

**TO WIN** 們獲得的將是全世界 **МИР ВБИГРАТЬ**

1985/2

**A WORLD**

के लिए सारा विश्व

**KAZANILACAK DÜNYA**

جهانی برای فتح

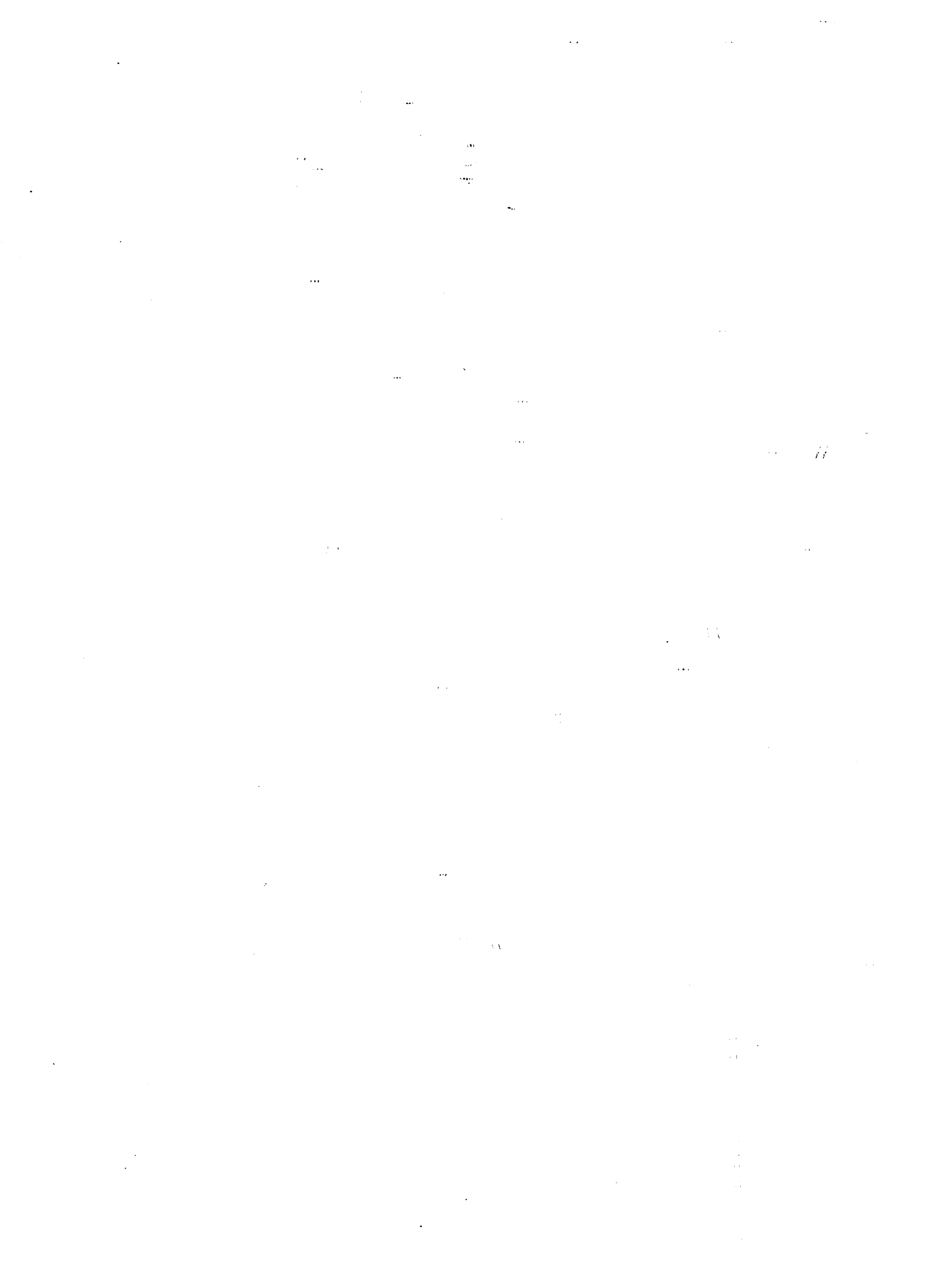
**UN MONDO DA GUADAGNARE**

**MORDE A GAGNER UN MONDO QUE GANAR 22\***

**REVOLUTION  
OR  
WORLD WAR 3 ?**

"The contradictions of the imperialist system are all likely in the coming period to express themselves by the force of arms on an unprecedented scale."

Inside:  
People's War in Peru



## Peru

A leaflet from Ayacucho defiantly states, "What was once a fire and is now a roaring blaze in Ayacucho is expanding against wind and storm....and expand it will, burning higher and higher until the peasant war led by our party becomes invincible people's war...." Indeed, the growing revolutionary war led by the Communist Party of Peru has made itself unmistakably felt throughout the world. Even Jean Paul II was dispatched to exorcise revolution. **Page 46**

## Not So Quiet on the Western Front



The imminent deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles in the "Hot Autumn" of 1983 plunged W. Germany into a minor political crisis. Koklu Kopus analyses the political stage and the class forces active on it, including the highly significant presence of revolutionary internationalist forces, with an eye towards much needed preparations for revolution. **Page 20**

## The Forging of a Weak Link

What were the factors that went into the making of the revolutionary situation that swept the Shah from his throne in 1979? A member of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) elucidates in broad strokes the developments in Iran and their relation to the international arena. **Page 36**

THE PROLETARIAT HAS NOTHING TO  
LOSE BUT THEIR CHAINS, THEY HAVE  
**A WORLD TO WIN**



1985/2

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# TO WIN 們獲得的將是全世界 МИР ВБИГРАТЬ

1985/2

*The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.*

## WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

—The Communist Manifesto 1848

You have in your hands the second issue of *A World to Win*, a new quarterly dedicated to an "old" idea: the proletariat of all countries faces the task of wrenching the world away from those who currently dominate, distort, and even threaten to destroy large parts of it; that those who up until now have been the victims of history must become its masters; that exploitation, oppression, and class-divided society, far from being the natural order of things, stand as the barrier to the further advance of humanity.

An "old" idea certainly, and one for which millions of martyrs have given their lives on battle fronts all over the world since Marx and Engels issued their famous call. But an idea which has lost none of its vitality or urgent necessity and continues to correspond to the reality of the contemporary world.

*A World to Win* contributes to the revolutionary process by providing analysis and commentary on vital developments in the world and in the revolutionary movement. It gives no quarter to imperialism and reaction, and its exposure will aim at East and West alike. *A World to Win* will not remain aloof from the key struggle to rebuild the unity of the exploited and oppressed the world over, to overcome the crisis in the international communist movement which came to a head following the reactionary coup d'état in China after Mao's death, and to create the political expression of this unity, a Communist International of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In this sense *A World to Win* has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world. *A World to Win* reports on the development of this movement and on its participating parties and organisations and will strive to assist this movement in becoming a more powerful force throughout the world.

But *A World to Win* is not an official organ of the RIM and its pages are open to all those on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction. It is a journal which reflects the growing unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces, but which recognises that for such unity to grow stronger, vigorous debate and struggle will be necessary. It is a journal of combat against those condescending saviours who, masquerading in the name of "socialism" or "communism," betray the aspirations of the oppressed and try to suppress their struggle (or turn it into a battering ram to replace one clique of exploiters by another), but which knows that opportunism cannot merely be denounced; it must be dissected, analysed and exposed.

*A World to Win* boldly proclaims its heritage and its ideology: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are the great leaders of the world proletarian revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought remains our tool for analysing and changing the world. But *A World to Win* will never rest content to simply reclaim the glorious moments of our movement or to simply analyse mistakes of the past—however important both these tasks are. Developments in the world constantly pose new problems demanding new analyses, new debates, and, above all, new solutions. *A World to Win* strives to be the indispensable tool for all those engaged in proletarian revolution.

*A World to Win* is currently published in several languages and plans call for it to be published in many more in the near future. Its network of contributors stretch over all six continents, and what *A World to Win* lacks in financial means, official distribution channels, and technique are more than compensated by its greatest asset—the active and enthusiastic collaboration of men and women engaged in revolutionary combat in all its forms, be it in the guerrilla zones in Peru, the struggle to develop the mass movements against imperialist war preparations in the West and direct them against the system itself, or the efforts to take advantage of the developing revolutionary situation in India and prepare to launch a People's War that could reverberate throughout the world.

*A World to Win* has nothing to rely upon except the masses: and so we call upon class conscious workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals—all those throughout the world who refuse to accept the old order and are contributing to building the new—to step forward and help sharpen and wield this new weapon.

KAZANILACAK DÜNYA के लिए सारा विश्व A WORLD

MONDE A GAGNER UN MONDO QUE GANAR 世界を勝ち取る

جهانی برای فتح UN MONDO DA GUADAGNARE

# ***REVOLUTION OR WORLD WAR 3?***



**"...The statement by Mao Tsetung, 'Either revolution will prevent war, or war will give rise to revolution' rings out all the more clearly and takes on urgent importance. The very logic of the imperialist system and the revolutionary struggles is preparing a new situation. The contradiction between the rival bands of imperialists, between the imperialists and the oppressed nations, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries, are all likely in the coming period to express themselves by the force of arms on an unprecedented scale. As Stalin said in regard to the First World War:**

**'The significance of the imperialist war which broke out ten years ago lies, among other things, in the fact that it gathered all these contradictions into a single knot and threw them on to the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat.'**

**"The heightening of contradictions is now drawing, and will do so even more dramatically in the future, all countries and regions of the world and sections of the masses previously lulled to sleep or oblivious to political life into the vortex of world history. And so the revolutionary communists must get prepared, and prepare the class conscious workers and revolutionary sections of the people and step up their revolutionary struggle."**

**—from the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement***

It has been a year since the appearance of the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* which made the penetrating analysis quoted above. Since then the truth of that statement has been borne out. The two trends referred to by Mao Tsetung, those of world war and revolution, both continue to intensify at considerable rates; the prediction made in the *Declaration* that all of the con-

traditions will "express themselves by the force of arms on an unprecedented scale" is all the more likely to take place. The terrifying reality of the danger of a third world war is making itself forcefully felt.

For many people, especially those who have been spared the daily horrors of the imperialist system, it is, perhaps, difficult to believe that the leaders of the "civilised" world could really seriously contemplate

such a crime. It might even be argued that such a crime would go against the interests of the imperialists themselves—"there can be no winners in a nuclear war," as the imperialists were *previously* fond of saying. But as Marx put it, "their soul is the soul of capital." It is the blind and ferocious need of capital to expand, a need dissected long ago by Marx himself in his magisterial work *Capital*, that requires the imperialists to knock down by fire and sword all barriers to this expansion. It must never be forgotten that these same bands of civilised gentlemen have already put the world through the horrors of two world wars and show on a daily basis in their favoured stomping grounds of Asia, Africa and Latin America that no crime is too bestial, too hideous for them to commit.

But it is also important to understand that the very conditions in the world which give rise to such crimes also create the possibilities of dramatic and sudden advances in the proletarian revolutionary struggle. Today's situation in the world is greatly magnifying all the contradictions and the storm that is threatening can, through struggle, take on the character of a mighty revolutionary downpour.

It is exactly in times of danger that there are the greatest possibilities of

advance. The history of the world proves this to be true. The great revolutionary breakthroughs in the history of the proletarian revolution, the October Revolution led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and the Chinese Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, were both connected with the first two great global conflicts. It is not in periods of tranquility that revolutions are made.

The basis for revolution is found in the nature of a given society and the class conflict this gives rise to, and it is certainly true that in much of the world the possibilities for beginning the revolutionary armed struggle for power are to one degree or another continually present. But even in these countries it is clear that the pace and prospects of the revolutionary struggle are greatly influenced by the developments in the world as a whole and the unfolding of the different contradictions in the world (the article by Comrade S. D. in this issue addresses this same question in relation to Iran). The storm which is building will respect no shelters.

The increasingly entangled contradictions in the world form a knot. It is a knot that must be resolved in the manner that Alexander is said to have solved the puzzle of the Gordian knot—it cannot be untangled, it must be severed.

#### War and Peace

The answer to world war is not peace. We are firm opponents of world war, but that does not mean, as the revisionists would have it, for example, that we are abstract advocates of "peace" or at least of the peace that exists today.

First of all, there is no "peace" in today's world. In the period since the end of the Second World War there has been one armed conflict after another. There is the constant counter-revolutionary violence that has been used to put down the oppressed the world over, and the revolutionary communists lead the masses in countering this kind of violence with revolutionary violence.

Millions have died in bloody regional wars, such as the current conflict between Iraq and Iran which has already lasted four years, and the imperialists are hardly innocent in such affairs.

All this without mentioning the daily suffering that imperialism means for the hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who live under its bloody grip. For these victims, there is certainly no interest in preserving the imperialist peace of today.

In fact any attempt to preserve "peace" while leaving the war-breeding system in place is worse



than illusory, it is disarming.

“Communists are resolute opponents of imperialist war and must mobilise and lead the masses in the fight against preparations for a third world war which would be the greatest crime committed in the history of mankind. But the Marxist-Leninists will never hide the truth from the masses: only revolution, revolutionary war that the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary forces are leading or preparing to lead, can prevent this crime. Marxist-Leninists must seize hold of the revolutionary possibilities that are developing rapidly and lead the masses in stepping up the revolutionary struggle on all fronts—beginning revolutionary warfare where that is possible, stepping up preparations where conditions for such revolutionary warfare are not yet ripe. In this way the struggle for communism will advance and it is possible that the victory of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the course of decisive battles will shatter the imperialists’ present preparations for world war, establish the rule of the working class in a number of countries and create an overall world situation more favorable to the advance of the revolutionary struggle. If, on the other hand, the revolutionary struggle is not capable of preventing a

third world war, the communists and the revolutionary proletariat and masses must be prepared to mobilise the outrage that such a war and the inevitable suffering accompanying it will engender and direct it against the source of war—imperialism, take advantage of the weakened position of the enemy and in this way turn a reactionary imperialist war into a just war against imperialism and reaction.”

It is true that the fight against imperialist war is one of the vital points of struggle against the imperialist system at the present time. It is already the case that literally millions of people have been propelled into struggle to one degree or another by the menace of imperialist war. In these circumstances the revolutionary communists must indeed lead the masses in the fight against imperialist war preparations.

And they are qualified to do so exactly because the programme of the genuine communists is objectively the sole programme that can actually *prevent* such a world war and therefore fulfill the deep desire of the masses. As the article by K.K. in this issue of *A World to Win* shows, revolutionaries can have a big impact on such a movement and their programme can help set the terms for the struggle within this movement.

But however important is the fight against imperialist war, it is not, paradoxically, this struggle *as such* that plays the most critical role in preventing such a war. This is because, as stated earlier, it is only *revolution* and no movement short of this that can prevent World War 3. Thus the struggle against imperialist war preparations takes on full and real significance only insofar as it itself can become one of the torrents that will merge into an overall revolutionary movement, only insofar as the participation in such a movement prepares broad sections of the masses to see through and reject the future proposed to them by the bourgeoisie and to cast in their lot with the proletariat and its revolutionary solution to the problem of imperialist war.

#### **The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement**

As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* puts it, those who uphold a revolutionary line in today’s world are but a small minority encircled by bourgeois and revisionists of all stripes. Why then is it possible for this *Declaration* to confidently affirm that these revolutionary forces “represent the future”? This is not mere hyperbole but reflects a profound truth.

We are indeed convinced that those who follow the line of Mao Tsetung—and continue to do so all the more firmly in the face of the overthrow of and attacks on that line in China itself—have the line and programme capable of marching forward amidst a very complex situation, daring to arouse the proletariat and the masses to make revolution and thereby prevent the world war in the making by bringing about a different world situation.

When one looks soberly at the alignment of forces in the current world, at the relative strength of the imperialist ruling classes and at the weakness of the revolutionary forces, it is easy to fail to see how the forces of the people could possibly stop the imperialists from continuing to hurtle down the path toward world war. Some might think that the revolutionary communist proposal for the fight against imperialist war, that is, stepping up the fight for revolution throughout the world, is itself a pipedream with no correspondence with reality. Perhaps, some have said, what is needed is a more “realistic” programme for fighting against this great menace.

But it has to be said that such attempts at realism are themselves an illusion. If the programme of the communists for stopping world war seems to be difficult, with no pro-

mises of success, what should be said of the programme of the reformists and the opportunists, who would base an opposition to world war on the hope of *convincing* the imperialists of the folly of their acts. And to believe in the programme of the *imperialists themselves*, be it “peace through strength” or simply confidence in their negotiations is naivete of the worst sort (see the article on the current disarmament charade in Geneva).

The great leaders of the international proletariat have always stressed the fundamental and underlying weakness of imperialism and all reactionaries. Lenin described imperialism as a “Colossus with feet of clay,” and Mao Tsetung infuriated the bourgeoisie and modern revisionists with his oft-quoted remark, “all reactionaries are paper tigers.” These statements were not mere bravado but reflect the fact that the exploiting classes are, in the last analysis, weak because they represent and enforce a system of social relations that no longer corresponds to the current stage of history.

It is in periods of crisis that the illusory nature of the “permanence” of the rule of the exploiting classes becomes clearer to broader sections of the people; the *possibility* of the overthrow of the exploiters becomes

more evident. The growing dangers are real enough, but the revolutionary opportunities—and necessities—are just as real.

#### The People's War in Peru

It can be said that the most important element countering the danger of imperialist war today is the armed revolutionary struggle in Peru. How can this be true? Because this struggle is the most highly developed revolutionary struggle in the world that is being directed by a genuine proletarian revolutionary party—in this case the Communist Party of Peru, because it is a revolutionary struggle which is not manipulated by one or another imperialist predator. It is a struggle which is aimed against the imperialist system as well as against the reactionary regime in place in that country. Such a struggle in one country alone is not adequate to fundamentally change the situation in the world, but such a struggle can be and *is* a clarion call for the people of the world proclaiming that the struggle for communism is on the agenda and that the revolutionary position is again on the upswing.

In fact, there is no shortage of struggle against imperialism and reaction in the world and, indeed, over just the last few months there have been important clashes bet-



ween the masses of the people and various reactionaries in many parts of the world. The people will continue to resist, be it in the Philippines, South Africa, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Poland.... The problem remains that in the majority of cases the struggle of the masses of the people is not being led by a genuine communist vanguard but rather by one or another type of nationalist or revisionist force that, regardless of their subjective intentions (sometimes honourable, often not), are *incapable* of seeing beyond the narrow confines of the bourgeois order and because of this are unable to have the strategic confidence in the masses necessary to steer a course independent of the imperialist powers.

Resistance, by itself, is not enough. To deliver a hammer blow to the existing system it is necessary for the resistance to be led by a really revolutionary line, a line based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, that alone can lead the struggle forward on the path of true emancipation.

Mao Tsetung said, "The correctness or incorrectness of the political and ideological line decides everything." It is not aid, arms or foreign support that is key for the advance of the revolution. Mao points out that even if one begins

without a single soldier, soldiers will rally. Not only does the great history of our movement bear out this truth, but even the relatively short history of its rebuilding since the death of Mao Tsetung and the subsequent collapse of what had, up until then, constituted the Maoist movement, also confirms this viewpoint.

To return once again to Peru, it must be noted that a few short years ago the PCP began the armed struggle with very few forces but with a line and strategy capable of mobilizing the masses to take up the People's War—and this at a time when most of the "left" in Peru was dazzled by the so-called "democratic opening" and scurrying to get posts in parliament. Today this struggle is shaking the country from one end to the other and is reverberating well beyond the Peruvian frontiers.

What has proven to be possible in Peru is also possible elsewhere. There are a great many countries of the world where the possibilities of initiating the armed struggle for power are currently present, where what is lacking is a vanguard capable of leading and directing this process. And even where this situation is not the case, for example, in the imperialist countries where the revolution must follow a different path than that of Peru, the genuine com-

munist must gear their activity toward preparing for the seizure of power.

The struggle against war preparations must be carried out by the revolutionary communists and not left to spontaneity and/or the misleadership of opportunists. There is an especially heavy burden to increase our activities of support for the Peruvian revolution, and all the more so in the light of the current world situation.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has issued the slogan "Prevent World War, Step Up The Struggle For Revolution Throughout The World." This is the fundamental response of the revolutionary communists to the growing danger of world war. If the objective situation is sure to provide favourable openings for the revolutionary struggle, it is not at all preordained that the forces capable of turning these *possibilities* into actual *struggles for proletarian power*, that is, the genuine communist forces who today are centred in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, will be in a strong enough position to maximise these opportunities and fulfill their responsibilities. As the *Declaration* puts it, "the need to race to catch up with objective conditions is still apparent." ■

# "Resurgent America" Turns to Reaganism

by Carl Dix\*

The United States of America appears to have gone totally mad. It screams that its "hesitations" and "self-doubts" left over from Vietnam are dispelled. "We won't be pushed around any more!" To show precisely how unashamed it is, this colossus swaggers over little Grenada, stages a highly-publicised rape, and then *dares* to trumpet this crime as a refreshing act of new morality and national rebirth. "Who's next?" the Yankee growls, jabbing Nicaragua, "*America is back!*"

What could be more grotesque and absurd, especially to those hundreds of millions across the globe who live daily under the cowboy boot? America can't be "back"; *it never was gone!*

This new belligerence is not limited to challenges inside traditional U.S. spheres of influence. The U.S. bourgeoisie stridently denounces the post-World War 2 Yalta accords as outdated and morally suspect. From the top levels of the U.S. ruling class comes more and more talk of waging and "prevailing" in global nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, military underpinnings to this rhetoric reveal just how serious it is: the United States has accelerated its military production, embarking on the greatest war buildup in history. Fully \$1.5 trillion have been dedicated so far in the last five years alone to hone a "glo-

---

\*Carl Dix was the 'anti-candidate' of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA during the 1984 U.S. presidential electoral campaign.



bal war-fighting capacity."

As the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics hideously demonstrated to the world, this international bellowing rests upon a domestic wave of chauvinism. Official America brims with unapologetic self-love. Amid a reborn worship of "free enter-

prise," the proletarian, the poor, the non-white are openly scorned as "losers" who have somehow personally failed to take advantage of the "limitless opportunities" in the "land of the free."

Classic American know-nothingism is back in vogue. "Tra-

ditional social roles," especially for women and youth, are exalted and increasingly enforced. Backwater religious fanatics are handed respectability and influence. Submissiveness, motherhood, unthinking obedience are watchwords of the times. Darwinism (along with all progressive and some merely scientific thought) is under assault in the schools, while prayer is welcomed back into the classrooms of an increasingly "Christian Nation."

The prayers of this "moral rebirth" are to be offered up to a particular deity: that god who long ago blessed the United States as his chosen nation and who rides with its legions to victory. Today his divine plan contains a particularly ominous twist: the approach of the Battle of Armageddon. From the highest offices of the U.S. government have come repeated pronouncements that we may well be living in the "final days foretold in prophecy" leading up to the ultimate cataclysmic war between Christian good and Satanic evil. As explained by America's leading politicians, there is no doubt who plays what role: the United States represents the virtuous forces of god himself, called upon to destroy the "focus of evil in the world" (Reagan's words), i.e., that satanic empire of the USSR.

Clearly there has been a brazen effort to whip up a particularly abominable political atmosphere in the United States. Since its rise as a world power, the international role of the United States has, of course, always been ugly. Its very existence has been rooted in global empire. As one of the pillars of the world imperialist system, the USA has literally waded in blood to pursue its interests. However, over the last six years or so, the official political arena has taken on a new air of stridency and intolerance. It does not rest content simply to hide or prettify the crimes of U.S. imperialism—it openly calls for the mobilisation of the population and demands an eagerness for new and even greater atrocities. There is an extremism afoot that foreshadows momentous events.

At the centre of this turn stands the figure of Ronald Reagan. The

new climate has been fittingly labelled "Reaganism," or even called "the Reagan Revolution" by its supporters. Five years ago, in the 1980 Presidential election, this man rose to power from the right fringe of bourgeois politics. Now, after the 1984 elections have assigned him a second term with a landslide victory, this trend is obviously no passing fluke. It represents a broadly based consensus within the U.S. ruling class. Over the past few years, they have moulded this mummified mediocrity, through the "magic of the mass media," into an embodiment of their system and of their projected course for the 1980s.

#### "Resurgent America"

At one point in the late seventies, President Jimmy Carter withdrew to Camp David for agonised meditation over what he called the internal "malaise" gripping America. Upon his return, he delivered a now famous speech: "I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy....it is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will."

The U.S. imperialists have been battered by the unprecedented wave of revolutions and rebellions that swept the world in the 1960s. Externally it suffered its first undisguised military defeat at the hands of Vietnam's revolutionary war. Internally, this helped spark massive upsurges of minority nationalities and youth that rocked the country. For years after this tumultuous period, even after an ebb set in during the mid-'70s, many of the political wounds inflicted remained unhealed. Old gospels had been punctured; a whole generation had emerged to whom America had been revealed as (at a minimum) distinctly flawed and capable of great injustices. Even among the most reactionary domestic elements, who had been battered and besieged during the 1960s, there was a definite demoralisation. None of this was acceptable to a U.S. imperialism contemplating its pressing tasks.

Carter ended his "malaise" speech with the words: "let us com-

mit ourselves together to a rebirth of the American spirit."

The ruling class has since committed vast resources to precisely that rebirth. Unfortunately for Carter's political career, he was not the man to spearhead such a crusade. Despite his exaggerated piety and his image as an uncorrupted "outsider," Carter was too closely associated with political self-flagellation. After the U.S. bourgeoisie's standard electoral sifting process, it was Ronald Reagan they tapped on the shoulder.

Among Reagan's assigned tasks was to unfold a whole campaign in the realm of public opinion. At its core stands the notion of "Resurgent America": the glorification of a United States straining to regain its position as the undisputed political, economic and military power in the world, able to reimpose its *Pax Americana*. It is a notion promoted through an emotional process of national redemption: cathartic collective events (from the Iran hostage crisis, to the invasion of Grenada, to the Olympics) bring a manufactured sense of "feeling good about America again." The inherent goodness of this America is supposed to be axiomatic, and because of that goodness any atrocity is ultimately excusable—after all, even the pure wage their battles in an imperfect and dangerous world. What arises is precisely the kind of "sentimental brutality" the German liberal Thomas Mann once ascribed to Nazism. How else could a "national consensus" emerge around the myth that the invasion of Grenada was a righteous "rescue mission" or that the mercenary *contras* of Central America are "freedom fighters"?

#### An American Hitler

In a carefully constructed image, worthy of a Goebbels, Reagan has been projected as the personification of precisely that "sentimental brutality." The United States of the 1980s is, of course, not Germany of the 1930s: there are differences as well as parallels. Whereas Hitler evoked the mythologies of Black Forest hamlets, the loyalties searching for a new German *Kaiser*, and

hoary Siegfried legends, Reagan has been handed a distinctly *American* script. He appears as the simple, moral cowboy; a man whose mind is supposedly uncluttered by knowledge, but who shoots from the hip using an instinctive sense of righteousness. When, during the last elections, one bourgeois commentator gushed that "Reagan has really become Uncle Sam," he was just paying one more homage to the "inherent decency" of this man. (Imagine! The inherent decency of an imperialist chieftain who makes incinerating the millions in the Soviet Union into a public "joke." Truly "sentimental brutality!")

Despite its specifically *American* features, this campaign represents a page torn from the Nazi manual. To make a horrible and cataclysmic future politically palatable for millions, it is being dressed up in the trappings of a glorified past. Reagan rededicates America, once again, to a suffocating little world of small towns and industrious achievers, where "everyone had a chance to make it through hard work." This is a fairy tale where everyone (especially women, youth and national minorities) "knew their place" because the "traditional values" were absolute, just and unchallengeable. This virtuous order is, of course, a past that never was. It never existed for the majority within the United States, let alone the hundreds of millions dominated by it worldwide.

Against this idealised past, the realities of the present stand out as sharply inadequate, and so loyal Americans are called to a crusade (internally and increasingly externally) to "make it right." The real content of this future vision leaks through in the heavy emphasis given to "Making the USA No. 1 Again" and in the way the myth of an "end time Armageddon" are woven into it. Neither of these two themes are accidental: in real life, they are precisely where "Resurgent America" leads, to the most savage opposition to revolution, on the one hand, and to a desperate gamble for victory in nuclear world war, on the other.

### War Preparations

The close connection between the

rise of Reaganism and the serious preparations of U.S. imperialism for world war becomes apparent when one examines the broader military and politico-strategic policies being formulated in the last half of the Carter administration, i.e., just before Reagan himself stepped onto the political stage as a new president.

At the same time Carter was calling for a "spiritual rebirth," there was an intense flurry of high-level activity to shape the outlines of the coming decade. Before Carter's electoral loss in 1980, the guiding doctrines and projections of the U.S. military were being fully re-oriented towards "prevailing" in a world war, and the structure of military forces was being openly predicated on all-sided "war fighting."

Among the decisions of these last years of the 1970s were: Presidential Directive 59, establishing the "counterforce" targeting strategy for the U.S. nuclear arsenal, involving a preference for a "decapitating first strike." The B-1 bomber and the MX and Trident 2 missiles were called for, thereby sketching a whole new generation of nuclear weapons. Contracts were signed for the construction of 3400 cruise missiles. Agreements were reached to station accurate intermediate range nuclear weapons in Western Europe. And plutonium production was expanded to accommodate these plans. Anti-satellite programs were launched, and preparations for a new military draft were instituted.

At the same time, the U.S. imperialists under Carter moved on several fronts to "hold the line" against developments in the third world that might lead either to genuine revolutionary challenges or to major new pro-Soviet inroads. Military supplies flowed to *contras* in Angola and Nicaragua, as well as to pro-U.S. forces fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan. The infamous "Carter Human Rights Policy" was both a post-Vietnam holding strategy and also an attempt to prettify the hangmen of the U.S. neocolonies in contrast to their "totalitarian" counterparts in the Eastern sphere, while leaving no doubt that the U.S. would ultimately defend its grip on these countries with fire and

steel. In the wake of the Shah's collapse, and the failed U.S. helicopter invasion of Iran, the U.S. moved toward the development of a serious "Rapid Deployment" invasion force, specifically planned for the Middle East.

Finally, using the excuse provided by the Soviet imperialist invasion of Afghanistan, the Carter administration placed open hostility at the heart of U.S.-Soviet relations: cultural and scientific ties were severed, the Moscow Olympics were boycotted. Washington announced a new "Carter Doctrine" which stated that the U.S. would wage nuclear warfare against any (that is, Soviet) challenge to its control of the Persian Gulf.

In short, "Reaganism" did not start with Reagan. At a time when Reagan was just emerging near the centre of U.S. politics, at a time when "spiritual rebirth" was just beginning to find expression on imperialist lips, international necessity was already forcing U.S. imperialism to embark on a serious, all-sided preparation for a period of global challenges and collisions. Reagan did not create this driving war preparation, it created him. Certain times call forth leaders of the general Hitler-type. Reagan is a fitting representative of the U.S. imperialists in just such a time.

Having said that, it must also be noted that there are differences between the specific political programmes of Reagan and Hitler. For one thing, Reagan's policies do not aim (at least now) at abolishing the democratic shell through which the U.S. imperialists exercise their dictatorship, certainly not the way Hitler was forced to dismantle the parliamentarism of the Weimar Republic. U.S. imperialism has found the banner of the "Free World" far too useful for its purposes to abandon lightly. In fact, under Reagan there has been a virtual fad of staging mock elections to prettify death squad regimes from El Salvador to South Korea to Turkey. The formal existence of bourgeois democracy in the U.S. has never prevented it from exercising open terror when it needed to, especially in its external possessions. Even while Reagan raves about

"America's unique freedoms" and about the necessity to kill to "protect" them, there is a real tightening of allowable debate taking place within the U.S. itself, complete with preparations for future leaps in the level of domestic repression and terror.

Unlike the previous world wars of this century, the United States stands in the very front trenches of a looming third global conflict. It must prepare its population to take the full shock of coming collisions in a way they never had to before even to the point of staring straight into the glare of the nuclear fireball. For this, the U.S. imperialists must mobilise all of their political reserves, and prepare to put everything on the line in the coming gamble. Repulsive as the memory of Hitler deservedly is, it needs to be pointed out that the crimes now being prepared by the U.S. bourgeoisie and their chosen American Hitler, alongside their Soviet counterparts, dwarf any atrocities committed in the world war forty years ago. To describe the acts planned by these modern Hitlers a whole new vocabulary would have to be invented. It is this extreme necessity that has conjured up the extremism of a Ronald Reagan.

#### A Hollow Mandate

Reaganism is not a phenomenon merely for internal U.S. consumption. The United States plays a central role as "pointman" within the broader alliance it leads. America's "Triumph of the Will" is being used to help stiffen spines throughout the Western world. In Western Europe, Reagan's "popularity" is upheld as the kind of resolve worthy of emulation, while simultaneously the United States is being consciously presented as one vast sea of bleating nuclear cowboys to demoralise the masses everywhere.

In the oppressed nations, the rise of Reaganism has been used to prop up the bloodiest local henchmen, and to press the masses of people towards a fatalistic acceptance of American permanence.

For these reasons alone, it is useful to lay bare the real and potentially explosive contradictions beneath the manufactured image of

American unity.

It should be no surprise that, within their borders, the U.S. imperialists have corrupted significant strata of the population who they can puff up and mobilise when necessary. After all, the U.S. has been the centre of a global empire for generations. However, it is also a class society in profound crisis, facing the most dangerous international confrontation in its history. And despite the stifling climate among the oppressed within the U.S., there is also a distinct tension within the political lull. The whole revolting Reaganism phenomenon and the reactionary dinosaurs it has unleashed, along with the continuous international jolts hitting the U.S. precisely because of its position, have both sharply increased the polarisation of society and heightened this tension. An examination of some of the dynamics within Reagan's touted "landslide electoral victory" last fall will help bring these contradictions to light.

The first thing that can certainly be said, based on those November 1984 elections, is that Reagan enjoys a distinct "mandate" among the U.S. imperialists themselves. Rarely has one of their political figures been raised so far above criticism. The U.S. media frolicked at Reagan's feet like puppies, while mocking his challengers nightly.

The sharpest example of this bourgeois consensus is revealed through the non-oppositional character of the Democratic opposition staged "against" Reagan. On every major issue, the Democratic candidate Walter Mondale expressed essential unity with the thrust of Reagan's politics: on the need for accelerated arms buildup, on the need to confront the Soviets "with toughness," on the need to bring Nicaragua to its knees, on the importance of religion in American life, on the need to push social questions like poverty or racial discrimination to the margins of political discussion. The core question in the election became who could best handle the nuclear button and pilot America back to undisputed world dominance. Democratic opponent Walter Mondale's own aides admitted they cried during the nauseating

tingoism of Reagan's main television commercial!

Given these narrow and carefully constructed parameters of "debate" and the unity of bourgeois opinion they reflect, the outcome of the election was never in doubt. Reagan won in every state but Minnesota, Mondale's home state, and lost there by a bare 1%.

The Democrats then ended their campaign according to script. Geraldine Ferraro, the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, conceded the race with the words: "This is not a moment for a partisan speech...but for a celebration of our democracy." Mondale was, that same evening, the first to proclaim Reagan's supposed "popular mandate," saying: "He has won. We are all Americans. He is our president...we honour him...God bless you and God bless America!"

It was no surprise that the U.S. imperialists could orchestrate such a show. This is how they always choose their chieftains. These are their elections, their institutions, their parties and their tightly controlled mass media. An official period of phony "debate" parades as "pluralism," and the incoming imperialist policies are thereby ratified as the product of "the will of the people." What was unique this time was that the imperialists were not only not interested in the usual show of debate, but they wanted the final outcome so one-sided.

First, Mondale was only allowed to raise the *most* timid, *most* superficial criticisms of Reagan policy, and then even this pretence of an alternative was to be buried under a humiliating avalanche of meatheads. What better way to puff up the backward than to present their champion as invincible? What better way to try to suffocate the advanced and the revolutionary-minded than to portray "Resurgent America" as unanimously satisfied and militantly contemptuous of even diluted liberal critiques?

There is a certain genuine popular support for Reagan in some quarters. In a pus-filled imperium like the United States, there are unquestionably millions who recognise and enthusiastically endorse an ut-

terly reactionary programme when they see one. There are forces who are eager to see more U.S. aggression internationally, and might even be itching for a swipe at the "Reds." For a decade, such reactionary and ignorant sections of the U.S. population have been roused from their stupor and trained to play an active political role. Often wearing religious garb, these forces have enjoyed constant publicity proclaiming them the cutting edge of America's spiritual rebirth.

However not all, or even most, of Reagan's supporters were so hardcore. Quite a bit of intermediate sentiment swung Reagan's way because of a perception that he has affairs well in hand. This was particularly true among middle class sections of society, and among the sizeable section of more privileged workers who voted for Reagan. The level of East-West antagonism has certainly gone way up, but this has taken place when there is no direct U.S. shooting war. The bourgeoisie's own opinion polls document that a great deal of Reagan's support was not an actual endorsement of his global collision course, but reflects the sorry illusion that his military policy might possibly lead to "peace through strength."

Even more important, perhaps, in generating support for Reagan among the least awakened sections of the people is the existence of a temporary economic recovery. Reagan's popularity, according to some polls, has swung up and down in a way closely connected to national economic performance, reaching near record depths for a president during the 1982 economic recession. For some sections of the population, current policies (which are in turn closely connected with the military buildup, the massive budget deficit and the U.S. position within its own bloc) have produced a real but extremely fragile bubble of prosperity and with it, at least for now, a willingness to re-endorse Reagan.

What this means, in a nutshell, is that a great deal of Reagan's current support is based on an utter ignorance of what lies directly ahead on the agenda, which certainly has nothing to do with either peace or

prosperity! It means that the actual developments already unfolding will come as a rude awakening for such types.

In fact, "Reaganism" has been marked by a sharp economic *attack* on large sections of the masses, even while some others have benefitted from the "recovery." Unemployment has remained high, social services have been drastically cut, even retirement pensions have been reduced. The number of homeless, for example, has reached record and scandalous proportions.

The massive promotion of Reagan's electoral victory as proof of a "popular mandate" for war and reaction missed (and even suppressed) other, more significant political developments than the ones we have just discussed. The key polarisation in the fall elections was not between Reagan's supporters and Mondale's, but between those who voted, *and those who did not*. While Reagan obviously won at the ballot box, the race between voting itself and abstention was neck and neck on election day. Over 90 million men and women, fully half of the adults over 18 in the United States, did not participate in the electoral circus at all! This represents the lowest rate of participation in U.S. history (matching the 1980 turnout which was also about 50%).

