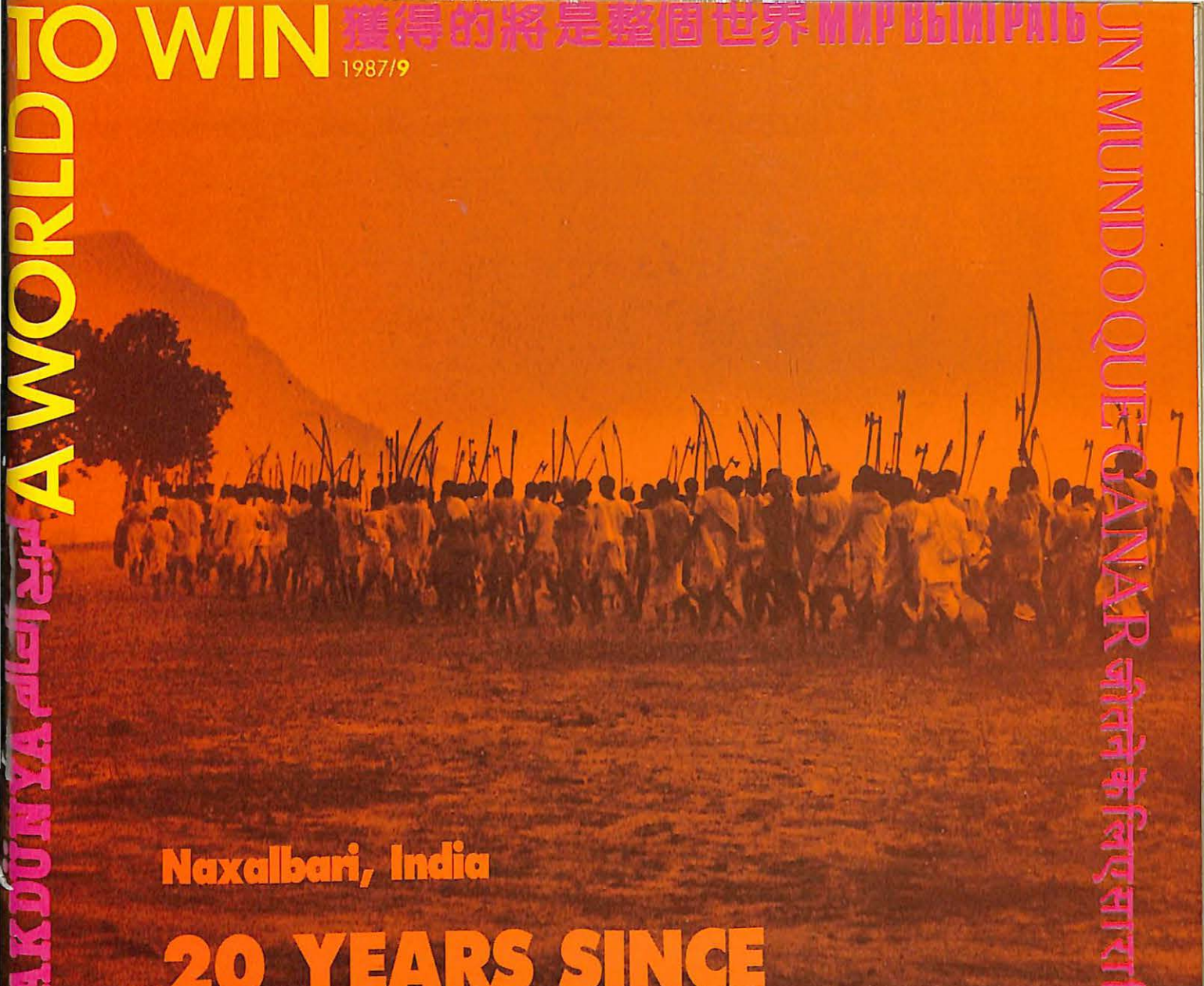


TO WIN 1987/9 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

दुनिया के लिए जीतना है विश्व जीतना है

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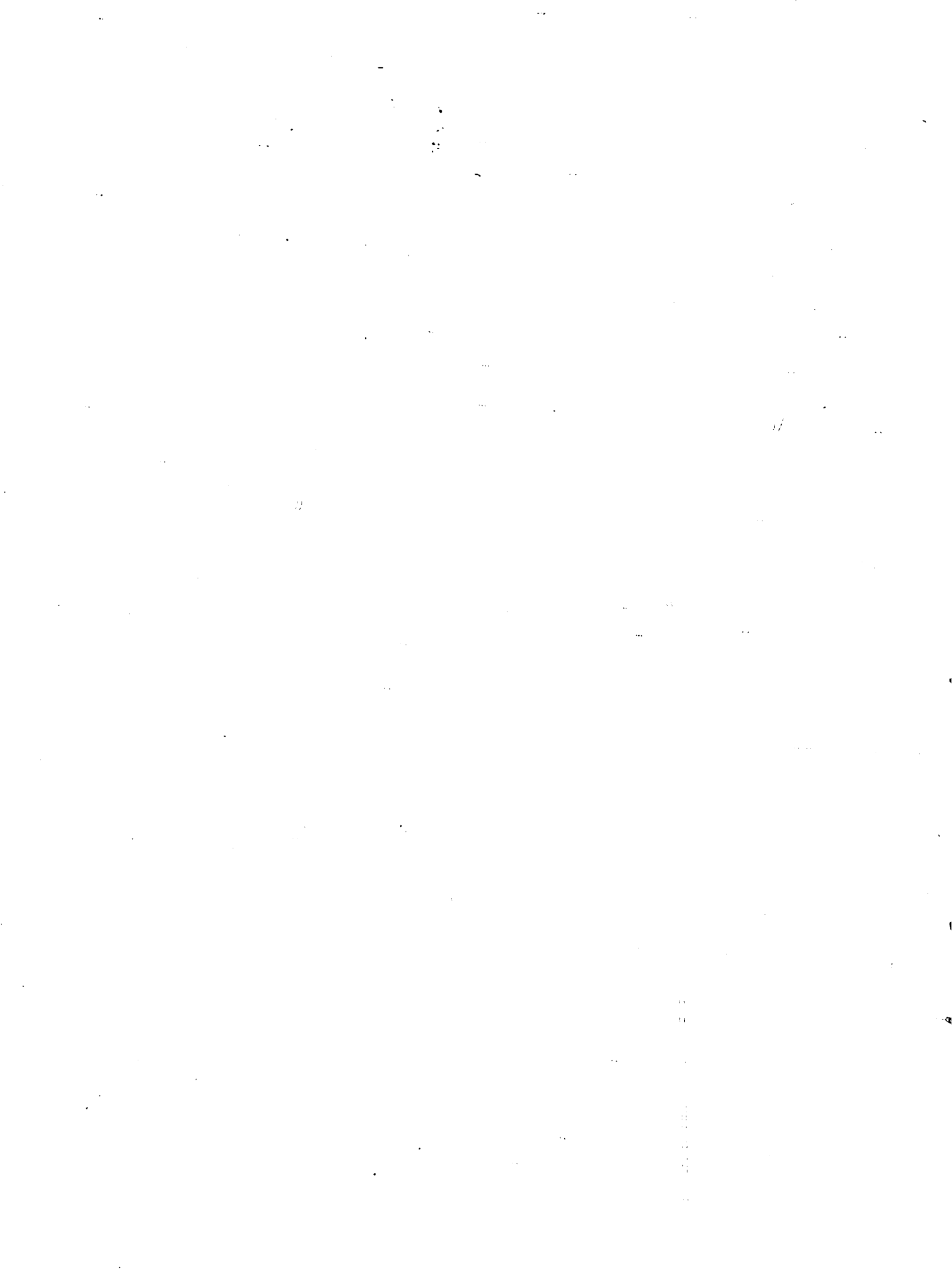
Naxalbari, India

20 YEARS SINCE THE CLAP OF SPRING THUNDER

Charu Mazumdar On the Naxalbari Road



UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE جہانی برای فتح



Naxalbari



Twenty years ago the armed revolt of peasants in the area of Naxalbari ushered in a new chapter in the struggle of the masses in India and its echo was heard around the world.

Gorbachev

What is Gorbachev up to? Is he liberalising, unleashing market forces in the economy, and seeking accommodation with the West in order to relaunch the Soviet economy? Or is he marshalling the forces of Soviet society behind the chariots of reaction and war?

Day of Heroism

A year ago men and women prisoners of war, revolutionaries held in three Peruvian prisons, rose in revolt in defence of their lives and the honour of the revolution. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement called for this anniversary to be commemorated in different ways in countries around the world.

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



PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

1987/9

Naxalbari

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SEPTEMBER, 1987

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A WORLD TO WIN

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR KAZANILASAK 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.

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جهانی برای فتح UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE



Naxalbari, India

1987 marks the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of armed struggle of the peasant masses led by communist revolutionaries in the village of Naxalbari, located in India's state of West Bengal, near the city of Darjeeling, not far from the borders of Nepal and what is now Bangladesh. Before 1967 this remote village was unknown beyond the surrounding Terai region in the foothills of the Himalayas. Today Naxalbari is known to scores of millions as the symbol of the people's war that will one day sweep imperialism and reaction off the face of India.

Before Naxalbari, the communist movement in India was dominated by revisionism. The Communist Party of India (CPI) had long before abandoned even the pretext of revolution in favour of the "parliamentary road" to power. Under the pressure of the criticism of revisionism begun by Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China in the early 1960s, a section of cadres and members of the CPI had split off and formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist) or

CPM. In West Bengal, especially, a great number of genuine revolutionaries took part in the formation of the CPM as a result of the latter's vocal criticism of the CPI revisionist leaders.

But it soon became apparent that the CPM itself had not really broken with revisionism. On an international plane, the CPM tried to steer a "middle road" between Soviet revisionism and the Marxist-Leninist line that was represented at the time by the Communist Party of China. Although the CPM came out against Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and even made a show of "defending" him, and although the CPM had a so-called positive assessment of Mao Tsetung, it was unable to make the kind of radical rupture required with the long revisionist history in India and to assimilate Mao Tsetung Thought as the new stage of Marxism-Leninism and apply it to the conditions of India. On the practical front the CPM was content to uphold the necessity of armed struggle in words while making the "tactic" of participating in the

parliamentary arena its actual main focus of work.

That is to say the CPM (like most "centrists") kept two goods in stock: revolutionary posturing directed at the masses and real revisionism and class collaboration aimed at keeping these same masses forever enchained to the reactionary system.

It was in this context that in 1965 Charu Mazumdar began developing a revolutionary opposition to the revisionist leadership of the CPM and began training the cadre of the Darjeeling district committee of the CPM in a radically different line which would explode two years later in Naxalbari. These early writings of Charu Mazumdar became known as the "Eight Historic Essays." In them Mazumdar stresses that the revolution in India would follow the path of China — specifically the path of protracted warfare and of surrounding the cities from the countryside. This analysis went straight up against not only the revisionists' "parliamentary road" but also the earlier, secret so-called Tac-

20 YEARS SINCE THE CLAP OF SPRING THUNDER

tical Line which held that the revolution in India would follow neither the Chinese road nor the Russian road but be a combination of urban uprisings in the cities and what they called "partisan warfare" in the countryside. Although often cloaked in the garb of India's "particular conditions," this argument was in fact aimed at defeating those who wanted to uphold and apply Mao Tsetung's line.

In his "Eight Essays" and in a more developed way later on in other writings, Charu Mazumdar develops his thesis of the "area-wide seizure of power." This was of the utmost importance in distinguishing the Naxalbari struggle from the many militant struggles of the peasants in India which frequently went over into revolutionary violence. As Mazumdar points out, if such struggles did not aim at seizing power but remained merely struggles for land they would degenerate into "militant economism."

In 1968 a report was prepared by the communist revolutionaries in the Siliguri subdivision, in which Nax-

albari is located. Although this "Report on the Peasant Movement in the Terai Region" was signed by Kanu Sanyal, who later degenerated into a right opportunist, it can be said to represent, in the main, Charu Mazumdar's line at the time and the report still provides valuable insight into the Naxalbari movement as well as some of the thinking of those who led it.

The Communist Party of China, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, was quick to recognise the importance of the Naxalbari movement. The political support given by the CPC, mainly through its radio and press, helped further fan the already spreading flames of the struggle. The articles in the Chinese press were also a means by which the CPC was able to indirectly offer comradely advice to the Indian communists (see the article, "Let the Red Flag of Naxalbari Fly Still Higher" reprinted in this issue, with its stress on the importance of guerrilla warfare.) Within a very short period of time Naxalbari-type struggles were taking off in many

parts of India: in Bihar, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, and Kerala as well as in many regions of West Bengal where it all started.

The Naxalbari struggle dramatically reconfigured the political landscape on the Indian left. The revisionist CPI and CPM became thoroughly exposed as they openly sided with the central authorities who responded to the Naxalbari movement with widespread slaughter and terror. On the other hand, throughout the country young people came forward from within and outside the traditional communist movement to take up the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the armed struggle for power. Charu Mazumdar was at the centre of the efforts to group the genuine communist revolutionaries and his line became the basis for the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) on 22 April 1969.

While the centre of the revolutionary work of the CPI(ML) was in the countryside, the movement had profound effects on all aspects of Indian society, including the urban areas. This was particularly true of Calcutta, the capital of West Bengal.

Calcutta is infamous throughout the world for its despicable inhuman conditions and its teeming millions of slum dwellers. It was also, and remains, the stronghold of the CPM as well as an important intellectual centre in India.

Under the impact of the peasant upsurge in the countryside the influence of the "Naxalites" grew in Calcutta by leaps and bounds. A powerful movement developed amongst the youth and students against the comprador educational system; statues of Gandhi and other pro-imperialist, anti-national misleaders of the people were destroyed. The movement spread to the slums as well, where large numbers of the workers and the urban poor saw the CPI(ML) and the armed struggle it was waging in the countryside as the road to eliminate their oppression. Charu Mazumdar, while hailing and

supporting the movement in the cities, continually called upon the revolutionary youth to go to the countryside, integrate with the peasants and in this way help propagate the armed struggle. In fact, many hundreds heeded his call.

As the armed struggle was raging in the nearby countryside different armed activities began to develop in the cities themselves. It seems that this may have been spontaneous in origin, but became more systematic as revolutionary youths and slum dwellers sought to participate in the CPI(ML)'s "gun-snatching" campaign aimed at seizing weapons from the reactionaries and their armed forces, to provide the armament for a people's army. While large numbers of arms were seized and a considerable number of policemen and other reactionaries were wiped out, the reactionary forces, aided by the CPM, were able to unleash a vicious onslaught of white terror that eventually restored "order" at the cost of thousands of lives.

From the beginning the fledgling party faced gigantic tasks as it fought to lead forward and direct the unprecedented storm of revolutionary struggle that Naxalbari had unleashed and as the reactionaries stepped up their attacks on the Party and the revolutionary masses. In a remarkably short period of time a wealth of experience in waging revolutionary struggle was accumulated and a series of important two-line struggles developed within the party in which Mazumdar's line was opposed. Comrade Mazumdar himself continued to fiercely battle revisionism within as well as outside the party.

Since the time of Naxalbari Comrade Mazumdar has often been slandered by revisionists and opportunists as a "Guevarist" or even a "terrorist," which is a complete reversal of right and wrong. In fact, Charu Mazumdar constantly stressed the need to mobilise and rely on the masses of people, especially the poor peasantry, in all areas. He sharply criticised those who argued that revolutionary warfare could only be waged by relying on modern weapons and argued that the peasants could and must be mobil-

ised to fight with their traditional weapons while, at the same time, striving to seize guns from the reactionaries themselves. He saw guerrilla warfare as the main form to mobilise the entire strength of the people against the enemy — and argued that revisionist-led mass movements could never do so. And, in fact, in some areas the CPI(ML) was able to lead the poor peasants in establishing guerrilla squads on a wide scale — it is estimated that several thousands were mobilised in such squads in 1970 in West Bengal alone.

He argued that people's war must be waged on the plains as well as in the more inaccessible mountain and forest regions in order to rely on the broad masses of the peasants. He constantly stressed the need to mobilise the peasants to establish their own rule through revolutionary committees, named after the organs of political power established in China in the midst of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In particular, Charu Mazumdar has been widely denounced for his policy of "annihilation," the term he used in India to describe the execution of class enemies, especially feudal tyrants in the countryside. Mazumdar held that annihilation is a higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla warfare. He saw the execution of the most notorious tyrants who had long sucked the blood of the peasantry as both a continuation of the peasant struggle to a new level and as necessary to further unleash the enthusiasm of the masses. The guerrilla squads would often carry out these "annihilations" after public trials in front of hundreds of people, and where this was not possible they would always take into account the sentiments of the masses. Nor should it be forgotten that in the countryside where the "annihilations" were carried out, the feudal tyrants and their armed thugs ruled over the peasants and, as one CPI(ML) report put it, had "an exclusive right to murder, which they enjoyed for ages." These tyrants were also closely linked to the overall reactionary state apparatus.

The genuine communists in India have long debated the knotty

problems of the relationship between such "annihilations" and efforts to launch and develop people's war. But such questioning has nothing in common with the hysteria of the bourgeoisie and its apologists in the face of the "Naxalite violence." As Mao put it, "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."

Does this mean, then, that communist revolutionaries of India did not make any mistakes or that Comrade Mazumdar solved all of the problems of the Indian revolution? Obviously, such a situation would be unlikely in any revolutionary movement and all the more in the case of a movement that erupted so suddenly that in the space of two or three years it was affecting millions of people. Furthermore, although Comrade Mazumdar was a long-time communist (he had taken part in the historic *Tebhaga* peasant movement in north Bengal in the aftermath of World War 2, drawing important lessons from it), the great majority of the comrades were new to the communist movement, and the party itself had just been formed in the crucible of the struggle.

Under such circumstances, it would seem that some mistakes were inevitable. Many have called attention to the fact that Charu Mazumdar did not develop a policy for work in the urban areas or in the trade unions. Similarly it is often said that in insisting that the armed struggle is the main form of struggle and that all other forms were subordinate to it he had a tendency to lose sight of the importance of mass struggles as a means of winning broader sections of the masses to the revolutionary position. It is generally believed that the Communist Party of China, while upholding the CPI(ML) under the leadership of Comrade Mazumdar, had made some important criticisms along these lines (for example, it was pointed out that it is one-sided to say, as implied in the "Report on the

Peasant Movement in the Terai Region," that the peasants are struggling for political power and *not* for land.)

It is essential that the rich experience of the Naxalbari period be correctly summed up so that the genuine communist revolutionaries will be able to build on the achievements of that period as well as to avoid the mistakes of the past. It is important that the standpoint upheld in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* be used to guide this process:

"In the 1960s and early 1970s Marxist-Leninist forces in a great many countries, under the influence of the Cultural Revolution in China and as part of the general worldwide revolutionary upsurge, joined with sections of the masses in waging armed revolutionary warfare. In a number of countries the Marxist-Leninist forces were able to rally considerable sections of the population to the revolutionary banner and maintain the Marxist-Leninist party and armed forces of the masses despite the savage counter-revolutionary repression. It was inevitable that these early attempts at building new, Marxist-Leninist parties and the launching of armed struggle would be marked by a certain primitiveness and that ideological and political weaknesses would manifest themselves, and it is, of course, not surprising that the imperialists and revisionists would seize upon these errors and weaknesses to condemn the revolutionaries as "ultra-leftists" or worse. Nevertheless these experiences must, in general, be upheld as an important part of the legacy of the Marxist-Leninist movement which helped lay the basis for further advances."

It is certainly true that, in the case of India, the revisionists have repeatedly seized upon weaknesses of the Marxist-Leninist movement — real or imagined — to condemn it. Often these condemnations have taken the form of virulent and hysterical attacks against Charu Mazumdar, attacks which can only bring to mind Mao's famous statement that "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of

demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue: it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work." Most of those who have led the charge against Comrade Mazumdar quickly revealed their own revisionist nature. Many, for example, became followers of Deng Xiao-ping and supporters of his infamous "three worlds theory." There is evidence that Charu Mazumdar himself was struggling to correct some of the weaknesses of the movement. In one of his last articles before his death he called for the party to lead a struggle of the peasants to seize crops and specifically pointed out, "This is the first time that we are leading a mass movement since we started our armed struggle. . . . Without conducting this mass movement we can in no way realise our objective of making every peasant a fighter. Otherwise, the all-embracing character of the people's war can in no way be attained."

On 16 July 1972 Charu Mazumdar was arrested in Calcutta; on the night of July 27-28 he died at the hands of the police. After the death of Charu Mazumdar serious political differences and the attacks of the enemy led to the collapse of the organised centre of the party and the movement suffered a setback.

No proletarian internationalist can be indifferent to the development of the revolution in India. Its immense population, the intensity of the class contradictions, its existence as a weak link in the world imperialist system all mean, as we pointed out in the first issue of *A World to Win*, "if you're talking about world revolution, you're talking about India."

India is not only *objectively* ripe for revolution, it also one area of the world most profoundly marked by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Although in India, as elsewhere, revisionism has grown stronger as a result of the loss in China and the crisis of the Marxist-Leninist movement, the vast reservoir of support for a genuine com-

munist revolutionary position, the widespread understanding that only Mao Tsetung Thought can point the way for liberation, is very much a part of the political landscape. That this is still the case today is testimony to the lasting impact of Naxalbari.

The experience of the Marxist-Leninists in India who dared to kindle the flames of revolution, an experience paid for at the cost of thousands of martyrs including Comrade Charu Mazumdar himself, is an important part of the heritage of the international communist movement. Summing up this experience is part of an important debate going on in the Indian communist movement. The outcome of this discussion will have far-reaching effects on the future of the movement and is bound to intertwine with similar questions under study in different countries and at an international level. Today the comrades of the Central Reorganisation Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and the Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India, both participating organisations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, are struggling against revisionist attempts to bury the role of the revolutionary storm and Charu Mazumdar in charting the road to revolution in India, while engaged in serious efforts to critically evaluate this whole revolutionary heritage as part of forging a correct political line and programme for revolution in India. The fulfillment of this task, given the complexities of the terrain in India compounded by the interplay of contradictions on the national and international level, would be of great significance for the communist movement in India and worldwide. Today these comrades, and all of the genuine Marxist-Leninists in India, are preparing a new phase of Spring Thunder. It is certain that the next high tide of struggle will not be a mere repetition of the movement of the past — it must and can be deeper, richer and more powerful still. But it is also certain that when the saga of the liberation of India is finally completed the songs of Naxalbari will be among those that fill the air. □



The following report was published in the November 1968 number of *Liberation*, the journal of the CPI(ML). Although the author later betrayed the proletarian revolutionary cause, the report is still of interest as an historical document which sheds light on the Naxalbari events and reflects the then prevailing viewpoint of the communist revolutionaries who led it. — AWTW.

By Kanu Sanyal

After about 18 months, we, the communist revolutionaries of the Siliguri subdivision, met at a convention on 15 September 1968 under quite unfavourable conditions.

Why am I speaking of unfavourable conditions? This is because during these 18 months attempts have been made to crush the revolutionary peasant movement of the Siliguri subdivision and to annihilate the communist revolutionaries there through "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. Who started the campaigns of "encirclement and suppression"? On 22 May 1967, the leaders of the 14-party United Front government led by Ajoy- Jyoti-Harekrishna-Biswanath threw hundreds of peasants and workers into jail and inflicted physical tortures on them, had their homes looted by the police and shot, bayoneted and killed 18 peasants, including men, women and children, with a view to crushing the revolutionary peasant movement.

The importance of the peasant question:

... Why has the peasant movement in Terai region proved to be an event having more far-reaching consequences than even an earthquake?

