and he has the courage, the guts to say the truth. He has the courage to say, yes I'm guilty, because of me, because of my running away, it's because I was a coward that my brother-in-law died. He has the courage to say it to his in-laws, and before that he was a liar; that's something very positive. Or let's take that Kurdish young man whose family lives in a smuggler's village. That boy had the courage to say, I'm not going back to the prison; I'm taking all the risks, I'm going up in the mountains like my brother whom they shot down. In that sense, what I understand as being positive and what I'm trying to show as positive in life is the change, is the transformation, is the modification, is the process. I don't have a static view of positive and negative like some others do, I'm trying to show the germs, the embryo of positiveness in what is seen as being negative. So I don't accept that criticism. In everything that's negative you have the hope, you have the future, you have the embryo of what is positive for tomorrow. . . .

RW: What role do you see your films and more generally revolutionary art playing in the development of the revolutionary movement

in Turkey and in other countries?

Yılmaz Güney: My departure point is class struggle, the struggle of the working class to conquer the political power, and this struggle has different paths: we have a political struggle; we have an economic struggle; and you also have the cultural and ideological struggle. On the one hand, the artistic and in particular the cinema activity seems to be part of just the third way, it seems to be just part of the cultural, the ideological struggle, but it's also a political struggle at the same time because through cinema it's possible to work on people's emotions and motivations and their consciousness. It's possible to orient those emotions towards revolution, but in itself, the artistic movement, the artistic works can't pretend to have all the functions of the political struggle. It must be completed by some political work, there must be some supplementary political work to complete its effect. It's not right to search in art all the tasks, all the functions of the political struggle; one shouldn't try to put in art all these tasks, all these functions. The artistic activity just makes it easier for the political movement but one shouldn't try to impose the entire role of the political struggle on the artistic work. It has to be completed by some accurate political activity, writings, explanations, interpretations.

And on the second hand, we just must take into consideration the existing conditions and from that point calculate correctly to what au-

dience we must try to send our message, and we must try to have the broadest audience possible. One can make a work for a narrow audience but that narrow audience is more or less composed by people who already have a certain consciousness, of some people who already have some knowledge. So me, I choose always to address myself to a very broad audience. That's my aim, and I have fixed it since the beginning. In that sense, some people, some comrades, bring very narrowly viewed criticism to my work. They don't understand that I'm trying to reach broad masses; and they don't understand that art has its specific field and you can't expect art to have all the tasks and functions of political movements. But those criticisms are not important for me. And in that sense the success *Yol* had and is having now--*Yol* is being seen by broad masses--it's not a coincidence. I did it deliberately this way.

Art by itself doesn't make the revolution, but an artist who has a correct political line, who has a correct political view of the world, can through his works have very broad and strong links with the people, with the masses. And those links may then be very political. In that sense, art can be useful for political agitation, for political propaganda; but I refuse to consider agitation and propaganda in the arid, in the dry sense of the term--then it's not art. And in this sense when you have a real revolutionary art, you influence not only the masses but you influence also the other artists. You have prepared the field for political consciousness. In this sense art is a weapon, art is an arm; but art has its own specific language, the language which only belongs to art. One must respect *totally*, absolutely, that language. If you don't respect the language of art then this weapon kills *you*. It has a boomerang effect. ■



"We Lost Yılmaz Güney"

*By A. D.

The Distinguished Artist and
Cinematographer
The Brave and Daring Revolutionary
Fighter Who Has Won the Hearts of
Millions of Labourers

On September 9, 1984, the great artist Yılmaz Güney died of stomach cancer in Paris where he had been living as a political refugee. After a ceremony and revolutionary salute of thousands of labourers, his body was buried in Pere Lachaise Cemetery, the burial ground of the heroes of the Paris Commune. Yılmaz' final request was: "I'm cold, cover me with the blanket of the Communards."

Certainly the death of Yılmaz Güney, who stood on the side of the international proletariat even in his final breath, is no ordinary death--it is a lofty and dignified death. Both the proletariat and the people of Turkey and the international proletariat and the oppressed people worldwide are obliged to resolutely uphold Yılmaz' revolutionary legacy; the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its indispensable component part, the communist movement of Turkey, must know how to draw the necessary lessons from this noble and honourable death.

At the time of his death, various organs of the bourgeois press have

*member of the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist)

published headlines such as "Head of State Without a Throne" concerning Yılmaz Güney. In fact, this phrase has a touch of truth to it. Yılmaz Güney does have a righteous fame both in Turkey and on the international level--he is loved by millions. This is one of the major reasons for the ferocious attacks on Güney by the Turkish ruling classes and their servants, open or disguised, who had failed to buy him off by offering him money, wealth, luxury and status and who then resorted to slander, hoping to minimize the damage inflicted on these reactionaries by his art and his struggle.

Yılmaz Güney was, above all, a great artist, a masterful film director and screenwriter. He had also distinguished himself as an accomplished novelist and a short story writer. He is a man who had a profound grasp of the realities of the class struggle in Turkey and around the world, who, as an undaunted fighter for revolution, took a stand on the side of the people and revolution and against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction, who used his art as a powerful weapon to this end. Yılmaz Güney significantly contributed to the advancement of the struggle of the oppressed in Turkey for people's democracy and independence.

Obviously Yılmaz Güney did not have a thoroughly proletarian revolutionary line, neither in his ideology nor in his art. What characterises his art and his essential line of struggle is the revolutionary democracy of the petit bourgeoisie. He was a consistent anti-imperialist, patriot,

democrat and a consistent revolutionary--however, he was not a consistent communist. Although he resolutely upheld certain principles of Marxism-Leninism, he did not grasp its universal truth nor did he extend it to the concrete practice of the revolution in Turkey. Thus he failed to transcend the petit bourgeois revolutionary democratic line and merge with the communist line and the communist movement. As a matter of fact his efforts to put out journals with an artistic/political content (such as *Güney*, *Ekim*, and *Mavis*) and his efforts to form an independent group with his followers were a reflection of this in practice.

But despite all of this, another important aspect of Yılmaz Güney as a great artist and master of filmmaking was that through his social practice he was influenced to a great extent by communism and he was growing increasingly closer to communist ideology and politics. Even though he did not unite ideologically, politically and organisationally with the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, a component part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, this influence of the communist position is shown by the fact that he declared the Party's heritage to be Marxist-Leninist, that he firmly defended revolutionary violence, and that he tried to defend the legacy of Mao Tsetung against the various revisionist attacks, especially those by the Party of Labour of Albania. In fact this is one of the reasons that counterrevolutionary trends hiding behind "socialist" or "communist"

masks, along with various petit bourgeois opportunist trends, never ceased to slander Güney's politics and ideology even as they tried very hard to win him over.

Why then, did Yılmaz Güney—who maintained his antiimperialist, patriotic, revolutionary and democratic stand until the end of his life, who, defying all kinds of personal interests, status, comforts and luxury,

never betrayed the people and the revolution, who never surrendered in the face of numerous attacks directed against him—fail to make the qualitative leap to embracing the communist movement? Certainly the objective and subjective reasons are numerous. Nevertheless, one of the most important reasons is that the communist movement of Turkey, due to certain mistakes and weaknesses in its own

During long years in prison



ranks, has not fully played the historical function that it should have played. This was a significant factor in preventing Yılmaz Güney from embracing the communist movement.