The massive abstention represents a definite setback for imperialist plans and is itself a dangerous omen for them. It took place straight in the teeth of the most intense promotion of voting *per se* ever to occur before an election. One bourgeois commentator writing in the *New York Times* put it, "Everyone knows that a single voter never decides a national election. The real significance of a citizen's vote is that by casting it he or she is expressing confidence in our democratic system of government." Voting was, in essence, declared a plebiscite on America. In order to spark interest in the elections, a woman was permitted to run for vice president for the first time ever, and a Black for president. And yet, when it was all done, an unprecedented number sat out the final event. This naturally represented a whole range of political thinking (not all of which was necessarily

revolutionary-minded, or even advanced) but at the very least it was often done with a sense of sullen, even angry alienation from the whole charade.

### The Jesse Jackson Campaign

The seriousness with which the imperialists approached their necessity to ensnare especially oppressed sections of the people in the electoral arena can be seen in the creation of a presidential campaign supporting the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Jackson is a former lieutenant of Martin Luther King Jr., with highly tarnished credentials as a professional "civil rights activist." A year before the election, he received the OK to wage an unprecedented Black campaign, and to build an electoral "Rainbow Coalition" rooted in forces on the left fringe of the Democratic Party.

Blacks have been overwhelmingly excluded from "Resurgent America" by the very nature of things. The current bubble of prosperity does not extend to the bottom of society, where mass poverty is accumulating at an extremely rapid rate. Politically, there is a relatively clear sense, particularly among Blacks, that the whole rise of the political right-wing represents a wholesale unleashing of the most sinister pogromist forces. Given the fact that Blacks are concentrated in the proletariat, and now constitute a major part of U.S. imperialism's military forces, any political restlessness or growing alienation among Blacks and similarly oppressed minorities represents a source of serious worry for the ruling class.

Jackson's campaign was therefore conceived as a kind of flanking motion to herd these potentially dangerous forces into the electoral framework, to convince them that no matter what its current surface complexion, the American system retains a place for the complaints of the "other America." Jackson's candidacy was not the result of any present upsurge among Black people, nor even a well-orchestrated self-confident initiative by Black bourgeois forces. These forces (both the Black masses, and especially such Black bourgeois) were the target of the effort, and

were to varying degrees drawn into it. But from its inception, the Jackson campaign proceeded with the blessing, and finely tuned guidance, of the imperialists themselves. In order to stir up interest, Jackson was even allowed to articulate views otherwise seldom heard within the mainstream of U.S. bourgeois politics.

However, this was allowed precisely because all understood from the beginning that Jackson was supposed to *run*, but not even think about *winning*. He was the net, not the fisherman. In addition, while some of his statements were considered *risque* in an American context, they did not even contain the bland "socialist" demagoguery that is so common and accepted within the Western European bourgeois arenas. On two key points, of course, Jackson's Rainbow Coalition expressed no divergence from the current Reaganite climate: on the fundamental evil of the Soviet Union, and on the equally fundamental virtue of America. Standing on the Berlin Wall, courtesy of U.S. Army generals, Jackson impressed upon the U.S. troops in W. Germany (and on millions of U.S. television viewers) at the very start of his campaign that this wall marked the dividing line where "freedom ends and tyranny begins."

The endpoint of this "independent" campaign was a given from the outset. Jackson led any who would follow into a full endorsement of Mondale. This meant that such forces, who included some left-leaning and progressive elements, found themselves supporting a candidate who avoided making a single major mention of even the *existence* of Black people, let alone of their enraging oppression. The Jackson campaign was, in short, a cynical foray attempting to ensnare important sections of the oppressed and draw them into the electoral arena through false hopes, then humiliate them there by demanding that they support the Democratic Party's own watered-down version of Reaganism, and finally to slap them with the demoralisation of a Reagan landslide in the inevitable election outcome.

### Opportunists

Major sections of the organised left were guilty of eager participation in this abuse. In their circles, ridiculous excuses were dredged up to document an "inch of difference between Mondale and Reagan." Every effort was bent in their attempts to convince progressive people that their horror at the direction of U.S. politics could be productively expressed through a vote for the Democrats. One pro-Soviet revisionist grouping openly used the slogan "Hold your nose and pull the lever" (of the voting machine) for Mondale! Other revisionists and "democratic socialists" simply dissolved their organisations directly into the Democratic Party apparatus.

Often as part of the Jackson campaign, such forces played a role in urging the oppressed to register massively to vote, under the slogan that "dumping Reagan" through a massive turnout of the oppressed would "pull the whole electoral spectrum to the left." Since this strategy was (even on their terms) a total illusion, it led to quite different results in the real world. First, it served to demoralise those drawn to the Jackson campaign as a form of protest, while using them as capital in petty careerist moves within the Democratic Party itself. And second, it contributed to the overall ability of the U.S. imperialists to claim that Reagan stands with a mandate from a process within which all conceivable voices could be heard.

In sharp contrast to the docile complicity of various revisionist forces in this imperialist electoral charade, a highly significant minority centred around the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA waged an active campaign calling for a refusal to vote and branding voting for what it is, an act of criminal complicity with the U.S. imperialist system and with the preparations for world war which these elections will be used to endorse. One poster signed by the RCP, USA gives a flavour of this campaign: "We don't want our fair share... We want to tear the whole system down! Elections are the wrong arena... It's going to come down to REVOLUTIONARY

WAR."

Viewed overall, the elections therefore give a glimpse of the dynamic forces operating in domestic U.S. politics. On the one hand, the imperialists manufactured a useful appearance of unanimity and utter reaction, crowning an American Hitler for another term. On the other hand, despite their all-out pro-voting campaign, despite a female and a Black candidate, despite the work of electoral hustlers of all kinds; and despite the existence of a suffocating pressure on many of the revolutionary-minded among the masses...the population split neatly in half between those who participated in the Reagan re-election, and those who didn't even bother to vote.

As the RCP, USA's newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, wrote in its summation of this election, "if they can claim a mandate to rule based on the results of November 7, what can *we*, without exaggeration and with an eye to the future, rightfully claim on the basis of all the things they have strained to hide, deny or explain away?"

The current appearance of reactionary triumph is both fragile and temporary, based on a short term and ephemeral recovery and on the current absence of a real-war directly engaging U.S. soldiers. While the corruption of major strata is certainly deeply rooted, the current suffocation of the sentiments and activities of the more advanced among the masses is not, and is already being eroded by the development of events, especially internationally. Below the surface broods a deep sense of frustration, awaiting an opportunity for expression. The very means by which the imperialists are mobilising their most hideous loyalists for war have served to prepare a more fertile ground for revolution among those who have nothing within this system to defend, and who remain excluded from the reactionary festival being carried on around them. There is a very real chance that, depending on the actual events of the coming period, these forces will get a chance to shoulder their share of truly historic actions. ■

# True "Spirit of Geneva"

"This may be the last time to really address these issues with any prospect of success." So warned U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz in a press conference on the Geneva Arms Talks which opened in March. The words were deliberately chosen to evoke the lateness of the hour, the widespread sense that never has global nuclear war been so close, and to use that menace to pin hopes on the "goodwill" and "rationality" of the American and Soviet leaders as the best and last means to avert the impending confrontation.

Yet even as the bombast flowed from Geneva there was little pretence that such arms talks had ever succeeded in actually controlling the arms buildup. There were no glowing tributes to SALT I and II; and indeed, throughout the Western press it was common to see cartoons about negotiations going on over the years while the warheads kept steadily mounting on each side. There have been over six thousand arms control talks since World War 2, numerous agreements, from the ban on underground testing to the

AntiBallistic Missile Treaty to Salt I and II. What have they accomplished? The limiting of a few obsolete weapons which were already scheduled for retirement. The forbidding of a few weapons which neither side intended to deploy in the first place (such as those conceived for the ocean floor). During Salt I and II, the number of missiles in the Soviet arsenal expanded from 2500 to 7000; the number in the U.S. arsenal from 5700 to 9000. The record for warheads is worse. Need it be pointed out that neither power has ever bargained away a major weapons system which it considered vital to its interests?

But in the "spirit of Geneva," the very arms talks that have failed to ever control arms, or even to slow the accelerating pace of arms buildup, have been urged as all the more reason to have hope *this time around*, as if maybe this time, faced with the danger accompanying decades of arms buildup and the extreme tension of the last few years, finally the leaders of the two blocs might just come to their senses and

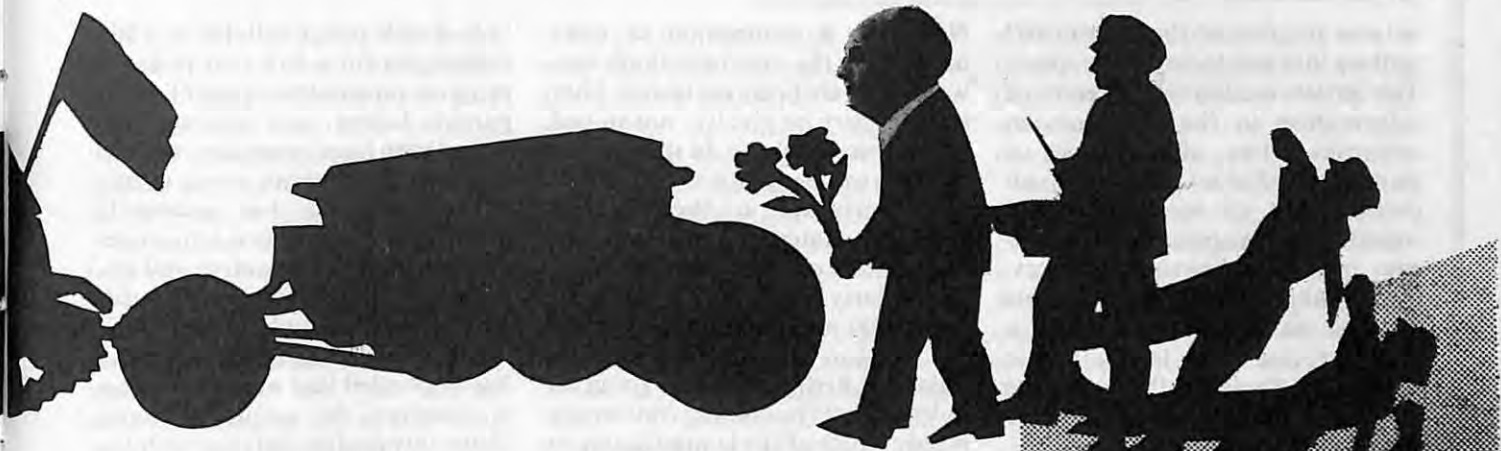
talk seriously.

## It Isn't Just That They Don't Work

The problem is that they *are* talking seriously—and what they say demonstrates that these arms talks will work *in the same sense that all the previous six thousand plus have worked*. For indeed they *have* worked—for the imperialists. They have worked not to disarm, but to institutionalise the arms talks as an integral accompaniment to their military buildup. To expect anything else is like waiting for a shark to become a vegetarian. Driven by their unquenchable thirst to accumulate more and more capital, pushing up continually and ever more forcefully against other national capitals driven by the same compulsion, they have built up their own arsenals to defend and extend their share of the plunder. Now, three decades after the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the U.S. and Soviet blocs are at the point where each stands as the barrier the other must confront and defeat on the field of arms in order to resolve the crisis gripping their own empire.

Arms talks are an arena in which they confront each other in this intensifying rivalry, and this rivalry in turn prompts, dominates and conditions every proposal they make. Referring to the failures of the previous thousands of rounds of talks, each will ultimately admit that yes, they have indeed failed—but then each will hold the other side exclusively responsible for the failure.





Meanwhile, they poke and jab at each other, testing the resolve of their opponent behind each new arms programme, analysing, looking for weaknesses to exploit and strengths to defend against. Today, the preparations for the talks in Geneva indicate not only that neither has any intention of emerging with any real agreement on arms reductions, but that these talks in particular manifest and are a component part of the dangerously accelerating preparations for war.

The U.S. demonstrated arms control logic magnificently in February, when they shamelessly announced that the latest shipment of cruise missiles was on its way to W. Europe, so as to "strengthen the negotiating position of the U.S. in order to achieve real arms reductions." Domestically, too, Reagan rallied support for the MX missile with the same reasoning. As U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger explained, "cutting the MX would reduce our ability to achieve arms reductions and take away Soviet incentives to agree to reductions." The liberal Democrats in the U.S. followed suit, announcing their support for funding of the 21 MX missiles up for near-term deployment, and the U.S. Senate on March 19 appropriated \$1.5 billion for the current fiscal year alone to carry this out. Five Democrat and five Republican congressman went to Geneva together as a demonstration of united support for the U.S. position.

Naturally this build-arms-to-control-arms logic operates internationally too. Belgium, long the subject of U.S. and NATO prodding for dragging its heels on a decision to carry through deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles on its own soil, finally made the decision to deploy the week the arms talks began. The government explained that if they failed to deploy, the Soviets would consider it a weakness to be exploited at the talks. They added that if they didn't carry their share of the burden of Western European defense, then Belgium couldn't expect its share of the "benefits of NATO"—and what is this but a reference to the spoils of empire?

The Soviets were quick to denounce all this as seriously destructive of the arms control process—as if they were strangers to the use of this kind of gangster diplomacy. In early winter the Soviets completed the deployment of another group of 36 of their SS-20 missiles on the frontiers of W. Europe, capable of obliterating every major population centre and military base on the continent. It gave W. German Foreign Minister Genscher a little something extra to think about when, on the eve of Geneva, Gromyko informed him that if W. Germany aided the U.S. in Star Wars research the Soviets would consider it an "accomplice" in the violation of the ABM treaty and thus of international law. Everyone knows how the Soviets feel about such violations—

witness the fate of the Korean 007 airliner that was in Soviet air space. The Soviets made a similar point of information to the Scandinavian countries, when, after a series of purported Soviet nuclear sub penetrations of local territorial waters, it sent a cruise missile whizzing over Scandinavia, "by accident"—and promptly followed this up with an offer to negotiate a "nuclear free zone in the Baltic area." The Soviets call this "peace diplomacy"—and plan to continue this at Geneva.

A number of observers have commented on the possibility that the talks will break down, pointing not only to all this manoeuvring and counter-manoevring before the talks, but also to the negotiating stances at the talks themselves. The Soviets have repeatedly hammered home that, as Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko put it, only "the cancellation of Star Wars will open the way for negotiations" on existing nuclear forces. Reagan in turn has made it equally clear that Star Wars is not up for negotiation, and that only "deep reductions" in land-based ICBM's (where the U.S. considers that the Soviets have a lead) will open the way for real agreement. U.S. Admiral Bobby Inman, appearing on American television, was reportedly smiling when he said, "I'd say discussions might proceed for at least five years down the line before agreements are possible."

In fact, the overall positions of the two powers on the range of nuclear arms issues have not changed since the Soviets left the bargaining table over a year ago, when NATO began deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in W. Europe. What brought both powers back to the bargaining table now was not at all some major breakthrough in their bargaining positions and the consequent possibility of a real agreement. Neither expects this and each has already launched major campaigns blaming the other for the expected "failure" of the talks.

What is revealed here is that it is not the absence of a possibility of real progress in arms controls talks that leads to their breakdown—for that does not and has not existed.

Nor does a resumption of talks mean that the contradictions between them are being mitigated. They talk to *carry on* rivalry, not to end it. And each seeks to do this in such a way as to ensure that such matters, particularly war, are the affairs of their own statesmen and not at all the province of the masses of people, particularly of their own bloc. As the Soviets put it, referring to a coming session of the Multi-Force Balanced Reduction Talks going on in Vienna, "The coming conference is only a ruse of the United States to reassure American public opinion and the European allies." The Americans have similarly attacked the USSR for coming back to the Geneva talks only in order to use them to heighten U.S.-W. European differences and "de-stabilise" Europe, as they accuse the Soviets of having done just prior to the Cruise and Pershing deployment.

Both are right. Even the agreement to renew the talks exemplified the real "spirit of Geneva," as each seized the chance to slash at the other. The U.S. portrayed the Soviets as slinking back with their tail between their legs, forced to recognise that they were "exposed" by having abandoned the talks before. One of the U.S.'s arms control men, Richard Perle, snidely remarked, "We accept their capitulation graciously." The Soviets' return was attributed by the U.S. principally to their fear of Star Wars, the U.S.' anti-missile system proposed for deep space. As the American *Time* magazine bragged, "The Soviets fear American technology as if it were black magic." The remark reflected a new strain in arms talk propaganda—portraying the rival as weak and defeatable, the kind of image one projects in order to embolden one's allies and unleash one's social base for war preparations. It is a reflection of the on-going shift in the politics of "peace through strength"—from strength... to *prevent* war to strength... to *win* war.

#### Star Wars

The centrepiece of the U.S.' "peace through strength" program in Geneva is Star Wars. Also billed as the Strategic Defense Initiative in

U.S. double talk, it calls for over \$30 billion just for a five-year research program on a system of laser beams, particle beams, and rockets to be linked with huge computers so as to enable them to shoot down enemy missiles. Reagan has graciously blurted that the intention is to render nuclear missiles "obsolete and impotent"—the Soviets had no difficulty understanding that this meant *their* nuclear missiles. Reagan has responded that when the system is complete, he would of course share this perfect defense with the Russians, thus making both imperialist blocs invulnerable so as to make possible his dream of abolishing nuclear missiles throughout the world. Of course. In Geneva, one can *say* almost anything.

In fact, Star Wars is a weapon for carrying out a "first-strike"—an integral part of a decisive all-out attack by offensive nuclear weapons aimed at decapitating the nerve centres of the Soviet government, disabling and destroying their missile force, and emerging from the counter-attack in a position of definite superiority. As the U.S. Congressional Office of Technology Assessment observed in its report on Star Wars, "It is frequently noted that Ballistic Missile Defense ends up being a better investment for the side that strikes first than for the side that retaliates.... The side striking first uses its full arsenal in an organised penetration of the other side's defense; the retaliating side can only use its surviving arsenal in a possible disorganised 'ragged retaliation' against a forewarned and fully prepared defense."

It is in this light that the declared intention of Reagan to utilise a Star Wars system to defend the entire U.S. and its allies and not simply missile emplacements acquires particular importance. If the purpose of Star Wars were to *deter* an enemy first strike, then the defense would be around missile emplacements to assure their survivability and thus a consequent retaliatory capability. If the purpose instead is to try to win by using a first strike, then what would be the point of defending the sites of missiles which would already have been launched? As Edward

Teller, father of the U.S. H-bomb and a prime mover behind Star Wars, sums up: Star Wars, in conjunction with other U.S. systems, "would commence a period of assured survival on terms favourable to the Western alliance."

A number of arguments have been raised which miss the real aim of Star Wars. Some have argued that it is simply a new phase of the arms race that is intended to wreak special havoc on the Soviet economy, since it pits strengths of the West bloc economies (particularly high information technology) against a known Soviet weakness. On this point, U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger delivered a philosophical insight worth contemplating: "Weapons are not put into a museum to look at—they are to use."

There are many reasons why Star Wars is particularly attractive to the U.S. imperialists, but in the final analysis they are undertaking it in order to wage the world war which the system of imperialism compels them to wage against the rival imperialist bloc—to win it, and to set about reconstructing a world order with them once again atop the heap, however radioactive and ravaged it may be. It is a mad vision, but it is one which they—and their Soviet rivals—are driven to adopt. In view

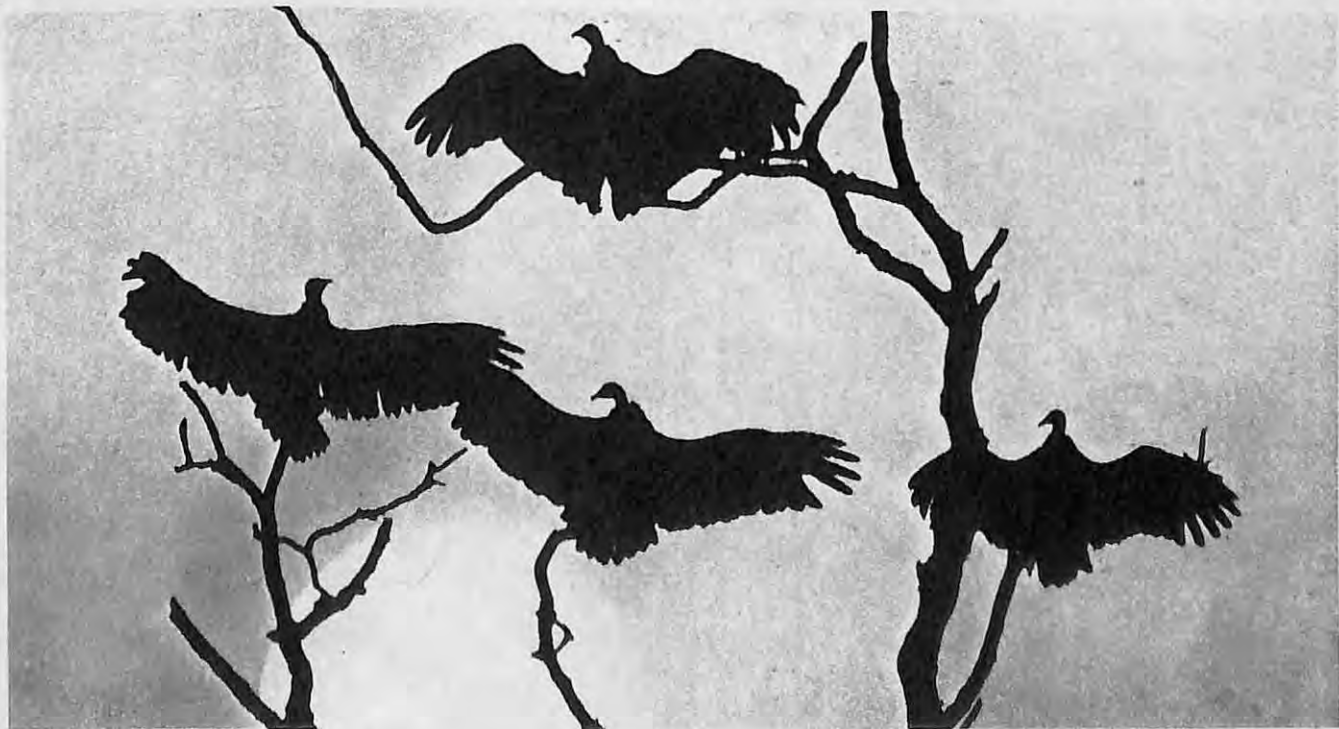
of the pearls of peace talk now dripping from their lips in Geneva, one appreciates the more forthright statement of policy made by Weinberger last year: "The U.S. must possess the means to impose termination of a major war on terms favourable to the United States and our allies even if nuclear weapons are used."

The Soviets' official response to Star Wars leading up to Geneva was delivered by spokesman Georgi Arbatov: "If you start to build Star Wars, we will be obliged to build new nuclear weapons, and more of them, which can penetrate your shield." Gromyko added that the possibility of nuclear war would not be an exaggeration if the arms race were allowed to spread to space.

Though initially critical of Star Wars, in the weeks just before Geneva the major Western partners all fell into line behind Reagan (with French Foreign Minister Raymond Dumas, originally one of the more critical, purring at Star Wars' "element of seduction"). The need for Western solidarity in the face of "the enemy" at Geneva certainly played a role in this show of unity, for the contradictions the Soviets have pointed to are quite real. Yet this agreement also reflects hope for the strengthening of the bloc overall by the enhancement of the U.S.'

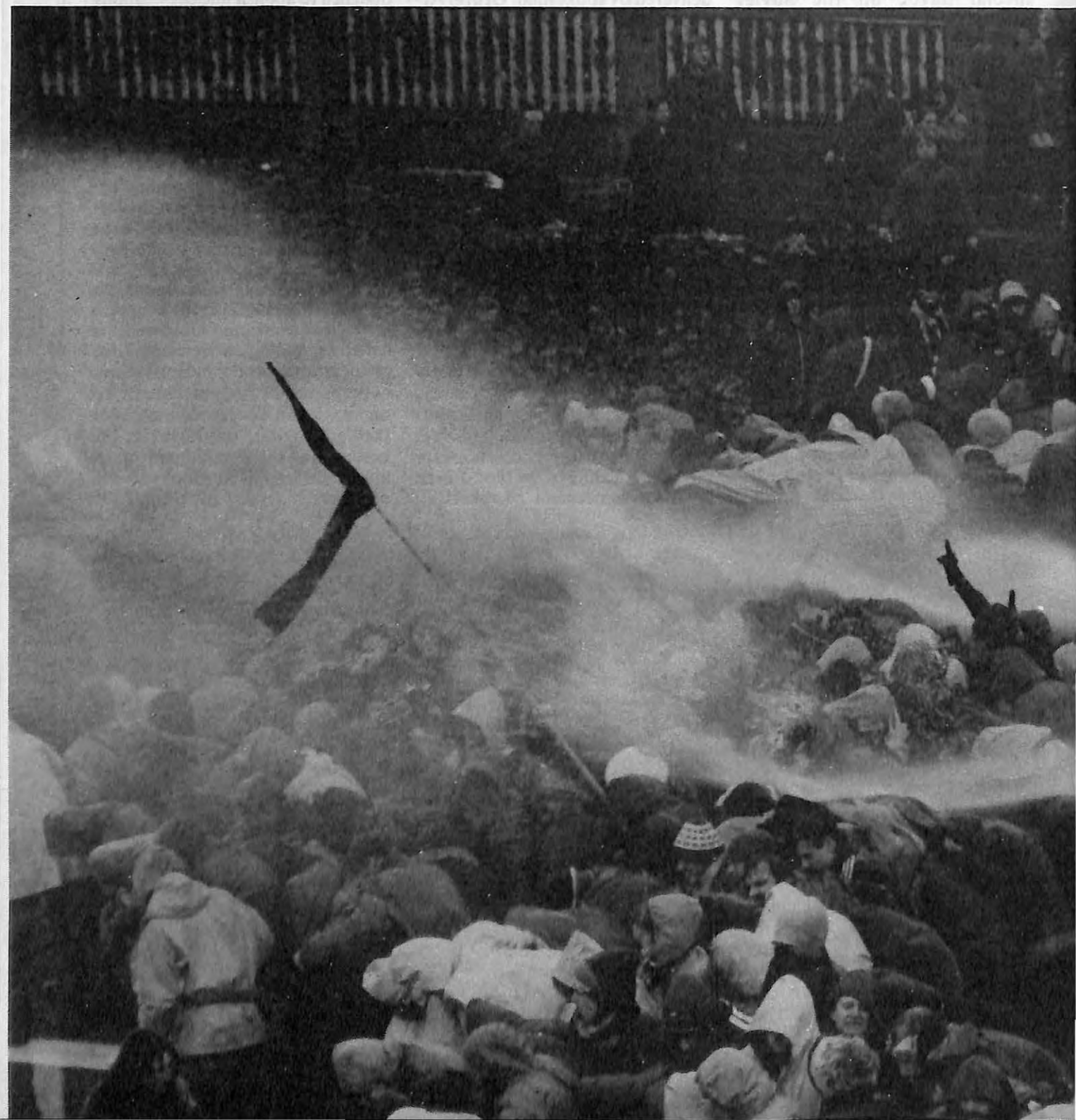
ability to successfully carry out a first strike. It is also worth noting that the U.S. has commented on the advantage of a weapon system that need not be stationed on anyone's "native land" and how this makes it less likely to provoke domestic opposition. This is a pointed challenge to the anti-war movements of the West bloc, and also gives one pause—since Star Wars is supposedly an instrument for world peace, designed to abolish nuclear weapons completely, why so much worry about it becoming an object of mass protest?

Such is the "spirit of Geneva"—where every strength of the opposing power is portrayed as justification for one's own arming, and where every such move towards war is portrayed as strengthening the peace. It is testimony to the accelerating moves towards war that at one and the same time the most fantastic illusions of peace are promoted—Reagan has become "a passionate believer" in the abolition of nuclear arms, and Gorbachev is hailed as holding out new hopes for cooperation—while the most deadly preparations for war are carried on. As Lenin observed, the closer they get to war, the higher is the volume and the pitch of demagoguery about disarmament and the imperialists' "desire" for peace. ■



Hot Autumn, W. Germany:

# Not So Quiet on the Western Front



**"Every 'minor' crisis that such a country experiences discloses to us in miniature the elements, the rudiments, of the battles that will inevitably take place on a large scale during a big crisis."**

*Bonn, November 21, 1983—the day the Bundestag gave the missile deployment its seal of approval.*



by Koklu Kopus\*

Lenin's famous point about crisis, while having universal application, has particularly important meaning for the development of a revolutionary movement—and the making of a revolution—in the imperialist countries. In the four decades since the end of World War 2, the ruling classes of these countries (especially in the West) have been able to benefit from a certain stability, based largely upon the super-exploitation they carry out in the oppressed countries.

Today, all the contradictions of the imperialist system are heightening and the threat of world war is rapidly growing. This increasing strain on the fabric of the imperialist system makes itself felt in an uneven, punctuated manner. The surface "calm" is more and more frequently interrupted by periods of intense minor crises of the type Lenin refers to above. Marxist-Leninists are being sharply confronted with recognising and making use of these "minor crises" in the imperialist countries to advance the revolutionary cause. For in particularly these types of countries it is in times like this especially that the revolutionary communists can make important advances both in welding a core of class conscious proletarians and expanding the influence of the proletarian revolutionary pole in society at large.

This article will examine the experience of one such "minor crisis": the "Hot Autumn" in W. Germany in 1983, when the first Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe were deployed, and the work and impact of advanced forces under the leader-

\*Koklu Kopus is an activist in W. Germany who supports the *Declaration* of the RIM.



ship of a revolutionary line in the midst of such a situation, specifically the World Without Imperialism Contingent—organised and led by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA—together with activists from the Federation of Workers from Turkey in W. Germany (ATIF), strongly influenced by the line of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML).

Several dozen people from the United States (mainly youth), organised to travel to West Germany

as part of the World Without Imperialism Contingent, together with a few hundred class-conscious proletarian forces from Turkey were able to interject a whole new dimension into a very complex political situation. In fact this intervention took on a very real, material presence on 21 November in Bonn, the focal point of Hot Autumn, when thousands of people ended up following the revolutionary banner as the representatives of the bourgeoisie prepared to give the final go-ahead on the missiles inside

the sacred halls of parliament. This experience is a very positive example of the possibility for small forces to lead big battles—especially when the entire political atmosphere is charged as in such “crisis” situations. But this possibility can only be realised when the “small forces” concerned are guided by an overall orientation of taking responsibility for the movement as a whole. First and foremost this requires taking responsibility for analysing and solving the political and practical problems that are confronting the revolutionary movement and its further advance. Only if the advanced forces take themselves seriously will others do the same; and it is only on the basis of a correct understanding of the class forces and contradictions in motion that the advanced forces can play a truly leading role.

The political events of Hot Autumn centred around the stationing of the new U.S.-built Pershing II and Cruise missiles in W. Germany (to be followed by stationing in other NATO countries in Europe). These are the first land-based U.S.-controlled missiles in Europe capable of hitting the Soviet Union since the Jupiter missiles were taken out of Turkey as part of the settlement of the Cuban missile crisis. These missiles play a crucial role in the political and military preparations by NATO for World War 3.



For this reason they have become a central point of contention between the U.S.-led NATO bloc and its rival bloc of imperialists in the Warsaw Pact headed by the Soviet Union.

Most importantly, the missiles became and continue to be a sharp point of conflict between the ruling class in W. Germany and the masses of people there who have no interest in them or the war for which they are intended. Thus the intense political crisis that came to a head around the stationing was the result of these two separate but interpenetrating contradictions. With the passing of every day from the time that the decision to deploy the new missiles was first announced in December 1979 a showdown had been brewing—a confrontation which would have no small impact on the course of events in W. Germany and Europe, and even the world. In response to this situation each class was compelled to thrust onto the political stage its spokesmen and its program concerning the missiles.

The emergence of the movement against the missiles (and against imperialist war preparations generally) was and is of tremendous significance for the proletariat. For at the very time the imperialists most desperately need a loyal population to serve as cannonfodder on a scale as yet unseen in history, a broad mass movement in opposition to

those plans and preparations has developed to directly challenge all this. Further, this movement, even with its present shortcomings, has served to help create an overall mood of questioning many of the basic tenets of faith by which the ruling classes hold the masses' thinking within the logic of the present system. It is also an illustration of how objective developments can bring millions into motion and political life, and often very quickly.

#### Behind the Missiles

The rulers of the NATO countries have loudly and frequently proclaimed that the Pershing and Cruise missiles are a response to the "new threat" posed by the Soviet Union's deployment of the SS-20 missiles and therefore do not represent an escalation of the arms race on their part. Their official newspeak always refers to their new missiles as part of a "modernisation program"—nothing new, nothing to worry about. This line of reasoning (to describe it in generous terms) is designed solely for mass consumption by the imperialists' social base.

For all the ranting and raving about new Soviet missiles that threaten all of western Europe and to which NATO had no comparable response, in fact this situation had existed since the mid-1960s. By 1963 the Soviet Union already had about

600 SS-4 and SS-5 missiles capable of hitting almost any target in Europe. NATO went 16 years without declaring a need for such weapons. And even when the Soviet Union began deployment of the SS-20 in 1976, up until the NATO two-track decision in 1979, they had removed an SS-4 or SS-5 for each SS-20 deployed. In that respect, if the new NATO missiles are only a "modernisation" then the Soviet SS-20's are no less so.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the SS-20 provides a good lesson in the character of imperialist "disarmament" treaties. At the time the SALT I Treaty was signed the Soviet Union was developing a mobile, 3-stage, solid-fuel ICBM. Under the terms of the SALT I Treaty they agreed to forego its deployment. But this did not mean that all that hard work was for naught. Soviet designers simply removed the first stage, thus reducing the missile's range to under 5,500 kilometres and taking it out of the ICBM class as defined by the treaty...the SS-20 was born.

What then was the real reason for the so-called two-track decision by NATO? This move by the NATO countries is a result of a fundamental shift in world relations marked by the emergence of an imperialist bloc led by the Soviet Union and the recognition by the imperialists of all the major western countries that the competition between the two blocs

<sup>1</sup>It is true that the SS-20 marks a real leap in military capability for the Soviet Union. The SS-4 and SS-5's are liquid-fueled, silo-based missiles of relatively poor accuracy by modern standards. Blowing away cities is no problem, but for military targets where smaller warheads and greater accuracy are needed they are hardly up to world standards. The SS-20 on the other hand is a piece of hardware that would make any imperialist warmonger proud. It is mobile and therefore harder to attack. It has solid fuel and therefore is more reliable and easier to handle and can be fired in a much shorter time from the beginning of an alert. It can carry up to three warheads and has much greater range and accuracy than the missiles it replaces. In short, from an imperialist point of view, it's a missile whose time has come.

and the crisis which fuels and intensifies that competition is impelling them more and more to seek a military solution. In this regard what is essential to understand is that while the U.S.-led bloc still commands a much greater empire, by the early 1970s the Soviet Union had achieved rough strategic nuclear parity with the U.S. Its bloc had become capable of militarily challenging the NATO bloc for world dominance.

It was a potential break in the ladder of escalation, and not the deployment of the SS-20's alone, that led Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to call for the new U.S. missiles in Europe in his now famous 1977 speech at the London Institute for Strategic Studies. The new missiles were designed to counter the danger of the "de-coupling" of the U.S. strategic nuclear forces from a war in Europe. Or as a White Paper issued by the W. German Defence Ministry in the fall of 1983 put it: "American nuclear weapons in Europe are the unforgeable link between the conventional armed forces in Europe and the American strategic nuclear-potential."

For the U.S. the apprehension existed that if this missing rung in the ladder of nuclear escalation was not replaced and its European allies reassured of protection by the U.S. strategic nuclear umbrella, the "allies" might seek some temporary accommodation with the Soviet Union on their own or even, in a

"worst case" scenario, attempt to sit out a U.S.-Soviet showdown. This "problem" was addressed by the development of the "shared risk" doctrine. The new missiles—capable of hitting the Soviet Union—would be deployed in Europe. The European allies would take on the "risk" of having important targets for any Soviet strike on their soil, and the U.S. would assume the "risk" involved in their use. Namely, as the Soviet rulers have repeatedly made clear, any U.S. warhead striking the Soviet Union, no matter where it is fired from, will result in retaliation against the continental U.S. Thus the two-track decision in 1979 (deploy and negotiate) formalised the terms under which NATO would enter WW3.

In fact, there was never much of a chance that the negotiations in Geneva would have resulted in the missiles not being deployed. For NATO the U.S. missiles are, as the W. German White Paper says, "unforegoable." And for the Soviet Union the SS-20's were not only a very important advance in its nuclear war-fighting capability, but also an important advantage over NATO. The proposals and posturing that did go on in the several years of negotiations were not mainly designed by each side to find any "agreement," but to place the "blame" on its opponent for this latest lap in the arms race.

The Soviet Union took the course of trying to exploit its own advantages and the problems created

among its rivals' ranks resulting from the Soviet Union's achievement of nuclear parity with the U.S. The fact that the "two-track decision" was reached in 1979 did not mean that the missiles would be automatically installed or that this could be done without the USSR extracting a high political price. The conflicting interests inside the NATO bloc are real, even if they are subordinate to the overall common interests of the Western powers vis-a-vis the Soviet bloc. The "shared-risk" doctrine is itself just a way of institutionalising the various allies' attempts to see to it that it is not their own country that suffers the greatest damage and destruction in the war for which they are all preparing as a bloc.

The Soviet Union launched a campaign to attempt to drive a wedge into this crack within the NATO bloc, to actually bring about the "de-coupling" talked about. This campaign essentially consisted of a gangster threat in the form of pointing out that any country accepting the new missiles risked being relocated into the stratosphere by peace-loving Soviet warheads. Needless to say, with seven or eight thousand such warheads backing up this point, this is not to be taken lightly.