Ours is a semicolonial and semifeudal country, 80 percent of whose population live in the villages. The contradiction between the people of our country and feudalism is the principal contradiction. The comprador-bureaucrat



Report on the in the

bourgeoisie, the landlords and the jotedars have been carrying on their rule and exploitation through their political organisation, the Congress Party, by protecting fully and developing imperialist interests and by covering up the basis of feudalism with legal coatings. So the peasants are the basis and the main force of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. Unless the peasants are liberated it is impossible to achieve the liberation of all other oppressed classes. The Terai peasants are a part of the peasantry of our country. Seventy percent of the Terai peasants are poor and landless, 20 percent are middle peasants and 10 percent are rich peasants. These heroic peasants dealt merciless blows to the obsolete and rotten feudal elements — the jotedars, landlords and usurers. The state apparatus of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie, landlords and jotedars is preserving the feudal system by force and carrying on an armed rule. Inspired by Chairman Mao's teaching, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," the heroic peasants opposed this

*jotedar - large landowner

armed rule with armed revolt.

The peasants of Terai not only dealt a fierce blow at feudalism, they also expressed their intense hatred for the imperialist exploitation of India, especially the exploitation by U.S. imperialism, swept into the dust the political, economic and social authority, dignity and prestige built up in the villages by the landlords and jotedars, who represent feudalism, and established the rule of the peasant committee in the villages through their armed revolt. That is why the Naxalbari struggle has shown the path for the liberation of India's oppressed classes.

We have seen how the criterion for judging political events changed as soon as the struggle of the heroic peasants started and thus proved how true are the teachings of Chairman Mao. The struggle made it clear as daylight who in a semicolonial and semifeudal country like ours is a revolutionary and who is a counter-revolutionary, who is progressive and who is reactionary, who is a Marxist and who is a revisionist, and which political party wants to advance the cause of democratic revolution, that is, the



Woodcut of peasant uprising.

Peasant Movement Terai Region

agrarian revolution, and which party wants to cover up the semicolonial and semifeudal system in order to preserve it.

Starting from foreign radio broadcasts and newspapers which uphold the interests of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists to the man-in-the-street in the cities and the villages — everyone chose sides on the issue of the peasant struggle in Terai. Not even one of the political parties, which never tire of talking about workers, peasants and Marxism, could maintain its previous position. The struggle of the Terai peasants tore open their masks and forced them to take sides. The struggle of the heroic peasants showed that all the leaders of the 14 “left” parties, including the so-called Marxist party, who had managed to secure ministerial *guddies* for themselves, were serving the state of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords, like the Congress Party. The struggle made it clear that, like the Congress Party, the leaders of the 14 “left” parties, including the Dangeite clique and Sundarayya & Co., are enemies of India’s democratic revolution, that is,

agrarian revolution. The struggle of the Terai peasants proved that the agrarian revolution can be led to success only by waging a relentless and uncompromising struggle against them.

The struggle of the Terai peasants acted as a midwife in the revolutionary situation prevailing in India. That is why a single spark of the Naxalbari struggle is kindling widespread forest fire everywhere. In a word, the struggle of the heroic peasants has brought to the forefront quite forcefully the role of the peasants in India’s democratic revolution overcoming the fierce and active opposition put up by all the reactionaries and revisionists.

Establish the Peasant Committees and Get Organised

The Siliguri subdivision peasant convention gave out the call to — (1) establish the authority of the peasant committees in all matters of the village, (2) get organised and be armed in order to crush the resistance of jotedars and rural reactionaries, and (3) smash the jotedar’s monopoly of ownership of the land and redistribute the land anew through the peasant com-

mittees.

The convention further declared that the peasants’ struggle against feudalism would have to face the repression of all reactionaries, be it Indira Gandhi’s government in New Delhi or the UF government in West Bengal. So, all their repression must be resisted by force of arms and by carrying on a protracted struggle.

The call of the subdivisional peasant conference instantly created a stir among the revolutionary peasant masses.

How did the revolutionary peasants of Terai translate this call into action? To put this call of the conference into effect the revolutionary peasants first of all laid stress upon the task of creating the armed groups of peasants in the villages. In every village we heard the words: “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.” This is because every single struggle, however small, whether for stopping usury or on any other issue, has been invariably met with lathis* and guns. That is why this call worked like magic in organising the peasants.

Almost all the villages got organised during the period from the end of March to the end of April 1967. Whereas, previously, the membership strength of the Kisan Sabha** could not be increased beyond 5,000, the membership now jumped to nearly 40,000. About 15 to 20 thousand peasants began to do whole-time work and built up peasant committees in villages. The young men of the villages who had never been seen in the front ranks of the Kisan Sabha now occupied the place of veteran peasant cadres. With the speed of a storm the revolutionary peasants, in the course of about one and a half months, formed peasant committees through hundreds of group meetings and turned these committees into armed village defence groups. In a word, they organised about 90 percent of the village population. This action of the peasants completely changed all our old ideas about organisation. Chairman Mao teaches us: “The masses have boundless creative power.

* *lathi* - night stick of bamboo

** *Kisan Sabha* - peasant organisation

They can organise themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy."

We came to realise more profoundly the significance of this teaching of our great teacher Chairman Mao from this action of the Terai peasants.

The great Lenin said, "Revolution is a festival of the masses." What it means in reality was witnessed by us during the struggle of the Terai peasants. While the so-called Marxist pundits, Indira Gandhi and all and sundry were rending the skies with loud talks of national integration, we found how the revolutionary activities of the peasants united all the peasants irrespective of their nationality, religion, language and caste.

The revolutionary peasants, through their actions, made their decrees the law in the villages:

1. A blow was dealt at the political, economic and social structure in the villages based on monopoly-land ownership, which dragged the peasants more and more into the depths of pauperisation. "No, not the deeds and documents — what is required is the order of the peasant committee," declared the peasants. They marked out all the land in the Terai with their ploughshares and made it their own. They declared that all land which was not owned and tilled by the peasants themselves was to be redistributed by the peasant committees. By carrying this out in practice, they struck a blow at the main political and economic basis of the jotedars. The old feudal structure that had existed for centuries was thus smashed through this action of the peasants.

2. All the legal deeds and documents relating to the land had been used to cheat them. They held meetings and burned all the receipts, acknowledgments, plans, deeds and documents.

3. The jotedars and money-lenders, taking advantage of the poverty of the rural folk, got them committed to unequal agreements relating to the mortgage of land and bullocks. The peasants declared all such agreements as well as the huge burden of interest imposed on them



null and void.

4. The hoarded rice which is used as capital for carrying on usurious and feudal exploitation was confiscated by the peasants and distributed among themselves. Apart from this hoarded rice, other things like oil, atta (coarse flour), bullocks, cows, a huge number of domesticated animals owned by jotedars, agricultural implements, even articles meant for their personal use, were confiscated and distributed.

5. All jotedars in the villages who were known for a long time as oppressors and those who tried to oppose the peasant struggle were all subjected to open trial and sentenced to death.

6. The wicked ruffian elements and flunkies who are used to preserve the political, economic and social authority of the jotedars in the villages and those who cooperated with the police were all brought to open trial. In some cases, the death sentence was given; in others, the fellows were paraded through the village streets with shoes strung around their necks and with fools' caps on their heads so that they would not dare commit crimes in the future.

7. Realising that their struggle against the jotedars, the landlords, and the money-lenders would be subjected to armed repression by the state apparatus, they armed themselves with their traditional weapons like bows and arrows and spears as well as with guns forcibly taken away from the jotedars and organised their own armed groups.

8. Lest the general administration of the villages should suffer, they arranged for night watch and shouldered the responsibility of running the schools in a smooth way.

The peasant committees announced that severe punishments would be awarded in cases of theft and dacoity and took measures to inflict such punishments in some cases.

9. In every area they created regional and central revolutionary committees and established the peasants' political power.

10. They declared the existing bourgeois law and law courts null and void in the villages. The decisions of the regional and central revolutionary committees were declared to be the law.

In addition to these ten great tasks the peasants also did many other things which wiped out of the villages the old feudal system that had existed for centuries. How intense was the class hatred of the peasants can be seen from the fact that during a raid on the houses of two jotedars, which lasted for two days, they not only ate up the cooked food of the jotedars but also helped themselves to the meals prepared with all the other foodstuff left there. In this struggle we witnessed the festival of the revolutionary peasants overthrowing feudalism.

Whenever the peasants became conscious of any shortcomings during these revolutionary actions, they at once came to the peasant committee for their rectification. This means the peasant committees were not something imposed on them. On the contrary, these committees were wholly their own. That is why the struggle of the heroic peasants of the Terai was able to hit the jotedars and the vested interests.

The leadership of this struggle was, naturally, in the hands of the landless peasants, who are the most militant section of the peasantry. The reason why these revolutionary actions could become so far-reaching and so vast in their sweep is that the leadership of the struggle was in the hands of the poor landless peasants, who constitute 70 percent of the peasantry. After the conference, it was the poor landless peasants who realised before all others that the resolutions of the conference were beneficial to their own interests more than to anyone else. It is only because of this that the work of organising the move-

ment assumed such a broad and militant form. From the experience of their own life the poor peasants realised that any compromise with feudalism would make their future even more miserable than before. That is why, in their fight against the jotedars, the money-lenders, the ruffians and the police it is the poor peasants who have not shrunk from making sacrifices ever since 24 and 25 May 1967. The truth of this is being proved even today through struggles.

Just after the conference, the middle peasants, who constitute 20 percent of the peasantry, looked with suspicion at the call given by the conference. So they were not active in the first phase of the struggle. It was only when they came to realise that their interests would be served by the struggle and that the main target and enemy of the struggle was the jotedars, landlords and money-lenders that they came forward. With the joining of the middle peasants the sweep of the struggle increased manifold and it grew even more intense.

The rich peasants, who constitute only 10 percent of the village population, at no time thought the declaration of the conference and this struggle to be beneficial to their own interests. Rather, they, particularly those rich peasants who carry on feudal exploitation in considerable portions of their land, apprehended that it meant danger for them. So, after the conference they took the role of critics and opposed the struggle in the first phase and sometimes even acted as spies for the jotedars. But as soon as the middle peasants joined the poor peasants, their movements underwent a change. After the jotedar and the wicked people had been punished and they had fled to the towns and business centres, the rich peasants gave up the path of opposition and criticism and began to demand justice from the peasant committees. And the peasant committees considered every case on its merit and did justice to them. As a result, the rich peasants generally became neutral and even took an active part in the struggle in quite a few instances.

The small jotedars split into two

sections in the course of the struggle. One section, comprising those jotedars who were able neither to develop themselves as they desired owing to the oppression by the government of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords nor to maintain their existing standard of living, took part in the struggle. Another section, comprising those who realised that it was not possible for them to resist, turned inactive hoping to take revenge in the future.

The struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai demonstrated through practice how to build peasant unity, though, it must be admitted, the task was often found to be not at all easy. Real peasant unity can be built only by not making any compromise with feudalism, only by intensifying class struggle against it and by directing the spearhead of attack against it. The peasants proved this in practice. A look at the past and the present revisionist Kisan Sabha convinces one that intense class struggle against feudalism can never be developed by convening such conferences as the "jute cultivators' conference" or by avoiding class struggle for the sake of unity. A vigorous class struggle against feudalism not only helps to build peasant unity but also guarantees the establishment of the peasants' political power through such peasant unity. This we have learned from the peasants of Terai.

All the so-called left parties joined the Congress Party in their mad crusade to vilify the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai. But all their vilification can never hide the fact that the peasants of Terai have overthrown feudalism root and branch, a feat which could not be done through any legislation or any other thing during all these hundreds of years. . . .

. . . By carrying out these ten great tasks the heroic peasants have taught us that the struggle of the peasants is not merely a struggle for land. On the contrary, in order to end the monopoly of land ownership and feudal exploitation of the landlords in the villages, which are being preserved by the Congress Party, the political party of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie

and the landlords, with the help of the political, economic, social and cultural structure that serves the landlords, a new political, economic, social and cultural structure must be created by establishing a new political power. This political power can be established by arousing and arming the peasants, by organising guerrilla groups, by creating liberated areas, by building a regular armed force, and protecting and expanding this force. Such a political power, no matter in how small an area it is established, is the embryo of the future people's democratic state power in India.

It is never possible to overthrow the rule of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords, who have come to terms with imperialism, without arming the peasants in the antifeudal struggle, without leading their struggle courageously, without building their guerrilla and regular armed forces. This is so because in our country, the feudal landlord class is the main social base of the imperialist and comprador-bureaucrat bourgeois exploitation; and the peasants are the main force and the basis of this struggle. Herein lies the distinctive feature of the Naxalbari path, that is, the Naxalbari struggle. It is precisely because the Naxalbari struggle is not merely a struggle for land that it could not be stamped out.

Without this consciousness, any struggle for land, no matter how militant it may be, is militant economism. Such militant struggle for land generates opportunism in the peasant movement and demoralises the majority of the fighting section as happened during the struggle for seizing the benami lands. Such a militant economic movement leads one into the blind alley of revisionism. This means, in other words, becoming, consciously or unconsciously, a bourgeois reformist. The bourgeoisie try to gain this object of theirs, sometimes through their laws and sometimes through a Vinoba Bhawe. When they fail in this, they depend on the present-day social democrats who disguise themselves as Marxists. Marxism has nothing in common with this. In short, the question of

making the agrarian revolution victorious in our country is not the same as the question of ensuring social justice to the peasants. . . .

While the heroic peasants of Terai were smashing the foundations of feudalism in the villages by performing the ten great tasks, the tea-garden workers realised from their innate class consciousness that this class struggle was a struggle to overthrow the rule of the Congress Party, which represents the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords. That is why the tea-garden workers could not be kept away from the struggle of the peasants in spite of the fact that the unions of tea-garden workers were mainly controlled by the so-called communists. . . . They went on strike and arming themselves they have taken part in every struggle since 24 May 1967.

Our Deviations and the Lessons We Learnt

Taken as a whole, internationally and nationally, the revolutionary situation in our country is excellent. The armed struggle of the peasants of the Siliguri subdivision has begun after the fourth general elections at a time when Anglo-U.S. imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, finds itself in an acute crisis and the quarrel between the imperialists has become bitter, when U.S. imperialist capital is unable to rely fully on the influence of the Congress Party, in matters of investments, when all the hoax of economic planning of the Congress Party, the organisation of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords, is falling into pieces, when the people are suffering from the effects of an acute economic crisis and when people's lack of confidence in the Congress has become even more pronounced, as reflected in the ending of monopoly rule of Congress ministers in eight states.

We know that we must adopt an offensive tactic in our struggle when the enemy is beset with crisis and internal quarrels, and must adopt the tactic of advancing our struggle gradually when the enemy has gained some stability. Judged from this standpoint, the struggle of the

peasants of Terai is just, timely and beyond reproach.

Why have we failed, though temporarily, to advance the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai? The reasons are: lack of a strong party organisation, failure to rely wholeheartedly on the masses and to build a powerful mass base, ignorance of military affairs, thinking on old lines and a formal attitude towards the establishment of political power and the work of revolutionary land reform. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings in discussing these matters. He teaches us: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts."

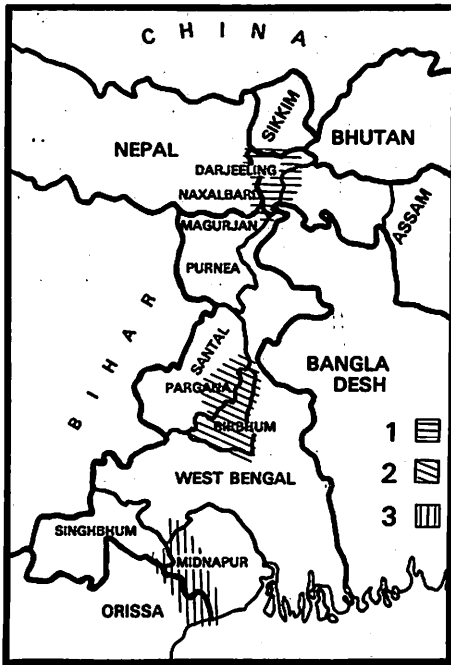
By the lack of a strong party organisation we mean absence of a party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its highest development in the present era, Mao Tsetung's thought, which is closely linked with the masses, which does not fear self-criticism and which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist style of work. It is true that the revolutionary comrades of the Siliguri subdivision led by our respected leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, were the first to rise in revolt against the revisionists. But this does not mean that we fully assimilated the teaching of our great teacher Chairman Mao. That is, while we accepted the teachings of Chairman Mao in words, we persisted in revisionist methods in practice. Though it is true that the worker and peasant party members of Terai were in a majority inside the party and that there was party organisation in almost every area, yet in reality the worker and peasant comrades were led by the petit-bourgeois comrades and the party organisation in every area actually remained inactive. The party members were all active at the beginning of the struggle but they were swept away by the vast movement of the people. We did not also realise that the party had a tremendously significant role to play in advancing firmly the struggle of the

heroic peasants. As a result, whatever might be the role the party members played spontaneously at the beginning of the struggle, it was afterwards reduced to nothing in the face of the white terror. To belittle the role of the party in the struggle is nothing but an expression of the old revisionist way of thinking. The party played no role in matters like deciding what are the needs of the struggle at a given moment, giving political propaganda priority above everything else, advising the people about what they should do when the enemy attacks, preparing the people politically to meet the moves of the enemy, and developing the struggle step by step to a higher stage.

We did not even politically assess, nor did we propagate among the people, the significance of the ten great tasks performed by the heroic peasants. As a result, there developed among us opportunism and escapism; and even the fighting comrades began to show signs of a lack of firmness.

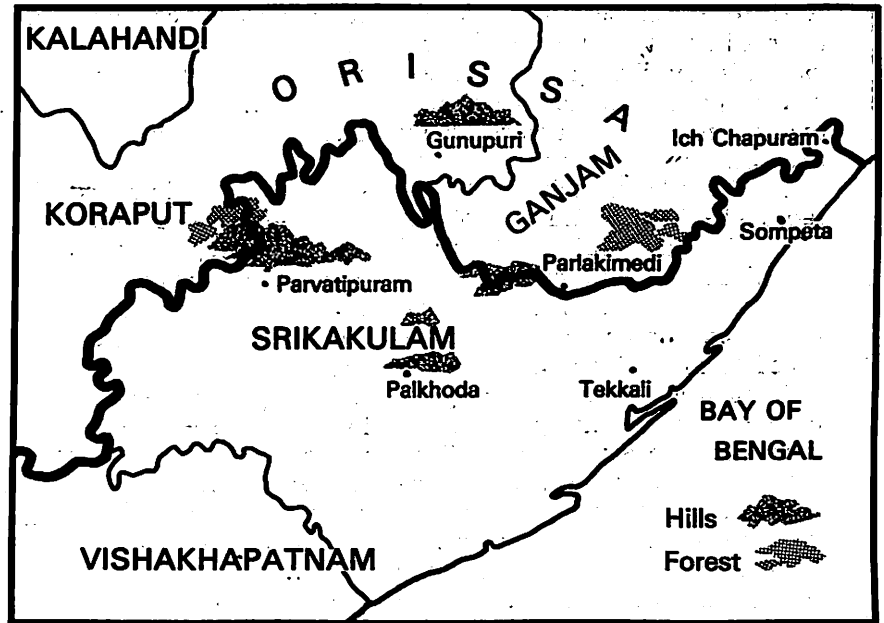
So, we are of the opinion that we must carry on a sharp struggle against the revisionist way of thinking and fulfil certain definite tasks. These tasks are: to form a party unit in a given locality and elect its leader; to train these party units, which must be armed ones, to observe secrecy. The tasks of the party unit will be to propagate the thought of Chairman Mao in a given locality and to develop and intensify class struggle in that locality; to act as a guerrilla unit and attack and eliminate class enemies by relying wholly on the people; and, whenever possible, to take part along with the people in the work of production. We have now started implementing the above programme.

We were unable to raise the struggle firmly to a higher stage because we failed to rely wholly on the people and to build a powerful mass base. We now admit frankly that we had no faith in the heroic peasant masses who, swift as a storm, organised themselves, formed revolutionary peasant committees, completed the ten great tasks and advanced the class struggle at a swift pace during the period from

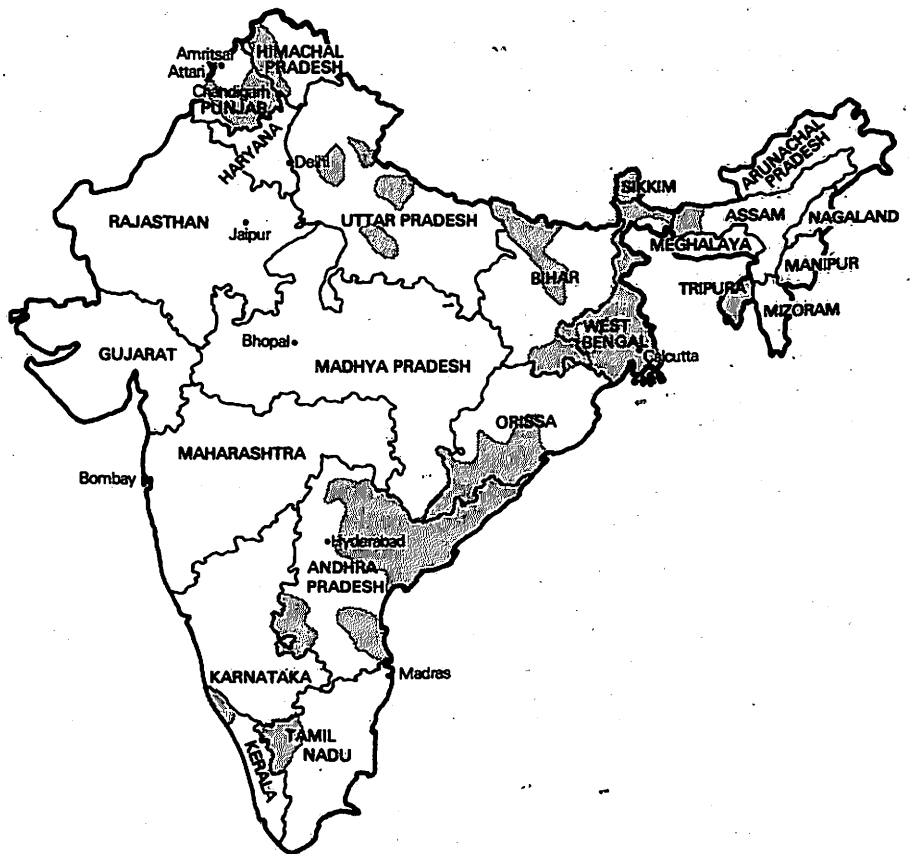


MAP I: Map of West Bengal showing CPI(M-L) areas of operations in the State and neighbouring regions where bases were set up between 1967 and 1972.

1. Areas of operation under the North Bengal-Bihar Border Regional Committee of the CPI(M-L).
2. Areas of operation under West Bengal-Bihar Border Region Committee of the CPI(M-L).
3. Areas of operation under the Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Regional Committee of the CPI(M-L).



MAP II: Map of Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh, showing CPI(M-L) bases in the district, and in neighbouring Koraput, Orissa, during 1969 and 1970.



MAP III: CPI(M-L) pockets of operations in India in 1970, based on a map published in *Deshabrati*, April 23, 1970.

April to September 1967. We did not realise that it is the people who make history, that they are the real heroes, that the people can organise themselves and can amaze all by their own completely new style of work. We failed to realise that comrades like Tribeni Kanu, Sobhan Ali, Barka Majhi, Babulal Biswakarmakar and the ten peasant women of Naxalbari are the real heroes and organisers, and so we failed to move forward.

Though we repeatedly recognised this in words during the period from April to September 1967, in reality, however, we, the petit-bourgeois leadership, imposed ourselves on the people. Whenever the heroic peasant masses took the initiative and wanted to do something, we of petit-bourgeois origin opposed them. The reason is we did not understand, nor did we ever try to understand, the actions of the masses. On the contrary, under the influence of old revisionist habits we arbitrarily set limits as to how far they should go. This resulted in thwarting the initiative of the masses and blunting the edge of the class struggle. Having worked in a revisionist party, we were used to bourgeois laws and conventions and so tried to convince the masses about what was right and what was wrong. So when the people wanted to attack the police, we prevented them on the ground that our losses would be heavy. We looked at the people's attitude towards the jotedars and the police from the angle of bourgeois humanism. As a result, we failed to organise the large masses, who numbered more than 40,000, and were thus unable to build a powerful mass base during April and May 1967.