This negative aspect in relation to the proletarian movement and ideology does not, however, overshadow Yılmaz Güney's revolutionary art and struggle, which are an indispensable part of the revolutionary art and struggle of the people of Turkey. Therefore it is the task of everyone on the side of the people and revolution to uphold his revolutionary legacy. Communist revolutionaries especially must firmly uphold those aspects of the work and life of Yılmaz Güney that were strongly influenced by communism and expose and condemn any distortion of them.

Yes, Yılmaz Güney is dead. But in fact, he is now immortalised in the struggle of the people of Turkey of various nationalities for People's Democracy and independence!

His death has been greeted with joy by the fascist junta in Turkey which Güney played a tremendously important role in isolating and exposing, and which had ferociously suppressed and attacked him—arresting Güney on numerous occasions and handing him years of prison sentences. On the other hand, millions of toilers who had loved him with all their heart have been overwhelmed with sorrow. In fact, while the Turkish ruling classes and their spokesmen continue upon his death to hurl their venom and slander his art and struggle, the various patriotic, revolutionary and democratic organisations, with the communist movement of Turkey in the forefront, have widely commemorated Güney in Turkey and in European cities and have strived to turn his revolutionary legacy into a powerful weapon against the fascist dictatorship.

Needless to say, neither the counterrevolutionary attacks and slanders against Yılmaz' revolutionary legacy nor the attempts to sap this legacy will prevent the people of Turkey, composed of various nationalities, and especially the communist movement in Turkey, from upholding his legacy with even more determination.

"He symbolised rebellion..."

Interview with Revolutionary Writer from Turkey

Nihat Behram

A World to Win: We have followed closely the events surrounding the death of revolutionary artist Yılmaz Güney, which is a tremendous loss for the people of the world. As a longtime friend and political and artistic collaborator of his, we would like to ask you more about the role that Yılmaz Güney played, who he was, and how he developed into a filmmaker and artist who devoted his life and his work to revolution.

Nihat Behram: Yılmaz Güney was an important figure for the people of Turkey. Many put his posters on their walls--a sign of rebellion for them. We will see his significance more now that he is dead, and feel the emptiness he has left behind.

I think there are several main points that must be kept in mind: he was an artist of the people, he gave courage to those who wanted to create revolutionary art--there was an atmosphere that you couldn't do it, one of "art for art's sake" among those progressive forces, and he was an inspiration to them. He made use of the opportunities he had, but he used them for revolutionary art. He could have been a big bourgeois artist if he'd wanted. When you are a well-known personality or artist you have to make a statement. In Turkey you are an outlaw--an automatic seven years in jail--if you say you're a communist. Most of the time, it's revolutionary artists and intellectuals who get it. Yılmaz Güney said, "If there's such a law, we have to dare to do something against it." Once he wrote in an article "I am a communist, a Marxist-Leninist" and got seven

years. But he said this is a blow against their law. He was slapped with the "communist propaganda" law several times, practically every time he made a speech. There are 10 million Kurds in Turkey, but they too are outlawed, they aren't supposed to write or speak in their own language, nor are Kurdish songs allowed--every other language in the world can be spoken there except Kurdish. Yılmaz said proudly he was a Kurd, which is almost worse than being a communist because you're considered a separatist. Many artists have been assimilated, hiding the fact that they're Kurds. Yılmaz saw it important to make this statement.

He got into the film industry as a worker after prison, carrying reels from one theatre to another. He met many people this way and was a part of them, not as a bourgeois, but as one of them. This helped his ability to portray people from different regions in Turkey as they are, because he knew them well. At that time polished and "beautiful," very European-looking characters were put on the Turkish stage. Güney had minor roles in some movies, but looked himself like he was more from the masses; he had a "common" face and was instantly popular because of this. During a five year period in the 60s he made 100 action type films, playing a major role. He became immensely popular.

During the second phase of his movie career he began to both play the leading role and write screenplays on social themes, which was a major development for him and made these

films very popular. What might be called the third phase was the period in which he made the three films *Seyit Han* (*Bride of the Earth*, 1968), a painful, traditional story, followed by *Ac Kurtlar* (*Hungry Wolves*) in 1969, and then *Umut* (*The Hope*), which represented the beginning of socialist realism in Turkey.

I think *Umut* was the most important film in the history of Turkish cinema, and the best one Yılmaz Güney made. The way it approaches the problem of the family, of land, the struggle of the people and relationships among the lowest sections of society, in terms of this it represents a distinction between idealism and realism, with the weight on realism. It's a true-to-life story, not a symbolic one, or a product of the imagination. The main character hunts treasures to solve his problems, and when he fails to find them, family relations and everything deteriorate, he gets closer to hopelessness and goes crazy. This is the first film in which the hero, played by Güney, is beaten, for example, instead of always being the winner, a strong leading character. Thus, you see the essential aspects of socialist realism in this movie. In it he musters all his artistic power in every detail. When Elia Kazan saw it for the first time, he said "We're up against a very powerful filmmaker." It was banned immediately in Turkey as anti-religious and "provocative," inciting the poor against the system. *The Hope* was smuggled out and taken abroad to the Venice Film Festival where it won a special award. Güney was then sued by the government for

taking a banned film out of Turkey and showing a Turkish peasant in a negative light to other countries.

Güney formed his own film company, Güney Films, and became producer, director and screenwriter. He wrote 20-30 screenplays, which were also published as books, and they were widely read by the masses as

novels. Up until 1968, he remained a popular actor, known to the masses through his films, but not so much as a political figure, as part of the movement.

1968 was a period of big upheavals—in the U.S., in France, the youth movements. This was also true in Turkey. People began to draw clearer

distinctions between different world views—such as establishing socialism through elections and social-democracy claiming the mantle of socialism. There was a section of youth who wanted to pick up the gun and fight reaction and against the revisionists.

During the first coup d'état in 1971

The Hope



the army killed many people, shutting down leftist organisations, and martial law was established. It was a period when young organisations were heavily hit by the fascist regime—including the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML), led by Ibrahim Kaypakkaya.