This campaign was particularly aimed at W. Germany—not just because W. Germany was the only country scheduled to get the Pershing II's (capable of reaching targets in the Soviet Union in six

*Anti-Imperialist Contingent in the streets of Bonn.*



minutes) nor because, being directly on the East-West faultline, it is the bedrock of NATO in Europe—there are also real material interests which both push and pull W. Germany eastward. Not the least of these is E. Germany and the desire for a reunited Germany dominating Central Europe. Connected to this is Germany's traditional sphere of influence that stretches all the way through the Balkans to Turkey. It is no accident that of the NATO bloc countries W. Germany has the most investments and loans in Eastern Europe and carries on the greatest amount of trade there.

Furthermore, the W. German ruling class must deal with the geostrategic problem of being on the faultline. That is: how to avoid as much as possible the inevitable destruction that would be unleashed by the outbreak of fighting between more than one million of the most heavily armed troops in history already poised on each side of the border, literally only miles apart. Their spokesmen openly discuss the hope that the early use of the new missiles will lead to a quick escalation and a strategic exchange between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—over European heads (of course the U.S. just as openly talks about its desire that especially nuclear destruction be confined to others' territories). Then there is always the joker in the deck: what if the Soviets strike first? Then the new missiles are only lightning rods of the worst kind.

In early 1983, French Socialist Party President François Mitterrand gave a speech before the W. German Bundestag (parliament), described in the *New York Times* this way: "In a direct, forceful presentation, Mr. Mitterrand said in substance that the debate on the deployment of the U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe was really less one of numbers than of political will, with the essential test for the Atlantic alliance being its ability to stop an attempt to de-couple the United States and Western Europe...."

"But the speech really reflected a deeper change in French attitudes about West Germany and France's willingness now to say out loud what is often thought but subliminated in



*Mutlangen, W. Germany*

other allied countries: that the question of maintaining West Germany's involvement in the West is now a serious one and the key stakes in the outcome of the missile issue."

In an editorial following the stationing in December 1983, the *Times* wrote: "The true contest concerns not Western Europe's weapons but its adherence to the U.S. Above all the struggle is about the future of Germany."<sup>2</sup>

Along with their open and slightly veiled threats, the Soviet rulers' campaign involved extensive exposure around the offensive and first-strike character of these new weapons based upon their capabilities and place of deployment. (And it is true that these weapons systems do have a sort of "use them or lose them" bias built into them in the event of world war.) The Soviets even went so far as to say that the deployment of the new missiles would bring about a situation in which NATO could launch a decapitating surprise attack against the Soviet Union that would leave it unable to respond. While these missiles hold important military advantages for the NATO bloc (including its capability to launch a first strike), it is not possible to avoid massive retaliation. Neither side has

or is likely to acquire such an advantage. Nevertheless, the point of this fact—which Soviet generals have contradicted in interviews with the

<sup>2</sup>The fact that the W. German rulers, along with their NATO partners, went through with the stationing in the face of massive opposition demonstrates clearly that, despite contradictions, they are economically, politically and militarily anchored in the U.S.-led bloc. And while it is true that all these contradictions will heighten as a showdown approaches, it is at this time hard to conceive that they would attempt to switch sides or even take some temporary "neutral" stance between the two blocs (however tempting such a move might appear to a section of the W. German bourgeoisie). But even this is not carved in stone and in the midst of a global conflict there is no predicting exactly how things might develop. This would depend on the overall world situation at the time and very probably on whether or not one side or the other could gain some immediate advantage. (Of course all the imperialists' calculations would be thrown for a loop if revolution prevents them from launching their war, or, failing that, breaks out in a number of places shortly after the outbreak of inter-imperialist war.)

Western press since the fall—was to underline the threat that the very act of stationing the missiles could have so endangered the Soviet Union that it might feel compelled to launch a first strike of its own.

In the *Peace Manifesto* issued by the national delegates conference of the Green Party in October 1981, the influence of this line of reasoning was already evident: "This (the first-strike character of the new U.S. missiles—K.K.) could cause the U.S.S.R. to launch a pre-emptive strike against these dangerous weapons and turn all of Western Europe into a nuclear-contaminated desert."

In short, an aspect of the Soviet Union's rocket rattling was designed to and did add fuel to the fires of public opinion—fires that were already burning. The growing tension in the world and the increasing tempo of preparations for war—preparations which have pulled W. Germany into the vortex of world events—had already given rise to a powerful mass upsurge against the imperialists' glow-in-the-dark vision of the future.

Mainly based among the various sections of the petit bourgeoisie and the youth more generally, this movement (and the question around which this movement is centred) had spread to touch every class in society. Since 1979 there had been a growing number of demonstrations and various forms of clashes between the anti-war forces and those under the sway of the W. German bourgeoisie. The depth of the general dissatisfaction with the established parties—a discontent increasingly focused around the missiles and other war preparations—was further revealed by the leap of the Green Party into the Bundestag in the national elections in March 1983. This was the first time that a political party not representing the bourgeoisie (in this case one representing the petit bourgeoisie) had been in the Bundestag since the mid-1950s.

### The Anti-War Movement

The "peace movement" was and is a rather complex phenomenon. Its main political current reflects the fact that it is drawn from the middle

classes. This is the class basis for the prevailing political viewpoint which considers W. Germany (and E. Germany as well) a mere victim of superpower bullying. As we wrote in the pamphlet *High Treason in the Heart of Europe*: "Furthermore, what few are willing to say is that W. Germany is today one of the major imperialist countries. One which happily and heartily feasts at the imperialist dinner table and one whose ruling class (and here we are talking about the imperialist ruling class headquartered in Bonn and not Washington, D.C.) is just as eager and pressed as any other to acquire an even larger plate. Few today are willing to say that if the imperialists are successful in launching a third world war that the W. German bourgeoisie will be just as guilty as any other for its having taken place."

A good example of the Eurocentric thinking criticised here is to be found in this passage from the Greens' *Peace Manifesto*: "We must set ourselves the goal of overcoming the bloc confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact which is the source of the dynamic of self-destruction. The division of Europe under the hegemonial powers—the USA and USSR—and their struggle to rule the world keep the arms race in gear, continually bring new areas of conflict to the fore and allow numerous limited conflicts to become proxy wars; wars which threaten regional and even global peace."

This outlook is reflected politically in such slogans as "Atomic Free Zone in Europe" or "W. Germany out of NATO," etc. What stands out here is the complete lack of any grasp that it is a *world war* that the imperialists are preparing—and what's worse—responding to the threat of world war with "save us" and to hell with the rest of the world. The stand of these middle classes and strata on world war is very contradictory. They are opposed to it, have no interest in such a war and no long term interest in the system of which it is a product. On the other hand, their relatively privileged position acts as an anchor which prevents them as a class from making a radical break

with the system on their own. This is the material basis for what could be described as the W. German petit bourgeoisie's vision for how to avoid the inferno of WW3.

This outlook permeated the movement that developed in opposition to the deployment of the missiles and the further leap in the direction of world war which that represented.

The mainstream or "official peace movement" was centred organisationally around the Coordinating Committee for the Fall Actions (KA). The KA was actually a coalition of the various more established anti-missile groups including the Greens, various religious, pacifist and ecology groups—many of whose leaders are in or close to the SPD (Socialist Party of Germany) and the DKP (German Communist Party, the pro-Moscow revisionists)—and some independent organisations. The KA itself was not without some sharp contradictions. However the majority view was firmly united around the necessity of keeping the protests not only "non-violent," but also "non-confrontational" in both the tactical and political sense. This was actually raised above the struggle to *prevent* the deployment of the missiles—a goal which was given up in advance.

With this outlook, these forces launched a public opinion offensive in the spring that continued through the fall of Hot Autumn. The much touted film *Gandhi* which glorifies the latter's capitulation and service to British imperialism was pushed to the hilt. Camps were set up to train people in non-violence. Various "official" leaders proclaimed that a campaign of civil disobedience would be organised, in the style of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and would not be stopped until the government backed down. Some of them even said that they were prepared to make the country *unregierbar*—a word meaning "ungovernable" which conjures up the spectre of the Weimar Republic. This was really talking tough. And it was necessary to combine such "tough" talk with the overall emphasis on non-violence because there

(Continued on page 80)



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 Agit/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 Organisation, 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)

Available in the following languages (partial list): Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannada, Malayalam, Nepali, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish. 1£ plus 50 p handling. For more information write the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement at the following address:

BCM RIM  
London, WC1N 3XX  
U.K.

## Regional Meeting

# Call to the People of South Asia

*This joint statement was issued 1 January 1985 by a regional meeting of South Asian Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations which uphold the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The meeting was an important step in the consolidation of genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in the region and reflects the growing strength of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.*

The countries of South Asia are rapidly emerging as centres of intense turmoil due to the intensification of people's struggles and the contention and manoeuvring of the two imperialist blocs led by the US and the USSR, as part of their global strategy for war. Though formally independent, all these countries are plundered and exploited by imperialism which has forced an extreme pattern of lopsidedness on their economies. The rulers of these countries try to project themselves as defenders of independence and peace, but they directly serve the interests of imperialism.

In this region, apart from imperialist powers of the two blocs, Indian expansionism is a major threat to the revolutionary aspirations of the peoples of different countries. Indian expansionism, which is a creation of imperialism and is closely linked to it, has a specific interest in dominating and annexing neighbouring countries. It pursues its expansionist policies with the active connivance of imperialism. Indian expansionism is the central pillar of reaction in this region and as such it is a common enemy of all the peoples of the different countries in this region.

However this very pillar is only a paper tiger and has started cracking up due to its inherent contradictions. This has immensely brightened the prospects for revolution. Today in

almost all countries of this region powerful national struggles, apart from militant mass upsurges against dictatorial regimes, imperialism and feudalism, are rapidly emerging and are increasingly taking the form of armed struggle. The Tamil people's liberation struggle in Sri Lanka, the powerful movements against fascist military rule in Pakistan and Bangladesh, the militant mass movements against the despotic monarchy in Nepal, the movements of broad masses and liberation struggles of oppressed nationalities in India are all powerful manifestations of this development. Overall, a situation favourable to revolution exists and is rapidly developing in these countries. But, due to the weakness of Marxist-Leninist forces, imperialism, social-imperialism and Indian expansionism are interfering in these struggles and are trying to utilise them for their reactionary interests. Though the subjective forces of revolution are lagging behind, a turn in this situation has already taken place. The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its *Declaration* has given a strong impetus to this process. It has raised the unity of the communist revolutionaries to a higher level and in the future it will continue to play an important role in forging this unity into a mighty force. In the favourable revolutionary situation existing in this region the communist revolutionaries have the task of taking bold steps and advancing revolutionary struggle to destroy the reactionary regimes and defeat the war machinations of the two imperialist blocs. Guided by the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought they should take up the task of giving leadership to the powerful national movements and people's struggles and direct

them against imperialism and reaction as part and parcel of the New Democratic revolution. They should persist in waging armed struggle where it is already being carried out and heighten their preparations to initiate armed struggle in other countries.

**MASSES AND OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES OF SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES, UNITE IN YOUR STRUGGLES!**

**OPPOSE INTERFERENCE OF IMPERIALISM AND INDIAN EXPANSIONISM!**

**SUPPORT PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!**

**PREVENT WORLD WAR!  
STEP UP THE STRUGGLE  
FOR REVOLUTION  
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!**

**BUILD THE UNITY OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL PRO-  
LETARIAT!**

**STRENGTHEN THE RANKS  
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
INTERNATIONALIST MOVE-  
MENT!**

January 1, 1985

Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal  
(Marxist-Leninist)\*

Central Reorganisation Com-  
mittee, Communist Party of  
India (Marxist-Leninist)

Ceylon Communist Party  
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)  
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla  
(Bangladesh)

Revolutionary Communist Centre,  
India (Marxist-Leninist)

Revolutionary Communist Party,  
India

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\*the Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal (Marxist-Leninist) has signed the statement with reservations.

# Guerrilla Struggle in Sri Lanka



AWTW

by Our Special Correspondent

Sri Lanka used to be advertised in travel brochures as a bit of paradise. Today it is beginning to be known as a land of terror. As an increasing number of Tamil militants step up their armed guerrilla struggle for a separate state of Eelam, the government has increased its repression and sent its army to the north and east which are mainly inhabited by the Tamils. These indisciplined, trigger-happy soldiers are arresting, torturing, killing and generally terrorising the Tamil people. There has been a continuing state of emergency in the country for nearly two years while a dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed on the greater part of the north and east. Human rights violations and abuses have become generalised.

Sri Lanka is a neocolonial country with a population of 14 million. Of these, the Tamils constitute 18.2%, forming the biggest minority who claim to have lived in Sri Lanka as long as the Sinhalese who form 74%. Another minority, the Muslims, form 7.4%. When Sri Lanka was under British colonial rule, the bourgeois leadership of both the Sinhalese and the Tamils worked together to obtain reforms from their colonial master. But, when Britain gave more reforms, the

leaderships of the two communities could not agree on how to share this power. Under colonial rule, communal representation kept the two communities more or less evenly balanced. But, in 1931 Sri Lanka was granted adult franchise and elections on a territorial basis. This was naturally bound to favour the majority. It is from this time that the intercommunal conflict began to worsen.

At first, the Tamil leadership asked for power-sharing at the centre. They called for a scheme of balanced representation by which all the minorities would be given equal representation in the legislative body with the majority. The Sinhala leadership not only rejected this but, in 1935, formed a pan-Sinhala Board of Ministers, without any representation of the minorities. This deepened the rift and led to an increase of communal tension on both sides.

After political independence and a parliamentary system of government with a cabinet in 1948, the Tamils realised that they had no hopes of sharing power at the centre. There now emerged the demand for a federal system of government so that the northern and eastern provinces could form one part of a federated Sri Lanka. But this pro-

posal too was anathema to the Sinhala leadership. On the other hand, there was a resurgence of Sinhala chauvinism which was falsely interpreted as nationalism. In 1948, the Tamil plantation workers of Indian origin were deprived of their citizenship and consequently of their right to vote. In 1956, repudiating all earlier understandings that Sinhala and Tamil would replace English as the official languages, Sinhala alone was made the official language. This was the one act that created the greatest amount of resentment among the Tamils, contributing to the feeling that Tamils had been relegated to the status of second-class citizens.

Up to 1970, the Tamil leadership engaged in opportunistic bargaining after every general election. Since the Sinhala votes divided more or less evenly between the two major Sinhala parties, the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Tamil leadership opportunistically negotiated to support whichever party gave up more concessions to the Tamils. On this basis, they even entered the government in 1965 on the basis of an agreement with the UNP. But it was short-lived. One feature of Sri Lankan politics has been that whenever either of two

parties—the SLFP or the UNP—came forward to “settle” the communal problem, the other party was sure to torpedo it by inflaming communal passions. That was what happened to the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact in 1958 and to the Dudley Senayake-Chelvanayagam agreement in 1965.

But this kind of opportunistic bargaining became impossible after 1970 when the SLFP won a two-thirds majority in parliament, followed in 1977 by a five-sixths majority for the UNP. The Tamils were politically isolated. It is from this isolation that the cry arose for a separate state of Eelam. It was a cry borne out of frustration and despair.

Although the bourgeois leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) proclaimed that it could win this demand through non-violence and *ahimsa*, the rank-and-file and the youth reacted differently. They had seen the bankruptcy of bourgeois parliamentary democracy before their eyes. They had also seen the impotence of non-violent forms of struggle. In 1956, when their leaders performed peaceful *satyagraha* [Gandhi-style “nonviolent resistance”—*AWTW*] against the Sinhala Only Act they were beaten up by Sinhala thugs. In 1961, when they organised a campaign of non-violent *satyagraha* in the north in support of their demands, the army was used to disperse them. In 1974, the police fired at a Tamil cultural conference and it resulted in the deaths of nine people. The message was quite clear. Violence could only be met with violence. Armed struggle was the only way out.

It must be pointed out here that one factor that pushed the Tamil youth towards the rejection of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and the adoption of armed struggle was the consistent campaign that had been conducted by the Marxist-Leninists on these twin objectives during the sixties. Although the youth had not rallied round these slogans at that time, it was quite clear that the seed had fallen on fertile soil.

Thus there came into existence several organisations pledged to win a separate state through armed

struggle. The youth went abroad and obtained military training. To finance their activities, they carried out daring but well planned robberies of state-owned banks in the north and east. At Killinochi alone, in October 1981, they robbed a bank of Rs. 27.8 millions. They solved, in part, the problem of arms and ammunition by attacking police stations and robbing them of arms. The most spectacular of these was the recent attack on the Chavakacheri police station when they blasted the entire building, resulting in the death of 29 police officers and the theft of all arms and ammunition. In September 1978, a state-owned Avro airplane 748 was blown up at the Ratmalana airport at a cost of Rs. 35 millions. In January of this year, they blew up a train transporting over 200 troops. The majority of them are reported to have died. Their targets are armed soldiers and policemen, informers, state-owned institutions like the banks, the Transport Board buses, post offices, etc.

Their forms of struggle were the hit-and-run tactics associated with all guerrilla movements. They do not confront the army in face-to-face combat. They are engaged in a protracted guerrilla struggle in the course of which they hope to bleed the government and its economy, while, they hope, building support among the Sinhalese. There is no doubt that they enjoy the unstinted support of the Tamil people. This is their strongest asset.

Most of the groups of Tamil militants—there are about six of them—have declared that they are Marxist-Leninists, although what they popularise among their members is a mixture of the revolutionary teachings of Lenin and Mao (particularly his military writings), along with Che Guevara, Amilcar Cabral, etc. In most cases, they arrived at the decision to take up arms pragmatically. It was only afterwards that they went in search of an ideology that would justify their armed struggle. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the Tamil youth have been radicalised to a great extent and this bodes well for the future.

In retaliation for these activities of

the youth, the government increased its repression of the north and east. The north and east of Sri Lanka today resembles an occupied territory. Harassment of ordinary people has reached gigantic proportions. In 1979, the government passed the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act which has been condemned here and abroad as a piece of obnoxious legislation. Under this Act serious infringements of human rights became the order of the day. Hundreds of Tamil youth have been arrested and are languishing in jails or camps without trial. Torture has become routine. Israeli agents and British mercenaries have been imported to advise the army on how to fight the “terrorists,” as the government calls the militants. On their advice, mass arrests now take place instead of the selective arrests of suspected people. Batches of 500 youth have been arrested and taken to camps in the deep south. Under the pretence of search-and-destroy operations, the Tamil people, particularly the women, have been subjected to the worst forms of humiliation. Several cases of rape have been reported. Looting of gold, jewelry, and articles like TVs, radios, watches and money has become commonplace. Stringent regulations ban travel by private transport. Even bicycles are taboo. People leaving the security zones have to obtain permission. The people live in a perpetual nightmare. The Army is detested. That is the main reason why it cannot get help or information from the people. There is a solid wall of silence.

The retaliation of the armed forces whenever they suffer any loss at the hands of the guerrillas is to shoot at random, killing innocent bystanders and setting fire to houses in the vicinity. Recently, in the northwestern area of Mannar, in a reprisal for the death of one soldier, the army went on a rampage, killing 150 people within a few hours. They went to the Murungan Post Office, lined up its eight employees and shot them down. Four of them died on the spot. The army has desecrated temples and churches. In the Mannar district it has killed a Roman Catholic priest and a Methodist minister. The country is now in the

grip of a mass anti-Tamil hysteria generated by the leaders of the government and fueled beyond all proportions by the mass media at its command. It is almost reminiscent of Hitler's campaign against the Jews. True, the concentration camps and the mass deportations are not yet here but the beginnings are already here and discernible. Even children are being encouraged to collect for the National Defence Fund which is nothing but asking the people to give money to buy arms and ammunition to kill the Tamils.

The worst form of anti-Tamil violence took place in July 1983 when nearly 2000 Tamils died in the worst pogrom that Sri Lanka has seen. Houses and business establishments of Tamils everywhere were systematically burned and looted. Even Hindu temples were not spared. During that week-long orgy of violence, the armed forces either looked the other way or joined in. It is commonly accepted that the people who were mainly responsible for this carnage were government supporters. It took nearly four days for the President to appear on TV. But his speech contained not a word of condemnation of the violence or any expression of sympathy for the Tamils. On the contrary, he justified the violence as a natural reaction by the Sinhalese to the demand for a separate state. He went on to placate the Sinhalese by promising to ban all parties advocating separatism.

By this time the number of Tamils forced into refugee camps rose to 100,000. Over 40,000 fled across the sea to the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu, whose 53 million people speak the same language as the Sri Lankan Tamils. Thousands of other Tamils, particularly the more educated, have gone to countries all over the globe. In the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, where there is abundant support for the Sri Lanka Tamils, demonstrations, mass meetings and even a general strike were held throughout the state to protest the Sri Lanka massacres. The late Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was forced to intervene because a fair number of Tamils of Indian origin and Indian nationals had been the victims of the com-

munal violence. She sent her foreign minister, followed by a special emissary, for discussions with the Sri Lankan government, which was ultimately persuaded to conduct discussions with all the Sri Lankan political parties, including the TULF.

When the Sri Lankan president visited New Delhi in November 1983 for a meeting of Commonwealth leaders, he had discussions with the Indian leaders where he agreed to certain proposals granting a measure of autonomy to the Tamils. But on his return to the island, he disowned those proposals and doomed all possibility of a settlement. The all-parties conference convened by the president in early 1984 laboured in vain and broke up without achieving any result.

There is now a perfect stalemate. Having stated that the government is no longer willing to negotiate with the TULF unless it renounces its demand for a separate state, the government is now actively trying to find a military solution rather than a political solution. As a corollary, a section of the government, headed by the prime minister, is advocating a violently anti-Indian line, accusing India of harbouring and encouraging Sri Lankan Tamil militants in South India. The president has visited many countries, including China, Japan, the United Kingdom and the USA proclaiming the need for military assistance, but with little success. The government was very hopeful for aid from the USA. But the latter is trying to woo the new Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, away from the Soviet orbit and is therefore not in a mood to antagonise India in any way.

The tragedy in the political situation in Sri Lanka today is that the just struggle for the right of self-determination of the Tamil people in the north and east has not yet generated basic support from among the potentially revolutionary forces among the Sinhalese. The left movement, which is still dominated by the reformists and revisionists, is so sunk in the mire of parliamentary opportunism that they are unable to take a firm, revolutionary stand in support of the right of self-determination for the Tamil people

and against reactionary Sinhala chauvinism. Only the Marxist-Leninist Ceylon Communist Party (a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, with a long history of struggle against modern revisionism) and some small political groups have taken an uncompromising stand in support of the armed struggle of the Tamil people for their right of self-determination. They have also condemned Sinhala chauvinism as well as the massacres carried out in its name by the armed forces in the north and east.

The Ceylon Communist Party has advocated since 1958 that regional autonomy for the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka would be the best form through which the Tamils could exercise their right of self-determination. It advanced regional autonomy in preference to a separate state because while the latter slogan tended to be divisive the former was conducive to building the unity of the revolutionary forces from among both the Sinhalese and Tamils so necessary for the overthrow of the reactionary central government which is the common enemy of both the Sinhala and Tamil people.

Under regional autonomy, it would be possible for the Sinhalese and the Tamils to co-exist inside a single state while permitting the Tamils to rule themselves in the north and the east in all matters except central functions such as defence, foreign affairs, finance, communications, etc. The Ceylon Communist Party has repeatedly called for the unity of the revolutionary forces opposed to the UNP on the basis of a common programme, one point of which shall be the solution of the Tamil problem on the basis explained above.

The increasingly successful guerrilla struggle of the Tamil militants has proved that peoples' war, along the lines preached by Mao, is possible even in a tiny island like Sri Lanka and even in areas like the north of Sri Lanka which boast no mountains, rivers or heavy forest cover. The basic prerequisite is a just cause and the support of the people. ■

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# **Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) Holds 5th Congress**

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*A World To Win has received the following communique from the comrades of the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal), a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.*

The Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) has successfully held its Fifth Congress, ten years after its Fourth Congress. Altogether 167 comrades representing various district party committees, various fronts and regions, and fraternal communist parties and organisations attended the Congress. Because of various difficulties some of the delegates and observers could not attend the Congress.

The Congress was inaugurated in a very enthusiastic and cordial situation. The Presidium was elected and one minute of silence observed in the memory of martyrs known and unknown who sacrificed their lives heroically for the cause of revolution. Fraternal delegates and leading comrades of various mass fronts gave revolutionary speeches and best wishes for the success of the Congress. Fraternal delegates from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), the Central Reorganisation Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the Revolutionary Communist Centre of India (Marxist-Leninist), and the Pro-

letarian Party of Purba Bangla (Bangladesh) attended the Congress. The Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist), the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, and the Ceylon Communist Party sent messages of greetings. After that documents were presented, discussed and adopted.

The Congress was to have been convened some years back, but it got delayed due to the breach of discipline and party secrecy and the conspiracies and splitting activities of the pro-Panchayat and pro-Nepali Congress and other rightists, who had managed to infiltrate the party. In fact, this Congress is a victory over the right opportunists and it has played an important role in

saving the party from the revisionist mud and defending and preserving the revolutionary theory and political line and promoting the revolutionary tradition of the Fourth Congress and adopting correct decisions on political line.

In the light of the dialectical materialist outlook, the Congress has assessed past mistakes in the field of political line, organisation and struggle. It has summed up positive and negative experiences and accepted the correct and self-critically abandoned the incorrect.

The Fourth Congress had clearly decided that socialism and communism were our maximum programme and New Democracy our basic programme. Even then in some of our publications after the Congress some technical mistakes had been made calling New Democracy the maximum programme in a relative sense. We have now made a self-criticism for that mistake and clearly decided to call New Democracy the minimum programme and specific or immediately specific to the others. The Fifth Congress has decided that the slogan of the Government of Patriotic and Democratic Forces was wrong both in strategic and tactical terms. Realising that the previous slogan hampered the propaganda movement in favour of the New Democratic Programme and Government, emphasis has been given to carrying out the propaganda movement in favour of the New Democratic Programme and Government. The Fourth Congress had given importance to the united front with the patriotic and democratic forces on a class basis. We could not give it a concrete form, so therefore the Fifth Congress has decided to form a peoples' front (Jana Morcha) at a local and national level uniting workers, peasants, students, women, teachers, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic, democratic and leftist forces, under the leadership of the Communist Party and on the basis of the New Democratic Programme. There is importance to the front both in strategic and in tactical terms. The front will be the medium of struggle before and the medium

of revolutionary state power after the success of the revolution. Clear decisions had been made about unity in action. The Congress has mentioned various types of struggles and decided to develop them into higher levels of armed struggle; identifying the principal contradiction as that between feudalism and Indian expansionism and the Nepalese people, it has been decided to carry out the patriotic and democratic movement, raising the question of national independence and the problems of the peoples' livelihood.

The Congress has taken decisions concerning international issues. It decided to unite with all the fraternal parties and organisations, reserving our differences, and to be sincere to the *Declaration* of the Second International Conference; that the principal contradiction on a world level is between imperialism and the oppressed nations; to support the socialist, national liberation and New Democratic movements going on in Peru, the Philippines, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Namibia and other parts of the world; to expose and criticise the Russian and Chinese revisionists and all sorts of rightist or ultra-leftist opportunists who are deceiving the movement; to strengthen the unity among international fraternal communist parties and organisations; and to study deeply the problems faced by the international communist movement.

It was realised that though the Fourth Congress had taken correct decisions, due to the indisciplined, factional activities of the pro-Panchayat and pro-Congress elements and some mistakes made by some responsible comrades, it became difficult to give the Party a true proletariat character. So this Congress has emphasised carrying out bold struggle against all sorts of right, ultra-left and centrist weaknesses or deviations, and individualism, personal ambition, indiscipline, escapism, cowardice, liberalism and sectarianism, and to raise the level of proletarian morality and develop the collective leadership in the Party.

After serious discussions on the draft documents, amendments were made correctly and the Central

Committee was elected unanimously in a cordial atmosphere. In the last phase of the programme, comrades from the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal), the Committee of the Revolutionary, Internationalist Movement and fraternal delegates expressed their happiness at the success of the Congress. Speaking about the present situation, the speakers emphasised the need to carry on struggle against all sorts of barriers in the present national and international communist movement. They also expressed the necessity of fulfilling the great responsibility posed before us. The speakers also highlighted the importance of the historical Fifth Congress. With collective singing of revolutionary songs and chanting revolutionary slogans with great enthusiasm, the Fifth Congress was ended.

In the context of the widespread suppression of the peoples all over the world, the mutual arms race of the two superpowers, the rightist wind blowing after the counterrevolution in China, the weak condition of the revolutionaries and the suppression, exploitation and white terror unleashed on the people and the revolutionary cadres by the despotic monarchy and the fascist Panchayat system of Nepal, the Fifth Congress has given all the cadres and sympathisers revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to fight boldly and successfully against these serious challenges. Today heavy responsibility has fallen on our shoulders to implement the revolutionary political line given by our Fifth Congress.

With Revolutionary Greetings,  
Fifth Central Committee  
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)  
27 January 1985

# May Day 1985

*The following is the text of a statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement prepared for circulation on May 1st 1985 in different languages by participating parties and organisations of the RIM in numerous countries.*

Comrades,

One year ago today the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* was released to the working people of the world. In that *Declaration* genuine revolutionary forces of the world who continue to base themselves on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought made an evaluation of the situation in the world, an appraisal of the tasks facing the revolutionaries and the proletariat of every country, and declared their resolve to work towards an organisational form capable of helping turn the call "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" into a reality.

In that *Declaration* the gravity of the present situation in the world is clearly described. The imperialists prepare a third world war, with all the horror that that would mean for the people of the world. But as the *Declaration* also pointed out, revolutionary struggle is also on the rise and this revolutionary struggle can prevent an impending world war by sweeping away imperialism and reaction from large parts of the globe and establishing the regime of the proletariat and its allies.

This is no idle wish. Already we have seen very important achievements by our movement in the last year. In particular the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru, sometimes referred to in the

press as *Sendero Luminoso*, have made great advances in carrying forward the peoples war that they initiated in 1980. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is proud to count the Communist Party of Peru in its ranks. In fact, the successes in Peru have been so great that the imperialists were forced to dispatch their holy father—Pope John-Paul II—to try to extinguish the flames of the armed struggle. But his Holiness has been no more successful than the planes and bullets, the firing squads and torture chambers.

The armed struggle in Peru is a beacon which from high in the Andes is spreading its light to the four corners of the earth calling on the oppressed and exploited of the world to rise up. It is a symbol that revolutionary struggle and outbreaks of rebellion are again on the upswing in today's world.

May Day is the day of proletarian internationalism. Although reactionaries attack it and revisionists try to cut the revolutionary heart out of it, May First remains the day in which the workers of all countries take stock of their situation, make their plans for the year ahead, celebrate proletarian internationalism and declare once again their determination to carry their struggle through to the final goal of communism throughout the world.

Comrades, the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* also has described the crisis in the ranks of revolutionaries, ever since the capitalist roaders in China took power after the death of Mao Tsetung and after Enver Hoxha joined in the attacks on Comrade

Mao. This crisis is by no means resolved and we must still battle the capitulationism and demoralisation that are engendered by the imperialists and the revisionists. But our movement is on the rebound. Reports of the death of revolutionary Marxism turned out to be quite unfounded—as is shown by the revolutionary upsurge in Peru.

We are still in a race against time, for our movement still lags seriously behind the developing world situation, the moves towards war and the rise in revolutionary struggle. But we can catch up. Armed with a correct understanding we can move ahead with leaps and bounds.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement must be strengthened. It must be spread to every corner of the world. It must become more and more embedded in the proletariat and the people and all their forms of struggle. As you read these lines there are tens of thousands of people on other continents that are doing the same. Like you they long for a world without exploitation. The direction of history depends to a great degree on them—and you. As long as the exploiting classes run society, misery, oppression and degradation will be the daily lot of the majority of the world's people and today these same criminals are preparing an even greater crime—a third world war. The world must be ripped out of their clutches. This May First let us reaffirm the unity of the class conscious proletarians around the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, around the banner of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!



"Los proletarios no tienen  
nada que perder más que  
sus cadenas. Tienen,  
en cambio, un mundo que ganar."  
Manifiesto Comunista, 1948

**VIVA LA FORMACION DEL  
MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO INTERNACIONALISTA**

*The RIM May Day poster distributed in many languages throughout the world. It says "The proletariat has nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. LONG LIVE THE FORMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!"*

**PREVENT WORLD WAR!  
STEP UP THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION  
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!**

**SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!**

**BREAK THE CHAINS!  
UNLEASH THE FURY OF WOMEN AS A MIGHTY  
FORCE FOR REVOLUTION!**

**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!  
STRENGTHEN THE RANKS OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!**

May 1st, 1985

*The Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*

## IRAN:

# The Forging of a Weak Link

By S. D.\*

Referring to the conditions which give rise to a revolutionary situation, Lenin emphasised that it is not sufficient for the lower classes not to want to live in the old way, but it is also necessary that a crisis must develop within the upper classes, a crisis in the policy of the ruling classes themselves, leading to a fissure in their ranks through which the discontent and the indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth.<sup>1</sup>

Elaborating on Lenin's point, Stalin correctly points out that, "Formerly, the analysis of the prerequisites for the proletarian revolution was usually approached from the point of view of the economic state of individual countries. Now this approach is no longer adequate. Now the matter must be approached from the point of view of the economic state of all or the majority of countries, from the point of view of the state of world economy.... Formerly, the proletarian revolution was regarded exclusively as the result of the internal development of a given country. Now this point of view is no longer adequate. Now the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as a result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front in one country or another."<sup>2</sup>

The development of a crisis during the mid-'70s in Iran, its subsequent transformation into a revolutionary crisis and the fissures within the ruling classes that laid the basis for the 1978-79 revolutionary situation and the ensuing February insurrection, which toppled the monarchy, were products of the coalescence of trends which, in a matter of some decades, had effected every aspect of Iranian

society. In fact, the "internal" development of Iranian society has been but a part of the organic (and of course contradictory) whole of the imperialist system, and simultaneously a particular expression of the motion of this system under specific conditions. Thus an analysis of the historical development of the Iranian revolution must, like all others, be a scientific Marxist analysis conducted in the context of the international situation which has had a decisive role in determining the "internal" development of Iranian society, particularly in its most general features.

This article is an initial assessment of the formation of a weak link of the imperialist system, the maturing of a revolutionary situation, and the world-historic preparation of the 1978-79 revolution in Iran. Due to the nature of this issue, this article is, on the one hand, a historical analysis in broad strokes and, on the other hand, a preface to the evaluation of the present situation and to the task of developing a programme of action in Iran, a task which remains outside the framework of this article.

### Aftermath of World War 2

World War 2 ended with U.S. imperialism emerging in a much stronger position than before, at the head of the bloc of victorious imperialists and thus at the top of the world imperialist system. The new division of the world resulting from World War 2 provided conditions for recasting the international structure of finance capital, enabling it to proceed in a new spiral of accumulation and expansion at a global level. Arising from the nature and necessities and in accordance with the laws governing the motion of finance capital in the imperialist epoch, the imperialist restructuring of the capitalist accumulation process had to involve extensive

transformations of the production relations. In the imperialist countries these transformations were essentially quantitative in nature, reflecting the further concentration and centralisation of capital, even though some qualitative modifications of the production relations in agriculture and handicrafts were also carried out.<sup>3</sup>

However, the most significant qualitative transformations occurred in the dominated countries where, based on the economic and political power of the imperialists, further penetration of finance capital faced the most lucrative prospects for profitably extending itself by transforming pre-capitalist production relations to varying degrees in different countries and thus exploiting the opportunities for its global restructuring and control to the maximum, within the confines and political considerations conditioned by the international situation. Despite the significance of these transformations in the dominated countries, they were intended neither to bring about full-scale independent and articulated development nor to create organically integrated internal national markets. Their purpose was rather to most efficiently and profitably employ the exported capital in sites of accumulation internationally that could best serve the global profit maximisation, the division of labour and the political needs of finance capital. Such articulation of the division of labour within the circuits of accumulation on a global scale could only lead to further dislocations and disarticulations in the dominated countries, while integrating these lopsided national economies more closely into the world imperialist system.

Compared to the earlier periods of this century, or to the post-World War 1 years, capital set into motion after World War 2 had a much

\*S. D. is a member of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran).

greater volume and higher concentration; furthermore, it had the political and military power of the U.S. to rely on. All this not only increased the ability but also further aggravated the necessity of capital to undertake these transformations, particularly in a number of key, "select" countries, in order to secure and optimise its reorganisation on a world scale.

However, capital does not restructure itself in a vacuum. The socialist camp had emerged out of the war—the imperialists faced the necessity of containing it, blocking its advance and ultimately suppressing it. The most important contradictions which the U.S. imperialists faced in their drive to favourably restructure the world imperialist order included: waves of revolution and national liberation movements which had developed and are still breaking out in dependent countries and the urgent necessity of finding ways to prevent, suppress or derail them; the consolidation and strengthening of the position of the lackeys of imperialism in order to secure the imperialists' domination of these dependent countries; and finally, the intense competition with other imperialist powers over new markets. The particular ways in which these contradictions unfolded, as well as their partial resolution or relative mitigation, profoundly affected and conditioned the development of the present spiral and the U.S. drive for hegemony within it.

### **Imperialist Reforms in Iran**

The all-around implementation of the imperialist-sponsored land reforms, begun in the winter of 1962-63, was planned to proceed in three stages through the decade; however, some pilot land reform programs had already been started twelve years earlier. According to the initial plan designed by an expert assigned by the U.S. Technical Cooperation Office linked to the U.S. State Department all of the Royal Lands, consisting of approximately 2,200 villages, were to be gradually distributed to the peasants over a period of nineteen years (1952-1970). Due to the political considerations prompted by the

heightening of the mass democratic, anti-imperialist movements, the implementation of this plan was hastened, and in 1951 the land distribution was undertaken in one of the villages belonging to the Royal Lands.<sup>3</sup> From this date on, until the winter of 1962-1963, only half of the objectives of this plan had been realised and a total of 517 villages (approximately 1% of all villages in Iran) had been put through this "reform."

The imperialists certainly had a rationale for this "gradualism." Any abrupt changes in land-holding patterns and property relations which could possibly lead to the unleashing of the peasants' initiative and enthusiasm from below clearly had to be avoided. At the same time the imperialists had to lure the feudal landlords with the profitable prospects of the land reform in order to win them over without having to resort to threats, since they continued to constitute a significant, if not the main, social base of the regime and tended to be suspicious of land reform to begin with. Also during this experimental period the imperialists had to develop and evaluate suitable means of implementing the desired reforms and to estimate and come up with the resource allocations, volume of capital and services required.