Therefore, during the second stage of our struggle, we have resolved, we must link ourselves with the needs and wishes of the people, go to the people with boundless love and respect in our heart and integrate ourselves with the people. We must learn from them and take the lesson back to them again through practice. In other words, we must not impose anything from above. Mistakes may be made owing to this, but it is

possible to correct such mistakes. The most important thing is — never to allow the initiative of the masses to be suppressed. Our duty is to develop their initiative.

Ignorance of military affairs and old ways of thinking

The struggle of the heroic peasants of the Siliguri subdivision was not a movement to realise certain demands in the old sense. This was a struggle to establish a new political power, the peasants' power in the villages after abolishing feudalism there. So we shall discuss the reasons for our failure in this struggle both from the political and the military viewpoint. Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." If, in any struggle, we happen to overestimate the enemy's strength politically, it will never be possible to gain victory in that struggle. In other words, if we do not have, from the strategic viewpoint, the courage and firmness required to defeat the enemy, we shall inevitably face defeat. If we fail to realise that in the final analysis it is the people who are powerful, we shall not be able to achieve victory in any struggle. It is this consciousness that lends firmness to the struggle, urges one to make supreme sacrifice without fear and teaches one to undergo all kinds of hardship in order to win victory. We believed that we had assimilated the teaching of Chairman Mao. But the course of the struggle made us realise how superficial was our understanding. Today our continued participation in the struggle makes us feel with every passing day that this teaching of Chairman Mao has to be realised anew every day, every moment and this realisation has to be tested through our own practice. The day when this realisation is translated into reality, we shall be able to shatter the much boasted strength of the armed forces of India's reactionary government and march forwards undeterred.

The encounter with the police on 24 and 25 May 1967, and the action of the people in coming forward undauntedly both during and after the shooting down of unarmed peasant women by the police, and the boundless heroism and self-sacrifice of Comrades Tribeni Kanu, Sobhan Ali, and Barka Majhi — how can we explain all these things if not by the fact that they are the expressions of that realisation? And we of petit-bourgeois origin failed to recognise this very thing and so, at times, either underestimated or overestimated the enemy's strength.

In the first stage of the struggle we underestimated the enemy's strength and thought of everything in the old way, and being in a revisionist party we indulged in idle day-dreaming. Sometimes we imagined that "the UF cannot go so far or that it will be difficult for it to go so far." On the one hand, we viewed the revisionists from a purely petit-bourgeois standpoint while, on the other, we underestimated the enemy's strength and kept the people unprepared in the face of the enemy, that is, we did not prepare the people regarding the measures that the enemy was likely to take. This is nothing but a revisionist attitude.

Again, when the people were ready to launch attacks on the enemy, we overestimated the enemy's strength and subjectively magnified the likely effects of such attacks. The people fought with determination and created model heroes whose heroism we belittled. As a result, the people found themselves in disarray in the face of widespread terror, the intensity of the struggle diminished and escapism increased. Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar, by sacrificing his life on 7 September this year, has enjoined us to advance along the path pointed out by Chairman Mao.

This is a struggle to seize state power and, as such, it demands of us to prepare the party and the people militarily to the fullest extent. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without a people's army the people have nothing." We have come to realise the truth of this teaching of Chairman Mao deeply through

the struggle in Terai. Though we had known as soon as the struggle started it would be met with suppression by the central government and the reactionary leaders of the West Bengal UF government, yet we failed to take the programme of action which should have been taken eventually. We had a wrong understanding of Chairman Mao's teaching in that we turned strategic defence into passive defence.



Mao, apply them in practice and then study them again. Our greatest responsibility is to make arrangements for our worker and peasant comrades to study the thought of Chairman Mao.

Furthermore, we have learnt from the experience of our struggle that the armed groups formed after arousing the people in the village and arming them will become the village defence groups.

We must acquire knowledge of guerrilla warfare by arming the peasants with conventional weapons (bows and arrows, spears, etc.) and by organising assaults on the class enemies.

We are to build up liberated zones gradually by forming peasant guerrilla groups and by carrying on their activities. It would not be possible either to form guerrilla groups or to carry on their activities for long, if we do not at the same time persevere in building liberated zones also. We must keep in mind the fact that only the liberated zones or those areas which can be transformed into liberated zones form the rear of the guerrillas. We must lay utmost stress on building a people's armed force. To build a people's armed force we must form centrally organised groups of armed guerrillas. These, we think, will be the embryo of the people's armed force.

In some other areas, again, we may try to organise armed peasant revolts and build the people's armed force comprising those armed peasants who have risen in revolt.

In forming the guerrilla groups or the central guerrilla group we must lay utmost stress on the class standpoint. We have come to realise that only the poor and middle peasants

must be the basis for forming the guerrilla groups.

Our failure in establishing the revolutionary political power and in carrying out revolutionary land reforms blunted the edge of the class struggle both during and after the struggle. The revolutionary peasants accomplished two tasks through mass mobilisation. They are: formation of central and zonal revolutionary peasant committees and distribution of land. And we turned exactly these two things into a most formal affair. Our petit-bourgeois day-dreaming was at the root of it. We never seriously considered how deeply significant were these two tasks.

Had we treated these two tasks seriously and carried on a political explanation campaign among the masses about their significance, had we been able to develop the initiative of the people and to participate in carrying out these two tasks by educating them, they would have remembered for a long time the gains which they themselves had won through struggle and would have fought unflinchingly in order to retain these gains.

As regards distribution of land, our policy was to confiscate the land fully and distribute the same entirely.

We did not give any importance to this work also. As a result, in many cases the rich peasants prevented this task from being carried out under various pleas. In many other cases, the top section of the middle peasants, being in the leadership in some cases, managed to divert the emphasis from the confiscation of land to making raids on jotedars' houses, and thus deprived the work of its importance. In some cases again, there developed acute contradictions between the poor and the middle peasants in matters of the distribution of land.

In spite of all these mistakes, the people have been defending heroically the fruits they won through their struggle.

Therefore, we have taken the decision that, of the ten great tasks of the peasants, we must attach the greatest importance to these two tasks and turn them into a weapon for our propaganda. □

When all the population armed themselves, the jotedars, the vested interests and wicked persons fled from the villages, and so we concluded that we had already created the base area. We mistook the armed people for the armed force and adopted the tactic of resisting and attacking by means of broad mass mobilisation as the main tactic of our struggle. The one or two small armed groups which were formed to take away forcibly guns from the jotedars were not recognised by us as the main instrument of struggle. On the contrary, we assumed that guerrilla groups would eventually grow out on the basis of the spontaneous actions of the broad masses. In many cases, fooled by the display of revolutionary ardour in vagabonds, we made them leaders for organising armed groups. Again, when we found armed rich peasants and a section of small jotedars by the side of armed poor peasants and middle peasants we concluded that together they constituted the united armed force of the entire peasantry. We totally forgot that the rich peasants and that section of the small jotedars could desert to the enemy at the first opportunity. We learned in the course of the struggle that a few rich peasants and small landowners might take an active part in a big struggle that was raging. But as soon as counterrevolutionary terror started, these people would desert to the enemy camp, spreading fear among the poor and middle peasants. In short, our total ignorance of military affairs is the root cause of the temporary setback in our struggle.

What we have learnt from the struggle of the Terai peasants is that we must deeply study the political and military theories of Chairman

Spring Thunder over India



The following article appeared as an editorial in *Renmin Ribao* on 5 July 1967. *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] was the organ of the Communist Party of China which at that time was under the proletarian leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung —AWTW

A peal of thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

In the past few months, the peasant masses in this area, led by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, have thrown off the shackles of modern revisionism and smashed their trammels. They have seized grain, land and weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and vicious gentry, and ambushed the reactionary troops and police sent to suppress them, thus demonstrating the enormous might of the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle. All imperialists, revisionists, corrupt officials, local tyrants and vile gentry, and reactionary army and police are nothing in the eyes of the revolutionary peasants who are determined to strike them down to the dust. The revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party has done the absolutely correct thing and done it well. The Chinese people enthusiastically applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

The Indian peasants' rebellion and the Indian people's revolution are inevitable; reactionary Congress rule has left them no alternative. In-

dia under Congress rule, though nominally independent, in fact is still a semicolonial, semifeudal country. The Congress government represents the interests of the Indian feudal princes, big landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. Internally, it mercilessly oppresses and ruthlessly exploits the Indian people. Internationally, while continuing to be dependent on its old suzerain, British imperialism, it throws itself into the lap of its new boss, U.S. imperialism, and the latter's number one accomplice, the Soviet revisionist clique, thus selling out the national interests of India on a big scale. Thus imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism weigh like big mountains on the backs of the Indian people, especially on the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The Congress government has intensified its suppression and exploitation of the Indian people and its pursuit of the policy of national betrayal in the last few years. As a result, famine has stalked the land year after year. People dying of starvation is a common sight. The masses of the Indian people, above all the peasant masses, have found life impossible. The revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have now risen in rebellion, in violent revolution. This is the prelude to a violent revolution by the hundreds of millions of people throughout India. The Indian people will certainly cast these big mountains from their backs and win complete emancipation. This is the general trend of Indian history which no force on earth can check or hinder.

What road to take in the Indian revolution is a fundamental question affecting the success or failure of the revolution and the destiny of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tsetung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolution of all oppressed nations and people.

As long as 40 years ago our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: "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."

Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out long ago that the peasant question occupies an extremely important place in the people's revolution. The peasants constitute the main force in the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and its lackeys; they are the most reliable and numerous allies of the proletariat. India is a vast semicolonial and semifeudal country with a population of 500 million, the absolute majority of



A militant CPI(M L) procession, with bows and arrows.

A Naxalbari procession in Calcutta, June 1969.



which is the peasantry. Once aroused, these several hundred million Indian peasants will become the invincible force of the Indian revolution. By integrating with the peasants, the Indian proletariat will be able to bring about earthshaking changes in the enormous countryside, and defeat any powerful enemy in a soul-stirring people's war.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "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."

The specific feature of the Indian revolution, like that of the Chinese revolution, is armed revolution fighting armed counter-revolution. Armed struggle is the only correct road for the Indian revolution; there is no other road whatsoever. Such trash as "Gandhiism," "the parliamentary road" and the like are opium used by the Indian ruling classes to dope the Indian people. Only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can India be saved and the Indian people achieve complete liberation. Specifically, this means to boldly arouse the peasant masses, build up and expand the revolutionary armed forces, deal with the armed suppression of the imperialists and reactionaries — who are temporarily stronger than the revolutionary forces — by using the whole set of the flexible strategy and tactics of people's war personally worked out by Chairman

Mao, and to persevere in protracted armed struggle and step by step seize the victory of the revolution.

In the light of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out the importance of establishing revolutionary rural base areas. Chairman Mao teaches us: in order to persist in protracted armed struggle and defeat imperialism and its lackeys, "it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting."

India is an enormous country; the countryside, where the reactionary rule is weak, provides the extensive areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. So long as the Indian proletarian revolutionaries adhere to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and rely on their great ally, the peasants, it is entirely possible for them to establish one advanced revolutionary rural base area after another in the huge backward rural areas and build a people's army of a new type. Whatever difficulties and twists and turns the Indian revolutionaries may experience in the course of building such revolutionary base areas, they will eventually develop them from isolated points into a vast expanse, from small areas into extensive ones, in a wave-like expansion. Thus, a situation in which the cities are encircled from the countryside will gradually be brought about in the Indian revolution to pave the way for the final seizure of the cities and winning nationwide victory.

The Indian reactionaries are

panic-stricken by developments in the rural armed struggle in Darjeeling. They have sensed imminent disaster and they wail in alarm that the peasants' revolts there will "become a national disaster." Imperialism and the Indian reactionaries are trying in countless ways to suppress this armed struggle of the Darjeeling peasants and nip it in the bud. The Dange renegade clique and the handful of revisionist headmen of the Indian C.P. are vigorously slandering and attacking the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling for their great exploits. The so-called "non-Congress government" in West Bengal openly sides with the reactionary Indian Government in its bloody suppression of the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling. This is added proof that these renegades and revisionists are running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and stooges of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie. What they call the "non-Congress government" is only a tool of these landlords and bourgeoisie.

But no matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may cooperate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out. "A single spark can start a prairie fire." The spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by the great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung's thought, will surely win final victory. □



by Peoples' Daily Commentator,

The revolutionary peasant forces in Naxalbari and elsewhere in the Darjeeling District have won their first-round victory in the struggle against the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the reactionary Indian troops and police. The Indian reactionaries' initial repressive actions have failed.

Since July 6, the "non-Congress" government in West Bengal has sent large numbers of troops and police to attack the revolutionary peasants in Naxalbari, but they have found no way of putting down the peasant armed forces, nor have they been able to control the area.

Bravely and skillfully, the peasant armed forces led by revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party have launched guerrilla activities in this area. They are able to take the initiative and attack; they also can instantly move away when confronted by an enemy with superior forces. On July 13, the armed peasants attacked the reactionary troops and police near the police camp in the Kharibari area. Six days later, they opened fire on the police near Tukuria forest, and then easily left the area. A July 23 report in the *United News of India* confessed that the peasant armed forces in the Naxalbari area "can move from place to place within the belt evading police action," adding that the Indian reactionaries could not

Let the Red Flag of Naxalbari Fly Still Higher

August 7th, 1967

understand this state of affairs and "has got no answer."

In fact, the answer is very clear. It is that the peasant revolutionary armed forces in Naxalbari have won the support of the peasant masses. In contrast, the reactionaries are extremely isolated from the masses. Provided that the peasants are fully mobilised, the revolutionary armed forces will be entirely able to smash any "encirclement and suppression" by reactionary troops and police and thus carry on their struggle.

Establishment and expansion of the peasant armed forces is a primary condition for persisting in revolutionary peasant struggle. Speaking of the peasants' forces armed with spears in his masterly work *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, our great leader Chairman Mao says, "This multitude equipped with spears. . . is a new-born armed power the mere sight of which makes the local tyrants and evil gentry tremble. The revolutionary authorities in Hunan should see to it. . . that every peasant, whether young or in his prime, possesses a spear. . . ." The peasant armed forces in the Naxalbari area today are equipped with bows and arrows, long spears and other locally made weapons. If this "power of bows and arrows, and long spears" is

built up on a more extensive scale, it will be able to make the landlord forces and the reactionary troops and police in the rural areas shiver at its sight. The armed peasants not only can safeguard their own survival, but they can also equip themselves with weapons captured from the enemy.

To continuously defeat the enemy's "mopping-up" operations and "encirclement and suppression" campaigns and to win military victories, the peasant armed forces, while still in a position of weakness, must adhere to mobile and flexible guerrilla tactics. So long as these revolutionary forces are good at employing the tactics of "the enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue" (known as the 16-character formula), they will be able to gather strength and exhaust the enemy's effectiveness. This is an effective method for persevering in armed struggle over a long period and for defeating the enemy and winning victory.

To gain a firm footing and to stick to long-term armed struggle, the revolutionary peasant armed forces must set up and expand their base areas in the countryside. This is an important task for the present Indian peasant revolution.

In their struggle against the reac-

tionary troops and police, the armed peasant forces in Naxalbari have withstood the first rigorous test. This shows that the revolutionary forces in the countryside have ample space to manoeuvre and are quite capable of growing and expanding from small to big in the course of struggle.

The Chinese revolution from the very beginning was tested in battle by repeated "encirclement and suppression" and "counter-encirclement and suppression" campaigns. It was only through protracted struggles that a powerful people's army and vast rural base areas were established and final victory was won. The Indian revolution will naturally be the same. The peasants' revolutionary struggle in Naxalbari will be long and arduous. It still has to carry out intense struggle to smash one enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaign after another. It will meet with all kinds of difficulties and setbacks. However, so long as the revolutionary peasants' armed forces in Naxalbari persevere in following the road of China's revolution and hold high the red banner of armed struggle, they will certainly push the Indian revolution toward victory step by step. □

Naxalbari Commemoration: Report from Punjab

By the Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India

Punjab has a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggles. The revolutionary heritage of the people of Punjab to fight against all oppression and exploitation has manifested itself in an uninterrupted sequence of struggles and movements for self respect, dignity and independence.

When the bright red banner of armed rebellion was raised by poor and landless peasants in the Naxalbari area of West Bengal in the spring of 1967, the Naxalite movement spread across vast areas of India, including Punjab. The recent commemoration in Punjab of the twentieth anniversary of that rebellion made it clear that the Naxalbari spirit is still smoldering and threatening to leap once again into flames in this particularly turbulent region.

When the armed struggle broke out in Naxalbari in the spring of 1967, Punjabi students and youth especially joined this revolutionary stream in significant numbers in what was known as India's most "prosperous" state. Some pockets of armed struggle at the elementary level developed. The reactionary ruling classes unleashed a reign of terror in Punjab in an attempt to halt this tide.

CPI(M-L) activists and sympathisers by the thousands were subjected to brutal repression. The houses of prominent party members were ransacked and burned down and their families and relatives were harassed and worse by the police. Almost a hundred revolutionary communists were tortured to death by police. The reactionary authorities in Punjab initiated what was to become a widespread and

notorious method of eliminating revolutionaries. Arrested revolutionaries would be barbarically tortured and murdered in police custody. Then their blood-stained bodies would be taken to some lonely place and it would be falsely claimed that they had been killed there in an armed encounter with the police. Braving this blatant fascistic onslaught by India's comprador-bureaucrat regime, thousands of revolutionary youth gave their lives for the emancipation of the exploited and downtrodden masses.

Though the reactionary rulers succeeded in temporarily suppressing the revolutionary armed struggle, the memory of that valiant rebellion and the spirit of selfless sacrifice and courage displayed by the revolutionary youth of Punjab is still kept alive among the people, especially the poor and oppressed masses. Now when Punjab is experiencing another upsurge of revolt and armed struggle, this time under the leadership of religiously-motivated Sikh militants, the situation provides the revolutionary movement under the banner of the proletariat with both some good opportunities and some obstacles to be overcome.

The ability of the Sikh militants to unleash and sustain their armed resistance in the face of high-magnitude brutal repression is testimony to the fact that favourable conditions do exist for initiating and advancing the armed struggle in Punjab, despite what is called the state's "economic prosperity" and the seeming might of the Indian central government. But the fact that these Sikh militants



have succeeded in striking deep roots among a large section of the people on the basis of their narrow religious appeal poses a serious problem for the Marxist-Leninists in their efforts to rally the people around the banner of the proletariat.

It was in light of this political atmosphere that the Leading Committee, RCPI decided to hold a campaign to commemorate Naxalbari in this "inflamed" part of the Indian Union, not as a formal exercise or ritual, but as part of preparing conditions for the practical unfolding of the revolutionary process, by grappling with the problems the revolutionary movement is facing in theory and practice.

The April issue of *Paigam*, the monthly organ of the LC, RCPI published in the Punjabi language, carried a proclamation by the Naxalbari Campaign Commission for a fortnight-long propaganda campaign beginning May 9 and culminating in a public meeting May 23, the anniversary of the day twenty years ago the peasants of Naxalbari signaled the outbreak of the armed struggle by attacking a police party that had come to arrest militant peasant activists. The campaign was to be concentrated in a particular area where the revolutionary movement is relatively better placed, and at the same time spread by every available means to every area possible.

In practically every nook and corner of the villages and towns of that area, there appeared large

wallposters upholding the great Naxalbari uprising and calling on the people to advance along the crimson path of Naxalbari. Village and town walls were painted red with slogans: "Naxalbari Zindabad [Long Live]", "March forward on the path of Naxalbari," "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," "Take up arms against the reactionary Indian state to emancipate the people from the exploitative clutches of Indian rulers and their imperialist masters," "To strengthen Hindu-Sikh unity put up a brave front against the communally-based rulers of India," "Kindle the flames of Naxalbari throughout the length and breadth of the country," "Forward along the path charted by Mao Tsetung" and so on. Thousands of copies of a four-page flier were distributed. *Paigam's* May issue published a comprehensive article upholding the role and contributions of the Naxalbari struggle while making a critical evaluation of it so that its lessons could help the revolutionary movement advance.

Mass meetings and rallies were organised on a wide scale as RCPI activists fanned out throughout the area. The main points of discussion and propaganda were: the global and local conditions that led to the eruption of the Naxalbari uprising; the movement's aims and objectives; the reign of terror let loose by the ruling classes and their political representatives of various hues, including the revisionists; some shortcomings and mistakes of the movement and its leaders and how this contributed to the serious setbacks it suffered; the need to uphold the positive lessons and contributions and their relevance in the present situation; the enhanced need to raise higher the banner of armed struggle under the leadership of the proletariat and the path of people's war as the only way to achieve the emancipation of the people of India; the sharpening of contradictions on a world scale rapidly pushing the imperialist blocs towards another world-level collision and the vast possibilities opening up for the sudden eruption of mass revolutionary movements in the bastions of imperialism; the

need to strengthen the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces not only on an all-India level but on a world scale; the significance of the formation of the RIM and its *Declaration* in this context; the correct approach in the concrete conditions of Punjab towards the spontaneous outbursts of militant mass revolts arising from the sharpening of various kinds of objective conditions; the need to form an alliance of all struggling strata and sections of the people against the common enemy and the interests of the proletariat to be pursued through these alliances; etc.

On May 23 over 600 people singing revolutionary songs, shouting slogans and carrying red banners and placards converged on the sprawling grounds of an educational institution at Sunam, a sub-divisional headquarters deep in the Malwa region of Punjab. More than 80% of the participants were youth, most of them teenagers with a burning desire and zeal to transform the world in a revolutionary fashion. In front of the audience were full-sized photos of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and of dozens of the martyrs who sacrificed their lives to kindle the flames of Naxalbari in Punjab during 1970 and 1971. Before the formal opening of the meeting, the audience stood in silent homage to all the martyrs who died for the cause of revolution, not only in Punjab or India but the world over. Amid the raising of fists and the roaring of slogans, the 600-strong revolutionary gathering, including a good number of women, expressed its resolve to rekindle the spirit of Naxalbari in this turbulent part of India.

The RCPI spokesman emphasised the historic role of Naxalbari in putting the question of armed revolution back on the agenda when the revisionist renegades then at the helm of the Indian communist movement had tried their level best to bury the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao under the dust of parliamentary cretinism. He emphasised the need to take up the task of making energetic preparations to rekindle the flames of armed struggle in Punjab and raise the

distinct banner of the proletariat amidst the strong and complex winds now blowing in the "land of five rivers." He also elaborated upon the correct approach to be taken towards the Sikh militants who have taken up arms against the reactionary Indian state out of pent-up resentment against the communally-based and repressive policies of the Indian ruling classes. He criticised the mistaken notion that these religiously-motivated fighters should be considered the immediate enemies and targets of the revolutionary movement by characterising them as "equally reactionary" or "fascist lunatics." Such an utterly erroneous approach, he said, would ultimately end up sparing the reactionary Indian state from the assault of the revolutionary movement, and inevitably lead to siding with the reactionary state in its vicious campaign against those whom it labels "terrorist" and "secessionist" forces. This is already happening in Punjab. It is a matter of shame for the revolutionary movement that the same reactionary authorities who drenched their hands in the blood of "Naxalite" youth are now showering praises on some former "Naxalites," and that these former "Naxalites" who once snatched arms from the state are now gladly being presented with them by the state to use in their misdirected crusade against "Khalistani terrorists." [Khalistan is the independent Sikh state some religious fighting forces seek to establish. —AWTW]

The RCPI spokesman made it clear in no uncertain terms that the interests of the proletariat demand that even while temporarily uniting with such social forces in the struggle against the common enemy, no concession or flexibility should be shown in the ideological struggle against reactionary ideology and erroneous politics sometimes fraught with serious deviations. The revolutionary standpoint of the proletariat should be forcefully projected in sharp opposition to the reactionary objectives of such forces.