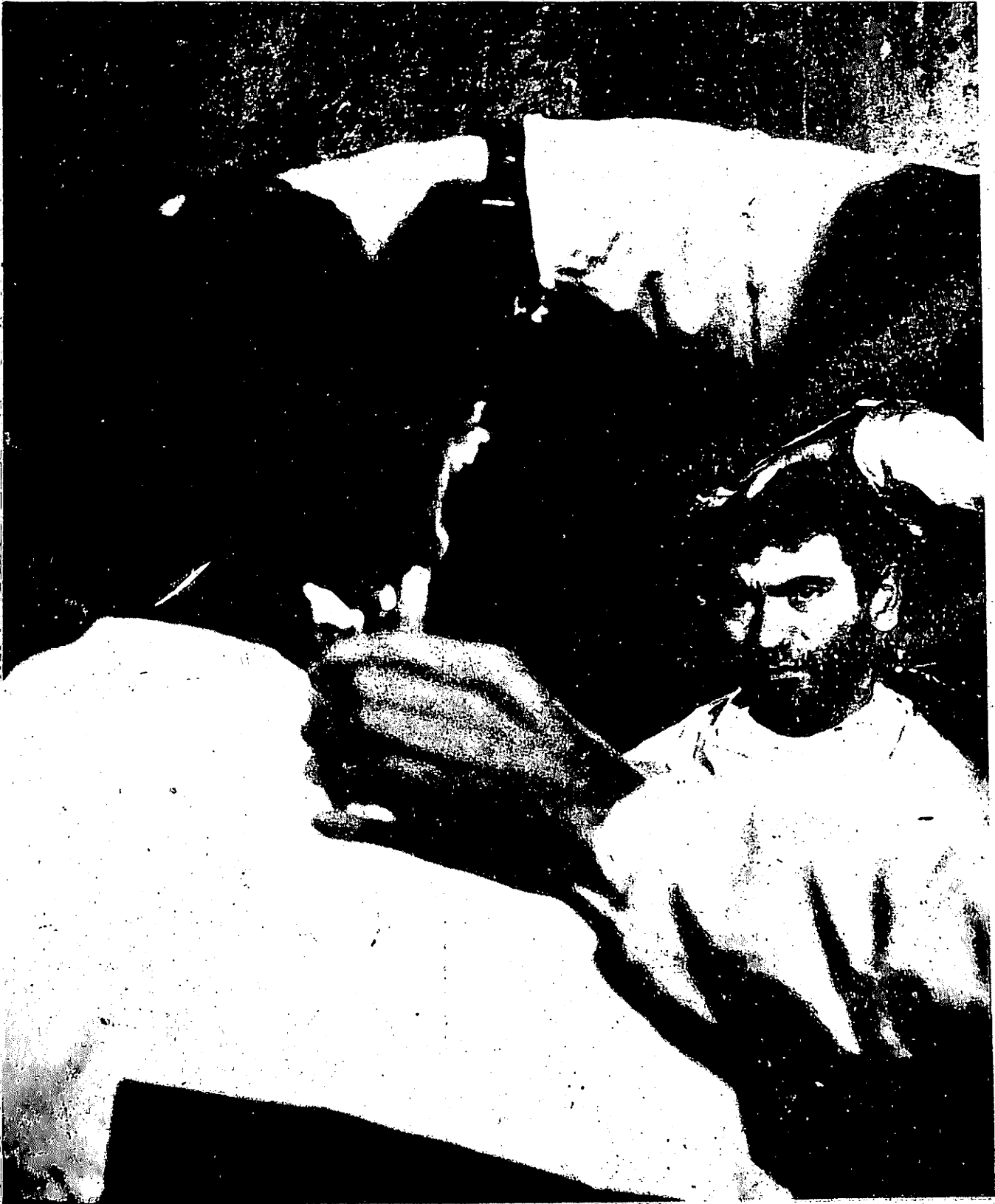
Yılmaz sided neither

with the revisionists nor the government in this turmoil, but with the youth. Some came to him to seek help in safe hiding, which was a milestone in his political development, in taking an active role in things.

After the coup, the government made an appeal to combat the "communist threat." For the first time

armed struggle against the government came into play on the political scene. The youth didn't stop their militant activity—armed struggle—but continued to fight, particularly to wage "defensive" struggle, defending themselves and the masses against the government. At that time Güney had three revolutionaries in his

The Poor Ones



house, when the "shoot on sight" law was in effect. He was arrested and put in a military prison for 2 1/2 years. I was in jail during this same time, but in another military prison. During this period an important change took place in Yılmaz Güney: he wrote a book about his past, which could be considered a self-criticism, entitled *Letters from Selimiye* (name of the prison), consisting of three long stories. He decided that from then on, he would directly take part in the struggle of his people. At the time, generally people who went before the courts took a position of surrender, afraid of repercussions, making a defense with apologies for what they'd done, etc. Yılmaz made a political defense, he said he didn't regret anything he did and that he was a revolutionary, part of the struggle in Turkey, and proud of it.

In 1974 Ecevit took power, ending the military government, and a general amnesty was declared in which many people were released from jail, including Yılmaz and myself. In the 45 days he was out of jail, Güney filmed *The Friend*, which was his first film on city life, and *The Anxiety*, which is about cottonfield workers in Adana. During the first week of filming this movie, a fight in a bar broke out, in which a judge was killed. Although in court Güney's nephew said he had killed him, he was given two years for perjury, and Güney was charged with the murder, and sentenced to 19 years in prison. In prison they moved him around a lot, and tried to kill him, but he took security measures. He wrote one very good novel, *We Want a Stove, a Window and Bread*, which was important to his ideological development because in the last 50 pages he takes up the subject of social-imperialism. Among most artists whose work has any kind of social content, taking a stand against the Soviet Union is not a popular trend.

After some discussion between Yılmaz Güney and myself, we realised we had common views and goals—that we were both revolutionary writers trying to become Marxist-Leninists. I visited him in jail and we decided that I would take his ideas and carry them out on the outside. In 1979 we launched a culture journal called *Güney*, a monthly with revolu-

tionary cultural and political articles. Police repression against the journal increased, but that was generally true at the time, with martial law in some places; the fascists (Grey Wolves) were getting stronger and starting to kill people, including revolutionary writers, etc. After the first 18 issues were published, every issue of the journal was banned. Then I started managing the Güney film company, which hadn't put out many films in that period. We decided to strengthen our work in filmmaking—the results were *The Herd* and *The Enemy*. *The Herd* was the first film made on the outside and directed from jail. Yılmaz Güney wrote the scripts. The unity between us was that I believed that being part of revolutionary culture was collective work. I went to interview people and took him the material in prison. He put together the ideas, the directions for the films. Güney Films started to turn.

In 1980 the government shut down *Güney* magazine. Some of my books had been published by then and I was given prison time for an article, which was co-signed by Yılmaz Güney. In fact both us were given time for it. In addition, they gave me two years for the book I wrote on the life of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, the founder of the TKP/M-L. We smelled the coup d'état coming. I wasn't legal, and couldn't stay in Turkey any longer, and we had decided to get him out too. I came out in 1980; he escaped later the same year.

Many artists have become fearful, capitulating to the bourgeoisie and saying art and politics do not mix. So Yılmaz Güney is one of the very few that have taken a stand against fascism, and is probably the best known of the intellectuals in Turkey because of it. Giving the "communist sign," the fist, while accepting prizes at international film festivals, was very important and it had a big impact worldwide from Japan to Berlin to Cannes. They made a big deal about it in the bourgeois press.

AWTW: Are his more recent revolutionary films widely known among the masses in Turkey?

Nihat Behram: For a short while they can see them, then they are banned by the fascist censorship committee. Except for ten films that were smuggled out of the country, all of his

others have been destroyed. The Turkish junta is trying to wipe him out. His picture and postcards with his portrait can no longer be sold publicly in kiosks; they used to be sold all over.

AWTW: How did the Turkish press and the junta try to sum up his life and death to the masses in Turkey?

