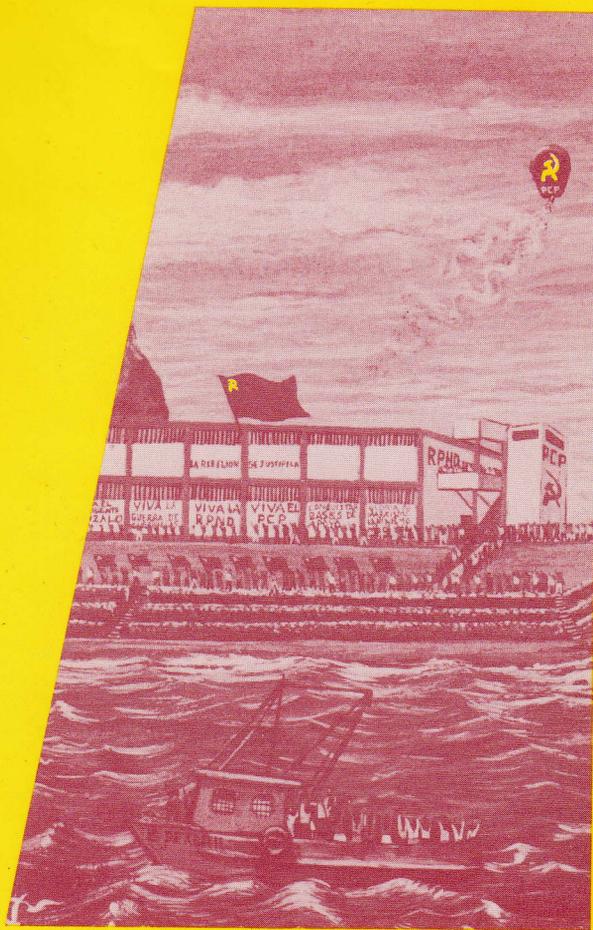


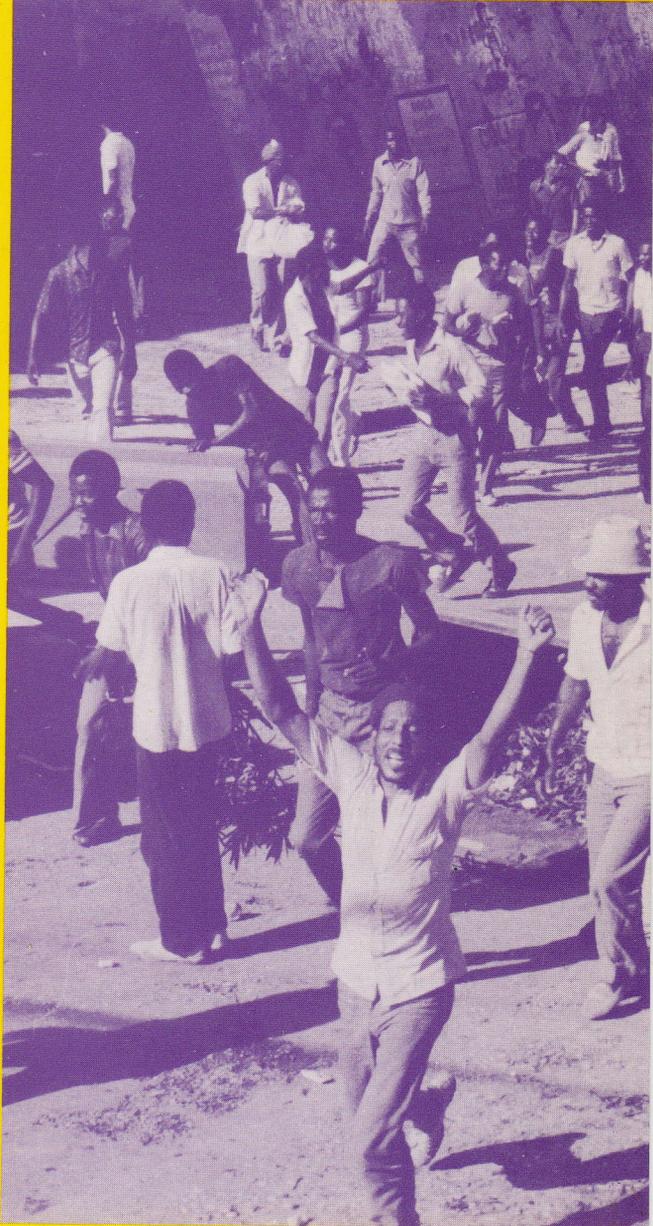
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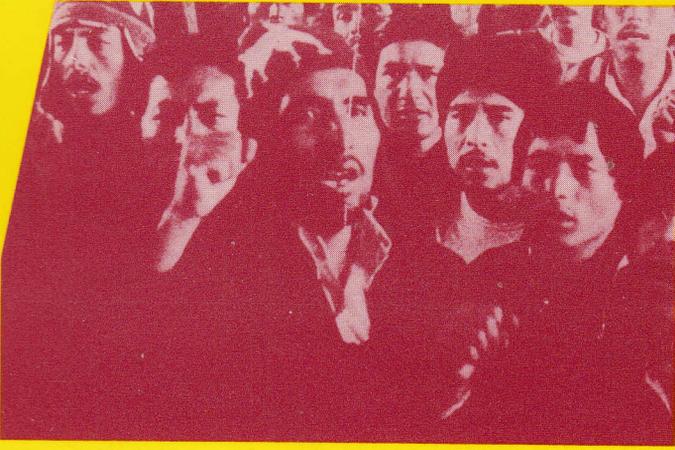
MONDE A GAGNER जीतनेके लिए सारा विश्व है A WORLD



HAITI:
THE DECHOUKAGE
HAS ONLY
JUST BEGUN!



PERU: THIS BLOOD THAT
HAS BEEN SPILT SHALL
NEVER BE FORGOTTEN



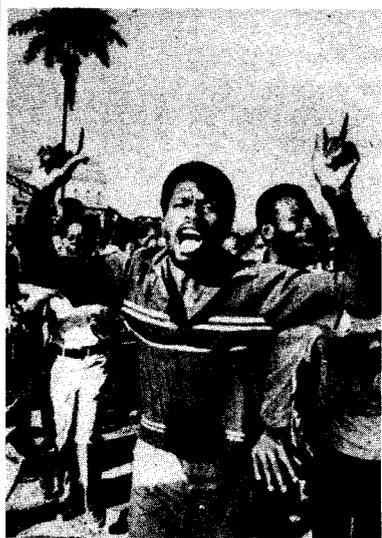
UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE جهانی برای فتح

Peru



The heroism of hundreds of revolutionary prisoners of war in the face of massacre reverberated throughout Peru, and indeed, the world. Statements by the PCP Central Committee and the Committee of the RIM. Also, analyses of the first five years of the people's war and of the current situation.

Haiti



The old order has been shaken: the masses are in no mood to sit down. Marxist-Leninists are uniting and grappling with plans to unleash people's war.

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



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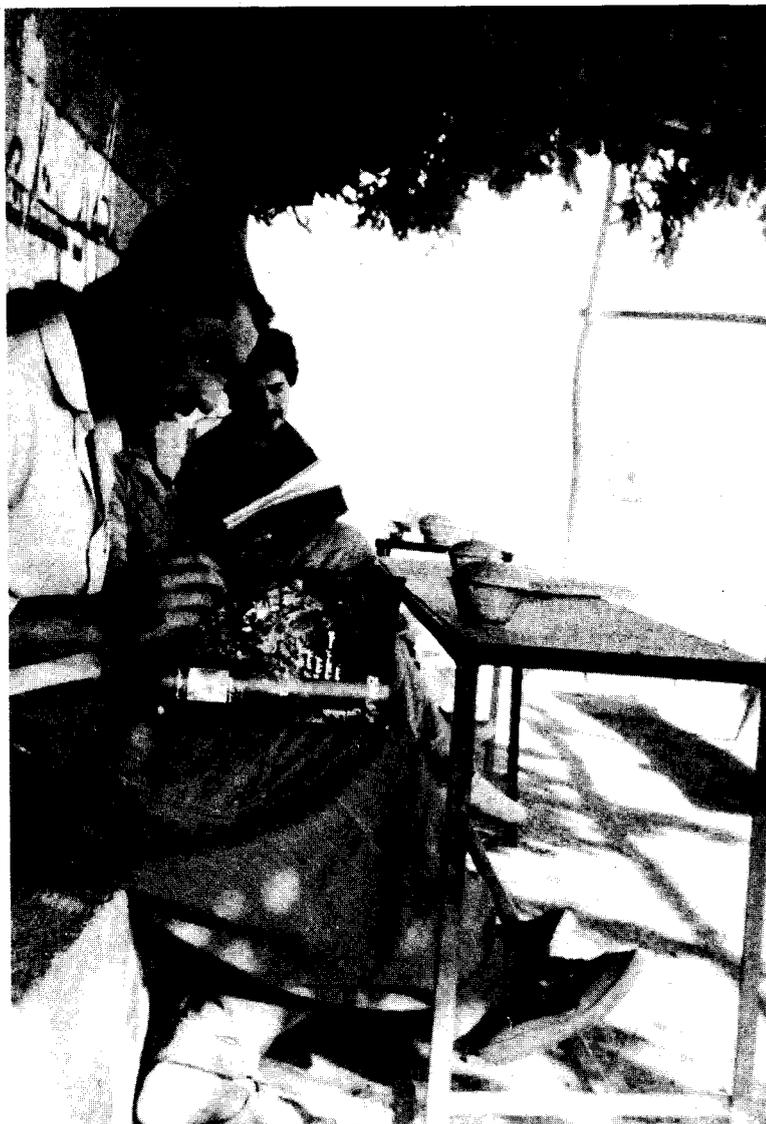
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TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВБИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

जीतने के लिए सारा विश्व है

UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR KAZANITLACAK DÜNYA विश्व विजय

A World To Win has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12th, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world. It is not an official organ of the RIM. Its pages are open to all those on the same sides of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

A World to Win is presently available in English, Farsi, Italian, Spanish and Turkish.

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HAITI: THE HAS ONLY

The Duvalier dictatorship, a "presidency for life" passed down from father to son since 1957, ended abruptly February 7th when a U.S.-supplied military plane carried Jean-Claude Duvalier and his father's hastily dug-up remains to exile in France.

The *dechoukage* — the efforts of the masses to "uproot" the old order — had begun. Duvalierist and Tonton Macoutes (Duvalier's armed thugs) were driven out of their positions of authority throughout society. Many were sentenced and executed by the crowds in the streets.

Two things can be said with certainty. One is that Haiti's ruling classes are in disarray and the armed forces which are the backbone of their state are tremendously weakened, while the masses are determined to carry through their *dechoukage*. The other is that if the masses in their millions do not take up guns and overthrow the old power and replace it with a new revolutionary state led by the proletariat, in order to do away with imperialist domination,



DECHOUKAGE JUST BEGUN!

semi-feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, then one way or another the reactionary classes and the U.S. — for whom much is at stake in Haiti, in regional and international terms — will reassert their bloody power and take revenge.

The objective conditions for revolution are excellent in Haiti. They are also excellent conditions for the emergence of a party embracing all Haiti's genuine proletarian revolutionaries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in relation to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. A party that would put itself at the head of the mass upsurge by carrying forward a protracted people's war based on the masses and especially the peasants who form the great majority of the population. The joint call to Haiti's Marxist-Leninists put out by the Haitian Internationalist Revolutionary Group (GRIA) and the Haitian Workers Party (PTH) is a very significant step in this direction. □



Crisis in Haiti and the Tasks of Revolutionaries

**By the Haitian Internationalist
Revolutionary Group (GRIA)**

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

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

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

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

The Masses are the Makers of History

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

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

An Historical Crossroad

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

plotation, oppression, starvation and ignorance of the masses.

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

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

Is This Task Possible at the Present Moment?

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

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



Masses topple statue of Duvalier.



Mausoleum of 'Papa Doc' Duvalier.

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

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

and that of its allies to victory.

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

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

The Concrete and Existing Conditions in Haiti Today

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brief Elaboration on the Previous Crises

The first revolutionary situation that developed in Haiti in this century

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

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

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

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

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

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

bout of civil war.

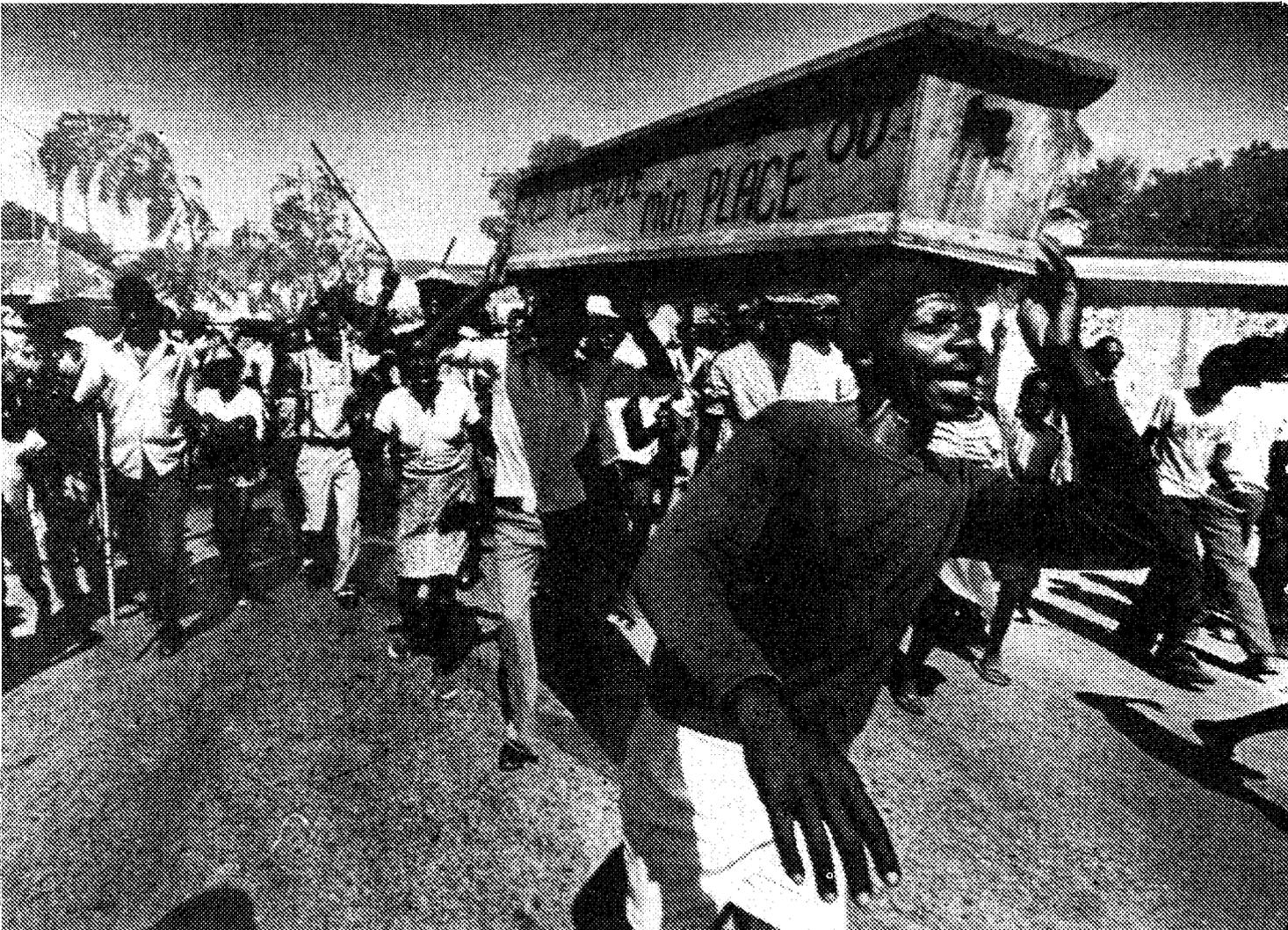
Once again the proletariat and its allies were in the field and actively waging struggle, but again had no political leadership, no party. Things were left wide open for the reactionaries to rally the masses behind their banners and programs, and once again the ruling class used

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

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

Duvalierism: Extremist Measures for a Period of Crisis

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Struggle Between Two Orientations in the Camp of the Opposition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Immediate Tasks of Marxist-Leninist Revolutionaries

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

The party must be built with the



Banner carried by demonstrating Haitians in New York.

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

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

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

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

(a) Unite our ranks, draw firm

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

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

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

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

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

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

5) The right to publish literature.

6) The right for political parties to organize.

7) The elimination of torture chambers and torture instruments.

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

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

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

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

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



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

29 years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And as Mao said, when China

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

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

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



A Call to the Revolutionary

By the Haitian Revolutionary and the Haitian

A WORLD TO WIN 1986/6

Haiti stands at a crossroads. Every day more people take to the streets, struggling for their demands. But how to satisfy the deep hopes and dreams of the Haitian people for freedom and genuine emancipation? Behind all the various programs lie two diametrically opposed answers to these questions; and each answer leads to a very different future.

We propose the following basic answer as a starting point for action and unity among all true revolutionaries and conscious patriots:

1) New Democratic Revolution.

One road before us is that of the past. Its proponents loudly propose a few reforms, but would leave Haiti's neo-colonial dependence on the U.S. (and other imperialist powers) untouched. The proponents of this road — from Bazin to PUCH — all talk about the need for elections and parliaments. But they say not a word about destroying the reactionary army, which will always enforce the interests of the big

landlords, the elite and the foreign capitalists. They argue with one another over who should run Haiti, but they all agree that it should *not* be the masses!

The second road is that of genuine revolution. The goal of present-day revolution in Haiti is a new democratic revolution, in which all remnants of feudalism are obliterated, all structures enforcing dependency on imperialism are demolished, and a qualitatively new state power in the hands of the revolutionary classes comes into being. The proponents of this road support the masses' struggle now raging and want to see it grow into a revolution against those classes who maintain and profit from Haiti's backwardness and who channel the sweat and blood of its people into the hands of imperialists and reactionaries.

To truly win emancipation, and not just exchange one imperialist master for another, this revolution must be guided by the concepts of New Democratic Revolution

pioneered by Mao Tsetung in the Chinese revolution, and must apply those concepts to Haiti's particular conditions. This new democratic revolution is not in itself socialist; its targets are the relations of structured dependency on imperialism and the semi-feudal relations in the countryside and the classes and institutions that maintain and defend them. But it must, to ensure final justice and even to fundamentally break those relations, set itself from the very beginning the task to advance further to a socialist stage.

2) "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." This statement by Mao Tsetung is a profound truth. True liberation can only be won by a war of the masses. Any schemes for a so-called "peaceful revolution," or that alternately rely on the heroic actions of a small handful, can only set back the struggle. All revolutionaries must grasp this and begin now to formulate the strategy and tactics of mass armed

Haitian Movement

Internationalist Group (GRIA)

Workers Party (PTH)

struggle appropriate to the revolution in Haiti.

3) The backbone of the new democratic revolution is the alliance between the proletariat and Haiti's vast and oppressed peasantry. But for the new democratic revolution to win victory, it must be a people's war based on a united front of all the popular classes whose interests lie in the overthrow of the present order. The tasks of leading and forging this united front, with the worker-peasant alliance at its core, falls to the proletariat — the class which alone has no stake at all in the present order and represents a future free from all exploitation and oppression.

4) To shoulder these historic tasks, the working class needs its own vanguard party, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The need to form such a party cries out with special pressing urgency; it must be done as soon as possible! The current opportunity to make

revolution in Haiti will not last forever. While the U.S. and the Haitian army prepare to drown the revolution in blood, we cannot waste a minute! But a party must be built on a firm foundation. In particular, it must demarcate itself from any trends aligning either with the Soviet Union, or Cuba, Albania, present-day China, etc., or social democracy. Instead, it should look internationally to those forces grouping together in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, including the Communist Party of Peru (known in the media as Sendero Luminoso) which currently wages people's war in Peru.

In the spirit of urgently forming this party and leading the revolutionary process forward we propose that Haitian revolutionary forces — individuals, circles and organized groups — orient themselves politically around the above four points. And based on this political orientation:

That organized and consistent

contact be established among all who agree with these points in order to intervene and raise the level of the current struggle, with the aim of launching the armed contest for power at the earliest possible time;

And second, that the political and organizational unity necessary to form a party be actively developed with the key link in that process: organized debate and struggle around a correct programme for the Haitian revolution.

Comrades! To those whom much is given, much is demanded. The eyes of the world are following Haiti, and what we do will affect not only Haiti but — even more importantly — the whole planet. The times demand that we set aside minor differences, unite on true questions of principle and rise to these truly historic challenges.

**SEIZE THE TIME!
SEIZE THE HOUR!
FORWARD WITH REVOLUTION!** □

“People Are Disposed to Take Care of Business”

Talks with Haitian Workers Party (PTH)

Following are slightly edited responses to a series of questions posed in talks with a member of the Parti Travayè Ayisiin (Haitian Workers Party).

—AWTW

The fundamental reason for Duvalier's overthrow February 7th 1986 was the mobilisation of the people, the masses' eagerness to be involved in the political process. This was the situation before and after February 7th and it's a very important characteristic of the political situation. The masses in Haiti are standing up. They took part in Duvalier's overthrow and they haven't sat down since.

It's not just a matter of Duvalier's being overthrown and the masses welcoming it. They played an enormous role in his overthrow and they are still struggling for their demands. This is frightening the Haitian reaction and imperialism, because the masses are remaining awake and this hurts the reac-

tionaries' ability to manoeuvre.

The people are in a mood to demonstrate in the streets. They don't want to ask the government and the armed forces to act for them; they want to act for themselves. They are not only demanding that the military junta put the criminal Tonton Macoutes on trial; they themselves are hunting down Macoutes and trying them in the streets, hunting them down, holding trials, condemning them and killing them. The fact that the masses are disposed to take care of business themselves is extremely important for understanding the current political situation.

This desire among the masses to act, to take to the streets, has in no way been exhausted since February 7th, although it may have had its ebbs and flows and not every moment is equally hot. The reaction is trying to get them to stop. The junta, the armed forces and even a good part of Church forces



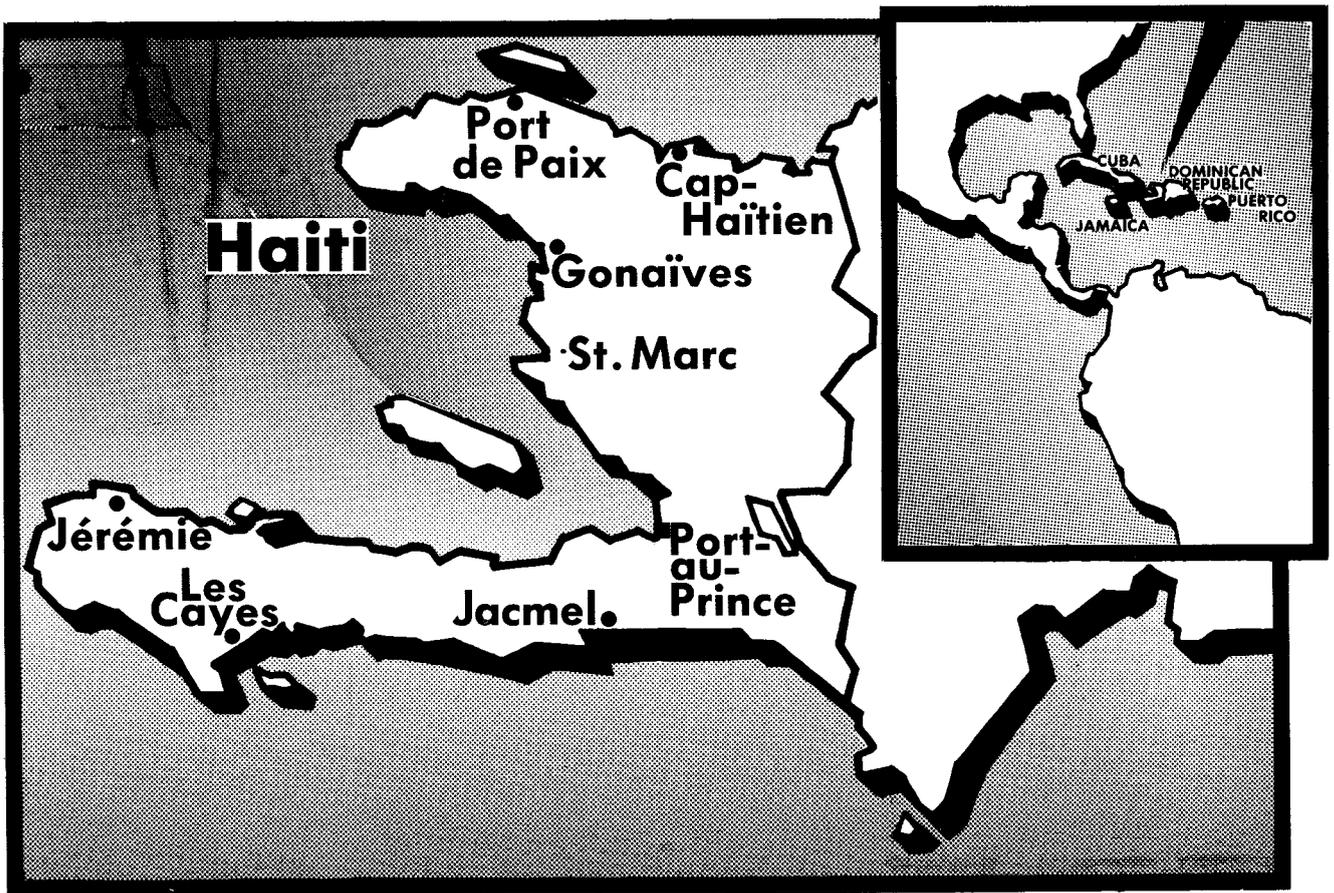
Tonton Macoute brought to justice by the people.

who took part in Duvalier's overthrow are now talking about a time for "forgiveness." The Church says instead of hunting down and killing the criminals, the people need "peace." For them, there was no crisis under Duvalier's regime, but now that Duvalier has been overthrown and the masses are in the streets, they're screaming about "crisis," as if this crisis were a bad thing. But this crisis is a good thing for the people; they're demonstrating and making their will felt — and that's a very good thing.

To a certain extent the reaction has been able to impede the further development of this crisis and this mood among the masses. As you know, the Catholic Church is very powerful. It's working very hard to keep things from developing further. The Protestant sects have done the same. The ruling classes as a whole have unleashed an extraordinarily intense anticommunist campaign right now. For

months now all the Protestant churches have been talking about is the danger of communism. Not the danger of the Tonton Macoutes and the Duvalierists who are still in power, but the danger of communism. In every church the ministers preach constantly about how bad it is under communism, about slavery in Cuba and other countries. This is an orchestrated campaign involving the churches, the mass media and so on; it's not at all spontaneous. Can it be that every church spontaneously decided to do the same thing in the same way at the same time without orders from above?

They say communism is that if you have two pairs of pants, I take one away from you. They're all repeating the same stupid lies in unison. They talk about how bad life is under communism in other countries and then warn people, "there's communists among you, working in silence — watch out because they want to take over your



movement and lead you into slavery.” So to avoid this slavery the masses are supposed to stop demonstrating and stop their movements, to stop their *dechoukage*, their campaign to tear up the very roots of the Duvalier regime.