While the RCPI speaker was addressing the meeting a large crowd, consisting mostly of peasants on a

routine visit to town, gathered on the front road and listened to the hour-long speech with keen interest. So much so that a heavy posse of armed policeman specially dispatched to keep a vigilant eye on this untrustworthy kind of "Naxalites" also began to display keen interest in the speaker and the situation. The pin-drop silence and the interest shown by these peasants showed how eager many people are to hear what the "Naxalites" have to say on many questions that concern them deeply. The fresh reign of terror the state has unleashed against the Sikh militants and especially the reappearance of the barbaric method of eliminating them through fake "encounters" has filled people with anger, so that they are even more receptive to the politics of armed confrontation against the hated Delhi regime.

At the end of the conference, the audience adopted a number of resolutions, including one expressing solidarity with the armed struggle in Peru against the bloody regime of Alan Garcia and the imperialist powers of all brands.

The reactionary authorities refrained from intervening during the fortnight-long campaign, apparently hoping to make people believe that they no longer harbour any ill feelings towards the "good-mannered Naxalites," in contrast to the "uncivilised zealots," i.e. the "Khalistan" fighters. But as a matter of fact this propaganda campaign stuck in their throats. Immediately after the public conference, they launched a vigorous search to try and arrest the coordinator of the Naxalbari Campaign Committee, and sought intelligence about the RCPI spokesman and other activists connected with this different kind of "Naxalites." As Mao says, if the enemy does not attack you, there is something gravely wrong with your line.

Ironically no other major "Naxalite" group in Punjab bothered to commemorate this historic event, even in the most formalistic way. Perhaps they are so engrossed in their vicious campaign against the "Khalistan terrorists" that they could not spare the energy for such a "useless exercise"! □

... In the mid-1960s, the whole of India was passing through a great social upheaval. An overwhelming part of the rural population suffered the tyranny and exploitation of feudal lords. Ever increasing unemployment, poverty and hunger were pushing the exploited people, including the middle strata, into the arena of life-and-death struggle against the exploitative system. The smouldering anger of the exploited populace against the exploitative system had taken volcanic proportions, and the ruling classes were finding it utterly difficult to rule the people through the old means.

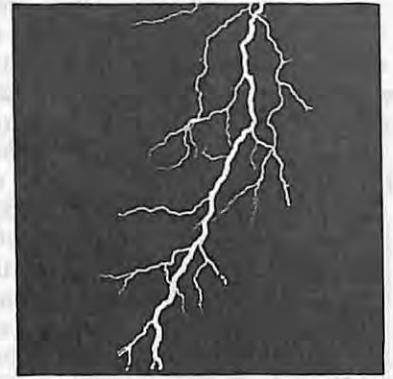
The following is excerpted from the statement prepared by the Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India, on the occasion of the Twentieth anniversary of the Naxalbari rebellion — AWTW.

In such a situation, some local communist activists of the Darjeeling district in West Bengal challenged the domination of the revisionist leadership. A new spirit was infused into the communist movement, which had bogged down in the morass of revisionism, and a process was begun to organise the movement along new revolutionary lines by rupturing with revisionism in both theory and practice. The

declaration of the formation of the CPI(ML) under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar in 1969 on the anniversary of Lenin's birth carried the process of reorganisation of the communists in India to a qualitatively higher stage.

Following the savage repression of the Congress rulers, supported by all the reactionary and opportunist parliamentary parties, the movement received a temporary setback; this gave the Marxist-Leninists the opportunity to have a deep look and make a thorough analysis of the phenomenon. But as is usual in history, summation of defeats and setbacks is a very slippery job and is always consummated through fierce differences and struggles. The same has happened in the case of Naxalbari.

Seizing on the opportunities provided by some of the glaring mistakes and weaknesses of the movement, some ill-intentioned elements donning the garb of Marxism-Leninism took the malicious path of using every available means to prejudice and poison the minds of the rank-and-file against the armed struggle. Later events have proven that the hue-and-cry, bordering on madness, raised by certain elements against the revolutionary leadership of Com



Statement of LC, RCPI

The Rebellion that Shook the Subcontinent

Charu Mazumdar and against armed struggle was not well meaning.

This does not mean that the Naxalbari leadership did not commit mistakes or was completely free of weaknesses or shortcomings. No doubt, the Naxalbari leadership suffered serious theoretical weaknesses and committed certain mistakes. Instead of glossing over such mistakes, we should adopt a correct revolutionary approach of locating and removing them. In this matter, we should follow the approach laid down in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*.

Though the leadership of Naxalbari had taken correct revolutionary positions on the then on-going ideological debates in the international communist movement and had renounced the revisionist parliamentary path and vigorously embraced and projected the truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," it cannot be wished away that while analysing the objective social reality of India the Naxalbari leadership was not able to rid itself completely of the weaknesses and erroneous conceptual framework of the traditional communist movement. This has led to the emergence of certain serious inadequacies in evolving a correct

revolutionary strategy and line matching the objective social reality of India, thereby seriously hampering the advance of the new-democratic revolution in India.

At this moment, when we are observing the Twentieth anniversary of the great Naxalbari uprising, the Marxist-Leninists in India have many challenges to meet at the level of both theory and practice. The structure of Indian society is very complex and has some peculiar features of its own. Various kinds of social contradictions are giving shape to the revolutionary situation in India. The ruling comprador-bureaucrat regime, to perpetrate its exploitative grip over the all-India market, is embarking on the path of fascistisation of the Indian state. Hindu revivalism is being used as an ideological vehicle for the realisation of this goal. Apart from mercilessly fleecing and oppressing the working masses, the national character of various regions and their cultural contours are being ruthlessly disfigured and the religious minorities are being subjected to suppression and persecution in a savage manner.

As a result, the various contradictions in Indian society have grown very acute. Not only the working masses but also the different na-

tionalties and religious minorities are giving vent in various forms to their anger and hatred of the central rulers. The Dalits (the lowliest of the low in the caste hierarchy of Indian society) and the tribals who have suffered the atrocities of the utterly reactionary caste system for centuries are now aspiring to emancipate themselves from this oppressive rule. Internal dissensions and contradictions have emaciated the Indian rulers. Powerful mass upsurges and popular revolts against the oppressive political system are erupting due to the intensification of various social contradictions in the face of the acute crisis the world imperialist system is passing through. The situation is very ripe for the creation of dozens of "Naxalbaris" if only these powerful movements are given a correct political orientation and leadership. If the Marxist-Leninists of India are successful in rising to the challenges and creatively apply the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and formulate a correct strategy and tactics, the seemingly powerful oppressive Indian State can certainly be smashed and on its ruins a truly democratic regime can be built under the revolutionary supremacy of the proletariat. □

Towards a New Phase of Spring Thunder



Document from CRC, CPI(ML)

The following text has been submitted by the Central Reorganisation Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The introduction is from the journal *Mass Line*, an Indian Marxist-Leninist newspaper, which also published the text. — AWTW

Twenty years have passed since the peasants of Naxalbari stood up and said NO to class oppression and revisionist betrayal. The peasantry took up arms in this struggle for New Democratic Revolution, thus giving a crushing blow to the well-entrenched revisionists in the Indian Communist Movement. Naxalbari caught the imagination of class conscious people of India and its message reverberated from divers corners of the country. We are giving here excerpts from the historic document, *Towards A New Phase Of Spring Thunder*, debated and accepted by the all-India conference of Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) held in January 1982 with the aim of elucidating the great significance of this epoch-making upsurge — Editor, *Mass Line*.

Historical Significance of Naxalbari

Many opponents and distorters of the Naxalbari struggle have argued that the incident itself was very insignificant when compared to many other struggles that have taken place in India, and that it became so significant mainly due to

the open support and encouragement given by the Communist Party of China. It is true that the CPC's open support gave an impetus to the whole movement, and helped much in building up unity among the revolutionary cadres all over India. But that does not belittle the significance of the event itself, because the CPC decided to support and uphold it only after recognising the historic significance of the struggle as summed up in the above quoted words. So what we have to examine is whether the CPC's evaluation was correct or not.

If we consider the extent of the struggle, the nature of the clashes, the number killed or arrested, etc., the Naxalbari struggle is a small and insignificant one in comparison with many other struggles that have taken place in India. That is why the revisionists and opportunists of various hues cannot understand why Naxalbari gained so much historic importance. They cannot understand how even a small event becomes the symbol of a historic turning point. What really happened was that the entire contemporary history of India in that period got crystallised in the struggles that developed surrounding that unknown, remote village of Naxalbari. The year 1967 was a crucial one as far as Indian history is concerned. It was in 1967 that the economic crisis which was developing since 1947 had become most acute; and the consequent political instability had reached an unprecedented intensity. From every

quarter attempts were under way for tiding over this crisis. Moreover the penetration of Soviet social-imperialism and its attempt to gain an upper hand in India had intensified the contradiction within the ruling classes. The manifestations of this economic and political crisis could be witnessed in all parts of the country. Among the revolutionary-conscious people, the thinking that the communist leadership was betraying them was spreading on a vast scale. And as a result, they had started to dare to think about new ways and means. This was not a special feature confined to certain specific regions alone; rather it was truly a countrywide phenomenon. The Naxalbari struggle was the outcome, the creation of this historical circumstance which had grown up step by step. It was the appropriate answer to the burning question of the correct path for the liberation of the Indian people given by that very history of India, to the questions raised by it itself. It is this historical relevance that raised Naxalbari to the status of the most important historical event in the contemporary history of India. Thus the Naxalbari struggle originated and developed in close connection with the particular historical circumstance that had become matured in 1967 in India.

The developments in the international communist movement also contributed much to the added significance of the Naxalbari struggle. The struggle against revisionism in the international communist

movement had already become crucial at that time. In the struggle against international revisionism the growth of the liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is a factor of decisive importance. By all counts, India holds a vital place among such countries. In India where revisionism had held sway for a very long period, that the genuine revolutionary forces surged forward discovering on their own the path of armed struggle by shattering the trammels of revisionism would in a big way assist the struggle against revisionism waged on a global level. That is precisely why the Chinese Communist Party, which had risen to the leadership position in the international communist movement (by leading this uncompromising fight against revisionism), upheld the Naxalbari struggle; that is also why Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary forces all over the world drew inspiration from it.

In the light of the new developments in the international communist movement since the death of Mao Tsetung, an argument has been raised from some quarters that the unconditional support given to the Naxalbari struggle by the CPC was the result of the "left" deviationist trend that dominated the entire period of the GPCR in China. Of course, the proponents of this theory are the followers of the present revisionist leadership of China who have thoroughly reversed all the correct verdicts of the GPCR both on theoretical and practical levels. And this argument conforms to their present ideology of preventing the development of armed struggle. But the genuine Marxist-Leninists who uphold all the correct verdicts of the GPCR and take sides with the socialist roaders in China cannot accept such a baseless contention. The whole-hearted support given to the Naxalbari struggle by the CPC was based on a correct evaluation of the national and international situation using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guideline.

Ideological Basis

In India, the Naxalbari struggle and the subsequent development of

the revolutionary movement was possible because the communist revolutionaries actively participated in the ideological struggle at the international level. Their participation in this struggle initiated and led by Mao Tsetung against Khrushchovian revisionism was vigorous and they took sides on controversial issues. It was through this struggle that the communist revolutionaries in India became capable of combating revisionism that had already got itself well entrenched in the communist movement of India. The ideological struggle at the international level did not stop there. It assumed new dimensions in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. Thus the international communist movement arrived at new and correct formulations on the theory and practice of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat which is the most important component of Mao Tsetung Thought. Moreover, in China itself this struggle developed to new levels. The ideological struggle that had broken out at the international level against the neo-revisionists in China (who have seized the party and state leadership following the death of Mao Tsetung) has raised the ideological level of the international communist movement to new heights. Under the protection and guidance of the neo-revisionists of China, the neo-revisionists in India have also been quite active recently in undermining the revolutionary movement. So, the Indian revolution can march forward only by linking the struggle against the Chinese revisionists at the international level with the struggle against their agents in India.

The Cultural Revolution in China and the consequent developments have imparted a new understanding with regard to the process of establishing and consolidating real people's political power. The state of affairs in all former socialist countries has shown us that it is more difficult to consolidate political power than it is to seize political power by building up a parallel military might. Experience has demonstrated that in that process of consolidation of political power, capitalist restoration itself is

possible. In this process of consolidation of political power, the determining factor is the capability and the level of consciousness of the workers and other toiling masses to continue the class struggle against the capitalist elements and thereby keep the real power in their own hands at the local level, i.e., even at the level of factories, cooperative farms and communes. This experience is relevant in the prerevolutionary stage also. This understanding can — and must — give a new content to the struggle that is taking place here in India (in the pre-revolutionary stage) in order to establish people's political power at the local level. Furthermore, the political content of the slogans of the Cultural Revolution (and the dialectical approach reflected in them) such as "take class struggle as the key link," "put politics in command," "grasp revolution, promote production," etc., can play an important part in the struggle against revisionism in the pre-revolutionary stage also, especially at a time when the Indian agents of Deng are making all-out attempts to undermine the armed struggle using all sorts of economist slogans and a revisionist mass line. The banner raised by the Cultural Revolution was that of an uncompromising struggle against revisionism: and this struggle against revisionism taking place anywhere in the world today is based upon the correct verdicts of that great revolution. As comrade CM pointed out, the Indian revolution is taking place in a new stage of world revolution after the commencement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. The Indian revolution cannot take a single step forward without assimilating and upholding its correct lessons.

The ideological struggle against the Albanian brand of revisionism is also an important factor in this respect. The Albanian leadership has taken an ideological stand very similar to that of Khrushchov revisionism by not recognising the existence of antagonistic class contradictions in a socialist society. That is why they are opposing the GPCR in the same vein as that of the Soviet revisionists.

In short, the guideline for our evaluation and summing up of the past must be the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which has evolved out of the ideological struggle taking place at the international level against the Chinese revisionists and the Albanian revisionists.

Evaluation of Naxalbari

Comrade CM tried to sum up this lesson in his article "One Year After Naxalbari" where he stated, "If the Naxalbari peasant struggle has any lesson for us, it is this: militant struggles must be carried on not for land, crops, etc., but for seizure of state power." From analysing the nature of the Naxalbari struggle itself we had already come to the conclusion that all the activities during that struggle were centred round establishing the revolutionary committees of the peasants as the real centres of people's political power. But this political power was translated into concrete reality by implementing the decisions of the committees on many basic economic issues like the distribution of land and other properties. Without such concrete measures the political power has no meaning; it would merely be an empty, abstract phrase. So the struggle for political power and economic demands are two fundamental aspects of any revolutionary struggle. The relevant question is: out of these two aspects, which is the principal one? And the genuine Marxist-Leninists would unequivocally assert that the struggle for political power is the principal aspect as long as the class struggle is continuing. In the history of the Indian communist movement confusion on this question has always been utilised by the revisionists to subvert revolutionary struggles, as has already been pointed out above with regard to the Telengana struggle. In this context it was absolutely essential to smash the revisionist view and firmly establish the primary importance of the struggle for political power. And the greatness of Naxalbari consists precisely in the unequivocal stand taken by the revolutionaries

under comrade CM's leadership on this question. But, even so, instead of presenting the relationship between the struggle for political power and for economic gains dialectically, comrade CM counterposed one to the other and gave one-sided emphasis to the struggle for political power. The mistake persisted and took on even greater proportions in later years and became a basis for the dogmatic understanding of the question of political power and for one-sided rejection of other forms of struggle and organisations. The

proper summing up should be that "militant struggles must be carried on not merely for land, crops, etc., but mainly for the seizure of political power," for only this gives us an accurate view of the actual struggle in Naxalbari.

Weaknesses

In spite of the correct political guideline, the Naxalbari struggle suffered a temporary setback in that area, though its politics triumphantly spread all over India. What were the reasons for this temporary set-

On the Twentieth Anniversary of Naxalbari Struggle

By the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India

It is now twenty years after the historic Naxalbari struggle broke out, leading to the formation of the CPI(ML) on April 22nd, 1969 under the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar. When we look back into the rich experience of these past twenty years assimilated by the Marxist-Leninist movement in India we can see positive as well as negative experiences, a correct understanding of which will help us in advancing the cause of revolution in India.

The Naxalbari struggle and the consequent formation of the CPI(ML) dealt a heavy blow at the forces of revisionism and parliamentarism which had already been well entrenched in the Indian communist movement and thus gave an impetus to the development of revolutionary forces all over the country. The CPI(ML) under the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar established Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as

the guiding ideology of the communists in India, determined the stage of Indian revolution as that of New Democratic Revolution and the path of revolution as Peoples' War, brought forth the role of peasantry as the motive force of revolution, and strove to integrate the lessons from Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the concrete tasks of Indian revolution.

The emphasis given to the anti-feudal tasks in the political line of the Party, as established by the Party Congress of 1970, gave birth to many militant peasant struggles in different parts of the country during the past two decades. Yet repeated experiences show that these struggles could not break out of the comparatively small pockets where feudal forces were dominating locally and the struggles could not develop to higher levels even in these areas. On the other hand, during the recent years, vast areas of Indian countryside witness-

back? The *Terai Report* itself had summed up the reasons thus: "lack of a strong party organisation; failure to rely wholeheartedly on the masses and to build a powerful mass base, ignorance of military affairs, thinking on old lines and a formal attitude towards the establishment of political power and the work of revolutionary land reform." In general this is a correct evaluation of the weakness of the movement at that stage which led to the temporary setback. Here it is to be pointed out that the lack of the

very concept of protracted war also contributed to such a setback. But now we can go deeper into the matter as we have accumulated more experience during the last few years. When we look back, we can see that communist revolutionaries who were leading the Naxalbari struggle could not chalk out a thorough, concrete programme for establishing parallel power centres and continuing it for a long time because they did not think seriously about the possibility of the existence of dual power centres in the coun-

tryside for a long time. Without a political line of setting up people's power centres in parallel to the enemy's existing power centres and gradually overcoming the latter through a long drawn-out struggle, the concept of establishing political power at the local level can never be realised and lead ultimately to the countryside seizure of power.

During a period of historic turning points in any country there emerge some historic personalities who play a leading role in the historic development of that period. It is true that masses create history. The same masses choose their leaders who can represent their will and wishes and lead them in carrying out their determinations. That means they create their leader also. Then that leader becomes the symbol of the social consciousness of the majority of people in that period who are actively involved in the revolutionary changes of that period. To the extent that this leader can represent and articulate the political will of the majority of the people, he will naturally be recognised as the authority of the movement which is leading the people at that critical juncture. The revolutionary authority of Lenin and Mao had emerged and got established in this way. Of course India has not yet passed through such a critical historical turning point in which a revolutionary change swept the whole country. Still, we have to recognise the fact that with the Naxalbari struggle, India was entering such a historical period. Though the further development of the movement faced many obstacles and was hampered to a great extent, we can't deny the fact that the Naxalbari struggle brought forth a qualitative change in the development of the whole history of India. That is why comrade CM who played the leading role in guiding that struggle was considered to be a historic personality and an authority as far as the Indian revolution is concerned. Up to this extent comrade CM's authority was not created artificially, but had evolved historically. □



and Party Day

(Marxist-Leninist)

ed the emergence and spreading of a different type of farmers' and peasants' struggle mainly directed against the Centre.

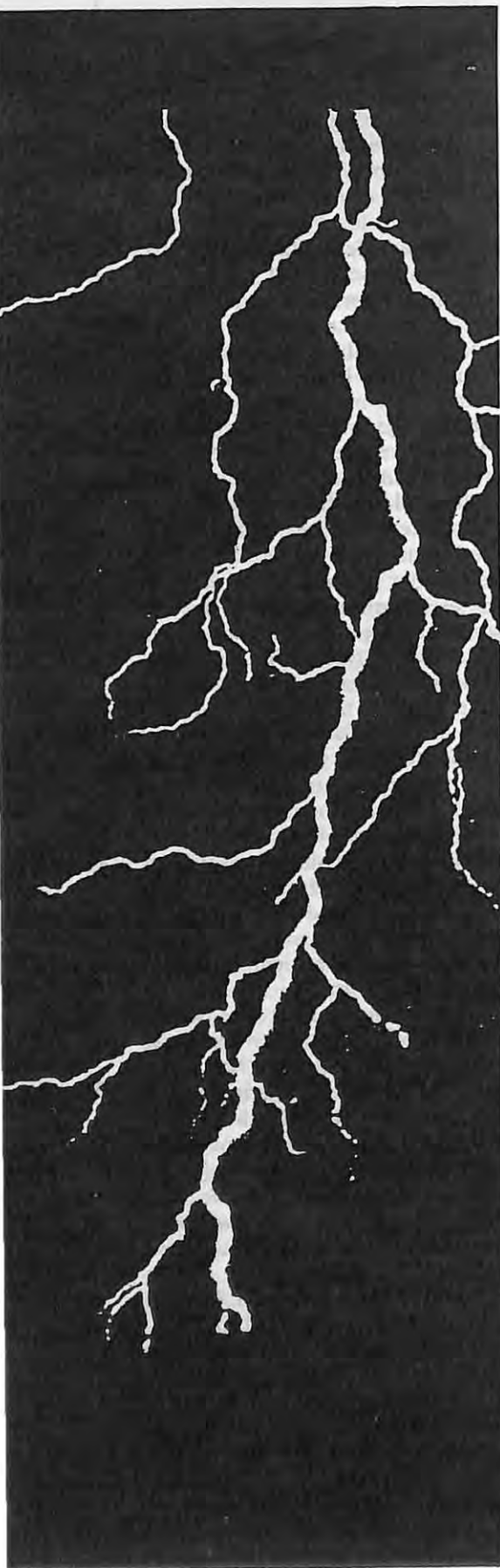
Struggles against national oppression spreading to different areas has become one of the most important political developments of the past few years in India. Even the Darjeeling area which gave birth to the Naxalbari struggle is now witnessing the struggle of Gurkha national people. Some of these struggles have thrown up open challenges to the all-India ruling classes and the very existence of the imposed central state has been seriously threatened leading to the increased fascistisation of the central state machinery.

All these developments compelled our organisation to reformulate our political strategy leading to the adoption of the new political orientation at the all-India Plenum held in May 1985. Characterisation of India as a neocolonial country and

the recognition of the significance of the national question with the conclusion that New Democratic Revolution in India can be completed only as an ensemble of New Democratic Revolutions of different national formations by the Plenum have been getting established day by day by the developments taking place all over India.

Under these circumstances, the task of carrying forward the cause of Indian revolution can be accomplished only by deepening our understanding of the Indian situation and establishing it at the political and ideological level and translating it into revolutionary practice. Rebuilding of the Party and unification of revolutionary forces can also be achieved only by advancing along this path. Let us resolve to go ahead steadfastly and take up the challenge with added determination.

22 April 1987



Naxalbari and

by Ajoy Dutta*

Although the communist movement developed in different parts of the Indian Subcontinent in the second decade of the 20th century, it took shape primarily in the third decade, and its first congress was held in 1943. From the very beginning, the communist movement in this area was dominated by revisionist leaders, who had their souls with Congress leaders like Nehru and followed a reformist and collaborationist line. As a reaction to this, there arose an adventurist line, Trotskyite in nature, to make democratic revolution and socialist revolution at the same time and in one stroke, led by B.T. Ranadive and Bhowani Sen. This line arose after the partition of India, although the correct path of new democratic revolution was put forward by Mao for revolution in semifeudal, semicolonial or semifeudal colonial countries and was successfully being practised in China and other Asian countries.

In the midst of the dominance by revisionism from the right and from the "left," the real revolutionaries tried at different times to find a revolutionary path in different areas. The great Telengana revolutionary peasants' war was one example. But this was bogged down by the revisionist central leadership, according to which people's war with agrarian revolutionary war at the core to make new democratic revolution could not be an all-India phenomenon in the communist movement at that time.

But the communist workers and people showed unprecedented heroism and sacrifice in the struggle against British imperialism and later on against the reactionary Congress government. The then

revisionist leadership in the communist movement of this region did not channel this heroism and sacrifice towards the revolutionary path of people's war, as shown by the revolutionary peasant masses of Telengana. Instead, they betrayed it.