The onset of the 1959-63 crisis left no further room for such gradualism.<sup>4</sup> Although the 1959 "Law on Limiting Landed Property" was scuttled as a result of dissension in the ranks of the ruling classes, the subsequent rallying of the ruling classes around the Shah's clique and the support the latter enjoyed from the Kennedy administration made it possible to implement the land reform plan in 1963. And implemented it was.

The White Revolution was a programme designed to take control of the reins of social development "from the top"—i.e., by imperialism and its dependent local regime—and not to allow them to be led from below, by the workers and peasants or by middle forces—the national bourgeoisie and its allies. Beyond that, its objectives were far more complex than simply avoiding social turmoil and revolutionary up-

surges. Twelve Harvard economists had been assigned the task of analysing the political and economic conditions and the social forces in Iran in order to recast the entire social structure for the absorption of foreign capital, to create the most favourable conditions for the extraction of surplus value according to the needs of the global accumulation process and to guarantee the "stability" of Iran—prevention of revolution.

Undoubtedly these reforms were bourgeois in nature. If up to this time capitalist development in Iran had taken place mainly without the direct and planned supervision of the ruling classes and through the national bourgeoisie (and, to some extent, through the comprador bourgeoisie), then it could be said that after 1958, these developments took place from the top, by the compradors and feudals (and particularly a certain section of them, i.e., the Shah's clique) under the sponsorship of the imperialists and at the expense and subordination of the middle bourgeois forces and rivals in the economic arena.

### **The 1000 Families**

The nature and composition of the ruling classes was modified to a certain extent as a result of this process. While the power and influence of the feudal landlords, particularly those not closely linked to the Royal Court, was restricted, there was a sharp increase in the political and economic strength of the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords linked to the Royal Court. Taking advantage of their position, many landlords were able to engage in comprador-type undertakings and amassed tremendous wealth. A new phrase was coined to explain who runs the country: the 1,000 families (of compradors and feudals)! These developments also reveal and underscore how firmly the Iranian economy became locked into a particular place in the international division of labour under the dictates of foreign finance capital which would allow only a particular type of capitalism—namely the comprador-bureaucratic type—to develop. The characteristic features and lopsidedness of this type of develop-

ment were shaped and determined by Iran's particular place in imperialist production relations: as a producer of raw materials—primarily oil, a vast market for imperialist capital export and a source of cheap labour.

Given this place and function, one can see that the intention behind this imperialist-inspired White "Revolution" was not to bring about a complete capitalist transformation of the Iranian countryside. In fact, in that period, they neither had nor could have achieved such an objective. Although these reforms pushed the capitalist process ahead in the countryside, and the doors of closed, autarchic rural society were set ajar for the penetration of capital, the pre-capitalist social structure was not sufficiently uprooted. Neither the scale of capital investments nor the relationship between different sectors of the economy were such that the capitalist initiative, especially among the peasantry at large, could decisively break the hold of pre-capitalist socio-economic impediments.

The plain objective of the reforms was to consolidate the Shah's regime on the basis of strengthening its central economic and political control and authority and to create a social base for it among the middle peasantry. The reforms, though selective and limited in scope, were expected to facilitate profitable investment of foreign capital by cheapening wage goods and expanding the market in the countryside for certain commodities in order to transfer value to and lubricate the strategic sectors controlled by imperialism. This explains why the bulk of the exported imperialist capital to Iran in the 1960s was directed to the cities and became operational in usury and banking, brokerage, trade and industrial sectors.

Consequently, the rural areas essentially remained dominated by the rotten, medieval, pre-capitalist relations. At the same time, however, with their backward structure of production and bureaucratic-usury forms of value transfer, they became ever more subordinate to the imperatives of foreign capital. An important factor that contributed to the character of the land reform was

the inconsistent and scattered nature of its implementation, which was motivated by political considerations of the Royal Court.

The regime selectively targeted those areas where it did not enjoy the support of the feudal landowners. Even where it was carried out, primarily low-yield lands were distributed to the peasantry on a 20-year lease basis through the Agricultural State Banks. Poor peasants with little or no land did not look too favourably on the prospect of small-scale farming on unproductive land. The 1967 Land Reform Bill even included a clause that allowed the landlords to buy back the *hagh-e nasagh* (the peasants' right to cultivate land that belongs to the landlord on a share-cropping basis). This did not automatically turn peasants into agricultural labourers and the landlords into capitalist farmers; in most cases it tended to reinforce either semi-feudal bondage or migration of peasants to the cities as marginalised semi-proletarians. From 1961 to 1978, the rural population decreased from 80% of the whole population to 55%. In this same period, the population of Tehran alone increased by 2.5 million. Kurdistan was not affected by the land reform, for the regime had to rely on the loyalty of the feudal *khans* to control the region.

The enclaves of capitalist farming that developed out of the land reform programme were few and mostly controlled and monopolised by the comprador-feudal forces which enjoyed the privileges of state financing. Some of the capitalist farming was undertaken either directly by foreign firms or by the Iranian bureaucratic-compradors backed by foreign capital, producing profitable cash crops.

#### Disarticulation

The disarticulated and distorted nature of the economy, which was a direct outcome of imperialist domination, took on tremendous dimensions by the early '70s and was (and still is) a prime source of the crisis in Iran. An extremely backward, chronically crisis-ridden agriculture alongside a superficially and disproportionately developed

capitalist sector in the cities, which relied heavily on foreign goods for machinery, component parts, raw material inputs, technology and financing, could not help but wind up in crisis.

Even within the capitalist sector itself tremendous disparities developed between different sectors. Disproportionate investment took place in comprador-bureaucratic sectors which were dependent on imported capital goods and a costly infrastructure, while non-comprador sectors were unable to develop due to the lack of a relatively well articulated infrastructure and the lack of the necessary linkages with other sectors which could efficiently supply needs and reduce the cost of labour, raw materials and capital goods. A vicious circle developed between the crises in industry and agriculture, as disproportions in industry hurt agricultural production, driving up prices.

The imperialists tried to keep the system afloat by financial injections. Not only were these cash infusions gauged and provided according to overall profit maximisation, but they were also to diminish over time. Thus, along with the continued functioning of the economy, a certain economic and social stability was achieved and, through the creation of a kulak-type rich peasant stratum as well as a new section of the petit bourgeoisie, a social base was formed for the regime. An organic part of it was the fascist-dictatorial rule which was the glue holding the overall system together.

Thus by the 1960s the ground had been prepared by the dispossession of millions of rural toilers under the shadow of bayonets and to the accompaniment of His Majesty's ear-piercing propaganda. Now these same masses would be called upon to reap the harvest of gold for the imperialist masters. However, this little "gold farm" was not situated in isolation, tucked away in a corner of another planet, but in a much contested region of our own planet Earth. And the developments in the world would not leave this farm untouched. In fact, the modern slaveowners of the world needed the overseers and foremen to perform duty far beyond the mere supervi-

sion of the slaves on the farm. The geographical position of this farm, its financial and human resources and the trustworthiness of its superintendents—all this gave it a choice position.

But there was also another hand at work. The hand of a very old Mole!

### The Nixon Doctrine and Iran

The report submitted by President Nixon to the U.S. Congress in 1969 was basically a response to the particular necessities and contradictions U.S. imperialism faced at the time. The necessity to check and suppress the revolutionary explosion of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America was still the most pressing issue on the agenda, but the colossal economic and military cost of this "divine mission" of international policing needed to be reduced. This was very much linked to and conditioned by the growing contention between the U.S.-led Western bloc and the newly arising Soviet social-imperialist bloc, who were trying to infiltrate the national liberation movements by exploiting U.S. difficulties and the hatred and indignation caused by open and direct U.S. military intervention overseas.

The direct, naked presence of U.S. military forces in the stormy regions of the three continents had to be avoided as much as possible; at the same time, the task of policing had to be carried out even more aggressively, though now by local armed forces of faithful reactionary regimes acting under direct U.S. supervision. Particularly important was the strengthening and all-around modernising of the armies of certain countries able to play the role of regional gendarmes. To this end large parts of these countries' budgets were devoted to military expenditures. The formation of regional military-intelligence pacts and the establishment of military bases under U.S. sponsorship was necessary—this also called for the mitigation of disputes among local reactionary dependent régimes, under the leadership of regional gendarmes.

The crisis and the rivalry with the Soviet bloc further intensified the

need to undertake and protect profitable investments abroad. Banks and corporations started to build their various branches and subsidiaries in dominated countries under domestic local names. Making use of the cheap labour power and raw materials and the greatly reduced cost of production, customs, transport and insurance, goods had to be manufactured in the gendarme countries and sold in regional markets, thus providing means to strengthen the comprador bourgeoisie of the gendarme countries.

We have already mentioned the particular situation of Iran in the region. In addition to those particularities, the immediate result of the '60s reforms was compatible with the new plans of U.S. imperialism: on the one hand the destruction of the agrarian economy and the bankruptcy of large sections of the rural masses created a great industrial reserve army gathered around the cities, and on the other hand, the extreme poverty and desperate conditions of these masses provided the human resources needed for the extension of Iran's modern army.

Another factor which was militarily significant in choosing Iran as the gendarme of the Gulf region was Great Britain's need to withdraw its own military forces from the region, giving rise to a vacuum in the Western imperialists' military network. Given the overall condition of the Western lackeys there, no force other than Iran could fill this vacuum.

Unleashing the military and national chauvinism was the first step in implementing the Nixon Doctrine in Iran. The military budget soared by 32% in 1971, and during four years Iran became a major consumer of U.S. weaponry. Espionage bases were established in northern Iran (near the Soviet border) and all over the coasts of the Gulf, and military bases were strung across the Oman Sea. Helms, ex-chief of the CIA, was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Iran to organise and develop the Iranian espionage apparatus. The Iranian army was developed to half-a-million strong, and the number of U.S. military supervisors was raised

to nearly 6,000.

The military invasion of Oman to suppress the Dhofar and Oman revolutionary movements, and the occupation and annexation of three islands in the Gulf, were actually steps toward fulfilling the tasks the U.S. imperialists assigned the Iranian ruling classes. These tasks sometimes included places as distant as Lebanon, Zaire, Ethiopia, South Africa and Vietnam.

From 1970 to 1975, 124 new U.S. companies invested in Iran (one-third of all investors in that period). These investments were in large part made in branches which were "export-oriented." Consumer goods manufacturing industries were expanded and the produced goods were exported to the countries of the region, and even to the Soviet Union.

Rulers of the Arab states of the Gulf, under U.S. pressure, apparently submitted to the chief gendarme role of Iran. The Nixon Doctrine was realised in an all-around way in this part of the world.

The Shah triumphantly prophesied the country's imminent arrival at the "gates of great civilisation," and of becoming one of the five greatest military-economic powers of the world! However, in an interview with a *Newsweek* correspondent, he spoke his heart: "The Nixon Doctrine.... This is what we are doing."!

Hence, a huge and lopsided military, economic and political structure was being made to serve imperialist interests within the new scheme. The turning of events shook this structure so hard, and the structure itself was so bloated, that the sound of its collapse could be nothing less than the thundering of the 1978-79 revolution.

The consequence of world events, the laws of capital's motion, and the intensification of the fundamental contradiction of the imperialist system—all this subjected imperialist calculations and their corresponding "doctrines" to great changes.

### 1974-75 Recession and the Energy Crisis

The years 1974-75 were marked by an all-around recession of the

imperialist system. Although this recession paled in comparison with the next two—and especially with that of 1981-83—it was nonetheless the first and most pronounced indicator of the downturn of the motion of capital and the imperialist system in the post-WW2 period.

But the real turning point was the late 1960s: the colossal financial burden of policing its global interests was weighing ever more heavily on the U.S. economy and, despite these backbreaking expenditures, there was no possibility of anything but defeat in Vietnam. The revisionist Soviet Union, driven by the laws of imperialism, now cast aside its notorious “three peacefuls” and emerged as a strong rival to the U.S. and its bloc. Meanwhile, the law of the uneven development of capitalism was upsetting the post-WW2 imperialist order and creating a disequilibrium more and more unfavourable to the U.S. The large amounts of capital exports began to display a short-term negative impact on the U.S. economy. All these developments took place within the framework of a world market that, despite the transformations which took place in the 1960s, was increasingly eroded and saturated.

The crisis manifested itself initially in the spheres of finance and circulation. For example, the gold-dollar standard was abandoned, which both reflected and exacerbated the precarious state of the international financial network. The U.S. also faced a severe and mounting deficit in its foreign trade and payments. U.S. policy had to deal with these contradictions in order to cope with the crisis and simultaneously reinforce the U.S. position in the Western bloc and solidify the latter in the face of the challenge of the rival social-imperialist bloc.

To do this, the U.S. took a series of important measures. The financial implications of the “Nixon Doctrine” were more thoroughly implemented: a greater part of the costs of the bloc’s military expenditures were spread among the imperialist allies and the various puppet regimes. The U.S. reduced its military “donations” and, in

turn, increased the sale of armaments to its lackeys. Imperialist allies were pressured to make readjustments in their foreign trade so as to reduce the U.S. trade deficit. This was coupled with U.S. “permission” for countries under its domination to raise the price of their raw material exports (to the extent that it would not seriously undermine the U.S. economy), which provided the puppet regimes with some financial income which was in turn used on U.S. goods and arms. This was also intended to help reduce the balance of payments surplus of U.S. allies and return the dollars accumulated in the European market (the “Eurodollars”) to the U.S.—through the indirect route of countries dominated by the U.S.<sup>5</sup>

It is only within this framework that the so-called “Energy Crisis”—the Arab oil embargo of 1973 and the sudden four-fold increase in oil prices—can be explained. Europe and Japan obtained, respectively, 50% and 90% of their oil supply from the Middle East in 1973; the figure for the U.S. was only 10%. Considering the nature of the principal oil-exporting countries (Iran and Saudi Arabia), the U.S. was certainly capable of using oil leverage for its own purposes. In this case, the “oil weapon” was aimed to no small degree at the U.S.’ own imperialist allies.

#### OPEC

It was in the midst of the Arab-Israeli War that the conditions came together to carry out this policy. At the October 1973 meeting of the oil-exporting Arab countries, a decision was made to reduce oil exports to the West at a rate of 5% per month. In some cases, this amounted to a virtual boycott. It was also decided to double the price of oil—a move fully supported by Iran. Three months later, during the OPEC Conference in Tehran (and with the Shah presiding!), the price of oil was doubled.

All of this was widely misinterpreted as a victory for the Third World. For Deng Xiaoping and his cohorts, the oil price rise was a justification for their thoroughly reactionary “Three Worlds Strategy.” They shamelessly tried to

pass off imperialist-concocted machinations as the manifestation of the growing independence and economic development of the oppressed countries, bestowing anti-imperialist attributes upon the bloody oppressors and the loyal dogs of the imperialists. In Iran itself the followers of Deng, the leaders of the Iranian Revolutionary Organisation of the Tudeh Party—later calling itself the Renjeshan Party (Party of the Oppressed)—praised the “progressive” role of the Shah and his majesty’s “anti-imperialist” stand! These reactionary sermons denied the necessity for revolution in these countries and promoted alliances with the Western imperialists, and ultimately with the U.S. against the Soviet Union.

The U.S. imperialists tried to have their cake and eat it too. Even as they benefitted to a large degree from the oil price hike they unleashed demagoguery about “Arab oil blackmail” which was presented as a “menace to Western civilisation” and promoted the illusion that the oil producers would be capable of bullying the imperialists themselves. This was not at all the case and it is an interesting aside to note the remarkable ease with which the Carter administration froze the assets of Iran after the overthrow of the Shah. This alone reveals the real workings of finance capital, its power and control over the international circuits of accumulation over which no puppet can claim property rights, through “blackmail” or otherwise.

As a result of the oil price hike, a “petrodollar” market developed alongside of and mainly at the expense of the “Eurodollar” market. Thus the tens of billions of dollars added to the revenues of the oil-producing countries were channelled and used to the advantage of the U.S.: to compensate the balance of payments deficit, to lubricate the sluggish economy, and generally to strengthen both the U.S. position within the bloc and the bloc as a whole vis-a-vis the Soviets. These measures could not of course “solve” the crisis—it was not the product of trade or currency reserve

(Continued on page 77)

# Hail the Communist Press in Iran!

## —Message to the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) On the Occasion of the Reappearance of *Haghighat*

Dear Comrades,

It is with great joy that the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement greets the reappearance of *Haghighat*, the journal of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran). We are fully cognisant of the great hardships and dangers your organisation incurs in the fight to publish a journal based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The savage Khomeini regime has shown repeatedly that no crime is too despicable in their reactionary efforts to stamp out the struggle of the Iranian proletariat and people and *Haghighat* has already been the victim of this repression. Nevertheless, we believe, like yourselves, that the reappearance of the communist press in Iran is vital in the struggle to reconstruct the communist movement in Iran and for this movement to carry out its tasks in leading the revolution to victory. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* puts it:

“To carry out its revolutionary tasks, to prepare the masses for the seizure of power, the Marxist-Leninist party must be armed with a regularly appearing communist press, even though the press will have a different role in relation to the tasks posed by the path of revolution in the two types of countries. The communist press must be neither petty and narrow nor dry and dogmatic. It must strive to arm the class conscious proletariat and others with an all-round view of society and the world, principally through analysis and political exposure following close on the heel of events.”

The current situation in the world is increasing revolutionary opportunities even as the danger of a new imperialist world war also intensifies. The situation in the region as well is favourable for the development of revolutionary struggle even if the reactionaries continue to unleash sanguinary repression and the rulers of Iran and Iraq continue to send hundreds of thousands to their deaths in an unjust war. In Iran itself the Khomeini regime finds itself more and more isolated. Thus the reappearance of *Haghighat* comes at a very important time.

The successful publishing of this journal is itself a powerful blow against the Khomeini regime. But the really great importance of *Haghighat* is the role that it can and must play in helping to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist position, which is a prerequisite for the proletariat to be able to exercise leadership of the revolutionary process. Only such proletarian leadership can enable the completion of the New Democratic Revolution and, of course, the advance to the socialist revolution upon victory in the first stage of the revolution.

The Iranian proletariat and people are longing for the day when they settle accounts with the bloody tyrants in Tehran. In fact the people of the whole world will rejoice the day when Khomeini and his ilk are sent to construct their Islamic Republic in paradise and Iran belongs to the proletariat and people. The launching and final victory of the people's revolutionary warfare cannot be separated from the tasks of forging a revolutionary vanguard party around a correct

line based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And it is in this light that the full weight of the reappearance of *Haghighat* is to be understood.

Comrades, when the Iranian Revolution shook the Shah from his throne in 1979 it had a profound and positive effect on the development of the revolutionary forces throughout the world. Although Khomeini was able to temporarily stifle the Revolution, he will not have the last word. The genuine communist forces have accumulated tremendous lessons in the five-year period since the fall of the Shah of Iran. Experiences, positive and negative, must be summed up and correct lessons drawn—for the advance of the revolutionary movement in Iran and to deepen the understanding of the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in all countries. The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement values highly the participation of our Iranian comrades from the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) and the rich experience that they bring to our movement. Our Committee, along with the participating Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations of the RIM, will closely follow the continuing struggle to correctly sum up these important lessons.

Comrades, we are confident that the victory in reestablishing *Haghighat* will be followed by further advances in the extremely vital struggle you are waging.

**Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement**



“Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights.” A phrase almost as familiar as it is powerful, ripping through repeated storms of two-line struggle in China, and reverberating worldwide among revolutionaries inspired by Mao’s visionary challenge to clasp the moon, to change the world. A call as universal as reaching for the clouds, as pointed as the scorching brand of “potatoes piping hot” on the backs of revisionists....

Twenty years have passed since these two poems by Mao Tsetung, “Reascending Chingkangshan” and “Two Birds: a Dialogue” were first written during the spring and fall of 1965. 1965—a year in which a mighty torrent of rebellion was being unleashed against all that was outmoded and against those blocking the further revolutionisation of society from their positions within the encrusted bureaucracy, the year that began the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

These are poems born of a class, the proletariat, rising to meet the demands of leading social transformation in all fields and fully conscious of and rooted in the power of the masses. And the strength and high artistic level of these verses by Mao make them stand by themselves as fine examples of revolutionary art. While Mao encouraged developing new forms of poetry among the young because the old forms, he said, “restrict thought and are hard to learn,” he used classical Chinese form in these two poems, setting them to well-known “hums” or “motifs,” and showing how the old forms with revolutionary content produced poetry of an entirely different nature.

Mao more than once made use of poetry as a salvo in the struggle, and these two poems played such a role at two major turning points. The situation in China at the time they were first issued was one of sharp class struggle within the Chinese Communist Party, a period of near isolation for the revolutionary line represented by Mao. Liu Shao-chi’s headquarters, partisans of emulating Soviet revisionist “socialism” in China, was strong and controlled important posts; moreover, Liu was openly an-

# Two Poems by Mao Tsetung

## "Nothing is Hard in this World If You Dare to Scale the Heights"

tagonistic to Mao's campaign around the Socialist Education Movement, opposing actively the 23 Articles Mao released in January 1965, which targeted those in power taking the capitalist road. In the spring of 1965, Mao disappeared from Peking for a few months and went to the centre and south of China to further prepare his counter-offensive. At the end of May, he reappeared, climbing to the top of Mount Chingkang where he had stood nearly forty years before, and wrote the poem "Reascending Chingkangshan." He recalls with joyous, sweeping strokes the advances of the past 38 years since he first established a base area there in 1927, and full of revolutionary optimism, looks to the struggles ahead which will bring new victories. It was from this base that Mao regrouped a small detachment of the Red Army shortly after the defeat of the Autumn Harvest Uprising, and from which they set out on the Long March in 1934. A mere snap of the fingers...to return to...*socialist* China.

It was not long after this, in August 1965 that Mao told an interviewer: "I am alone...alone with the masses and I am waiting..." indicating the degree to which the class struggle had sharpened at the top levels of leadership within the Party. Soon after, in the fall, he wrote "Two Birds: A Dialogue." Mao

openly satirised the image of Soviet "Goulash" communism his opponents wanted to serve the masses, through the struggle between two birds, a revolutionary and a revisionist, firing a shot at the Liu Shao-chi's of present...and future.

These poems were together reissued on New Year's Day in 1976 accompanied by an editorial in the major Chinese press. It states, "The publication of these two poems assumes great political and practical significance, catalysing forcefully the energy of the whole people..." This was part of Mao's last great battle only nine months before his death, once again calling for a major political struggle to defeat revisionism, headquartered in the CPC by Deng Xiao-ping. It was a battlecry to dig in and wage sharp class struggle to defend and deepen the gains of the Cultural Revolution, to prevent this camp from overthrowing them, reversing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and twisting revolutionary socialism into what it has become today: "Coca-cola communism" that apes everything western and "modern" and is of course nothing but the commonest pursuit of capitalism.

The past twenty years have thus borne out the deadly serious nature of the polemics in Mao's poems and the burning challenge they pose as defiantly and urgently as ever to revolutionaries today. On the one

hand, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution brought forward the most advanced experience of the international proletariat to date. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the broad masses of Chinese people were mobilised to actively and consciously join in the life and death political and ideological struggles shaping the very direction society would take, in the process inspiring millions and spreading revolution throughout the world. This meant not only transforming education, science, the arts and other strongholds of old ideas, but most importantly battling out the crucial question of who, which class, holds political power. This great revolution gained another ten precious years of proletarian rule in China, a period of invaluable experience for the proletariat and revolutionaries worldwide.

On the other hand, Mao's relentless warning also came true, when the Right *did* in fact seize power after his death in 1976, and revolutionary China was lost. In the face of this defeat in China suffered by the international proletariat, important advances have been made; the stakes are also raised. In 1985 the Chingkangshans loom alluringly and dangerously...difficult, but conquerable as in 1927 or 1965, with the daring vision of Mao Tsetung.

**REASCENDING CHINGKANGSHAN**

—to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*

May 1965

*I have long aspired to reach for the clouds,  
Again I have come from afar  
To climb Ching kangshan, our old haunt.  
Past scenes are transformed,  
Everywhere orioles sing, swallows dart,  
Streams babble  
And the road mounts skyward.  
Once Huangyangchieh is passed  
No other perilous place calls for a glance.*

*Wind and thunder are stirring,  
Flags and banners are flying  
Wherever men live.  
Thirty-eight years are fled  
With a mere snap of the fingers.  
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven  
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:  
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.  
Nothing is hard in this world  
If you dare to scale the heights.*

## **TWO BIRDS: A DIALOGUE**

**—to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao***

**Autumn 1965**

***The roc wings fanwise,  
Soaring ninety thousand li  
And rousing a raging cyclone.  
The blue sky on his back, he looks down  
To survey Man's world with its towns and cities.  
Gunfire licks the heavens,  
Shells pit the earth.  
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.  
"This is one hell of a mess!  
O I want to flit and fly away."***

***"Where, may I ask?"  
The sparrow replies,  
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills.  
Don't you know a triple pact was signed  
Under the bright autumn moon two years ago?  
There'll be plenty to eat,  
Potatoes piping hot  
With beef\* thrown in."  
"Stop your windy nonsense!  
Look you, the world is being turned upside down."***

*\*This refers to 'goulash.'*

PCP Document:

# On the Shining Path of Mariátegui



José Carlos Mariátegui,  
founder of the  
Communist Party of  
Peru

*Following are excerpts from the pamphlet Retomemos a Mariátegui y Reconstruyamos Su Partido (Reclaim Mariátegui and Rebuild His Party), published in 1975 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). José Carlos Mariátegui founded the PCP in 1928. He died in 1930, at age 35, following years of crippling illness. Shortly before his death he led the party in affiliating with the Third International of Lenin and Stalin. During the decades that followed, Mariátegui's teachings, which had formed the basis of the party's programme, were set aside, as was the revolutionary struggle itself to an increasing degree.*

*But starting in the mid-1960s, with the influence of Mao Tsetung, the polemics he led with the Soviet revisionists and the Cultural Revolution in China, as well as the revolutionary upsurges sweeping Peru and the world, the revolutionary communists in the PCP at that time took up the study of Mariátegui and the goal of reconstructing the party along revolutionary lines. This meant settling the question of the political and ideological line of the party, the basic line for the revolution in Peru, its targets and goals, and on that basis the appraisal of the present political situation in Peru and the tasks of revolutionaries.*

*In 1968 Peru came under the rule of a self-proclaimed "revolutionary" military junta hailed by the USSR, Cuba and most of the Peruvian Left as a progressive force. The PCP condemned the regime as an attempt to continue imperialist and feudal domination in Peru in a new form, labelling it "social-corporativist" (socialist in words, fascist in its attempts to form mass organisations of all the various sectors of the people under the hegemony and in the interests of the ruling classes, as well as in its outright attacks on real mass struggles). Mariátegui's reputation as a writer and political leader, acknowledged even by the bourgeoisie which had hounded him during his lifetime, had given his name tremendous prestige in Peru. The question of the validity and content of his line concentrated many of the most burning questions facing the revolutionary movement at that juncture. Some former revolutionaries and others justified their collaboration with the military regime by claiming that Mariátegui's analysis was brilliant but outmoded; others, who claimed to be followers of Mariátegui, tried to hide and revise the Marxist content of his work—and tried to justify their own attacks on Marxism as being in the tradition of Mariátegui.*

*For the revolutionary communists, reclaiming Mariátegui meant reclaiming his analysis and programme as a specific application of Marxism to Peru, made in the light of Mariátegui's study of (and active participation in) the international communist movement of his time.*

*Rebuilding the PCP took 15 years, beginning with the overthrow of the revisionist head of the PCP in 1964 and continuing through subsequent line struggles, divisions and reorganisation under the leadership of Comrade Gonzalo. The completion of this process was marked by a 1979 Central Committee meeting that approved the launching of the armed struggle, which began a year later and continues to advance.*

*This pamphlet played an important role in clarifying the political and ideological line and winning over forces. We are reprinting these selections principally to give an understanding of the PCP's programme for the Peruvian revolution, as well as to provide an introduction to Mariátegui's writings, which form an important part of the theoretical basis for the people's war now lighting up the sky above Peru. Mariátegui's best-known work, Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality, was published in Spanish, English, French and other languages; most of the rest of his extensive writings have not been translated from the Spanish and are not readily available outside of Peru. The themes taken up in these writings are very germane to the discussion in the international movement today about the character of the countries dominated by imperialism and the nature and tasks of the revolution in these countries.*

*The other chapters in this pamphlet discuss Mariátegui's work in the context of Marxism-Leninism and its further development by Mao Tsetung, as well as other specific questions such as Mariátegui's line on the united front, the central importance of the communist party in revolution, military line, mass line and so on.*

**W**hat does it mean to say that Mariátegui established the general line for the Peruvian revolution—specifically, that he formulated the general laws of the class struggle in Peru and that he established the road that revolution must follow in our country? It means that these things are still valid, that we must return to Mariátegui's road in order to carry out the revolutionary transformation of our society under the leadership of the working class, through its organised vanguard, because the working class is the only one that can fulfill that leading role.

Let's analyse this question which is as weighty as it is contested, in open and disguised ways; the destiny of our country depends on the position we take on this question.

### **The Character of Peruvian Society**

Let's start with the words of the founder of the Communist Party himself:

“Capitalism is developing in a semi-feudal country like ours after the stage of monopolies and imperialism has already been reached, when all the liberal ideology corresponding to the stage of free enterprise has lost its validity. Imperialism will not allow any of these semi-colonial peoples it exploits as markets for its capital and commodities and as sources of raw materials to take up an economic programme of nationalisation and industrialisation; it forces them

to specialise, restricts them to monoculture (in Peru, oil, copper and sugar), so that they suffer a permanent crisis in terms of manufactured articles, a crisis which arises from this rigid determination of national production by the capitalist world market."

These sentences from Point Three of the party's programme establish the semi-feudal and semi-colonial nature of our society. The first of these, semi-feudalism, Mariátegui established, "cannot be correctly sought in the persistence of feudal political or juridical institutions or forms. Formally, Peru is a republic, a bourgeois-democratic state. Feudalism or semi-feudalism survives in the structure of our agrarian economy." Today, despite the years gone by, that structure is still where one must look, in the old and newly developing feudal-rooted forms of unpaid labour, of family obligations and deferred wages, personal loans, the maintenance and fusion of the old landed estates and the predominance of *gamonalismo* [the authority of the landlord—*AWTW*], only now these things are covered up in new conditions and high-flown words. This appraisal of semi-feudalism which was under such strong attack in years past has now become an accepted and obvious truth, because the class struggle itself, the peasant explosions we've seen so often since the 1960s, along with the agrarian measures and counterrevolutionary actions, show the semi-feudal basis of Peruvian society.

As for semi-colonialism, Mariátegui held that a country can be politically independent while its economy continues to be controlled by imperialism. Furthermore, he correctly maintained that the countries of South America, including ours, "are politically independent but economically colonies." This is still the situation as it continues to develop; both directly and indirectly our economy is undergoing increasing and diversified penetration by imperialism and [Soviet—*AWTW*] social-imperialism. This appraisal of semi-colonialism was challenged not long ago, with the unsubstantiated assertion that Peru has become a colony; that's what is meant when the country is classified as a "neocolony." This assertion even goes so far as to argue that Peru is a "neocolony with a bourgeois reformist government."

The above paragraph cited from Mariátegui puts forward that capitalism is developing in Peru, but that it is a subjugated capitalism, controlled mainly by U.S. imperialism; not a capitalism which would allow a national economy and independent industrialisation, but on the contrary a capitalism which functions for the sake of the imperialist metropole which does not permit a real national economy which would serve our nation, nor an independent industrialisation, so that to develop these things means first shattering imperialist domination. Thus Mariátegui does not deny capitalist development in our country. He specifies exactly what kind of capitalism we have, the capitalism of a semi-feudal nation in the era of monopolies and political reaction, a capitalism whose very development strengthens our semi-colonial subjugation, a capitalism which gives rise to a comprador bourgeoisie tied to U.S. imperialism. In short, what Mao Tsetung called bureaucrat capitalism.

This is Mariátegui's understanding of Peruvian society, an understanding which is still valid and applicable. Subsequent studies and investigations have only confirmed and more clearly defined our founder's correct theses.

### **The Two Stages of the Peruvian Revolution**

On the basis of the country's semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions,



*The bourgeoisie tells the artist to flatter and praise its own bad taste with his art.*

— José Carlos Mariátegui

Mariátegui analysed the forces for revolution, establishing that there are two basic classes, the proletariat and the peasantry. While the latter, since it is the majority and suffers the weight of semi-feudalism, is the main force, the former, the working class, is the leading class. Furthermore, he underlined that it is only with the appearance of the proletariat that the peasants could fulfill their role: “Only the doctrine of socialism can give a modern and constructive content to the cause of the Indian, which viewed in its correct social and economic context and raised to the plane of a creative and realistic political line, can succeed because it enjoys the support and discipline of a class just being born in our historic process, the proletariat.”

Joined together with the peasantry and the proletariat there is the petit bourgeoisie, which although “it has always played a secondary and confused role in Peru,” under the weight of foreign domination “seems destined to take up a revolutionary nationalist attitude to the degree that it is successfully organised and guided.” These are the motive forces which under certain circumstances and conditions are joined by the national bourgeoisie that Mariátegui named “the bourgeois left.” These four classes are united against the targets of the revolution: semi-feudalism and imperialist domination.

These two well-known paragraphs from the programme of the Communist Party, edited by its founder himself, define the two stages of the Peruvian revolution and specify their character:

“The country’s economy can only be emancipated through the actions of the proletarian masses, in solidarity with the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle. Only proletarian action can promote and later carry through the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution which the bourgeois regime is incapable of carrying out and completing.”

“With the completion of its bourgeois-democratic stage, the revolution becomes proletarian revolution, in terms of its objectives and doctrine. The proletariat’s party, trained for the struggle to exercise political power and carry out its own programme, in this stage carries out the tasks of organising and defending the socialist order.”

This, masterfully condensed, is the problem of the Peruvian revolution: the national-democratic or bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type, as Mao Tsetung said, and the proletarian revolution. Two stages, the first of which we have been undergoing since 1928 but which still hasn’t been completed or crowned with victory, and the future, proletarian revolution; two uninterrupted stages of a single revolutionary process whose character and content as distinct stages cannot be confused. Through wide debates and struggles this great thesis by Mariátegui has become a fundamental truth in the Marxist understanding of the laws of our revolution.

But if this is fundamental, even more so is that the working class and only the working class, through its party, is capable of leading the national-democratic revolution and furthermore, that only through its preparation and organisation in the first stage is the proletariat capable of carrying out the second, the proletarian revolution. Therefore if the working class does not lead the national-democratic revolution, then in no way can it achieve nor much less build socialism. This is the substantive question today, because the counterrevolution and social-corporativism deny this great truth and claim that in our country the Armed Forces are carrying out the first stage of the revolution and even

claim that they are laying the basis for socialism. This key question is a dividing line between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries. The former, along with Marxism and Mariátegui, hold that the proletariat and only the proletariat "can promote and later carry through the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which the bourgeois regime is incapable of carrying out and completing." This is our position, and upholding it we should fight against the counterrevolutionary theses, pointing the spearhead against social-corporatist revisionism, which negates Mariátegui and which, as a detachment of social-imperialism in our country, serves only to further social-imperialism's collusion and contention with the Yankee superpower for world domination.

### **The Anti-feudal Struggle**

The programme for the land is the most basic; in short, it is the question of feudalism with its two elements, feudal estate and serfdom. Thus, as Mariátegui said, Peru's agrarian question is the destruction of feudalism whose relations stain all of our society from top to bottom, from the base to the superstructure. The motor of the peasant struggles has been and continues to be the question of the land, and the fact that the three agrarian laws of the 1960s have not destroyed feudalism's foundations is clearly seen in the peasant struggles of today.

Analysing the land question, the party's founder underlined the struggle between the community [traditional Indian landholding in common—*AWTW*] and the feudal estate, emphasising that for hundreds of years these communities had enabled the peasant masses to resist the usurping assaults of the feudal landlords, and that they contain within them living seeds which will serve future socialist development. Likewise, reviewing the system of agrarian labour, he underlined the existence of feudal relations of exploitation behind the apparent capitalist modes. These are not questions of the past, but of the present, which we should scrutinise to uncover the semi-feudal essence which is hidden behind the seeming and much-touted "destruction of feudalism" through the so-called agrarian reform.

Regarding the struggles of the Peruvian peasantry and the Latin American peasantry as well, Mariátegui showed that their banner is "land to the tiller, expropriation without payment," and that to mobilise for this means "arming the workers and peasants to win and defend their demands." Thus, feudalism must be destroyed by confiscating the land and only the armed workers and peasants can do it; there is no other way to smash feudalism, to destroy the landed estates and abolish serfdom. It must be kept in mind that Peru has had laws governing agrarian relations and abolishing serfdom for more than 150 years, and their result has been to maintain the underlying feudalism.

Thus the anti-feudal struggle is the motor of the class struggle in the countryside and the very basis of our democratic-national revolution.

### **The Anti-imperialist Struggle**

Like the other nations of Latin America, ours is a nation in formation. "It is being built upon the layers of dead Indians deposited by Western civilisation." This being the case, "the Indian question is the question of four million Peruvians. It is the question of three-quarters of Peru's population. It is a question of the majority. It is the question of our nationality," Mariátegui analysed. And he added, "There can be no really national policy which disregards the Indian; it can't ignore the Indian. The Indian is the cement of our emerging nationality. Oppression makes the Indian the enemy of civility. In practice, it completely denies that the Indian can be a progressive element. Those who im-

poverish and degrade the Indian impoverish and degrade the nation.... Without the Indian there is no such thing as a Peruvian nationality. This truth should be grasped, above all, by those whose ideology is merely bourgeois- democratic liberalism and nationalism.”

Thus the Indian question is the question of the vast majority of the people who have been disregarded by the Peruvian state, especially the Republic, for over 150 years. It is the question of acting against the interests of four-fifths of the population, as our founder said, a question of acting in the interests of the imperialist metropolises which have dominated us one after another. Going deeply into this question, Mariátegui established that the problem of the Indian is the problem of the land; thus, since the national question is based on the land question these two can't be separated from each other. This opinion is strictly in accord with the principles of Marxism and has been proved by the practice of the class struggle of our own masses; it is clearly shown by the character of our revolution.