Nihat Behram: The second day after his death, there was one sentence in the papers: "He died." But *Liberation* and the French press were banned in Turkey after his death. Except for diehard fascists, they didn't dare to attack him in their columns at first. They printed a huge picture and increased their sales dramatically. But then they were forced to attack Yılmaz, he was such a popular figure. Here is *Tercüman*, a rightwing daily, for example, which writes: "Murderers die too," and "The alcoholic murderer has died before being able to spend his millions. Yılmaz Güney, the judge killer, died in despair in Paris. Why should we be sad about his family? Didn't the judge have a family too? He was a traitor until his last breath..." The headline here reads "Story of his Last Betrayal: Buried in Pere Lachaise Cemetery." It shows the junta's weakness, and the strength of the masses, of the folk hero, and the influence of Yılmaz Güney.

AWTW: Are there any final remarks you want to make?

Nihat Behram: Yes. Except for a handful of fascists, everyone is mourning his death. He was in close contact with the revolutionary forces; he participated in the Long March to Strasbourg and in the hunger strikes, even though he was very ill. He is like a folk hero, a myth, a part of each family because of his being against oppression, fascism, injustice, torture. Even if not fully conscious, they are so attached to him. His death is a deep pain for them—he symbolised for them the rebellion that they themselves feel. Yılmaz himself emphasised that revolution is not just a question of overthrowing the state, but of revolutionising all of society. ■

(continued from page 16)

Punjabi Suba

Over the next years, an important battlefield between the Akali leadership and India's rulers centered on the establishment of a linguistic state of Punjab. Commissions appointed by the Congress Party, including one led by Nehru himself, conceded popular support for a Punjabi state, but repeatedly ruled against such a move. The Congress appealed to Hindi communal interests, even exaggerating census statistics on how many people in Punjab spoke Hindi, in order to secure its own base there. At the same time, it also sought to make use of caste contradictions among the Sikhs themselves, particularly between the rural Jat Sikhs (who comprised nearly 40% of the Sikhs) and the Dalit Mazhabis (the oppressed caste). In the 1950s, the Akali leadership tried to compromise by accepting a Congress proposal calling for the division of a reorganised Punjab into both Hindi-speaking and Punjabi-speaking regions; it even joined the Congress Party. Within a year, a new challenge from within forced the Akalis to withdraw and renew the call for a Punjabi state.

The new leadership, led by Sant Fatah Singh, took the Akalis away from their earlier position of identifying the Punjabi state with Sikh demands and posed the issue on a purely linguistic basis.¹⁶ This, together with a growing fear among Hindi communal forces that the Sikhs might try to separate completely, paved the way for swinging over substantial support from various Hindu forces.¹⁷ In 1967, the Akali came to power in a reorganised Punjab state in alliance with other political parties (including the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India).¹⁸

Even with the reins of power in their hands though, the Akalis swung wildly between their two self-conceived roles: first, being the "one exclusive manifestation of the corporate will of the Sikh community," and secondly, playing its strictly non-communal role in parliamentary politics. After coming to power, for instance, the Akalis dropped their insistence that Punjabi be the official

language. Such manoeuvres gave the Congress favorable terrain on which to operate: organising factions within the Akalis, they toppled the Akali Dal ministry and then proceeded to pose as better saviors of the Sikhs themselves (they even dispatched a senior minister on a world tour to publicise discrimination against the Sikhs!).¹⁹ Discontent with the Akali leadership soon developed into another major challenge, one which was to capture centre stage in Punjab politics.²⁰

A Package from the Ford Foundation

In 1953, a Ford Foundation team of experts submitted a report titled "India's Food Crisis and Steps to Meet It." The report was accepted without delay by the Nehru government. The fertile fields of Punjab were selected to launch the "Green Revolution." By the mid-70s almost the whole of Punjab had come under the sway of the new agricultural technology, and agricultural production more than doubled between 1960 and 1980. As a part of this transformation, irrigation, roads, railways, rural electrification and other infrastructural facilities developed at a phenomenal rate. Electric pumpsets, tractors and lately combine harvesters have changed the old mode of production. Punjab was transformed into a vast granary providing more than half of the total volume of food-grains procured by the government. But the package did not stop there. Once the box was opened, a chain of interrelated developments unfolded, hurling back a far more intense crisis.

The boom sparked off by neocolonial transformation in Punjab challenged all traditional values and relationships.²¹ Capitalist development of agriculture had sundered all remnant ties. But the modernisation which took place was not the result of a thoroughgoing radical transformation which drew from the heritage of the land to give it a new content. What passed as modernisation was a thin veneer for degenerate comprador values, which only debased and vulgarised feudal values without touching their essential roots. Religion was not to be spared this metamorphosis. Among the peasantry Sikh religiosity and faith was replaced by ties of convenience and position. Among the

youth there was a drift away from religion itself.²² Alcoholism became rampant. The sprouting of religious preachers with their fiery calls to return to the faith was not far off.

At the economic level, the major gains were made by a rising section of capitalist farmers who, as far as caste was concerned, consisted of a section of the Jat Sikhs. Though the position of the Naghabhi Sikhs (mainly agricultural labourers) had improved slightly, especially in terms of loosening of caste relations, higher wages and mobility, they remained oppressed and exploited.

Prosperity generates its own contradictions. The spread of capitalist agricultural production led to a high degree of dependence on the market in the urban centres. There the capitalist farmer and the peasantry had to deal through commission agents (mainly Hindu traders) whose grip on the market structure was near total.²³ Though their economic position was improved, at the market they were fleeced by the agents in a double sense—at sowing time the agents distributed all the modern inputs needed by the peasants at credit and at harvest time they redeemed their advances with interest, thus ensuring that the peasants and farmers would come to them with their produce which could be bought up at lower prices. The capitalist farmers and rich peasants were more capable of resisting this snare through their ready access to cooperative and banking credit, but they were not totally free. As the effects of the oil crisis made themselves felt, prices of inputs such as fertilisers and diesel shot up, cutting into the profits of the agrarian classes. On the other hand, the control of the government over the food-grain market prevented a steep upward revision of prices for their products.

Moreover there was an inherent limit to this transformation. By the mid-70s the boom had tapered off. The annual growth rate in agriculture fell from 20% between 1970-1971 and 1973-1974 to around 12% between 1977-78 and 1980-81.²⁴ The limits of the new technology had been reached, and a massive dose of capital for soil improvement, water management and a higher degree of mechanisation were required to pull

out of the rut.

Among the capitalist farmers some had turned to agricultural trade—but the opportunities were limited. The possibility of accumulation had been cut short by the rise in input costs; the chances of spreading into the industrial sector were also limited. The industrial structure of Punjab reflects the distortions induced by neocolonialism. The number of large and medium industries with a capital intensive base doubled within the decade 1970-80. The average annual growth rate of their production in value terms was 33%; fixed investment increased by 1000%; while employment barely doubled. At the same time, small scale industries, which contributed 52% of industrial production in 1978-79, have seen a stagnant annual growth rate of production in value terms though employment has increased by 40% in this decade.²⁵

A significant feature revealing the lopsidedness of development is the absence of any industry linked to raw materials—both agricultural and others—produced in the state. In a certain sense this is true for output as well; the hosiery industry, for example, is totally dependent on its exports to the Soviet Union. An organic link between agriculture and industry could never develop in an overall situation like this. In fact, establishing such a link was never part of the neocolonial strategy, which had allotted Punjab the role of grain producer. The rate of growth of production of commercial crops, such as cotton and sugar cane, which is very low when compared to that of food crops, is a natural outcome of this enforced division of labour, as is also the absence of industries based on raw materials. Stagnation in agricultural production, limits to accumulation in agriculture due to the market structure and limits to the spread of capitalist farmers into the industrial sector—these were the end results of the imperialist plans for development.