The target of the demonstrations and the *dechoukage* is the Duvalierists, all of them, within the government, the army, the bourgeoisie or wherever they may be found. The masses want to drag them out. The masses are afraid that these forces won't be touched. In the first days after Duvalier fell, “everyone” was in agreement with the *dechoukage*, with dragging out the Tonton Macoutes — but only the little ones. When the regime saw that the *dechoukage* was continuing and that the people were dragging out the Macoutes in high places, civilian and military alike, even among the most powerful bourgeoisie, then they decided it had to stop. The army and some elements of the bourgeoisie were able to take part in the movement at first, and helped hunt down Macoutes, but only the least important ones, the neighborhood Macoutes, not their bosses. Most of the Macoutes killed in the first days weren't bigshots because the bigshots enjoyed impunity. They had money and places to hide and when the army came for them it was to take them to safety. Sometimes the Army arrested these bigshots in order to carry them to safety in the National Palace, where they're not prisoners but eat well and watch TV.

The manoeuvres of the reactionaries have impeded the development of this movement to some extent, but they have not been able to stop it, even with their provocations. The massacre at Fort Dimanche, April 26, was a major provocation.

Fort Dimanche Massacre

There had been an initiative from among the masses and the rank-and-file church members who had decided to hold a mass wake for the thousands of political prisoners who'd been killed over the Duvalier years at Fort Dimanche and in the streets and elsewhere. The people planned to hold a mass wake, get together throughout the country that Saturday night and drink coffee and play dominos and cards and talk, in memory of those killed in the jails or their homes or made to “disappear.” There are no statistics about how many people had been killed — some people say it was 30,000 or 50,000 or more.

Some were killed in their homes. The Macoutes would go to a student's home, for instance. They wouldn't arrest him on the streets. They would go to his home, take him out and shoot him in front of the whole family, then shoot everyone who lived in the house, parents, kids, grandparents, even the family dog. Then they'd burn down the house and leave the ruins to remind parents not to let their children get involved in politics. In this way the family pressures against the students were very

strong.

In the early 1960s, when some people who'd gone abroad for military training came back, they were all captured and killed. The head of the military commission of the revisionist party, the PUCH, the man who was in charge of infiltrating them into the country, was a Macoute. The regime brought *lycée* students to witness the firing squads.

Others were killed secretly, killed in jail or on the roads somewhere or simply "disappeared." Their bodies were left on the roadsides or thrown into common graves or shallow holes. So if suddenly you didn't see somebody, you wouldn't know for sure for a long time what happened to them, or you might never know. After awhile, some prisoners might be released and none of them would have seen so-and-so, so you'd figure he was dead. But you'd never know for sure. He'd just be gone, and if he was gone, people figured it was better not to talk about it because the Macoutes must have taken him.

So people wanted to have a national day of mourning for all these dead, a day that would be celebrated not just in Port-au-Prince but in every town and neighborhood in Haiti. That morning, which was on a Saturday, there was a mass celebrated in Port-au-Prince. The church was small but about 10,000 people crowded into it. Afterwards they had police permission for a demonstration that would pass by Fort Dimanche, the most famous prison in Haiti, where political prisoners were held. Fort Dimanche was run jointly by the national police and the Macoutes. It has a large prison yard overlooking the sea. Sometimes the prisoners' bodies were thrown into the sea, sometimes they were buried in the yard. It's a symbol of torture and murder in Haiti. Before this Saturday, the demand had been raised throughout the country to close down Fort Dimanche. Instead of being a jail it should be turned into a museum so that future generations could make pilgrimages and learn about the past.

So after this mass, people went to march to Fort Dimanche. There were people of all classes, from the shantytowns and the middle class neighborhoods, women and men, children, some priests and nuns. The Macoutes were waiting to ambush the crowd as it approached Fort Dimanche. Their intention was to provoke an incident, get people killed so that the government would impose a curfew and ban the national wake that was to take place that evening. And that's what happened. The Macoutes opened fire on marchers, and the police, including Duvalierists among them, started shooting at the crowd, saying that the demonstrators were about to assault Fort Dimanche and close it down themselves, since it was still a jail. The police didn't shoot above people's heads. They shot directly into the crowd to kill them. The junta used this as an excuse to ban all demonstrations and gatherings.

The government talked about provocateurs; they said that the shootings had been provoked by both

Macoutes and communists. This wasn't true. At the same time, there were rumours that Duvalierists in the army were about to launch a coup d'état against the junta. Perhaps it was true. But there's reason to believe that these rumours were spread by the junta itself, so that the people would support it instead of opposing it, as if the people had to choose between a military junta and a Macoute junta. They're still talking about the danger of a Macoute coup. That possibility can't be discarded, because there are still a lot of Duvalierists, a lot of Macoutes, in the leadership of the army. But at the same time this threat is a manoeuvre by the junta. The people say the junta's no good, that all these officers served Duvalier and that it's a Duvalierist junta, and the junta says maybe some of them were Duvalierists but at least they weren't the most extreme Duvalierists, there's others worse than them who aren't in the junta. The junta is trying to keep itself in power by frightening people with the idea of an even worse junta.

Enemy Greatly Weakened

The armed forces include 6000 police and 2000 soldiers organised into three battalions, all in the capital — one at the national palace, one in Fort Desalines, and one counterinsurgency battalion, the Leopards. The navy has one boat and 300 sailors. There's practically no air force. There were over 50,000 Macoutes, which was the main armed force, but they're mostly laid off now. Duvalier tore down the army, kept it small and put in people who were personally loyal to him. He made some guys generals who couldn't read or write because such people would be loyal to Duvalier and couldn't hope to replace him themselves. Instead he built up the Macoutes. So now the state has been very weakened.

When Papa Doc came to power, and throughout his years in power, he was a representative of the landlords. He was their open representative. In the elections of 1956-57 when he came to power, other candidates represented the bourgeoisie. Part of the bourgeoisie supported Duvalier, and part opposed him. The army had seized power in June 1957, and organised elections in September 1957, but there were divisions in the ruling classes and within the armed forces. Most of the bourgeoisie opposed Duvalier. The elections were a farce. The army guy in charge of organising the elections was a Duvalierist.

Since the time of Haiti's independence from France, there has been a struggle between the landlords and the bourgeoisie in Haiti. At times this has taken the form of a struggle between blacks and mulattos, whose skin was lighter. The bourgeoisie is mulatto and the landlords blacker. In reality this has been a struggle between two reactionary classes over which would have hegemony over state power. Duvalier was more a representative of the landlords than the bourgeoisie, and after he took power, he forced the bourgeoisie to accept him. It's said that

at that time there were 30 millionaire families in Haiti. When Duvalier fell, there were 200 such families. What happened is that the bourgeoisie as a whole became Duvalierist. There are many newly wealthy families, people loyal to Duvalier who became part of the bourgeoisie. Duvalier had a theory that he propagated, that Haiti needed a black bourgeoisie to deal with the mulatto bourgeoisie. Duvalier used the whole negritude movement that had arisen, the idea that Haiti needed a black president, black bourgeoisie, more black priests — black power, he called it, but basically it was the power of the landlords and other reactionaries. Really the bourgeoisie has had more weight in the state power than the landlords for a long time now, before and since Duvalier, no matter who was president; but what happened after Duvalier is that the bulk of the bourgeoisie became Duvalierist. After all, he had 29 years to get his people into the bourgeoisie and every aspect of the government and social life and the rest of the bourgeoisie had 29 years to come to terms with him.

At the beginning of the regime, Duvalier created the militia, the Macoutes, as a fanatical black organisation, to demagogically win popularity and take on the bourgeoisie that at that time opposed him. He took some lumpen and gave them power and used them against his bourgeois opponents. His first recruits into the militia, almost all of them in the countryside and most of them in the cities too, were thieves and robbers. Of course he didn't tell them they were being recruited to massacre the people. He'd say, here, take this rifle, and if any rich man, any bourgeois, tries to overthrow me, you have to defend me. He'd take a guy who was shining shoes in front of some big business, some guy who'd spent most of his life in and out of prison, and he'd say, here, take this rifle and you go in there and arrest the head of this company because he opposes me. In this way he created a group of fanatics who thought they were fighting the rich. Soon enough they found themselves fighting the masses, but at the beginning it had another character.

Broadening the Target

At the beginning, during the first few days of the mass uprising, the target of the spontaneous movement was the Macoutes. They hunted down the Macoutes and beat them and killed them. This is what gave the Haitian movement a particular flavour. The reaction thought they could keep it from going too far and some bourgeois elements even participated in it, but what has happened is that the *dechoukage* has weakened them, the masses have not given up the initiative, and the demand to *dechouke* the biggest Macoutes in the army and in the junta itself is becoming stronger every day. The *dechoukage* movement began in the city, but it has spread throughout the whole country, including the countryside. In the neighborhoods, after going after the local Macoutes, the movement began taking on

the big merchants as well, saying that they were bad guys and thieves too. They began removing civilian authorities. The movement began to take on certain aspects of a class struggle and a struggle for political power.

The point is that if the popular movement continues, if it cuts off the heads of not just the little Macoutes but the biggest ones as well, including the top army officers and the big bourgeoisie, it will destabilise the regime. The *dechoukage* is a danger to the whole ruling class and their system. When the *dechoukage* began, it was directed against the Macoutes and often it united with army officers to get this or that Macoute. The military didn't mind at all when the people killed some little Macoutes. But then the movement began taking on Macoutes in the army. The people knew full well that some people in military uniform, some officers, were Macoutes Duvalier had sent into the army; they'd go after some officer who'd been the top Macoute in a particular neighborhood and take him prisoner and beat him. They began hitting at the Macoutes who were army officers and the Macoutes who were Church officials — even Archbishop Ligondé himself, who was a Macoute. He was a cousin of Duvalier's wife, Michelle Bennett, and used to be in the presidential palace with the rest of Duvalier's family.

As I said, the army is very weak, and what the ruling classes fear most is that the *dechoukage* movement will weaken it more. Some of the younger officers would like to get rid of the older officers who are Macoutes so that they can advance their own careers, and the U.S. agrees that some of the most visible Macoutes within the armed forces will have to go. But not all of them and not even the majority of these Macoutes, because the U.S. needs them to reorganise the armed forces. The plan of the U.S. is first to reorganise the armed forces and then have elections so they can put in whoever they want. They don't want to hold elections now because the situation isn't sufficiently under their control. The armed forces are the heart of the state.

There have been cases where the military junta has replaced the head of a public service or an enterprise, put in their own guy, and the employees of the service or enterprise have had meetings and rejected the government's choice, saying that the guy was a Duvalierist. The minister would appoint someone and the employees would all walk out. The junta would have to retreat. In the post office, all the employees had a mass assembly and chose their own manager and forced the government to accept him. When other people saw this, they began to do the same thing. In the public television company, they began demanding not just the removal of the Duvalierists but a complete housecleaning and reorganisation. They said, some guys come in at 11 a.m. and leave at noon and get \$3000 a month, while the cleaning women who keep this place beautiful make \$25 a month. They wanted to put an end to this inequality.

Hitting Reactionary Power in the Countryside

This movement spread to the countryside. The people wanted to *dechouke* the *chefs de section*, kick them out of office and put them on trial. The countryside is divided into more than 500 *sections*. The *chefs de section* are police authorities, not civilian authorities. They're military authorities; they work out of the police barracks and wear military uniforms. They are military authorities, mayors and judges all rolled into one. They tried people right in the barracks, they'd jail them or impose fines. Very often the *chefs de section* are the biggest landlords in the section, and Macoutes, and voodoo priests too. For a very long time there's been a demand to replace these *chefs de section* with popular councils. Duvalier himself had to write a new part of the rural code which was to replace the *chefs de section* with councils, but it was never implemented. The *dechoukage* movement hit them too; in the countryside people are putting *chefs de section* on trial and sometimes killing them. Sometimes the peasant movements demand that their representative replace the old *chef de section*. Linked to this, there's the movement against the voodoo priests, who aren't all *chefs de section*.

In a certain sense, the *dechoukage* movement has hit harder at the *houngans*, the voodoo priests, than at the *chefs de section*. That's not because of spontaneous reasons, and it's very controversial. Everyone agrees that the *houngans* who were Duvalierists must be put on trial, because they're criminals. But sometimes the movement is just against the *houngans* in general. To promote a confrontation between followers of voodoo, which is the religion of the masses of people, and followers of the Catholic and Protestant churches, is very dangerous because it poses the danger of religious war in Haiti. It is the Catholic Church and above all the Protestant churches that are promoting this. The CIA is utilising this to sidetrack the mass movement, to turn it away from political struggle and into a religious war. There have long been religious conflicts in Haiti through which some people have tried to promote foreign religion against native religion and thus promote cultural dependency. Voodoo is part of the people's culture. It's a national religion, while Catholicism and especially Protestantism has come from abroad. So the bourgeoisie, in order to rob the people of their national identity, has always promoted Christianity and claimed that those who weren't Christian were nothing but primitive heathens, that conversion to Christianity was the only way Haiti could become part of Western civilisation.

Of course the whole voodoo structure was very linked to Duvalier, but that's not why the bourgeoisie and the CIA oppose it. There are plenty of Macoutes in the Catholic Church, lots of Catholic priests who murdered people, and they're still in the Church. They're not being hunted down. The Archbishop was a Macoute 100% and they're not going after him. The majority of the

Evangelical ministers were Macoutes and worked with the CIA. They had guns and went out at night to kill people. Nobody's hunting them down. So why hunt down and kill voodoo priests who weren't Duvalierists? Why kill just them? The *dechoukage* movement should go after all the clergy who were Duvalierists, the *houngans*, the priests and the preachers, but right now it should not target the *houngans* who weren't Duvalierists. Voodoo has as much right to exist in Haiti as the Western religions.

The *dechoukage* movement is creating a power vacuum in the countryside. The state power exists only in the cities; in the countryside things are more contested. The old power is being destroyed. In some places there is no power. In others people have chosen their own mayors, setting up their own local civilian governments. In a few places, power is in the hands of the people. For example, in some places no important measure gets decided unless there's a mass meeting and everyone expresses themselves and decides. This has happened especially when peasant organisations have arisen and when it's been these organisations who've overthrown the old *chefs de section*. The degree to which these peasant groups have become strong, which varies very much, is an extremely important factor in the revolutionary development of the countryside. Before Duvalier was overthrown peasant groups had already developed out of the struggle in a few places. But during and after Duvalier's fall, poor and middle peasants and agrarian labourers organised themselves very quickly.

This rapid organisation of mass organisations is an extremely important point. Among them are peasant groups, trade unions, organisations of students, youth and women. In some places, these groups have an aspect of people's power — they meet and discuss and decide everything. They knock down old chiefs and put up new ones, and continue meeting and struggling over all aspects of community life.

Right now the peasants are playing a very important role. Peasants make up 85% of Haiti's population, so you can see they have a certain weight. Haiti is basically a rural country and the Haitian national question is basically a peasant question. It's not only a matter of the peasants being the overwhelming majority. The social inequality between the peasants and the other social classes is so enormous that they might seem like two entirely separate nations. The differences between Haitian peasants and the reactionary classes is far greater than in many other countries, as are the differences even between the peasants and the factory workers. The ruling classes don't even consider these peasants as Haitians. They call them Africans, as if they were Africans who happened to be in Haiti. The living standards are extremely unequal, and this in a country where living standards overall are very low. The gap between the peasants and the other classes is enormous in every way, even in language. The upper classes speak French and most education

is in French but 85% of the people don't speak French at all.

Rural Classes and Their Demands

Sometimes it's said there was agrarian reform after Haiti won its independence, but this isn't true. For example, in Jacmel the peasants have no land. The land planted to coffee, cacao, etc., is all in the hands of the big landlords, and the peasants have nothing. If they do have a little land, it's unproductive land. The demand for land is very strong among the peasantry. In general, those who do have land can't do much with it, because it's often divided into different pieces; they have no irrigation, no seeds, nothing. The landlords and the agrarian bourgeoisie have tractors, but the peasant has nothing but a machete and a hoe. The hoe is the main tool in Haitian agriculture.

Haiti has both big landowners and small landholders. But wherever the land is good, that's where the big landowners predominate, that's where the land is concentrated in their hands and the peasants mostly have to work for them. It's mainly where the land's no good that you have some small landholdings by the peasants. So the demand for land to the tiller is important.

In the central part of Haiti, where the peasants have a little land or where it's good land, that's where there are the strongest agrarian conflicts because the landlords and their lawyers find ways to take away the peasants' land and the peasants rise up. The peasants take up their machetes and hoes and fight the landlords. Often these uprisings are met with repression and even massacres but that doesn't prevent the peasants from rising up again and again. Now they are seizing land, especially land that the Macoutes had taken away from them. For example, in southeast Haiti, which is linked to the Dominican countryside, in Thiotte, for instance, the peasants haven't been waiting for the courts to give them their lands back. They just take them. Often the *chefs de section* have fled and the peasants hold mass meetings and invade the lands. In this area there were several big Macoutes who had a lot of land, who stole a lot of it, and who've fled. Then the peasants work this land, usually on an individual basis although sometimes they form mutual aid teams. Traditionally there have been all kinds of different forms of mutual aid teams all over the country, to carry out harvests and other aspects of production in common. But in addition to these teams, the peasants are forming new organisations, not just to carry out production but to defend themselves. Such organisations are beginning to appear in several places, and there have been some efforts to form national federations and a national organisation. At the same time the peasants are getting rid of the *chefs de sections*. The peasants are forming these organisations to make their voices heard regarding affairs on a national level and to win their demands, which mainly means land.

Now the question of pigs has become extremely important. For the peasant, having a pig or two to kill is about the only way to get some cash. Traditionally it's their form of savings. But a few years ago, there was a swine flu epidemic that killed off their pigs, and the new breed of pigs being introduced requires a special kind of feed, a feed that costs so much that some peasants would have to spend more to feed such pigs than they spend to feed themselves. Not only that, but these pigs require medicines and so on which the peasants can't possibly afford. In a country where the masses can't afford to eat meat, where they have no protein, the U.S. is developing a giant agribusiness which monopolises pigs and other livestock, which raises pigs and so on for export, to be flown to New York and sold and eaten there. The peasants want to rebel against this situation but the government doesn't want to pay any attention to their demands. It allocates resources to export-agriculture.

For example, there is an area of rice fields in Verrette where the government wants to build a dam for generating electric power. If they build this dam the rice fields will be flooded over. The peasant are struggling against this plan. They are saying, what are we supposed to do if we accept the little money the government is offering us for our land? It's not enough to buy land somewhere else. Are we supposed to go to the Dominican Republic to cut cane? There's a big peasant movement against this dam.

There are also other strata in the countryside. There are many sharecroppers, who give the landlord half of their crops in return for the right to plant on a piece of his land. Then there is a very important strata of agrarian workers. Some work their own land part of the year and for the other part travel around the country doing wage labour for various landlords. Others travel around the country all year round, working first in one crop and then in another. There's a great deal of internal migration in Haiti. These two extremely marginalised strata make up the bulk of the Haitian peasants.

To some degree you could say that the greater part of labour utilised in the Haitian countryside is wage labour, that the relations between the labourers and landlords are capitalist relations and not feudal relations, but you have to take into account the manner in which the landlords use both the feudal and the capitalist modes of production and the interrelationship between them. After the slaves rose up against the slave system and destroyed it, at the end of the eighteenth century, they thought they were going to get land, but instead the generals in the revolutionary army got it all. There arose something called *combite*, a feudal tradition, which required the sharecropper to work on the landlord's land part of the time for nothing. On a particular day the peasants would all be summoned to the landlord's land. They'd bring musical instruments and the landlord would provide a little food and sometimes a cheap rum called *clerin*. The people would work hard all day. The music would



Fort Dimanche massacre.

be to get them to work faster. Then they'd eat a little and drink and then go home. That would be it, that's all they'd get for their work. They wouldn't get paid and they'd get nothing from the harvest.

There were peasant rebellions against this system. In the mid-nineteenth century there was a massive peasant uprising, a peasant war, and this system was finally weakened. People began to stop showing up for *combite*, so that by the end of the nineteenth century the landlords had to start paying wages, even though they were very low. But *combite* still exists. All three forms of exploitation exist side by side, sharecropping, wage labour and *combite*. Above all, it's the *chefs de sections* and the *houngans* — the voodoo priests — who use the system of *combite*. They have a lot of people at their disposition whom they have come and work their land for nothing.

A Dependent Economy

In general, production in Haiti is not for consumption, it's not for the internal market, but for exportation. The principal crop is coffee. Some of this coffee is drunk in Haiti but the great bulk of it is sent to the U.S. and Europe. The same with cacao. Until recently Haiti exported sugar, but now sugar production has fallen so much that it has to import some. The interests of the ruling classes and the state lie in promoting production for export and not for internal consumption. This situation is bound up with Haiti's dependence, with the fact that Haiti's economy is completely dependent on the U.S. economy and serves the requirements of U.S. capital. So Haiti's national liberation is very linked

to agrarian reform and the satisfaction of the peasants' demands. In a sense it could be said that the problem of the Haitian peasant — and the Haitian people is mainly a peasant people — is land. Without satisfying the peasants' demand for land there can't be any development of the internal market, because now they can afford to consume hardly anything, either Haitian or imported products. It is the petit bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie that consume almost all such products.

At the same time, even the few industries aimed at domestic consumption that do exist are being edged out of the market by imports. For example, Haiti's canned tomato industry is being wiped out because the Haitian government is allowing in Dominican canned tomato imports and the Dominican tomato industry is much stronger. The whole Haitian tomato industry is in crisis. The Dominican company lowered their prices at first, broke the Haitian competition, then raised their prices. In general, Haitian industry is being displaced by imports from the Dominican Republic. This is because of agreements between the governments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic which the Haitian government justifies with the excuse that the two countries are cooperating for their mutual good. This gives rise to conflict between various fractions of the Haitian bourgeoisie.

The people eat rice, and corn in every possible form, as well as sorghum, which is cheaper. They also eat some plantains. In the Dominican Republic people eat a lot of plantains and consider it poor people's food, but in Haiti it's considered expensive. In some places in the countryside people eat

sweet potatoes and something called *real trees* which is eaten a lot in the South. In the city they can afford rice but not much in the country. Beans are even more expensive for the peasants. They rarely eat meat or eggs or drink milk. So they don't eat much protein in any form, except the little bit there is in sorghum.

Infant mortality is very high. Since there's no social security, you have to have enough kids to feed you when you're old.

Generally in the countryside women do the housework, but they often work in the fields too, and they're especially active in commerce, since it's the women who usually take the farm products and so on to market to sell. So far there have not been many women's organisations formed in the countryside. Many women work in the free trade zones, in the factories where they produce for export. For example they make baseballs — Haiti produces most of the world's baseballs, including those in the U.S. — and work in electronics, radio and TV assembly, clothing manufacture, etc. This production is closely tied to production in the U.S., since often the pieces are made in the U.S. and sent to Haiti for assembly and then shipped back to the U.S. again. If any of it is ever sold in Haiti it's only after being reexported from the U.S. More than 60,000 people are said to work in the free trade zones, and most of them are women. For a long time unions were forbidden in the free trade zones, but especially since Duvalier's fall they've organised unions and demanded higher wages and started going on strike.

The Development and Path of Revolution

When Duvalier went down, the masses saw it is an opportunity to rebel; they were already rebelling, and they wanted to get out into the streets. Other classes saw all this as anarchy. They'd say if there are too many strikes the factories will shut down, that strikes cause unemployment. They'd say if people demonstrate too much the Yankees will come in. The masses say that the factory owners have plenty of money and they should share some of their profits with the workers, although it's true that some factories have shut down because the owners are scared of the masses and have fled to the U.S.

The most rebellious and in fact the first to rebel were the unemployed who live in the shantytowns of Port-au-Prince, Gonaives, Cap Haitien and other cities. For the most part, they're ex-peasants who came to the city seeking work. Others are factory workers who've lost their jobs; many of them have had experiences in strikes and so on. Afterwards the struggle spread to the countryside, because these people came from the countryside and have strong ties to the countryside. Now, in the cities, all the various sectors of the workers are active.

At the beginning of the struggle against Duvalier, some elements among the masses who were linked to the leftist movement were able to play something of a vanguard role in the midst of the spontaneous

uprising. At that point some of them carried little American flags and so on to hide themselves and to avoid repression. Others criticised this from the first. As things developed, the masses, who'd seen that the U.S., for its own reasons, had opposed Duvalier, could see the U.S.'s game, could see how the U.S. was trying to make the mass movements serve its interests and to make contacts among these mass movements. To some extent this process began even before Duvalier fell, but especially afterwards, the people could see how the U.S. was demanding "peace" and supporting the new junta. So the masses' understanding took a leap. Still, only a few more advanced elements see the U.S. as a basic target of the movement; among the broad masses that's still not generally the case. Agitation and propaganda and some time will be necessary to make this clearer.

The peasant wars that Haiti has known are examples that must be studied and followed to guide the present struggle. Now, as before in Haiti's history, the peasants have to wage war to win their demands. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, just after independence, there was the first wave of peasant wars, *les Piquets*, which lasted into the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the South. They had a base area in the South between Les Cayes and Jérémie. For several years they were able to maintain this base area in the mountains, where the enemy was not able to penetrate easily because of the terrain and the lack of roads. They defied the army and one government after another, and cultivated the land. Four-fifths of Haiti is mountainous. In the North, too, there were peasant uprisings, *les Cacos*, at the end of the nineteenth century, and they too were able to hold out against the enemy for several years. In the beginning of the twentieth century, a strong peasant guerrilla army, 15,000 peasants led by Charlemagne Peralta, fought the U.S. invaders for several years in the North and Centre of Haiti. You could compare Charlemagne Peralta to Sandino in the war against the U.S. invasion in Nicaragua. The situation in the countryside has not changed much. There are still many areas with few roads.

Because of the social crisis, there's not much room for the development of a reformist movement in Haiti. They say they're going to have elections in some form or another but we think the crisis will grow and the popular uprisings will continue and, sooner or later, grow stronger. Elections or the promise of elections won't solve anything. There's no tradition of elections in Haiti; there are no electoral cadre, nor electoral parties. There are no national identification cards — 80% of the people have no identification at all and whatever identity cards the rest have don't have photos. There's no census, hasn't been one for years, so it's not possible to know how many voters there are in any particular place or to make up voter lists. Traditionally it's always been the armed forces that have organised and carried out any elections. First they struggle out

among themselves what they want to do and then they have phony elections to legitimise whatever they decide. The masses, too, have no electoral tradition and don't want elections now. When various people come to speak before the masses and present themselves as candidates the people oppose them and say we don't want any candidates. There's an anticandidate movement. People think that sooner or later there will be an uprising against the situation. It's the duty of the revolutionaries to prepare this uprising together with the masses. Further uprisings and a peasant war, a protracted people's war, is inevitable. To make the leap from uprisings to protracted people's war, preparations have to be made to actually begin this war. There has to be study of military strategy and other clandestine preparations involving the masses.

Building a Single Marxist-Leninist Party

The process of uniting the different Marxist-Leninist forces is underway. It is a process of seeing how to unite and on what basis to unite, of discussing the question of the party, of people's war, of the united front and within that the worker-peasant alliance. These are questions that are being discussed in order to arrive at a common understanding of how to move the situation forward. Ideological questions must also be discussed, including the ideology of the party, which is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. In general, most of those who are participating in this process of unity accept Mao Tsetung Thought in principle, although some who don't reject Mao Tsetung Thought in principle have some confusion which must be rectified.

The lines of demarcation are above all with the PUCH (Parti Unifié des Communistes Haitiens), which holds that the object of the struggle right now is elections and that the forms of struggle should be legal forms. PUCH has a radio station in Moscow which broadcasts in Creole to Haiti every day and the Soviets have given them all sorts of aid so that they can put themselves at the head of the mass movement or at least appear to be leading it. So the question of elections and legal struggle is a very big dividing line question right now, and within that there's the question of people's war.