On this basis the founder of our Communist Party analysed the classes and the anti-imperialist struggle in our country and in Latin America in general. His starting point was that the Latin American bourgeoisies “feel sufficiently entrenched in power that they don't have to worry about national sovereignty,” and are bound and linked to imperialist interests, adding, “As long as imperialist policy...doesn't find itself forced to resort to armed intervention, to military occupation, it can count without question on the collaboration of the bourgeoisies.” Thus he clarified the relationship between the Peruvian “mercantile bourgeoisie” and imperialism. Dealing with the question of the united front in our country, Mariátegui put forward the possibility of uniting “with the bourgeois liberal left willing to really struggle against feudalism's remains and against imperialist penetration,” defining the position of what today we call the national bourgeoisie; furthermore he specified, as we've seen, that with increasing foreign domination the petit bourgeoisie would develop “a revolutionary nationalist attitude.”

But on the other hand he attacked those who, like the *apristas* [the social-democratic American Popular Revolutionary Alliance Party which in Mariátegui's time claimed to be anti-imperialist as well as anti-communist; today it is a major pro-U.S. bourgeois political party in Peru—*AWTW*] who elevated anti-imperialism “to the level of a programme, a political stand, a movement sufficient unto itself which somehow would lead spontaneously, on what basis nobody knows, to socialism, to social revolution.” He unmasked the aprista thesis that “we are leftists (or socialists) because we are anti-imperialists.” Taking into account the fact that only the proletariat, united with the peasantry, can lead a consistent anti-imperialism, he pointed out, “For us, anti-imperialism can't and doesn't constitute in and of itself a political programme, a mass movement fit to take power,” and, finishing off the argument, he concluded, “We are anti-imperialists because we are socialists, because we are revolutionaries, because we oppose capitalism with socialism, two antagonistic systems one of which is destined to succeed the other, because in the struggle against foreign imperialisms we are fulfilling our duty of solidarity with the revolutionary masses” of the world. ■



## Peru: Pope Fails to Halt Revolutionary Tide

Pope John Paul II made his three days of appearances in Peru the culmination of his recent 12-day South American tour. Letting the vestments of purely spiritual concern drop, he shamelessly exposed his political aims. His work was not widely judged a success.

In fact it turned out that the highlight of his tour was the total blackout of the capital city of Lima on February 4th that greeted his arrival. The dynamite blasts knocking out an electric power plant 45

kilometres north of Lima set the scene for the sky to be lit up by a giant flaming hammer and sickle on the Cerro San Cristobal which dominates the Lima skyline. The press labeled this an obscene gesture directed at the Pope, but really it was a gesture directed at the people of Peru and the world, a sign of hope that there is an alternative to all that the Pope's sordid and bloodthirsty crusade represented.

The day before, in what can only be considered to have been a provocation, the Pope had made his

first Peruvian appearance in the city of Ayacucho, capital of the department where the armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) first began in 1980 and still a kind of capital of the revolution against which his speech was directed.

"I want to urgently address those men who have put their faith in the armed struggle," the Pope said, "those who have let themselves be fooled by false ideologies so much that they think that terror and aggressiveness, by exacerbating

already lamentable social tensions and forcing a supreme confrontation, can lead to a better world." Then, his voice trembling and his finger waving up and down, he continued, "To you I want to say that good can never come from evil. You cannot continue destroying the lives of your brothers. You cannot continue sowing panic among mothers, wives and daughters. You cannot continue intimidating old people... In the name of God, change roads," he brayed to the workers and peasants (including many mothers, wives and daughters) who've taken up arms, calling on them to "take the road of reconciliation and peace". At the same time he offered his appreciation to "the authorities and those responsible for public order" whose work "becomes supremely delicate in the present circumstances and is even thankless and not understood."

The military preparations for this Papal visit matched the calibre of his declarations themselves and made it clear where *his* faith lay. The authorities spared no measure of intimidation and terror, from mass "preventative" roundups of thousands of people—on top of their routine mass murder—to banning the wearing of traditional Indian hats and cloaks, which they claimed could be used to hide weapons. The Pope never left the tarmac of the Ayacucho airport, located on a high plateau, where he spoke from behind rows of barbed wire and sandbag barricades, 4000 military personnel and tanks, with an umbrella of helicopters overhead. Even so, he cut his scheduled hour-long visit short by twenty minutes; the main point was that he had come at all, and had put his prestige and that of his God on the line against the revolution, and for that a few words were sufficient.

One of the favorite charges reactionaries level at the PCP is that it is "messianic" or "fanatical." Now they send a true religious fanatic, a man who calls himself a personal representative of the Messiah on earth, to demand that the oppressed rest content with this world for the sake of some other, and lay down their arms and cease striving to bring about material changes by material

means. This is the man they send to preach not just faith in general, but specifically faith in Peru's generals and colonels and death-squad detectives and torturers and the whole imperialist world order of which they are personal representatives and servants.

It is the Pope and certainly not the revolutionaries who has tried to make religion a basic dividing line between those who may be allowed to live and those who must be exterminated. The fact that many devout Catholics support the revolutionary armed struggle is part of the reason why the Pope was sent in the first place. The many names of teenage members of the Catholic Youth organisation on a recently published list of government death-squad victims also testify to this. It is interesting to note that many estimates put the number of people who were rounded up for the Pope's counter-revolutionary political rally in Ayacucho at less than the 30,000 who took part there in the 1982 revolutionary funeral of PCP member Edith Lagos, just before armed forces occupation made such public manifestations impossible. Until then, this city was most known for its 35 churches and its piety. Now it has become the headquarters of the armed forces "Political-Military Command" that runs the so-called "Emergency Zone," and it is a political bastion of the revolutionary war to liberate Peru from imperialism, feudalism and all the obscurantism and superstition that rest upon and perpetuate this suffering that so many in Ayacucho have risen up against.

#### A Sign is Given in Lima

The 45-minute blackout of Lima came minutes after the Pope touched down, just as his caravan of limousines and armoured vehicles was leaving the Lima airport for the Nunciature (Vatican embassy) where he was due to speak. According to news reports, the whole cortege was seized by panic and set their sirens to wailing as the hill above them was lit up by the enormous hammer and sickle made up of rows of hundreds of flammable-filled milk containers. Considering that 50,000 police and armed forces had

been deployed in the capital that day to insure that nothing like this happened, and that this particular hill on the city's edge has repeatedly been the scene of such blazing, defiant emblems, the success of this spectacular action may well have seemed to the Pope to be an unwelcome miracle.

The next morning, the Pope took the offensive again, visiting Villa El Salvador, a shantytown with 300,000 inhabitants on the southern outskirts of Lima which the Spanish daily *El Pais* describes as "very dominated by the Shining Path guerrillas." During the night the Army had taken over the Villa El Salvador and another shantytown, San Martin de Porres, also known as a revolutionary stronghold, carrying out house-to-house searches and making arrests. Villa El Salvador is just like dozens of others of what the authorities cynically call "pueblos jóvenes" ("young towns") that surround the capital, as if time could be expected to cure their problems.

Villa El Salvador is not young. It arose 25 years ago when peasants sick of starvation and oppression in the mountains began pouring into the city, where they seized state lands and began putting up shacks which have come to have an air of permanence. One indication of how much conditions have worsened in the last few years in Peru is that for many in the shantytowns their traditional potatoes have been replaced by meals of "nicovita"—bird feed. As the saying goes, only foreigners can afford Peruvian food anymore.

In a slightly more conciliatory speech than the fire and brimstone he'd breathed in Ayacucho, the Pope urged the people of Villa El Salvador to "never cease denouncing injustice," while warning against "seductive ideologies and alternatives which promise violent solutions." Informed sources commented that the intended target of this Papal warning was not so much those already active in the cause of the armed struggle—of whom there are plenty in Villa El Salvador—but the numerous Christian "grass-roots community activists" in the shantytown who are not enlisting as government agents sufficiently to suit the Pope.

During his Peruvian visit the Pope issued an ultimatum to local "liberation theologians" he accused of "meddling in politics instead of revealing Christ to the world." The leading representative of this current, Gustavo Gutierrez, had said that while he condemned violent revolution as unacceptable, it had to be recognised that Peru's Indians live in "subhuman conditions." Apparently the Pope found even this timid statement completely unacceptable in light of the stakes in today's world.

The Pope's political message in Peru and especially his speech in Ayacucho was so explicitly in favour of the authorities and the status quo and so devoid of even the slightest pretense of even-handedness or the rhetoric about social justice that has marked many of his other appearances that even a number of foreign journalists present were surprised.

Among others, a reporter for the Spanish state television network TVE remarked that she found it strange that the Pope had only condemned the violence he attributed to the guerrillas without mentioning those killed by the police and armed forces. This reporter's on-the-air comment itself became a major incident when the Peruvian government lodged an official diplomatic protest against it. The Spanish government responded by offering Peru's offended President Belaunde TV time to give his own version of the Pope's visit. The reporter herself was denounced in the Spanish parliament by a deputy who declared that once her remarks had been made, nothing "could patch up the harm already done."

#### **Amnesty International Report**

The January 1985 Amnesty International report on Peru gives a clear picture of what the Pope blessed. For the Pope, any form or quantity of intimidation, torture, rape, aerial bombardment of villages or mass indiscriminate executions are just fine as long as it is the rulers of the West bloc and their stooges in the countries they dominate that are carrying them out, while the masses of people are forbidden to take up arms or "consider violent solutions."

The Amnesty International Report lists, by name, age and occupation, 1005 people who "disappeared" after being taken into custody by the police, armed forces and government-directed paramilitary forces in the 13 provinces under military rule from December 1982 to October 1984. (The report does not discuss anything that happened anywhere else in the country, including the three provinces around Tingo Maria—in the mountain fringes of the jungle to the north—which were also declared an emergency zone and placed under military rule in mid-1984.) The biggest single group are those listed as "students," which includes teenagers 14 years old and up, reflecting who have been among the most revolutionary elements. Most of the rest are described as "farmers" or "labourers," as well as a great many teachers. Generally they were all taken away at night, after curfew when only military patrols are allowed to be about.

Because of Amnesty International's efforts to stick to "respectable" evidence, it lists only those whose disappearance has been formally reported either to the government or to AI, either directly or through a Catholic Church commission. Since many people ended up on Amnesty International's list of "disappeared" after they themselves dared to complain or inquire to the authorities about the fate of others, it's easy to see why this list is incomplete. The PCP puts the number of people "disappeared" this way in the central emergency zone at closer to 5000. This report also does not take up the approximately 1000 cases of people "legally" imprisoned.

Nevertheless, the report cites conclusive evidence that these government-organised "disappearances" are the source of the 14 buried heaps of mangled bodies discovered during the last year which the government has tried to attribute to mass killings by the guerrillas.

The government does not actually intend to keep the atrocities committed by the armed forces a secret; after all, the purpose of these actions is to sow terror and that requires that those who are the object of this ter-

ror, the masses of people, especially in the countryside, know what the government is doing. What the government's false reports are intended to do is to sow confusion as well, especially abroad, and in this they have had the full cooperation of the international imperialist press whose vague criticisms of the armed forces are "balanced" with similar accusations against the revolutionary forces.

The Amnesty International report, despite its shortcomings, concludes that this "balanced" picture is false. "In the majority of the cases of political homicide occurring in the Emergency Zone, presumably perpetrated by government forces," the report states, "the bodies of the victims were found naked, with marks of torture, and with a single bullet wound in the head. In many cases the bodies of the victims were found blindfolded and hands tied behind their back. It was impossible to identify many of the victims; their clothing had been destroyed, their faces mutilated and the bodies thrown far from where they had been arrested." The report states Amnesty International has received *no* reports of such actions committed by the guerrillas. Then the report goes on to discuss the revolutionary execution of local despots and their notorious henchmen. Even Amnesty International, despite entrenched bourgeois prejudices which lead it to call for the punishment of such violations of Peru's Constitution, notes that this revolutionary justice is almost always public, "frequently before the members of the community who have met especially to witness it, and the victims were people well known to the rest of the community." As the PCP points out, without removing the weight of local feudal authorities and government representatives (usually one and the same persons), those they oppress cannot be free to exercise their own political power. Most such notorious reactionaries and bullies flee the countryside when the revolution gains too much force in their villages.

The report examines case after case in which massacres reported by the authorities as having been committed by the guerrillas turned out to

have been committed by the government. It cites evidence that in addition to those who have been made to "disappear," a great many of those reported by the government as guerrillas killed in combat were also simply murdered. In short, the report leads to the inescapable conclusion that the terrorist murders committed by the authorities, aimed at separating the masses of people from the active guerrillas by a river of blood, account for the overwhelming majority of deaths which the authorities attribute to what they've come to call a "dirty war." Even the Amnesty International report reflects to a large degree the fact that what is going on in Peru is not a "dirty war," an affair in which everything is lamentable; it is a dirty counterrevolutionary war on the part of the government and its backers against a just revolutionary war carried out by the poorest and most oppressed under the leadership of a genuine communist party whose goal is to advance the liberation of all mankind.

Just two weeks before the Pope's visit another mass grave with 29 bodies—naked, tied and riddled with machinegun bullets—was discovered by workers near the village of Paraje Maynay, near the town of Huanta, where the Marines are headquartered. It is not far from where another mass grave with parts of 50 to 90 bodies was uncovered in 1984, a case detailed in the AI report. Nevertheless the visit of the UN Human Rights Commission to investigate "the situation generated by the violence in the country" which had been scheduled to take place on the eve of the Pope's visit was suddenly cancelled at the last minute without explanation.

#### Blessings and Guns

Also on the eve of the Pope's visit the U.S. State Department announced that the Reagan administration intended to double U.S. military aid to the Peruvian government—despite the fact that Peru, six months behind in interest payments on its \$13 billion debt, is closer to financial collapse than any other major country in Latin America. The amount involved in open military aid—\$4 million in

1983, \$9 million in 1984 and now jumping to \$20 million in 1985—would make Peru the biggest recipient of open "legal" U.S. military aid in South America, but the real amount going to the Peruvian government is already far greater. (For instance, the U.S. gave Peru an additional \$30 million for "drug eradication" programs involving training and arming police—who are well known to be the kingpins of the narcotics trade.) There has also been lots of armaments, advisors and so on from the other senior members of the U.S. bloc such as France, not to mention recycled U.S. military aid coming in through Israel, Argentina, etc., as well as that provided by the USSR, which continues to be the Peruvian government's main source of heavy weapons. The 1985 Peruvian armed forces budget contains \$40 million for improvements in armaments alone—half of which is to be in aid from Argentina.

In other words, in addition to beefing up U.S.-directed counterinsurgency against what American press magnate William Randolph Hearst, Jr. has called "potentially the most explosive situation in all the Western Hemisphere," there is a political purpose to this State Department announcement. While not quite a declaration of war, it is part of creating the political climate for even more U.S. intervention on behalf of the Peruvian government and the stability of its empire.

However there is a limit to what these mass murderers can do—a limit imposed not by any constitution or Christian code but by the mass armed revolutionary struggle itself. Today the People's Guerrilla Army has reached the organized level of companies and battalions—mid-sized military units. This is an impressive accomplishment considering that when the armed struggle was launched five years ago many of the units were simply unarmed detachments, that is, small groups of men and women who underwent training as military units before they could seize and use weapons based on that training. The PCP's own estimate of the situation has been confirmed by the enemy, as reflected in a significant article in the

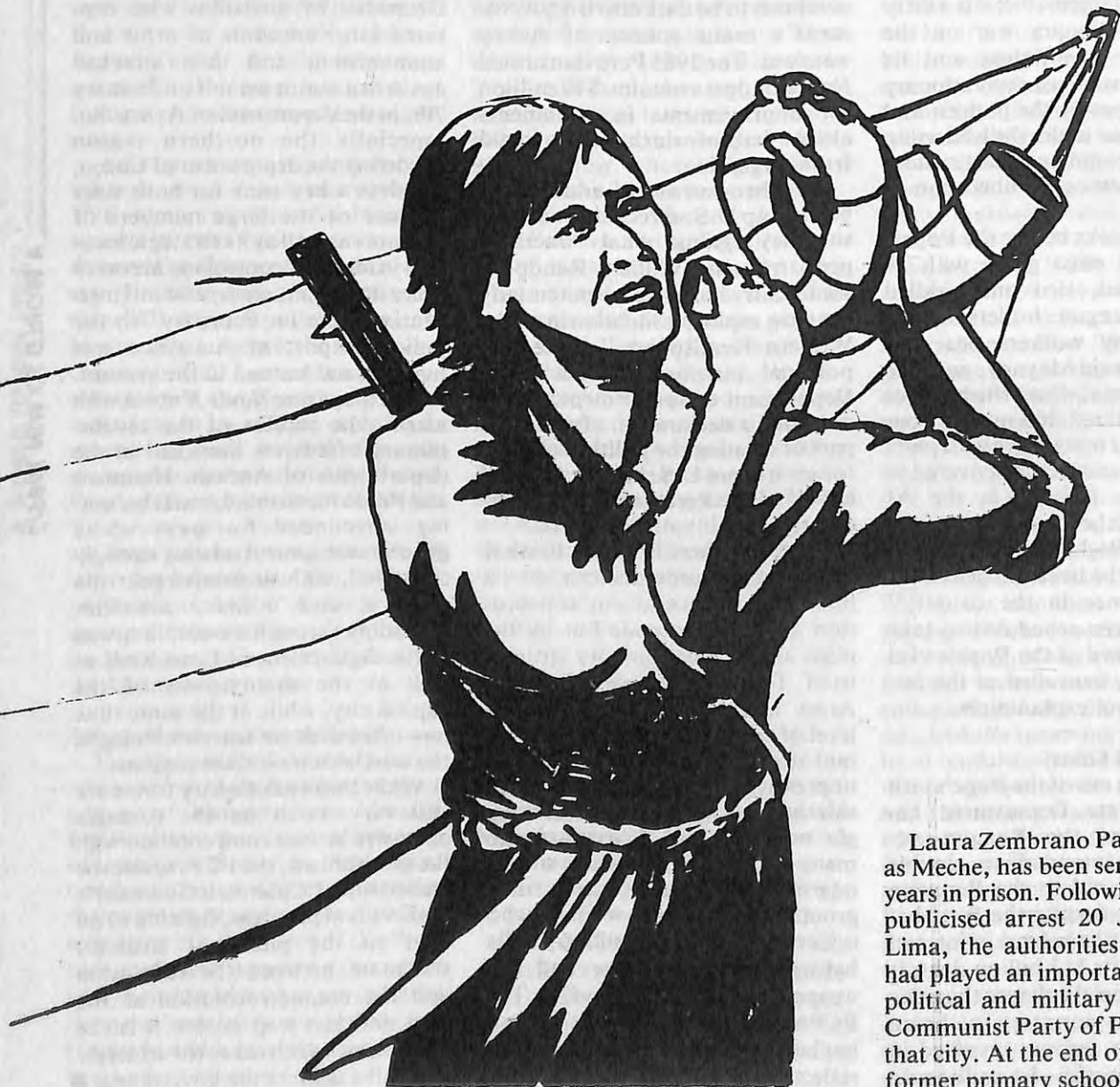
magazine *Equis X* linked to "leftists" in the armed forces. It reports that during two years of direct confrontation between the guerrilla forces and the regular armed forces, after initial setbacks the guerrillas have grown much more numerous, skilled and well armed due to the political and military conditions created by the armed struggle itself.

News reports from Peru from December through February indicate continuing waves of guerrilla actions which have been especially strong in the department of Puno, in the south, previously not known as a PCP stronghold; in the department of Cerro de Pasco, in the centre, where the police fort at Minas Canarias was overrun on 24 December by guerrillas who captured large amounts of arms and ammunition, and then attacked again in a major assault on January 7th; in the department of Ayacucho, especially the northern region bordering the department of Cuzco, which is a key zone for both sides because of the large numbers of peasants as well as its strategic location in terms of controlling access to other important areas; and in Tingo Maria where on February 7th the police outpost at Aucayaca was overrun and burned to the ground. As the magazine *Equis X* notes with alarm, the success of the revolutionary offensives launched in the departments of Ancash, Huanuco and Pasco mean that Lima is becoming surrounded by areas where government control is being strongly contested, with successful guerrilla political and military activities spreading through mountain towns in the department of Lima itself as well as the shantytowns of the capital city, while at the same time new offensives are also continuing in the northern mountain regions.

While the revolutionary forces are still very much on the strategic defensive in their confrontation with the government, the PCP, under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, is making real progress, fighting to go over to the phase of strategic stalemate between the revolution and the counterrevolution as the next and last step before it is the revolution which takes the strategic offensive against the government. ■

**From Callao Prison:**

# Comrade Meche Undaunted



Laura Zembrano Padilla, known as Meche, has been sentenced to 10 years in prison. Following her highly publicised arrest 20 July 1984 in Lima, the authorities claimed she had played an important role in the political and military work of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) in that city. At the end of the year the former primary school teacher was

tried and convicted under the March 1981 "antiterrorist" Decree 46. This presidential decree outlawed the PCP and created a legal definition of "terrorism" which includes any expression of support for the armed struggle the PCP is leading.

Quickly after Meche's arrest, a worldwide campaign backed by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was launched to prevent the Peruvian authorities from completing their attempts to kill this revolutionary fighter held in the Callao women's prison along with 84 other women suspected of being revolutionaries. These women have all been repeatedly assaulted.

Indications are that comrade Meche is still alive, maintaining her revolutionary stand despite extensive torture, upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the line of PCP Chairman Gonzalo, and continuing to fight from within the Callao prison itself. The 17 December 1984 issue of the Peruvian magazine *Equis X* published her response to written questions the magazine had submitted to her. The interview appears to be authentic.

Her reply is dated 5 December 1984. Asked her opinion of the legal process which had just ended, she is quoted as saying that she has been sentenced "for being a communist, for having taken up this most powerful ideology...."

"Throughout the whole trial the judiciary, specifically the Seventh Court, has taken a political position in favour of the government and the system. The so-called autonomous judiciary has operated through a concoction of oppressive laws: Decree 46 which is a truly terrorist law...."

"The trial has been a shameful and disgusting comedy, where the judges, degraded and servile, pretended to be impartial and serve 'justice.' They praised and justified inconsistent testimony that not even the PIPs [undercover police—*AWTW*] at the trial could support, testimony which could not even be taken as indirect reference. There is not the slightest proof of any of the acts I have been accused of; but their so-called 'criterion of conscience' was enough for them to convict me. Deaf and blind reactionary justice

has been put into motion in defense of the old worn-out exploitative and oppressive order, demonstrating even more deeply its counterrevolutionary essence, exposing even more the black entrails of the legal system and the sacred judiciary. But this legal butchery and its sentences cannot bend the sons and daughters of the people who have stood up and defied them in the Revolution...."

"I was arrested on the 20th of July by two women police and remained in the hands of the Civil Guard until the 23rd. During those days the reaction tortured me in every way, seeking to break my will and to force me to make false confessions by the most filthy and perverted humiliations aimed at my revolutionary morale...."

"Then I was transferred to DIRCOTE [the special "antiterrorist" police—*AWTW*], remaining in their dark dungeons until Saturday August 4th. I was subjected to three kinds of torture: 1) Psychological warfare, consisting of being kept standing for four days on end without sleep or rest, threatened, constantly watched and humiliated. 2) When they failed to achieve their objectives in this way they began beating various parts of my body, especially vital organs such as the kidneys, lungs and head. 3) Afterwards the tortures centred on what's known as "suspension," being hung in the air with hands tied behind my back, and beaten all over my body. Then I was submerged in acid and excrement, as they tried to annihilate me physically...."

"The Communist Party of Peru, in defense of our people's sacred rights, began the heroic armed struggle in May 1980. This far-reaching revolutionary act opened the doors of armed rebellion, of the uprising of the masses, especially the poor peasants, to conquer state power for the proletariat and the masses of people, unfolding a Democratic revolution in order to go on to the Socialist revolution and Communism, which is our final goal...."

Asked to reply to the government's charges that the guerrillas are carrying out massacres and assassinations, she is quoted as responding, "It is the State which is unleashing counterrevolutionary

warfare against the people and their party. The Armed Forces were sent in at the end of 1982 as the main force in this counterrevolutionary war, and the only method they found to hold back the party and the armed struggle is slaughter.... That is their democracy and their respect for human life. There are no rights to be respected, only cruelty, brutality and mad rage; this is how they want to stop the revolution. The reaction dreams of drowning the revolution in blood, but this blood they are shedding is making the revolution grow. These reactionary hyenas are dreaming of feeding on the carcasses of the people, but the powerful flames of the armed struggle will burn them up. The party's goal is to change the world; the new world will defeat the old one.

"The reaction has started a campaign against the party. There has been a serious plot to blame the party for the assassination of the United Left mayor in Huancayo, which it did not do. They also accused us of killing children in Blacon, Sachabamba and elsewhere, but they always leave their tracks and the truth comes out in the end. The government, the Armed Forces and the police are the ones carrying out the massacres and the genocide they blame us for, but the truth is coming out and this campaign is backfiring against them. The party applies its sanctions through people's trials and not through massacres; the people's justice that is marching forward, the people's hammer and shield, does not use cruelty, brutality or rage. Such acts are part of the government's political plan and part of how they are setting the stage for their elections [referring to the April 1985 presidential elections—*AWTW*]."

Comrade Meche is also quoted as saying, "What is developing today is a political conjuncture in which the forces of two republics confront each other. One of them is outmoded, rotten and shot through with its own contradictions; the other, a new republic, a new social order, a new dictatorship which is the first really free republic in our country, is arising from the masses themselves in the heat of the armed struggle...."

## New Pamphlet from Ayacucho:

# "After the Papal Offensive... The Election Hoax"

In February 1985, on the heels of the Pope's counterrevolutionary crusade, the following call for a boycott of Peru's April 1985 presidential elections began circulating. This short illegal pamphlet is addressed to the people of the department of Ayacucho, whose capital is the city of the same name. It is signed by the Communist Party of Peru—"Bases" (local organization). The exigencies of war have made it difficult to quickly verify that this pamphlet is an official party statement. In the past there have been cases of leaflets and other materials fabricated by the enemy and falsely attributed to the PCP. Nevertheless, this pamphlet seems to be authentic. The PCP not only called for a boycott of the elections, in which voting is mandatory and not voting a dangerous act, but also declared its intention to prevent the elections from taking place in the areas where the revolutionary forces are powerful enough. -ed.

*"The exploiting class always resorts to violence whenever its existence is endangered. The moment it is threatened, the exploiting class goes all-out to violently annihilate the revolution....It also uses violence to repress the revolutionary people as soon as they arise to seize power."*

—Chairman Mao Tsetung  
**People of Ayacucho!**

The Communist Party of Peru salutes you and honours you, as today, repeating your glorious heroic exploits of past combat, you rise up, a heroic and unbreachable bastion of the armed struggle, of the peasant war which is shaking the reactionary Peruvian state to its very foundations.

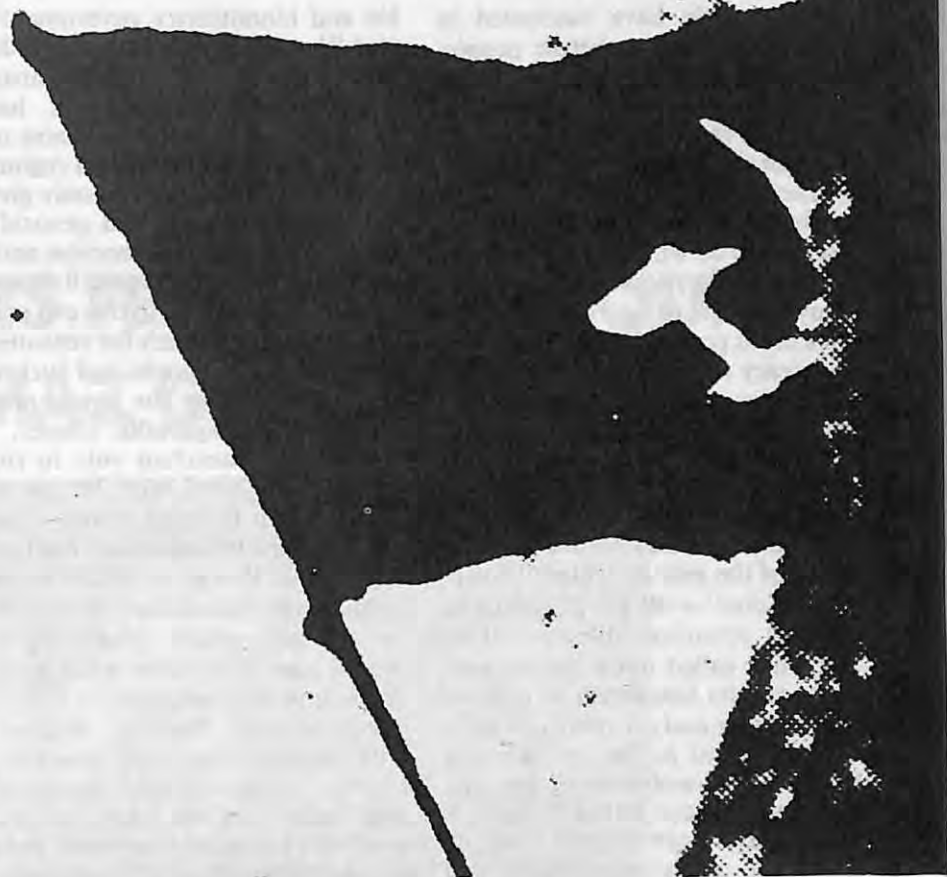
### Five Years of Combat

It has been almost five years since May 17th 1980, when from within the very bowels of your centuries-old poverty and smoldering rebellion, a concrete hope, the armed struggle, was defiantly unfurled amidst scorching fire. A handful of the, sons and daughters of our fatherland, flesh of your own flesh,

dared to take up arms to overthrow the old exploiting order and create a new world, a world truly for the people, for whom the existing world is nothing but growing misery and oppression.

These five years, fleeting but rich in accomplishments, have been tortuous, leaving us resounding victories and instructive setbacks. Overall, it has been immensely positive: more than 20,000 actions, ranging from simple armed agitation to excellent, highly developed guerrilla actions. Our party has multiplied its forces several times over. A People's Guerrilla Army made up of thousands of men and women, especially poor peasants, has been tempered in more than two years of struggle against the reactionary Armed Forces. Most importantly, a new state power is taking shape in hundreds of People's Committees which carry out state functions; the revolutionary base areas are being established and advancing in the construction of a People's New Democratic Republic.

All these things are growing out of



the barrels of guns. New things, things which belong to the people, are growing out of the armed struggle, and destroying the old and reactionary. We emphasise that our greatest advances have been won precisely during the two years since the direct intervention of the Armed Forces of the outmoded and rotten Peruvian state.

#### **Repression, Genocide and Elections**

This state, because of its class nature as a landlord-bureaucrat dictatorship subordinated to imperialism, particularly Yankee imperialism, responded to the armed struggle with persecution and police repression, applying an evil policy of "steal all, burn all and kill all." In addition, arrests, torture, annihilation and massacres were unleashed against our people. Concentration camps were filled with the people's sons and daughters, and their blood ran in torrents. But this could not make us bow down, nor can it. The concentration camps have become shining trenches from which to fight. For every one that falls a hundred

rise, swelling the fighting ranks and pushing forward the creation of new People's Committees, the basis of the New Power.

As a result, at the end of 1982 the reactionary Armed Forces intervened directly, occupying Ayacucho particularly. Every armed body has its class nature and reflects the strength of the State it defends. Their very actions have proved the truth of this statement: first they used *mesnadas* [bands of vigilantes—*AWTW*] made up of lesser landlords and their lackeys, protected and directed by the reactionary Armed Forces. Under threat of death they tried to get the masses to murder the so-called "terrorists," which led to the plotting of cowardly massacres such as that of the journalists [the eight reporters killed January 1983 near Uchuraccay, Ayacucho—*AWTW*]. When this plan failed they resorted to genocide, before and after the municipal elections [November 1983—*AWTW*], and to the so-called "disappearances" which are no more than unpunished foul

murders.

But since these "new plans" also proved incapable of driving the masses of people away from us, they began levelling villages and crops, robbing the peasants of everything so as to create their own version of "strategic hamlets." They tried to use the reactionary Armed Forces to re-establish the power of the landlords and subject a part of the masses to the barracks discipline of militarised corporativisation [i.e., fascism—*AWTW*].

To achieve this they have carried out sinister offensives, systematic, repeated genocidal butchery which has taken thousands of lives. But all of this you have endured and are enduring, people of Ayacucho, because history has tempered you and you know that the armed struggle that you sustain, you above all, with your bread, your shelter, your strength and your blood is the final struggle for our emancipation, for the redemption of the people through this peasant war ardently led by the party. But since neither destruction, persecution, torture

nor genocide have succeeded in bowing you down, heroic people, warriors for a just cause, today they bring to your flourishing revolutionary soil the representative of the State of the Vatican, the Pope, head of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, of the powerful Roman Curate, who has nothing to do with the religious sentiments of the people except to lord it over them, to use them for the sake of his power, his zeal to impose theocracy to defend the old order. And what has this Pope done in Ayacucho? Bless the murderers' rifles, consecrate the sinister graves, shelter torture and above all absolve the notorious band of Cains starting with the political-military chief [head of the military-ruled "Emergency Zone"—*AWTW*] Mori Orzo and his strutting followers. This Pope has called upon the government and its henchmen to destroy us promptly and efficiently. This is the essence of it; the rest is just a bunch of old words about how the root cause of our armed struggle is sin. Today, as always, this is simply a defense of the exploitative and oppressive order, and concretely a defense of the Belaunde government's politics of genocide and starvation, since it is this president who heads the counterrevolution.

Now that the Papal offensive is over comes the electoral spectacle. The old order of poverty and bloodshed needs the people to pick someone to oppress them in the name of "representative democracy," the sacrosanct order of the landlord-bureaucrat dictatorship, which at the moment appears to be parliamentary but in reality has its centre in the Executive, the bureaucracy and most of all in the forces of repression, especially the Armed Forces.

It is fitting to ask what have the people gotten out of five years of so-called democracy [since the resignation of the previous government, a military junta—*AWTW*], out of that phony "Belaunde the democrat" and his retinue, and out of the so-called opposition? In short, what the people have gotten with this counterfeit two-faced coin is: nothing. Nothing except misery and blood. So what is there to vote for? To support some new misera-

ble and bloodthirsty government? No! We cannot vote because to do so is to praise the bloodthirsty regime and the hunger it has brought about, and even worse to help support it, to defend a regime whose class character can only give rise to more hunger and genocide and which cannot do otherwise until with arms in hand we make it disappear, putting an end to this evil and ancient hysteria which for centuries has starved the people and sucked their blood, under the armed protection of its imperialist master.

Can an Ayacuchan vote in the coming elections? No! To do so would mean praising poverty and genocide, the bloodbath inflicted on Ayacucho. Worse, it would mean helping the installation of a new government whose class reality would lead it to cause even more starvation and genocide.

Ayacuchan! Father, mother, wife, brother, sister, son, daughter, relative of those vilely murdered and made to disappear, can you vote? Do you want your loved ones murdered once again? Do you want to help in the murder of others? You cannot do it—the blood of the dead would boil in your veins and their bodies turn over in your mind, because you would be killing them yourself, raising the assassin's knife to spill the blood of your own children. No—in Peru and especially in Ayacucho, the only choice is not to vote. Let the reaction solve its own problems, let it hatch plans for its horsemen of the apocalypse, hunger and genocide. It is their problem, not ours. We cannot vote! We cannot commit treason! The people of Ayacucho have never been traitors.

#### **Develop the Armed Struggle**

The armed struggle was born and took root in the fertile strength of the historically combative people of Ayacucho. There it has won its greatest successes, snatching the laurels from death itself. Thus the armed struggle blazes thunderously and triumphantly against the silence and the lies of cowardly deserters and the reaction's perverted and cynical campaigns. What was once a fire and is now a roaring blaze in Ayacucho is expanding against wind

and storm towards the Centre, North and South, towards the jungle highlands and at some points to the coast. The liberating fire is intensifying and expanding, and expand it will, burning higher and higher until the peasant war led by our party becomes invincible people's war, as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought teaches us.

People of Ayacucho! Peasant, worker, labourer, woman, Ayacuchan youth! Remember, there are only two powers on this earth today: the reactionary armed forces and the disorganised people, but our people is not what it used to be, it is a people more and more organised in arms by the revolutionary war itself, and its invincibility will make itself manifest, because it has seized upon Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the only truly revolutionary science on earth and a great and proven arm for transformation, because it has a Communist Party that guides it, because it relies on the masses, especially the peasants, and furthermore because it enjoys international revolutionary support, especially from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Comrade, fighter, fellow Ayacuchan, you know all this already, because you've seen it and you see it still every day with your own eyes; you experience it in your own participation. You are a witness before Peru and the world! And you, more than any other people, have already given so much warm and generous blood, because your mind, your will, your spirit shout out to our fatherland and the Earth: Without State Power, All Is Illusion!

Long Live the Heroic People of Ayacucho!

Long Live the Armed Struggle!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Fight and Resist, Repudiate the Genocidal Regime's Elections and Further Develop the Armed Struggle! ■

## PUNJAB ARTS FESTIVAL HONOURS YILMAZ GÜNEY



*Gursharan Singh accepting photos of Yilmaz Güney.*

**By Our Special Correspondent**

**Jalandhar:** On 26th January this year, when the Indian rulers and their officials were busy celebrating their "Republic Day" at a state-managed show in a stadium here, the people of Jalandhar witnessed another programme in Desh Bhagat Yaadgar Hall (a hall built in memory of revolutionary martyrs).

The programme was organised under the auspices of Punjab Lok Sabha Manch (Punjab people's cultural forum) with Gursharan Singh, an eminent and very popular Punjab dramatist, as its president. The programme featured revolutionary culture which had made its way into Punjab during the historic Naxalbari uprising of the late 1960s. By noon the hall was

packed to capacity with nearly 1500 revolutionary workers, democrats and cultural workers, hailing from all over the state. Many Nepalese workers also participated.

The programme began with the singing of the *Internationale* and lasted over 17 hours. It was comprised of revolutionary songs, poems and plays. The whole night-long session of plays was dedicated to Yilmaz Güney, the great revolutionary cinematographer. At the beginning of the session, all the men, women and children in the audience stood in their seats and observed two minutes of silence in memory of this great revolutionary artist. "Art is a weapon, art is an arm—art is a language....If you don't respect the

language of art then this weapon kills you." This quote from Yilmaz on art was written on a large decorative banner hung on the stage.