The swelling tide of economic discontent which to a greater degree affected all classes transformed by the Green Revolution linked up with backlashes against changes in the superstructure: the Akali movement surged forward once more. In the

historical context of developments in Punjab, its ready linkage with the unfulfilled demands of the Punjabi Suba and with the deep sense of discrimination against the Sikhs was a natural course. The path of this movement in the '80s was to some extent charted by a resolution adopted by the Akali in 1978. Like all other Akali positions, the Anandpur Sahib resolution reflected both religious and political-economic aspirations, mainly those of the Jat Sikh capitalist farmers who could rally the masses of the Sikh peasantry against their age-old enemy, the Central government. The new economic foundation provided a solid structure for reviving notions of a Sikh nation. But this was no longer a response of a weak minority to preserve its religious identity but now the powerful demand of a rising class colliding with those very imperialist relations which had given it birth.

The Anandpur Sahib Resolution

The Anandpur Sahib resolution consists of two parts: one puts forward religious tasks and openly identifies political goals with the commandments of the Tenth Lord and with the history of the Sikhs. But having stated this, the remaining sections are as secular as those in the manifestoes of most bourgeois political parties. The main points here are demands for unifying all Punjabi-speaking areas and for a radical change in the Indian Constitution such that the Centre's powers would be restricted to defence, foreign affairs, finance and communications.²⁶ A third point denounces the foreign policy of the Congress, stating that "our foreign policy should in no case play second fiddle to that of any other country"—an obvious attack on the pro-Soviet positions of the Congress.²⁷

The section on economic goals drops all references to religion and to the Sikhs. What remains is a clear statement formulating the demands of the rising rural bourgeoisie, directed against its immediate enemies: "the big traders, capitalists and monopolists." The preamble states that "political power has . . . been misappropriated by these classes which are wielding the same for their benefits . . . any peaceful attempt . . .

(for) . . . a new era of social justice would have to break the economic and political strongholds of these categories of people." It strives to unite all other classes behind it by pointing out the obvious truth: to abridge "the growing gulf between the rich and the poor" "the first assault would have to be made on the classes who have assured all the reins of economic power in their hands." The very next sentence betrays the class essence of this by arguing for a land ceiling of 30 acres (12.1 hectares) in order to distribute excess land; this ceiling actually *pushes up* the present one of 11.5 acres (4.7 hectares) which itself has not done much to change the economic position of the agricultural labourers and other sections!

The central demands in the agricultural sector relate to the prices of produce and changing the structure of the grain market. The price of produce is sought to be determined on the basis of returns of middle class farmers; more importantly, it is stipulated that "only the State governments would be empowered to fix such prices." This demand has usually been criticised by pointing out that such powers would lead to a steep upward revision of food prices, benefitting mainly the capitalist farmers. No doubt this is true. But what else would one expect from a bourgeois class? The point that is overlooked or sometimes even covered up is that this demand is aimed at breaking up the Central Agricultural Prices Commission, an important tool of the ruling classes (and through them of imperialism) to transfer surplus out of agriculture.²⁸

An argument forcefully advanced by some Marxist-Leninist forces in Punjab and India projects the Akali agitation and its later communal turn as a conspiracy to check and subvert the revolutionary working class and agricultural labourers movements. It is true that the Naxalbari revolt and the armed struggle led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) had a very significant impact in Punjab as elsewhere. In Punjab the armed struggle led by the CPI(ML) was centred in Sangrur where a series of armed actions took place. While this provided a tremendous impetus to developing a revolutionary consciousness and ex-

posing the state, this armed struggle became isolated from the masses due to a number of left deviations similar to those in other parts of India. Apart from this the impact of Naxalbari was indirectly manifested in the growth of a powerful revolutionary students' movement, the Punjab Students' Union, which at one time was the most powerful and broad-based student organisation in Punjab. Though there was no similar development of an organised revolutionary movement among the working class or the agricultural labourers, all this created a ferment among those sections also, and a number of organisations, including the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India, were successful in organising trade union movements heavily influenced by economism and reformism. The transformations in the agrarian sector which intensified contradictions between the agricultural labourers and the capitalist farmers also provided a basis for such developments.

However, it is important to note that these movements never posed a sustained revolutionary challenge either to the rural bourgeoisie or to the State and to analyse the Akali movement as a response to them is untenable. Conspiracies do not lead to social movements drawing on a powerful and broad mass base. The principal weakness of this view is that it shies away from analysing the complex interrelation between the religious, class and national questions and the neocolonial development of Punjab. Thus its call of class struggle to oppose communalism, etc., is never capable of putting forward a comprehensive proletarian standpoint on burning social issues, and leaves the field wide open for those very classes it wishes to isolate and expose. This is manifested in the decline of the PSU in all respects and the influx of its activists and even leaders into the camp of the fundamentalists.

In order to understand more fully that the Akali agitations principally grew out of objective conditions and not mere conspiratorial plotting, it is also helpful to observe that the economic programme advanced by the Akali Dal is not much different from the essential elements of the farmers' agitations which have arisen

in recent years. Both challenge the barriers of imperialist production relations which impede their ability to accumulate. In the neocolonial set-up of India these barriers are manifested in the regulations and controls enforced by the Central State and benefitting the bureaucrat-comprador classes. And, given the class nature of the forces which articulate these demands, it is obvious that they will overlook the whole question of imperialism and that they will not be consistent.

The Akali agitation had the merit of raising political demands, such as those on autonomy for the states and federalism, which relate to these economic demands. But those demands also reflect the illusions and intrinsic weaknesses of the rising rural bourgeoisie, which is incapable of striking at the root cause: neocolonialism. The relation between the religious aspects of the Anandpur Sahib resolution (its notions of a "Sikh nation" and its concern with reinducting religious values) and its class content is to be sought precisely in the needs of the rural bourgeoisie to restructure the political superstructure in India. It is here that the Sikh religion, its historical association with the development of the Punjabi nationality and its position as a homogenous religious minority blend with the purely secular demands of the resolution. All these elements provided it with a greater ideological cohesiveness when compared to other similar movements in India. Yet at the same time they were its weak point.