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement in Haiti has developed a bit on its own, and there's been a tendency to consider it isolated from the international movement and the world. When the existence of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and of new communist parties such as the Communist Party of Peru which are waging war became known in Haiti, the Marxist-Leninist forces in Haiti saw all this as a very favourable factor to link the struggle of the Haitian proletariat with the struggle of the world proletariat and to take part in the battle on the international level so that the Haitian proletariat could carry out its struggle as a part of the struggle of proletarians of the whole world. It's very important for the Marxist-Leninists in

Haiti to get to know this common battle and become part of it, to join it. The struggle of the Peruvian people, their people's war and how they are dealing blows to the Peruvian ruling classes, is known in Haiti, and it's also seen that this is the road that the Haitian proletariat and people must take, that they can only develop their struggle by taking the same road of protracted people's war that the Peruvian proletariat has embarked upon. So the experience of the people's war in Peru is being closely studied in Haiti and it has given hope, it gives hope to the Haitian people just as it does to the international proletariat, to see the war being led by the Communist Party of Peru.

Haiti, the U.S. and the Dominican Republic

The U.S. may intervene directly with its troops or it may get others to do so for it. The initial U.S. intervention will probably be indirect, through the army of the Dominican Republic, which may come into Haiti on the U.S.'s behalf. But this wouldn't be a positive factor for the Dominican ruling classes — quite the opposite — and it would give even further impetus to the anti-imperialist united front in Haiti and redouble the strength of the Haitian revolutionary struggle. Such a Dominican invasion would certainly change things in the Dominican Republic. On whatever half of the island it might be, a revolutionary spark from one side would catch fire on the other. The revolutionary sparks in Haiti have had a lot of influence in the Dominican Republic and any revolutionary spark there would have a lot of consequences for developments in Haiti as well.

So far, one problem is that there's a greater understanding of this in Haiti than in the Dominican Republic, where the commonality of our struggle is less well perceived among some of the masses and there's a certain problem among the Dominican masses of racism directed against Haitians. But this influence of the Dominican ruling classes among the Dominican working class can be overcome; this is an extremely important factor for the future of the common struggle of the proletariats in both countries. There can't be a revolution for the Dominican people except in relation to the Haitian revolution, and vice-versa. The hundreds of thousands of Haitian immigrant workers in the Dominican Republic are an extremely important factor; an important feature of revisionism in the Dominican Republic is not considering these Haitian agrarian workers as part of the Dominican proletariat, but rather as foreigners. The division between the social position of many Dominican workers and that of the Haitian workers is an objective fact and a part of the objective basis for revisionism within the workers' movement there. The attitude one takes towards these lower sections of the proletariat in the Dominican Republic who don't happen to be Dominican is an important dividing line question for revolutionaries there and work among these sectors will be a very important part of preparing the Dominican revolution as well. □

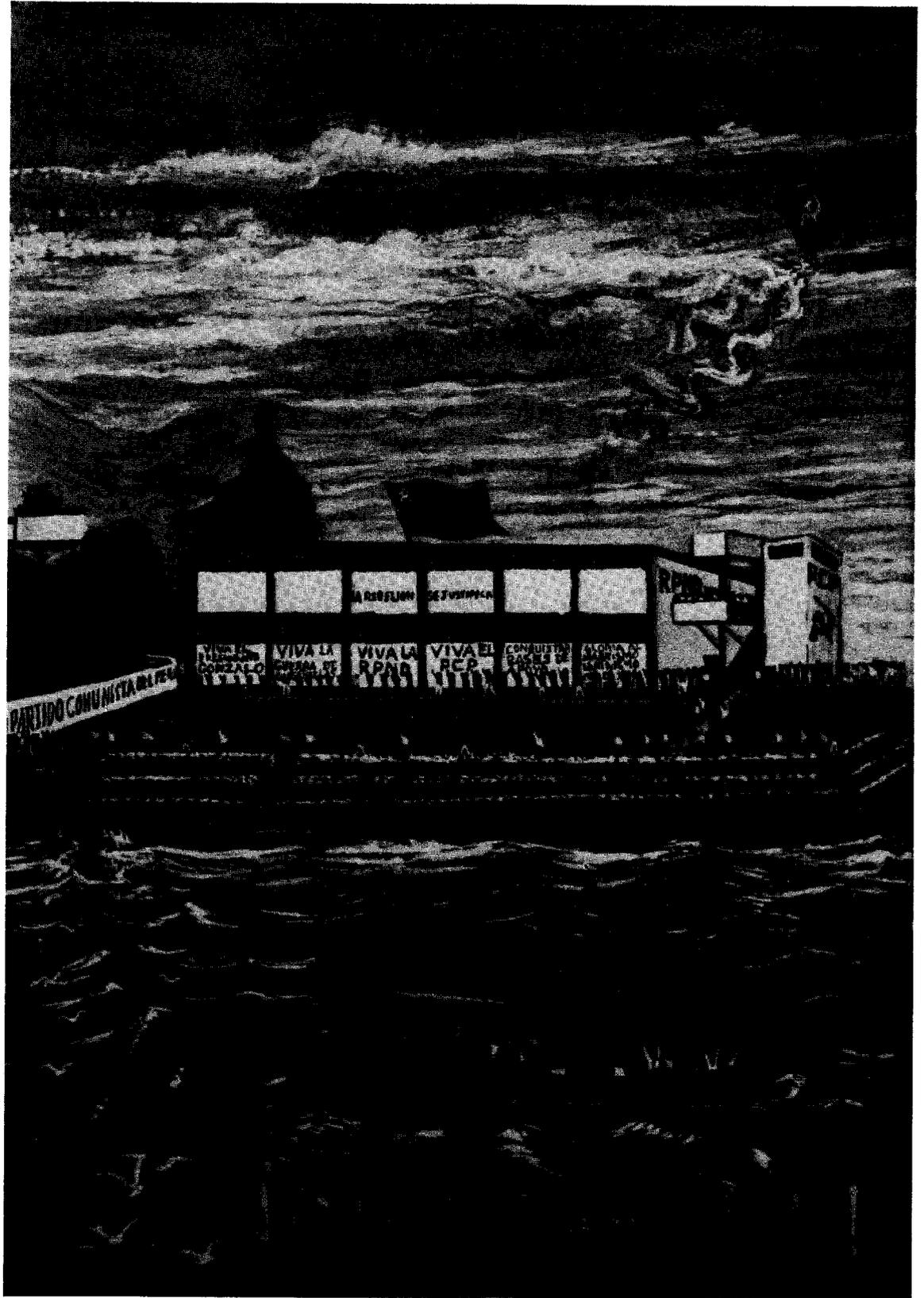
A
"SHINING
TRENCH
OF
COMBAT"

—Statement on the Massacre
of Our Comrades in
Peru's Prisons

By the Committee of the RIM

The Peruvian government, egged on by imperialism, has sent its marines armed with heavy machine guns and antitank weapons, its helicopter gunships and its naval artillery to crush the struggle of the prisoners of war in the Callao, el Fronton and Lurigancho prisons. Since the García government had failed to resolve its problem with propaganda outside the prison and repression within, it tried to wipe out the symbol of revolutionary resistance these prisoners have become by killing them. This is the same method it has used to try to quell the

Painting done at Lurigancho prison depicting El Fronton on visiting day. 'A warm reception' say the words at bottom.

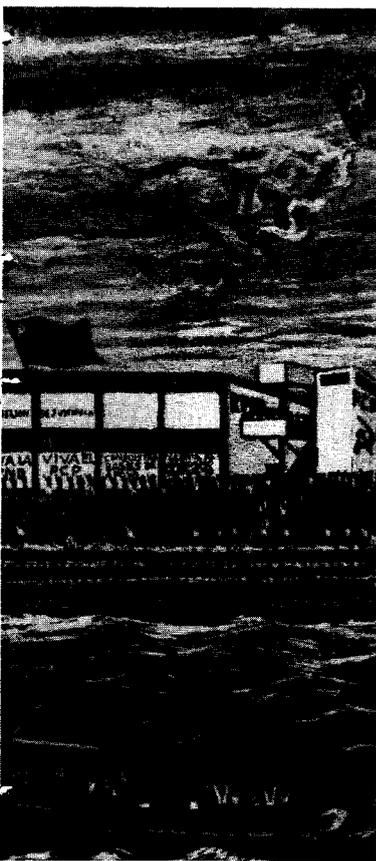


revolutionary flames which have flared throughout Peruvian society.

We do not know how many of our comrades were murdered. We do not know how many fell in combat and how many were shot after they were captured. But we know that these comrades were our class brothers and sisters. We know them, though we have never met, because of the line of the Party whose leadership they so firmly upheld, and because of their proletarian disdain for all the enemy could do and even for death itself, as they raised the bright red banner of our proletarian revolution high above prison walls under enemy fire for the world to see. This is the courage of men and women who even in the bowels of the enemy's dungeons are infused with confidence in the ability of the Peruvian masses to free themselves and who understand the importance that this revolution being led by the Communist Party of Peru, a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, has for all the wretched of the earth. It is a courage based on thoroughgoing materialism, on the ability to see the outlines of a future earth without classes, even in the midst of today's gunfire and suffering and the twists and turns through which our communist future is being fought for.

The Peruvian government tried to justify this massacre by claiming that our comrades sought to "endanger the prestige of the Peruvian government" on the eve of the Congress of the Socialist International in Lima. The world's reactionary media have parroted the outrageous lie that our comrades deliberately sought their own deaths at the hands of the army. In fact, the García regime had been planning this massacre for some time, as even the foreign press later admitted. The García government was anxious to prove its reactionary capabilities to the U.S. government, the International Monetary Fund and other imperialist representatives to whom the Peruvian government is beholden. The Peruvian government provoked the prisoners, went back on agreements previously signed with them, and deliberately timed the attack it unleashed when the prisoners of war reacted with courage and determination. The Peruvian government knew full well that the Socialist International and imperialism as a whole would applaud this action with which García proved himself worthy of their credit. But with this crime García and his regime have only dug their own grave deeper. The towering contrast between the government's murderous cowardice and the selfless resistance of the prisoners of war has become another powerful call for revolution in Peru and throughout the world.

In unleashing this murder as the first course in an international banquet of false "socialists" and bloodthirsty "reformers" from all over, including representatives of the ruling parties and loyal oppositions from many imperialist countries, the García government has shown — again — that it is like every reactionary government bound to preserve its rule and the reactionary social relations it embodies at all cost. There is nothing worse for the "prestige" of such a government than to show "weakness" in the face of the determination of the oppressed. After this massacre, the García government acted in the honoured tradition of its fellow members of the Socialist International such as those in Israel: first kill as many people as possible and then call an investiga-



tion to appease those who want to believe there is some peaceful alternative to revolutionary armed struggle. Isn't it the essence of social-democracy in power, after all, to alternate hideous crimes with the pious promotion of illusions which make more crimes possible?

The García regime has also been praised by the Chinese revisionist government and pro-Soviet forces as well, though it is linked to the U.S. bloc. With this massacre, once again a dividing line has been drawn between all those for whom imperialism and imperialist domination is intolerable on the one side, and on the other the various pillars, lackies and apologists — even “radical” or “leftist” apologists — of a system that thrives on the blood squeezed out of billions of people on a daily basis, a system that has committed uncounted blood crimes for which some day there must be an accounting and that is preparing to shed even more blood on an unprecedented scale in a world war for the redivision of empires.

This massacre, and the implacable resistance put up by our imprisoned comrades, give proof to the truth that the García government and its backers sought to wipe out: that no other basic course of action but revolutionary warfare led by the proletariat and its party can possibly change this state of affairs, whether this warfare come sooner or later in the various countries, and that only the politics and ideology developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung and not any pro-imperialist, reformist or social-imperialist outlook can guide the world's oppressed workers and peasants to achieve victory in the course of this battle.

It was the great advances the revolutionary proletariat has been making in Peru that forced the enemy to react in a way that has only further exposed the nature of all the various reactionary political forces which have united against the just people's war in Peru. People all over the world will draw lessons from these events. The red base areas in Peru are base areas for the world proletarian revolution. Proletarians and oppressed people all over the world are proud of the spirit and the advances won by our class's detachment in Peru. These events inspired them with both class hate and an uplifting, renewed resolve to hasten the elimination of imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth.

We know that it is on the field of battle that the Peruvian revolution will give its reply to this massacre and its homage to these fallen comrades. Comrades everywhere will also give theirs by fighting in revolutionary war or preparing to do so at the earliest opportunity. Other comrades will step forward. As the comrades in the women's prison in Callao put it, in their defiant chants which could be heard outside the prison walls even after the military regained control, “La Sangre Derramada Jamas Sera Olvidada” — This blood that has been spilt shall never be forgotten.

27 June 1986

(Released by the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, London)

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru



Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!

“Day of Heroism”

The reactionary APRA government, since the very start, followed in the footsteps of its predecessor and carried out genocide against the people's war, covering it up with high-sounding demagoguery supported and aided by the electoral opportunists. This was amply proven by the crimes committed by the police and armed forces of the Peruvian state in Aqomarca, Umaru, Bellavista and Llocllapampa.

The reaction took sinister aim against the prisoners of war and planned their genocidal annihilation. This took concrete form the 4th of October last year in the cowardly and brutal murder of thirty fighters in Lurigancho prison. This abominable crime, as well, has not been punished; the triumphant people alone will punish it.

On the 18th of June 1986, in El Fronton, Lurigancho and Callao, the prisoners of war rose up in rebellion against the new genocide under way. They had repeatedly and publicly denounced, before the courts and the authorities themselves, the butchery that the government and its armed forces were plotting. They arose in defense of the revolution and of their lives, putting forward twenty-six very just and reasonable demands.

On the 19th, the reactionary APRA government headed by Alan Garcia went through the grotesque farce of manipulating the so-called “peace commission” and then unleashed a reactionary and perverted extermination operation, mobilising the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and police, under the Joint Command, to carry out the most monstrous genocide, killing hundreds of guerrilla fighters and sons and daughters of the people, soaking themselves once more in the people's fiery blood. Let Alan Garcia, his Cabinet, the Joint Command, the armed forces and the police be covered with indelible shame that the people shall never forget and that only the people will punish!

The fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army, prisoners of war, with their watchword “It's right to rebel,” fought heroically and boldly, setting a landmark of heroism, valor and courage that history will cherish as exemplary of the heroes that only a people's war can bring forth.

This 19th of June is forever stamped as the DAY OF HEROISM. The blood of these heroes is already nurturing the armed revolution, fanning its flames, arising like a tremendous flag unfurled and like an inexhaustible war cry summoning the inevitable final victory.

The glorious death of these prisoners of war in battle is wrapped in the blood already spilt before, and before it we communists, we fighters and sons and daughters of the people, pledge our unwavering commitment to follow their shining example, to advance the people's war in order to serve the world revolution until the unextinguishable light of communism remains upon the whole earth under the unconquered banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism ever green.

Glory to the fallen heroes, long live the revolution!

Central Committee
Communist Party of Peru
Peru, June 1986

Massacre in Peru's Prisons

El Fronton prison, 1984.



**“This Blood
That Has
Been Spilt
Shall**

Never Be Forgotten”

The massacre the Peruvian government unleashed against the revolutionary prisoners of war was premeditated and planned in advance. What was unexpected was the fierce resistance of the prisoners, who for several days battled the government troops who had come to kill them. The contrast between the heroic resistance of the prisoners and the cowardly brutality of the reaction has further unmasked and weakened the García regime and propelled the revolutionary struggle forward.

The revolutionary conduct of the hundreds of captured fighters in Peru has been an increasingly severe political problem for the government. In 1982, after an astonishing PCP attack led to the freeing of hundreds of prisoners held in the Ayacucho gaol, the authorities adopted the policy of concentrating suspected revolutionaries in the Lurigancho prison for men near Lima, the Callao women's prison,

and the Fronton island prison about 10 kilometres offshore. People all over the world would come to look to these prisons with respect and admiration for the way these prisoners persisted in their revolutionary struggle even under these conditions and for their determination to turn these places into “shining trenches of combat” where they carried out political, ideological and physical training and the production of revolutionary art and handicrafts. These prisons became a symbol of the political and moral bankruptcy of the regime and its increasing inability to quench the raging peoples war.

There were a number of attacks on the prisoners, both outright murderous assaults which have resulted in many deaths over several years as well as daily harassment and attempts to break their health and spirits. In July 1985, simultaneously with nationwide military actions directed by the PCP, prisoners of

war at Callao, Fronton and Lurigancho seized guards as hostages and took their weapons, and dug themselves in. They demanded that the government sign an agreement with them, the main point of which was that those jailed as “suspected terrorists” would not be dispersed to other prisons or transferred to the new high-security prison being constructed at Canto Grande. The outgoing Belaúnde government gave in and signed these agreements. In October 1985, the García government, which had then just taken office, renounced the agreements and sent in assault guards to Lurigancho. This act of revenge led to the murder of about 50 prisoners.

In mid-1986 the García government revived the idea of sending the prisoners to Canto Grande, and/or transferring many of them back to prisons in the emergency zone under military rule. In April, Navy Rear Admiral Ponce Canessa, a commander of the marines who'd been

in charge of counter-insurgency operations for the Armed Forces Joint Command, a man who had supervised a series of mass murders of peasants, had been shot, allegedly by the PCP. All kinds of authorities in and out of the government were talking about how the armed services had to take vengeance to restore their sinking morale — and that the armed forces themselves would have to “restore order” in the prisons. The plan to transfer the prisoners to where they would be under direct military control was an open threat to murder them.

A letter written by prisoners at Lurigancho appeared in the 19 May 1986 issue of the Peruvian magazine *Equis X*. This letter denounced the massacres committed by the Navy in Aucayacu, Llohegua and Tambo and “the killings carried out by the Marine intelligence service in Huambo, Huaychao, Iquicha, Uchuraccy, with the direct participation of the CIA.” The letter then accused the authorities of planning to use the threatened transfers to carry out the same kind of massacres against them “in order to deal a moral blow to the revolution and the class. They want to take vengeance on the prisoners of war; they are planning to commit genocide against us to pay off this blood debt” of the rear admiral.

“Their main target is Fronton. There is the possibility that they will cook up a provocation. If the Republican Guards (prison guards) can’t deal with it they’ll send in the Marines.

“In Lurigancho, they plan to follow genocide with genocide.

“In Callao, they plan to deal blows to the women.

“We are going to resist. They will not transfer us out of here alive. We demand guarantees against the government’s plans.”

Lawyers for the prisoners denounced the plot to wipe out the prisoners to the press and the public several times during the next month. Later, after the massacre, the *New York Times* would reveal how “officers told of a premeditated plan to mow down every last Sendero captive.”

These revolutionary prisoners chose the path of struggle.

At 6 a.m. on the morning of Wednesday June 18, prisoners at the three penitentiaries once again rose up in unison and seized hostages and weapons. The press later reported that on Fronton’s walls was written, in giant letters, “Finish Off the Great Leap With a Gold Seal,” referring to the final phases of the Party’s Great Leap military campaign to win revolutionary base areas in the countryside. The prisoners issued three demands: that the García regime abide by the agreements the government had signed with the prisoners the year before and recognise them as “special prisoners and not as terrorist criminals”; that there be a law passed guaranteeing that none of the prisoners of war would be transferred to Canto Grande; and that meanwhile none be transferred there.

The government called together the “Peace Commission” it had created to find a “political solution” to the people’s war, the “Parliamentary Human Rights Commission” and the Armed Forces Joint Command. This meeting decided to send in the armed forces. Peruvian Vice President Luis Alberto Sanchez later claimed that this group had tried to negotiate with the prisoners but that they had refused, due to “an almost religious obedience to a new fanaticism.” The world’s reactionary press duly repeated this lie that the prisoners’ “fanaticism” left the government no choice and that they had actually sought their own deaths to “tarnish Peru’s prestige” on the eve of the opening of a Congress of the Socialist International in Lima.

However, the only thing the government was interested in negotiating was a quick death for the prisoners of war.

Not one of the 159 fighters was left alive at Lurigancho. Apparently many of them were taken alive and then methodically bayoneted and shot to death. The government admits 100 killed in this way. The Lurigancho prisoners had held off armed forces commandos and marines throughout the day. They built fortifications in the cell block and the prison yard and fought back with home-made weapons and a

very few captured arms. Television news shots showed the red flag with the PCP’s hammer and sickle emblem flying amid the smoke atop Lurigancho’s walls. The TV transmission was soon cut off due to “technical difficulties.” Finally, combined forces of the Army, Civil Guard and Republican Guard used dynamite to blow down the walls of the cell block where political prisoners are held.

The women at el Callao also apparently held out until Thursday morning. Three or four of the approximately 100 imprisoned there — the numbers differ according to different reports — were killed. Many others were wounded in the fighting. After the prison was retaken by the authorities and declared a military area off-limits to civilians, including lawyers, family members and reporters, the women could be seen from the streets defiantly thrusting their heads out between the bars and chanting “This blood that has been spilt shall never be forgotten” and “Long Live Chairman Gonzalo,” the Chairman of the PCP.

The fog rising from the Lima/Callao bay prevented anyone on shore from seeing what happened at el Fronton. The fighting went on for two days, until Friday morning. Helicopter gunships and naval artillery blasted the small island continually. Frogman demolition teams placed explosive charges. Apparently there was a series of air and sea assaults. After the military finally seized the island, it too was declared a military area, so that two weeks later, it was still not possible to say exactly how many men had died or what had exactly happened. The armed forces informed relatives of the death of 141 out of 169 men. The authorities have not been able to explain why the prisoners released five prison guards alive early in the fighting.

Hundreds of relatives of the prisoners who demonstrated to denounce the murder then in progress were attacked and fought with police. There were reports that some of them had been killed as well.

The government reported that three soldiers were killed.

Lurigancho was also declared under military control for a week,

long enough to clean up the evidence. The military disposed of the bodies within hours "to avoid propagandistic actions by subversive groups which operate through legal fronts." But the explosive wave of protest that engulfed Peru forced García to take certain demagogic measures.

A week after the massacre García allowed reporters to tour Lurigancho, since there was no one left alive to dispute the official story there. Of course the prison where there were survivors remained off limits.

García announced that he would see that these events were thoroughly investigated and that "all those responsible would be punished."

In the same message García also expressed his supreme confidence in the Armed Forces Joint Command, and specifically in the Marines, Army and Air Force. "I support the action of the joint command," he said. "The Armed Forces Joint Command has loyally carried out the orders given by the government and we support their actions." However, he went on to say, some people had committed "excesses, instinctive and criminal vengeance." About 15 officers and 80 men of the Republican Guards were arrested for having committed "excesses."

The Republican Guards are a police unit responsible for the security of prisons and other public buildings. They are the smallest, least politically influential of the armed services; their head was recently forced to resign because of other conflicts with the ruling classes. They are not represented on the Armed Forces Joint Command which directed the assault on the three prisons. In other words, they are convenient scapegoats — though murderous ones — for both the government and the armed forces as a whole.

It cannot be said that García retreated, however. He assured reporters that he would do the same thing all over again if he were ever faced with anything else like these prison revolts. "There's nothing to negotiate with those who have no right to anything but legal punishment," he declared.

Despite the cosmetic resignation of the head of the Republican

Guards and the expected resignations of a few other government officials, the Armed Forces remained untouched and publically unrepentant. "My men are trained to kill," General Cisneros told the magazine *Oiga* when he was asked if the government knew what it was asking for when it sent the armed forces into the prisons. "If the Senderists would rather be dead than transferred to the Canto Grande prison, they got what they wanted. It was one of the few times we could give the subversives that pleasure." García added, "The opposition is trying to foment hatred between civilians and the military. The Army deserves respect."

In the immediate wake of the massacre, before the political storm began to break, the chief of the United Left, Lima Mayor Alfonso Barrantes, issued a statement saying "when the law is broken it must be restored" — referring to the prisoners, not the military, although he did think to add "authority should be exercised by carrying out the law and not violating it." Later, this leader of the motley legal left found himself outflanked by the demagoguery of the President.

The Socialist International pronounced itself completely satisfied by García's actions.

The Socialist International opened its first world congress in Latin America in the final hours of the massacre — and it could not have happened at a more fitting moment. This congress, presided over by the former W. German Chancellor Willy Brandt, had been planned to step up certain reactionary efforts by West European imperialism in Latin America. These included supporting García himself (García's APRA party is a member of the Socialist International), as well as establishing the Socialists as the "good guys" of the U.S. bloc by criticising the Reagan administration to some degree on Nicaragua while fundamentally supporting Reagan's justification that the Nicaraguan government has "violated its promised non-alignment."

In both its opening and closing sessions, the Socialist Congress passed resolutions of confidence in the

García government. García made it easier for them by appearing before them and promising to investigate the actions his government had taken. Brandt cynically warned of the danger of a military coup in order to make García seem palatable by comparison.

But none of this could hide the fact that a few hundred prisoners armed with slings, crossbows and a handful of captured weapons (four at el Fronton, according to the government itself) had held off a modern army. The strength of their political line and their class stand under such conditions only made it clearer how strong such a line and stand can become — and are becoming — when they are applied to building up a revolutionary army in the course of a people's war. Almost all the bourgeoisie's commentators are now saying that García, imperialism's great white hope who was supposed to fool some sections of the masses while the armed forces killed off others and thus stabilise the situation for reaction, is facing the worst political crisis of his young regime's life. The Socialist International itself found its role in this massacre and the subsequent manoeuvring to justify it so damaging that press accounts in countries such as Spain, where the Socialists are in power, began calling the congress "a disaster." *El Pais*, a Madrid newspaper associated with the Spanish ruling party, issued a frantic call for a new "extraordinary congress" to repair the damage done at what was supposed to mark the triumph of the Socialist International in Latin America.

As we go to press there have been reports of demonstrations and preparations of demonstrations in a growing number of cities. In Peru itself, newspaper accounts give every indication that in the midst of the García regime's grave political crisis and isolation the PCP is striving to deal it military blows so as to further weaken the regime and build up the People's Guerrilla Army and the revolutionary base areas where a new democratic, revolutionary regime is being born. □

Big Strides in Peruvian Revolution Flames Leap to Puno

Reports from Peru indicate that the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) has made good its immediate stated aim of establishing a series of guerrilla fronts extending the length of the country along its mountain spine from Cajamarca in the North to Puno in the South, as well as in the cities of the coastal plains in the West and in the jungle highlands to the East.

In the guerrilla fronts in the countryside, armed revolutionary actions during 1985 began to involve more and more guerrilla ambushes of army units, including of army vehicles. For the first few years of the war launched in 1980 they had centred on attacks on police outposts and clashes with police units. On 4 March, for example, a mounted military patrol in Ayamonte, in the department of Ayacucho, was "surprised," according to government reports, and the officers killed. The ability of the guerrillas to take such offensive actions directly against the armed forces shows some qualitative increase in their military strength, even within this period when the revolution is still on the strategic defense vis-a-vis the enemy and still faces an arduous process of building up strength through protracted people's war.