The hall echoed with revolutionary slogans as a set of photographs from Yilmaz's life and films (taken from *A World To Win*) was presented to Gursharan Singh, a man who some consider the Yilmaz Güney of Punjab. Gursharan Singh, who found it difficult to hold his emotions at this honour, expressed his resolve to work with even greater dedication and conviction for the revolution and called upon cultural workers all over the globe to learn from Yilmaz's spirit in their struggle for people's culture. ■

# Report from the Revolutionary Communist Union (Dominican Republic)

By Wilberto Ventura\*

Following are excerpts from a political report presented in the latter part of 1984 to an important meeting of the Revolutionary Communist Union of the Dominican Republic, a participating organisation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

The current situation in the Dominican Republic which forms the context of this report is one of repeated explosions of mass discontent. Last year, April 23 and 24, 1984, saw two days of major street fighting and clashes with the police and armed forces after the government announced a series of austerity measures imposed at the order of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (for a first-hand account, see *AWTW* 85/1). Such outbreaks of what are becoming known as "IMF riots" are beginning to threaten the political stability of countries throughout Latin America and other regions dominated by the Western bloc imperialist powers. This includes the January 1985 outbreaks in Jamaica which were very much like those in the nearby Dominican Republic.

This past January Dominican President Jorge Blanco announced another round of price increases ordered by the IMF in return for emergency credits and a delay on interest payments due in 1985 on the Dominican government's \$2.6 billion debt. This meant an increase

of up to 70 % in the cost of gas and oil, coffee, eggs, medicine and rice—until recently the main staple of the Dominican people but now becoming a luxury for many. Living standards in the Dominican Republic, which have gone from bad to worse while foreign capital fattened on it, are plummeting.

Even before Blanco's January announcement, police and army patrols dominated the streets of the capital city of Santo Domingo and other cities, carrying out frequent arrests and house searches. In the earlier part of the month there were sporadic clashes in Santo Domingo, San Cristobal, San Francisco and Santiago. In the wake of Blanco's announcement, the armed patrols were stepped up. On the 11th of February came the long-expected social explosion, when once again thousands of Dominicans took to the streets to fight the forces of order. Four people were officially reported killed in Santo Domingo. On that day there was a general strike closing down all the factories and stores and emptying the streets of the usually ubiquitous street vendors. The following day, the 12th of February, Blanco announced a reduction of 20 % on many of the new prices he had just announced.

But economic and political conditions in the Dominican Republic and the imperialist system as a whole today rule out a return to stability; the living conditions of the masses of people and the political conditions for the ruling classes in this country can only worsen, and not necessarily in a straight line or at an even rate of fall. As the *Declaration*

of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement puts it, "Marxist-Leninists must seize hold of the revolutionary possibilities that are developing rapidly and lead the masses in stepping up the revolutionary struggle on all fronts—beginning revolutionary warfare where that is possible, stepping up preparations where the conditions for such revolutionary warfare are not yet ripe."

Not included in these excerpts is the opening section, on the international situation, which centres on the growing possibility of a Third World War and heightened opportunities for revolution in a whole number of countries, including imperialist countries. It also underlines the importance in this situation of the foundation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, and gives special attention to the role being played in today's world by the revolutionary war being waged under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru. ed.

## The Political, Economic and Social Situation in the Dominican Republic

We have to be very clear on what we're doing and what we have to do, and on the goals the Dominican revolutionary proletariat must achieve. Our organisation is four years old now and it has to be putting on a grown-up's long pants. It's not that in such and such short period of time we have to reach some abnormal level of understanding about everything. What we have to do is to be prepared to take up—and have the guts to take up—the difficult task of building the par-

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ty of the proletariat.

This is what's demanded of us, urgently but not hastily, by the political conjuncture the Dominican Republic is going through, when imperialist domination is becoming more cruel and sadistic, but also when the masses of people are constantly defying the power of the ruling class, in a spontaneous way, because they're sick and tired of being exploited and oppressed by foreign and Dominican bandits. Our role is not just to sit and watch the masses rise up spontaneously, leaving them to whatever happens, or in other words, whatever the imperialists do to them. Whenever the masses find themselves defenseless and without correct and revolutionary political leadership, the imperialists trick them and massacre them.

We have to build a powerful revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing the imperialist ruling class and carrying out the social transformations that our process requires and so advance along the road of world revolution. Imperialist domination has the Dominican Republic tangled up in a thousand threads. The multinationals here do whatever they want; they have their own government within the Dominican state, islands of power, where they don't even bother to hide the fact that they don't pay taxes and where they even have their own private police and send their stooges to kill revolutionaries who do political work among the workers in their enterprises....

But imperialist domination in the Dominican Republic also counts on the unwavering support of the government—of the governments that rotate in and out of office—and these governments use all the resources of the state, especially the armed forces and national police, to maintain imperialist domination, to maintain neocolonialism despite their claims of independence from Yankee imperialism. Obviously the CIA and the “military assistance group” that works out of the U.S. embassy are also mechanisms the U.S. uses to keep us in its yoke. There are plenty of CIA agents walking around Dominican streets in religious disguise preaching the

word of “God.” Oh yes, the word of “God” these gentlemen are preaching is meant to drag us down and tranquilise the masses, who are told that all the evils that have befallen us are the work of the times and destiny....

U.S. imperialism has us sunk up to the elbows, especially the Dominican youth, in all kinds of drugs, corrupting the morals of the overwhelming majority of youth who find themselves getting into delinquency to be able to buy drugs, drowning the fighting rebel spirit of part of our youth. It is undeniable that since the 1965 Yankee invasion imperialism has used drugs to pacify the masses, and this has led to the degeneration of thousands of youth who have been dragged down by drugs. This has held back the people's struggle and to some extent has neutralised the formation and consolidation of strong organisations in the slums.

Today the Dominican Republic is a bridge used by imperialism for its drug traffic. The authorities discover multimillion-dollar drug cargo coming from all over the world, bound for the U.S., and the government looks on with complicity or indifference. It never touches the drug traffic, because it's part of their business with their northern bosses, Yankee imperialism.

As far as the ruling class's culture is concerned, we're completely saturated with imperialist cultural penetration, with its nasty idols and reactionary values. Michael Jackson, John Travolta, Agent 007, Robert Wagner and all the rest of that U.S. artistic trash are sent to invade Dominican society, as they try to fill our heads with the feeling that our highest aspiration is to be the equal of an American, that Americans are superior to us, so we should get down on our knees before some raggedy American tourist....

#### **Communist Leadership and the Proletariat**

The Dominican working class has grown with the development of capitalist relations of production, and nobody can deny the revolutionary role of the proletariat—nobody, that is, except a despicable petit bourgeois vile traitor like these

“leftists” we've got around here who're more like priests than “leftists.” Society is more and more torn apart in a deadly class struggle, fundamentally between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as well as between Yankee imperialism and all the oppressed, and this second contradiction is the one we have to resolve first to open the breach to a showdown between classes, where “whoever has the most spit can eat the most crackers,” as the old Dominican song says....

The working class may be a relatively young class in our social development, but its revolutionary role is indisputable. The centre of communist work must be in this class, the consistently revolutionary class in capitalist society when all is said and done, the class that has the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis of its practical actions.

Without falling into workerism, the Revolutionary Communist Union should basically orient its work toward the working class, in political and organisational terms, fusing with the most advanced section to build the communist party, forming a revolutionary leadership around which the whole Dominican revolutionary movement can revolve. We have to break the separation between scientific socialism and the spontaneous workers movement. This separation has caused profound setbacks for the Dominican revolution, because there are daily outbreaks of protest, but without revolutionary political leadership they never go beyond the boundaries of spontaneity. Within them the opportunists and revisionists raise themselves up as the “bosses” of the movement, soaking the struggle of the Dominican working class in reformism....

This is the work we Dominican revolutionary communists must carry out because if we don't the Dominican working class will continue to be impotent against the ruling class. This work requires a great deal of patience because hastiness could lead us to defeat and to even greater setbacks for the revolution. Clearly the work of party-building is pressing and urgent because the

masses are being rapidly and irreversibly drawn into political life both by the deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system, which has the ruling class's political representatives trapped in its grip, and by the imperialist hunger, misery and repression which grow more widespread and deeper every day....

The Dominican revolution can't continue moving along the road of economism, reformism, anarcho-syndicalism and petit-bourgeois pettiness. We have to build a truly revolutionary movement guided by a communist party with unbreakable links to the working class and daringly lead it towards the conquest of political power, overthrowing the ruling class and establishing a New Democratic government which is the way to achieve socialism and establish the proletariat's revolutionary dictatorship.

#### A Few Words About the Peasantry

The Dominican countryside has undergone substantial changes. They demand definition urgently, in order to determine the role of the various social classes in the countryside and to understand how the class struggle in the countryside is unfolding. We can emphasise that U.S. imperialism has introduced capitalist production relations in the countryside without wiping out the semifeudal relations. In a way we can say that U.S. imperialism maintains hybrid relations of production in the countryside, although the tendency is toward the development of capitalist relations of production.

Since the launching of the so-called "Agrarian Code" and Balaguer's Agrarian Laws in 1972, the economic structure in the countryside has been modified bit by bit, although of course according to the necessities of imperialist expansion and plunder. But what forced U.S. imperialism to make certain modifications in the organisation of agriculture, in cahoots with the landlords, was the great upsurge of the masses of peasants, who seized the land, tearing down the landlords' barbed-wire fences. Everyone knows about the great peasant struggles where they seized lands with machetes in their hands, occupying hundreds of thousands of

hectares. Often this land had been left untilled or in the hands of some landlord who only seeded them for pasture for his cows.

The struggle to seize land in the countryside is far from over. More than 300,000 peasant families are demanding a piece of land to work, and the slogan "land to the tiller" continues to be correct. This slogan inspired a whole period of popular struggle in the countryside, forcing the imperialists to apply their infamous peasant counterinsurgency policies through Balaguer's "Agrarian Laws," which at the end of the day did not resolve the land problem in favour of the masses of peasants.

It's necessary to emphasise that the distribution of the land into the hands of the peasants or a struggle by thousands of peasant families for the right to own a little piece of land is not the centre of the peasant struggle, since the various successive governments and U.S. imperialism, through the Dominican Agrarian Institute, have succeeded in giving land to thousands of families in the so-called Collective Projects, diminishing the struggle of the broad masses of peasants who believed that this would resolve their tremendous problems....

These Collective Agrarian Projects turn the peasants into landowners, but they face serious problems, with no technical assistance and often not even the seeds to sow the land. Many times the peasants are forced to sell their parcel of land to some landlord because they aren't in any position to make it produce.

In the Dominican countryside there are a lot of ways of squeezing money out of the peasants. The government doesn't give the peasants the help they need, while it allows unscrupulous intermediaries to control the marketing of their products, and sometimes, though it might seem ironic, it turns out that the "peasants" given the title to state lands are really well-known landlords. What good is it to the peasant to have the title to some property when he can't even seed his "own" land? Isn't the peasant at the mercy of the voracious intermediaries protected by the government?...

Along with all this there are the problems of health and of illiteracy in the countryside. Hundreds of peasants hurt in some way while working in the fields die trying to make it to a city because there are no hospitals in the countryside. For schools, it's the same thing: a Dominican peasant who wants to become literate has to move to a city somehow, because the lack of schools in the countryside is an evil that the Dominican ruling class does not want to see resolved—it doesn't want the peasant to learn how to read and write. The imperialists and the government find it more convenient to keep the peasants backward and ignorant. One result of this is that the bourgeoisie's politicians are always trying to take advantage of the peasants in their various electoral contests, fooling them with empty promises, and treating them as a class that's easily deceived because of its lack of revolutionary political consciousness.

So the picture of the classes in the Dominican countryside can be summarised like this: thousands and thousands of landless families (poor peasants); the landlords (who monopolise millions of hectares of land); small landowners who received their land from the government in the so-called Collective Projects, but often without technical assistance or seeds to sow; and thousands and thousands of agricultural workers who cut rice or sugarcane, work in the dairy industry, etc. In the Dominican countryside there is a combination of the struggle for land by the landless peasants and the struggle of the small propertyholders for better technical assistance and aid from the government so that they can work their land, as well as the struggle of the agricultural workers against the exploitation of the capitalist barons.

It has to be emphasised that a great many peasants have two different roles in the countryside: during the sugarcane harvest they are workers in the cane plantations and the sugar mills, while the other six months of the year they work on a landlord's estate or on their own small parcel. This creates an interesting situation in which the same masses of peasants carry out dif-

ferent productive functions. This is very important because to some extent it creates better conditions for our work as revolutionary communists to build the worker-peasant unity or alliance necessary to defeat imperialism and the whole ruling class, an alliance which requires drawing the great majority of the masses of peasants into the revolutionary struggle against the exploiters and oppressors. Besides the fact that the peasants are the revolutionary proletariat's reliable and necessary allies, we are sure that the Dominican countryside will be ablaze with anti-imperialist struggle as the base area for the resistance against the Yankee troops who will invade if we overthrow their current government. This takes us to the question of the revolutionary strategy for confronting the imperialists in our society, which deserves to be treated in its own right.

What must be emphasised here is the necessity of working among the masses of peasants in order to unite them with the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle against the all-around exploiters of the Dominican people. I'm completely confident that we have the basis for this work and that it can be relatively easy for us, for the simple reason that organising and leading the agricultural workers guarantees the alliance with the poor peasants, since many ties unite these two. Without neglecting the work in the factories to win over the best elements among the proletariat, we have to work in the countryside, because it is the countryside that constitutes the base area for the Dominican revolution's resistance.

### Work Among the Students

Nobody doubts that the students, who are part of the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie, have played a great role in the Dominican revolutionary struggle, awakening the working class itself to political life. But with the passage of time and the growth of capitalist relations of production creating a proletariat in our society, the students have become a secondary force in the Dominican class struggle. Today we could even say that because the students are

under the leadership of the opportunists and revisionists they really don't inspire any part of the oppressed to rebel. The student scene has been plagued with conservatism and concerned only with academic problems, often showing indifference to the demands and the struggles of the working class and the peasants.

We have to shake up the student scene so that it can fight with all the fearlessness which has characterised it, while keeping in mind that they are not the vanguard of the revolution nor are the students the ones called to lead the working class and the rest of the oppressed—this place of honour must be taken by the working class. But it will be impossible for the students to launch a truly rebellious protest against the capitalist system without a political vanguard which leads all the oppressed on this same road and coordinates the whole struggle of the exploited towards the overthrow of this rotten system—in other words, without the existence of a revolutionary communist party....

### Revolutionary Crisis and the Role of the Revolutionary Communists

After the April 1984 events shook the whole society, all the political analysts of the "left" as well as the right have noted a profound change in the Dominican political situation. Basically, within the FID [Front of the Dominican Left, a revisionist and social democratic agglomeration—*AWTW*], the idea that we are on the threshold of revolution has become widespread. The theory of "imminent revolution" has arisen, the theory that we are in a pre-revolutionary situation. We also hold that this is a pre-revolutionary situation, but our analysis is very different from the FID's on this matter.

The FID wants to paint itself as the people's vanguard, and in the face of the imminent protests arising from the measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund on this country, enforced by the PRD [ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party—*AWTW*] through bloodshed and gunfire, these gentlemen want to become the negotiators for whatever popular struggle arises.

This was what happened in the April events, although they were not the leaders of the spontaneous movement which arose and took on an insurrectional colouring. In the midst of that tremendous social tumult, they called for a "general strike" so that the government would appoint them as the leaders of the movement and thus be able to suffocate the waves of mass upsurge whose fury was knocking down everything in its path and sowing panic throughout the ruling class.

But it is true that we are in a pre-revolutionary situation, principally because of the multiplication of hunger and deprivation among the people and the rapid deterioration of their living conditions—the masses are no longer in a mood to put up with this living death.... Although hunger and deprivation are deepening and famine is appearing on the Dominican social horizon, the subjective conditions... do not exist, and this is a problem for us, since we have to give the coming struggle clear guidance so that the people do not become cannonfodder, pitilessly and defenselessly massacred, as happened during the past April events.

Besides, the FID's talk about the "imminent revolution" is just a lot of empty threats meant to confuse the masses. We know very well that these gentlemen of the FID just drool a lot of nonsense; they talk about "revolution" but they don't do anything to prepare for it nor do they take the message of revolution to the masses....

This has to be seen as a period of political, organisational and military preparation of the masses in terms of the road we have to start out on during this critical period for the ruling class when hunger, deprivation and repression against the people are spreading rapidly....

If a revolutionary situation is approaching, if the ruling class, that is, those on top, can't go on ruling the people according to their whims any longer and those on the bottom will no longer tolerate living under this capitalist yoke, then we must prepare the masses for the coming battles, battles in which it is possible that the revolution may triumph.

# Revolutionary Nigerian Musician Jailed

Fela Anikulapo Kuti is sitting in a Nigerian jail cell. On December 25th, the Nigerian Supreme Military Council announced the outrageous conviction and five-year prison sentence of this rebel "Afrobeat" musician, which stem from trumped-up currency law violations. In August 1984, Fela was leaving for a concert tour of the U.S. with his band, Egypt 80, when the Nigerian customs police, after strip-searching and individually escorting each member onto the plane, arrested him, supposedly for "smuggling" £1600 out of the country. Fela's band and dancers had to tour without him.

Nigerian law permits a maximum of £80 for outside travel. But Fela was slapped with charges of currency trafficking, even though the £1600 was to cover touring expenses for all thirty-six of his band members!...well within the limit. After his release, the authorities refused to let him join the band, so he called a press conference, which is illegal in Nigeria. He was promptly rearrested, this time for "defamation" of the government—before he even had time to denounce them. Thrown into prison, he was then tried on October 22nd for the bogus currency charges which were reinstated, and sentenced to five years on November 8th. The Military Council's December 25th ratification of his conviction and sentencing left him without any legal appeals, according to Nigerian law.

Clearly it is Fela's music and his revolutionary nationalist hatred of imperialism and neo-colonialism that the Nigerian authorities, most likely with the ample cooperation of the U.S. government, are anxious to keep behind bars. His "Afrobeat," or what some call African jazz, has become immensely popular throughout the world, a driving



combination of funk, soul and jazz, rooted in African national forms such as the ancient griot tradition of "singing" the news. Treating music as what he considers "the weapon of the future," Fela sings against oppression, mocking both the I.T.T.'s (International Thief Thiefs as one of his songs is titled) stalking Africa, and the vagabonds in power, or VIPs, as he calls them. This has brought him to tangle more than once with the corrupt Nigerian rulers he likes to expose.

The Nigerian authorities have been on the warpath against him for years, jailing him repeatedly, banning his music, and stealing his royalties. In 1970 he and his band set up a village in a poor section of Lagos which grew into a cultural and political centre of resistance to the Westernisation of Nigeria, attracting more and more followers. Kalakuta came to be known as a sort of independent "republic," naturally antagonising the military junta. Machine guns and bazookas blazing, a thousand Nigerian soldiers stormed and destroyed his compound in February 1977 making

numerous arrests and reportedly raping women. Fela's mother died of complications from a beating there, and Fela was forced into exile for a year.

Fela Kuti is easily one of the most popular musicians in West Africa today, and his more than 50 albums have sold in the hundreds of thousands all over the world. Yet he has had long-standing difficulties getting a major record contract, and a certain collaboration has existed between the U.S. and Nigerian bourgeoisies, preventing large-scale promotion of Fela and his music. That he was on the verge of breaking through this with his first U.S. concert tour since 1969 makes the timing of this clampdown very foul indeed. Furthermore, just before he was stopped from going to the U.S. he had signed a contract but the record company had refused to put up money for the tour. Then, after all the "political problems" that ensued, they dropped him. It is obvious that the Nigerian government in particular is bent on silencing this rebellious artist whose music and wide international popularity they

## New Zealand:

# Trouble on Queen St.

### Letter from Red Flag\*

On Friday, December 7th, a political earthquake shook Auckland, New Zealand, staggering the city fathers and businessmen and the country's rulers. This was the most violent battle of Queen Street since the first one over 50 years ago, in 1932, when starving unemployed smashed and looted shops. On this occasion thousands of young people battled police and raced down the street smashing shop windows, pillaging and setting fire to cars. Years of simmering anger and frustration, and particularly hostility towards the guardians of the law, suddenly burst all restraints and boiled over into violent action....

Most of those involved were young, probably about half of them unemployed, and some were teenagers of about 14 years of age. The damage was estimated at \$1 million. The apparently spontaneous and wild action of the young people sounded a warning signal to the government and the country's rulers: we don't give a damn about your laws, values and property of your system in which we have no faith or stake; what have we to lose when we have no job, no home, no future?

The storm began in the evening during a free rock concert in a central square. Some police present started to arrest some youths for alleged minor offenses. When other young people retaliated with beer cans the police stopped the concert so as to "maintain communication between their vehicles." This action provoked further anger and soon the cops were showered with a hailstorm of missiles. They were forced to don their "riot" gear. The main targets of the youth were the police and property, not concert-goers or shoppers. When the Mayoress of Auckland, Mrs. Tizard, went into Queen Street to see what was happening and right into the centre of the action, she remained untouched.

The seeds of Friday night, said a Member of Parliament, were sown in 1981 (the year of the nationwide demonstrations against apartheid and the tour of the Springbok rugby team from South Africa). At that time cops attacked demonstrators with vicious brutality, severely injuring many people. The seeds of discontent and hostility towards the police were also sown in an even earlier period—a period during which police 'task forces' prowled the streets and the pubs looking for 'overstayers' (Islanders presumed to

have overstayed their permits to live and work in New Zealand). Today, the hassling of young people, particularly of Maoris and Islanders, who may be waiting for busses at bus stops, still goes on. "We have absolutely no relationship with the police," a young Maori woman told a television interviewer.

A commission of enquiry into the riot on Queen Street has been set up by the government. Prevention of the consumption of alcohol at open-air concerts and the reformation of police methods, placing more emphasis on community police (the friendly local cop style), are being considered. But it hardly needs pointing out that whatever the commission comes up with no basic improvements or changes are possible under the present system....

A local daily editorial concluded by saying: "But as we clean up the question we ignore at our peril is—why?" It is indeed becoming a perilous situation for the ruling class and there is undoubtedly worse to come. True enough, the system creates its own gravediggers. ■

\* *Red Flag* is published by the New Zealand Red Flag Group.

find highly embarrassing. Entering the U.S. record industry would of course just raise the political price they have to pay to suppress him at home. In a London newspaper account published before Fela's conviction the Nigerian military government chief of staff is quoted as saying he would "make sure that Fela is jailed...and I hope he rots in jail."

From his prison cell, Fela wrote to a friend: "I will never stop fighting.

This [jail] only makes me stronger, and I hope it's giving my people more courage to do their part in the struggle." Support concerts are planned in the U.S. and Europe to free Fela Kuti. Protest statements and telegrams from around the world have been sent to the Nigerian government demanding his immediate release.

In the progressive music scene of today, Fela Kuti definitely represents an interesting and impor-

tant phenomenon, a voice from Africa who has not stepped aside from the anti-imperialist struggle and who deserves support in this political attack. As a rebel artist whose political views largely coincide with Pan-Africanism, his music strikes a powerful anti-imperialist chord among the large audiences that follow him. His song "I.T.T." begins, "Na true I want talk again"...and this musician has something to say. Free Fela Kuti! ■

# On the Dynamism of Imperialism and the Fettering of Social Development

By Raymond Lotta\*

A question often raised by those familiar with the theses of *America in Decline* is this: how can one reconcile the stress *America in Decline* lays on the dynamism of imperialism with the Marxist-Leninist orientation that imperialism is a drag on the development of the productive forces? Is the work arguing that imperialism is a force for progress in the Third World? And this raises a related question. Is the crisis gripping the imperialist world economy today fundamentally a product of a system that simply stands opposed to the development of the productive forces (either in the metropolises or colonies)? Or is there perhaps some connection between the sustained and dynamic expansion of the thirty years following the end of World War 2—an expansion which not only took hold in significant parts of the Third World but which was also profoundly conditioned by the transformations effected there by imperialist penetration—and the ferocity of this crisis? It is the latter view that is upheld in *America in Decline*, and this view has occasioned con-

siderable controversy in some circles.

To appreciate the dimensions of what we are dealing with, consider a few revealing statistics. In 1975, the advanced countries accounted for 91.5% of world manufacturing value added. Gross domestic product per capita in these countries was \$2671; in the Third World this figure stood at \$266.<sup>1</sup> About 40% of the population of the Third World live in a state of absolute poverty, that is, 800 million people endure a condition of life characterised by malnutrition, illiteracy, and disease.<sup>2</sup> At the time this article is being written, a terrible famine is ravaging Africa (it has been estimated that the average African has 20% less food today than he or she did twenty years ago). But other trends can be observed as well. Between 1960 and 1976, exports of manufactures rose from 19.5% of total Third World exports (excluding fuels) to 45.1%—a dramatic change in the composition of trade.<sup>3</sup> Brazil is the eighth largest steel producer in the U.S.-led bloc; the largest textile factory in the world is located in Egypt; in South Korea, gross domestic investment has grown so rapidly since 1960 that industry now represents a larger share of gross domestic product than it does in the U.S. economy.<sup>4</sup> The postwar boom, which witnessed substantial increases in fixed capital investment, productivity, and purchasing power in the advanced countries, also saw rapid growth in not a few Third World countries, as well as a shift away from the traditional international division of labour in some of them. Great changes have

taken place in many parts of the Third World; and yet superexploitation and plunder, far from abating, have intensified. The horror of crisis has never been greater than it is in the Third World today.

This article will tackle some of the more contentious issues raised by these phenomena. The discussion will range over three interrelated topics: the Leninist versus stagnationist views of imperialism; some important trends of Third World development over the postwar period; and, finally, the treatment of the concept of "fettering" in Marx and Marxist literature. What is at stake here is an understanding of *development through contradiction and fettered development*.

## Baran and the Surplus Extraction Thesis

I want to begin by examining certain aspects of what is arguably the most influential attempt to theorise, from a stagnationist viewpoint, the effects of imperialism on the oppressed nations: Paul Baran's *The Political Economy of Growth*<sup>5</sup>. In that work, Baran sought to identify the mechanisms stimulating or retarding growth in the underdeveloped countries. Growth in both the advanced and dependent countries depends, he argued, on the magnitude and disposition of an economic surplus. This surplus is defined as a volume of output, specifically the difference between current net output and current consumption. The portion of total output which does not enter into consumption becomes available for investment, and so the surplus of society is equal to net investment

\*Raymond Lotta is the author (with Frank Shannon) of *America in Decline* (Chicago: Banner Press, 1984)

\*I use the term Third World because it has become widely accepted as a kind of shorthand for the peoples and countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its use here has no connection with the use of this term by the revisionist rulers of China and their notorious "Three Worlds Theory."

plus any capital inflows to the country in question (or net investment minus capital outflows). Now in the imperialist epoch, according to Baran, monopoly tends to slow down or impede investment—both in individual countries and on a world scale. Why? Because capital faces neither the same compulsion to invest (given the dwindling number of competitors and the prerogatives of size) nor the same inducement to invest (given a growing shortfall in demand resulting from the restricted consumption of the broad masses). Monopoly capital must find the means, therefore, to absorb a rising surplus (although not rising as fast as it would under classically competitive conditions). This problem is dealt with increasingly by recourse to wasteful and unproductive activities, notably sales and promotional expenditure and government spending.

Using these analytical tools, Baran presents an explanation for underdevelopment. The low level of investment within the oppressed countries and their relative backwardness result, on the one hand, from the systematic siphoning of surplus by the advanced countries and, on the other, from the chronically depressed state of demand linked with backward subsistence agriculture and cheap wage labour in the oppressed countries. Foreign capital is hostile to the development of the productive forces. It has a stake in the existing structure of cheap labour and export-oriented production, which are reinforced through alliances imperialism forges with landlord and comprador classes (who themselves are wasteful consumers of surplus). Any fledgling industry that might arise will be swamped in competition by the larger and more efficient firms of the advanced countries. The circle is thus closed: capitalism in the era of monopoly no longer maximises reinvestible surplus; and it drains surplus from the underdeveloped countries—a surplus which might otherwise be available for productive investment there.

Baran's work contains important insights. He correctly emphasised that the oppressed nations are not

simply re-enacting the preliminary stage of capitalist development of Europe but are subject to historically specific conditions which shape their economic structures. But, fundamentally, he failed to identify the dynamics of "development" and "underdevelopment" in the imperialist era. Where Lenin saw monopoly and competition as a unity of opposites, leading to the intensification of all of capital's antagonisms, Baran perceived the suppression of competition. Where Lenin held out the possibility that the export of capital could speed up development in the colonies, Baran saw the constriction of growth potential.<sup>6</sup> Not that Baran and his followers were unmindful of the growth that followed World War 2. But clinging to a certain conceptual schema, they could only offer eclectic and partial explanations for it (some of which will be discussed later). In many ways, Baran's concept of economic surplus (and its later incarnations in the work of Andre Gunder Frank) crystallises important methodological difficulties with much of the "dependency theory" rooted in Baran's work. Let us examine it more closely.<sup>7</sup>

The more influential "dependency" thinkers posit a world economy whose defining characteristic is its division (predating imperialism) into metropolises and satellites (or into a core and periphery) and whose motor is the transfer of surplus from the latter to the former. The result is development at one pole and underdevelopment at the other—"the development of underdevelopment." Baran's model is expressed in the different trajectories of India and Japan. At the time the British were installing themselves on the subcontinent, India was producing textiles which were cheaper and unquestionably superior to anything the Europeans were capable of. After the British gained sovereignty over the country, they reorganised the land tenure and land tax system to force the Indians to pay the costs of warfare and to subsidise ongoing occupation; agriculture was redirected toward raw cotton and opium production. Not only did col-

onial tribute exact a heavy burden, but as the industrial revolution accelerated, English machine-made textiles invaded the Indian market and wiped out the bulk of the handicraft industry. Japan, on the other hand, was spared this kind of external control and pillage. It eventually underwent industrialisation and modernisation. Baran implies that India (and other colonised countries) could very well have followed the same course, or at least would have fared better, had colonialism not intruded.

India was integrated into the world capitalist economy at gunpoint. The revenues obtained (which far exceeded what the British pumped in by the mid-19th century) and the pattern of trade imposed on it were linchpins of the British empire and the world economy it dominated. (India was England's "crown jewel.") The impact on traditional crafts and peasant agriculture was devastating. The rape of India is one of the great crimes of British capitalism. To suggest, however, as Baran does, that an India left to its own devices would have experienced more rapid (and balanced) growth is at best a metaphysical supposition. Marxists do not analyse social development that way. The principal issue here is not the speculative one of "what might have happened" but the theoretical one of the validity of the "surplus extraction thesis" as an explanation for underdevelopment. Central to this thesis is the notion that economic development is preeminently a technical process that depends on a given magnitude of surplus; if some of that surplus is lost, there will be a commensurate decline in growth. Hence the argument that foreign capital takes from the existing pool of surplus of the oppressed countries what it requires for its own accumulation needs, without releasing in these countries any corresponding expansion of the productive forces. Walter Rodney weaves these threads together in his documentary history of the European penetration of Africa: "... previous African development was blunted, halted, and turned back. In place of that interruption and blockade nothing of compensatory

value was introduced.”<sup>8</sup>

There are a number of problems with this sort of approach to political economy. First, while it is true that a surplus product presents itself as a sum of use values (or output), in actuality that surplus is the materialisation of surplus labour performed under specific production and social relations. Not only is it impossible to divorce growth from these relations, but its character and tempo depend critically upon them. To return to the original proposition: it is not necessarily the case that societies in the Third World were poised for an industrial “take-off” or could have made the leap to self-determining expanded reproduction simply because a surplus was present. The question is *how that surplus is generated and how it is used*, and this is a function of the existing development of the productive forces and, most particularly, the ensemble of production relations. It is the specific relations of capitalist production, compelling the revolutionisation of the productive forces as a matter of internal necessity, that make capitalism the most dynamic mode of exploitative production in world history.

Second, the process of surplus extraction must also be seen in the context of production relations. During and in the wake of the great voyages and expansion of trade routes of the late 15th and 16th centuries, incredible amounts of precious metals, luxury goods and raw materials were drained from the non-European world. *America in Decline* emphasises how the transmission of these riches nurtured the early shoots of capitalism in Europe. But surplus product was not primarily increased through the development of productive forces in the subjugated countries. Mercantile wealth grew chiefly through the extension of the global network of trade and manipulation of the terms of trade to European advantage, through alliances with local classes which relied on ever more intense squeezing of direct producers, and through conquest, looting, and plunder. The ruinous effects all this had on the subject societies were not the result of surplus extraction as such but of the *raison d’être* of merchant

capital, that is, how it extracted surplus and what it did with it. The point is that merchant capital at home was not founded on the capitalist mode of production and its logic of increasing output by means of raising productive efficiency. Merchant capital was largely indifferent to the modes with which it interacted, and even where it implanted new productive forms, particularly in the New World, these served the needs of mercantile activity.

### Imperialism and Precapitalist Modes of Production

As the capitalist mode of production consolidated itself and developed, the interactions between the advanced and oppressed countries came to be shaped by the requirements of capitalist commodity production. By the late 18th and early 19th centuries, industrial capital was aggressively seeking foreign outlets (in addition to areas of raw material supply) for the products of its burgeoning industries, and the uneven development of some, like textiles, greatly heightened the need for export markets. The forcible opening of the China market to foreign manufactures in the middle of the 19th century signaled the internationalisation of the circuit of commodity capital. The international flow of commodities and the requirements of the major capitalist centres were impacting throughout the world, at the level of the household, kin group, community, region, and class. Mao underscored the transformative effects of capitalist penetration into China. The last quarter of the 19th century was a transitional period that contained elements of the prehistory of imperialism and yet was a prelude to the modern era: the French were looting parts of West Africa, Germany’s breakneck growth from a backward position unleashed a major drive for colonies and foreign markets, and the British were exporting increasing sums of capital.

By the turn of the 20th century, the internationalisation of the production and social relations of capital established a new and qualitatively higher unity of the

world economy. Accumulation proceeds on the basis of what we have called a global complex of reproduction. The export of capital is the leading edge of the search for profitability and the formation of productive norms. The advanced countries’ penetration, integration, and subordination of the colonial (and neocolonial) countries takes on a deep systemic character. The dependent economies are not merely producing use values that serve the production needs of external economies. They are surrounded and permeated by imperialist accumulation, and its requirements and expansionary prospects chiefly determine the forms of linkage and combination with specific modes of production in these countries and the character and pace of their conservation or dissolution. None of the present-day capitalist powers in their infancy faced the sort of competition, unequal specialisation, or concentration of political and military power that local capitalism in the Third World does today; yet, the existence of imperialist financial and capital markets makes possible faster rates of growth (if more lurching and devastatingly disruptive)—in some of these countries and under certain circumstances—than were attainable in the incubatory period of western capitalism. It is principally through the process of internationalised accumulation that capitalism is spreading its roots throughout the contemporary world.

*America in Decline* devotes considerable attention to showing why the relationship between the oppressor and oppressed nations constitutes a basic fault line of the imperialist world economy. The higher returns yielded by investments in the Third World, and the socio-economic changes within it, interact profoundly with the imperialist economies and social formations. These multiple and complex linkages play a crucial role in the profitable reproduction of imperialist capital. But is this to be conceptualised as a stimulus for the advanced countries and a retarding force in the oppressed countries? Are we dealing with a logic of advance in the metropolises and a retrograde logic in

the Third World, vis-a-vis the development of the productive forces? I think not. In both cases, what is involved is a dynamic of expansion and crisis—which, it must be stressed, can only be understood as a single world process—although with features peculiar to the two basic types of countries. These peculiarities, provisionally spelled out in *AID*, do not, however, override the inner compulsion of capital to transform the world in its image and to revolutionise the instruments of production. Here it ought to be pointed out that Lenin's views on the effects of capital exports to the oppressed countries have held up while Baran's have not.

Imperialism did not emerge out of thin air in the world but evolved on the basis of the interaction of the laws of capital (in their historical concreteness) in the advanced countries with other historical processes taking place elsewhere in the world. World capitalism confronts and must subsume pre-existing social and economic structures. On a world-historic scale, imperialism works in the direction of undermining and transforming precapitalist modes. This occurs through the force of competition or through the direct capitalisation of the factors of production, including labour power—the result of which is to accelerate the expulsion of self-sustaining peasant and handicrafts labour from the countryside. But imperialism does not simply and solely destroy precapitalist modes. It will also reinforce them and create certain hybrid forms, even while these forms are brought ever more under the sway of capitalism and increasingly penetrated by the capitalist mode of production. Why will imperialism adapt such modes to its needs, or even “refeudalise” social relations under certain circumstances?

Thus far in the history of capitalism, it has been more in line with the imperatives of capital, that is more cost-efficient—given the way the world is structured—to utilise such precapitalist forms. Closely related, the reproduction of cheap labour power in the Third World, an essential condition of imperialist superexploitation, often

depends on a symbiotic connection between capitalist and noncapitalist forms. For example, the costs of subsistence for migratory labourers engaged in commercial estate agriculture can be thrown back onto the peasant or tribal communities from which they come; at the same time, the payment of semiproletarian agricultural workers below the value of their labour power may also result in lower food costs to an urban proletariat. There is a political-strategic dimension as well. And it may work against the destruction of backward agrarian forms, even when that would enhance profitability. The alliances imperialism forges with domestic ruling classes react on the pace and scope of transformation. The creation of commercial plantations in Central America in the latter part of the 19th century spawned an oligarchy which remains a key prop of imperialist rule. (Landed aristocrats, tribal heads, and, historically, warlords have also served that function.) The aversion of sections of that oligarchy to the extension of capitalist relations into some spheres must be factored into the total equation by the imperialists, who rely heavily on it as a social base and military custodian. Finally, some of the social structures with which imperialism interacts are well-entrenched and not easily penetrated by capital, while land scarcity, topography, and crop characteristics might render existing patterns of land ownership and productive organisation more suitable to the rapid extraction of needed use values (for instance, some annual crops require minimal processing).