Years of suppression of revolutionaries by revisionists in leadership sharpened the contradiction between the revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and the worldwide struggle against modern revisionism led by Comrade Mao and his associates gave the revolutionaries in India more strength and encouragement. They revolted *against the revisionist leadership through a concrete revolutionary action in Naxalbari by starting a peasants' revolutionary war*. Though the action was launched in a very small area like Naxalbari in the district of Darjeeling, it created a tremendous impact, unprecedented in the history of the communist movement not only in India, but in surrounding countries like Bangladesh. It became a historical phenomenon. It brought for the first time the path of agrarian revolutionary war as shown by Telengana revolutionaries to an all-India scale. To the revolutionaries and the people, it made crystal clear the fact that the path of the Indian revolution is new democratic revolution, the content of which is peasants' armed agrarian revolution, that the path of emancipation for the Indian people is not the parliamentary path advocated by the revisionists but people's war, which is to be waged in a protracted way principally mobilising the peasant masses with the landless poor peasants and agricultural labourers at the core.

No doubt, there were errors, even some serious ones, in the latter part of the movement, but the Naxalbari

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Its Impact on Bangladesh

peasants' struggle led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar and his associates, as well as the CPI(ML) which he led, took the Indian communist movement out of the clutches of the revisionist leadership and clearly showed the path of Indian revolution. For the first time in the communist movement of India, a decisive struggle against revisionism had been launched. For these reasons it was able to quickly attract the attention of the true revolutionaries in the ranks of the organisations led by revisionists; many new revolutionaries were born from among the young people, showing an undaunting spirit of sacrifice and courage and causing the reactionaries to tremble with fear. All this proved Comrade Mao's correct assertion that "It's right to rebel against reactionaries." Revolutionaries, led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, rightly revolted against the revisionist leadership to bring the communist movement on to the right track. Mao had also remarked, "A single spark can start a prairie fire," the truth of which had been proved in the development of a revolutionary wave embracing all of India and the surrounding countries due to the launching of the revolutionary peasant struggle in Naxalbari.

In the latter part of the movement there were errors in regard to army building and military line. Annihilation of class enemies, for example, was taken as a general line and the principal stress was laid on the elimination of individuals and not on wiping out the political and ideological influences of the enemy. Annihilation of some enemies in certain cases should be a part of the general line of establishing people's war in these areas.

The question of mass organisations was totally negated and this was utterly wrong. Mass organisations are organisations of the

masses; the revolutionary party is the organisation of the revolutionary communists, the advanced detachment of the proletariat, tempered in struggle. A revolutionary war is a war of the masses, a people's war. How can people wage war without being organised? In addition, the level of consciousness differs from one section of the masses to another. However, mass organisations which serve revolution are needed by the revolutionaries. They must work in the mass organisations to channel the masses towards revolution. On these two questions the revolutionaries led by Charu Mazumdar practised mechanical materialism instead of dialectical materialism.

Before the start of the Naxalbari peasants' revolt, the first round of struggle between the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and the modern revisionists headed by Monisingh in the communist movement of what was then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) became sharp within the East Pakistan Communist Party (EPCP) and gained momentum through the impact of the worldwide struggle against modern revisionism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Marxist-Leninists in the EPCP, reorganised themselves into the EPCP(ML). The Naxalbari peasant struggle had an influence in formulating the strategy and tactics of the revolution in what was then East Pakistan. The First Congress of the EPCP(ML), held in 1967, hailed the Naxalbari struggle as a revolutionary struggle.* Consequently there arose fraternal relations between the EPCP(ML) and the CPI(ML) led by Charu Mazumdar. The Naxalbari peasant struggle inspired thousands of youths from educational institutions in our country to go to the villages to work among the peasant masses and inspired a spirit of sacrifice for mak-

ing revolution. However, along with the glorious side of the Naxalbari movement, there were also the influences of the negative side in the communist movement in our country.

In the situation of 1971, through which Bangladesh came into being, two lines of evaluation in the CPI(ML) created two lines in the EPCP(ML) — a comparatively correct line, and a wrong line. However, the comparatively correct line dominated. The line followed by Charu Mazumdar was correct, in opposition to the incorrect line of Ashim Chatterjee. Comrade Charu Mazumdar supported the correct (and official) line of the EPCP(ML), as mentioned by the CRC, CPI(ML) in *Towards a New Phase of Spring Thunder*. "The CPI(ML) under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar took a correct stand of supporting the East Pakistan Communist Party (ML) which was leading a people's war against both the armies of Yahya Khan and India."

While in a short article it is not possible to go into detail on the causes of the advances and setbacks of the Marxist-Leninist movement in India, we say confidently that the glorious Naxalbari peasants' struggle has shown the basic path of revolution in South Asian countries. The general orientation of the Naxalbari struggle is correct. It is the responsibility of revolutionaries to reject the negative aspects of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising out of the Naxalbari struggle and to hold high the positive aspects and the correct general orientation. □

* Later, in 1971, when the question arose of evaluating the situation of Bangladesh's independence from Pakistan and the Indian invasion along with subsequent strategic questions, the C.C. of the EPCP(ML) was equally divided. One part became the BSD(ML).

Charu Mazumdar on the Naxalbari Road

Fully one year has passed since the peasant struggle in Naxalbari began. This struggle is different from all other peasant struggles. What is the difference? Peasants have always struggled against various injustices and oppressions. This is the first time that the peasants have struggled not for their partial demands but for the seizure of state power. If the Naxalbari peasant struggle has any lesson for us it is this: militant struggles must be carried on not for land, crops etc., but for the seizure of state power. It is precisely this that gives the Naxalbari struggle its uniqueness. Peasants in different areas must prepare themselves in a manner so as to be able to render ineffective the state apparatus in their respective areas. It is in Naxalbari that this path has been adopted for the first time in the history of the peasant struggles in India. In other words, the revolutionary era has been ushered in, and this is the first year of that era. It is for this reason that the revolutionaries of all countries are heartily welcoming the Naxalbari struggle.

India has been turned into a base of imperialism and revisionism and is acting today as a base of reactionary forces against the people struggling for liberation. That is why the Naxalbari struggle is not merely a national struggle, it is also an international struggle. This struggle and the path we have chosen is in no way easy or smooth. The path of revolution is difficult, not smooth or easy, and difficulties, dangers and even retreats will be there. But the peasants, who are fired in the spirit of internationalism, have defied all this and refuse to submit. They persist in following their path of struggle.

June 1968

— from "One Year of Naxalbari Struggle"

We want to introduce a system under which the administration will be carried out by revolutionary committees at all levels. Previously this did not form a part of the programme of democratic revolution. This is a contribution of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We are adopting it because we believe that China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the

third revolution that has influenced the world system. After the first revolution — the Great October Revolution — the democratic revolution of every country became part of the world socialist revolution. After the second revolution — the Great Chinese Revolution — the revolution in every country can be victorious only by taking the path of people's war. Exactly, in the same way, today, after the third revolution — the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — the democratic revolution of every country has become a part and parcel of this Cultural Revolution. This is because no revolution in any country in the present era can win victory without fighting revisionism.

Today revisionism is the enemy of the revolution of every country, and its weapon is bourgeois democracy. So the democratic revolution will have to move forward by fighting necessarily against bourgeois democracy, that is, against institutions like elections and parliament. Therefore, we can never make use of these institutions in carrying forward the democratic revolution today. We must carry on administration by forming revolutionary committees with the cooperation of the masses and with their leaders as members.

We cannot say just now what the character of the revolutionary committees will be like. It would simply be bookish to talk of implementing in toto the "three-in-one" alliance which grew out of the experience of the Cultural Revolution of China. Our revolutionary committees will grow out of the experience of our struggle and we shall have to work out their form on the basis of that experience.

None of the three revolutions — the Great October Revolution, the Great Chinese Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — is a revolution of a particular country, on the contrary, each of them is a column on which rests the edifice of the world victory of the international working class. So each of these revolutions has worldwide influence and its experience has enriched the arsenal of the international working class. After the October Revolution no revolution was possible under the leadership of the bourgeoisie because the October Revolution made the bourgeoisie panic-stricken. So it was the working class which had to lead every revolution after the October Revolution. The victory of the Great Chinese Revolution has caused panic to world imperialism. As a result intervention by the world imperialist system has become a reality confronting every revolution in every country. That is why the revolution in every country must learn the lessons of the Chinese Revolution and can be victorious only by taking the path of people's war. Similarly, today, after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, revisionism, which has assumed the form of social-imperialism, has turned into an enemy of every revolution. That is why no revolution in any country can win victory without fighting revisionism.

December, 1969.

— "March Forward Summing Up the Experiences of the Revolutionary Peasant Struggle of India"

We shall have to carry on daily the struggle against revisionism, adopting the tactics of area-wise seizure of power. Certain revisionist ideas are firmly rooted inside the party. We shall have to carry on the struggle against them. We are discussing some questions here.

1) The question that has assumed importance today in the struggle against revisionism is the complete support given by the Soviet leadership to the reactionary ruling class of India. They have announced that they will give India

an aid of Rs. 600 crores* during the Fourth Five Year Plan. The idea that Soviet aid is strengthening India's independence is extremely wrong. For there is no class analysis behind this. We shall have to place clearly before the people our views against this support. If support is given to the government of India which is following the path of cooperation with imperialism and feudalism, it is the reactionary class which is strengthened. So Soviet aid is not strengthening the democratic movement of India, but is increasing the strength of the reactionary forces in cooperation with U.S.-led imperialism and the Soviet. It is the Soviet-U.S. cooperation of modern revisionism that we are observing in India — a satanic association against the people's liberation struggles in the future. We are seeing from our experience in India that the dominance of the big monopolists exists on the production of the big industries that have grown in the public sector with Soviet aid. So the State will not be able to control the power of the monopolist employers through public sector industries, it is the monopolist employers who are controlling the production of the public sector industries. Our experience is the same in both the cases of steel and petroleum.

2) The question that has become important to us today is bourgeois nationalism. This nationalism is extremely narrow and it is narrow nationalism that is today the biggest weapon of the ruling class. This weapon they are using not only in the case of China, but also on any question like Pakistan, etc. By raising the slogan of national unity and other slogans, they want to preserve the exploitation of monopoly capital. We should remember that the sense of unity of India has risen as a result of the anti-imperialist movement. As the Indian Government is carrying on compromising with imperialism, that sense of unity is being struck at its root. There is only one aim at the root of the slogan of unity given by the present ruling class, and that is unity for the exploitation by monopoly capital. So this slogan of unity is reactionary and Marxists must oppose this slogan. The slogan — "Kashmir is an inalienable part of India" — is given by the ruling class in the interest of plundering. No Marxist can support this slogan. It is an essential duty of the Marxists to accept the right of self-determination by every nationality. On the questions of Kashmir, Nagas, etc., the Marxists should express their support in favour of the fighters. The consciousness of a new unity will come in the course of the very struggle against this government of India of imperialism, feudalism, and big monopolists, and it is in the interest of the revolution that it will be necessary to keep India united then. That unity will be a firm unity. It is from this consciousness of nationality that there have been struggles in South India against the imposition of Hindi and 60 people have lost their lives in this year of '65. So if the significance of this struggle is belittled, the working class will isolate itself from the struggles of the broader masses. It is in the interest of the working class that the efforts for development of these nationalities should be supported.

3) "Establishing class analysis in the peasants' movement." At the present stage of the revolution the entire peasantry is the ally of the working class, and this peasantry is the biggest force of the People's Democratic Revolution of India and it is by keeping this in mind, we shall have to march forward in the movement of the peasantry. But all peasants do not belong to the same class. There are mainly four classes among the peasant — rich, middle, poor and landless — and there is the rural artisan class. There are differences in their revolutionary consciousness and ability to work according to the conditions. So Marxists must always try to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the entire peasant movement. The mistake that is often made while analysing the class of the peasants is to determine it on the basis

* crore - 10 million

of the title deeds of land. This is a dangerous mistake: It has to be analysed on the basis of their earning and level of living. The peasant movement will become militant to the extent we establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the entire peasant movement. It should be remembered that whatever fighting tactics are accepted on the basis of the support of the broad peasantry can never be in any sense adventurism.

It should be remembered that all these years, basing ourselves on the support of the non-peasantry, we have looked for the narrowness of the peasant movement, and whenever repression came we thought that there must have been some adventurism. It should be remembered that no movement of the peasants on basic demands will follow a peaceful path. For a class analysis of the peasant organisation and to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants, the peasantry should be told in clear terms that no fundamental problem of theirs can be solved with the help of any law of this reactionary government. But this does not mean that we shall not take advantage of any legal movement. The work of open peasant associations will mainly be to organise movements for gaining legal benefits and for legal changes. So among the peasant masses the most urgent and the main task of the party will be to form party groups and explain the programme of the agrarian revolution and the tactics of area-wise seizure of power. Through this programme, the poor and landless peasants will be established in the leadership of the peasant movement.

4) From 1959, on every democratic movement of India, the government has been increasingly launching violent attacks. We have not given leadership to any active resistance movement against these violent attacks. We gave the call for passive resistance in the face of these attacks, like the mourning procession after the food movement, among such instances. We shall have to remember Comrade Mao Tsetung's teaching: "Mere passive resistance against repression drives a wedge in the fighting unity of the masses and invariably leads to the path of surrender." So, in the present era during any mass movement, an active resistance movement will have to be organised. The programme of active resistance has become an absolute necessity before any mass movement. Without this programme, to organise any mass movement today means to plunge the masses in despondency. As a result of the passive resistance of 1959, it was not possible to organise any mass rally on the demand for food in Calcutta in the years 1960-61. This organisation of active resistance will arouse a new confidence in the minds of the masses and the tide of struggle will arise. What do we mean by active resistance? First, preservation of cadres. For this preservation of cadres, proper shelters and a communication system are necessary. Secondly, teaching the common people the techniques of resistance, like lying down in the face of firings, or taking the help of some strong barrier, forming barricades, etc. Thirdly, efforts to avenge every attack with the help of groups of active cadres, which has been described by Comrade Mao Tsetung as "tit for tat struggle." At the initial stage, in proportion to their attacks, we shall be able to avenge a few attacks only. But if even a little success is gained in one case, extensive propaganda will create new enthusiasm among the masses. These active resistance struggles are possible in cities and in the countryside, everywhere. This truth has been tested in the Negro resistance movement in America.

5) There is no clear-cut idea in the Party about underground organisation. A secret organisation does not grow merely if a few leaders stay underground. On the contrary, these very leaders face the danger of getting isolated from the Party ranks. If party leaders go underground and work as leaders of open mass organisations, they will invariably get arrested. So the underground leadership will have to go forward with the work of building a secret party. So it is not a fact that the task of forming a secret party is solely that of the underground leaders; every party member should work for the secret organisa-

tion and through those new party cadres the party's links with the masses will be established. Only then the underground leaders will be able to work as leaders. So in this era the main call before the party is — every party member will have to form a party activist group. These activist groups will have to be enthused with revolutionary politics. This task of forming activist groups will be the main task for all party members of all fronts. How soon we can raise these activists to party membership will depend on how many new activists these activists will be able to collect. Only then can we get a large number of party cadres unknown to the police and all the difficulties of underground leaders in maintaining links with the party ranks will disappear. Some revisionist ideas among us about political and organizational matters and mass organizations etc. have been pointed out here. Today party members will have to think anew about every mass movement. In the style of our movement, in our organisational thinking, in other words in almost every sphere of our lives, revisionism has built its nest. As long as we cannot uproot it, the new revolutionary party cannot be built, India's revolutionary possibilities will be hindered. History will not forgive us.

Carry on the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism
— from *Eight Documents (1965-67)*

In the post-election period, the party leadership has girded up their loins to prove our anticipations true. The Politburo has indicated our tasks: "Struggles should be carried on to save the non-congress ministries from the hands of reaction," that is, it is not the intensification of class struggle, but the main work of the Marxists should be to plead for the ministries. So to firmly establish economism in the working class, a convention of party workers was called. And immediately after that, under the leadership of the ministry, an agreement for peace in the industry was signed. The workers were forbidden to "gherao"*. What else could be a more naked expression of class collaboration? The employers are being given full rights to exploit and the workers are being told not to fight. The moment the Communist Party joined the government which came into office as a result of a big mass movement, they chose the path of class collaboration. The Chinese leaders predicted long ago that those who are following a neutral policy regarding the international ideological differences will very soon choose the path of opportunism. And now the Chinese leaders are saying that these neutralists are actually revisionists, and they will soon go over to the counter-revolutionary camp. We have witnessed this truth in our country. We have seen before our eyes how the working class has been betrayed. Take along with this the statement of the Communist Party leader Hare Krishna Konar. He first promised that he would distribute all the vested lands among the landless peasants. Then the amount of land came down. Finally, he announced that this year things would remain as they were. The question of foregoing all land revenue was left at the mercy of the J.L.R.O.'s. The peasants were asked to submit applications. And it was said that the peasants must not forcibly occupy land. Hare Krishna Babu is not only a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, he is also the secretary of the *krishak sabha*** of Bengal. It was at the call of his *krishak sabha* that in 1959 the peasants carried on a movement to occupy vested lands and illegally transferred lands. The government unleashed repression in the interest of the landlords. The judgement was given for evic-

* *gherao*- group form of pacifist action

** *Krishak sabha* - peasant organisation (Bengali)

tion. Still the peasants in many cases did not give up the land — they kept them occupied by the strength of the unity of the village.

Did the leader of the *krishak sabha* support their movement after he became a minister? No, what he said meant that vested land would be redistributed. Who will get it? The J.L.R.O. would consult the *krishak sabha* in that matter. But will the opinion given be acted upon? Hare Krishna Babu has not made any commitment in this regard. But if the J.L.R.O. rejects the views of the *krishak sabha*, the peasants by no means will be able to occupy the land. In this respect Hare Krishna Babu did not take time to come out clearly. What will you say about this? Is this not acting like the lackey of the government and the jotedar? Even congressmen did not dare to hold brief so shamelessly for the feudal classes. So to abide by the directives of the Party leaders means to accept without any judgement the exploitation and rule of the feudal classes. So it will be the responsibility of the Communists to expose before the Party members and the masses the anti-class reactionary role of this leadership and move forward following the policy of intensifying class struggle.

Then again, suppose the landless and poor peasants accept Hare Krishna Babu's proposal and submit applications, what happens then? It is true that there is some uncultivated land in the vested land, but the amount of cultivated land is more. There are peasants working on these cultivated lands; today they are either enjoying it under licence, or giving a share to the jotedar. When this land is redistributed invariably conflicts will develop among the poor and landless peasants, and as a result of that, over the entire peasant movement the leadership of the rich peasant would be established. For the rich peasant has the opportunity of pulling strings, he is also a partner in feudal influence. So Hare Krishna Babu is not only refusing to launch struggles today, he is also making arrangements so that in the future also the peasant movement does not move along the militant path.

Yet, we have taken the programme of People's Democratic Revolution and the task of that revolution is land reforms in the interests of the peasants. Land reforms in the interest of the peasants are possible only when we are able to annihilate the authority of the feudal classes in the countryside. To do this we shall have to take away the land from the feudal classes, and will have to distribute it among the landless and poor peasants. We shall never be able to do that if our movement remains confined within the bounds of economism. We have seen in every area where there has been movements on vested land, the peasant who has got the occupation of vested land and managed to get licence, ceases to be active in the peasant movement. What is its reason? Because, in a year the class character of that poor peasant has changed and he has now become a middle peasant. So the economic demand of the poor and landless peasant is no longer his demand. So economism drives a wedge in the unity of the fighting peasants and plunges the landless and poor peasants in despondency. Those who uphold economism judge every struggle by the number of *maunds* of paddy seized or the number of *bighas* of land the peasant received. They never judge by the yardstick whether the fighting consciousness of the peasants has increased. So they do not make any effort to increase the class consciousness of the peasant. Yet, we know no struggle can be waged without sacrifice. Chairman Mao has taught us, wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice. At the initial stage of the struggle the power of reaction will naturally be greater than that of the masses. So the struggle will be long-drawn. Since the masses are a progressive force, its power will increase day by day, and since the reactionary force is dying, its power will decrease day by day. So unless the masses are inspired to make sacrifice, no revolutionary struggle can succeed. Economism takes away from this basic revolutionary outlook into the dark alley of bourgeois outlook. The Party leaders are doing exactly this by all their activities. If we review all our

peasant movements of the past, we shall see that the Party leaders imposed compromises on the peasants from above. Yet it was the responsibility of the Party leadership to establish the fighting leadership of the working class over the peasant movement. They did not do this before, nor are they doing it now. Now they are asking us to depend on law and bureaucracy. Lenin has written that even if a progressive law is passed, if the responsibility of implementing it is given to the bureaucracy, the peasants will not get anything. So our leaders have departed far from Lenin and the revolutionary path.

Agrarian revolution is the task of this moment today; this task cannot be left unimplemented. And without doing this, no benefit can be done to the peasant. But before the agrarian revolution, it is necessary to destroy state power. To carry out the agrarian revolution without destroying the state machinery means revisionism straight-away. So the first and main task of the peasant movement today is to destroy the state machinery. If this cannot be done all over the country, all over the state, will the peasant rest quietly? No, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taught us that if the peasant of any area can be enthused with political thought, the work of destroying the state machinery in that area should be carried forward. It is this which is known as a peasants' liberated area. The struggle to create this liberated area is today the most urgent and immediate task of the peasant movement.

What, according to us, is a liberated area? We shall call that peasant area a liberated area one from which we have been able to oust the class enemies. To build this liberated area, the peasants' armed force is necessary. By this armed force, as we mean the hand-made weapons of the peasants, so also guns are needed. We shall understand whether the peasants have moved forward to collect guns. Where will the peasants get guns? Class enemies have guns with them, and they stay inside the villages. Guns have to be snatched away from them. They will not give us guns on their own. So we shall have to seize those guns by force. For this the peasant militants will have to be taught all tactics beginning from setting fire to the houses of class enemies. Apart from this, we shall get guns from the armed forces through sudden attacks on them. The area where we shall be able to organise this gun-snatching campaign will fast be transformed into a liberated area. So to do this, it is necessary to propagate the politics of building up armed struggles extensively among the peasantry. It is further necessary to organise small secret militant groups to carry on the campaign of collecting guns. As members of these groups will propagate the politics of armed struggle, so also they shall simultaneously try to successfully implement the concrete programme of collecting guns. The appearance of the struggle does not change merely with the collection of guns — the collected guns will have to be used. Only then will the creative powers of the peasant develop and a qualitative change in the struggle take place.

This can be done only by the poor and landless peasants — the firm ally of the working class. The middle peasant is also an ally, but his fighting spirit is not as intense as that of the landless and poor peasants. So he cannot become a participant in the struggle at the same time — he needs some time. It is for this that class analysis is a must for the Communist Party. So the great leader of China, Chairman Mao Tsetung, at the very first did this work and was able to correctly give the guideline for revolutionary struggle. So the main thing in our organisational work is to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants in the peasant movement. The leadership of the poor and landless peasants will be established in the process of organising the peasant movement with the politics of armed struggle. Because they alone are the most revolutionary force among the peasant classes. A separate organisation of agricultural labourers will not help this work. On the contrary, a separate agricultural labourers' organisation increases the trend towards a trade union movement based on economism and aggravates differences within the peasants.

It does not enhance the unity of the allied classes because in our agrarian system it is the exploitation of the feudal class that is the main feature.

In this connection another question crops up — the question of compromise with the small owner. What will be the attitude of the Communists in this case? In the case of compromise, we shall have to judge on whose side we are. So we cannot support any other class against them. All along in the peasant movement the Communists had forced the poor and landless peasants to give up their interests in the interests of the petite bourgeoisie. As a result of this, the poor and landless peasants lose their fighting spirit. We should also have separate attitudes regarding the middle and rich peasants. If we regard the rich peasant as a middle peasant, the poor and landless peasants will feel despondent. Again, if we judge the middle peasant as a rich peasant, the fighting enthusiasm of the middle peasant lessens. So Communists must learn according to Chairman Mao's directives and make class analysis of the peasants in every area.