The PCP had announced, in mid-1984, the beginning of a campaign called "Begin the Great Leap," to "seize power piece by piece" in the countryside along the main axes of the guerrilla struggle and develop revolutionary bases areas. In these areas the PCP leads the peasants and organises them into various revolutionary mass organisations, above all the revolutionary armed forces, to smash the old feudal landlord and governmental political power and

replace it with revolutionary People's Committees made up of representatives of the masses themselves. Based on the strength of the revolutionary armed forces, these People's Committees are embryonic forms of a new revolutionary state power which is to defend the land the peasants have seized from the landlords and state authorities. As the main, mobile forces of the People's Guerrilla Army move from village to village, mobilising the peasants to attack semi-feudal ownership of the land and overthrow the old political power, Party units among its ranks also carry out agitation, propaganda and organisational work and bring new peasants into the PGA. They leave behind Party units whose task is to help establish and consolidate the new People's Committees; organise revolutionary mass organisations of women, youth, peasants and workers whose elected representatives (along with representatives of the small merchants and other rural petit bourgeoisie) choose the members of the People's Committees; form village militias and locally-based units of the PGA; and recruit and train the most advanced as Party members. In this way, by relying on the masses of peasants themselves, by arousing, organising and training them, guerrilla zones where the enemy has political power but guerrillas can launch frequent attacks, are transformed into base areas, where the revolutionary classes hold power.

Although these revolutionary base areas are apparently not even relatively consolidated at this point, they are emerging in wide areas of the country. The PCP calls such base areas "the essence of people's

war."

Various forms of revolutionary political power have emerged: the People's Committees themselves in areas where the reaction has been overthrown and driven out; people's power reorganising committees in areas where the government had been able to come in and overthrow the People's Committees but where the guerrillas are now reestablishing revolutionary power; clandestine People's Committees in areas where the reaction has set up authorities who in reality cannot rule for the reaction; and people's power organising committees in areas where the old political and feudal authorities have been chased out but where the enemy armed forces still operate. These various forms reflect the twists and turns the development of the revolutionary base areas has taken.

In addition to the guerrilla fronts in the central mountains, others have begun to develop in the southwestern coastal region of Arequipa and in the eastern jungle highlands —the "eyebrows of the jungle" — along the Huallaga river. In these jungle highland areas where coca leaves are a main crop, the peasants find themselves fighting against landlords who steal their land and drug dealers who steal their crops, on the one hand, and on the other against the UMOPAR, the U.S. "drug police" who often cooperate with drug dealers but always work to terrorise the peasants.

There have also been reports that indicate that the PCP has strengthened its ties with the miners, who form an important part of Peru's industrial working class. The Minister of Mines and Energy claim-

ed that the PCP had led workers in armed clashes during a strike of 17,000 workers at the state-owned Centromin mines in the department of Pasco in March. Three thousand strikers along with their wives and children set off on a five-day "sacrifice march" across the mountains to dramatise and win support for their demands for higher salaries.

"Sendero Luminoso made a strategic mistake," Peru's President Alan García declared in February, going on to affirm that the PCP had become entrenched in five central and northern mountain departments. "If they had expanded into the 'Andean Trapeze'" — the departments in the south-central and southern Andes — "we would have had much bigger and more serious problems. Perhaps the subversion would have won overwhelming victory.... Now it's too late."

García gave this gratuitous advice at a time when the PCP was carrying out major attacks across Peru. Apparently they were not confined to the central mountain region. In fact, even as he spoke a bomb blew up a nearby bank, disrupting García's attempts to address an outdoor celebration of his party's founding in Trujillo, a coastal city in northern Peru long considered his party's main stronghold. Two other party offices and six embassies were hit in Lima at the same time. A state of emergency García had been forced to call and then extend in Lima had obligated his party to hold the rally in Trujillo in the first place. Tanks enforced a 1 A.M. to 5 A.M. curfew in the capital after a series of attacks on government buildings. During the three months following the imposition of this curfew in February, the military detained 38,111 people and shot four of them dead in the course of their night-time patrols.

A few days after García's boast, a mass peasant uprising under PCP leadership began exactly where García had declared it impossible — in the southern department of Puno. This Belgium-sized department high in the Andes (3,600 meters) borders Lake Titicacq, Bolivia and Chile. It has an important history of peasant struggles, especially in the 1960s. The self-styled "revolutionary"

military regime which seized power in the 1960s instituted a "land reform" which consisted of turning over some of the biggest feudal estates and their extensive herds of cattle to state-run "cooperatives" owned by a handful of rich peasants and often administered by the same feudal authorities as before — or their children — while the vast majority of peasants remained completely or virtually landless. These "co-ops" have been an important social base for the various reformist and revisionist parties which have dominated political life in the area until recently.

There are press reports of seven major guerrilla-led attacks on Puno co-ops in February and March. The PCP reportedly pledged to "turn Puno into another Ayacucho," referring to the department that has been the revolution's main stronghold until now. Puno's peasants are taking up arms and seizing land on a grand scale. In one case poor peasants spontaneously attacked and burned down the administration buildings of a big "co-op" and took the land. In another case, after PGA guerrillas attacked and burned down an estate and then marched on, when the sun rose the next morning they found peasants from a neighboring village waiting for them atop a mountain pass to ask the guerrillas to come to their village too. If the guerrillas don't come to a village, peasants anxiously ask, "Where are the comrades?"

After a district governor was shot in February, other local officials began resigning. Along with big merchants they began leaving the department altogether, not only in the countryside but even in Azangaro, the biggest town in the central region of the department, where the PCP reportedly posted a list of 15 top officials and merchants who were warned to leave town immediately under threat of death. Press reports quote police officials complaining that their forces are small and scattered in 40 police outposts across the department. So far the Army has not been sent into Puno, although the matter is currently being considered, because among other reasons such a move would make it more difficult for the

military to concentrate its forces as it has so far in the central mountain regions and, above all, in Ayacucho. The entry of the military into Puno would also aggravate a host of political contradictions.

This scene in Puno — devastating attacks on the landlords and police, the driving out of old authority, the arousal of the peasants on a mass scale and their organisation into the revolutionary armed forces — is how revolutionary political power first began to emerge in Ayacucho, six years ago. While the 1982 entry of the regular armed forces into the fray and the subsequent jump in the reaction's quantity and quality of firepower was able to inflict some losses on the revolution, these recent events show that the revolution has been able to take deep hold in other parts of the country even while retaking important areas previously retaken by the government.

Peru is currently undergoing a mass upsurge on many fronts, including many different rural areas and sections of the peasantry, coastal farmworkers in the large-scale sugar cane plantations who recently seized the country's main coastal North-South highway, and urban workers and some professional sectors who've waged a number of major strikes and marches. This is the situation in which the PCP is striving to strengthen the "three magic weapons" of the revolution: the party, the revolutionary army, and the new revolutionary forms of the joint political power of the revolutionary classes.

The "Andean trapeze" is a key to Peru's future because of the millions of peasants who live there. García's government has given it a great deal of importance in speeches, in plans to allocate funds for clinics, dams and other sugar-coated bullets to win over or neutralise some strata of the peasants there, and in promises to carry out a real agrarian reform this time. So far, his government hasn't given out an inch of land while the peasants have been seizing it themselves, taking over estates thousands of hectares in extension and establishing revolutionary political power. □



Handicraft from Lurigancho prison.

Support for People's War Echoes on Every Continent

The people's war being led by the Communist Party of Peru has found an echo on every continent. A determined international campaign has spread and organized support for that war, and in so doing has helped change political conditions in many countries.

The Worldwide Campaign to Support the People's War in Peru involved dozens of major public meetings in capitals and other cities around the world, as well as other forms of meetings and discussions. There have been reports about activities in Austria, Bangladesh, Britain, Colombia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, France, Holland, India, Italy, Kurdistan, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States and West Germany.

Even more remarkable than the geographical range of this campaign was its unabashedly revolutionary character — a campaign in support of a revolutionary war being led by the Communist Party of Peru as a conscious and proud part of the in-

ternational struggle to do away with all imperialism and reaction and bring about a world free of classes. There has not been another international campaign quite like this in recent years.

These meetings had a common report, "Summing Up Five Years of People's War in Peru and the Current Political Situation," prepared and in numerous cities delivered by a Peruvian residing abroad who closely follows the situation. This comrade also prepared an extensive slide show on this subject. In addition there was a mini-exhibition of revolutionary art and posters from Peru, many of them done by revolutionary prisoners of war. The most commented-upon piece, without a doubt, was a large and intricate multicoloured rug celebrating the 1984 foundation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, woven by prisoners at Lima's Fronton island prison for the Committee of the RIM. (The Communist Party of Peru is a participating party of

the RIM.) A cassette of revolutionary songs recorded in the Callao women's prison also contributed to infusing these meetings with the spirit and content of the Peruvian revolution.

The activities in Bangladesh were a particularly successful example of the carrying out of both legal and illegal work, which was an important element of the campaign.

A report on the campaign there said, "The people of Bangladesh know little about Peru — a country of the other hemisphere. Even the progressive left intellectual circles of this country had long had little acquaintance with the great mass armed uprising and advancing war of the people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru. During the last year *A World To Win* spread among intellectuals information about the great people's war in Peru.... Up until now almost no reports on the people's war were published in the legal information media. Even the imperialist slander-

ing of the Peruvian reality had not reached our country. The imperialists and reactionaries practised the tactic of silence about the revolution in Peru.”

Reports from both the Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) and the Communist Party of Bangladesh (BSD[M-L]), participating parties of the RIM which are both underground, describe how they “jointly distributed a few thousand leaflets in different urban and rural areas and especially amongst the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals; in some places they carried out propaganda with posters, wall-writings, etc. Alongside these the PBSP printed a separate leaflet and distributed it in the rural areas especially amongst the peasants of areas where armed struggle is going on. Encouraged and inspired by the heroic advancement of the people’s war in Peru, the people of these areas became more confident of the prospect of their own revolutionary armed struggles.... The glorious episode of the people’s war in Peru has among our ranks created much enthusiasm and inspiration....” (From the PBSP account) A “World Mass Solidarity Council” comprised of progressive and left workers, students and cultural organisations held public mass meetings and seminars in four cities in Bangladesh. An average of 400-500 people took part in each. Three were on university campuses, involving high school students as well as local university students and other forces, and one, in a union headquarters, was attended mainly by industrial workers as well as students who came from far away to participate and support the people’s war and the RIM. At this union hall the art show “drew huge fistfuls of spectators from almost dawn to dusk.”

“Despite the hindrances faced by the Peru campaign — that it was an altogether unfamiliar and new issue... [and that] a great number of sincere patriots and intellectuals are being misled by pro-Deng revisionism, these are the very sections of the people where the campaign is creating repercussions... In Rangpur town the local unit of the student front of a pro-Moscow social-democratic political party, the JSD,

defied the so-called father organisation and actively cooperated to ‘support the people’s war in Peru’.... Some pro-Moscow and pro-Deng revisionist agents tried in vain to disrupt the meeting at Rajshahi University. They raised nonsense questions like ‘who said the present Chinese party is revisionist’ and ‘prove with data and information that the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist country.’ But the speakers instantly rebuffed them with correct data and information. As the (revisionists) left the venue with their tail between their legs, the listeners praised the initiators and became more interested to know about Mao Tsetung Thought and the people’s war in Peru. It can be mentioned in this connection that in the not-too-distant past Maoist revolutionary and left politics had a good influence in this part of the country but due to the fact that the persons concerned degraded to pro-Deng revisionism, that influence got eroded. Recently revolutionary politics and activities are getting stronger in the area.”

The rally at Dhaka University was presided over by a renowned intellectual and educator, a retired department head, who declared, “We support the people’s war in Peru because we feel the necessity of a similar type revolutionary movement in our country” (quoted from the BSD[M-L] account). This rally on a campus lawn was sponsored by nine different organisations including several worker and peasant groups as well as student groups and other prominent professors.

In the U.S. the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru sponsored mass meetings in five cities, involving a total of about 1000 people, both politically active forces from among the middle classes and some people from among the lower masses (including a large number of Spanish-speaking people from Mexico and Central America). These programmes took place in the mainly Black and proletarian city of Richmond in the San Francisco Bay Area and in a Central American neighborhood in San Francisco where there is a lot of political activity (there was also a smaller meeting in the nearby town of Watsonville

involving cannery workers on strike and others); in an immigrant area of Los Angeles; in San Diego, near the Mexican border; at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; and New York City, where there was a discussion in French involving Haitians as well as a major Spanish-English meeting which drew a wide variety of people of different classes and nationalities.

Altogether about 2000 people participated in Europe. Perhaps the most noteworthy was a programme in Paris attended by over 400 people of the most varied nationalities and ages, including many Iranians, Latin Americans and Africans, a contingent of 60 workers from Turkey, as well as an impressive number of French people given current political conditions in France. Many people remarked that Paris hadn’t seen a major explicitly revolutionary programme like it in years, nor had Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought recently enjoyed such a broad audience.

In Paris, in Scandinavia and in a whole series of cities in West Germany and elsewhere in Western Europe a certain sense arose in political circles that “the Maoists are back” and from now on have to be reckoned with. At the same time, because of the prestige won by the people’s war in Peru among revolutionary-minded people in the broadest sense, other political forces came forward to organise and participate in the campaign, including somewhat anarchist (autonomous) elements with influence among important strata of revolutionary-minded youth who have been isolated from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Their participation was facilitated by the revolutionary character of the campaign and the way in which unity was sought (on the basis of supporting the war the PCP is leading, rather than simply “supporting human rights” on the one hand or having to be in agreement with the overall line of the PCP or the RIM on the other).

For these reasons many of these meetings enjoyed a much broader audience than has often been the case recently. Many of the question-and-debate sessions were long and



Mass meeting to support people's war in Peru, Dhaka University.

lively. They centred on questions such as is a revolutionary party necessary or desirable, what is the role and character of a united front, what is the road to revolution in the oppressed countries and how is it different from the imperialist countries, what is revisionism and whether or not upholding Mao Tsetung can be considered a dividing line between Marxism and revisionism, the criticism made by some people of what they call the "cult of the personality," and many specific questions about the line and experience of the PCP.

An important element in many of these countries was the role played by small groups of revolutionary immigrants, including especially proletarians from Turkey. When led by a revolutionary line, these forces were often able to activate both other immigrant masses and European-born revolutionaries as well, including both youth and older veterans who felt left on the beach when the Sixties tide receded. Such a potent combination testifies to the potential of a clear revolutionary line in such countries and also shows how the influence of events elsewhere (such as the people's war in Peru in this case, with its specific political and ideological content, as well as the training immigrant forces have received in the context of the political movements in their home countries, and the rising revolu-

tionary tide in the world in general) can become a powerful internal factor among certain strata of Western European society.

The campaign in the Dominican Republic involved small, well-organised clandestine meetings, accompanied by a large-scale circulation of a pamphlet reprinting *A World to Win* articles on Peru and extensive leafletting and postering. It was reported that no political activist in the country remained untouched by the campaign. In this way it had an especially refreshing and significant impact in a situation of governmental instability, recurring mass outbreaks and sharp political crisis among the legal left whose electoral politics have recently held hegemony in the political movement there. The revolutionary situation in neighboring Haiti also helped charge the atmosphere in which this campaign took place and heightened the seriousness with which Dominican and some Haitian revolutionaries discussed and debated the Peruvian experience in order to solve urgent problems.

In Colombia, where the pro-Soviet revisionists and some other political forces have built up large armies, and where the government and the pro-Soviet forces have been jockeying for advantage in the course of a reactionary "truce and democratic opening," the campaign, the line of the PCP and the

line of the RIM provoked important discussions on the nature of people's war versus other forms of armed struggle which have become notorious in Colombia, as well as on the question of self-reliance versus depending on Cuba or the USSR for arms, the question of a party and of a united front, two-line struggle, revisionism and on the RIM itself. A series of small and medium-sized private meetings took place in four different cities and on a banana plantation, where there was a secret, lantern-lit programme and deep discussion in the midst of the night in a region where the reactionary armed forces maintain permanent vigilance.

This campaign initiated by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was an important step forward in carrying out an international joint campaign on a revolutionary basis. It has helped deepen and widen the revolutionary movement in those countries where the revolutionary forces are preparing to contest for state power by force of arms, according to the path of revolution and the conditions in different countries, and it has played a similar role in countries where such revolutionary armed struggle is already a reality.

This campaign apparently had some effect on the enemy as well. A series of wild and lurid but vicious tales concocting some connection between this campaign and Libya have been circulated in the German and French press and especially the press in Peru (and then reprinted elsewhere as "facts" proved by the fact that they appeared in a newspaper). The imperialist media which blacked out and slandered the people's war in Peru for so long can no longer call it "isolated," either in Peru or the rest of the world, nor can they so easily lie about its character as they once did. So this latest round of lies directed at the international campaign to support the people's war in Peru indicates both something of the degree to which the campaign has been successful and also the fact that it has been and will be even more sharply an arena of class struggle. □

International Campaign Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung!

Twenty years ago Mao Tsetung kindled the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* puts it:

“The Cultural Revolution represents the most advanced experience of the proletarian dictatorship and the revolutionising of society. For the first time the workers and other revolutionary elements were armed with a clear understanding of the nature of the class struggle under socialism....Great victories were won in the course of the Cultural Revolution which prevented the revisionist restoration in China for a decade and led to great socialist transformations in education, literature and art, scientific research and other elements of the superstructure... The Cultural Revolution was waged as part of the international struggle of the proletariat and was a training ground in proletarian internationalism....

“The Cultural Revolution was the living proof of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism. It showed that the proletarian revolution was unlike all previous revolutions which could only result in one exploiting system replacing another. For all these reasons the Cultural Revolution and Mao Tsetung earned the lasting and vicious abuse of all the reactionaries and revisionists and for these same reasons the Cultural Revolution remains an indispensable part of the revolutionary legacy of the international communist movement.”

For all these reasons it is fitting that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has decided to launch a coordinated, international campaign entitled “Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung” on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the opening salvos of the Cultural Revolution. Nor can we forget that it was ten years ago that the great leader and teacher Mao Tsetung died and that right on the heels of his death the capitalist roaders in China launched a vicious coup d'état and began restoring capitalism.

Combatting the current revisionist rulers in China remains an on-going task of the genuine revolutionary communists. The upcoming campaign must be an occasion for further exposure and denunciation of these usurpers and a time to refute the lies and calumnies generally directed against Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution.

Most importantly, this campaign must be a further occasion for the dissemination of the teachings of Mao Tsetung on the widest possible basis. At a time when revolutionary struggle is again on the rise it is all the more vital that this struggle be infused and illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Those who remember the exhilarating victories of the Cultural Revolution and who were inspired by the example of the construction of a new society in China must not forget that a new generation of revolutionaries is coming to the fore who did not share this experience. It is vital that the legacy of Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution be made the common property of



all who are striving to tear down exploitation and oppression.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, along with other Maoist forces, must vigorously spread this campaign throughout the globe. It must be a campaign of denunciation of revisionism, but also of holding aloft the great accomplishments achieved under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. It must be a living example of proletarian internationalism, with the multiple forms of activity most reflecting the ability of the genuine communists to apply our revolutionary science to the concrete realities of different countries.

This campaign must be at once both a celebration of the victories won and the achievements accomplished along with a renewed declaration to use the weapon bequeathed us by Mao Tsetung to defeat imperialism and reaction and march forward on Mao's road toward a communist world.

The Committee of the RIM

All those who agree with the necessity of this campaign are urged to participate actively. The parties and organisations of the RIM should be contacted directly. Where this is not possible, write to the RIM Information Bureau: BCM RIM, London WC1N 3XX.

Excerpts from Worldwide Campaign Speech

Five Years of People's War

Following are excerpts from the main speech given at meetings held around the world as part of the Worldwide Campaign to Support the People's War in Peru. The speech was prepared by a Peruvian living abroad who closely follows events in Peru. —AWTW

SUMMING UP FIVE YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU AND THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

PART ONE: SUMMATION OF FIVE YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR

Dear comrades.

We will begin our exposition with a quote from Chairman Mao Tsetung:

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

Chairman Mao teaches us that there is only one way to seize

political power: revolutionary violence. The theory of seizing power by the peaceful road is wrong, impracticable and revisionist. Revolution is the overthrow of one class by another and the old classes will never give up their political power voluntarily, not even in the worst crisis. The only way to deal with them is to sweep them away through revolutionary war, by means of revolutionary armed force. We should keep this universally valid principle in mind.

We should also keep in mind one of Marx's great teachings:

"Once the banner of revolution is raised, it cannot be lowered again."

This means that the armed struggle must be organized and persisted in. In order to launch the people's war in Peru the Communist Party of Peru made the great decision never to lay down its arms until communism is reached.

THE DEVELOPING PROCESS OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU

These five years of people's war represent a great epic, an epic being

carried out in our homeland by the Peruvian people and the Communist Party of Peru, guided by the invincible banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo.

Let's look at some historical background.

The Communist Party of Peru, the PCP, was reconstituted as a Party of a new type, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo, in other words, as a fighting machine and not just an organizing machine. If this hadn't been done, it would have been impossible to make revolution. Without a Party there is no revolutionary general staff leading the masses to seize power. The Party is the principal instrument of the revolution, the heroic combatant who leads the other two instruments, the united front and the armed struggle.

Founded October 7th 1928 by José Carlos Mariátegui, the PCP could not consolidate as a Party of a new type, because communist parties have to undergo a process of maturation. In the decade of the



1960s Marxism and revisionism clashed on a world scale. This had its reflection within the Communist Party of Peru. Thanks to Chairman Mao, the PCP rediscovered Mariátegui. At that time great mass movements were unfolding: between June 1963 and February 1964 half a million peasants mobilised spontaneously to struggle for the land. Workers and employees carried out massive strike movements, without any central coordination, and university students did the same. All of this contributed to the development of a movement within the Communist Party itself.

The revisionists within the Party were expelled in 1964. After that, a handful of communists became a faction within the Party. Chairman Mao says: outside the Party there are other parties and within the Party there are factions. He also says that all groups of people can be divided into left, centre and right. Lenin taught that a faction is a grouping of communists who fight to apply communist principles in the purest manner. It was Chairman Gonzalo who forged the red faction

within the Party and smashed the other factions whose actions were not open and above-board. Thus, through a long struggle, this red faction became the Party. The reconstitution of the Party can be divided into three periods:

- From 1963-69 is the period of Deciding to Reconstitute, guided by the strategic line of surrounding the cities from the countryside. In 1969 it was agreed to reconstitute the Party, taking as its basis of unity Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, José Carlos Mariátegui and the Fifth Party Conference.

- From 1969 to 1975 is the Application of the Reconstitution, guided by the strategic line of rebuilding the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to carry out people's war.

- From 1975 to 1979 is the Culmination of the Reconstitution, whose strategic line was to culminate the Reconstitution and lay the basis for the armed struggle.

With the Reconstitution completed, the Communist Party of Peru under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo launched the people's

war on May 17th 1980, a far-reaching step that has opened up a new historical period in Peru.

In conclusion, this is the historical background from which a Party of a new type arose, mature, fit to seize power, reconstituted through fierce two-line struggle, whose basis of unity as a Party is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo.

Now let's talk about the different periods in the armed struggle in Peru.

First period - the Definition, in 1979. The launching of the armed struggle took place in the midst of a two-line struggle against those who wanted to continue reconstituting the Party and convert the Party into an organising machine instead of a fighting machine. The Party, under Chairman Gonzalo's firm leadership, didn't split during this struggle, because once their reactionary positions were smashed those who opposed initiating the armed struggle left the Party individually, as revisionists. Thus a new stage, a different direction, had

(Continued to page 70).

RIM Committee Greet Peru Campaign

The following is a statement from the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement which was read aloud at the numerous meetings which were held as part of the Worldwide Campaign to Support the People's War in Peru.

—AWTW

Comrades and friends,

The People's War being waged under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru is certainly not the only revolutionary war in today's world, nor the only struggle worthy of support, but it is an extremely important ray of hope that shows the potential for a new turn in the history of humanity and helps prepare the conditions for it. We say this not just out of quite correct pride that this Party is among the ranks of our Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, but also because of our understanding of what is going on in the world today and what is needed to change it.

The world situation this assessment is based on was analysed by the *Declaration* issued by the 1984 Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement: "All the major contradictions of the world imperialist system are rapidly accentuating: the contradiction between various im-

perialist powers, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations, and the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries. All of these contradictions have a common origin in the capitalist mode of production and its fundamental contradiction. The rivalry between the two blocs of imperialist powers led by the U.S. and the USSR respectively is bound to lead to war unless revolution prevents it and this rivalry is greatly affecting world events."

Despite these sharpening objective conditions, "the Marxist-Leninist movement continues to confront a deep and serious crisis which came to a head following the reactionary coup d'état in China following the death of Mao Tsetung and the treacherous betrayal of Enver Hoxha. However despite these reversals there are genuine Marxist-Leninists on all continents who have refused to abandon the struggle for communism."

This context is what has given particular significance to a People's War that would have been welcome and important under any circumstances. It has raised high amid the clash of battle itself the banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, and thus served to advance the prestige of revolutionary Marxism;

it has served as a manifesto to the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world that communism is on the agenda and that the revolutionary movement is once again on the rise. A revolutionary war which has firmly drawn a line of demarcation with all forms of revisionism, which dares to make revolution without the fatal tutelage of any imperialism, a revolutionary war which declares its aim of serving the overthrow of all imperialism and reaction and the world-wide advance to communism — such a war is indeed extremely significant in today's world.

These meetings and the Worldwide Campaign to support the people's war in Peru are also part of something new and important in the world. With this campaign proletarian internationalism — and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement — is indeed becoming stronger, broader and more organised, more of a material force. In the course of supporting the Peruvian revolution which is increasingly looked to by oppressed and revolutionary-minded people on every continent, our Movement based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has had broad opportunities to join together in struggle with other political forces.

The *Declaration* issued by the Second Conference indicated the unity of will and political understanding



upon which our Movement is based. It contains an analysis of the two component parts of the world proletarian revolution and the different tasks and road to revolution in the imperialist countries and the countries oppressed by imperialism. In the countries oppressed by imperialism, the *Declaration* says, "it is often the case that the revolution takes the form of protracted revolutionary warfare in which the revolutionary forces are able to establish base areas of one type or another in the countryside and carry out the basic strategy of surrounding the city by the countryside." This is the road the revolution in Peru is following under the leadership of the PCP and its Chairman, Comrade Gonzalo. In doing so it is playing a vital role in advancing the revolution in other countries, above all because of the political and ideological line that is leading it and which in turn it is unfurling before the world's revolutionary masses.

In the imperialist countries, as the

Declaration says, "the October Revolution remains the basic point of reference for Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics." In other words, in general in the imperialist countries it is not possible today to launch the armed struggle in a way that contributes towards the revolutionary seizure of power; preparing for the moment when that does become possible through agitation, propaganda and revolutionary struggle is urgently required. Today supporting the people's war in Peru is not only an important task in its own right but also an important part of getting ready for the armed struggle that the revolutionary proletariat must prepare to lead at the earliest possible moment.

These meetings to Support the People's War in Peru and the worldwide campaign of which they are part, like the people's war in Peru itself, represent advanced efforts to turn revolutionary possibilities into revolutionary realities. As our *Declaration* solemn-

ly declares, "The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people in all countries is crying out for genuine revolutionary leadership. The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, in individual countries and on a world scale, have the responsibility to provide such leadership even as they continue to struggle to solidify and raise the level of their unity."

We will organise the most widespread and powerful support for the people's war in Peru. Proletarian internationalism and revolutionary-minded people all over the world demand it of us, and in correctly so doing we will advance the revolutionary movement in many countries and on a world level.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU! □

The Committee of the RIM



Interview with Afghan Revolutionary

Ever since the Soviet invasion in 1979, Afghanistan has been perhaps the most damning evidence of the real nature of Soviet social-imperialism. The following interview with a member of SAMA who feels it impossible to reveal his identity in *AWTW* clearly demonstrates that the USSR has been pursuing the same rapacious and brutal exploitation of Afghanistan and suppression of the liberation struggle that the old-style imperialist powers have long practiced in the countries under their domination.