Overall then the history of the recent Akali movement is a history of continuous conflict between its religious-national and secular-national goals. It is also a history of the active role of the Congress and other bourgeois political parties seeking to foster the religious aspect in keeping with their own strategy to weaken and undermine the threat of a forceful national movement. It was in this context then that the post-World War 2 neocolonial transformations in the Punjab, centering on the Green Revolution, gave rise to powerful and conflicting religious currents. One of these, based on the teachings of the Nirankaris, essentially went along with and legitimised the transforma-

tions that were taking place.²⁹ At the other end, in violent opposition to the erosion of orthodoxy, were the fundamentalists.³⁰

In 1978, one of a whole host of fundamentalist preachers, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, shot into prominence after a clash with the Nirankaris. The Congress, eager to seize any opportunity to weaken the Akalis, quickly latched onto him. But it is important to state outright that it was objective social conditions, and not principally Congress manipulation, that was chiefly responsible for Bhindranwale's rise. If not him, then some other would have arisen to fulfill this cultural role.³¹

Bhindranwale stood within the long tradition of militancy and martyrdom of Sikhism,³² but in his rise to prominence he had to contend with numerous other fundamentalist groupings as well as with the Akali leadership. In the late '70s his followers were repeatedly defeated in elections to the aforementioned SGPC (which controls the gurudwaras).³³

But this was soon reversed. Discontent with the opportunism of the Akali leadership,³⁴ conscious communal policies of the Congress and Hindu communalists and the government's interest in building up the fundamentalists all went into this reversal. By late 1981 Bhindranwale had gained a powerful following. His arrest in September and release within a few days drew huge crowds who clashed with the police. The Akali agitation based on the Anandpur Sahib resolution continued, but the massive response to Bhindranwale's call for an agitation protesting against the arrest of some of his followers indicated the shift in the mood of the masses. Within months the Akalis were forced to adopt Bhindranwale's agitation as their own. The swing to militant fundamentalism, the suppression of economic demands by religious demands leading to a separate Khalistan, was more or less complete.³⁵ A swift build-up of communalism and communal murders followed.

So far the communal contradiction between the Hindus and the Sikhs and its historical background has been highlighted. But this has always existed as an undercurrent, and its vocal proponents were mainly the

upper classes among both communities. Among the masses, communalism has never made much headway. At the level of religion itself there is a close association between the two communities, stemming from the common historical experience of religious oppression at the hands of the Mughals and the shared trauma of the Partition. The strength of this communal harmony, particularly among the peasantry, was manifested by the refusal of the Sikhs to turn against their Hindu neighbours even after the desecration of the Golden Temple and open provocation by Hindu communal organisations. The interest of the Indian State in destroying this harmony is equally manifest in the selective repression of the Army and in its propaganda.

The fundamentalist creed of Bhindranwale, who openly called for a war against the Hindus, was a product of circumstances—including that it complemented the strategy of the Indian ruling classes. But the simplistic reduction of fundamentalism to a tool of ruling class conspiracy (very common among the left in India) misses its social-cultural roots and today miserably fails in explaining the exalted position of martyrdom Bhindranwale has acquired among the Sikhs.

A Sikh Nation?

As noted earlier, the (neo)colonial strategy of "divide and rule" arrested the organic process of nation formation in India and paved the way for a complex intermingling of religious and caste divisions with the national question and class struggle. We have seen this in Punjab: the conscious policy adopted by the British to divide the Punjabis as Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs and to ensure that Hindus remained restricted to their traditional position as a predominantly urban section while the Sikhs remained a rural peasant population. The sham independence of 1947 and the subsequent neocolonial transformation only reinforced this distortion with new dimensions. The 1971 Census Reports data reveals that nearly 70% of the Sikhs continue to be concentrated in the rural areas while nearly an equal percentage of the Hindus are urban.³⁶

The most important element in-

roduced by neocolonialism is the development of a rural bourgeoisie linked to the capitalist transformation of the economy. But this imposed capitalist development is not self-sustaining and the accumulation of capital by the rural bourgeoisie comes up against the barriers of imperialist production relations. When this takes place in a neocolony like India with its diverse nationalities, the imperialist limits to development manifest themselves as limits imposed by the Central State to the development of nations.³⁷ The Hindu communalism of this State, the historical restriction of the rural bourgeoisie to the Jat Sikhs (the biggest caste among the Sikhs) and the fact that the big grain merchants are Hindus provides the objective foundations for the displacement of the Punjabi nationality by the false concept of a Sikh nation.³⁸

In the context of India, the class interests of the big merchants and wholesale traders complement the class interests of the ruling classes, the bureaucrat-comprador classes, to a large extent. On the other hand, there is a basic conflict of interests between the rural bourgeoisie in the different states and these ruling classes. In regions with a relatively homogenous religious composition, the contradiction between the big merchants (who are generally local) and the other rising bourgeois classes would be manifested as a contradiction between traitors to the nation and those championing the national interest.

But this qualification is redundant in Punjab. The national interest becomes the interests of a Sikh nation struggling against Hindu domination. Caste differentiation among the Sikhs whittles the base of this Sikh nation even further. For the Mazhabi Sikhs, the oppressed caste, an autonomous or independent Punjab would be a state dominated by their direct caste oppressors—the Jats.³⁹ This has led a good section among them to vote against the Akalis in elections. During the recent agitation this caste/class contradiction had surfaced in some areas, where the Jat Sikhs imposed a social boycott against the Mazhabis for their opposition to the movement: but common religious identity tends to cut across this—the attack on the Golden

Temple has led to a common enmity with the Centre, to some extent.

Such are the battle lines today in Punjab. On one side stand the protagonists of Khalistan, the Sikh nation, commanding broad appeal among the Sikhs. On the other side stand the Indian state and its stooges, saviours of the Indian nation, with an equally broad appeal among the Hindus. Beneath these false entities for which the swords have clashed lies the Punjabi nationality and its genuine aspirations. The battle of Khalistan and India is no doubt an objective reality. But it is one which is distorted, a product of ages of tradition and of nearly a century of colonial rule and continuing neocolonial domination. So long as this key aspect is not grasped the battle will remain in this false domain: a domain favourable to the oppressors, imperialism and its agents.

Footnotes

1. Babur, the first Mughal (also Mogul) emperor of India and founder of the Mughal dynasty there, was a descendant of Genghis Khan and of Timur (Tamerlane).
2. The *Adi Granth*, a collection of Sikh scriptures, contains 938 poems of various Bhakti poets. Of these, the vast majority come not from Hindu Bhakti poets but from such people as Kahir and Sheikh Farid, a Sufi preacher.
3. The court language of the Mughals was Persian and the language broadly in use throughout the empire (from Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east) was Urdu or Hindustani, a mixture of North Indian dialects with Persian. Even before this time Sheikh Farid, a Sufi preacher, used to write in Punjabi as did others like Shah Hussain and Quadir Yar.
4. Some accounts put the percentage of Sikhs in the British Indian army as high as 60%. More likely the Sikhs constituted about 30%—but at any rate they formed the single largest section. After the Partition in '47 this proportion has been steadily reduced in the reorganised Indian army.
5. D. Petrie, "Developments in Sikh Politics 1901-1911: A Report," as quoted in "The Akali Agitation," Harish K. Puri, *EPW*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4.

6. Following British annexation a network of Christian Mission Schools was set up in Punjab. The governor of Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, used to take a personal interest in the salvation of the Punjabi "pagans."