The kind of arrangements and alliances which have been described are not enduringly functional, either economically or politically, for imperialism. “Green Revolutions,” “White Revolutions,” or an “Alliance for Progress” have been called forth to overcome specific blockages to accumulation, as well as to cope with actual or potential upheaval, and by the objective necessity, which is not so commonly recognised, to broaden and deepen the base and level of surplus value production. The class and economic structures within particular coun-

tries pose certain political and economic contradictions for (imperialist) resolution. But imperialism's ability to transform, rationalise, and expand is profoundly connected to the overall profitability of capital on a world scale (including the international reserves it can muster) and to the international constellation of forces. Overall, imperialism has a conserving as well as dissolving effect on precapitalist relations. Given a massive redivision of the world, imperialism can substantially transform agrarian production relations. But it stimulates fuller capitalist development unevenly, within and among the economies of the oppressed nations, and *on the basis of subordination and distortion of these economies.*

Imperialism opposes the *overthrow* of feudalism and its social props (an act which would be a prerequisite for the rapid development of capitalism in agriculture), and it initiates transformations only where this is possible and profitable to the degree allowed by a specific international division of the world. But in any case, imperialism gradually penetrates the feudal mode of production and can, under more favourable international conditions, lead to situations in which the remnants of feudalism are just that—remnants. In an unpublished paper, Frank Shannon has offered a typology by which it becomes possible to differentiate most of the oppressed countries on the basis of the relative weight and influence of feudalism that exists today in the countryside.

First are those countries in which semi-feudal modes of production play an important role in the reproduction of the neocolonial social formation. These modes are far from vestigial in the world and they significantly fetter the development of the productive forces. Although in the period following World War 2 and, again, in the 1960s, imperialism made major inroads in penetrating the semi-feudal modes in many parts of the world, vast areas of the world remain semi-feudal in character. These areas with extensive or significant elements of semi-feudalism make up the first

category of countries. And they themselves form a continuum: ranging from some countries in Latin America, where imperialist-led capitalist production relations have penetrated deeply and altered much of the agrarian fabric yet where some significant semi-feudal production relations persist; through other countries in Latin America or countries like Iran, where feudalism cannot yet be considered "residual" in many important areas; to sections of India and other countries, where transformations have been even less extensive in many areas of the countryside (still inhabited by great numbers of people) and where the "lords" of semi-feudalism still hold considerable sway in large expanses. Even in this last group of countries, however, it would be wrong to view conditions as basically unchanged from the particular description of semi-feudalism in China made by Mao before World War 2. In general, capitalist aspects have implanted themselves more deeply and altered the socioeconomic framework in ways that require close scrutiny. Further, the rising proportion of urban dwellers in many of these countries—indeed, not a few cities in this category of countries are growing to a size for which there is no prior experience anywhere—cannot but modify the limiting effects exerted on imperialist (or national bourgeois) expansion by semi-feudal agrarian relations and the relationship between rural and urban revolutionary struggle. None of this has diminished in the least the fact that Mao's theory and practice of revolution in the colonial countries, specifically its two-stage character and the strategic dimension of protracted people's war, is the key and indispensable starting point for any serious attempt to analyse the tasks and path of revolution in these countries and remains the point of reference for elaborating revolutionary strategy and tactics in the oppressed countries in general.

A second general category in this schema comprises those countries that did not have a system of feudalism at the time of their subjugation by imperialism, or where feudal forms were not forcibly in-

serted from without (as happened in many Latin American countries). Many countries in Africa and Asia fit into this second category. Here, for the imperialists, the rural economy appears to be more difficult to tap as a source of surplus value in any great magnitude. Although nascent, capitalist-influenced class differentiation takes place, and although imperialism viciously squeezes what it can out of the countryside, its exploitative capabilities are limited by the relatively low level of development of the productive forces and the production relations in these countries. These countries have remained at the bottom of the imperialist calculus of where capital would flow, except in the case of critical minerals investments, and have lagged far behind the rest of the Third World. While their economic importance tends to be restricted to those raw material endowments that may be of use to imperialism, their strategic and geopolitical importance may be very great indeed. One can think of a country like Chad in this connection.

The third type of country is best typified by Argentina and Chile. There feudalism is not a major factor in the countryside, either for particular reasons of historical development before World War 2, as in the case of Argentina, or as a result of the combination of such historical factors with the robustness of imperialist penetration into the country (and countryside), given the redivision accomplished through World War 2, as in the case of Chile. In countries like Chile, feudal aspects of production do not represent fetters on the process of capitalist accumulation to any degree approaching what they did before the Second World War, nor to the degree that they do today in other parts of the Third World, including parts of Latin America. Large-scale capitalist farming plays the major role in such countries. What remains of feudalism is not the reason their economies are in a shambles.

The point in making these distinctions—and this typology is only presented tentatively and of necessity simplifies the complex pat-

chwork of production relations found even within individual countries—is to underscore that feudalism is not an absolute and impassable barrier to the expansion of imperialist capital. Imperialism both props up and is limited by the feudalism that exists within its global framework. Yet it also penetrates and, even in the least vigorous of spirals, works towards its transformation. Feudalism can, and has been, attenuated or even largely eliminated (short of its revolutionary overthrow) in various regions of the Third World, and this has been *not in spite of but because of the exigencies of imperialist accumulation*. Such imperialist-led transformations lead to ever more acute and profound contradictions and upheavals, and will continue to do so as long as imperialism "hangs on." These contradictory thrusts of imperialist accumulation are further proof that the ultimate barrier to the expansion of capital in the oppressed countries is capital itself.

#### Once Again on Surplus Extraction and Underdevelopment

Let us come back to the question of surplus. Merchant capital did not, in the main, productively reinvest surplus in the colonies. It confronted extremely backward productive forms and was principally engaged in trade. On the other hand, commercial slavery in the United States was tightly integrated into a world market dominated by industrial capital. But the slave mode reproduced itself in relative structural isolation—production was expanded chiefly through the intensification of work and the addition of slaves (and land), not through technical innovation. And what of imperialist capital in the contemporary era? *America in Decline* makes this point:

"Imperialism is not quintessentially defined by the theft of riches from the Third World; it is not merely the seizure of wealth per se. It is, rather, an internationalised mode of production subsuming others; a mode of production governed by real and dynamic value relations, whose expansion demands specific allocations of capital and concrete transformations of produc-

tion relations which turn into their opposite, widening disparities and imbalances.”<sup>9</sup>

In other words, we are dealing with an internationalised process of capitalist accumulation—with the generation of surplus value, with the transfer of value (resulting from different technical compositions of industries, different efficiencies, and different wage levels), with precapitalist modes enveloped and increasingly permeated by the technical-economic imperatives of capital, and with the extraction of value from the oppressed countries (linked to the foregoing and to the practices of monopoly). But, and this is the important point, *the extraction of surplus value from the oppressed countries is not incompatible with growth.* As we also note:

“Imperialist capital can, and in the long run must, develop the economies of these countries. But it must develop them on an imperialist basis—in particular, on a basis favourable to the foreign capital—and in contradiction both to the welfare of the broad masses of these countries and to the development of a relatively articulated social formation.”<sup>10</sup>

Many proponents of a “new international economic order” (and many revolutionary nationalists) point out that not only is surplus removed from the oppressed countries but that *more* surplus is taken out than is plowed back in. Were that surplus disposed of by national forces, the argument goes, greater sums would be reinvested locally and development would proceed in a way more beneficial to the broad masses. This argument is both false and dangerous. What is undeniably true is that repatriated profits have very often exceeded new inflows into the Third World over considerable stretches of time. According to official U.S. Department of Commerce data, during the period 1960-72, income returned from Latin America to the United States was \$9.2 billion greater than net capital account inflows into Latin America from the United States.<sup>11</sup> But even this condition is compatible with growth. In fact, during the expansionary phase of the postwar

world economy, the specific fit of their particular internal configuration of resources into the structure of world demand, and their insertion into the world financial network, have unleashed a process of industrialisation in some of these countries, corresponding to the needs of imperialist expansion. At the same time, imperialist-induced growth has exacted a terrible toll. In Hong Kong, 60 percent of the labour force work a seven-day week; in South Korea, accident rates are the highest in the world; in Export Processing Zones, cruel and grinding conditions of employment face the women, largely between the age of 14 to 24, who make up the bulk of the work force.<sup>12</sup> The commercialisation of agriculture and the general extension of the money economy into the countryside have imposed a crushing burden on many heretofore self-sufficient producers, now forced into a marginal existence. But the other side to this superexploitation, polarisation, and immiseration is the growth of the proletariat and increasing productivity of social labour—in sum, the development of the productive forces, on the basis of the widening and sharpening division between the oppressor and oppressed nations.

To claim that, somehow, an independently based capitalism would cater to the needs of the broad masses is to mask the nature of capitalism. And to think that an independent capitalist road in the Third World is a viable and durable option is to misapprehend the dynamics of the contemporary epoch. This is not the era of rising capitalism, when the world economy was loosely integrated and when different societies reproduced themselves and interacted internationally as units and productive processes external to one another. The developing countries are component parts of a unified world economy that derives its cohesion from the internationalisation of capital. In fact, it is our contention that the economies of the oppressed nations must either be run in accordance with the logic of finance capital or in accordance with the logic of proletarian dictatorship and proletarian world revolution. Deng Xiaoping

understands this—his only problem is that his dream of becoming a “newly industrialising” comprador turns to a nightmare at a time of deepening economic crisis and approaching inter-imperialist conflict.

The argument can be pursued more provocatively. Suppose, for example, that the Allende government had stayed in power and embarked on a program of national capitalist development—refusing to accept foreign loans yet doing everything on a capitalist basis—and that the imperialists took a hands-off attitude (already the chimerical nature of the program becomes apparent). What might ensue, from the standpoint of local accumulation? Well, crucial sectors of such an economy would not be operating at the level of international production norms and would stand in contradiction to the international distribution of productive efficiencies. This situation would compound foreign exchange difficulties related to the import of vital supplies and parts, since such a regime could not, given the inherited patterns of development, and would not, for predictable capitalist reasons, decisively break with the imperialist world market. Further, the protection of certain sectors would effectively prevent others from utilising “world class” technology and obtaining the cheapest (internationally produced) inputs. In effect, the regime would be subsidising inefficiency—and not for very long. Skewed patterns of consumption, reinforced by any species of capitalism, pose other difficulties (not the least of which would be the emergence of black markets tied to luxury trade).

Much more could be hypothesised. The point is that, eventually, the regime would see that from this class perspective Deng was right (and that Mozambique and Nicaragua are also, in a perverted sense, right) to accept foreign loans and the control that goes with them. Even though more surplus might be lost to imperialism than gained in the form of reinvestment, these economies would grow faster, on a capitalist basis in the present-day world, by availing themselves of international capital and technology, and by fully integrating into the world im-

perialist economy. You can't have the law of value in command yet refuse to dance to the music of international competition and profit maximisation. (Of course, in the short-run such a national capitalist regime is imaginable; and it cannot be ruled out, *a priori*, that a more developed Third World country might, through the the welter of world contradictions, make the leap to imperialism.) What is being said here is not a defense of imperialism but an argument for proletarian-led revolution!

Nor is what's being said tantamount to denying the validity of the new democratic revolution in the colonies and neocolonies. To begin with, as indicated, feudalism has by no means been transcended in the world, both as a phenomenon of the economic base and of the superstructure of the oppressed countries. And even where feudal agrarian structures have diminished in importance, the strategic requirement of ousting imperialism as a precondition for internal transformation and the necessity of breaking dependence on the imperialist world market might—and very likely will—call forth alliances with national bourgeois forces.

Something that we have emphasised in *America in Decline* is that imperialist penetration into the oppressed nations does not merely expose them to international monetary disruptions, global recessions, and violent price adjustments. It results, structurally, in a particular quality of development, which reflects the subordinate integration of these economies into the imperialist order. They do not display the same degree of cohesion found in the advanced countries; their heartbeat, as we say, originates elsewhere. Foreign capital does not generate the kind of forward and backward linkages essential to the establishment of a relatively independent and interdependent industrial base; much of the technology adopted in the advanced sectors cannot be diffused throughout the economy; heavy investments in roads and storage and distribution systems frequently engender enclave or "air-bubble" developments; breakneck and

chaotic urbanisation and often slow and uneven expansion of the agricultural sector lead to massive unemployment; the tertiary sector (from administrative professionals to domestic servants) represents a disproportionately large share of total employment (and, in the case of servants, underemployment); state and military expenditure produce parasitic growths and deformations; and a huge build-up of debt accompanies this pattern of development.

To be sure, for certain Third World countries over certain periods, growth rates in GNP may appear quite impressive. But once that GNP is disaggregated and scrutinised, a very different picture emerges, one of *disarticulated and extroverted development*. The oppressed nations are neither experiencing some sort of delayed European-style primitive capitalist accumulation nor being pushed back to a lower level of productive development. The situation is more complex, and the revolutionary transformation of these economies is a formidable task. Iran, for example, though more developed than was China in the 1930s, is also more highly integrated into the world economy, and this presents major difficulties to a revolutionary regime in reorienting such an economy. In some countries it is conceivable that the proletariat in power will have to break up large scale commercial plantations and redistribute land in order to diversify and expand agricultural output, that cities may have to be depopulated to varying degrees through rural resettlement, or that petrochemical plants in jungles will have to be dismantled. In other instances, great and rapid leaps forward in the socialisation of the productive forces and forms of ownership may be possible. In any event, recasting a disarticulated economy to meet the needs of revolutionary development hinges on the radical break with imperialism and requires the most ardent mobilisation of the masses.

#### Breaking With Erroneous Models

Baran inspired fruitful studies of what he called the "morphology of underdevelopment." Samir Amin

has perhaps devoted the greatest analytical attention to the nature of a disarticulated economy. Moreover, Baran, and especially his followers, acknowledged that changes had and were taking place in the Third World. Imperialism, they agree, needs to expand productive investment; and, given certain political conditions, this becomes possible.

But imperialism, according to the vast majority of dependency theorists, places narrow limits on the development of the productive forces in the neocolonies, even under conditions of expansion. Ultimately, they fall back on the stagnationist and underconsumptionist problematic of Baran and Sweezy's neo-Marxism. Amin, in a recent review-essay, offers this explanation as to why imperialism cannot decisively wrench itself out of its normal stagnationist state-of-affairs, and why crisis invariably erupts:

"I agree with the thesis advanced by Sweezy, namely, that the capitalist mode, in its essence, suffers from an insufficiency of demand: wages and the incomes of independent producers not being directly integrated into and subordinated to the level required for absorbing production (including the investment goods needed to sustain this production) do not 'automatically' adjust upward....

"In our epoch, the overall dynamic of growth and profit is determined by the contradictory/complementary dialectic of an upward movement of returns to labour in the centre and stagnation and downward pressure in the periphery."

Thus according to this view, the maximisation of profit on a world scale leads to a situation in which global supply outstrips global demand, a problem whose acuteness arises from superexploitation in the periphery (which stunts the development of an internal market, as wages remain low, and which is connected to a pattern of export-oriented growth). Our view, on the other hand, is that crisis must be understood in terms of the global structure and profitability of capital. Specifically, barriers to the pro-

fiable reproduction of capital emerge in both the advanced and dependent countries.

Imperialism is a fetter in the oppressed nations not because it strictly opposes growth as such or because it refuses to invest or because it transmits stagnationist tendencies to the countries with which it comes in contact. Accumulation in the imperialist epoch entrains a process of global development; but *this occurs extremely unevenly and is anchored to quite specific production relations that distort and, as expansion leads to crisis, thwart development.* The precise thrust and dimensions of this process depend on a determinate structure of capital, the concrete alignment of political-military forces, and the previous development of productive forces—all of which we have conceptualised in terms of global war-to-war spirals.

In the years 1950-70, the overall annual rate of growth of manufacturing industry in the Third World exceeded that of Great Britain and France during their "take-off" periods in the 18th and 19th centuries (although it must be pointed out that the major sources of Third World manufactures are a relatively small circle of countries). But one structural difference that stands out in comparing the formative industrialisation experiences of the present-day capitalist powers with what is happening in the Third World is that for the former group of countries industrialisation was accompanied and, in crucial ways, prepared by enormous increases in agricultural productivity. Within a period of forty to sixty years preceding the industrial revolution, agricultural productivity underwent spectacular growth. In the Third World, the agricultural sector has not only lagged behind the manufacturing and extractive sectors but has also lapsed into periods of dormancy and decline in many countries. This says something about both the distortions characteristic of imperialist-led development and the incomparably greater misery suffered by the masses of the Third World in the course of imperialist penetration and transformation than occurred during the early stages of capitalist development in Europe.

By fixing their gaze on one time frame or region, many observers fail to grasp the overall thrust of imperialist accumulation. Baran could construct a stagnationist model which seemed to derive some empirical validity from the experiences of the 1930s. The British Marxist, Bill Warren, in his *Imperialism, Pioneer of Capitalism*, could seize upon the boom phase of this spiral to furnish specious documentation that a veritable second wave of capitalist industrialisation was taking place in the Third World (his uncritical acceptance of growth indices and his obliteration of the distinction between imperialist and local capital need not be gone into detail here)<sup>14</sup>. What *America in Decline* has emphasised is that imperialism at the world level requires—and is capable of pushing forward—development of productive forces. Finance capital unifies and permeates the world economy. Its capacity to centralise and redistribute surplus value can, at any given time, actually mitigate blockages in the accumulation process in particular countries. But, ultimately, this has the effect of spreading and intensifying contradictions at the world level. The disarticulated, neocolonial development spawned by imperialism becomes an integral and exacerbating element of imperialist crisis. And the gap between per capita incomes in the advanced countries and those of the dependent countries continues to widen.

#### Understanding the Concept of "Fettering"

By way of conclusion, I want to touch on some philosophical issues related to the meaning and use of the concept of fetter. In the Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx says that "no social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed." How is this to be interpreted? Well, the reformist and revisionist interpretation is no great mystery: not until every last drop of growth has been squeezed out of capitalism does revolution become necessary or feasible; or, as the corollary, the mission of socialism is to pick up

where the bourgeoisie left off, that is, to increase the flow of commodities and the stock of capital. Suffice it to say that this is not Marxism. With respect to the passage from the *Critique*, a recent commentary makes the useful point that "Marx's extreme statement is an exaggeration to be understood in its political context. It reflects his polemics against Proudhon and the utopian socialists, who studied industrial development only to condemn it and would not realistically assess the material requirements of modern workers' needs."<sup>15</sup> To literally read Marx to the effect that capitalism perishes only after it exhausts all further possibility for developing the productive forces is to forget what he says in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the productive forces,"<sup>16</sup> a point that runs as a basic thread through *Capital*.

Capitalism fetters productive forces not because it loses its dynamism and technological elan but because its very dynamism leads ultimately to the emergence of higher and more formidable barriers to its continued self-expansion (the state of the world economy today certainly bears witness to this). And in the imperialist epoch, these barriers can only be overcome through world war. Indeed, the decisive reorganisation of capital in this century has come about on the basis of two world wars. The global development of productive forces has further globalised and intensified the violence, destruction, and horror of capitalism's recuperative mechanisms. The concept of the fetter must be understood in another sense—not just in relation to capitalism's internal logic and functioning but in relation to what all this has brought forward, in relation to its opposite. An alternative network of social relations is at hand, a network of relations through which it becomes possible to advance the material and social development of humanity in a way and to a degree precluded by capitalism.

Which raises the question of what socialism makes possible and how socialist development is to be assess-

ed. Mao was very clear that this could not be reduced to commodity magnitudes or rates of growth as such. The Great Leap Forward, he argued, could, from the narrow economic standpoint, be adjudged a failure; but viewed in terms of what it was bringing into being and unleashing, it was a pathbreaking initiative.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the revolutionary forces in China in the early 1970s were doing battle with capitalist roaders who pointed to higher growth rates in other parts of the world (including some countries in the Third World). Now the Chinese economy had in fact been making enormous progress—a quick glance at any of the U.S. Congressional studies published in that period reveals that even the bourgeoisie had to admit this.<sup>18</sup> But, still, the revolutionaries evaluated growth and development principally in *qualitative* terms, from the standpoint of overcoming the Four Alls<sup>19</sup> and advancing the world revolution; that is, they put politics in command of production.

Certainly, socialism must raise labour productivity and open wide avenues for the development and utilisation of science and technology. And it does so: in part by eliminating the waste, chaos, and irrationalities of capitalism, but even more importantly by unleashing the activism and creativity of the broad masses. This is no mere slogan. The productive forces consist of tools and human beings. But human beings are the principal factor: tools are created, used, and renovated by people; science and technology are discovered by people. As Marx points out, "Of all the instruments of production, the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself."<sup>20</sup> And he is speaking fundamentally of its capacity to change the world. That the choices made by and the initiatives taken by human beings are conditioned and bounded by the overall material development of society, and that human beings occupy objective places in the structure of production relations, does not alter the fact that the most important productive force liberated by socialism...is people.

Imperialism fetters the productive forces not by comparison to

premonopoly capitalism but by comparison to the potential of socialism. Humanity has reached an historic threshold: *the material basis now exists to organise social production at the world level on a nonexploitative foundation*. It is this possibility set against the violent collision of the forces and relations of production that signals that capitalism has completed its historical mission. As a framework for promoting social development, capitalism in its monopoly stage is truly and incontestably moribund. Moreover, the persistence of the world capitalist system has fettered socialist development. Revolutionary China's achievements in relation to the postwar experiences of India were nothing short of extraordinary. But they were only a limited indication of the potentialities of world socialist development. And above and beyond the overt blockages and the ways in which it delimits the structure of options of the proletariat in power, imperialism stands as the obstacle to the global utilisation of the most decisive productive force, people. The question of the fetter is really the question of the epoch.

#### Footnotes

1. United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, *World Industry since 1960: Progress and Prospects* (New York: 1979), pp. 56-57.
2. World Bank, *World Development Report 1980* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), p. 1.
3. *World Industry Since 1960*, p. 142.
4. "Global Shift: Brazil Steals the Show," in NACLA, *Report on the Americas*, Volume XIII, Number 1 (January-February 1979), p. 21; Frederick Clairmonte and John Cavanagh, *The World in Their Web* (London: Zed, 1981), p. 184; World Bank, *World Development Report 1983* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 153, 155.
5. Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York: Monthly Review, 1968).
6. See V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1970), pp. 116-17, 150-51.
7. The purpose of this article is not to critique Baran's broader theory of in-

vestment behavior and his related view of surplus absorption difficulties in the monopoly epoch. This has been done by others, and we will confront some of these issues in a subsequent volume of *America in Decline*.

8. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture, 1972), p. 244.
9. *America in Decline*, p. 109.
10. *America in Decline*, p. 103.
11. *Survey of Current Business*, October 1970, Table 9, p. 31; September 1973, Table 7, p. 24.
12. Teresa Hayter, *The Creation of World Poverty* (London: Pluto, 1982), pp. 106-107.
13. Samir Amin, "A.G. Frank and the Crisis," *Monthly Review*, November 1983, pp. 53-54.
14. Bill Warren, *Imperialism, Pioneer of Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1980).
15. Richard Miller, *Analyzing Marx* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press 1984), p. 178.
16. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* (New York: International, 1972), p. 38.
17. See the discussion by Bob Avakian in *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* (Chicago: RCP Publications, 1979), pp. 112-117.
18. It should also be pointed out that Paul Bairoch, in his authoritative study of economic development in the Third World, saw in the revolutionary experience of China during the years 1950-72 an unprecedented developmental program that accorded priority to agriculture and, on this basis, achieved substantial gains in all sectors of the Chinese economy. See Paul Bairoch, *The Economic Development of the Third World since 1900* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1977), pp. 188-93, 201-203.
19. The Four Alls refers to Marx's statement in *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the necessary transit point to the abolition of "class distinctions generally," to the abolition of "all the relations of production" on which they rest, to the abolition of "all the social relations" that correspond to these relations of production, and to the revolutionising of "all the ideas" that result from these relations.
20. Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (New York: International Publishers, 1963), p. 174. ■

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deficits to be cured by the right combination of monetary and fiscal measures, but instead stemmed from the inherent nature of capitalist production itself.

#### Crisis Mounts

The increase in oil revenues bolstered the Iranian regime financially. In one year alone, foreign currency income shot up from \$6.2 billion in 1974 to \$21 billion in 1975, leaving a surplus of \$8.2 billion.

But this unprecedented growth took place neither during an expansionary period of the current spiral nor even under average conditions but, rather, in the context of a persistent and intensifying worldwide crisis of the imperialist system. Furthermore, this huge increase of income was not (and, given the domination of finance capital, could not possibly have been) based on a sustained and all-around development of the productive base and economic capacity of the country but was instead artificially precipitated by U.S. policies catering to the needs of finance capital choked by its own accumulation crisis.

At the beginning of this course, the Iranian regime, relying on its stupendous oil income, threw the country's doors wide open to surplus commodities which were stock-piling in the hands of imperialist companies. Generous conditions were provided for those sectors which were either more crisis-ridden or more crucially located within the grid of international accumulation, in order to raise their profitability and restore their competitiveness. This period, aptly named the period of "open door policy," witnessed a massive assault on the economy by imperialist goods and capitals and by bureaucratic-comprador capitals as well. This intensified the exploitation of the proletariat and ended up driving the petit-bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and even non-bureaucratic (so-called "private") capital of Iran into bankruptcy. In a year's time, imports increased tenfold, to an astronomical \$9.3 billion in 1975. In 1976 the same figure was \$15.3 billion—26 times higher than the income generated by non-

petroleum exports.<sup>6</sup>

Besides lavishly providing for foreign imports, the government raised the import duties on the raw materials needed by industries (particularly non-state owned industries) which were competing with the foreign companies exporting the same commodities in Iran. These and similar measures openly favoured the imperialists and undermined those domestic industries already hard hit by the rise in production costs resulting from worldwide inflation. Even certain industries controlled by the comprador bourgeoisie were forced to reduce their output in deference to their imperialist competitors. The Iran National Company—the major manufacturer of automobiles in Iran—reduced its output by half to make room for thousands of surplus cars from its parent company, Peugeot-Talbot. Such policies struck at small production and medium-scale agriculture as well. As a result, unemployment rose throughout Iran.

Secondly, following the oil-price increase and at the behest of its masters, the regime undertook the granting of loans and credits to the crisis-stricken countries of the West and to some of the dominated countries.<sup>7</sup> According to the annual report from the *Bank-e Markazi Iran* (Central Bank of Iran), the sum total of such financial commitments at the end of 1975 amounted to \$11 billion, of which \$2.4 billion had already been delivered.

Finally, as part of the regime's role as regional gendarme for imperialism, military expenditures grew to mammoth proportions. Between 1972-1975, out of \$62 billion in oil income, no less than \$35 billion was spent on maintaining the army, buying arms, financing a reactionary, aggressive war against the people of Oman, paying military advisors, constructing bases, and so forth.

#### Balance of Payments Deficit

Thus in spite of its extensive oil revenues, the Iranian regime in 1976 ran up a balance of payments deficit, and its currency reserves began to shrink—from \$7.1 billion

to \$6 billion in 1976—and the trend continued. In that same year, the regime faced its first significant budget deficit in a decade—\$2.1 billion—and, from that time until the Shah's overthrow in 1979, the deficit grew annually. As a result, since 1977 the Iranian regime started to meet its financial commitments in the form of petroleum. Because of a shortage in credit and loans, it was also obliged to cancel, suspend or delay most of its projects, including even such major endeavours as the huge military base at Chah-Bahar.

Partly in order to meet its obligations to foreign companies, Iran also had to accept foreign loans in the following years: \$1.1 billion in 1976, \$1.2 billion in 1977 and \$1.4 billion in 1978. At the end of 1977, the Central Bank of Iran had to reverse a previously announced policy and reduce the volume of available credit. The result: a decrease in bank deposits, shortage of money and stagnation in the market. This contraction of credit reverberated throughout the entire economy.

The outcome of this matrix of policies was a sharp blow to the disarticulated capitalist economy of Iran. The disequilibrium between the export and import sectors was intensified by opening the door for the accelerated influx of foreign goods and by adopting policies which crushed domestic production and overall weakened non-petroleum export production, which had already lost most of its markets in the context of the world crisis. At the same time, these policies increased inflation and integrated the internal inflation with external inflationary pressures (exerted through the rising costs of imports, raw materials, machinery, etc.) and laid the basis for successive leaps in the rate of inflation. This in turn led to a decrease in the purchasing power of the masses. Together with the contraction of credit and money in the market, all this drove the majority of merchants involved in the import sector into bankruptcy.

#### Exploitation Intensifies

Thus the financial leap which resulted from the increased oil

revenue ultimately helped propel the Iranian economy into the turbulent vortex of a crisis which struck in every sphere of the economic and social life of the country. The immediate "natural" reaction of capital was to intensify the exploitation of the proletariat and the toiling masses. Numerous fascist laws were passed, the workers suppressed, and factories put under military rule led and organised by SAVAK (the Shah's secret police) and retired army officers. The government assaulted the masses economically by increasing indirect taxes, so that in 1976-77 60% of all taxes were indirect. All of this raised the resistance of the toiling masses, especially the working class—which was more conscious, and had the ability to manifest a powerful collective reaction. The waves of crisis gave way to waves of resistance!

In addition to the intensification of the exploitation of the masses, the intensification of the internal contradictions in other sectors also took place: between backward agriculture and advanced industry, between more advanced bureaucratic and comprador sectors and the non-comprador sectors, and so forth.

The petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie were also deeply affected too. On the pretext of "fighting against price gouging," the regime adopted a militaristic policy of economic suppression of the petit bourgeoisie which, as the crisis deepened, began to afflict the middle bourgeoisie and even some elements of the comprador bourgeoisie as well.

In this situation, the policies of the government were increasingly limited to the protection simply of the narrow interests of a particular strata of comprador-bureaucrat capital, and those of several crisis-stricken imperialist countries, particularly of the immediate bosses of the Royal Court.

At the beginning of the plan to make Iran the regional gendarme, some elements of the Iranian comprador bourgeoisie based in the "private" sector had envisioned extending its market to the whole region and forming a "regional common market"—an \$8 billion

export market. These forces had to face the fact that because of both international and internal crisis, not only did they have to leave these "outside" markets directly to the "mother" imperialist capitals, but also had to provide a market of \$15-\$20 billion for the surplus goods of the imperialists and had to themselves undertake appropriate measures in the service of diminishing the imperialist crisis. This meant that, except for an elite grouping, the rest of the bourgeoisie even had to worry about its "own" market too. These conditions led sections of the comprador bourgeoisie based in the private sector to enter into disputes with the ruling clique.

Now the waves of crisis were reaching higher than ever, touching the upper reaches of society!

#### Death Leap

In the period following the 1959-63 crisis and the stabilisation of the Shah's position, the U.S. manoeuvred to maintain the stability of its set-up in Iran, including through the participation of all the reactionary cliques and gangs in the government. In order to accomplish this, the U.S. allowed these various cliques to form a "minority" and a "majority" party, while accepting the Shah's Royal Court as the major executive organ with all other forces subordinate to it. But the initially farcical, orchestrated relations between these parties and with the regime didn't advance as smoothly as had been hoped, as events on a global and national scale took unexpected turns.

The intensification of the crisis internationally interpenetrated with the internal contradictions of the Iranian ruling classes. The onset of attacks on some of the Shah's domestic policies by some of the imperialist media and the reactivation of rival factions within Iran's ruling classes were examples of such contradictions, as were the attacks by the leader of the *Mardom* party—the "minority"—on the policies of the prime minister and the administration of the *Iran-e-Noveen* party—the "majority." The stability of the regime was threatened. In view of its increasing-

ly important regional role, this was a serious problem for the imperialists. And so the counter-offensive of the Shah's clique began.

The leader of the "minority" party was assassinated and, a month later, in the winter of 1974, the "dual party" system itself was cancelled by the Shah. The formation of an all-encompassing single *Rastakhiz*—"Resurrection"—party was decreed.

The conditions which compelled the formation of this party must be searched for thirteen years prior to its actual creation.

As noted before, the imperialist land reform of the early 1960s had both economic and socio-political objectives. The "White Revolution" succeeded to the extent that it did broaden the influence of imperialist capital in Iran and create a vast market for imperialist goods and investments. But it failed to build up a base of support among the masses for the regime. This failure became evident even by the end of the '60s. However, despite this, the regime enjoyed relative stability during this period, and the plan to turn Iran into a regional base of imperialism was carried out on this basis.

But as the importance of the regime increased in the regional balance of forces, the need for continued stability increased too. This called forth more militarisation of social life, more centralisation of the political order, and moves for a more developed form of fascist and terroristic rule. In turn, the intensification of crisis, the growth of resistance from below, the heightening of in-fighting in the upper classes, and the acute failure of the reforms to create a durable mass base for the regime—all evidence of the regime's genuine precariousness—accelerated the moves in that same direction.

The imperial *Rastakhiz* proved in fact to be SAVAK remoulded in the form of a party. It was the open declaration that the Shah was implementing the plans of the CIA to stabilise Iran.

The formation of this party was intended to finish the unfinished work of the "White Revolution":

to create a social base for the regime. But the purposes of the "White Revolution" and Rastakhiz were not exactly the same.

In the "White Revolution," the bayonet was in the service of carrying out the Imperial reforms, whereas in Rastakhiz the bayonet was the only thing the regime was promising. In the "White Revolution," the regime tried to wash its bloody hands with economic and welfare promises; in Rastakhiz even the notion of social welfare was drenched in blood. The "White Revolution" sought to form a social base by actually winning over some of the masses; Rastakhiz sought only to bring together all the social groupings, the gangs and the cliques who already supported the Shah's fascist despotism, and weld them into a pillar of the regime. And finally, if the "White Revolution" saw the Iranian comprador bourgeoisie attempt to "bourgeoisify" the monarcho-feudal regime, the events leading to the formation of Rastakhiz, and particularly the decree of Rastakhiz itself, was nothing but the leap of the Shah's clique to more thoroughly absolutise and monarchise the Iranian bourgeoisie.

Rastakhiz was an attempt to respond to crisis, to demoralise the spontaneous movement of the toiling masses and neutralise the activities of the revolutionaries, and to eliminate any possibility that the streams of protest and wrath of the masses might burst through the cracks and fissures within the ruling classes. In fact, it is history's verdict that Rastakhiz was to become the death leap of the Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi regime.

The developments that the imperialists had unleashed in Iran for their own interests were now, in the overall conditions of world imperialism, turning into their explosive opposites.

#### Already Too Late

The high oil prices which the U.S. imperialists had earlier tacitly supported became an impediment to the overall interests of the Western bloc, especially the interests of the U.S.'s European and Japanese partners. The Carter administration

supported a cut in oil prices to Iran's detriment in 1977.

Even Iran's pivotal role in the region was undermined by the U.S.'s promotion of Saudi Arabia, which, for a variety of reasons was able to fulfill certain tasks in the Mideast which the Shah could not.

The enforced "unity" that the Shah had tried to bring about with the creation of the Rastakhiz began to come unraveled. Articles appeared in the imperialist press calling into question the Shah's competence and value to the West and attention was focused on his violations of human rights. All of this had further repercussions in Iran itself; some circles of the national bourgeoisie and even different sections of the ruling classes became disenchanted with the Shah and emboldened in their criticisms.

By the time the U.S. imperialists realised to what degree the very survival of the throne of their arrogant servant was jeopardised it was too late to save the situation.

All of what we have examined were important factors which helped to make Iran into a weak link and plunge it into a period of revolutionary crisis, leading to the overthrow of the Shah of Iran by the masses of people in February 1979.

#### Footnotes

1. *The Collapse of the Second International*, V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 213-14.

2. *Foundations of Leninism*, J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 98-101.

3. The way in which the land reform was carried out was very much related to the political conditions of Iranian society at that time. For instance, the first village covered by the land reform, in the winter of 1951-52, was known as "the red village" because it was considered a rural stronghold of the Tudeh Party. Similarly, during the span of a single year (1960-1961), 217 villages were rushed through the land reform programme, while during the entire period from 1951 to 1963, only 517 villages—barely twice as many—were covered by the programme. This can only be attributed to the regime's attempt to respond to the sharpening of the crisis during the early 1960s. Thus economics and politics are highly intertwined, and the im-

perialists, though driven by underlying economic necessity, are nonetheless also conditioned by the previously mentioned political contradictions—and at times it is these that determine policy, including economic affairs.

4. One could take up a case study of how the post-coup d'état policies of the U.S. on Iran paved the way for the eruption of the crisis there in 1959-1963. Examining this in the international and regional context, one would have to analyse the interrelations between the fall of the monarchy in Iraq in 1958, the drop in oil prices between 1958 and 1960, the world monetary crisis in 1960, the heightening of East-West tension particularly just before the Cuban Missile crisis, and the changes in U.S. policy reflected in Kennedy's presidency.

5. For more on the U.S.'s permission to raise oil prices, read about Akins, the head of the U.S. Energy Department in the Nixon administration and later U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, cited in *Communist*, 14, organ of O.C.R. On the importance and necessity for the U.S. to use its oil leverage against other imperialists, refer to "U.S. Position in Oil Crisis," 1972, William Casey, cited in "The Dollar Empire," by Organisation of the People's Mojahadin of Iran.

6. During one of Kissinger's trips to Iran, a \$50 billion five-year contract was signed between Iran and the U.S. which obliged Iran to import \$34 billion of commodities and armaments from the U.S. during the first four years of the contract. This did not even include the exchange of several billion dollars of petroleum for armaments or the orders to purchase eight nuclear power plants from the U.S. It is interesting that from the beginning of the 1970s, with the exception of certain periods (including the Kissinger-Shah contract), West German exports to Iran were greater than U.S. non-military exports. In fact, Iran was the biggest West German client among the "third world" countries and still maintains this position. The volume of Japanese private investment in Iran surpassed that of the U.S. after 1974.

7. Johannes Wiltreen, head of the International Monetary Fund, proposed that one of the most effective methods for dealing with the deficit problem in the industrial and "developing" countries was to rechannel the surplus revenue of the oil-producing countries. ■

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was a lot of determination on the part of a section of the masses that these leaders had as their social base (and wanted to hold onto) to really stop the missiles. So they had to be able to explain how non-violence would "work."

For its part the bourgeoisie was truly concerned about the dramatic growth of the movement against war preparations and the possibility of events escalating out of control. They were not, however, worried about what was officially planned, because it was designed to keep things from getting anywhere near *unregierbar*. The planned "blockades" of the U.S. installations were in fact only to be symbolic (though in the fall this came as a rude shock to many). The official plan was for the Hot Autumn to culminate in a week of demos in *mid-October*—although the actual stationing was not supposed to begin until mid-December—and nothing further was planned!