But in Afghanistan, as elsewhere, oppression has bred resistance. From the beginning the Afghan people have arisen in a just, revolutionary struggle against the Soviet invaders and their Afghan puppets. Genuine revolutionary and democratic forces, such as the Liberation Organisation of the People of Afghanistan (SAMA), have played an important role in this struggle.

The battlefield in Afghanistan is complex indeed, for on it one finds the expression of some of the different yet interrelated contradictions that shape today's world: the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism and social-imperialism on the one hand and the contradiction between the different imperialist powers themselves. It is not possible to understand Afghanistan unless both of these contradictions are understood.

Ever since the Soviet invasion, the Western imperialist powers (especially the U.S.) have pumped an enormous amount of aid to phoney "liberation" organisations in Afghanistan. The purpose of such "assistance" is clear — to try to manipulate the just struggle of the Afghan people and pervert it into a weapon in the Western bloc's own arsenal aimed at the Soviet Union. In particular, the U.S. has sought to support and prop up the most reactionary forces in Afghanistan opposed to the Soviet Union — feudal chieftans, religious authorities, and the like.

This complex situation makes the need for the independent role of the proletariat, of a genuine vanguard party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, all the more evident. Without such a party it is not possible for the proletariat to hoist its independent banner. Without a genuine vanguard it is not possible to thoroughly demarcate politically and ideologically from those who would characterise the Soviet invaders and their Afghan puppets as "communists" nor, on the other hand, defeat the propaganda of the Soviets and international revisionism which have tried to portray the Afghan resistance as solely the work of feudal reactionaries in the pay of the US or the current rulers in China struggling against the so-called "progress" represented by the Soviet puppet regime.

Although there is no vanguard party in Afghanistan today, there is an important legacy of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Afghanistan and many of the fighters in today's revolutionary and democratic organisations have been influenced by the Marxist-Leninist movement. In the early 1970s a Marxist-Leninist newspaper was founded with the name

Eternal Flame. This journal which was published by those who upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and supported the Cultural Revolution in China enjoyed a very wide influence in Afghanistan. To this very day, the genuine revolutionary and democratic forces are often referred to by both the Soviet invaders and the Islamic reactionaries as "Flameists" (*Shohlehi* in Farsi) from the name of this early Marxist-Leninist journal.

The genuine resistance struggle of the Afghan people is already playing an important role in weakening and exposing social-imperialism and this struggle should be supported by revolutionary masses the world over. But this struggle can only reach its full potential if it is openly led as part of the world proletarian revolution. By raising proudly the red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought amidst the flames of the Afghan people's war of resistance and right under the noses of social-imperialism, the Afghan Marxist-Leninists can significantly alter the nature and prospects of the current armed struggle and make an extremely important contribution to the growth of the world proletarian revolutionary movement. —AWTW

Afghanistan, which today is suffering intense crisis and an invasion by Russian social-imperialism, is a country located in the heart of Asia. Its surface is 650,000 square kilometres, and its population, as of 1977, was 18,200,000, of which 85% is rural and the rest urban or transient. Official statistics show that 95% of our people can't read; they are mainly concentrated in the countryside, while the 5% who can read are mainly in the cities. The social-economic structure of the country is related to its particular geographic situation: it has for centuries been a passageway for armies and caravans, and today it consists of many nationalities and tribes. Because each area of the country has generally been separated from the influence of the others, lopsided social-economic growth took place in the agrarian structure of society. In the not too distant past, the country's economic structure was based on tribal communal ownership of the forests and fields and remnants of primitive relations, alongside small commodity production and the expansion of commercial and usury capital, in the context of a dominant feudal mode of production — all this at the same time. Such particularities are generally found in a semi-feudal semi-colonial society.

Considering Afghanistan's natural resources, we can say it is a rich country, but because of the dominant decadent socio-economic relations which have blocked the normal growth and improvement of the well-being of the people, Afghanistan is listed among the ten poorest countries in the world. Again

according to the official statistics, in 1976 the average income of the Afghan people was 85 U.S. dollars per year. Now in view of the division of income in the country, one can see how much goes to the toiling people of Afghanistan.

Considering the organic relation between the social-economic development of a society and its cultural development, Afghanistan, which compared to its neighbors is a relatively closed nation, has preserved its past cultural traditions, both the positive and negative aspects. And here what is most important is the indestructible spirit of the people of Afghanistan, a spirit born in battle against various kinds of invasion over the centuries and which in the beginning of the anti-Russian upsurge has been an important element. In the 19th century, British colonialism dominated and ruled the major part of the known world of those days, yet in two invasions of our country attempted by their army in 1839 and 1879 they gained nothing but disgrace. With unprecedented courage and with united ranks the Afghan people wrote an epic story which the hitherto always victorious army of England had not seen until that time. The British armies were destroyed in Afghanistan — from one of them there remained only a single person to take home the news of the destruction of the army.

The Logic of Social Imperialism

Since the Russian invasion, when people have wanted to explain the reason for it, some have seen it only from the point of view of Afghanistan's role as a diving board to get to warm water, that is, its geopolitical situation.... Some others have 'scientifically' evaluated the Russian invasion as a tactical move serving a defensive strategy, not grasping how by this they justify the murderous acts of the Russians, or if they grasp it, they consciously worship that imperialism. What is not being said here is that the Russians, like any imperialist force, look for profit in our country, for commodity circulation, that they have come to fulfill their imperialist necessities, to steal our natural resources, to find markets and to increasingly exploit our toiling people.

The enemy tries, with full force, to hide its weak points from the sight of the people worldwide, and we should continue our struggle because we know well that exposure of the murderous crimes of Russian social-imperialism from a revolutionary point of view, from a stand which fulfills the needs of the most oppressed social strata in our era, is a tremendous task that should be done, and we know that any force involved in the Afghan resistance exposes the murders of the Russians from their own class standpoint.

Before going into how Russian social-imperialism penetrates Afghanistan, there is something to be pointed out: the Talayee tyranny, which since 1927 cruelly ruled over the fate of our nation, after 20 years in which they imposed various kinds of oppression, force, prison, etc., on our people, had

become no longer capable of ruling over the people with the same policies. Together with this, the birth of a new country, Pakistan, and intensifying disputes on the borders between the two countries, alongside the West's push on Afghanistan to get closer to Pakistan, caused the Talayee Dynasty and later Daoud to search for another supporter in the international arena.

In the mid-1950s, the Russians, hoping to swallow Afghanistan and steal its natural resources, started their economic relations with the Afghan government with a large loan at 3% interest which was used to build a silo system. This does not mean that Afghanistan did not have any prior economic relations with the Soviets — it did, but these relations were limited to some commercial levels in which we cannot see any evidence of relations of plunder, which we do see afterwards. After the loan for the silo system, other loans followed, the major part of which were used to build and strengthen a dependent infrastructure in Afghanistan. Thus up until 1977, the Soviet Union gave more than \$1,200 million in loans to Afghanistan, which was used only for building a dependent economic base, including transport lines that connect Kabul to the Soviet border, military airports which were later to

be used for their helicopters and jets, and armaments with which, according to the confessions of these murderers, more than a million Afghan people have been martyred. These loans were also used for economic enterprises for refining gas and petroleum, as well as for agricultural enterprises — the entire product of all of these goes to the Soviet Union.

If we take a brief look at one or two of these, we can see the nature of the relations of Russian imperialism with the Afghan people. For example, during Afghanistan's second five-year plan and part of its third five-year plan, the Russians created something called the farming project of Dorunteh, which consisted of three farms at Ghasi Abad, Hadeh and Dorunteh. Apart from the way they chose land and other technical problems (for example in order to be able to use the land they had to bring soil from somewhere else to make the land suitable for their purposes), the contract between Afghanistan and Russia was that in place of interest on the loans the totality of the production of these farms, which consisted of citrus fruit, was to be sent to the Soviet Union for 25 years, which is basically the entirety of the trees' fruitful period. The price was also decided by them: for example, in



1976 the price of a kilo of imported oranges in a Soviet port was 2 1/2 Afghani (the Afghan unit of money), while at the same time in Kabul and Jalalabad, right by the farms, people would buy oranges at 16 Afghani per kilo... and these were oranges people had to bring from the marketplace in Pakistan! Also the administration of the farm was Russian.

Typical Neocolonialism

Before the government began its five year plans, despite the country's agricultural backwardness, Afghanistan was almost self-sufficient, especially in providing food, which mainly consisted of wheat. But afterwards, in 1971, we imported 250,000 tons of wheat, most of it from — naturally — the Soviet Union. Thus they changed the form of agriculture in Afghanistan so that wheat gave way to cotton. Cotton is turned into money, which then goes to buy wheat from the USSR. When the government undertook its agricultural reform, what counted for them was not uprooting the centuries-old feudal relations — in fact even limiting these relations is something that rarely went beyond the planning stage, as the only real plan the government had the opportunity to realize was that of genocide. Their programs allotted 30 acres of excellent land for each feudal, and in fact they intensified the small landlord relations in favour of the colonial system. As for cooperatives, the Russians would give 5 or 10 acres to the peasant, but he didn't have any means of production, neither seed nor fertilizer — these were available only from the cooperative and the peasants were obliged to plant whatever kind of plant the cooperative wanted them to, which was invariably in accord with the economic division of labour in COMECON.

Additionally, during part of the first and all of the second five-year plan, the Russians built the base for a gas and petrol industry in *north* Afghanistan in Balkh and Shabarghan. Aside from this fact, they also destroyed all the oil wells they considered dangerous for their own natural resources, saying that they are expensive and not utilisable, and they took all the documents with them. It may seem incredible to most people that the meters which showed the amount of petroleum exported to the Soviet Union were installed in Soviet territory and were out of the reach of Afghan citizens, so that at the end of each month or year the Soviets would say that well, you exported this much petroleum.

As for the price, take for example 1980: the Russians wanted terribly to help their dependent government and in fact put the money back in their own pocket, and so they considerably raised the price of gas to \$100 per 1000 cubic meters, whereas at the same time they bought gas from Iran at \$160 per 1000 cubic meters; meanwhile West Germany paid the Russians \$200 per 1000 cubic meters for the same gas! This is one example of the relations of plunder of the Russians with the Afghan people.

A point that should be mentioned here is that for over 20 years we have been exporters of gas in the region and our people have no understanding of what gas is. The people of Afghanistan both in the cities and villages and even in the areas where the extraction of the gas and petroleum takes place do not use these products themselves because their use is monopolized by the Russians.

These relations which began in the economic sphere increasingly penetrate and influence every sphere of the economic and social life of Afghanistan. At the end of the Talayee dynasty, 1/3 of Afghanistan's foreign debt was to Russia. And 65% of import-export trade is with Russia, not including Eastern Europe.

The Local Puppets

When they economically built the dependent infrastructure in this country, they had to accomplish their preparations in the military, cultural and social spheres. The *raison d'être* of the People's Democratic Party has in fact been accomplishing the task of opening up the road to Russian invasion. This was what history showed us when they started killing our people and riding the Russian tanks. Russian imperialism, after two decades of preparation, and by changing heads of state, bringing in Daoud in place of Zahir Shah and finally cutting the throats of Daoud and putting in Taraki instead, took the first bold step to capture Afghanistan and reduce it from a semi-colony to a complete colony, and with nothing more than a party which was founded by the most infamous elements of the society.

As one friend answered, when asked about the difference between Khalq and Parcham, it is as if "whoever is the door, I'm the hall; whoever is the donkey, I'm the pack-saddle." So, for example, taking Zahir Shah and his government as the donkey, then Babrak yells through Parliament that Zahir Shah is the most progressive shah in the East... and Taraki would kiss Zahir Shah's hand in the international airport at Kabul when Zahir Shah returned from a trip to Moscow. If you take Daoud's government as the donkey, Babrak and the Parcham faction as a whole, which had an important role in Daoud's coup called upon people to uphold and support Daoud and they wouldn't forego any murderous act in order to preserve the positions of Daoud and the dynasty. If we consider the Russians the donkey they both feel honored to be considered as lackeys by Russian social-imperialism; in the words of one of their very own leaders, "a fly coming from the Soviet Union is useful."

The "red" coup which was the result of 20 years of preparation, suddenly took our society from a state of relative stagnancy into a state of relative turmoil. On one side stood the whole nation (taking into account that different social strata, which are considered in the nation, took part, preserving their own class interests) and on the other side a handful

of traitors, the representatives of state finance capital. These are the two sides involved in this bloody controversy. Despite the class base of this government some "leftists" — or we'd better say the disoriented of the Afghan movement — sometimes call it petit bourgeois socialism or feudal socialism, etc., without realizing what they're painting on the low and disgraceful face of the government. As Majid Kalakani (a leader of the Marxist-Leninist *Eternal Flame*, who later founded SAMA in 1978 and was later captured and martyred by the Soviets — *AWTW*) said, the character and fate of this government is decided by its class base, which is Russian dependent state capital — and not only the character, but even the fate, because it wants to struggle for preserving the interests of its master, a superpower, inside Afghanistan. Thus it cannot belong to the people and the other social strata of Afghanistan, and they should confront it and bury it next to its master.

The Popular Upsurge

Since the beginning of the movement, both Russian social-imperialism and the Western media have explained what's behind the war from their own point of view, and the question is not so clear for our friends in the international arena. Is it the case that there are feudal elements fighting for their feudal or tribal interests which are somehow not adapted to structural and democratic reforms of the Russians, or is it an ideological war, or is something else involved?

The relentless defense of a handful of puppet mercenaries, the pitiless murder of a people to force them to kowtow to the master, rape, injustice, etc.... *these* are the motives or reasons for the upsurge of our people which, together with the tradition of struggle against foreign domination of our people, has resulted in a tremendous

spontaneous movement which in a very short time swept all over Afghanistan, without any party having instigated all this. People started by relying on their own strength, according to the means they had in hand, under the leadership of heroes who came from their own community. The government had not yet put forward its supposed land reform, there had been no ideological questions raised, and also, the reactionary parties installed in Pakistan did not exist, contrary to what they claim. If the spontaneous upsurge of our people hadn't happened, these forces wouldn't even exist — they were a handful, instruments of alien governments, used from time to time by one imperialist against another.

Why do we say these movements are spontaneous?

This is opposed to the claims of some who today want to ride on the movement and use the fruit of the blood of our people — whose struggle can be realized only in freedom, democracy and social justice, which will allow our society to progress and develop — in order to make it serve their own master. And these people claim to be leaders or even founders of the movement! As opposed to this, we say that the movement is spontaneous. A barefoot people, a people with the most primitive arms inherited from their fathers, organized according to tribal relations, with whatever leadership happened to be found in a village — a white-haired old man, an influential person etc., who could mobilize others in military matters to the extent possible — this is how they started to oppose the Russians. And the suppressive and oppressive acts Taraki committed to confront this upsurge only widened and strengthened the upsurge of the people — for example, when one village witnesses how a neighboring village has been reduced to dirt and ashes, and so joins the struggle to save its own

Soviet 'aid' to Afghanistan.



existence. On the other hand, the dependency of the lackey regime also enforces the struggle against it. The misfortune is not that the movement started spontaneously, the misfortune will occur if the revolutionary forces who can draw a bright historical perspective for Afghanistan society do not guide and lead this movement. From the beginning of the movement, every force involved in the struggle, both progressive forces and the reactionary forces installed in Pakistan as well as those who feed from the watering trough of the Pasdaran of

the Islamic Republic, all have tried to orient the spontaneous movement according to the particular historical stand they represent.

If the revolutionary forces are not able to fulfill their historical task of uniting the people and leading the spontaneous movement of people in all spheres, whether the reactionary forces installed in Pakistan take power due to concessions of the two superpowers or our war of resistance subsides for a long period of time, the blood of a million and a half martyrs that the people have offered to gain their freedom up to today would be trampled on by Russia and its agents.

Despite the idea that by invading Afghanistan the Russians took a step forward, by marching into the country they politically suffered a disgraceful strategic defeat. What they wanted to control through their lackies, they were forced to control with 85,000 soldiers. In order to preserve its colonial stature and its profits from the plunder which it had prepared for 25 years, Russia invaded Afghanistan; today it is still continuing to kill our people, and even remote parts of Afghanistan have become its slaughter-houses. The Russians were not able to act even according to their own military strategy, which called for taking over Afghanistan in a short period of time and suffocating the movement. With every day that passes, the flame of our war burns higher and draws in more people in spite of all the destruction. Our barricades in the war are sparkling. We still fire on Russia, and still offer victims and take victims from our colonial enemy. And this has actually brought about a military defeat for the Russians. Now, whenever the issues are seen from our point of view, or whenever Russia adds to its soldiers in Afghanistan, this in fact strategically puts another stamp on its political and military defeat.

The Russian Army

The hostile repressive apparatus which today is carrying out the task of suppressing our people could be considered to consist of two main parts: one part, which is directly administered by Russia and is built by Russia herself is the Russian Army and the KGB; the other part is connected to the puppet government and consists of various sections. As far as the Soviet Army is concerned, both the policy and action of this army displays the most naked characteristics of a fascist army of occupation: mass slaughter, destruction of villages like Karhol, Khakriz of Qandahar, etc. In one town the only people left alive were those who were away at the time of the slaughter, people who had gone to work away from the town — everybody else was killed. In a mass roundup in an area where the Liberation Organisation of the Afghan People (SAMA) is present, in Kalakan, 22 people were sighted by Russian soldiers — it should be said that the day beforehand people of SAMA had blocked a road and destroyed one or two Russian tanks and killed some Russians — the soldiers had come for

revenge, and seeing these 22 people, even though they were all old and not armed, just ordinary people from some village, the soldiers made them stand together and shot them all.... there are many examples like this all over Afghanistan. There exist documents, photos, films, etc., of all this.

Inside the corrupt army itself hashish is the demand of the major part of the soldiers, and robbery and pillage during night-time inspections is commonplace. They have also invented a new tactic, which they use especially in winter: they stop the tanks a bit away from the village, destroy it completely and then come in and take the wood the houses had been built of and sell it in the cities to people who need wood in order to warm themselves. This happens so often that even the puppets of Khalq and Parcham cannot deny it.

Today, wherever the Russian soldiers pass, they leave nothing behind but the bare earth itself. Like any colonial army, the soldiers don't even think about where their own interests lie — they simply aim to attack the opposing side. Their attacks may include the forces of the resistance or simply unarmed people who have no evident relationship to the resistance. They destroy their food, their homes, kill their animals, etc. They even steal each other's weapons, so one way that you can get yourself a weapon and especially ammunition is from Russian soldiers, since for a minimum of money they will steal the gun of one of their own fellow soldiers and sell it.

At the end of 1985 the number of Russian army soldiers in Afghanistan was around 140-170,000; but the Russians in Afghanistan are not limited to soldiers. The other institution that is directly run by Russians — and we must point out that everything in Afghanistan is done by them — is the KGB. They have administrators in every branch of government. They control the universities too. They want to run all our economic, political, social and cultural life, and they've sent people to Afghanistan according to this desire. If we were able to say how many Russians there might be in Afghanistan now — and that would be really hard to do — you would understand how many people are needed for a country to run a colony relying on its own forces.

The forces used by the puppet government to suppress the people consist of that part of the army that is left to them; KHAD or the security organisation which is built by Parcham; the forces of the Interior Ministry which, because of the role of the Khalq faction not only consists of police but also of remnants of Babrak; the state militia; and other organizations gathered around the two national-traitor parties Khalq and Parcham, like youth organizations, women's organizations, and so on. Whatever soldiers the army has, they took by force in night-time kidnappings or in roadblocks during the day... and so when these people are asked to act as soldiers they count themselves not with the army but with the opposing forces, with the anti-Russian forces. Usually they are simply

waiting for an opportunity to escape and join the opposition. Khad or the security organization which the Parcham created is built by its own most loyal lackies. But Khad is not limited to a mere security organization — in fact, all Parcham people carry out the tasks of Khad, as do many corrupt parasitic elements, the kind of lumpen strata that exist in any society. They act as Khad's agents. Up to now, the spy apparatus has been more effective than the army in dealing blows to the resistance movement, and it is because of this relative efficiency that they are promoted to higher positions.

The police as a whole is led and controlled by Khalq.

The militia is connected to the government and is based on buying off sell-out commanders in the ranks of the resistance and by intensifying defeatism in the resistance. Its main role consists of controlling some rural areas, especially because of their knowledge of these areas. And the fact that they are installed in these regions means that they can be a real problem for the Afghan resistance. The national and revolutionary forces and the resistance forces as a whole should take the question of the state-run militia more seriously than they have. This is especially because the government of Afghanistan is trying to use this militia to create the army they need. What makes this question more pressing is that so long as the destructive policies of the reactionary Afghan parties exists and splits and internal fights continue, there will always exist a basis for the militia forces to expand, and this is a danger all forces must be aware of.

The Afghan Feudals

The contradiction between Russian social-imperialism and the feudal forces under fire in Afghanistan could be characterised like this: the decadent feudal forces of Afghanistan and their class interests are endangered by the Russians and their lackies, for whenever imperialism wants to establish itself in a country it not only relies on the local exploiting forces but also tries hard to develop strata in that society completely dependent on itself in order to gain the most and prepare the ground for more plunder. Now whether this contradiction will be solved by the reduction of the feudal class to dependency on Russia or by replacing it with another class is a question that will be discussed over and over again during our social revolution. What is important here is that in the current situation this class, in its own class manner and in order to preserve its own class interests, wants for one last time to put its fate up for examination in the great national war.

The feudal forces' social base and their complete dependence on Western imperialism, and their ability to profit from their extensive financial and military support as well as their ability to use the Islamic beliefs of the people, all this has enabled these forces to impose themselves on the spontaneous movement of the people, in the form

of the reactionary forces in Pakistan. Thus in this way, while treating the national and revolutionary forces as their main enemy, they confront their plunderous rival and preserve their own interests. So it is that some of the forces among the reactionary groups — those who in carrying out murder and other crimes are bolder than the others — openly declare in their party programme that before kicking out Russia they have to get rid of other forces who are involved in the war and are opposed to them and supposedly to the Jihad. In one document published by one of the reactionary parties an Emir who headed one of these parties openly gave orders to his forces, that when they are fewer than their opponents, don't fight the Russians, instead ask the Russians' help in order to destroy these forces. This is how far these people go in opposing revolution and the revolutionary forces and in serving the Russians.

The hardship our people have suffered in this war, especially the national and revolutionary forces, is thus double-sided: there is the pressure of Russian imperialism and that of the reactionary forces installed in Pakistan and their imperialist masters in the West. But we have one advantage relative to our Iranian brothers, and that is that the revolutionary movement of Iran experienced the black reaction *after* its seizure of power but we are experiencing it before it gets to power. Thus if in Iran illusions caused some to have hope in reaction, the national and revolutionary forces of Afghanistan, because they have experienced this reaction in the war, have no illusions about it and understand well its historical character and potential.

To show you the anti-human and anti-national role of the pro-West reactionary forces in Pakistan and Iran by facts and documents, we call your attention to the disaster of Kouh-e-saffi (Saffi mountains) and to the mass slaughter of Sholkar and of the Khondozi front and other such cases. In every one of them dozens of our national heroes, people active through SAMA, were martyred. The Russians had placed a bounty of a million Afghanis on the heads of each of these SAMA members.

For example, Engineer Sarwar was a hero ever since his front existed in Khondozi, and he had held high the banner of the anti-Russian struggle in its name. By the testimony of all the resistance forces that have passed through that area, no Russian has dared to take one step onto the main roads to venture into the rural areas there. The people in and around Khondozi would say that everywhere that the helicopters bomb, Engineer Sarwar was there for sure. Alone with his group in a moving series of battles, he had so harassed the enemy that the Russians were willing to make many other victims suffer in an effort to kill him. Engineer Sarwar was finally martyred by a notorious and shameful conspiracy hatched by the pro-West reactionary forces, those pillars of colonialism, and from that time there are those who say that killing Engineer



Afghan guerillas

Sarwar was opening the gate to the Russians.

“Divide and Rule”

The nationalities we can count in Afghanistan include Pushtun, Tajik, Uzbek, Hazareh, Turkmen, Gajour, Nuristani, etc. Pushtuns are the largest nation with 40% of the population, then there comes Tajik, Uzbeks, Hazareh, Turkmen, ...

The coup d'état regimes under Amin and Taraki loudly have warned the Pushtuns to beware that the Tajiks and Hazareh want to take power. This was even declared in an official speech by Taraki. He and especially Amin gave the Pushtun nation the task of eradicating the Hazarahs, saying that their money is yours, their lives ours. Accordingly, around 1979-80, Amin gave 3000 guns to the Pushtuns of Vardak in order to suppress the Hazarehs. But fortunately, the people of Vardak were conscious of who their enemy is, the enemy who had put their national existence in question, the Taraki regime; after they took the guns they went to the mountains and started to use these very guns to fight the government.

After taking power, the coup d'état regime,

hostile to all other classes and strata, bloodily suppressed them and filled its prisons with people. In Kabul alone under Taraki 12,000 political prisoners were executed without even a trial — this is cited in an official document revealed by Amin when he wanted to expose the crimes of Taraki. And Amin himself, that other despicable traitor who took power and shed a few crocodile tears for our nation, declared that the total number of victims during the time of Taraki and Amin has been 1 million, of which 100,000 were political prisoners executed in Kabul. These are the figures coming from their own mouths. Behind this system of murder lies Russian social-imperialism, which bears people like Taraki, Babrak and Amin in its belly. Today in the known prisons of the Afghanistan government, in cities like Kabul, Qandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif, Herat, there are tens of thousands of political prisoners in the worst conditions, with no rights whatsoever. When a political prisoner is locked up nobody knows where he is until he gets out. He has no contact with the outside. The most vicious torture, physical and mental — this is what every political prisoner

awaits, every night. Under Taraki they mass murdered thousands of people in Pol-e-Charkhi. They executed 16 members of SAMA without trial, and there are hundreds more examples like this.

It is the historical experience of our people's struggle that whenever the masses of people were on the scene, and that has been mainly on the battlefield, we were not defeated. Studying the history of these struggles is sometimes really tragic. You see a nation at the height of victory accept defeat. When the masses were on the scene we won victory, military victory, but whenever they left the scene and questions went to be solved on the negotiating tables and the role of the ruling classes came to the fore, with their effort to preserve their



Studying SAMA literature.

class interests, the outcome was political defeat. The absence of a leading revolutionary force, of such revolutionary institutions as could secure the long-term interests of the millions of toilers and orient the society toward progress and development and towards eliminating injustice and oppression, such an absence has resulted in the political defeat of the people.

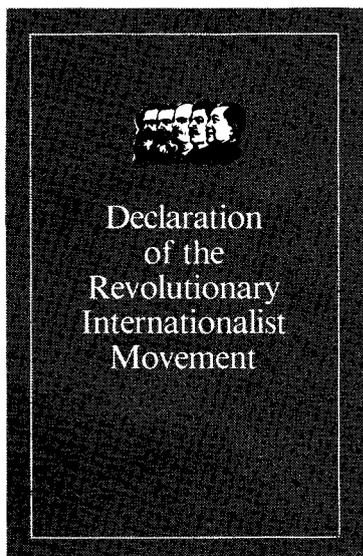
The absence of such a force in the current resistance war has whetted the appetite of some of the Western imperialists and their agents, who for 50 years during the Talayee dynasty have lived by sucking the blood of our people and selling them out at the negotiating tables. Here the task of the national and revolutionary forces is multiplied. It is

the historical task of such a force to resist, to raise the consciousness of the people and defend their righteous interests, to chart the direction of revolution against those who in their absence want to kick colonialism out the front door and bring it in through the backdoor.