The peasants of India have exploded again and again into revolts. Again and again they have sought guidance from the Communist Party. We did not say that the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for collecting guns is the only way. This way is the path of the working class, the path of liberation, the path of establishing a society free from exploitation. In every state all over India, the peasant today is discontented, the Communists will have to show them the way. That way is the politics of armed struggle and the campaign of collecting guns. We must hold aloft this only path to liberation. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China has declared war on all types of selfishness, groupism, revisionism, tailism of the bourgeoisie, praise of bourgeois ideology — the burning influence of that revolution has reached India also. The call of that revolution is — *“Be ready firmly to make all sorts of sacrifices, remove one by one the obstacles on the road, victory will surely be ours.”* In however frightful form imperialism might come, however ugly the net might be which modern revisionism would spread to help them, the days of the reactionary forces are numbered, the sunlight bright with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will wipe out and banish all darkness.

Naturally, the question crops up — in that case is there no need for the peasants to organise mass movements in this age on the basis of partial demands? Certainly the need is there and will remain there in the future. For India is a vast country and the peasants also are divided into many classes. So the standard of political consciousness cannot remain at the same level in all the areas and among all the classes. So the opportunity and possibility of peasants' mass movements on the basis of partial demands will always be there and Communists must take full advantage of that opportunity at all times.

By what tactics shall we lead the movements on partial demands, and what will be their aim? The main point of our tactics will be to see whether there is the mobilisation of the broad peasantry and our main aim will be to see whether the class consciousness of the peasant has increased — whether they have moved forward towards widespread armed struggle. Movements on partial demands will intensify class struggle, will increase political consciousness among the broad masses, the broad peasant masses will be inspired to make sacrifices, the struggle will spread to newer and newer areas. Movements on partial demands can take any form, but the Communists should always propagate among the peasantry the need for higher forms of struggles. Under no circumstances should there be any attempt to pass off as the best whatever form the peasants have accepted. In fact, Communists should always propagate among peasants revolutionary politics, that is, the politics of armed struggle and the campaign of collecting arms. In spite of carrying on this propaganda, the peasants might decide on mass-deputation and we shall have to lead that movement. In the period of white terror, the effectiveness of mass deputation should never be belittled, for it is these mass deputations that will

increasingly draw the peasant into the struggles. Movements on economic demands are never wrong, but to lead these struggles in the manner of economism is a crime. And it is also a crime to propagate that movements on economic demands will on their own take the form of political struggles, because this itself is worshipping spontaneity. None of these can show the way to the masses, can bring clarity of attitude, or give inspiration for making sacrifices in struggles. There is only one task at one stage of the struggle. Unless this is done, the struggle cannot reach a higher stage.

Today, that particular task is the politics of armed struggle and the campaign of collecting arms. Whatever work we might do leaving aside this task, the struggle will not reach a higher stage, the struggle will collapse, the organisation will not grow. In the same way there is only one way for the Indian revolution — the way shown by Lenin — the people's armed force and the formation of a republic. Lenin said in 1905 that even if it is not possible all over Russia, build up these two where it is possible. Chairman Mao Tsetung has enriched further this path indicated by Lenin. He has taught the tactics of people's war, and the liberation of China has been achieved through this path. Today that path is followed in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Yemen, Congo-Leopoldville and different countries of Africa and Latin America. In India also that path has been adopted by the Nagas, Mizos, the people of the Kashmir area — the path of armed forces and administration by the liberation front. So today the working class will have to be called upon and told that the working class will have to give leadership to the democratic revolution in India, and this task will have to be done by the working class through its providing leadership in struggles to its main ally, the peasantry. So it is their responsibility to organise the peasant movement and to elevate that struggle to the stage of armed struggle. The advanced section of the working class will have to go to the countryside to participate in the armed struggle. This is the main task of the working class. "*Collection of arms and forming bases of struggle in the countryside*" — this is what is called the politics of the working class, the politics of the seizure of power; we shall have to enthuse the working class with this politics. Organise all the workers in trade unions — this slogan does not enhance the political consciousness of the working class. This of course does not mean that we shall no longer form trade unions. This means that we shall not confine the revolutionary cadres of the party in trade unions — their task will be to carry on propaganda campaigns among the working class, that is to propagate the politics of armed struggle and the politics of gun-snatching campaigns and build up the party organisation. Among the petite bourgeoisie also our main task is to carry on our political propaganda and explain the significance of the peasant struggle. In other words, in every front of the party the task is to explain the importance of peasant struggles and to give the call for participation in those struggles. The extent to which we can do this work, to that extent we shall reach the stage of conscious leadership in the democratic revolution. Opposition to this basic Marxist-Leninist path of the party is not only coming from the revisionists. The revisionists are taking to the path of class collaboration straight away, so it is easy to take their mask off. But there is another form of opposition within the party which is called dogmatism. They accept the necessity of revolution, accept that revolution can be possible only through armed struggle. But they dream that it is possible to take to the path of armed revolution only by extending mass movements all over India. Before that there might be small, or even big clashes, but seizure of power would not be possible. About seizure of power, they hope that a version of the October Revolution would be enacted in India. They apply to India in the same way their bookish knowledge as to how the October Revolution became successful. They forget that before the October Revolution there occurred the February Revolution and the bourgeois parties came to power and power was also in the hands

of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. As a result of this dual power, the leadership of the working class was effective in the Soviets. And when the petit-bourgeois parties in these Soviets handed over power to the bourgeoisie, only then was it possible for the working class to make the October Revolution.

They do not analyse the concrete conditions of India. They do not take lessons from the struggles that are taking place in India. The main reason for the success of the Russian revolution lay in the correct application of the united front tactics. In the case of India also the question of united front tactics is equally important. But the form of democratic revolution in India will be different from this. In India, also in Naga, Mizo, Kashmir and other areas, struggles are taking place under petit-bourgeois leadership. So in the democratic revolution, the working class will have to advance by forming united fronts with them. And in newer and newer places struggles will begin under the leadership of bourgeois or petit-bourgeois parties. The working class will certainly forge alliances with them also and the main basis of this alliance will be anti-imperialist struggle and the right of self-determination. The working class certainly accepts this right, along with the right of secession.

Those who dream of revolution in India along the path of the October Revolution, although they are revolutionaries, they cannot boldly give leadership because of their doctrinaire attitude. They do not understand the significance of peasant struggles and as a result unwittingly they become propagandists of economism among the workers. They cannot take lessons from Chairman Mao's teaching. They cannot imbibe the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America. One section among them become worshippers of Che Guevara and do not stress the work of organising the peasantry, which is the main force of the democratic revolution of India. As a result, they invariably become victims of Leftist deviations. So we shall have to give particular attention to them and must gradually educate them through experience. On no account should we become impatient with them. Apart from them, there is also another group of revolutionary comrades among us, who accept the Chinese Party and Mao Tsetung Thought and also accept that that path is the only path. But they take the book "How to Become a Good Communist" as the only way to self-cultivation; as a result they fall into a dangerous deviation.

The only Marxist way of self-cultivation that Lenin and Chairman Mao have taught us is that of class struggle. Only by burning himself in the fire of class struggle can a Communist become genuine gold. Class struggle alone is the real school for the Communists, and the experience of class struggle will have to be assessed in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and lessons will have to be drawn from it. So the main point of party education is to apply the lessons of Marxism-Leninism in the field of class struggle, to come to general principles from that experience, and to take again to the masses those principles gained from that experience. This is known as "*From the People, To the People.*" This is the main point of Party education. These revolutionary comrades fail to realise this main truth of Party education. As a result, they commit idealist deviations about Party education. Chairman Mao Tsetung has taught us that there can be no education without practice. In his words, "*doing is learning.*" Self-cultivation is only possible through changing the situation by revolutionary practice alone.

REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG! □

It Is by Fighting Against Revisionism that the Peasant Struggle Will Have to Be Taken Forward

— from *Eight Documents* (1965-67)

19th June — Day of Anniversary of Peru Prison

JUNE 19TH 1986 — DAY OF HEROISM

JUNE 19TH 1987 — THIS BLOOD THAT HAS BEEN SPILT SHALL NEVER BE FORGOTTEN: HONOUR TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS MASSACRED IN PERU!

JUNE 19TH 1987 — SUPPORT IMPRISONED FIGHTERS FOR REVOLUTION AROUND THE WORLD!

JUNE 19TH 1987 — HAIL THE SHINING TRENCHES OF COMBAT!

June 19th 1987 marks the anniversary of the heroic uprising of revolutionary prisoners in Peru and the cowardly massacre perpetrated against them by the government. Adopting the slogan of our comrades in the women's prison in Callao, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and other Maoist and revolutionary forces around the world swore that our comrades' blood would never be forgotten. The Communist Party of Peru (PCP), the party leading the people's war in which these comrades had fallen prisoner, a participating party of our Movement, declared in a solemn resolution of its Central Committee that "June 19th is forever stamped as the DAY OF HEROISM." Prisoners of war in three jails near Lima arose last year to resist a government plan to murder them, after denouncing it widely in the press and through other means. They seized a handful of weapons and guards and took over their prisons, demanding that the government respect an agreement it had signed to protect their lives and expressing their unquenchable determination to further the people's war. In one of the prisons, on the island Fronton, they held out for twenty hours against naval and helicopter gunship attacks, mainly with slings, spears and other homemade weapons. Two of the 75 prisoners at the Callao women's prison were killed and six seriously injured in the fighting there. At the Lurigancho prison, all 135 men charged with being members and supporters of the PCP were killed. At least a hundred of them were murdered in cold blood after their capture by the armed forces. At Fronton, at least 115 were killed. Half again that number are still "unaccounted for" — many of them transferred to secret armed forces jails to be tortured and "interrogated" and then made to "disappear." Despite pious promises and pronouncements from the García government which ordered the massacre, no officials or even any of the armed forces personnel who carried out their orders are now facing charges. The fate of many prisoners is still unknown, while hundreds more continue their struggle in the face of the savage reaction.

Heroism

Uprising



The actions of the martyrs of Fronton, Lurigancho and Callao prisons will forever shine forth to the revolutionary masses the world over as an example of the communist spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death in the struggle to do away with all oppression and class exploitation. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Day of Heroism, we issue the following three calls:

— To honour our fallen Peruvian comrades and on this occasion denounce the past and continuing crimes of Peru's Garcia government and the imperialist powers, East and West, which prop it up. We must honour the comrades by continuing to call on the proletariat and the oppressed the world over to "Support the Peoples War in Peru" and call on them to learn from the communist heroism of these martyrs.

— To support imprisoned revolutionary fighters in countries around the world. "You imprisoned fighters for revolution," a Resolution of the International Conference which formed the RIM declared, "are the best witnesses to the ferocious antagonism between the forces of imperialism and reaction and the forces of revolution. The prisons of this world are a concentrated expression of this class conflict and a sharp arena of struggle. Your heroic resistance is a great inspiration to the international Marxist-Leninist movement which, like yourselves, has refused to capitulate in the face of defeat and attacks and is now strengthening its ideological, political and organisational unity in preparation for a new offensive in the historic battle of settling accounts with imperialism and all reaction." We must express our solidarity with these revolutionary prisoners and fight for their release!

— Our Peruvian comrades have turned the prisons into "shining trenches of combat." Imprisoned fighters everywhere must not let themselves be degraded or broken by the authorities or trapped by their outlook in any form, but rather dedicate themselves to revolution, carry out study and uphold a genuine revolutionary line and the banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, and take up and actively support in whatever way possible the struggles of the world's exploited and oppressed. Peruvian prisoners of war, along with heroic communist prisoners the world over, have disdained the most terrible conditions and even death in order to fight for the highest and most pure ideals, the goal of liberating all humanity and achieving a communist world. This is what we call upon prisoners everywhere to aspire to.

On the occasion of this day, we call on the ranks of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and on all other organised forces and individuals who support this call to carry out various kinds of activities, according to the situation in the various countries, culminating on the 19th of June, to honour our fallen comrades, to expose these crimes, to support imprisoned fighters for revolution in every country, and for these prisoners themselves to make new contributions to the revolutionary struggle from within the very dungeons of the enemy.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Win special prisoners status in order to advance further. RPND (People's New Democratic Republic). EGP (People's Guerrilla Army).



To Give One's Life for the Party and the Revolution

By Comrade Gonzalo*

It was from the inexhaustible masses of people that they received their first frugal nourishment and learned to walk; the class struggle shaped their thinking; and the Party, the principal and highest form of social organisation, raised their political consciousness by arming them with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought, gave strength to their fighting spirit by organising them into the People's Guerrilla Army, and by fusing them with the masses of poor peasants steeled their body and spirit in the inextinguishable forge of people's war. When they became prisoners of war, they never went down on their knees but persisted in fighting, mobilising and producing, and through arduous battles transformed the sordid dungeons of the outworn and rotten Peruvian state into shining trenches of combat.

The advance of the people's war and its resounding, accurate and implacable blows made the reaction shake deep inside like a whipped hyena, and its thundering demands resounded through the muddy and turbulent nightmares of the APRA government, today more fascistic and corporatist than ever, and even more through the boundless ambitions of the demagogic apprentice "fuehrer" who heads it up; thus the reaction, the government and the already genocidal Garcia dreamt up black and bloody plans meant to decisively smash the people's war by dealing it a devastating blow. The prisoners of war publicly exposed these sinister plans for mass murder by rising up in rebellion, in defence of the revolution and their own lives; the monstrous and infamous genocide perpetrated by the armed forces and the police, acting according to the government's orders and with its permission to do whatever necessary, in a blind rage against the people and with perverse homicidal fury, crashed against the fierce, unyielding iron resistance of the comrades, the fighters and the sons and daughters of the masses who audaciously unfurled and held high the banners of their ideology, courage and heroism in the midst of their raging warriors' defiance; while the reactionary beast drank its fill of their blood to impose the peace of the dead, their lives, wretchedly poor and cruelly frustrated, became immortal, giving shape to the monumental trilogy of the shining trenches of combat of el Fronton, Lurigancho and Callao, an historic milestone which will ever increasingly proclaim the greatness of the Day of Heroism.

The devastating and decisive blow they sought to deliver backfired in their faces, tremendously discrediting them and throwing the fascistic and corporatist government of the APRA party and the man who pretends to be president in violation of the laws of their own state into a grave and still-unresolved political crisis; thus the rebellion of the prisoners of war, though it cost them their lives, brought about a great moral, political and military triumph for the Party and the revolution, and, what is more, greatly contributed to the successful culmination of the great leap with a seal of gold and laid the foundation for the new plan to develop revolutionary base areas, whose first campaign has shaken the Peruvian state more deeply than ever before, giving the people's war its greatest impact so far in Peru and abroad. Thus the prisoners of war, like the legendary character, are winning battles from beyond the grave, because they live and fight within us as we win new victories; feel the beating of their robust and permanent presence, shining and teaching us, today, tomorrow and forever, to give our lives for the Party and the revolution.

Glory to the Day of Heroism

Peru, June 1987

*Comrade Gonzalo is Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru



Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

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 Revolutionary Internationalist Group • Nepal Communist Party [Mashal] • New Zealand Red Flag Group • Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent [Britain] • Proletarian Communist Organisation, Marxist-Leninist [Italy] • Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh] • Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia • Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India • Revolutionary Communist Party, USA • Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic] • Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

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 above are the participating parties and organisations of the RIM. Available in the following languages (partial list): Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannada, Kurdish, Malayalam, Nepali, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish. 1£ plus 50 p handling. Make cheques payable to *A World to Win*.

For more information write the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement at the following address:

BCM RIM
London, WC1N 3XX
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To the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

It is with the deepest grief that the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement received word of the cowardly execution of at least 20 revolutionary political prisoners, including nine or more leaders and cadres of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran).

These comrades held aloft the bright banner of proletarian revolution in the very bowels of the enemy's regime. It is this stand, their refusal to renounce their revolutionary ideals, their disdain for capitulation and treason, that posed such a threat to the Khomeini regime that it lashed out like a vicious but wounded beast.

Over the last several years the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) has been engaged in a difficult but vital battle to reorganise its forces after the temporary defeat of the revolution, to sum up and learn from past experience both positive and negative, and to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the face of the wave of demoralisation that has swept over the ranks of the Iranian movement. Among the martyred comrades are those who played a critical role in this fight. The important strides made by the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) in the past period is testimony to the lasting contributions these comrades have made to the proletarian revolution in Iran.

Today the reactionary Khomeini regime is weaker than ever. The heroic resistance of the revolutionary political prisoners foreshadows a new upsurge of revolutionary struggle in Iran. The Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) bears the great responsibility of preparing and launching the People's War that alone can wipe out imperialism and reaction in Iran and, in so doing, contribute greatly to constructing a bright red communist world. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement will always fight shoulder to shoulder with you. The valiant stand of our martyred comrades will be felt far beyond the walls of Evin prison and even beyond the borders of Iran itself. Together, we will turn our grief into strength and step up our revolutionary struggle.

**LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF OUR MARTYRED COMRADES!
DOWN WITH THE REACTIONARY KHOMEINI REGIME!
BUILD A NEW DEMOCRATIC IRAN!
LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!**

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

On the Occasion of Leaders and Union of Iranian

A mighty battle for the cause of revolution has erupted against the Islamic Republic within the walls of Evin prison, sending tremors throughout Iran and well beyond. Right within the blood-drenched concrete and iron bowels of its own dungeons, the Khomeini regime was forced to taste a stinging defeat. Defying threats of execution, the revolutionary political prisoners accepted the challenge and rose to the occasion of demonstrating that the banner of revolution must and indeed can prevail against counter-revolution and the capitulationism it hopes to engender.

An uncompromising struggle, including a hunger strike, was launched by the revolutionary prisoners over the last few months, beating back the regime's efforts to force the revolutionaries into submission.

Defying the daily torture and threats of execution through the hunger strike and other forms of struggle, the revolutionary prisoners firmly upheld their ideological commitment to revolution, as reflected in their demand to have those who capitulated to the regime removed from their quarters. In the face of this growing revolutionary struggle within the prison, the fear-stricken regime responded in a cowardly manner, desperately executing at least 20 of the revolutionary prisoners at dawn, 7 March 1987. Nine or more among them were UIC(S) prisoners of war.

The Islamic regime murdered them in its desperate need to silence the militant spirit that had been aroused among the political prisoners.

The regime recognised that this struggle was both an inspiration to and a concentrated expression of what is mounting among the masses. Aware of the defeat it suffered, it hastily buried the bodies of our comrades in the dark of night, heavily guarding the area to prevent any eyewitness to their cowardly crime. The reactionary Islamic regime did not even dare to have them buried in the city's public cemetery and withheld the news of the executions from the families for more than a month! And this is the regime that not long ago used to rely on the lists of its executions published in the daily papers as a means of intimidating the masses. These Islamic pigs told the families of comrades: "We buried them in a different place, because they are different"! Ironically, this statements happens to strike the truth! Yes indeed they are different: they are the vanguard. The masses who hold dear to revolutionary aspirations do not fail to recognise the fallen comrades as such. They represent tens of millions of oppressed and exploited, not only of Iran, but the world over. They represent revolution.

Agonizing under the weight of mounting internal crisis, the Khomeini regime is now more than ever haunted by the spectre of revolution.

Khomeini's Islamic Republic is in desperate straits. The intensifications of the contradictions that set the objective conditions for the overthrow of the infamous Shah's regime now threaten this equally reactionary and imperialist-dependent regime with an even more violent explosion of society in its ugly face. The regime tries to govern and preside over the lopsided, crisis-ridden system that rattles with every jolt on the national and international plane. It is sitting on top of a socio-economic structure integrated into the world imperialist system, which itself is in its most desperate situation since World War 2. The Iran-Iraq war feeds like a monstrous beast on more and more victims and exhausts the already plundered economic resources. Once the regime tried to utilise this war as a means to clamp down on the masses and patch up its own internal cracks and fissures. Today

of the Martyrdom Members of the Communists (Sarbedaran)

all of that has turned against itself: every round of the war intensifies the outrage of the people and the in-fighting among the enemy. Meanwhile it has to carry on its bloody "other Gulf war," attempting to suppress the heroic resistance of the Kurdish people in Iran. The Islamic regime's propaganda machine of religious hypocrisy has lost its hold on the masses. In order to contain the masses it has to organise paramilitary Islamic Associations in every village, factory, university, school, hospital, bank....

All this testifies to the fact that tremendous revolutionary opportunities are in the making. Now more than ever the regime is compelled to pit itself, with whatever is left of its dwindling strength, against the banner of revolution. Now more than ever it needs to target the vanguard, in an attempt to prevent the masses from rallying to it and carrying out the final burial ceremony of the Islamic Republic.

Every year, around the anniversary of the Amol uprising, the Islamic compradors make a point of taking revenge on the UIC(S) — and in fact on the proletarians and oppressed — by executing UIC(S) prisoners of war. The comrades who were executed not only had dealt blows to the enemy in the revolutionary warfare waged by the UIC previously, but among them were comrades who played a critical role in powerfully wielding the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and People's War for red political power in the years following the temporary defeat of the revolution, against the strong tide of defeatism and liquidationism in the ranks of ex-communists and ex-revolutionary leaders. Among the martyred are comrades who shouldered the extremely serious and difficult task of the reorganisation of the UIC which culminated in the convening of the precious Fourth Congress of the UIC. These comrades seriously took up the vital task of resurrecting the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, summing up past experience and rectifying errors and deviations, and launching preparations for initiating revolutionary warfare. These comrades also played a critical role in inspiring and organising those who were determined not to retreat in the face of difficulty nor give an inch of ground to the bourgeoisie as well as those who remained true to the banner of revolutionary communism but had been disoriented by confusion. They were among the most fearless and persevering in the face of the twists and turns in the revolutionary road and among the most daring in swimming against the tide; they were so because they were thoroughgoing materialists. They firmly upheld proletarian internationalism and its concrete expression today, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Daring, going against the tide, rebelling, dealing revolutionary blows to the rotten and old, were still sacred principles for them even under the bloody claws of the regime; they fought to turn prison into a shining trench of combat; they continued to be the harbingers of spring.

The regime deprived the exploited and oppressed of these leaders; but they, by their revolutionary defiance and communist spirit, became a source of inspiration for the revolutionary-minded and proletarians around the world. The Islamic regime will pay on the battlefield for every drop of blood that it has spilt.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

—April 1987



Gorbachev:

by T. Martin

"He is a man of exceptional charm with a relaxed, self-deprecating sense of humour. Emotions flicker over a face of unusual sensitivity like summer breezes over a pond. In discussion he was frank and flexible with a composure full of inner strength. He was fierce but courteous in argument, raising Northern Ireland whenever we raised human rights with him. . . . How could someone so nice and human run the Soviet system?"¹ — Denis Healey of the British Labour Party

"Gorbachev's charm, sense of humour, prompt responses, attempts to find convincing arguments and his less frequent recourse to demagoguery suddenly introduced the human factor into East-West confrontation. This in itself served to reduce tension. He clearly did not resemble a person who was waiting for the opportunity to drop a nuclear bomb on the West."² — Zhores Medvedev, a "Marxist" Soviet dissident

"The Soviet Union needs peace to implement its huge development program."³ — Mikhail Gorbachev.

* * *

There are many like the Soviet dissident Medvedev who denounce certain features of the USSR but reason that at least Gorbachev has the merit of being more "realistic" and "human" than the reactionary war-mongering "madman" who runs America. Reinforcing this is

the idea that, while Reagan, Thatcher, Kohl and Co. are taking the West down a path of intensifying repression and reaction, Gorbachev is making some effort to head in the other direction, fighting *against* his own conservative opposition with his program of "glasnost" (opening up). These views conform to Gorbachev's own portrayal of Soviet policy as turning away from militarism and expansion abroad so as to be able to concentrate the USSR's resources on its own internal problems, a new commitment which he says is shown by his flexibility on arms control with the West.