7. The Namdhari movement (also known as the Kuka, or Kooka, movement) organised boycotts of English schools, courts and other institutions. It preached self-reliance and encouraged the wearing of homespun clothes as a measure of protest. The rapid spread of the movement led the colonialists to impose restrictions. In 1871 the Kukas raided British armouries but were defeated. The rebels were rounded up and 75 of them were placed in front of the muzzles of cannons and blown apart--the other side of "fostering national pride among the Sikhs."

8. The Hindustan Ghadar Party was a revolutionary organisation founded among immigrants in America just before the First World War. Its journal *Ghadar (Revolution)* was published in English, Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi and Gurmukhi, and was illegally propagated in Punjab and other regions in North India. During the First World War the Ghadars opposed the British Indian Army, especially among the Sikhs. They organised the immigrants en masse to return to India and start a revolt.

At about this same time, a ship with nearly 200 Sikh immigrants, the *Komagata Maru*, was denied permission to land in Canada under the cover of racial immigration laws. After a long deadlock in Vancouver the ship was forced to return to India. When the passengers landed the British provoked a clash and a good number were killed and injured in the police firing. This incident exposed the hollowness of "equality" between subject nations within the British Empire and inflamed anti-British feelings.

9. Jalianwala Bagh is the site of a British massacre in 1919, in the heart of the Punjabi city of Amritsar. British General Dyer ordered his troops to open fire on an unarmed demonstration. It is estimated that 1600 rounds of ammunition were expended; official statistics recorded 400 dead and 2000 wounded.

The Saropa is an honour conferred on an individual for distinguished service in the cause of the Sikh community or for humanity. During the recent agitation in Punjab, the tomb of the Head Priest who had conferred the honour was desecrated by the fundamentalists.

10. Dissatisfied with the non-violent struggles of the Akali Dal a section split away from it and organised the Babar Akali under the leadership of an ex-serviceman. Basing themselves on the militant traditions of the Sikhs, the Babar Akalis preached armed revolt and carried out a number of daring actions against the British before they were suppressed.

11. The Muslim League was formally founded in Dacca in December 1906. After working on and off with the Congress Party, it became a principal vehicle for the splitting off and founding of Pakistan in 1947 at the same time as India gained formal independence.

12. In the spring of 1942, a high-level delegation was sent from England with what purported to be a British proposal for the decolonisation of India. Its actual purpose was described by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* as "an attempt to rally Indian support against Japanese invasion"--particularly, drawing the Congress Party and Muslim League leadership into the British war effort.

13. Quoted in "The Akali Agitation," Puri.

14. For example B. N. Mullick (Nehru's Head of Intelligence) uses two whole pages in his memoirs to prove that the Sikhs have no reason for a separate religious existence since "... the Muslim influence and danger has been removed." *My Years With Nehru*, pp. 419-20.

15. Successive drafts of the constitution called for purer versions of Hindi as the official language, including as part of this a conscious effort to remove from Hindi all traces of Urdu (a product of Muslim Mughal rule) and Sanskritise. Such "secular progress" was also reflected in the treatment of the various religions themselves. The final version of the constitution included an Explanation which stipulated that "... the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religions..." This was an obvious attempt to deny the separate existence of these religions and is identical to the propaganda of Hindu communal organisations.

16. Part of the basis for this change had to do with the overturning of the urban Bhaba Sikh leadership by the rural Jat Sikhs, which comprised nearly 40% of the Sikhs and included a number of capitalist farmers.

17. This unity was more a temporary compromise than any real move to sec-

ularism. Among the Hindu communalists it marked the rise to dominance of a long-standing trend which cautioned against antagonising the Sikhs and pushing them over to unity with the Muslims. Proponents of this trend took pains to prove that Punjabi and Sikhism belonged to the Sanskrit Hindu tradition and should not be negated. A good example of this argument is given in "Hindus and the Punjab State," written by Om Prakash Mandal, a leading member of the All India Hindu Mahasbha. At the level of parliamentary politics both the Akalis and the Jan Sangh were attracted by possibilities of a united victory. The 1967 elections led to the formation of non-Congress ministries in a number of states.

18. In the early 1940s, prodded by the Comintern, the CPI accepted the view that India was a multinational country. In line with this a book on the question of Punjabi nationality had also been published. But by the '50s, as the party turned completely revisionist, this position was abandoned and it adopted the concept of an "Indian" nation, with support for linguistic states.

19. The minister, Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan, is the well-known protagonist of Khalistan (the concept of a homeland claimed by some Sikh forces). His continued activities in European countries is some of the main evidence produced by the government to prove foreign interference in Punjab.

20. At times this discontent even reached such peaks as the stoning of the Akal Takht (seat of the SGPC) by Sikh masses who were angered at the leadership's compromise with the Central government around the issue of securing Chandigarh as the capital of Punjab.

21. Together with this the interaction (both economic and cultural) with the sizable Sikh population in countries like the U.S. and England must also be taken into account.

22. There are very few studies on the cultural transformations that have taken place during this period as well as on the social base of the reform movements. One study notes that "... in the case of Sikhism as a religious institution... in rural Punjab, in general and near the urban end in particular, Sikhism was losing ground... quite a number of respondents had shaved themselves clean..." "Changing Social Structures in Rural Punjab," P.S. Jammu, Sterling, New Delhi, 1974, p. 107.

23. The market is dominated by a few monopolies. For example in 1971 less than 8% of the firms controlled 21% of the trade in wheat while 77% handled 56% of the trade... (pp. 91-92) This monopolisation has been reinforced as the commission agents have also branched into agro industries such as paddy shelling and flour mills, besides taking up sales of farm inputs such as fertilisers, deisel, etc. "Changing Food-grain Market Structure in India," Karbans Singh, S.R. Publications, Delhi, 1983.

24. "Punjab Crisis: Context and Trends," CRRID, Chandigarh, 1984, p. 55.

25. "Punjab Crisis," p. 59.

26. This demand was generally supported—though not its entirety—by most parliamentary parties in order to oppose the Congress (I). The CPI and the CPM also supported the demand in order to deal with the problems they faced as heads of state governments due to the financial and political clout of the Central government.

27. Quoted in "Punjab Crisis," p. 128.

28. In the industrial sector, the demands focus on breaking the economic powers of the monopolies through nationalisation. This should not be confused with expanding the public sector in the same form as it exists today (controlled by the Central government) since the resolution calls for transferring industry to the states. The aspirations of this rural bourgeoisie to branch out into industry are expressed in the resolution's call for "A planned effort to establish agro-industries in the rural areas" and its demand that "credit agencies, especially the nationalised banks, should be di-

rected to invest a good ration of their deposits in the rural areas." (emphasis added)

29. The Nirankaris are followers of the old Nirankari reform movement of the 19th century. They were grouped in urban centres such as Rawalpindi (in Pakistan) before the Partition and were forced to flee into India, where they continued mainly as traders and businessmen and are drawn from the trading castes. The Sant Nirankaris, whose religious leader was killed by the Sikh fundamentalists, are a separate sect among them which claims to be "a new world religion."

30. This is not to suggest that these were the only opposing forces or that the religious conflict could be strictly categorised into two compartments.