Today the Russians and their gold have bought servants all over the world who support and uphold their dependent compradors and who try to call the bloody coup d'état of Sour, this disaster that has soaked our nation in blood, a revolution. At the same time all the reactionary forces regionally and globally, including Western imperialism as a whole, try with all their might and using any trick whatsoever to support the historically doomed, backwards forces of our country. From their reactionary standpoint they want to attack their rival and at the same time in the guise of attacking this rival attack as their main enemy the highest achievement of mankind in the arena of ideology and thought, the ideas that are the fruit of years of struggle and work of the advanced masses. Amidst all this what history is witness to is that though alone, we advanced a difficult struggle. We have hardly found the opportunity to lift our voice to our comrade fighters in the national and international arena. Now that we have got that opportunity to talk about the problems of our revolution with *A World To Win*, we call on all national and revolutionary forces, that even if they cannot materially aid the national revolutionary forces of Afghanistan at least they can propagate our righteous stand for the world to see.

Though it is clear from the articles in *AWTW* that they expose Russian social-imperialism from a theoretical viewpoint, we tell you that the manifestation of this theory is in practice. The laboratory is Afghanistan. Everyone who wants to see that Russia is social-imperialist come to this laboratory: witness their butchery and mass murder, how they colonialize, how they turn their back on the achievements of their own revolution and liquidate them.

We are convinced that this era is not an era in which colonialism can ignore the identity of nations, instead today is a time when national liberation revolutions can gain victory step by step, while colonialism is headed towards defeat. The great revolutions which can take the most oppressed forces of society from poverty and misery to victory and prosperity advance step by step. We believe that the revolution in Afghanistan is part of this revolution. The freedom of the Afghan people side by side with people liberated all over the world will herald another world, a world in which mankind is always free. Forward to that world! □



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 Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD (M-L)]
 Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist)
 Mao Tsetung Regional Committee
 Communist Party of Peru
 Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist
 Haitian Internationalist Revolutionary Group
 Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India
 Nepal Communist Party [Mashal]
 New Zealand Red Flag Group
 Proletarian Communist Organisation, Marxist-Leninist [Italy]
 Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh]
 Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
 Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
 Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic]
 Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent (Britain)
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BCM RIM
 London, WC1N 3XX
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Romania:

Goulash Communism or Capitalist Austerity

The crisis in the Eastern bloc is perhaps nowhere more acute than in Romania. In the last few years the ruling Romanian Communist Party has imposed austerity measures which have not been seen in Europe since the Second World War. These include extensive rationing, drastic reduction of energy consumption, severe labour discipline, and numerous repressive measures to enforce these and other steps.

There is of course no simple one-to-one correspondence between economic crisis and political revolt. Yet the depth and tenacity of the crisis in Romania is without doubt building up pressure which is straining the social fabric of the country and dramatically altering the comportment of rulers and ruled alike. It is a situation which the Western imperialists, eager to seize on whatever openings in the East bloc they can, as they showed in Poland, are eyeing seriously; it is also a development which genuine Marxist-Leninists need to follow as well, though for completely different purposes.

In one incident not long ago, when Nicolae Ceausescu, who has headed Romania for over twenty years now, attempted to negotiate a conclusion to a revolt in the mining region against some recently impos-

ed austerity measures, the striking workers pelted him with rocks and bricks. Ceausescu fled for his life. Such an episode would be humiliating for any chief of state, and much more so for the head of a party which still proclaims itself the communist vanguard of the proletariat.

The Original Land of the Vampires Romania has for years been the subject of a seemingly quasi-schizophrenic assessment on the part of the Western bloc. It has, on the one hand, been portrayed as the *patria* of Nadia Comaneci and her gymnast cohorts, whose countrymen are said to be engaged in a one-sided but courageous struggle for independence from the heavy-handed Soviets. Romania was, for example, widely hailed in the West when it became the sole East bloc member to break the Russian boycott of the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles. Often depicted as quaint, the country was for a while a stopping-off point for the idle Western rich in their endless search for new, exotic thrills. During the 1970s, for instance, planeloads of American tourists disembarked in Bucharest to visit an ancient castle in Transylvania where they were regaled over a night-time campfire with the

legends that were the source of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* vampire novel. During those same years, other ties developed as well: the U.S. Congress granted Romania Most Favoured Nation trade status, entitling it to significant trade tariff reductions.

Yet on the other hand Romania has throughout this same period been attacked as the most "Stalinist" country in the bloc, ruled by unrepentant totalitarians, with a "cult of personality." Some Western commentators have even attacked Ceausescu for supposedly resurrecting elements of the Cultural Revolution in China(?!). Furthermore, especially in the last few years, the acute economic difficulties of the country have been held up as yet further proof of the failure of socialism, particularly of the more "orthodox" variety.

This two-pronged propaganda reflects U.S. imperialism's stated policy of "differentiation," which is based on maximizing U.S. influence within the Soviet bloc by dividing bloc members into "good" and "bad," without forgetting that they are still members of the enemy camp. In fact, Romania conforms as little to the fairyland image of vampires as it does to the genuine socialism that existed under Stalin in the USSR or to Mao's Cultural

Revolution. Like the rest of the East bloc, Romania is capitalist. Its present situation, including the economic crisis, is the product of years of development as part of the Soviet imperialist system, ruled over by the new revisionist bourgeoisie. One does not have to follow the tourists to Transylvanian castles to find true-to-life vampires in the East bloc.

Gaullism, East-bloc Style

The "maverick" stance that is typically attributed to Ceausescu and the Romanian Communist Party is a reflection of his continuing attempts to advance Romania's own national interests within the Soviet imperialist network, as a sort of East bloc de Gaulle. This policy has roots which go back even before Ceausescu himself.

It was at the time when Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party launched their attack on the Soviet revisionists in the late 1950s that Romania, then headed by Gheorghe-Gheorghiu Dej, began to mount its own opposition to the Soviets. However the terms of dispute raised by Gheorgiu-Dej — and, after 1965, by Ceausescu — had little in common with Mao Tsetung's revolutionary battle. The latter inaugurated his critique of the Soviets on the international situation, exposing Khrushchev's theory of "peaceful coexistence" as a justification for the revisionist' collusion with imperialism. Mao later developed his famous analysis of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, succinctly summarized by his statement that "the rise to power of revisionism is the rise to power of the bourgeoisie," and developed the thesis of the need for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent such restoration and advance towards communism. As for Gheorghiu-Dej, Ceausescu and the RCP, as one Western historian put it, "at no time was there any discussion of the fundamental issues confronting the socialist camp — Stalinism, revisionism, dogmatism, liberalization and the like."

The point that interested the RCP leaders was "the separate path to socialism," by which was meant the

right of each country to follow its own "national path to socialism". The Romanians raised this particularly in opposition to the Soviet revisionists' demand for an "international division of labour" of Comecon (the economic organisation of the Soviet bloc, at that time including only the USSR and Eastern Europe), whereby each member was to specialize in doing what they already do best. Romania, the least developed European country in the bloc, pointed out that this would reduce the country to the status of a provider of raw materials and foodstuffs (Bulgaria has gone on to become the self-proclaimed "gardener of Comecon," a jolly little nickname for its own similar subordinate functioning).

What Ceausescu and the RCP fought for was not at all to join Mao Tsetung and the Chinese party in exposing the capitalist character of the Soviet revisionists or to launch a revolutionary initiative to retake the socialist road in Romania or in the bloc as a whole; instead they were content to take advantage of the manoeuvring room opened up by Mao's attack on the Soviet revisionists in order to advance the national interests of Romania *within* the Soviet bloc. Accordingly, Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceausescu both endorsed the Soviet revisionists' attacks on Stalin and subsequently sought to project the RCP as a "neutral arbiter" between Mao and the CPSU, between revolution and counter-revolution.

This independent stance has included opening up to an unusual extent to Western economic and especially political relations. Romania is, for instance, the sole East bloc country with diplomatic relations with Israel, which it refused to condemn in the Six Day War in 1967. It also maintains privileged relations with Iran (under the Ayatollah as under the Shah), and has relatively developed ties with the U.S., W. Germany and France (in the last two years both U.S. Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Schultz have visited Bucharest). In order to further polish his image as a global arbiter, Ceausescu has also mobilised large demonstrations for disarmament,

including demands for the withdrawal of the nuclear missiles of both blocs, and has advocated schemes for a "nuclear-free Balkans." For a while Ceausescu even went so far as to implicitly endorse Reagan's "zero option," calling for the removal of the Soviets' SS-20s already in place in return for which the U.S. would refrain from introducing its own cruise and Pershing missiles.

In general, the U.S. and the West have tried to use openings like these throughout East Europe in order to consolidate their own positions of influence for the moment, in order to advance more dramatically when an opportunity presents itself. But it is not as if the Soviets are fundamentally opposed to this sort of manoeuvring by the East European countries, or even to Romania's more maverick stance overall. Indeed, Romania's connections in places where other bloc members have none occasionally serves the Soviet bourgeoisie well. For example, Romania has recently played a pivotal role in smoothing the path for initial steps towards normalization of Soviet relations with China, and it has also proved useful in maintaining rapport with the Ayatollah Khomeini regime. In some ways, Romania plays a sort of mirror-image role to that of France, using its occasional blusterings against the bloc leader in order to extend its own influence and, in so doing, the influence of the bloc overall.

In addition, the Soviets recognise the role of Ceausescu's demagogic nationalism in maintaining internal stability in Romania. Ceausescu has for years touted his own success in averting any kind of Soviet occupation and has fed the idea that Romanians enjoy a relatively privileged position vis-a-vis their neighbors because they alone have not a single Soviet soldier on their soil. In 1968, when he announced before throngs of Romanians his refusal to allow Warsaw Pact troops to cross through Romania in order to invade Czechoslovakia, he was indeed fervently supported. But the bottom line of his message is that the sole way that Romania can maintain this relatively "privileged" status is, as he drums in repeatedly, for the peo-

ple to stay in line. In 1977, during a strike by 50-90,000 miners, Ceausescu, a former miner, intervened personally in the negotiations and was finally successful in bringing the strike to a halt with his appeal that, if the strike continued to rage out of control he could not ensure against "external intervention." And everyone knew what that meant. In fact, with this line of Romania's "relatively privileged position," Ceausescu is dangling a carrot before the masses, in part to get them to passively accept the way things are, including relatively high doses of repression, in the interests of protecting their supposed privileges. The real content of Ceausescu's concern about external intervention was displayed prominently during the Polish events of 1980-81 when Ceausescu was more vociferous than any other bloc leader in calling for a crackdown on Solidarity, which he denounced as "an emanation of reaction and imperialism" and which he compared to "those cliques" in Poland before WW2 who, according to Ceausescu, destabilized that country and so brought on the world war.

To the extent that this nationalist reasoning has taken root in Romania it has promoted an outlook that is not only bourgeois and conducive to passivity, but largely illusory as well. Romania is solidly in the Soviet bloc. True, Soviet soldiers are not stationed on its soil, but it does take part in such Warsaw Pact manoeuvres as the recent Soyuz exercises, in which Romanian officers participated as advisors in Romania itself and took part at the level of coordinating command, control and communications. Furthermore, Ceausescu made clear the bottom line when he proclaimed that, whatever the state of the Warsaw Pact relations, 'should imperialism unleash war, Romania, a socialist state, would fight alongside other socialist states.'*

Economically, Romania's objections to Comecon have always been couched in terms of opposing any "supra-national" authority — it has no objections to overall bloc economic policy, and it is fully integrated economically into the bloc

behind the Soviet lead. The majority of Romania's trade, for instance, is with other Comecon members, with the USSR by far its largest single trading partner.

Economic Crisis

Recent economic developments have given rise to serious cracks in the consensus that Ceausescu has at least maintained certain advantages for Romania, that "things could always be worse." The development of this crisis can only be sketched briefly. Its more recent roots stem from the late '60s. At that time Romania, like most of the other East European countries, adopted a series of economic reforms in the wake of the so-called Lieberman reforms in the USSR, which restructured planning more thoroughly along capitalist lines and established profit as the leading indicator in the planning process. While Romania's economy (and East Europe's generally) was at that time growing faster than those of the West, the *rate of growth* has since then begun a serious decline. In the '70s, Romania undertook a series of adjustments which relied on heavy imports of Western technology, paid for through loans floated from Western banks, with plans to significantly upgrade their export capability to the West, thus enabling them to compete economically and improve their technological base for strategic purposes. In particular, Romania planned to gear for exporting petrochemical products. In 1972, as this growth strategy began to take shape, Romania was even admitted into the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The country's debt to Western banks climbed rapidly, from \$1,000 million in 1971 to \$10,000 million in 1981 — it was a rate of growth in the debt which, relative to GNP, was matched only by Poland.

These moves did lead to a brief period of high growth in trade with the West bloc, which in Romania's particular case continued longer than most other Comecon members. The effects of this on Romania's economy, however, were not exactly those anticipated. Romania's reliance on expanding exports was

severely hurt by the recession which hit the West in the mid-1970s, in general and also because as marginal exporters they were often the first cut by Western importers. Then too there was a serious rise in the price of petrol, which had to be imported in increasing quantities in order to fuel the export sector. This became particularly acute after the fall of the Shah of Iran, who was Romania's leading petrol supplier. At the same time interest on the debt mounted.

Thus Romania found itself in a situation where it had to export to pay its debt while at the same time it had to borrow ever more heavily to import increasing quantities of petrol in order to produce for export. This situation was exacerbated for Romania relative to the rest of the Soviet bloc first, because it had for decades been energy self-sufficient with the rich Ploiesti oil fields and had a high level of energy consumption per unit of output; and secondly, because it got almost none of its oil from the Soviets, who had provided natural gas and petrol to other COMECON members at cheaper than world market prices as a means of consolidating intra-bloc unity and maintaining a grip on the jugular vein of the Eastern European economies. Thus Romania was hit especially hard by the rise in world market prices. In addition, historical difficulties with agricultural production were aggravated, including by the diversion from that sector of energy-consumptive products (eg. fertilizer).

In the late 1970s initial measures were taken to cut imports, especially by tightening up energy consumption, and to seek other domestic sources of energy, such as low-yield coal. These were deemed insufficient however and in late 1981, taking advantage of the wave of demoralization which was felt throughout the East bloc with the clampdown in Poland on Solidarity, Ceausescu announced a series of unprecedented austerity measures, which had been generally recommended by the IMF.

These included:

* Cited in *Romania: Politics, Economics and Society* by Michael Shafir. Frances Pinter Publishers, U.K.



reduced to 40 hours by 1980, was continued through 1990. Prison sentences were authorized for drinking on the job or even showing up at work drunk. In a democratic flourish, Ceausescu also announced a new "self-management" plan, really a very old profit-sharing scheme. Workers are compelled to invest a share of their earnings in their individual factory, so that the larger their factories' profit, the larger their own salaries, and of course vice versa as well. This variable portion can go as high as 25% of the individual worker's wage. In addition, the already widespread use of piece-rates is made even more general, to the point that individual workers are now required to negotiate with their boss for a separate contract with their own personal work quota.

The RCP's increasingly heavy reliance on material incentives and other appeals up and down the line to individual self-interest as the key link in motivating the work-force — all in the name of innovative "self-management" and even "proletarian democracy" — are long-familiar hallmarks of capitalism in any form. They find ready parallels with innovations popular in post-'60s W. Europe, particularly in W. Germany, such as "co-determination" and the like. Thus the revisionists, faced with crisis, act like their Western counter-parts, dangling carrots with one hand, brandishing a whip with the other.

The RCP's explanations for the necessity of such measures are also revealing. They denounce Western imperialism for causing austerity and famine throughout the world (with of course not a word on any responsibility the Soviets might bear for, for example, Ethiopia). Secondly, and more pointedly, Ceausescu blames... the Romanian people, and almost all of them at that. In his view, the peasants routinely divert cereals to their private animal stocks to line their own pockets, the workers work too little and too poorly and steal and waste state funds, and for the right price the merchants will sell anything at all under the counter. In short, while hypocritically encouraging rampant individualism with a program based



— Food rationing: including bread, flour, rice, sugar, cooking oil, etc. Hoarding of more than a one month's supply per family was made a criminal offense, with a second offense punishable by up to 5 years in prison. Compliance is facilitated by restricting each family's purchases to a single local store.

— Rationing of energy consumption: gas and electricity have been routinely cut to consumers for up to 8 hrs./day. It is illegal for the public to use refrigerators, washing machines, etc., to heat their homes or apartments to more than 10C (50F), or to drive personal cars.

Television broadcasting has been cut back to 2 hrs./day, restaurants close at 21.00 and most city street lights are permanently turned off. (It should be pointed out that consumption of energy by individual households amounts to a mere 7% of Romania's entire energy consumption.) To ensure compliance with these measures "flying teams" of party and police agents conduct surprise house searches.

— Inflation: a 35% price hike was announced for 220 basic foodstuffs.

— Productivity increases: the Romanian workers' 46-hour work week, previously scheduled to be

on material incentives, Ceausescu is outraged because everyone is out for himself... instead of for the Romanian bourgeoisie!

In a fitting finale to this logic, Ceausescu accuses the masses of people of yet another crime: *eating too much*. Ceausescu and his wife personally promulgated "scientific" state guidelines on a proper diet and declared that rationing is in large part necessary because Romanians are fat. Thus diet guidelines and ration limits are directly linked — for example, no one can buy more than 180 kg. of cereals per year because this is said to be the limit for good health; instead people are advised to eat more meat. The "scientific" basis of these guidelines is belied by the fact that local people's councils are authorized to lower the norms even further *depending on local agricultural production*. No doubt Romania has obese citizens: it is a European capitalist country and does not witness African-style famine. At the same time, it is a fact that it is about the poorest country in the East European bloc and that there are millions of poor collective farm and factory workers whose main nutrition, at least from late fall to early spring, comes from a steady diet of corn meal mush. For them, fresh fruit entails an orange or two for Christmas, while meat is a not too common luxury. The city of Timisoara in the west has already witnessed a mass demonstration demanding bread. It is in such circumstances that Ceausescu advises the masses to eat less grain and more meat — just as Marie Antoinette proclaimed to the hungry Parisians, "let them eat cake."

In the RCP's view, everyone is guilty... *except* the guilty, the revisionist capitalists at the head of the party. On the contrary, the crisis is paralleled by unprecedented adulation of Ceausescu, who is hailed for introducing Romania into a whole new historical epoch — "the age of Ceausescu." At the most recent RCP Congress, the opening speech exalted him as "the politician who, constantly concerned with patriotism and with the destiny of his people, and acting toward the constant progress of his homeland, has asserted himself as a great

thinker and present-day strategist." An official song hails him as "the star of our race," part of a mounting crescendo of panegyrics to the "Romanian race" (whatever that is) and to the "national road to socialism" — all of which is not so far off from "national socialism" itself.

The enshrinement of Ceausescu also includes the elevation of his entire family: four of the eight current RCP Politburo members are from Ceausescu's immediate family, and a larger number of his extended family are placed throughout the top ranks of the party. Together they are popularly known as the "Ceausescu mafia."

The Spectre of Revolt Haunts the "Ceausescu Mafia"

The recent austerity measures and the generally deteriorating situation in the country have given rise to sporadic outbreaks of resistance. In 1977, tens of thousands of miners struck in the Valley of Jiu, the centre of Romania's mining industry and thus especially critical for the energy-oriented economy. What took place there is described in a public letter from a group of 22 miners:

"We want to communicate to you in general what has happened in the Valley of Jiu, at the Lupeni mine, a mine of long-standing working class traditions. On the 1st of August, some of our comrades told us that a strike had broken out that very day at Lupeni. So miners from all over the Valley went there, since that was where the action was. There were miners from all the mines: Cazda, Uricani, (etc.),... mines which employed a great number of miners, 90,000 in all. On Wednesday, Aug. 3rd, when President Ceausescu arrived, three days had already passed during which at least 35,000 miners assembled in front of the Lupeni mine, where we had some serious confrontations with the Securitate (the Romanian secret police — *AWTW*), the police and party functionaries. Among the latter were Ilie Verdets and Gheorghe Pana, both sent by the Central Committee, no doubt to explain to us the laws passed before Aug. 1, but who in fact were very anxious, along with

the Mayor of Petrosani, Negrut, and the local Prefect, Radulescu, to bring in reinforcements of Securitate and party functionaries from Craiova, Tirgu-Jiu and Deva. They weren't able to do much though against miners in work-clothes, with their lamps, helmets and pick-axes. Not only were they unable to disperse the strikers, even with their firehoses and firetrucks, but the miners got hold of Verdets and Pana and locked them up. 'Until Ceausescu comes, we won't let them go.' This happened despite the efforts of the Securitate, under the orders of Colonel Mihuts, who didn't cease repeating that Ceausescu was on his way. Finally he arrived.

"Our discussions with the chief of state lasted from noon until 5 p.m. No one would have wanted to be in Ceausescu's shoes: he was booed, hissed, whistled at and cursed all kinds of names....

"As for reforms, yes, they took place: the 'cleaning-up' of the workers who demanded their rights was begun. Two helicopters were brought in, the Securitate and local militia were doubled, the mines were surrounded and Securitate agents were engaged as workers in the pits.... 4,000 of us were also put on the streets...expelled from the Valley.

"Never fear if you learn that there has been a strike in a Socialist country. There will be others, and maybe we will have no other choice than to get justice ourselves, with our mattocks and pick-axes.... At Lupeni we cried, 'Down with the proletarian bourgeoisie!'

"At Lupeni too, Mister Ceausescu told us, 'Calm yourselves and go back to work — otherwise, we will be crushed.' This was his way of telling us, 'Off to work you go!' The 4th, he was called up by Brezhnev and that made everything clear.... And to think that it was at Lupeni in 1929 that the flame was lit!"

This last phrase alludes bitterly to the fact that it was in 1929 at this very mine, Lupeni, that the RCP originally established a national presence by leading a fierce strike of the miners. Indeed, one cannot talk to many East European workers or

read their statements without observing the pervasive sense of treachery by a new elite, by a "proletarian bourgeoisie," "red bourgeoisie," or whatever other name by which it is popularly known, and equally by the painful absence of any kind of scientific analysis of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet bloc, even by those who seem to have few illusions about the nature of life in the West.

Even so, as Mao pointed out, oppression inevitably breeds resistance, and such battles as those waged by these workers continue to tear gaping holes in the revisionists' tattered claim to represent the proletariat. It was a few years later, in December 1981, when the incident recounted at the first of this article took place: miners seized a local party headquarters, and finally Ceausescu again intervened. Only this time he was met not with hisses and curses but with rocks and stones. Similar incidents in the wake of the austerity decrees in late 1981 abound: two towns in the South were pacified only when the army intervened; a crowd in another town was preparing a mass lynching of a party secretary, who was saved only when other authorities intervened, grabbed him and fled. This wave of revolt eventually subsided, replaced by an intense calm which now reigns over the land.

The Prospects

It would be a mistake to assume that Romania is headed straight towards an imminent explosion: the imposition of the austerity measures was certainly met by outrage and rebellion — but also by heavy repression. Events in Poland were followed closely in Romania, and workers inspired by Solidarity tried to form similar trade union organisations with some success — but the subsequent suppression of those groups and, more fundamentally, of the Polish movement too formed a deep impression. Discussion of resistance turns quickly to the question of the threat of Soviet invasion, and to this there are no easy answers. Moreover, it is exactly here that Ceausescu's own demagogic nationalism — "go back to work or we will be crushed," the same appeal which was used so often

by the generals and party hacks in Poland — exerts its most poisonous influence and continues to have a hold on sections of the Romanian people. While there is fertile soil for revolt, the limitations of spontaneous resistance are evident too. It is a situation crying out for a revolutionary analysis and conscious leadership.

As for the economy, here too developments will not proceed in a straight line. On the one hand, the country has succeeded in reducing its debt by over \$2,000 million in the last three years. But even as far as the debt goes, the road continues to be rocky: a large chunk of debt payments was postponed until this year, and are just coming due. The U.S., seeking to fish in troubled waters and quite aware of Romania's recent moves to tighten relations with the USSR, has threatened to end the country's Most Favoured Nation status. This would significantly reduce the trade surplus Romania has managed with the U.S., which amounted to \$800 million in 1984.

Most fundamentally, the historic problems with agriculture, the lack of improved prospects for exports, the need to dramatically improve productivity in the face of a sullen and resistant work-force, these and many other problems are certain to give the revisionist rulers no peace. One U.S. policy analyst writing on developments in 1985 in Romania concluded that the danger of a "palace coup," triggered by unrest caused by workers' strikes or national minority rebellions, "is probably as clear in Bucharest as it is in Philadelphia." It is testimony to the fragility of the social fabric in important areas of *both* blocs.

And this final concern is of no small worry to the Soviet Union itself. Internal stability in Eastern Europe is a threat to Soviet strategic concerns, and increasingly so. A second Poland is an intolerable prospect, for the Soviet imperialists can not stand by idly and watch another of their junior partners explode in dissent without risking major political fallout. Nor is this 1968, when the Soviets could carry out an invasion like that of Czechoslovakia to stabilize things while the U.S. was

tied down in a major war in Vietnam; in fact, the U.S. bloc is aggressively looking for any openings it can exploit in the Soviet fold, and has recently raised its voice loudly about its discontent with the 'Yalta' division of post-World War 2 Europe.

In the past few years the Soviets have made certain efforts to tighten up relations with Ceausescu. Shortly after Ceausescu's last round of disarmament propaganda, Gromyko stopped off in Bucharest for a chat. Following the meeting, Ceausescu issued a fierce denunciation of the cruise and Pershing missiles, without mentioning any Soviet SS-20s. They also concluded a deal to multiply Soviet exports of oil to the erstwhile maverick by several times — hardly a coincidence. This is not to say that the Soviets want the kind of subservience exhibited for instance by the Bulgarian revisionists, for Ceausescu's reputation is still something that can be traded on. Among other things, this means that the Soviets are not likely to force Ceausescu to publicly eat his own words and repudiate his maverick stance, even while objective developments force a certain tightening of relations between the USSR and Romania. The Romanian bourgeoisie does have its own national interests, and this the Soviets recognise and in fact encourage. What they demand is that the striving after these interests be realised in the context of their bloc, and this the maverick Ceausescu has proven himself quite willing to do. □

THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM

The Tunnels of Cu Chi

Tom Mangold and John Penycate
 Hodder & Stoughton
 London 1985
 (also available in French:
Les tunnels de Cu Chi
 Albin Michel; Paris 1986)

There are few examples of heroism more telling than that of the Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. aggression. One of the merits of Mangold and Penycate's work *The Tunnels of Cu Chi* is to rekindle memories (for those of us old enough to remember) or present a first picture of the unbelievable courage, self-sacrifice and ingenuity that the men and women of Vietnam demonstrated. To a certain extent such a picture shines through *despite* the intentions of the authors, who attempt a "balanced" and "two-sided" account of a war whose reactionary character on the part of U.S. imperialism and just character on the part of the oppressed who took up arms makes any such attempt at bourgeois objectivity derisory.