Many of these same forces, while holding out hope for Gorbachev, complain that he is not going far enough, that he promises more than he delivers. Again, as Medvedev put it, "Matters remain at the level of general slogans"; a letter from a group of Soviet dissidents, published in *Moscow News*, a Soviet weekly which is one of the flagships of glasnost, argued that real reforms have not gone much beyond talk and demanded, "Gorbachev, Give Us Proof!"

Mr Gorbachev has already given all the proof needed. Certainly he is demagogic and hypocritical — but the problem with Gorbachev is not that he fails to deliver on good promises. It is not that he is going too slow in his "peace offensive" or

that glasnost does not go far enough in "democratising" the USSR. The problem is that these policies are themselves reactionary; they are not part of "turning inward" but of escalating repression and reaction at home and abroad, as the Soviet imperialists prepare to resolve the crisis they face through crushing resistance at home and abroad and waging world war against their imperialist rivals. The point is not whether Gorbachev is more "human" than Reagan, but that it is the logic of the imperialist system, not the quirks of its personal representatives, that compels the imperialists to follow the path they do.

The Crisis of the USSR

Today even the Soviet leaders themselves have been forced to admit that the USSR is in crisis; the stakes which ride on its resolution are as profound as the crisis itself. Gorbachev summed up the situation facing the social-imperialists: "We are living at a critical time. . . . There is not a moment to lose. Everything that we have planned must be done in time, for at issue are the might and prosperity of our country, the positions of socialism in the international arena and the consolidation of peace throughout the world."⁴ In this imperialist double-speak, for "prosperity" read misery and oppression, for



A Farewell to Arms?

“socialism” read social-imperialism, for “peace” read war. Yet despite the double-speak, Gorbachev’s assessment accurately conveys the Soviet leadership’s sense of the gravity of the crisis they face and the urgency of its resolution. What this reflects is that, having restored capitalism in the 1950s, Soviet social-imperialism has come up against limits of the current division of the world as well as meeting resistance at home and abroad from the masses of people, as witnessed in Afghanistan and most recently by the riots in Alma Ata.

The Soviet economy no longer has the sort of reserves, domestically or internationally, to fuel a sustained period of economic expansion.⁵ The declining growth rates of the Soviet economy, of the return on investment, of growth in productivity, etc., the bottlenecks that plague the Soviet economy, the anarchy that pervades it, the spreading crisis in Eastern Europe, the Soviet inability to integrate its Third World satellites into a coherent economic empire, all these are not the product of some bureaucratic sludge fouling up an otherwise healthy machine. They are features of a capitalist economic system at the stage of imperialism, which even as it spurts forward in some sectors degenerates in others and is unable to burst out of the constraints of its historic development and especially the limits im-

posed on it by the current division of the world.

The crisis of the USSR cannot be resolved for the imperialists short of such worldwide restructuring through war. Gorbachev’s economic reforms will not and cannot suffice; however frequently he calls them “radical reforms” or “fundamental restructuring,” they are but limited half-measures. They are confined to extending and intensifying already long-established mechanisms of Soviet capitalism: strengthening the centrality of profit (hailed by a recent *Pravda* editorial as “a mighty toiler for socialism”!) as the goal of production; increasing polarisation and competition among the masses through more piece-rate work and larger bonuses and other material incentives, especially for managers, scientists and better-off workers; expanding credit, raising prices — there are plans for the largest price-hike ever in the USSR — and cutting back on social benefits. How many imperialist politicians in the West, as in the Reagan or Thatcher “revolutions,” have promised that similar measures would lead to a new era of economic expansion, but have brought in their wake increased anarchy, international and domestic debt, polarisation, exploitation and heightening antagonism between the two blocs?

Oiling Up the War Machine

A key goal of Gorbachev’s

economic reforms is oiling up the Soviet war machine. One Western expert, commenting on the current five-year plan, observed that, “the generals can afford to be generous in supporting Gorbachev’s economic modernisation program. Many of the areas targeted for investment, especially parts of the machine-building industry, will provide the basis for the next round of military modernisation. Computers and robotics are also high-priority items. In fact, many priorities read like a military wish-list.”⁶ Indeed, the emphasis on science and technology that pervades Gorbachev’s program are seen by the revisionists as key for war preparations. Marshal Ogarkov, a leading Soviet military spokesman who is close to Gorbachev politically, argued that, “Nothing is more dependent on the state of the economy than the army. Weapons, supplies, tactics and even strategy depend on the level of production and the means of communication.” Again, from Ogarkov: “In order to increase the military preparedness of the country, today as never before it is necessary to coordinate mobilisation and deployment of the armed forces and the entire economy. . . .” He concluded by calling for preparations to convert the Soviet economy “to a war footing.”⁷

This is the hidden agenda of Gorbachev’s economic modernisation

program. His reforms are not reducible to militarisation — there are real economic problems which he is trying to deal with in their own right, a topic beyond the scope of this article — but the point is that Gorbachev & Co. are not revving up the Soviet economy for a long period of peaceful development. Their plans to “accelerate social and economic development” are inextricably bound up with accelerating military development and preparations for world war and counter-revolutionary suppression.

Glasnost: A Step in the Right Direction?

Key to this reactionary effort is Gorbachev's much-heralded “glasnost,” which he has called the “precondition” of all his other reforms, the *sine qua non* without which all the rest cannot advance. The Soviet media has presented this as a genuine democratising of Soviet life. Many who have often denounced the Soviet ruling class' repression have welcomed glasnost. Medvedev, for instance, states that, “I do not wish to imply that Gorbachev's reforms are worth nothing. He promised changes in the field of culture and there have indeed been quite rapid changes; I would not say a full liberalisation but a real improvement.”⁸ He goes on to demand essentially that these changes go deeper and broader. In other words, it's a start, finally some information is coming out; for instance, during Chernobyl, this argument goes, at least people knew something about what was going on instead of being irradiated without knowing why or how.

In fact, the whole point of glasnost is to mobilise reaction in the USSR for crimes beside which Chernobyl would be but a footnote in history. The fundamental question to demand of glasnost is: opening up to whom? Opening up for what politics?

A key target of glasnost is the mobilisation of the strata of Soviet society which have particularly benefited from living in an imperialist society, who have drunk from its plunder and grown accustomed to its privileges. Just as these sectors are being spurred into

action by the promise of new bribes and material incentives, so too they are being roused politically by glasnost. Consider, for instance, a letter whose publication in *Moscow News* and *Literaturnaya Gazeta* caused a stir in the Western press. It was written by a group of ten Soviet dissidents living in exile in the West, varying in composition from pro-Western social-democrats to the Solzhenitsyn-type, Great Russian chauvinists who openly long for a return to the values of pre-revolutionary Tsarist Russia, of the Orthodox Russian church, etc.

The dissidents argued that there were still numerous abuses in the USSR and still no guarantee that people like them could air their views; they concluded that the most significant proof of real change would be publication of their letter, with its open challenge to the Soviet system for its lack of intellectual liberty. The editor of *Moscow News* not only published it and said, “OK, now what?” but went on to argue in a public response that though the dissidents might have had some just grievances before Gorbachev, now there was a basis for all, whether openly reactionary or liberal, to return home to work together for the USSR. He concluded with a naked appeal to Russian chauvinism: “I must admit that up till now I don't know of anyone in the history of Russian emigration for whom living abroad was preferable to living in his own land and who didn't take advantage of the first opportunity to come home.”

Coming together, coming home to Russia, to work for Russia. This is the kind of politics glasnost promotes. The Soviet imperialists face a particular problem with this imperialist-suckled strata of their population, the intelligentsia, scientists, etc. Because the West has had a historical economic advance over Russia as well as a greater empire to plunder, many in this strata, though basically loyal to social-imperialism, could do even better materially in the West and look to it to some extent. Far from challenging their reactionary values, Gorbachev & Co. simply want to harness them for Soviet, and above

all Great Russian, interests. If they love imperialism, can't they love it better “at home” than abroad?!

The “Black Hundreds” Revived⁹

The purpose behind glasnost is also evident in the much-publicised way in which glasnost has dealt with the group *Pamiat* (Memory). This is a recently formed Black Hundreds-style group distinguished by a militantly reactionary, racist and anti-semitic, pro-Great Russian ideology dedicated to keeping Russia “pure” and “untainted” by any and all “foreign” influences. The media has featured a number of recent articles which while admonishing those who hold such ideas, also pointedly note how very widespread they are among the population — as if to say that it is not really all that out of the ordinary, or even a matter of much concern, to be a thorough-going Russian chauvinist!

Further, Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsine, a champion of glasnost and protégé of Gorbachev, recently held a highly publicised meeting with *Pamiat* at Moscow City Hall during which he proclaimed that they were a legitimate grouping because they were sincerely motivated by the interests of the fatherland! This is the typical tactics of imperialist politicians, who give an understanding “tut-tut” to the more extreme reactionaries so as to keep a respectable distance while propping them up with publicity at the same time.

Similarly, another group called Movement for Socialist Renewal, evidently composed of high-ranking party officials, issued a 17-page manifesto arguing that Gorbachev isn't going far enough fast enough and openly worrying that if more progress isn't made the USSR will lose out to the U.S. in their world rivalry. The terms of the debate are never *whether* to oppose Soviet imperialism, but only *how* to promote its reactionary interests.

The point of glasnost is to get the Soviet imperialists' social base to take a more aggressive interest in their reactionary policies so as to disguise these as the “voice of the Soviet people.” Isn't this one reason Lenin pointed out that

“bourgeois democracy” was the “best shell for the rule of the bourgeoisie”? One major debate glasnost has opened up in the media has been over the death penalty. This debate has spanned the full gamut of *bourgeois* opinion, from reactionary to liberal. Whether or not the social-imperialists do away with the death penalty, the editors have made a point of summing up that most people writing in favoured *continuation or even increased use* of the death penalty.¹⁰ This is the bourgeois democratic method: events are turned upside down, reactionary measures are said to be what “the people democratically demand,” when it is the bourgeoisie themselves who have created the conditions and used their monopoly of the means of communication, education, etc., to set the terms of the debate and generate (or outright fabricate) this “demand” in the first place!

Building “Trust” with the Technicians of War & Reaction

Besides unleashing patriotism and reaction, glasnost serves other important interests of the Soviet social-imperialists in more generally mobilising these better-off strata for reactionary ends. As Novosibirsk economist Tatiana Zaslavskaya observed, the underdevelopment of sociology and the limitations on the press and research not only hurt economic management but also the building of “trust between the leaders and the population.” Today, when, as Gorbachev put it, “there is not a moment to lose” and “everything must be done *in time*,” the Soviet bourgeoisie need to give these strata the feeling that they have a say in Soviet society, to build “trust” so that those who occupy key posts in their economy and especially in their war machine can be counted on to go all out. In this, Gorbachev counts particularly on scientists and technical personnel. In presenting the current Five Year Plan, he called “rapid scientific and technological progress” the “basis on which the whole plan is built.” The stakes are such that Gorbachev has even let out Sakharov, who has openly called on the West to strengthen

itself against the USSR. But after all, Sakharov led in building the H-bomb for the USSR before he turned to praise Western imperialism — why can’t he and others like him be lured back again to build new and better weapons for their “own” imperialist masters?

Going together with glasnost are Gorbachev’s “decentralisation” measures, centring on his calls for elections of cadre, decentralising economic control, etc., which, it is claimed, will “empower” the masses. In fact, the decentralising measures are being developed in the context of overall tighter centralisation of power in the hands of the top party leaders. Not only is this true in economic matters, where numerous articles have noted that strengthening the role of profit means that “the rouble operates more strictly than any controller,” but in political matters too. At the 27th Party Congress, the second-ranking party leader, Ligachev, stated: “Now everybody knows that the policy of placing a certain trust in the cadres has been frequently replaced by trust with no inspection, and to put it frankly, without any control. . . From now on all the cadres should report to their leaders on their activity.” Ligachev went on to note, “Our highest concern is with the military cadres and the cadres that fulfill the sensitive task of defence of the peace and security of the Soviet people. We need cadres that completely feel the pulse of the times” and “grasp the essence of the tasks.” Gorbachev & Co. are putting a fire under the elite, toughening them up, getting them to be more aggressive, forcing them to test and improve their ability to mobilise people, yet under ever tighter overall direction. Are these not exactly the sort of measures required to prepare for imperialist war? As Marshal Ogarkov put it, “it is not possible” to increase the military preparedness of the country “without a stable centralised system of leadership of the country and the armed forces. . . an even greater concentration of management.”¹¹

The Soviet imperialists are not issuing general calls to mobilise all strata equally behind their program.

Indeed, they invariably leave out the lowest sections of the masses, who are too alienated and unreliable for them. As Fedor Burlatsky, a commentator for *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and intimate of Gorbachev, put it, “We must not have illusions about the workers and peasants. There is an active part of them who want to work better, and get more money, more goods, and more appliances, and maybe their own homes, and dachas, but there are also many people who don’t want to work harder. I believe that our hopes for the reforms and the process of democratisation are first of all based on the political will of our leadership. . . .”¹² Glasnost is skewed to the elite, for those who have a stake in Soviet imperialism and so might rise to the sacrifices demanded.

Glasnost & the “Lower Depths”

As for the lower sections of the masses, “who don’t want to work harder,” they are to be politically paralysed or beaten into submission by the mobilisation of reactionary sentiment, backed up by intensified repression from the state. Discipline campaigns, launched under Andropov, are the order of the day. The fight against crime is championed from the Kremlin, as it is from America’s White House, by world-class criminals, so as to legitimate increased repression. A particular target are the oppressed nationalities. The government promotes its own more liberal version of Pamiat’s “Black Hundreds” sentiment, for instance, fretting openly about the declining birth rate among Slavs and promoting motherhood among *Russian* women. Recently Gorbachev tightened up Russian control in the Kazakh Republic by naming a Russian to take over the main party post there. Rebellion broke out, leading to fierce street-fighting against the forces of order. The Soviet press blamed this on corrupt party bureaucrats. Whatever role these bureaucrats played in allowing things to happen, the revolt drew in masses and was certainly fueled by sentiment that Russians taking over direct authority boded ill for the oppressed people there. Far from backing down, Gorbachev took a

hard line, with the death penalty ordered for at least one "rioter."

Glasnost is also a weapon in the battle for public opinion that Gorbachev is aggressively pursuing worldwide. He boasts repeatedly that not only is the USSR the best hope for peace, but that now it is even democratising too, beating the West at its own game. For years the Western bourgeoisie has directed virulent criticism at Soviet society in areas where it could assert its superiority, both its abundance of material goods and the kinds of petty privileges which such abundance facilitates especially among the better-off strata. Furthermore, the USSR's socialist mask has been tarnished by its bloody crimes in Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and many other places. Glasnost is also an effort to polish up the USSR's image, and to contest with the West on its own turf. When U.S. Information Director Wicks challenged the Soviets on cultural freedom, *Moscow News* replied by pointing out that, among other things, the USSR publishes 20 times more books by American authors than the U.S. does of Soviet authors.¹³ Similarly, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* bragged that Poland has more churches per capita than even Italy or Spain, and that even large numbers of party cadre go to church! If more churches and American best-sellers are what glasnost promises, then the Soviet masses have undoubtedly already had far too much of it.

Glasnost: Limited?

Is glasnost "limited"? Obviously. It is not about unleashing protest against the war in Afghanistan, or against the militarisation of Soviet society. Even nuclear power is off limits: Gorbachev personally denounced certain anti-nuclear protests in the West which sought to damage nuclear installations as "nuclear terrorism"¹⁴ — a particularly astonishing charge from someone commanding one of the world's two largest nuclear arsenals. Meanwhile, the Soviets are not only reopening Chernobyl's non-damaged reactors but going ahead with plans to construct additional reactors there, turning it into the

largest nuclear power centre on the planet!

Or look at what happened to the discussion of the privileges of party cadres which for a brief moment was allowed to flourish in the Soviet press. When it went beyond exposing a few cases of gross corruption, often of entrenched rivals of Gorbachev, to posing questions about the privileged position of the Soviet bureaucrat bourgeoisie itself, the debate was personally brought to a quick halt by Gorbachev, who declared that it was one thing to criticise "unearned privileges" such as come from corruption but quite another thing — and flat-out intolerable — to attack "earned privileges," which for him means the wealth and power that the Soviet elite "merit" for their hard work! Any capitalist knows how to sing this refrain by heart.

But the real problem with glasnost is not that it is "limited" or doesn't go "far enough." Its limits and its content are part of a single piece, tailored and cut to measure by and for the Soviet bourgeoisie. To ask that they let glasnost "go further" acts as if the Soviet rulers committed some oversight in "only" allowing the promotion of imperialist views and not views which expose Soviet imperialism on important matters, when promoting reactionary values has been the main point of glasnost all along. Nor is it the case that a "door has been opened" which could be pushed open wider still to allow in more progressive activity. On the contrary, glasnost is designed in part to smother and crush more radical resistance under the weight of the better-off strata unleashed behind reactionary values. In doing this, however, the Soviet bourgeoisie will meet an element it doesn't factor in its careful calculations, for their reactionary mobilisation is bound to provoke resistance from the oppressed themselves. Not because they too will be able to "use glasnost," but because they will be forced to go against what it really means and against the bourgeois dictatorship that wields it.

Masking this reactionary dictatorship is a key point of glasnost.

Gorbachev tries to graft the typical Western lies about democracy onto the USSR's socialist mask by pontificating about "classless socialist democracy." There is no such thing. Lenin pointed out that every state is a form of class rule, "... an organisation for the systematic use of *force* by one class against another, by one section of the population against another.

"... it is constantly forgotten that the abolition of the state means also the abolition of democracy, that the withering away of the state means the withering away of democracy."¹⁵

Gorbachev's brandishing of "classless democracy" denies this truth in order to deceive the Soviet masses, to mobilise them behind bourgeois interests, to hide the mailed fist of the Soviet bourgeois dictatorship in the cloak of the general social interest — is it any wonder that Gorbachev's most ardent supporter in Eastern Europe is none other than that grand champion of democracy, General Jaruzelski, architect of martial law in Poland!?

Not Turning Inward, But Stepping Out

Part of Gorbachev's "new thinking" is that the USSR must turn inward to solve its own domestic problems, that, as Gorbachev is quoted as saying earlier, "The Soviet Union needs peace to implement its huge development program." In fact, the social-imperialists are not turning inward but outward, as they diversify their options, consolidate what they have and strengthen their political and military position throughout the world.

The crisis which has so concerned Gorbachev & Co. does not simply involve the internal functioning of the Soviet economy, but their international position overall. Likewise, its resolution will be international in scope. One important manifestation of the Soviet bloc crisis is the difficulty that the USSR has had in the Third World. At the end of the 1970s their influence there had expanded considerably, with the addition of nearly a dozen new Soviet neocolonies, now ranging from Cuba through Angola and Ethiopia

to Vietnam and Kampuchea. But by the time of Gorbachev's rise to power, serious problems had become evident. Many of the neocolonies even most closely bound to the USSR were in severe economic crisis: Cuba had imposed an IMF-style austerity program, while Vietnam was trying to support its huge army occupying Kampuchea on the basis of an economy with one of the world's lowest standards of living. The Soviets had been forced to cede joint exploitation of Angola and Mozambique to the West. In a number of countries, Western-financed insurgencies seriously threatened, or at least hamstrung, the Soviet-supported governments. In short, even as the USSR was increasing its military and economic aid to many of these countries, its dominion grew increasingly unstable. This reflected not only the limits of the Soviet's ability to weave together an empire in the current division of the world, but also intensifying rivalry with the U.S. bloc.

So when Gorbachev, summing up the overall situation facing the social-imperialists, warned that, "... at issue are the might and prosperity of our country, (and) the positions of socialism in the international arena," he was not being unduly pessimistic. But what Gorbachev has most certainly *not* done in these circumstances is retreat or turn inward. On the contrary, he has led the social-imperialists in mounting challenges to the U.S. even in areas long considered sacrosanct parts of the American empire.

Notable among these is the Pacific. This has long been considered by the U.S. imperialists as virtually "an American lake." So in the summer of 1986 when Gorbachev announced in a speech pointedly given at the USSR's largest Pacific port, Vladivostok, that "the Soviet Union is also an Asian and Pacific country," the message was not lost on Washington. It was an unprecedented challenge to American imperialist might. And Gorbachev quickly followed up with a flurry of activity, including the first-ever visit by a Soviet Foreign Minister to

Australia, increased military aid to North Korea and Vietnam, the inauguration of Soviet diplomatic and commercial ties with some of the Polynesian island states, intensified military and diplomatic pressure on Japan, and, most importantly, efforts to normalise relations with China.

In the Gulf too Gorbachev has aggressively pursued governments long considered pro-West, as, for instance, his efforts to establish commercial ties even with Saudi Arabia, or to run Kuwaiti oil tankers under the Soviet flag. Soviet warships now steam the Gulf, and the USSR has proclaimed that they now see themselves as a "guarantor of Gulf security"! Similarly, while profiting handsomely from fueling both sides of the Iran-Iraq war with arms sales, the USSR even dared to try to put together its own peace conference, in Moscow, presenting itself as the main arbiter of the destiny of this region which the U.S. has declared "vital to its national security."

While tacitly encouraging the virulent anti-semitism of groups like Pamiat at home, in the Middle East Gorbachev began to patch up relations with Israel and engaged in negotiations to make sure that Jews leaving the USSR will go straight there instead of to the U.S. Israel gets more soldiers, Gorbachev gets influence in Israel and a place at any forthcoming Mideast peace conference — such is Gorbachev's barter. Meanwhile, he has overseen Syria's bloody invasion of Lebanon, partitioning power there with the Western imperialists, and sat back while Palestinians were starved and killed by gunmen armed by the Soviets themselves.

Even in Latin America, the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, Gorbachev is intensifying Soviet manoeuvring, including among the giants of the region. He has announced a trip there in autumn 1987; the talk in Moscow is that he might even bypass Cuba and Nicaragua and go straight to Brazil, Mexico and perhaps Argentina.

Pursuing naked reactionaries, even feudal kings, doesn't at all mean cutting back on the Soviets' use of the "Marxist-Leninist"

regimes which are Soviet neocolonies, but, on the contrary, is part and parcel of the same policy of mobilising all reactionary forces possible to the USSR. Military aid to Soviet dependencies has been stepped up, and as soon as Gorbachev came to power new offensives were launched in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. It is the latter that is perhaps the best example of what Gorbachev means when he says the USSR needs peace.

Afghanistan: "You too will be among the victims. . ."

Here too there was a new offensive taken as soon as Gorbachev came to office, including bombing raids on refugee villages in Pakistan, the mining of border roads, and even increasing use of Soviet commando units in the field. Soviet spending for the war has increased to at least \$3 billion per year, perhaps more. Gorbachev has introduced his own "personal touch" as well. Propaganda leaflets are dropped from the sky, informing the Afghani villagers of their right to be exterminated: "The enemies of peace. . ., in using your homes and your villages as combat bases, are opposing the cease-fire. Stop them [from doing this] and tell them that if this continues the armed forces will give them a bloody lesson. And if that happens, you too will be among the victims. . . ." Just call it glasnost in Afghanistan. The neocolonial regime has also initiated a 5 to 1 wage differential in favour of military over civilian work for Afghanis. What a splendid example of Gorbachev's "socialist material incentives": the creation of a puppet mercenary army. This, combined with mass forced conscription, seems to be the only way that the Soviet imperialists can get their "fraternal" Afghan brothers to fight on behalf of these imperialist invaders. In addition, the newest Afghani puppet, the former head of the secret police, has sought to consolidate the neocolonial regime by luring the pro-imperialist feudal Islamic forces away from the West, even calling on the king to come back. [See the article in this issue by Afghani communists]



Some pro-Gorbachev forces point to measures to lessen direct Soviet involvement as "steps in the right direction." Certainly Gorbachev wouldn't mind getting out of Afghanistan. The social-imperialists have already used the war to test their military, and today any advantages this offered are turning into their opposite, as demoralisation grows to the point that Soviet soldiers widely sell their arms for vodka and drugs on the Afghani black market. Furthermore, what's really going on in Afghanistan is being spread in the USSR itself through word of mouth of the many hundreds of thousands of veterans who have by now served there. Gorbachev putting clips of the war on TV is not a show of strength and "enlarging of "openness," but an effort to more aggressively present the social-imperialists' own views to head off the "underground" summation already going on. In short, the Soviet army is bleeding, and the Soviet image suffers at home and abroad.