In connection with these plans many official leaders began negotiating sessions with the authorities. In exchange for permits for the official symbolic actions, they agreed not to lead or call for any determined resistance, even of a non-violent type. And they agreed to work with the police to identify, isolate and even help arrest any so-called "troublemakers," "violence-prone *chaoten*," etc.

### The Greens

Though there was a certain basic unity around the plans for the fall, these official leaders did not all represent the same class forces and class viewpoint. The agreement of the various Green leaders with this strategy was fundamentally based on their class position as discussed earlier. They (or at least most of them) were sincerely opposed to the missiles. However, they are not fundamentally against the system which has produced them. They fear world war, but they also fear all-out rebellion against the source of such a war.

This position causes them to labour under some increasingly dangerous illusions. Foremost among these is that because of its

destructiveness nuclear war is not in the imperialists' interests, or at least not in the national interests of the W. German imperialists. And if they could just be made to see the irrationality of their actions, then perhaps enough of them could be won to change direction. The mass movement is seen by these people as a lever with which to pry loose a big enough section of the ruling class so as to put things on a "rational" course.

With this point of view—tied as it is with a firm belief in bourgeois democracy—it became very important for the movement against the missiles to appeal to the mainstream of W. German society. (Indeed, by mid-summer the opinion polls showed a majority against the stationing.) It had to be kept acceptable and non-threatening. Far from challenging the imperialist chauvinism which infects the thinking of the average German, it had to pose as the true defender of W. German national interests. The "practical" and "realistic" solution hoped for was to force a majority of the bourgeois parties in the Bundestag to vote against the stationing.

This strategy was really nothing but a pipe-dream. The bourgeoisie was fully able to recognise its own national interests without the help of the Greens, and the outcome of the parliamentary debate was never in doubt. In fact, the purpose of this debate all along was to derail the mass movement and prettify West German democracy while installing the missiles.

It should be remembered that up until late 1982 *all* the parties represented in the Bundestag (the Greens had not yet made their entry) were in favour of the missiles. It was only *after* the departure of the SPD from government that it began to hypocritically "waver" on the missiles—when it no longer had the responsibility for installing them! This was entirely in keeping with the SPD's recognition (and that of the bourgeoisie as a whole) that they were better off playing the role of an "opposition" than losing whatever credibility they still had left by remaining in government. Furthermore the election of Christian

Democratic Chancellor, Kohl represented the mandate for the missiles that the bourgeoisie wanted.

Once it became evident even to the Green leaders that the Bundestag decision was a foregone conclusion, many of them began to talk of the battle being lost—even before it began. They hoped simply to wage a rearguard action and lay the basis for further electoral successes. Their long-term goal is for West Germany to get out of NATO or at least redefine its relationship to the Western war bloc in the way France did under DeGaulle.

### The W. German Communist Party (DKP)

The DKP's basic approach to the missile stationing is also quite instructive. Unlike the Greens their stance on this question is very much related to their strategy for gaining power. Overall they occupied a position to the right of the Green leadership. Their practical and often political unity with the SPD forces (in all their various guises) became known as the SPD/DKP axis and came to be thoroughly hated by all those who wanted to see the missiles really stopped. This SPD/DKP axis (along with what could be called the right-wing of the Green leadership, although they had their contradictions with the "axis") formed the firm mainstream pole of the "official peace movement."

The basis of unity of the axis included: 1. The movement must be kept to a single, very narrowly defined issue—the stationing of the U.S. missiles in W. Germany. This became known as the "minimum consensus." That the DKP didn't want the politics behind the peace-loving nukes of the social-imperialists to be called into question is understandable. Even so, when pushed into a corner on this question they were prepared to mumble their standard line, "We're against nukes in the East too, but the East can't disarm until the aggressive West does so first."

The SPD supported the DKP on the question of not addressing the nature of the nukes in the East because the DKP supported the SPD on another—and for the bourgeoisie overall even more important

point—namely, that W. Germany's role in NATO and relationship to the Western imperialist bloc in general (not to mention the nature of its social system) should not be called into question. This may seem a bit surprising given that the Soviet Union's overall effort was to split the Western bloc or at least create as many contradictions within it as possible. However, the mesh between the two can be understood considering that on the one hand the very fact of *not* stationing would have been a serious blow for NATO—regardless of whether it was a conscious goal of the anti-missile movement. In addition, the question of NATO is not at this point important to the DKP's strategy for power and may even be counter-productive at this time.<sup>3</sup>

That strategy bases itself on a potential shift in the world balance of imperialist power in favour of the Soviet-led bloc. The means for this are, among other things, the numerous divisions stationed literally but a few miles to the east of the frontier. The DKP's strategy also requires (though does not rest on) a social base. The DKP's target is what is now a part of the SPD's social base, namely the better paid section of the working class in large-scale industry and government jobs like the post office or railroad. What the DKP will have to offer is a reunited Germany in a "rationally" run "workers' state" where jobs and basic social services, etc., are secure and where the workers' welfare is officially enshrined as the goal of the state. Most importantly what will be offered is a stake in a post-war world order dominated by social-imperialism. What will be held out is a chance for Germany (in this case W. Germany) to be on the winning side of an imperialist world war for the first time. A radically new society is never promised—and is not what these workers (for now anyway) are seeking.

What's more this will be a German Germany. Not one polluted by the tinsel pop-culture and McDonald's cuisine the W. German imperialists have allowed to corrupt traditional German values. The German Democratic Republic (DDR—East Germany) has long since

postured as the true upholder and protector of German culture—Schiller, Goethe, Beethoven and Brahms find much greater official reverence than Lenin ever did. German nationalism is a very important ingredient in their brand of goulash communism. Instead of calling for world proletarian revolution, the DKP's banner will be inscribed with the slogan, "*Ordnung, Fleiss and Gehorsam*" ("Order, Hard Work and Obedience").

The social base for this line is not ready for and does not need to be confronted with the question of staying in or getting out of NATO. That question will be posed sharply enough in good time. And to do so now would not only create needless controversy, but would also lead to open conflict with the SPD at a time when, as the deputy chairman of the DKP was quoted as saying, "Unity of action" with the social democrats "is the centrepiece of our fight for peace."

2. The DKP agreed heartily with the SPD that the protests must be of the most orderly variety. They not only wanted to maintain their unity with the SPD, to appeal to the mainstream, etc., but also feared the potential effect on the DKP's secure rear area (as it were) if the situation escalated out of hand. These movements have a way of crossing borders—even between blocs. E. Germany had already experienced the birth of an anti-war movement outside of official control. What the rebellious youth of the East, and the workers as well, would do—how they would be influenced by a mighty clash of social forces—was (and remains) a joker in the deck for the social-imperialists. They like disorder in the West—but only to a point.

#### Encirclement and Suppression

The W. German bourgeoisie was very much aware of the inflammable conditions and the sparks of political consciousness being set off by the missile stationing. Their response was encirclement and suppression. Encirclement meant doing everything to keep the inevitable mass protests not only within respectable bounds in terms of tactics, but politically within terms that did not

challenge the basic assumptions holding millions captive to imperialism's logic and alternatives.

The nationalist and Euro-centric trends were played up to the fullest. The most accommodating "spokesmen" were pushed to the fore by the media. The politicians of all parties spoke endlessly of their desire for peace, the need for arms reductions, *ad nauseum*. It would be a democratic process. With the decision long made within ruling class circles and forums, there would now be discussion, debate, even a little dissent and then as befits a democracy the will of the democratically elected government would be carried out and the missiles put in place.

A key element in this encirclement was the SPD moving into the opposition (after being the ruling party for a decade). It became known as the "maybe missile" party. Though as stated, it never did come out unequivocally against the missiles and never did officially endorse *any* of the actions even during the October "Peace Week," the SPD (and the forces in the KA allied with it) posed as the "peaceful" and "rational" alternative. As Henry Tanner wrote in the *International Herald Tribune* (26/10/83): "The party leadership, which has been wavering, has decided to enter and if possible take over the peace movement. This is part of a calculated step to the left by the party which, during its last years in power, had been outmanoeuvred by the Greens on its left and had lost touch with the rank and file of its own youth organisation and the labour unions, as the March elections showed."

The suppression was clear and to the point. Demonstration laws were tightened. In addition to holding joint planning with the official leaders, the police established a massive presence. Theo Summer, a

<sup>3</sup>It should be noted that the SPD's participation in the anti-missile movement was premised on the view that it would not succeed in stopping the missiles. In the SPD's view the unity of NATO was not really threatened by the anti-missile movement and that therefore the principal task at hand was domestic political damage control.

leading bourgeois commentator (with somewhat liberal credentials) spoke for the ruling class when he warned in *Dissent* in early September that whilst there could be protest within prescribed limits, the anti-missile movement dare not allow itself to become a breeding ground for "revolution." Attempts to physically stop the stationing would be nothing less than "high treason" and would be dealt with accordingly.

The ruling class made one tactical move after another to be in the best position to contain and control the developing events. The more militant consciously anti-imperialist and revolutionary sections of the mass movements were targeted for "criminalisation." The magazine *Radikal* from Berlin, an important journal among these forces, came under attack with the jailing of two people associated with it for "aiding a terrorist organisation."

At the same time special attention was paid to foreign-born workers, the so-called "guest workers," the most politically volatile and radical section of the working class in W. Germany. Along with increased surveillance, harassment and even the banning of political groups among these workers, especially those from Turkey, the authorities stepped up the normal practices of denying visa extensions and carrying out extraditions to Turkey because of political activity in W. Germany.

While they wielded the stick, the ruling class' fear and fundamental weakness could not be hidden. A decision by W. Germany's highest court in the spring of 1983 caused the postponement of the planned national census, the *Volkszählung*. This so-called census amounted to nothing less than a house-to-house search for foreign workers without papers and an attempt to establish a computerised record of the residence of every person in W. Germany, with a special eye toward potentially disloyal sections of the population.

This census had aroused widespread opposition, including a very broadbased boycott movement. This movement itself had been declared illegal and the first fines and charges levied when the bourgeoisie decided it was just plain

bad tactics to go through with this particular clampdown at that particular time. This was because it would have hit and alienated exactly the strata which the ruling class wanted to hold within the circumscribed bounds of respectable dissent if they were able to succeed in implementing their strategy of isolating the more militant and revolutionary-minded forces during the fall.

### The Autonomen

These forces, at least the native-born ones, are best known as the Autonomen (though they do not all call themselves that). More than anything the Autonomen are a product of the international upsurge in 1979-80 which was marked by the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua and at the same time saw an increase in tension between the two imperialist blocs and a stepping up of war preparations. When this is added to the complete collapse, following the coup in China, of the Marxist-Leninist movement in W. Germany (which was choking from within with economism and revisionism before that), it is not surprising that such a trend, and not one guided by or drawn to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, emerged.

The Autonomen are a loose tendency influenced by various forms of anarchism, Marxism, revisionism and anti-imperialism. They see the imperialist system as the source of oppression and exploitation and are not social-pacifist. An important principle is support for armed liberation struggles. However, because they tend to oppose theory and analysis of objective developments on principle, their understanding of imperialism is rather empirical. They see W. Germany as imperialist only because it is dominated by, or an extension of, U.S. imperialism. The Soviet Union is regarded with mixed feelings—"however bad it is, it does aid the liberation struggles." Few understand that an imperialist class rules there. This allows the various brands of ultra-"left" pro-Moscow revisionism to extend their influence and credibility. As a social force the Autonomen are drawn mainly,

though not exclusively, from various sections of the middle classes. As a political current they have had an important and positive impact on the various social movements of the last few years, including the squatters movement in Berlin and elsewhere, the anti-Startbahn West struggle (against the extension of the Frankfurt Airport runway to enhance its military usefulness), and the anti-nuke movement.

The strength of the Autonomen has been to raise sharply the question of the imperialist system, the connection of the struggle in the imperialist homelands with the national liberation struggles and the necessity of going directly up against the state and its various specialised bodies of armed men. Their weakness is that as a trend they do not see the possibility for revolution in the imperialist countries, especially W. Germany, even if many would like to see it. Furthermore, they don't understand that even in W. Germany there is a lower section of the proletariat which is the most important element of the social base for a revolutionary proletarian line. Of course, it's harder to see this proletarian social base when you're not looking for it.

In the end their perspective for W. Germany often comes down to aiding the national liberation struggles through concrete actions while developing a "lifestyle of resistance" that will draw increasing numbers of people into its ranks and hopefully one day be in the position to overwhelm the bourgeoisie. In fact, whatever the subjective intentions, this translates into being the most radical opposition within the framework of the present system.

As early as 1981, when the anti-war movement began to gather steam, the Autonomen had a difficult time understanding it and figuring out how to relate to it. Seriously underestimating the danger of a world war, they view the war preparations of the Western bloc as mainly aimed against the oppressed countries. To the extent the East-West aspect is acknowledged, it is seen as an attempt by the U.S.-led bloc to intimidate the Soviet Union into stopping its "support" for national liberation movements.

They generally view East bloc war preparations as a defensive response to Western preparations and tend to deny the Soviet bloc's interest in and necessity for a third world war. They cast a similar eye towards the W. German ruling class—which as pointed out earlier is not seen as imperialist in its own right.

From such a standpoint, how then to evaluate and relate to the movement brought into existence by the imperialist preparations for a war which is not really coming? Instead of helping to expose what would be the greatest single crime in history and instead of utilising the opportunity presented by the drawing of millions into political life, the Autonom trend as a whole (though not without exception) fed illusions that really something other than world war was at stake, downplaying both the danger involved and the profound crisis the imperialist system is in.

Related to this and equally puzzling for them was the dramatic change in the political landscape: where before the relationship had been thousands of Autonomen exerting a strong influence on tens of thousands of people in the mass movements, it was now tens of thousands of activists under other banners and leadership exerting influence over millions, with non-violence one of the key planks in the platform. In fact, one of the great weaknesses of the "apolitical" politics of the Autonomen was their inability to foresee, and therefore their inability to prepare for, this kind of situation when millions are jolted into political life. The result is that they abdicated their capacity to play a leading role when the stakes really did go up.

In contrast to this approach, the Autonomen tend to reduce the struggle against imperialism in the imperialist citadels to inflicting material damage in the belly of the beast. Thus they never did really understand the battle for public opinion that went on around the missile crisis. They wound up going from pillar to post: on the one hand they thought the main way the anti-war movement would be "radicalised" was concentrated in the struggle over

political content of the various positions on tactics. They fell into the error of making the violence/non-violence question *the* dividing line which, despite its obvious importance, had the effect of obscuring questions of even greater centrality. All this left them unable to carry out the necessary political struggle.

Reaction to what appeared to be an unbreachable stone wall of reformism and pacifism dominating the movement against the missiles led to a desire to not have anything to do with the struggle against stationing at all. However, the contradictions focused around the arrival of the missiles and the forces put in motion by this couldn't be avoided by anyone who wanted to remain active politically. Thus among the Autonom forces support grew for a campaign (originally conceived as lasting beyond the fall) to interfere with U.S. munitions transport from the port at Bremerhaven to U.S. forces throughout W. Germany. This, it was said, would throw "sand in the gears" of the NATO war machine. Here at last, many among the Autonomen reasoned, could more radical politics and tactics come to the fore.

#### Warm-up For The Fall

The "Hot Autumn" itself actually began in June in the city of Krefeld. This was the site chosen by the rulers of both W. Germany and the U.S. to hold a celebration of 300 years of German-American "friendship," in order to portray to the world the great unity between these two imperialist partners, and to counter the wave of protest and opposition against the stationing of the new Cruise and Pershing II missiles that had swelled to unprecedented proportions and was about to break across the political landscape.

Krefeld was probably chosen for these reactionary festivities because it is also where the famous "Krefelder Appell" originated. This letter of protest against the stationing of the new missiles had been signed by numerous prominent writers, actors, artists and academicians, and had gained over four million additional signatures.

While the counter-demonstration organised by the mainstream forces

of the anti-missile movement ran peacefully and well away from the official ceremony, the Autonomen crashed the imperialists' war party, creating an international incident as a number of Autonomen succeeded in breaking through the police cordon and stoned U.S. Vice-President Bush's car. Certain prominent figures, concerned particularly to set a framework for the coming fall events, immediately denounced them. Petra Kelly of the Green Party declared, "They were punks. They had nothing to do with the peace movement. They were punks, that's all."

In response to the events in Krefeld, and as part of their overall preparation for the fall, the mainstream leaders of the official peace movement held their symbolic blockade of the US base at Mutlangen in early September. Mutlangen was to be the site of the first Pershing II's and was a fitting target of protest. But more important for these forces was the symbolism involved in the way the protest was carried out and the politics it portrayed.

Everything went according to plan—that is, the joint plan of the official leaders, the police and the U.S. Army. Activity at the base was cut to a bare minimum and for the duration of the blockade all traffic in and out was stopped completely. The "peace prominents" like Günter Grass and Heinrich Boll, Petra Kelly and Gen. Gert Bastian were all on hand. The media was assembled in legion strength to report on this "historic protest." On cue the prominents sat down in the now-unused street in front of the now empty base and after the prescribed time were carried away by friendly police who after all sympathised with the demonstrators but had their job to do. The entire performance was hailed as a critical success—and as the mould for the big week of actions in October.

A small problem arose when some in the supporting cast argued that they were there to *stop* the new missiles and that playing charades was unproductive. They wanted to shift the protest to the nearby town of Schwäbisch Gemund and block the entrance to the U.S. barracks

there, since the base was too quiet over the weekend. A stormy debate ensued. Unable to say that the point of the action was *not* to have confrontation, the peace prominents mainly argued that such a disruptive action would "alienate" the local population. This line of reasoning was to become a very familiar theme in the fall.

Nevertheless when some decided they were going whether the media stars agreed or not, a compromise was reached: a contingent would be sent to the barracks, but the action would last only an hour or two. The press played down this "blemish" on what they considered an otherwise sterling performance.

### The October Protest

The anti-missile protest culminated in "Peace Week," lasting from October 15th to 23rd, in a series of local actions and mass demonstrations in cities throughout W. Germany. Several points can be made about these events: 1. They were enormous. Over a million people and probably closer to two million took an active part in one way or another, reflecting the breadth and depth of the political crisis around the missiles. 2. The huge numbers were drawn mainly from the middle classes and the protests were fueled by bourgeois democratic illusions and tainted with a "save Germany" nationalism. Overall, they remained under the leadership of the mainstream reformist elements and within bounds acceptable to the bourgeoisie. 3. The extent to which things did go beyond the limits of "respectability," both politically and tactically, was much greater than the bourgeois press was wont to admit. "Peace Week" was far from completely peaceful. There were thousands of arrests and dozens of actions large and small where club-wielding police backed by water cannons clashed with demonstrators. 4. *The absence of a proletarian vanguard party organised around a revolutionary communist line was painfully evident.*

While the bourgeoisie had overall been able to hold the lid on things during the "Peace Week," they had not as yet succeeded in stationing the

missiles. Where would the movement go from here? In a sense a political vacuum developed. According to the script of most of the peace leaders (and the ruling class) the *Heisse Herbst* was over. To a large extent, the people had remained peaceful and made their voices heard. The only thing to do now was to go home and await the decision of the politicians, statesmen and generals. No further actions were planned.

But for tens of thousands, including many who up to that point had been to one degree or another under the influence and leadership of the official leaders, the decision of those in power was all too clear and the point was not to be heard but to stop the missiles—and the coming war.

### The Bremerhaven Blockade

In terms of the overall effect on the radical forces in the fall, perhaps the most significant action was the blockade of U.S. Army port facilities in Bremerhaven, in northern W. Germany, called for and built by various Autonom forces. Although they had decided to *not* focus on the missiles, but instead on munitions transports, these forces felt they had to call a major action during "Peace Week"—an action that objectively became part of the protest against the stationing of the new missiles. Because of who had initiated it, it was also the one that was most likely to break out of control. There was the real danger of a contagious spill-over effect.

The bourgeoisie prepared to mount a massive show of force. Even more effective were the manipulations of the SPD/DKP axis which first opposed the action at regional meetings where the initiators sought to win broader support for Bremerhaven as a target. When the axis forces realised they couldn't stop it, they not only joined it, but moved to take it over. As a result, the 5,000 people who came out directly behind the Autonom banner were surrounded politically and physically by two or three times that number turned out by or at least following the general leadership of the SPD/DKP axis.

Despite some sharp clashes, from

both a tactical and political viewpoint the action was kept within "respectable" bounds. Contributing to the Autonom's failure to break through the encirclement was their tendency to make a principle out of not having any leadership or organisation (not to mention a unified political line). Thus while their forces numbered in the thousands at the outset, they could not unify their own ranks to act decisively. In this case the whole became less than the sum of its parts. Their failure to understand the centrality of the political battle in such a situation led them to believe that militant action alone could win others to a more radical perspective. There is nothing wrong with militant action—in fact it is very necessary—but it is not the sole or main element in winning people to a revolutionary perspective. To do this it is crucial to take on the other political lines and programmes in the field, show what class interests they represent, and compare them to the programme of the only class whose interests demand nothing less than the complete elimination of imperialism (and social classes as well)—the international proletariat. Of course such work can in the final analysis only be carried out in a thorough and all-around way when a political party representing the proletariat is there to lead it.

In Bremerhaven the real prospect existed for winning over many under the sway of the SPD/DKP axis, who were (and are) not 100% locked into their political fold. This did not happen. The Autonom forces summed up the Bremerhaven action as a tactical and political defeat, which it was. Unfortunately many concluded from this that there was no more purpose in trying to influence the events in the fall. Everything was considered wrapped up tight by the reformist leadership. Some even began to regard the tremendous blow they had struck three months earlier at Krefeld as a defeat because of the busts and heavy charges that had come down (and the bourgeoisie was still in power, wasn't it?). Finally, some among these forces gave currency to the analysis that the "Hot Autumn" had all been a plot by the bourgeoisie designed to draw

the system's opponents out into the open so that they could be identified and crushed. All of this had a very negative effect on the role these particular forces played through the rest of the fall.

During the brief lull that followed "Peace Week" a flurry of summations from all the different corners fought for centre stage. The bourgeoisie summed up the beauty of democracy, prepared for the vote in parliament and broke ground at the missile sites. The range of reformist forces in the official leadership congratulated themselves for having "fought the good fight," and marveled over their newly developed "human chain" in which thousands of people would lock arms over hundreds of kilometres—the perfect self-imposed dispersal! The reformists, with their various motives, tried to shut things down for the fall and prepared to implement their longer range strategies. Most importantly, a section of activists in the movement became thoroughly fed up with all the symbolism and complete lack of determined resistance. These were mostly local and regional groups which were not tied directly to or led by the SPD/DKP axis or Green leadership and which tended toward some type of militant pacifism. The question was being posed more sharply than ever, "Which way forward?"

#### World Without Imperialism Contingent

A significant new element appeared on the political scene with the arrival of the World Without Imperialism Contingent from the U.S. This was a diverse group of 25 to 30, drawn mainly from among the anti-draft, anti-nuke and feminist movements, from among students and proletarian youth, and organised and led by the RCP, USA under the banner "Desert America's War Mongering—Be At the European Frontlines." These politics were concentrated in the Contingent's two slogans: "Down With the Pershing and Cruise Missiles and All War Preparations Both East and West!" "A World Without Imperialism, Not an Imperialist World War!"

The young people in this Con-

tingent took part out of a sense of internationalism, and the desire to join in this extremely important battle. It was clear from the start that the presence of these forces with this kind of slogan and under the leadership of communists would go a long way towards projecting a revolutionary political pole into the movement against the missiles.

Upon their arrival in W. Germany the contingent met and united politically with activists from the Federation of Workers from Turkey in W. Germany (ATIF), an organisation decidedly influenced by the line of the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist). Not only was a political line reflecting the stance and interests of the international proletariat entering the fray but—in a more powerful and concentrated way than before—class-conscious proletarians as well.

#### November 21: The Go-Ahead Vote

A national peace conference had been called for early November. The rapidly changing situation and shifting balance of forces was unmistakable. In the plenary sessions the official leaders came under sharp and repeated criticism for having led the movement down the ineffective path of symbolic resistance. The ability of the SPD/DKP axis to use its organised numbers to hold a lid on things was for the moment broken as the masses "spoke bitterness" and would not be intimidated.

There was a growing sense that the November 21st vote in the Bundestag would be the next focal point of the battle around the missiles. When the independent forces made it clear that they planned to demonstrate in Bonn on that day whether or not the conference as a whole and the KA approved, the SPD/DKP axis reluctantly went along. Their purpose was clearly not to build for it, but rather to be in the best position to control and restrain it.<sup>4</sup>

The forces for and against the missiles were facing off once again and this time the battleground was shaping up to be the Bundestag on November 21st, the day scheduled for the democratic seal of approval. The ruling class was sure to focus

public attention on this for its own purposes and it was incumbent on the forces opposed to them—especially those of the revolutionary proletariat—to mount the political stage the bourgeoisie was setting. In waging struggle in this type of situation it is important, as Mao said, "to pay attention to affairs of state." This does not mean becoming parliamentary cretins or always centring protest on parliament. Rather it means that one cannot ignore the political arena of the bourgeoisie, and in certain concrete circumstances focusing struggle directly in relation to parliament may serve to further the development of a revolutionary consciousness among the masses. In this case it was more a question of entering this arena by laying siege to it.

In the wake of the national peace conference, ATIF and the World Without Imperialism Contingent along with activists from *Fight Back* (a revolutionary newspaper circulating among U.S. GI's in Europe) jointly issued a call for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the demonstration in Bonn on the 21st of November. The political necessity and goal of this action was summed up in the call for this contingent (see box).

<sup>4</sup>An interesting note to this is that the "axis," along with a section of the Green national leadership, had already decided upon the next point of concentration for the movement: the launching of a *Volksbefragung* or straw-poll. The *Volksbefragung* was to prove that the majority opposed the missiles and that the government was acting in an undemocratic fashion, etc. Since the decision-makers in Bonn would never hold such a referendum (not "allowed" by the W. German constitution), the proposal was for the peace movement to organise unofficial polling places outside the polls for the European Parliament Election scheduled for June 1984. They had already printed 500,000 copies of the first issue of the *Newspaper for the Volksbefragung*. Despite the big push the whole thing never went anywhere. This was but another sign that events were accelerating rapidly and for the time being anyhow had wrenched the mass movement out of the grip of the "official" leadership.

## From the Call for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent

“A clear and powerful statement must be made in the streets of Bonn on November 21st, the day the parliament rubber-stamps the Pershing II and Cruise missile deployment. On that day, when they will claim to speak in the name of the ‘democratic mandate,’ and will declare their solemn approval for this calculated move toward war, they must be indicted, exposed and opposed by thousands in the streets. Let them declare their ‘right’ to approve these steps—while the whole world can see that their deliberations take place behind rows of barbed wire and their armed thugs....

“But a sharp question remains: when the eyes of millions (both in W. Germany and throughout the world) are focused on Bonn that day—when they evaluate the forces in the field over the question of this clear move toward war... what will they see? Will the followers of ‘NATO-Willy’ have the last word? Will the statement outside the Bundestag that day be little more than a last minute ‘beg-in’ attempting to loyally ‘pressure the elected representatives’ of the war-makers?

“NO! THIS CANNOT BE ALLOWED! It will not be allowed! A clear, unmistakable voice must be heard that dares to speak the truth, and that raises the indictment of the system of imperialism as a clear pole in the political arena that day.

“In this politically charged situation, we have both the possibility and the necessity to turn these aspirations into a material force—by erecting a political pole that indicates the source of the drive toward war, and points toward a way out of this crisis, a pole that can influence and attract forces that have newly broken into political life and the process of radicalisation.

“For these reasons, then, a call:

To all anti-imperialist forces (from pacifist to revolutionary): to join together in a single united anti-imperialist contingent for Bonn on November 21. To take part in the events of that day under the slogans:

**DOWN WITH THE PERSHING AND CRUISE MISSILES  
AND ALL WAR PREPARATIONS BOTH EAST AND WEST!  
A WORLD WITHOUT IMPERIALISM, NOT AN IM-  
PERIALIST WORLD WAR!”**

With the issuance of this call a new and revolutionary dimension was introduced to the swirl of events. In a number of major cities in W. Germany members of the World Without Imperialism Contingent and class-conscious proletarians from Turkey took it out widely and boldly on street corners, in cafes, on college campuses and even into the national convention of the Greens...no place was sacred.

There were two striking characteristics to this activity which both attracted attention and stirred up controversy. One was the political line being argued, with its decidedly proletarian thrust. To quote the call: “It is wrong to approach such questions [the danger of world war—K.K.] from the point of view of the interests of the people of any one country (especially an imperialist metropole country like W. Germany). Instead we must stand for something different and genuinely internationalist—approaching politics from the interests of the oppressed people of the whole world.” Such a stand was both a challenge to widely held prejudices and a breath of fresh air for those who had been choking on the Euro-centric tendencies of the mainstream.

The second and really unprecedented feature was the role played by class-conscious proletarians from Turkey. Of course, there had been contingents of proletarians from Turkey in demonstrations in the past around different issues, including against war preparations. But the full impact of taking up and projecting a revolutionary political line right into the midst of “German” oppositional politics, of building for this line among Turkish and German sections of the population alike—in short, of the proletariat coming to the fore as a leading political force—this had not been seen in this way in recent years in Germany.

The impact of the role of these class-conscious proletarians was both sharp and profound. Many people saw for the first time the potential role these proletarians could play in political developments in West Germany itself. The existence of a social base for revolution in West Germany, of which the im-

migrant workers are a vital part, became more visible to friend and enemy alike. The active participation of class conscious workers from Turkey was an indispensable part of constructing the kind of political pole demanded in the call for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

### Showdown in Bonn

November 21st in Bonn was a serious set-back for the ruling classes. Their dream of an anti-war movement broken and demoralised and nowhere in sight as the eyes of the world were fixed on the democratic decision to seal the NATO blood pact was literally trampled in the streets. Unfortunately for them, the vital assistance rendered by the official peace leaders in holding things in check had at that point been severely reduced. While these leaders had done nothing to mobilise for the day and were now discussing a "blockade" of Parliament—one that respected the "Bahnmile" (the area around the government buildings where demonstrations are forbidden)—many others, who had mobilised all-out, were now talking of a "siege."

And a siege it was. The "Battle of Bonn" reverberated across television screens and front pages throughout W. Germany and indeed around the world. Almost from morning's first light, the ruling classes were forced to abandon all hope of a "normal day for democracy" as thousands ignored the Bahnmile and the official leaders, crossed the bounds of respectable protest and marched on the seat of government. The ruling class' political frontmen were forced to circle the wagons and cower behind a wall of riot cops backed by tear gas and water cannon. For hours they battled with the demonstrators in an attempt to clear the streets and break the siege. To no avail. Such a scene had little precedent in the history of W. Germany. For the first time ever it was necessary to use water cannons in the capital in an effort to quell unruly "citizens."

The clash of fundamentally conflicting interests was unmistakable. It was clear that this protest was *not*

aimed at getting the politicians to represent the majority correctly in the national interests, but far more aimed at those politicians themselves and the state they represent.

There is a very definite relationship between political line and choice of tactics. The placid protest that the reformist leaders of the mainstream hoped for would have indeed promoted just that political perspective. Even as events were getting out of hand in Bonn, functionaries from the KA brought up sound trucks to the scene of the battle and attempted to persuade people to retreat from the line of cops and listen to the debate in the Bundestag that was broadcast on radio and television and which they were carrying over their speaker system!

The actions of the Green members of Parliament on the 21st are another case in point. Some in their ranks had suggested that instead of taking part in the vote, which was sure to be in favour of the missiles, they should denounce the whole farce and march out and join the demonstrations. Their proposal was quickly and sharply trounced by the majority as "unthinkable." After all, they had a responsibility to those who had elected them to exercise their voice in Parliament. The Greens provided a spectacle of impotency as they quietly voted and carried out a thoroughly respectable protest. This also illustrated vividly how the petit bourgeoisie as a class (whom the Greens as a party politically represent) is completely incapable of *leading* any kind of thorough-going opposition to imperialism and the world war it is preparing, even if it (or sections of it) and some of its political representatives can be won to supporting the *proletariat's* solution.<sup>5</sup>

But while the Greens in Parliament were finding it impossible to break out of the bourgeoisie's embrace, in the midst of the confrontation and on the very front-line was the Anti-Imperialist Contingent (with ATIF and the World Without Imperialism people at its core). A red flag carried by a proletarian from Turkey and a huge banner inscribed in German, Turkish and English with the words, "A World

Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War!" were thrust to the centre of world attention. This political line did indeed become a major feature of the landscape in Bonn that day. This happened not just because those bearing it were at the front leading the push against the police or that thousands of leaflets were distributed, but also and very importantly because the proletariat had entered the political arena in the person of proletarians from Turkey in a decisive fashion.

### Impact of Proletarian Internationalism

The material effect of these proletarians promoting an internationalist line aimed at the world system of imperialism was tremendous; it significantly influenced thousands of the mainly middle class demonstrators. This was especially important because the motion of objective events—the vote that day for the missiles—was making clearer to them that appeals to reason aimed at the government and the powers-that-be would not stop the march toward war. This pushed them to look for those forces with whom they can unite to wage a more determined fight. Many also have a basic sense that proletarians like those from Turkey really do belong to a class that has no stake in this system and are less susceptible to being sidetracked by the siren call of bourgeois democratic illusions sweetened with imperialist privilege. Yet many too from the middle classes really did not believe that proletarians with a stand more radical than theirs existed or were capable of recognising the importance of the question at hand and acting. Thus the living expression of internationalism exhibited that day was for many both a surprise and an inspiration.

But even so it had not been easy winning forces to openly join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. As

<sup>5</sup>This is further underscored by developments since the fall where in the Parliament in the state of Hessen the Greens entered into a de facto coalition government with the SPD despite strong resistance from a large section of the party's base and even within its leadership.

already explained, a large number of the Autonomen had decided to take no part in the main actions. Among many the question of going to Bonn or not was hotly debated and often not resolved until the last moment. And there was still hesitancy to be openly identified with something the Marxist-Leninists were helping to lead and organise. This is related to the particular history of the Marxist-Leninist movement in W. Germany and its collapse in the mid-'70s. There is a certain stigma attached to Marxism-Leninism, even though what is being rejected is not revolutionary communism, but usually revisionism of one form or another.

This is all the more interesting in light of the fact that once the Anti-Imperialist Contingent established its strong political and tactical role, many of these same forces came up and asked, "What are you going to do next?", "What do you think we should do?" After two to three hours of battle in front of the Bundestag, a breakaway march of about 1,000 people formed and prepared to head to the El Salvador Embassy and other political targets. As the march moved out, leading the way was the red flag and a banner brought over by members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (youth group of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA): "Revolution in the '80s—Go For It!"

This is not to say that everyone or even the majority of those following behind agreed with this political statement, yet it was a glimpse of something very important. Only the proletariat has the strength, programme and objective position in society to lead a revolutionary upsurge to victory, the only fundamental solution to preventing world war. Just as those forces in Bonn found themselves in the heat of struggle compelled to relate to and even unite behind (to one degree or another) the banner being raised by the proletariat, so too will it be the case that as crisis and upheaval more and more mark the political landscape in countries around the world—and particularly as the imperialists drag things to the brink of world war—the proletariat will be in a position to rally and lead many from the mid-

dle strata who today are not winnable. This is exactly because there is no reform or half-way solution that can stop what is being prepared and will actually be launched if not stopped. The bankruptcy of reformism was particularly evident that day in Bonn.

As events in W. Germany showed—and particularly on the 21st in Bonn—there is the real possibility in the midst of accelerating events and unprecedented danger for a basic realignment to take place in society and an agenda implemented which is very different from that of the ruling class. As one of the members of the World Without Imperialism Contingent later wrote: "Our whole experience in W. Germany was incredible, like a lifetime compacted into a couple of months, the kind of thing you read about in books. We threw ourselves onto the front-lines, making our internationalist aspirations felt, and uniting broadly with people from all streams of society, entering the upheaval, debates and demonstrations. It was a first-hand experience in just what is possible in these increasingly explosive and turbulent times when amidst the stench and decay of the old, and the real dangers of destruction, people catch a glimpse of the new and fight for it. In refusing to be confined by the narrowness of 'tending to our struggle in the U.S.,' but rather, seeing things globally, we were able to literally stride across the world."

The battle around the missile stationing did continue to escalate. On the weekend of Dec. 12th, anniversary of the infamous two-track decision and the week in which the missiles were scheduled to become operational, there were three days of pitched battles in Frankfurt around the site of the repair depot for the Pershing IIs. In Mutlangen, what was planned as a Sunday stroll by the official leaders almost turned into a riot as members of the World Without Imperialism Contingent led thousands in storming newly erected barricades designed to keep demonstrators hundreds of metres from the base perimeter.

In addition to these actions, ATIF and the WWIC joined with a broad range of forces to sponsor a series of

conferences around the question of world war, its source and its prevention. These conferences, especially the one in Berlin which was attended by 150 people including proletarians from Turkey, Autonomen, squatters, students, Green supporters, etc., went deeply into these questions and the necessity of and possibility for revolution. That such a broad array of forces came together, as well as the debate itself, both further revealed the deep-going political questioning taking place and helped advance the process of establishing a proletarian revolutionary pole.

Still, while especially in the last month the movement against the missiles did significantly change the terms of the battle, overall events did not go as far as they might have—tactically or politically—in challenging the bourgeoisie's rule. There were a number of reasons for this, including the strength of the various class forces and different political lines contending in the arena and, not least, the absence of a vanguard party of the proletariat in W. Germany. But if the political crisis of Hot Autumn was replaced by relative calm, it is a very intense calm indeed—one in which the overall political situation has been profoundly shaken and re-shaped and in which further outbreaks of struggle and upheaval are inevitable. The very significant mass actions aimed at disrupting the 1984 Fall NATO manoeuvres are one sign of this.

The events of the Hot Autumn in the year of the Euro-missiles drove home the urgent necessity and possibility for revolutionary communists armed with a correct political understanding to maximise their political influence and help transform the movement against war preparations into a powerful component part of a movement aimed at destroying the rule of those whose system breeds war. Today, with the creation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the possibility of doing this is all that much enhanced. But the realisation of this potential will not and cannot be accomplished without tremendous struggle and daring to solve the difficult political challenges posed today. ■