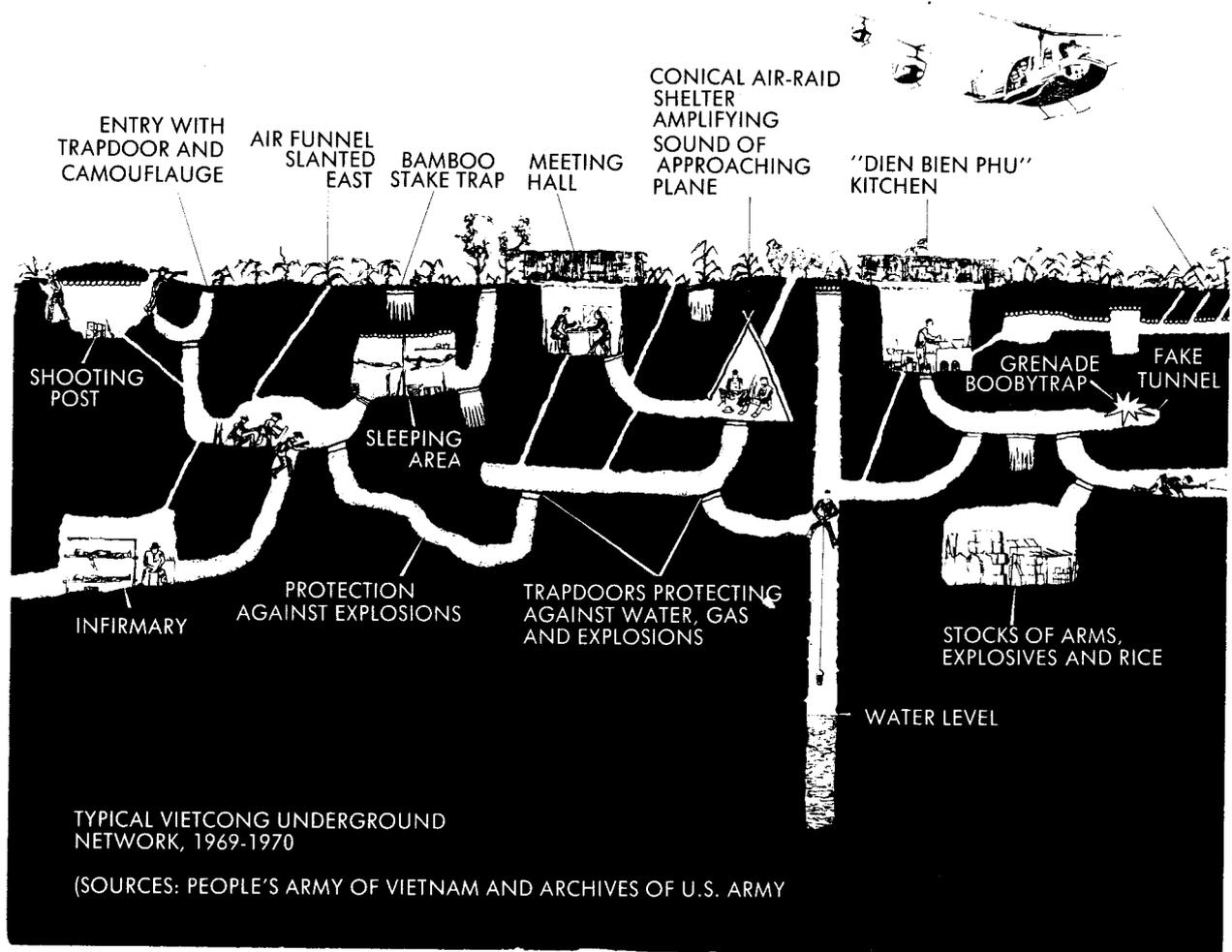
The Tunnels of Cu Chi is a lively account based mainly on interviews with the participants of the war waged by the National Liberation Front (NLF) against the U.S. army in one particular area of Vietnam near Cu Chi, located less than forty kilometres from what was then Saigon, the capital of the puppet South Vietnamese regime. As its title implies, the book examines in particular the "tunnel warfare" waged by the NLF in the area which bordered a region known to the U.S. during the war as the "Iron Triangle." Tunnel warfare is a form of combat that is suited to the weak in their struggle against a stronger, highly armed and technically superior force. The ability to conduct tunnel warfare depends upon the overall character of the war itself: without relying upon the masses the NLF would never have been able to construct a network of tunnels that were almost three hun-

dred kilometres long in the region of Cu Chi alone; similarly, only a just, revolutionary cause could motivate men and women to endure the hardship of living and fighting underground for months and years at a time.

The region of Cu Chi was long a stronghold of the NLF. Because of its proximity to Saigon the U.S. army spared no effort in trying to control the area. A huge U.S. base housing an Army division was constructed near the village of Cu Chi. Huge expanses of land were bulldozed, burned and sprayed with pesticides. The authors report that wells in the area were systematically poisoned by U.S. soldiers who threw the corpses of dead animals into them. Villagers were herded by force into the infamous "strategic hamlets." Those who escaped were considered fair game for attack by artillery fire and bombs or the Cobra helicopters that flew low to the ground machinegunning everything that moved. Pilots returning to their bases were encouraged to drop any remaining explosives or napalm on Cu Chi. Yet despite this incredible barbarism the U.S. imperialists were *never* able to "pacify" Cu Chi and it remained a strong hold of the revolutionary forces throughout the war. In fact, at the height of the U.S. presence, in 1969, the NLF was able to carry out a daring raid *inside* the Cu Chi base, destroying a great deal of military equipment.

Cu Chi is located on the southern edge of the plain that extends from the Mekong River Delta in the south to the highlands to the north and west. Except for some forests, the region does not have any particular favourable geographical features for waging guerrilla war. It does have a concentration of the peasantry. The authors refer to Cu Chi (at the beginning of the war) as a "densely populated agricultural area" consisting of both rice fields and rubber and coconut plantations.

Tunnel warfare was a key means by which the NLF utilised the positive factors (above all, the support of the population and, linked to this, the sense of self-sacrifice of its fighters which resulted from the fact that they were fighting for a revolutionary cause) to neutralise the



Book Illustration

negative factors — the overwhelming superiority of the U.S. in weaponry and technology. While the tunnels might seem to be a defensive measure (and they certainly did have that aspect), they were above all a means and method for *combatting the enemy*.

Even the term “tunnel” is somewhat of a misnomer. In fact, they were really labyrinths of firing posts, dormitories, kitchens, storage rooms, even hospitals and conference rooms all constructed at different levels underground and connected to one another and to the surface through an ingenious system of passageways and trap doors. In Cu Chi, some tunnels reached within a kilometre of the U.S. base itself and played a vital role in the daring attack referred to earlier. Other tunnels joined networks housing NLF command centres.

Bit by bit the imperialist army

became aware of the importance of the tunnels in the NLF war strategy and therefore tried to come up with new weapons and methods to neutralise them. Most of their high tech weapons proved completely unsuited to this kind of warfare because of their unwieldiness.

In the last analysis, as Mao pointed out, people not weapons, determine the outcome in war and all the technology available to the U.S. could not change the fact that their soldiers were thoroughly hated by the people, demoralised and incapable of acting out of any noble interest. While the men and women of the NLF endured incredible hardship living in caverns, the American soldiers enjoyed a comfort never before seen in history of warfare. Their base at Cu Chi was equipped with movie theatres and swimming pools and supplied by daily convoys of lorries filled with amenities aimed

at reminding the soldier of the “American Way of Life” he was supposed to protect. Usually the Americans would be transported back to the base by helicopter after a busy day of burning villages and murder.

Tunnel warfare also led to a close hand-to-hand combat that favoured those fighting for a revolutionary line. One story, not recounted in the book, illustrates this. A Black GI descended into a tunnel when he heard the unmistakable sound of a bullet being chambered. He turned his head expecting to get a final glimpse of the person who was about to kill him. He found himself face-to-face with an NLF fighter who told him in English, “our fight is not with you Black man.” This GI never picked up a rifle again!

The tunnels were dug using hand shovels and simple baskets to evacuate the dirt. The latter was no

simple matter as evidence of fresh soil would invite certain U.S. attack. The peasants of the area who did most of the tunnel construction also had to carry and distribute the dirt a considerable distance from the tunnels themselves. The entrances to the tunnels were disguised with foliage or sometimes (before the U.S. had devastated the area) would exit into a barn. There would always be multiple ways out of the tunnel in case the enemy stumbled upon an entrance. The tunnels were constructed using only earth and clay, sometimes reinforced with bamboo. Nevertheless the walls were so hard many of the U.S. soldiers were convinced they were made of cement! Their strength, their depth underground (sometimes several metres) and their intricacy made them very difficult to destroy. Simply throwing a handgrenade in the tunnels caused little or no damage and the NLF would soon be able to return. But the typical GI would rarely dare venture into one of the NLF tunnels, even though the only sure way to destroy them was by actually going in and placing explosive charges.

To try to solve this problem the U.S. army developed special elite groups known as "tunnel rats" whose task was to neutralise the NLF's underground warfare. The authors euphemistically refer to the "mixed motivations" of these rats; even their own deliberately charitable portrait reveals a vicious band of psychological misfits and pathological killers. Sometimes when these rats went underground, they would be ambushed or booby trapped. The authors report that one group of women guerrillas would wait until a GI stuck his head and arms through a trap door leading from one level to another, and then would spear him through the neck with a sharpened bamboo stick.

These rats' most successful weapon however, seems to have been the poison gas, including tear gas, which is usually deadly when used in a small, confined area with no ventilation. (Interestingly, the authors never mention that the use of any gas in warfare is outlawed by the Geneva Convention.) Although poison gas remained a serious pro-

blem throughout the war, even this barbaric weapon was resisted to a large degree by the system of tight seals leading from one passageway to another and ingenious methods of using water to filter the air.

An even more deadly challenge to tunnel warfare came from the B-52 carpet bombings the U.S. began conducting systematically around Cu Chi in April 1969, when it ceased using these B-52s to bomb the North. These bombs blasted enormous craters that did destroy many of the tunnels that the U.S. had been unable to wipe out in five years of war.

The *Tunnels of Cu Chi* makes no pretext of being an overall history of the Vietnam War, but in passing makes some interesting observations about some of the war's broader military and political features. The authors attempt to draw a firm line of distinction between the NLF and the "North Vietnamese," which would give credence once again to the bugaboo of "invasion from the North," but clearly, the struggle of the people of Vietnam, north and south, constituted a single historical process.

The changes in some of the military features of the resistance after 1970 that the authors describe (in particular, a greater reliance on conventional warfare and a corresponding diminution of the role played by the local NLF guerrillas) seem to be less a result of the entry of regular North Vietnamese soldiers into the war in the south than a negative development in the political-military line guiding the conduct of the war as a whole. The authors touch on the Tet Offensive which marked a radical shift in Vietnamese tactics away from the idea of protracted war aimed at whittling away the enemy's strength. Of course, the Tet Offensive did indeed spectacularly demonstrate the vulnerability of U.S. imperialism and helped strengthen anti-war sentiment in the U.S. itself. But the cost to the NLF was very high: according to Pencyate and Mangold, more than 40,000 NLF fighters were killed during the Tet Offensive, including a very high percentage of their cadre. According to the authors, rank and file guerrilla fighters were

left leaderless and often demoralised when the immense sacrifices of the offensive failed to achieve quick victory as had been promised. It seems that the Tet Offensive was part of an overall strategy aimed at seeking a negotiated settlement (which finally occurred). With this kind of a political line it is not surprising that, in the last few years of the war, the Vietnamese leadership put increasingly less emphasis on mobilising the masses of peasants and encouraging them to continue along the path of arming themselves with the weapons of the enemy.

Despite the tragic fact that the heroism and sacrifice of the Vietnamese people was increasingly betrayed by a centrist and ultimately revisionist political line on the part of the Vietnamese leadership, the Vietnam War remains not only a source of inspiration for today's revolutionary communists but also a treasure chest of experience, positive as well as negative, of carrying out revolutionary warfare. The experience of the NLF in waging tunnel warfare on a grand scale will undoubtedly prove to be very valuable in the period ahead.

A.S.

Origins of the Great Purges

J. Arch Getty

Cambridge University Press 1985

There are few subjects in modern history so thoroughly (and deliberately) distorted as the 1930s period of class struggle in the Soviet Union. The mountain of memoirs and studies aimed at denouncing Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whether written by Trotskyites and social democrats, bourgeois liberals or avowed nostalgics of Tsarism like Solzhenitsyn, all have in common one very central point: vilifying and slandering the dictatorship of the proletariat and trying to wipe out the immense prestige that the socialist system won during that tumultuous decade. In the face of this orchestrated campaign one cannot help but welcome the appearance of a book by J. Getty which sets out to

“reconsider” the Soviet party of 1933 to 1938, the period often referred to (and as Arch Getty points out, incorrectly) as the “purges.”

Professor Arch Getty is not a Marxist historian, nor has he broken with all of the prevailing prejudices about this subject. He feels obliged, for example, to make a gratuitous and unfounded reference to “the monstrous crimes of Stalin” even though — and perhaps because — his work would tend to argue against such a view. Nevertheless, by applying the methods of the modern historian — especially reliance on primary sources together with a healthy disrespect for the “testimony” of those who have the most to gain from a distortion of history — Getty succeeds in demolishing a number of myths concerning the “purges” so widely held that they have long been considered almost sacrosanct.

Who, for example, cannot recall the often repeated charge that the “purges” were directed against the “Old Bolsheviks,” that is to say, the original followers of Lenin? Getty musters a convincing set of statistics to demonstrate that nothing of the kind was the case. Many have accused Stalin of having organised the assassination of S.M. Kirov in 1934 because of the latter’s support for more “moderate” policies and in a Machiavellian attempt to lay the basis for suppression of the opposition. Getty shows that Kirov was thoroughly identified with the same political line as Stalin and cites a very interesting and damning statement by Trotsky. “Trotsky, writing three years after the assassination, called Kirov ‘a clever and unscrupulous Leningrad dictator, a typical representative of his corporation,’ and maintained that terrorist attacks like the killing of Kirov by the ‘younger generation’ ‘have a very high significance.’” This should give food for thought to those who dismiss as preposterous the charge that Trotsky and his cohorts were involved in criminal counter-revolutionary activity!

Getty’s greatest service, however, is his recreation of the general atmosphere prevailing at the time of the “purges” and fairly insightful description of the “victims”. The

commonly held stereotype of a tight-knit bureaucracy thoroughly beholden to Stalin and anxious to crush on his behalf any trace of dissent does not conform to the facts that Getty convincingly presents.

Most of Getty’s work is based on a meticulous study of the Party archives in Smolensk, the capital of the Western Region (*Oblast*) of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), a region with a population of 65 million bordering the Ukraine on one hand and the Leningrad and Moscow regions on the other. Getty also read *Pravda* and other central Party documents. What comes through in Getty’s account is a picture of a central leadership which is itself divided on a series of outstanding questions but is nevertheless committed to a policy of energetically unleashing the workers and peasants — and the rank and file of the Party — to, as Mao was to put it later in relation to China, “achieve faster, better and more economical results in the construction of socialism.”

It is also clear that in trying to carry out this line Stalin and the leadership of the CPSU encountered a great deal of resistance. First, from among certain sections of the Party leadership itself (or former Party leadership) such as Trotsky and Bukharin who argued, either openly or simply in essence, that it would be impossible to construct a genuine socialist economy in the Soviet Union. Getty confirms, again relying on the writings of Trotsky himself, that an oppositional bloc had indeed been formed between Trotsky and the followers of Bukharin as the Soviet leadership was to later claim.

But the opposition to Stalin’s policy of vigorous socialist construction based upon the collectivisation of agriculture and the rapid development of industry was not only from amongst leading oppositional figures in Moscow. The revolution had also to contend with the horrible force of habit, the inertia that still marked rural life, the fact that, even if the bulk of the population supported the Soviet regime, only a minority was won to the cause of communism. In addition, the Soviet Union was embarked upon a pro-

gram of crash industrialisation yet was extremely lacking in trained scientific and technical personnel and those that did exist were, more often than not, conservative elements who generally opposed the line of going all out to develop a socialist economy. Far from being the totalitarian, all-controlling machine that anti-communists like to portray, Stalin’s Party was a still relatively small organisation based upon the proletariat in the cities which faced great difficulties in leading socialist construction in the country as a whole. The archives of the Western Region show that in many areas there was only an average of one party member for every two collective farms!

Within the Party itself there were a number of obstacles to the implementation of Stalin’s line. Getty shows an often sharp contradiction between the regional and local officials and the central Party apparatus, as well as the contradiction between the leadership and the led in the region itself. Again with the aid of documents, Getty points out how resistance from lower and middle-level Party organisations was often able to bury the central directives in red tape.

Getty shows that the *target* of the “purges” was, in fact, the Party bureaucracy itself. The term purge (*chistka*, to cleanse) was originally applied to periodic movements launched by the Soviet Party, the first of which took place in 1921. As the name implies, the goal of the *chistka* was to “purify” the Party by removing those unworthy of Party membership. In the period 1929-1931 Party membership more than doubled as the doors were thrown open during the great battle of the collectivisation of agriculture and the first Five Year Plan. It is not surprising that amongst the million-plus new members there were more than a few who had joined for dubious reasons, to which must be added those Party members who degenerated. The relative privileges that accompanied the title of Party member also made it unlikely that many such elements would quit the ranks of the Party organisationally of their own accord, even if they had long ago abandoned its ideological

stance. It is, therefore, not the least surprising that around 18 percent of the membership of the Party was “purged” in 1933. Getty cites the following criteria that was to govern the 1933 *chistka*:

1. Alien class, hostile elements who try to deceitfully demoralize the Party.
2. Double dealers, who deceitfully undermine Party policy.
3. Violators of discipline who fail to carry out Party decisions and who are pessimistic about the “impracticality” of Party measures.
4. Degenerates who merged with and do not struggle against kulaks (rich peasants), loafers, thieves, etc.
5. Careerists and self-seekers who are isolated from the masses and disregard the needs of the people.
6. Moral degenerates whose unseemly behavior discredits the Party.

It is clear that the *chistka* was conceived as part of a movement aimed against bureaucracy and sought to involve the masses. Local and factory newspapers (and, interestingly, wall newspapers) were called upon to explain the reasons for the purge. Party meetings at which each member would be examined were to be open to non-Party people who were called upon to raise their criticisms and the official purge announcement called for “open and honest self-criticism by Party members.”

Lest one try to argue that all of the above was merely a smokescreen to hide something more sinister, the official directives seem to have been translated into practice. An important eyewitness account by Anna Louise Strong entitled *The Stalin Era* describes a number of these mass “purge meetings” marked by vigorous and uninhibited criticism of Party officials by rank and file members and non-Party workers. (It is unfortunate that Getty does not refer to Strong’s account. Written right after Khrushchev’s attack on Stalin, *The Stalin Era* remains one of the most important non-Soviet sources. The credibility of the book is all the more reinforced given the fact that Anna Louise Strong herself had been falsely accused and imprisoned for espionage.)

Given the nature and goals of the *chistka* it is not surprising that it (and subsequent “purges”) met with different forms of resistance by bureaucratic elements in the Party leadership. Getty suggests some forms of this resistance — either trying to carry through the *chistka* in a closed-door manner, away from the masses or (as the Chinese revolutionaries were to put during the Cultural Revolution) “aiming the spearhead down” — that is trying to divert criticism of themselves with wholesale expulsions of rank and file members. Although the Central Purge Commission had specifically warned against it, 70,000 members including many workers and peasants, were thrown out for “passivity.”

The central leadership of the Party, however, said that a majority of these people were actually “staunch Party people.” In fact, a great many expulsions pronounced at the local level were later overturned upon appeal.

Getty also examines a series of other “purges” that came after the 1933 *chistka*: the Verification of Party Documents (or *proverka*) in 1935 and the 1936 Exchange of Party Documents (*obmen partiidokumentov*). These movements were originally aimed at restoring order to the Party’s membership records and, in the process, weeding out the non-negligible number who had fraudulently obtained Party membership cards. The conduct of the *proverka* also seems to have been an important realm of struggle. In 1935 the central leadership found it necessary to directly criticise the Western Region authorities for bureaucratic obstruction of the *proverka* and called on the rank and file to carry out criticism.

Far from being aimed at the political opposition the purges (and here we are talking specifically about the aforementioned mass movement and not the subsequent trials) seem to have been an effort to address real problems of the organisation, composition and functioning of the Party *separated to a large degree from the ongoing struggle over political line*. The period under study was, after all, a period of intense class struggle in the Soviet Union that was

concentrated in the two-line struggle in the Party itself — the struggle over industrialisation and collectivisation, the struggle with Bukharin, the fight to further proletarianise culture, the important Stakhanovite movement aimed at shattering the stranglehold of bourgeois experts on technique, and so on.

There was ideological confusion on the part of Stalin and the Soviet leadership concerning the nature of the class struggle in socialist society. Stalin did not understand the material base within the socialist economy itself for the emergence of a new bourgeoisie and thus saw only the remnants of the *old* exploiting classes and world imperialism as a danger for capitalist restoration. Although both of these sources did indeed contribute to the eventual overthrow of proletarian rule in the USSR it was the newly engendered bourgeoisie, represented politically by Khrushchev and his clique, that played the central role in the counter-revolution.

Stalin never ceased to wage class struggle, but his metaphysical view of socialist society itself (his inability to understand the contradictions) meant that he often did not understand *how* to carry out the class struggle. When one reads, for example, the six criteria for the 1933 *chistka* cited above one notes that the target definitely seems to be bourgeois elements but there is little further clarity. In fact, one is reminded of the statement attributed to Mao’s close comrade Chang Chun-chiao, “what is the use of criticising foxes when the wolves are in power?” In other words, it is correct and necessary to criticise the bourgeois elements and the rightists in the party but what about “the leading persons in the Party taking the capitalist road” that Mao warned against?

The seemingly contradictory statements and attitudes that Getty cites from Stalin (alternating calls for more vigilance and opposition to local bureaucracy with concerns about “excesses,” etc.) are mainly a result of Stalin’s own lack of clarity on the vital problems of the socialist revolution. As Mao put it in a warning to the Chinese Party shortly before his death: “you are making

socialist revolution but you don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the communist party."

Getty senses that Stalin's launching of the slogan "cadres decide everything" in 1935 has important political significance, but Getty's own limitations keep him from getting to the heart of the matter. Stalin specifically put forward the slogan "cadres decide everything" in opposition to the previous slogan "technique decides everything" which he viewed as outdated. Stalin links this slogan to a criticism of bureaucrats who had learned "to value machinery" but that failed "to value people, to value workers, to value cadres." This important recognition of the decisive role of man in constructing socialism, however, was also separated to a large extent from politics — as if bureaucracy was simply a question of *method* and not of *line*. This kind of understanding seems also to have weakened Stalin's efforts to combat bureaucracy during the purge movements. It is interesting in this respect to contrast Stalin's slogan "cadres decide everything" with the slogan Mao and the Chinese revolutionaries were to insist upon during the Cultural Revolution: "the correctness or incorrectness of the political and ideological line decides everything." It seems that the parallel construction of the two quotations is hardly accidental.

Getty relegates to an Epilogue what is commonly understood as the "purgings," that is, the arrests and trials of opposition Party leaders and the widespread removal of middle-level officials after 1937. Again Getty argues that the *Yezhovshchina* (or time of Yezhov, the Party leader responsible for state security) "was not the result of a petrified bureaucracy stamping out dissent and annihilating old radical revolutionaries. In fact, it may have been the opposite. It is not inconsistent with the evidence to argue that the *Yezhovshchina* was rather a radical, even hysterical, *reaction* to bureaucracy. The entrenched officeholders were destroyed from above and below in a chaotic wave of volunteerism and revolutionary puritanism."

In fact, the *Yezhovshchina* does

appear to have been, in general, aimed at the same targets as the previous purge movements. In this case, however, a particular effort is made to connect the political opposition with different forms of criminal activity, particularly espionage and sabotage. Much of this is to be explained by the prevailing international tension right on the eve of the Second World War which Getty sloughs off as a factor (again, Strong's account is better on this point). It is certainly true that terror is an aspect of any dictatorship, including the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that under certain conditions this aspect may take on more prominence. Nevertheless, the *Yezhovshchina* seems to have been, at least in large part, an effort to *substitute* terror for a more thorough and deeper going struggle against the bourgeois line that sought to restore capitalism. Not surprisingly, many Party officials sought to protect themselves by accusing others. Within months the situation was way out of control and Stalin and the Central Committee were forced to take stringent measures, including the arrest of Yezhov himself. Getty calls this a hypocritical effort on Stalin's part to shift the blame to others. Actually it is once again the sometimes clumsy and contradictory actions of a great leader who was striving to wage class struggle and bring about communism but was not clear on the nature of the very enemy he was combatting.

The Origins of the Great Purges is a very useful examination of Soviet society in the 1930s. The author's avowed effort to take "a political" approach to the problem is useful, but, unfortunately, he remains wedded to an outlook and method which often lead him to pick up on secondary factors while ignoring the essence of the matter. He talks of the contradictions between the "centre and the periphery" or between "moderates and radicals" but misses the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie! Getty's combination of often insightful observations with a non-class (which we know to mean bourgeois) approach is revealed in the last paragraph of his work:

"The radicalism of the thirties did not last. Although ritualized *kritika/samokritika* (criticism/self-criticism) became a regular Party practice, it would never again have the impact it did in 1937. Although politics in the thirties were often populist and even subversive, the exigencies of World War II combined with the practical demands of running an increasingly complicated economy meant that radicalism and anti-bureaucracy would fade and be replaced with a new respect for authority. In the thirties, Stalin was a populist muckraker, and his image, as Avorkhanov remembered, was of someone who hated neckties. The real petrification of the Stalinist system set in during and after the war, when commissariats became ministries, when the Party leader became premier, and when the man who hated neckties became the generalissimo."

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(Continued from page 45).

been defined.

Second period - the Preparation, from 1979 to the beginning of 1980. The Party agreed on a series of basic political strategies to carry out the revolution. These political strategies were:

1. Revolutionary violence. The Party deeply studied the writings of the proletariat's great teachers from Marx to Chairman Mao Tsetung, on subjects from the necessity of using revolutionary violence to seize power, to the theory of people's war, which is the proletariat's fully developed military theory.

2. General Line of the revolution and the military line as its centre. With Maoism's contributions, Chairman Gonzalo developed Mariátegui's thinking and established the General Line of the Peruvian revolution. In 1979 this line was adopted by the PCP. It has five aspects:

a. The character of Peruvian society. Our society is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. Semifeudal, because of its vast masses of peasants who are doubly subjugated by the feudal lord and the land. Semicolonial, because even though our country is relatively independent politically it is economically dependent on imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. Bureaucrat capitalism is developing within this semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. It is a monopoly capitalism tied by a thousand threads to feudalism and imperialism.

b. The character of the Peruvian revolution. In its present stage the Peruvian revolution is a democratic revolution to carry out antifeudal and anti-imperialist tasks. With the completion of this stage, the Peruvian revolution will continue without interruption as a socialist revolution, within which there will be several cultural revolutions to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to achieve classless society, communism.

c. The three instruments of the revolution. To make revolution there must be a Communist Party as the leading and highest form of organisation; a revolutionary army as the principal form of organisa-



Shantytown near Lima.

tion; and a revolutionary united front, for the purpose of the armed struggle, based on the worker-peasant alliance and including those classes that make up the people: the proletariat, peasantry, petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. Since Marxism understands that who is comprehended within "the people" can change, we'll see later who actually makes up the united front today.

d. The character of the democratic revolution. As we've pointed out, the democratic revolution must accomplish two great tasks, directed against feudalism and imperialism. It is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type, a New Democratic Revolution as Chairman Mao called it.

e. Mass line. There are specific lines for the different sections of the broad masses of our people: workers, peasants, women, youth, intellectuals, etc.

To carry out the revolution military line must be made the centre. As Chairman Mao taught, military line arises and is further developed in the midst of war. In the period of preparation, following the line laid out by Chairman Gonzalo, the PCP began to militarise itself, putting the gun at its centre. The military line has to do with the

theory of people's war, with the building of the revolutionary armed forces and with strategy and tactics.