31. There were at least nine fundamentalist groupings, any one of which could have captured dominance.

32. One insistent theme of Bhindranwale (and of others like the Babar Akalis too) was that of depreciating the struggle of the Akalis for economic demands by raising the question of power. The association was with the famous words of the Tenth Guru, "Without gaining control over the Raj it is not possible to uphold Dharma, and Raj is acquired only through the might of arms."

33. The Congress (I) had thrown its weight behind him in these elections.

34. During the Janata Ministry, in which the Akalis were participants, the Anandpur resolution was quietly buried, even though the person who had drafted it, Barnala, had become a senior minister at the Centre.

35. The vacuum this created was readily filled by the Bharatiya Kisan Union, an

All-India farmers organisation led by capitalist farmers. The B.K.U. was able to rally vast sections of the peasantry for a militant struggle against the Central and state government. This cut across religious lines since it pitted the Sikh peasantry against the Sikh-dominated bureaucracy.

36. Quoted in "The Punjab Problem," Sucha Singh, K.C. Singal, *EPW* Vol. XIX, No. 14.

37. Of course the Central State per se is also a real barrier. The point is that the role of imperialism is concealed in neocolonialism.

38. Above all this completely ignores the historical existence before 1947 of an undivided Punjab. The use of Punjabi as a spoken language in West Punjab (Pakistan) and its growing role as a literary medium there shows that this is still relevant. In recent years a sizeable section of intellectuals in West Punjab have demanded that Punjabi should be taught in schools and in colleges.

39. This sentiment is reflected in the words of a Dalit Sikh: "We are wholly opposed to the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state, which in our opinion would be a state of big jagirdars and in which members of backward classes (here meaning caste—K.C.) will be treated as cattle." "Storm over the Sutlej," S. Narang, Gitanjali Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983. The author also notes that there was an identical reaction among the Dalit Hindus towards the formation of Haryana. ■

(continued from page 17)

tlement colony in Delhi, people here too are the forced slaves of Congress (I): everything from ration cards to the legal sanction for their jhuggies are provided by the Congress (I). This dependence turns them into the vote and rally banks of the ruling party, for whom mobilising such a stratum for arsoning and rioting was the easiest thing to do....

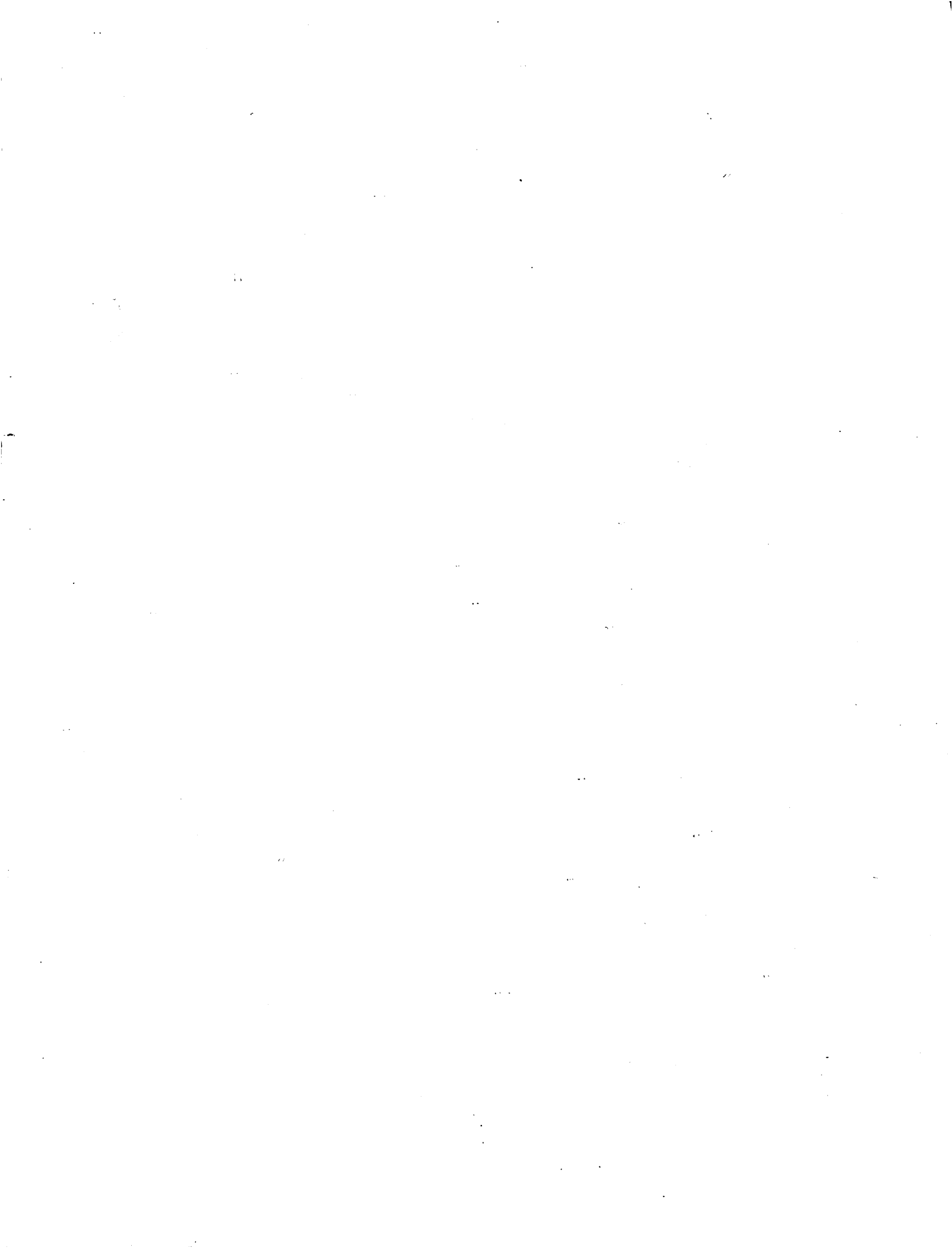
In the dead of the night, following the Trilokpuri carnage, women, young girls and children were left to themselves with the dead and charred remains of what were a few hours earlier their husbands, fathers,

brothers. Gangs of hoodlums barged into the area, and with the help of flashlights chose their pick. Some women were raped then and there, some others were abducted—never to return....

The assault in Kalyanpuri was led by one Dr. Ashok, Congress (I) leader. In Shakarpur the local councillor and one Gupta, a local ration shoe owner, held the reins.

The real reason why the killings went up from 2nd November on is (that) people saw that they had the political backing to do this. Several police officers are said to have told the mobs that Rajiv has given them "three days to do whatever you

want." And Rajiv did make his position clear in his first public appearance after the assassination. On November 19, addressing the Boat Club rally, he noted that the violence following Mrs. Gandhi's death is a natural reflection of the anger and anguish of the people and that the "disturbances" were just like tremours that the fall of a giant tree creates; on the whole he felt happy.... The fact of the matter is that for the Congress (I) leadership the violence was really a sign of tribute to Mrs. Gandhi. The Congress (I) organised the gruesome killings and projected them as a sign of people's love for Mrs. Gandhi! ■



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