3. The Programme of the Communist Party. In essence, it is a question of the stages of the Peruvian revolution: complete the democratic revolution, begin the socialist revolution and then carry out several cultural revolutions in order to achieve communism.

4. The building of the three instruments.

- Regarding the Party. The strategic plan to militarise the Party was decided upon. This is a universally valid contribution by Chairman Gonzalo. Lenin said that we lived in the era of imperialism and that imperialism would collapse in the midst of wars. Chairman Mao said in the 1960s that we were undergoing a period of 50 to 100 years in which the world would be greatly transformed and that the parties should adapt themselves for these transformations. Chairman Gonzalo says that therefore, the Communist Party must militarise itself, the Party should be the vanguard of these wars against imperialism, developing actions from small to large, centring on the gun.

- Regarding the united front. The identity between united front and state was determined. They are the same in terms of their class composition. For example, Peru today is under a landlord-bureaucrat dictatorship, that is, a dictatorship of the big landowners together with the big bourgeoisie. The state is a reflection of the front the reactionaries enter into. The same thing happens with the revolution: the united front is of four classes; this is reflected in the New State which has already arisen under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the participation of the proletariat, peasantry and petit bourgeoisie. Today the national bourgeoisie isn't in the united front, but the front represents its interests as well.

- Regarding the armed struggle. In the Preparation period the task arose of working out a Military Plan to carry out the agrarian war.

5. The Decision to Form the First Company in the Course of Action. Once this political strategy was agreed upon, it took material form

after 1982 with the heroic guerrilla action of the attack on the Ayacucho jail, which succeeded in liberating several hundred prisoners of war.

6. The basic orientation. The Party decided upon the basic orientation of developing the Party's militarisation in the course of action, in order to carry out actions and form detachments.

7. The Plan to Launch the Armed Struggle. Three great watchwords were established: a) Armed struggle, b) Workers' and peasants' government, c) Fight the new reactionary government. The revolutionary struggle was put forward as a unity of the countryside and city, with the countryside principal and the city complementary. It was agreed to incite the peasants to rise up for land and to carry the New State in a knapsack. The rules for launching the armed struggle were established: start out with harvests and invasions (of landlords' land), guerrilla actions, and boycott of the elections. On April 19th 1980 the Communist Party of Peru declared war on the enemy.

Third Milestone - Launching the armed struggle, a period which lasted until the end of 1980. It comprehends the launching of the armed struggle, that is, the Initial Plan, and the beginning of guerrilla warfare. Chairman Mao said that every revolutionary war has three phases: strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive. Militarily the Party had begun the strategic defensive - which at the same time represented an offensive politically speaking. This period begins May 17th 1980 with the assault and destruction of a voting station in a small town in Ayacucho named Cuschi, where the enemy was about to carry out its electoral farce the following day. Thus, the new road was opened up in deeds, the emancipating road of the armed struggle versus the reactionary and oppressive road of maintaining the old order through elections.

In less than 15 days, by the end of May 1980 98 actions had been carried out and the first detachments were formed. These detachments were, as Lenin said, armed groups without arms to lead the crowd. Something new had arisen: the prin-

cipal form of struggle, the armed struggle, given expression in these first 98 actions, and the principal form of organisation, given expression through these detachments.

Highly mobile guerrilla actions against the landlords began. For instance, a feudal estate in Ayrabamba, July 10th 1980. Simultaneously came the smashing of a position within the Party which failed to understand that the armed struggle was centred in the countryside and wrongly claimed that it was centred in the city and that the line the Party was applying was "Hoxhaist." At that time collective harvests also began to be carried out.

Another important action was in Aysarca, December 24 1980. This was the first annihilation, that is, attack on the enemy's living forces. For the first time some reactionary elements hated by the people were executed.

In this third period, the launching of the armed struggle, the five component steps of any action were determined (determination of the plan, forces and means, preparation, execution and summation). Platoons and special detachments arose.

Fourth Period - Developing Guerrilla Warfare. This period, which began in 1981, is the longest phase of the people's war because it includes the whole strategic defensive. Several military plans have been carried out one after another.

a) Plan to open guerrilla zones, from January to April 1981. The application of this plan led to opening eight guerrilla zones and nine operational zones. Guerrilla zones are areas where armed guerrillas contend with the reaction for political power. Operational zones are places where the revolutionary forces come in, hit and retreat. In this period the five steps to be carried out were established: preparation, overwhelming response (initial battle), guerrilla warfare, coup de grace and complementary actions.

The strategic plans to open guerrilla zones are established on a national level; the Central Committee works out strategic operative plans. Then, in each region the tactics are worked out and carried through in a decentralised way. Each one of

these steps, the preparation, the overwhelming response, etc., are carried out simultaneously throughout the whole country.

b) Plan to Unfold Guerrilla Warfare, from May 1981 to December 1982. This plan has three moments:

- First moment: Seize arms and means. Arms are acquired by attacking police outposts, and the means by attacking mines to seize dynamite.

- Second moment: Shake the countryside with armed actions. The main action of that time was the 1982 breakout from the Ayacucho jail that we've already mentioned.

- Third moment: Hit the Enemy. This moment is extremely important because it represents the key link in order to be able to achieve the leap to forming clandestine People's Committees. In the face of the Party's onslaught the police forces fled the countryside along with the reactionary authorities, creating a power vacuum. That's when the People's Committees arose. This period of dealing blows to the enemy involved destroying feudal forms, directing the spearhead against the power of the feudal tyrants, or in other words, against feudal political power in the countryside. In December 1982 the reactionary Armed Forces (mainly the Army and Navy, as well as the Air Force) came in to destroy the People's Committees and reestablish the old political power. The bloodthirsty, criminal Armed Forces organised "mesnadas," armed bands who massacred People's Committee leaders. In the Middle Ages the mesnadas were bands armed by the landlords to oppress the peasants. In the face of this new situation, the Party instructed that these armed bands should be annihilated. Punitive actions were carried out against them at the beginning of 1983, which impeded the reactionary plan to organise mesnadas.

c) Great Plan to Win Base Areas. Revolutionary base areas are the essence of people's war. Beginning in 1983 a military plan with four political tasks was laid out:

- First task: the overall reorganisation of the Party.

- Second task: the creation of the People's Guerrilla Army, and the in-

corporation of the militia within it.

- Third task: development of the front. In the countryside, the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People was established. In the city, it was the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People. Thus the new state power is arising through the People's Committees, giving shape to revolutionary base areas and advancing the People's New Democratic Republic.

- Fourth task: the Great Plan. In other words, the preparation of strategic plans at the national level.

In this Great Plan to Seize Base Areas, the principal and secondary axes were defined. The axis is the line of movement of the guerrilla fighting. Four forms of struggle and 11 methods were defined:

- Guerrilla actions in the form of collective planting and harvesting, assaults, ambushes, seizures of towns, confrontations, prison breakouts and tactical street-fighting.

- Sabotage.

- Selective terrorism, including executions and people's trials.

- Psychological warfare, through agitation and mobilisation.

Within the overall orientation of this Great Plan to Seize Base Areas there were two campaigns to Defend the People's Committees, Develop the Base Areas and Build the People's New Democratic Republic. The first of these campaigns began in January 1983 and the second ended in April 1984.

The most important thing about the period of these two campaigns is that the struggle was centred around reestablishment and counter-reestablishment, or in other words counter-revolutionary war to destroy the new political power and revolutionary war to defend it, develop it and build it up, little by little destroying the old outworn and reactionary order. In this period the struggle became fierce, and the three instruments of the revolution were greatly developed: the ranks of Party members swelled greatly, thousands of people joined the People's Guerrilla Army, especially poor peasants, and hundreds of People's Committees sprang up.

During 1983 and 1984, through the course of this struggle between

reestablishment and counter-reestablishment, the new political power developed, and there was also a great expansion and growth of the struggle in the cities. In 1984 the reaction unleashed a terrible blood-bath. Thousands of sons and daughters of the people were barbarically murdered and their bodies thrown into common graves for wild animals to feed upon. The "disappearances" began — flagrant, disgusting murders carried out with impunity.

d) Plan for the Great Leap. This plan, part of the overall plan to seize base areas, was worked out and began to be applied in June 1984. Its political strategy is to concretise and develop revolutionary base areas. Because of the electoral political conjuncture the following campaigns have been carried out:

- First campaign, beginning June 1984, to begin the Great Leap and win political space so as to make the new state the principal aspect in the contradiction between the new one and the old one. In opposition to the continuation of the bureaucrat road through the elections, the Party put forward the democratic road through armed struggle, not the power of votes but that of the rifle. The reaction was saying "these elections are against terrorism" and all the candidates took that up and united to struggle against the Communist Party, which reflected the success of the Party in this campaign.

- Second campaign, from January to June 1985, to further develop the beginning of the Great Leap and oppose the elections, with the slogans "Don't Vote — Impede and Prevent the Elections."

- Third campaign, beginning in July 1985, to further develop the people's war and oppose the new government's assumption of office. This campaign is being successfully carried out right now.

We will take up these campaigns again in the second part of this exposition.

Today the reaction is carrying out forced regroupment of peasants. First they wage campaigns of destruction and then concentrate some of the peasants together in one place, under threat of death, to

make it look like what is going on is a struggle between peasants, when in fact what they're doing is modeled on "strategic hamlets" used in Vietnam or the "peasant organisations" formed in Guatemala under Yankee advisors. The reactionary Armed Forces have augmented their troops and established field camps. It should be kept in mind that the armed struggle never proceeds in a straight line, but rather through advances and setbacks in which we can see that the principal tendency is development.

The second campaign, against the elections, fulfilled its goals. Today the PCP is struggling to expand throughout the mountain region, widening its guerrilla warfare, so that fluid guerrilla actions can extend from Cajamarca to Puno. This means developing the people's war.

In conclusion to this brief analysis of the process of the people's war in Peru, we'd like to point out the following:

- The PCP is unfolding a people's war in the countryside and city.

- The Party has assumed its responsibility for the seizure of power, in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo.

- The people's war has successes and setbacks, but the overall trend is that it is developing.

- The people's war unfolding in Peru aids the struggle in other countries.

- It can be seen that in Latin America the conditions are ripe for the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

- The PCP is becoming the leading force in the democratic revolution and will become the recognised vanguard and centre of the revolution.

- Through the armed struggle the Communist Party is being forged in the furnace of war, where the poor peasants carry the main weight of the war, a reflection of the fact that it is a peasant war led by the Party. It is the masses who make history.

- The main achievement won in this war has been the new state power.

- The Party carries out the policy of self-reliance, which means that the people's war is a continuation of

the class struggle.

- The Party applies the policy of deciding for itself, which means that it will not submit itself to super-powers or imperialism.

ON THE BUILDING OF THE THREE INSTRUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION

Chairman Mao Tsetung teaches us that handling the three instruments well is a sign of correct leadership.

To build the Party, the army and the front, the Communist Party of Peru bases itself on the following principle: build organisation on a political and ideological basis, in the midst of class struggle and two-line struggle simultaneously, for the purpose of armed struggle to seize political power.

Let's look at some aspects of the building of the three instruments:

1) *Regarding the Party*

a) The ideological-political aspect. The Party applies Chairman Gonzalo's great thesis of the militarisation of the Party. As we've said before, we have entered an era of wars, we live in an epoch foreseen by Chairman Mao, an epoch of 50 to 100 years of profound social changes, and therefore we should prepare ourselves to take up different forms of struggle. It has to be taken into account that even after imperialism is defeated, there will still be capitalism. The proletariat will definitively consolidate its political power. This is the strategic offensive of the world revolution. Since it is an era of wars and great transformations, the Party undergoes changes which lead to its modification, its militarisation.

Let us recall that Marx spoke of the necessity for the proletariat to constitute itself into a Party. Lenin taught the construction of a Party of a new type. Chairman Mao showed how to build a Party in relation to the united front and the armed struggle. Today, Chairman Gonzalo says: the Party must be militarised. The communist parties must militarise themselves, that is, taking into account the unevenly developing revolutionary situation, the parties must be constituted or reconstituted with the rifle at their centre and go over to armed actions.

Historical conditions demand this modification. The militarised Party develops in the midst of war, which allows three things: 1) it gives rise to war communism, which means an absolute lack of self-interest that creates a spirit that keeps the flames of revolution burning; 2) it allows capitalist restoration to be prevented, because it gives the Party absolute control over the army; and 3) it develops a militarised society, that is, the general arming of the people.

The experience of the PCP shows the correctness of Chairman Gonzalo's thesis. The Party matured through a 15-year process of Reconstitution which was carried out with the clearly defined aim of leading a peasant uprising. The Party culminated this process by formulating a whole set of basic political strategies to carry out the revolution, beginning to militarise itself, putting the gun at its centre, and thus preparing itself to launch the armed struggle. Then the Party went over to carrying out armed actions, from small to bigger, forming detachments, then platoons, companies, etc., forming its military units in the course of action and thus building the heroic People's Guerrilla Army.

In this way, the Party has been carrying through its militarisation in the course of war, making itself fit, as Chairman Mao taught, to fulfill the proletariat's responsibilities to lead the revolution in this era of wars and great transformations in which imperialism is hastening towards its ruin and in which the main trend is revolution.

b) The organisational aspect. Let's consider four questions:

First question: concentric construction. The Party in arms leads the army absolutely, it is the army's backbone. The army is the backbone of the state and the state is led by the Party through what is at this point a joint dictatorship of three classes, the proletariat, the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. The state is built according to the three-thirds policy, that is one third of its members are communists, one third are peasants and one third progressives.

Second question: organisational

structure. Its essence is democratic centralism. It is centralised in order to lead the war as a single whole strategically and decentralised tactically. The social composition of the Party has changed. Today it has a membership of a new type, basically poor peasants. Each Party member has three functions: political, military and administrative. The Party member of a new type is forged in the war and develops the revolution by force of arms wherever he or she may be, and with great disdain for death.

Third question: organisational system. This refers to the disposition of forces for the purpose of war. Today the Party is working to cover the region from Cajamarca to Puno with continuous and sporadic military actions, with the Party's main Regional Committee located in the poorest area. The task is to advance through the mountain valleys, spilling over through the jungle highlands and the headlands of the rivers leading to the coast, while at the same time carrying out work in the cities.

Fourth question: organisational work. The Party carries out open and secret work.

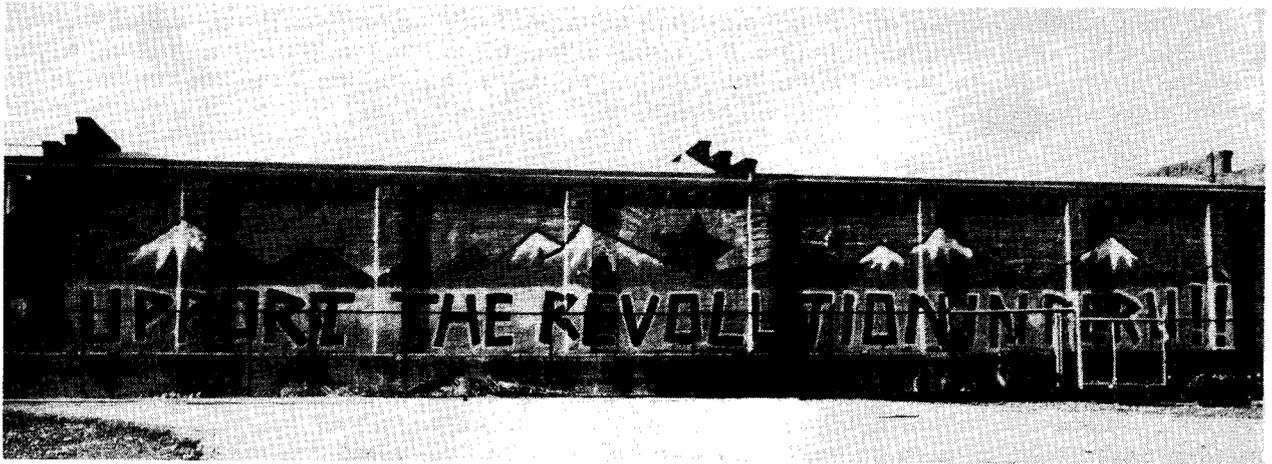
c) The aspect of leadership. The Party has a leadership system. In addition to the Central Committee, there is a Political Bureau, a Permanent Committee and the Chairmanship of the Party.

d) The aspect of two-line struggle. Within the Communist Party of Peru the red line, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line, is in command. Its highest expression is Chairman Gonzalo. Rightism, which is the main danger, is dealt with by decapitation, which means that the right is not allowed to raise its head; it must be made to trod on its own black banners and defend its communist qualifications.

e) The aspect of mass work. The Party aims to organise new organisms which can resist reactionary attacks.

2) *Regarding the People's Guerrilla Army*

The People's Guerrilla Army was created out of political necessity. It is made up of three forces: the main forces, the local forces and the community forces. This has allowed the



Wall mural, San Francisco Bay Area.

revolutionary forces to multiply and contend with the reactionary Armed Forces. The People's Guerrilla Army is absolutely led by the Party and has three functions: to fight, produce and mobilize. To mobilize means carrying out propaganda among the masses, mobilising them and arming them.

The militia has been incorporated into the People's Guerrilla Army. Lenin said that the state is a people's militia that fulfills three functions: the functions of an army, a police force and an administration. This was aimed at preventing the formation of castes. Nevertheless Lenin had to create the Red Army because 14 foreign armies invaded the Soviet Union. The Red Army developed so greatly that today, when revisionism has transformed the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower, it is a powerful aggressive apparatus centred on guns. The left within the Communist Party of China put forward that the Party should control the militia and then swallow up the army, as Lenin had proposed. Military men who do not become proletarianised, who are not trained as communists, become tyrants. They think that the political power belongs to them and they end up running feudal fiefdoms. Chairman Gonzalo, with great historical vision, has anticipated this problem with the army and therefore he has incorporated the militia within it.

The building of the army is primarily ideological-political. Today there is not enough arms and matériel, but the Party doesn't buy

arms because it doesn't want to mortgage the revolution. The Party relies on the masses; Peru's revolution is being carried out with dynamite. Little by little, the reaction's arms will end up and are ending up in the hands of the people.

3) Regarding the State

Today there are People's Committees which exercise real state functions, which give shape to a new state system through the joint dictatorship under the leadership of the Party as the representative of the proletariat, a new system of government, of the organisation of power, based on assemblies. There is a representatives' assembly, made up of delegates of the various organisations that arise. This assembly elects the five clandestine commissioners who make up the executive. These commissioners are:

The Political Commissioner, who is a Party member.

The Security Commissioner, a Party member who coordinates responses to the reaction together with the People's Guerrilla Army.

The Commissioner of Community Affairs, who is a peasant, and has to do with trials, births, marriages, etc.

The Front Commissioner, who is a petit bourgeois, for example a shopkeeper or intellectual. He organises the people into the organisations that are generated.

The Production Commissioner, who is a peasant. Organises planting, collective harvests, etc.

The People's Committees in a zone are joined together to make up

the People's New Democratic Republic Organising Committee which has three tasks: leadership, planning and building.

In the countryside political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution are being created. The New Democracy is face to face with the old one. The social life of the masses, production, the administration of justice, commerce, education, recreation, etc. is being organised. Today it has become necessary to formulate laws regarding the land and the people's rights. New production and social relations are coming into being step by step.

The Party sees to it that the underdogs seize power, that the masses themselves give rise to people who can carry out state functions.

As a conclusion to this brief analysis of the building of the three instruments of the revolution, we would say the following:

The armed struggle is giving rise to new things. The PCP, understanding how to lead newly arising things, has developed its political vision. Today the Party is the heroic fighter who leads both the armed struggle and the front. Of course, the work of construction follows the fluid lines of war.

IMPACT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Here we see how the reaction has responded to the armed struggle and the armed struggle's profound impact on the development of the class

struggle in Peru.

The reaction, faithfully carrying out U.S. imperialism's guidelines, began by labeling the PCP "terrorist." It should be kept in mind that the individual terrorism of the nineteenth century was condemned by the great teachers of the proletariat, but when the bomb has become a weapon in the hands of the masses, as it has today in Peru, it becomes a correct form of struggle. Then the reaction sent in the police, as if they were fighting common criminals. At intervals they carried out three police operations which failed miserably one after another. The purpose of these intermittent operations was to gather information on the Party and find the guerrillas. In January 1983 the reactionary Armed Forces came in, utilizing armed bands made up of feudal tyrants, petty tyrants and their followers. Later the Armed Forces organised them into paramilitary units. When the Armed Forces came in, they were faced with insufficient authority, a lack of economic support and problems with the country's borders. They feared being drawn into a civil war.

In November 1983 the reactionary Armed Forces began carrying out wholesale slaughter and genocide. About the time of the municipal elections that year the first mass graves appeared and the "disappearances" began. In 1984 they began carrying out a plan to subjugate the masses. They penetrated into the People's Committees trying to group the peasants together in relocation camps. Thus they carried out a militarised corporativisation. The old state divided in two: the bourgeois-democratic state with representative democracy, and militarised corporativism which ruled over 10% of Peru's population, both face to face with a rising People's New Democratic Republic. The Party is working to unleash uprisings among the masses of peasants imprisoned in the relocation camps.

In July 1984 the government gave the Armed Forces Joint Command the authority to fight the guerrillas wherever they wanted throughout the country. By the end of 1984 the reaction began to talk about "con-

solidating," bragging that they would end the state of emergency and give political power back to the civilian authorities. But since the Party responded with a mighty offensive in January 1985, they were forced to postpone their "consolidation." In May 1985 the reaction passed a law regarding the state of emergency and state of siege which gave the Joint Command *carte blanche* against the guerrillas. Thus the reactionary Armed Forces have come in to fight as the main forces, augmenting their troops, which, when they are scattered, are more vulnerable to ambushes.

The United Left, for its part, headed up by the slimy and accommodating Menshevik Barrantes, is in favour of smashing the guerrillas and defending the old order.

This is how the reaction has desperately tried to save the ruling classes whose existence is menaced by the onslaught of the revolution, unleashing criminal actions including genocide which have led to the death of more than 10,000 sons and daughters of the people.

The armed struggle led by the PCP has opened up the third period in contemporary Peruvian society, which means the destruction of the three mountains which weigh upon our people: imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The first period was from 1895 until the end of World War II; this was the beginning and development of bureaucrat capitalism, led by the comprador bourgeoisie. The second period, after 1945 more or less, marks the deepening of bureaucrat capital, with the increasing presence of a bureaucrat bourgeoisie. The third period, which began in 1980 with the beginning of the armed struggle, is the period of bureaucrat capitalism's crisis and destruction.

Thus 13 centuries of reactionary states have begun to be swept aside. This is the greatest and most far-reaching epic in our history. Today the exploited are beginning to build their own state. The Peruvian masses now have found their vanguard and that is the main thing. The PCP is the definitive demand of the oppressed, above all of the poor peasants led by the proletariat. It is the most thorough challenge the

reaction has ever faced. The Party will never declare a truce nor will it ask for one. The armed struggle is war without quarter. There are no deals. The development of new things unfolds through the armed struggle, shattering the old order.

MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE.

Now let's say a few words about the doctrine, the philosophical basis which guides the Communist Party of Peru.

The proletariat, the last class in history, a class whose historic mission is to emancipate itself and all mankind in order to achieve communism, can do this because it has an all-powerful doctrine: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Lenin represented the development of Marxism to a new stage, the stage of Leninism. Chairman Mao Tsetung represents the development of Marxism-Leninism to a higher stage, the stage of Maoism. Chairman Mao developed Marxism in its three component parts: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The PCP fights for the universal recognition of Maoism, so that the world will recognise Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideology which guides the world revolution. Maoism means a universally valid school, current and stand.

The guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo is the fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with Peru's reality. It is the key to the Peruvian revolution. This guiding thought is Chairman Gonzalo's and not a collective product. Forged in the reconstitution of the Party and developed further with the armed struggle, this guiding thought has made important, universally valid contributions: the strategic offensive of the world revolution, the militarisation of the communist parties, regarding people's war, the concentric construction of the three instruments, the analysis of fascism, the analysis of bureaucrat capitalism and the factions which collude and contend within the big bourgeoisie, regarding the two-line struggle, etc.

To produce a universal development, a fourth stage of Marxism, many communists in the world are contributing and working together.

This will give rise to a fourth stage.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The world revolution led by the proletariat through its communist parties is a fairly protracted process. The bourgeois revolution took 300 years to take hold. The Communist Party of Peru calculates that it will take 200 years to consolidate the proletariat's dictatorship, counting from 1871 when the proletariat first took power in the Paris Commune.

The world proletarian revolution has had very important milestones:

- In 1871, with the Paris Commune. Marx put forward that the proletariat should have applied more violence, which means dictatorship.

- In 1917 with the Russian revolution. With it a new era in the world proletarian revolution began.

- In 1949 with the triumph of the Chinese revolution. China established a New Democratic state under a joint dictatorship and went over to the socialist revolution. Thus the correlation of forces in the world changed in favour of socialism.

- In 1966 with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It resolved the problem of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today we find ourselves in the strategic offensive of the world revolution, in the period of 50 to 100 years when the principal contradiction is between the oppressed nations on one hand and the superpowers, imperialism on the other. Thus the main trend in the world today is revolution. Therefore one must dare to seize power, the communist parties must militarise themselves, the oppressed nations, whose masses play an important part in making history, must march as the main force led by the communist parties.

In order to achieve communism all the oppressed must emancipate themselves. The Peruvian revolution is part of the world revolution and the Communist Party serves the world revolution because it is internationalist. This is why the PCP has joined the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, through which the Party is rejoining the Interna-

tional Communist Movement.

The Peruvian revolution has received internationalist support, especially from the RIM. For example, support committees for the Peruvian revolution have been formed. The PCP is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party in arms and that means that it has a greater responsibility because with the armed struggle it must demonstrate Maoism's validity to the world.

THE PRESENT SITUATION FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The development of the three instruments of the revolution, the Party, the armed struggle and the united front, finds its expression in the new state power. To develop the new, three things are necessary: a) a correct line, that is, correct political and military lines and specific policies; b) the development of organisational forms; c) a great outpouring and even overflowing of energy, because the old tends to reestablish itself within the new. The Party is bringing all its forces into play to draw the masses into organisational forms to carry out the people's war, and tenaciously and firmly escalate the guerrilla war in order to expand throughout the mountain regions and retake lost positions in the main Regional Committee.

Today the latest events show that the People's War is developing and advancing. As the PCP said in its May 1985 letter to the Committee of the RIM, "Today the PCP is finishing off five years of people's war. Through the course of these five years it has carried out around 25,000 armed actions, in whose forge it has formed a People's Guerrilla Army which is the backbone of the base areas of the new state power, of the New Democracy which is making its way among our people. The difficulty of this situation is concisely expressed by its cost of 10,000 fallen in combat or 'disappeared.' Nevertheless, despite the intensification of this genocide being carried out by the reactionary armed forces, during the last year our work has expanded into new zones, as well as persisting in the zones where we began, so that we are car-

rying out the orientation of 'stoke the bonfire, spread the flames, develop the struggle of the masses principally as an armed struggle, and let the repression spur us onward.' In this way the people's war in our country continues to blaze defiantly, expanding, spreading its roots and preparing for newer and higher tasks, guided always by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, battling for the emancipation of our people for the purpose of and at the service of the world revolution. Thus we are contributing and will contribute to the tasks of the RIM, more and more willing and able to aid in every possible way our glorious common cause: the emancipation of the proletariat and the prevailing of communism throughout the earth." □