Yes, Gorbachev would like to leave, but what's most important is that he leave *without losing*. His "steps in the right direction" are efforts to consolidate and strengthen a reactionary neocolonial regime, to "Afghanise" the war and ultimately rule without paying such a high price. And even if they left, they could always come back. As Gorbachev put it in calling for negotiations, "If the intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan continues, the Soviet Union will come to the defence of its neighbour. This position stems from our internationalist solidarity with the Afghani people [sic] and from the interests of the Soviet Union's security."¹⁶ Whether Gorbachev can consolidate a stable reactionary regime not dependent on Soviet occupation troops depends not only on Western imperialist efforts to keep them pinned down, but more fundamentally on the resistance of the masses and the revolutionaries and their battle to do away with all imperialism.

Gorbachev: Controlling Arms, or Controlling the Masses?

A key plank of Gorbachev's "peace offensive" is his acceptance of the "zero zero" option. It is argued that any arms control agreement will only come about because Gorbachev backed off his original insistence that any reductions of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe be coupled with U.S. limitations on Star Wars and even, at Western insistence, agreed to the elimination of short-range nukes, in which the USSR had an edge, as well.

First of all, even if the U.S. and USSR arrive at such an agreement, hardly a sure thing, the overall situation should be kept in a clear perspective: together these two imperialist superpowers now have a total of well over 50,000 nuclear warheads. They are oh-so-cautiously moving towards getting rid of around 1,200 warheads — *less than 3% of the combined U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenal*.¹⁷ This will leave them with still over 50,000 nuclear warheads — enough so that each power could obliterate every major and even middling city on the planet! There will even be over 10,000 nuclear warheads placed directly in and around Europe, including battlefield nukes, on aircraft and submarines as well as the French and British forces. Is it really possible to talk about "steps towards disarmament"?!?

Giving up a handful of nukes like this is a small price to pay for these imperialist superpowers to appear as champions of peace, *while both continue to modernise and expand their military arsenals and their influence everywhere on the planet and position themselves for war*. Aren't the Soviets challenging the U.S. in many hitherto sacrosanct parts of the American empire? Militarily, the Soviets have begun construction on a 65,000 ton aircraft carrier, one of the largest in the world; a new 10,000 km range nuclear missile, the SS-25, is nearing completion; a huge new radar installation is built in the Far East; nuclear-equipped Typhoon-class submarines are being deployed in

the Pacific. Nor has Gorbachev thus far abandoned a single major military project begun by his predecessors. Meanwhile, the USSR continues to sell arms at a rate rivalled only by the U.S. It is also worth noting who Gorbachev has just appointed as new chief of Soviet air defence. The man who let Mathias Rust fly his Cessna onto Red Square unhindered is to be replaced by. . . the former chief of air defence in the Far East, that is, the man who oversaw the shooting down of KAL 007! Aren't Brecht's words appropriate: when the leaders talk of peace, the common man knows they mean war?

In any war, and especially one of such criminal proportions as a nuclear war, the imperialists always try to make it appear that *they* have done everything possible to avoid it so that the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities lies with "the enemy." As Lenin concisely put it, in the era of imperialism nothing can be done without the masses. Gorbachev is going about enlisting troops on the Soviet imperialist side of the barricades as aggressively as he is going about every other aspect of escalating reaction and war preparations. He pries at cracks in the West European social order, preying openly on the conflict in West Germany engendered by the fact that it is the most vulnerable to the battlefield nukes that would be left by any agreement; he sends envoys, especially former "dissidents," like Bulat Okudjava, to woo social-democrats and the peace movement. Meanwhile, to counter parallel measures taken by his own rivals and strengthen his own hand, he tightens up relations in his own dominion, as in the Warsaw Pact countries where Gorbachev has increased the frequency of Warsaw Pact summits and dramatically increased commercial ties as well. This is the kind of typical imperialist geo-political jockeying that Gorbachev's "peace offensive" represents.

And what of his proclamations that "nuclear war is suicidal"? Gorbachev has even gone further than any social-imperialist before him, declaring that Clausewitz' analysis that "war is the continuation of

politics by other means" is outdated.¹⁸ Since nuclear war is suicidal, Gorbachev argues, what politics can that be the continuation of — there are no winners, only losers. What this argument tries to obscure is that all over the globe the USSR, like the U.S., is carrying out politics of plunder, suppression of the masses, and intensifying rivalry with their rivals — in short, *imperialist* politics, and that however dangerous to the survival of humanity a nuclear war might be, it is this imperialist politics and no other that guides and will continue to guide the policy of the USSR in every sphere, including militarily. The potential destruction of nuclear war does not change this truth but should only reaffirm that it is only imperialism that is capable of such horrendous crime, and emphasize all the more the necessity to step up the revolutionary struggle to overthrow it in all its forms.

While one can hardly expect Gorbachev to openly declare Soviet goals and aims in preparing for such a great crime, those who doubt their capability of carrying it out would do well to consider what Marshal Ogarkov, their great military theorist, has to say about "victory" in nuclear war: "Soviet military strategy proceeds from the fact that if nuclear war is forced on the Soviet Union, then the Soviet people and its Armed Forces need to be ready for the most severe and prolonged trials. The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist states in that case will, by comparison with the imperialist states, possess definite advantages. . . . *This creates for them objective possibilities for attaining victory.* However, for the realisation of these possibilities timely and all-round preparation of the country and the Armed Forces is necessary."¹⁹ Gorbachev himself, speaking of the Soviet victory in WW2, warned the U.S. that, "we shall not be taken by surprise. . . . If need be, we will give a fitting answer this time too"²⁰ Illusions should be cast aside. These imperialists, like their Western counterparts, will do whatever is necessary to carry on their way of life, their empire, and their rule, even if it means nuclear war.

Conclusion

From glasnost to arms control, Gorbachev has vigorously mobilised all forces that he could on behalf of Soviet imperialist interests. Feudal mullahs and tribal elders in Afghanistan are brought onto the same bandwagon as scientists working on the exotic apparatus of the Soviet military machine; members of the European peace movement are asked to hitch a ride along with the general who oversaw shooting down the KAL airliner; Saudi sheiks are to tag up with Ethiopian "Marxist-Leninists" — it is a motley crew indeed.

Now leading this reactionary array is a new chief, who has taken the West aback for the simple reason that he is a master of the imperialist art of cooing about peace while slamming into place the guns of war. His imperialist rivals circle warily. As the *Washington Post*, reflecting more liberal imperialist sentiment in the U.S., commented, "On the surface, the world looks like a safer place with Gorbachev. But we may be losing one element of stability from the old order — the expectation that if we pushed at the margins of the relationship, a conservative and risk-averse Soviet Union would give ground. That sort of accommodation may be less likely with Gorbachev. . . . And that may be dangerous. . . . In a new Mideast crisis, the Soviets might react as quickly and aggressively as the Americans."

Gorbachev has not brought about a lessening of tension, but, along with his imperialist rivals, heightened confrontation, occurring ever more intensely in even the most remote parts of the globe. His "strengthening" of "classless socialist democracy" is the unleashing of reactionary chauvinist sentiment among the bourgeoisified strata of Soviet society, and the concealing of the Soviet ruling class' own vicious dictatorship. It is a thoroughly reactionary program, hardly distinguished from any other imperialist platform just because it hides under the cloak of socialism.

The new Gorbachev Programme of the CPSU boasts that without the Soviet Union, "no issue in world politics can be solved."²¹ Like his

U.S. imperialist counterparts, Gorbachev imagines that it his class alone that determines history, that will decide destiny from the Iran-Iraq war to the Middle East to the fate of the planet itself. He is as mistaken as he is pompous. □

Footnotes

1. *Gorbachev*, by Zhores Medvedev (W.W. Norton: New York, 1986), p. 159.
2. *Gorbachev*, Medvedev, p. 229.
3. Cited in *Gorbachev*, by Thomas Butson (New York: 1986).
4. Report to Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, June 1986 (Novosti Press: Moscow)
5. For an analysis of the relation of Soviet economic reform to military preparations, see "Star Wars and the Soviet Economy: Desperate Planning, Wishful Thinking, and the Onrush of World War," by Raymond Lotta, *Revolutionary Worker* (Newspaper of the RCP, USA, a participant in the RIM), 16 February 1987.
6. *Current History*, October 1986.
7. Marshal Ogarkov, *Always Ready to Defend the Fatherland*, cited in E.P. Thompson, *Heavy Dancers* (London, 1986), p. 142; and *Current History* (October 1986).
8. Interview with Zhores Medvedev in *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* (London) June 1987.
9. The Black Hundreds were an ultra-reactionary group in Tsarist Russia infamous for racist pogroms.
10. *Moscow News*, 21 June 1987.
11. Ogarkov, in *Always Ready to Defend the Fatherland*, cited in *Heavy Dancers*, Thompson, p. 142.
12. Interview in *Marxism Today*, journal of the Communist Party of Great Britain, February 1987.
13. *Moscow News*, 29 March 1987.
14. Mikhail Gorbachev, *For a Nuclear-Free World* (Novosti Press: Moscow, 1987), p. 104.
15. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, in *Collected Works*, Vol 25, pp 460-461.
16. Gorbachev, *For a Nuclear Free World*, p. 147.
17. Figures based on *The Economist*, 18 April 1987; *The War Atlas*, by Michael Kidron and Dan Smith (New York: 1983); and *END: Journal of European Nuclear Disarmament*, May-June 1987, p. 13.
18. The Soviet social-imperialists discuss Clausewitz in "Europe and Clausewitz: The Absurdity of a Classic Formula. . . and the Absurdity of Reviving It," *Moscow News*, 26 April 1987.
19. This is under the entry on military strategy in the *Soviet Military Encyclopedia* over Marshal Ogarkov's name in 1979, cited in *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race*, by David Holloway (Yale Univ Press: London, 1983), p. 54 (emphasis added).
20. Gorbachev, *For a Nuclear Free World*, p. 79.
21. *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (New Edition)*, (Novosti: Moscow, 1986), p. 14.



Afghani Communists Expose Soviet Ploys

From *Neday-e-Enghelab* (Call of Revolution), organ of the Revolutionary Cell of Afghan Communists

After savaging Afghanistan for over seven years, the Soviet Union and its Afghan flunkies are trying to find "peaceful" means to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Afghan masses. Some changes in the present alignment of forces may come about as a result of the Soviet Union's new policies regarding Afghanistan, which include attempts to call the ex-monarch Zahir Shah back from exile and to forge an alliance with the feudals who the Soviets always used to claim were the main basis of the anti-Soviet resistance. In June 1987 the Afghan puppets announced the prolongation of the unilateral cease fire that was declared on 15th January. But in the long run no such manoeuvring can settle the question.

As we wrote in AWTW 1986/6, "The battlefield of 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 various imperialist powers themselves. It is not possible to understand Afghanistan unless both of these contradictions are understood."

In many areas, years of fighting under the leadership of religious authorities, tribal leaders and U.S.-backed organisations who are aiming to lead astray the just struggle

of the masses of Afghanistan and turn it into a weapon in the service of the Western bloc against the Soviet Union have had real, damaging effects on the movement, including opening the door to capitulation to Soviet social imperialism. The negative role of these reactionary forces whose bankruptcy is increasingly evident, can be overcome if the new democratic alternative is clearly placed before the people of Afghanistan. Only the genuine Marxist-Leninists, who must regroup themselves into a party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, can lead such a revolution.

The following are excerpts from a recent issue of *Neday-e-Enghelab* (Call of Revolution), organ of the Revolutionary Cell of Afghan Communists, one of the Afghan groups who have declared their intention to work towards building a party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The whole political scene of Afghanistan today, as well as the world situation, accentuates the urgency of building a party capable of leading the national war against the Soviet social imperialists and developing it as part of the new democratic stage of the Afghan revolution. Such a party can be built only in close connection to the struggle of the masses and answering the pressing questions of revolution in Afghanistan in-

cluding: the problem of forging a broad united front while assuring the leadership of the proletariat on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and carrying out the agrarian revolution; breaking with the military line prevailing within the resistance which has strategically based itself on heavy arms received from the West and instead developing strategy and tactics which rely on the boundless force and initiative of the masses; rupturing with backward ideas and semi-feudal relations that are now serving reaction, including the oppression of women whose lack of active participation in the resistance struggle of Afghanistan is very telling; and correctly handling other questions involved in waging a genuine people's war in contrast to the present situation in which the armed struggle is both spontaneous and largely led by non-revolutionary class forces. In this way a genuine vanguard party can lead the masses of people to overthrow social-imperialism, imperialism and feudalism in Afghanistan, and open the way for socialism and communism.

Difficult responsibilities face the communists of Afghanistan, but the contradictions that gave rise to the armed struggle of the Afghan masses are not going to be solved by minor changes in Soviet policy, and the coming forward of communists to shoulder these responsibilities indicates a new and higher stage in the struggle — AWTW.

Gorbachev has called Afghanistan a bloody wound.

This characterisation reveals the Kremlin leaders' dissatisfaction and disappointment with the present situation in Afghanistan and their eagerness to find a way out of the impasse they are caught in. Several times in the course of the last year Gorbachev has proposed to deal with this problem through the formation of a coalition government. During the Reykjavik negotiations, in addition to strategic nuclear weapons limitations Gorbachev also brought up Afghanistan and said that the Soviets wanted to pull out. When he visited Vladivostok Gorbachev not only expressed an inclination to make concessions regarding border disputes with China and announced the withdrawal of 60,000 Soviet troops from Mongolia, he also announced that 8,000 Soviet soldiers would be withdrawn from Afghanistan. During his visit to India Gorbachev once again expressed Soviet readiness to reach a conciliatory settlement in Afghanistan and assured Indian government leaders of Soviet willingness to withdraw. Before that, Abdul Sattar, a high-ranking official in Pakistan's Foreign Ministry, was invited to the Soviet Union for talks to reach a negotiated settlement to the Afghanistan question.

In the wake of all this activity the Soviet social-imperialists have found the situation favourable to openly putting forward their plan for national reconciliation and called the heads of their Afghan mercenary regime to Moscow. In a meeting between high-ranking Soviet party and government officials and their high-ranking Kabul puppets, these mercenaries received their orders from the social-imperialists.

The plans dictated by the social-imperialist bosses were approved in a plenum meeting held by these revisionist mercenaries' infamous party [the ruling People's Democratic Party — *AWTW*] and then broadcast in the form of a summation of Nagib's speech in that meeting. Having received its orders, the puppet government's "Revolutionary Council" immediately issued a proclamation announcing the forma-

tion of a "National Reconciliation Commission" and a cease-fire by the armed forces of the government and by Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan.

Is this plan the logical continuation of Saur's coup d'etat [the April 1978 coup which brought the People's Democratic Party to power and established the present regime — *AWTW*], the Soviet social-imperialists' Afghan invasion and all their previous plans? Or has the pressure of the war in Afghanistan forced the Soviet social-imperialists and their Afghan flunkies to accept big setbacks? Is this plan as doomed to failure as the Soviet invasion itself or will it bring victory for Soviet social-imperialism and its Afghan mercenaries? In the face of this plan, what is the situation with the resistance, what are its responsibilities and tasks and how should they be accomplished?

National Reconciliation — A Refurbished Version of Parcham's "National Democracy"

There has been a long-standing dispute among Afghanistan's Khrushchevite revisionists revolving around the Parcham faction's "national democracy" line versus the Khalq faction's "people's democracy." From the beginning the Parcham labeled the Khalq's "people's democracy" adventurist and ultra-leftist. These two programmes were debated in a series of mutually abusive letters the two factions published during the last period of the Daoud government [overthrown by 1978 coup — *AWTW*]. These splits within the revisionist party weakened it greatly in the face of the Daoud government's attacks, until pressure from their social-imperialist boss forced the two factions to unite. But these questions, like similar debates between them, remained unresolved.

After the Saur coup and the formation of a government involving both factions, disputes over these questions reached a higher level. The Parcham's "national democracy" line called for the government's "reforms" to be carried out at a slower pace and for the inclusion of what they called national and democratic forces in the

government. Of course, by national and democratic the Parchamis meant vacillating and inconsistent forces. But with the coup the Khalq faction seized the initiative, and intoxicated with success it was determined to carry out its so-called people's democracy programme, meaning that the People's Democratic Party was to have a monopoly on the government and the Khalq faction was to run the party. When the Parcham faction continued its contacts with these vacillating elements, the open disagreements inevitably led to open factional clashes. Parchami leaders Babrak, Nagib and others were exiled, while Qadir, Rafi, Keshtmand, etc., were arrested. The state media published their confessions indicating that they had been plotting a coup against the Khalq faction; according to the ruling faction's propaganda the coup against it involved "narrow nationalists" and "ultra-left" elements. With the Khalq faction's suppression of its Parchami rivals, government pressure heightened not only against more radical political forces but also against the centrists whose opposition to the government was such that even some of them took up armed struggle.

For a short period of time after the coup, the regime seemed to face little serious opposition, and so the Soviets approved of the Khalq faction's policies and backed them against the Parchamis' programme. In fact, the Khalq factions' policies meant moving as fast as possible to make our society completely dependent economically and politically on Soviet social-imperialism. This was the programme that dominated the regime, and the Parchamis' programme was cast aside. But as these policies were carried out, they soon gave rise to spontaneous outbursts of discontent and then armed struggle against the regime. The more this dependent regime found itself cornered by this spontaneous armed struggle, the more its social-imperialist masters found the Khalq faction's policies unsatisfactory. It took the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan for the Soviets to be able to modify the Khalq faction's policies. Khalq



When villages are bombarded by Soviet planes, the people are forced to leave with their few possessions.

September 1979. Taraki, Amin and other notables of the governing People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.



leader Nur Mohammed Taraki paid for this with his life. In his first radio speech broadcast from Tashkent, Babrak Karmel announced the "good news" that the people of Afghanistan would now be free of the Amin gang and suggested the formation of a united front of all "national, democratic and progressive forces."

After social-imperialist troops invaded Afghanistan, the disagreements that had led to clashes between the Khalq and Parcham factions in the first days after the coup were now resolved chiefly in Parcham's favour. Though these disputes continued now it was Parchami policies that predominated, under the aegis of the Soviets. The offended centrists were now labeled friends and drawn back into the party to some degree, and especially rallied around the National Fatherland Front's programme.

To win over the feudals and Khans (feudal tyrants) the land reform was amended so that those feudals and Khans who cooperated with the government could keep their lands untouched. In the same way the sixteenth plenum of the puppet party adopted a document called "ten theses" which called for protecting the privileges of private investors, merchants and tribal leaders, reconfirmed the privileges enjoyed by the clergy, turned the League of State Clergy into a government ministry and declared that the government would take over and accelerate the building of more mosques and the restoration of holy places.

Through these policies the tribal leaders and Khans whom the regime had alienated were increasingly attracted to the National Fatherland Front.

At the same time, the regime began contacting capitulationist leaders of the resistance fronts and drawing them into negotiations, as well as infiltrating the resistance. The regime made special efforts to provoke infighting within the resistance fronts and intensify already existing contradictions, and thus develop more favourable conditions to lure in these capitulationist elements. Once the regime

has succeeded in establishing such contacts with a particular guerrilla front, the first step would be to declare a cease-fire and the next one would be to try and develop these contacts, and win them over to the government completely if possible.

In terms of the economy, after the social-imperialist invasion the regime abandoned its former policy of cutting off trade between the liberated areas and the areas and cities under the regime's control, and instead initiated a policy of encouraging economic relations and free trade. The purpose in restoring these economic relations was to undermine a self-sufficient village economy and increase the villages' dependence on the cities.

The present line of a cease-fire and national reconciliation, in conjunction with Soviet efforts to seize the political initiative in the international arena as exemplified by the decisions of the recent 27th Congress of the Soviet party, is a crystallisation of the old "national democracy" line long advocated by the Parcham faction. Now it has been forcibly accepted as the regime's official policy by the Khalq faction as well, after several years of conflicts between the two of them. So this plan can hardly be said to be unexpected or surprising.

Principles and Goals of Proposed Reconciliation

"The principles for this coalition are simple and easy to apply," a special plenum meeting of the mercenary revisionist party's Central Committee recently declared. "They involve a cease-fire, the solution of Afghanistan's present and future problems without armed struggle or bloodshed, fair representation in our political institutions and economic life, an amnesty for past political activity and for those presently imprisoned, the preserving and strengthening of our cultural, historical and national heritage and of the respect and practice of our sacred Islamic religion.

"What are the goals of this reconciliation? The main goals are peace and security so that the achievements of the Saur revolution can be expanded, the accomplishment of the programme of the Peo-

ple's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the independent and progressive development of our country, and the strengthening of our regime and its loyal friendship with the Soviet Union."

The Military Aspect

The first and principal condition for this proposed coalition is a cease-fire and an end to the armed struggle, but no change is proposed for the main factors which gave rise to the present armed struggle — the rule of the puppet regime and especially the presence of Soviet social-imperialism's invading forces which prop it up. Therefore accepting the proposed cease-fire and end to the armed struggle against the social-imperialist troops still in Afghanistan and the puppet regime would mean accepting defeat for the resistance. Any kind of cease-fire with the Soviets or the regime has always been considered an act of capitulation to the enemy.

Those few guerrilla fronts that have surrendered to the enemy started by accepting a cease-fire, and now the enemy is trying to generalise this process on a national level. Basically, the enemy is relying on people's weariness with already long years of war and their desire for peace.

But more than anything else this is a confession of the regime's frustration and the fatigue of its armed forces. Despite 150,000 social-imperialist invasion troops in our country, the puppet regime has never been able to develop an efficient and sufficiently strong military force. Many units in the puppet army at present are far below strength; in some of them officers outnumber soldiers because of massive and unceasing desertions. Only in those areas where the guerrilla fronts have become passive and there is no fighting has the puppet army been able to maintain any stability. It is true that the regime has achieved some limited success in some cities with the formation of local garrisons but these are mainly made up of men who do not support the regime's military goals and who join only because there is little chance of their being sent into action. Despite the puppet regime's ef-

forts such as awarding prizes to puppet armed forces and state security officers or of declaring them "heroes of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan," the morale of these officers is as low as can be. A considerable majority of Khālqi officers and a fair number of Parchami officers are tired of the war. This weariness manifests itself mainly in drug addiction and drunkenness. Another sign of the puppet regime's military bankruptcy is that corruption and bribery has become rampant among officers. It has become so widespread that even Russian officers are involved and constantly seek different kinds of bribes.

In sum the puppet regime is militarily dependent on the presence of Soviet troops and could not last without them. So it is impossible, under present circumstances, for these troops to leave Afghanistan. The programme for the proposed national reconciliation says that these troops would leave after security is guaranteed, a government of national coalition is formed and national unity is secured. This means that a new condition for the withdrawal of Soviet troops has been officially added — it is no longer simply the cessation of foreign intervention, i.e. military and other aid to the resistance, that is being demanded, but rather the end of the war itself and the guaranteeing of the regime's security.

The regime's call for a cease-fire should be considered from several different angles. It has been highly touted and has frightened the heads of some of the more reactionary forces among the resistance but to some extent such a cease-fire has already been going on in practice. For a long time now the puppet army and Soviet invasion troops have refrained from attacking certain guerrilla fronts, either because they have come to some understanding or even signed agreements, or because these guerrilla fronts have been inactive due to internal problems in what amounts to a de facto cease-fire. For example, there is the case of Nuristan, vast areas of Hazarajat and some parts of Ghur and Arzegan. In Nuristan, the

Islamic Republic which has supposedly been established is actually a creation of the puppet regime police spy Şarvar Tank. For a long time there the so-called Islamic Republic carried out no military actions against the Soviet and puppet regime forces and lately the latter have also ceased military actions except for the odd bombardment. In some parts of Ghur and Arzegan as well, there is little activity against the regime and the Russian invaders and these latter have responded in kind.

When the regime calls for the Russian and Afghan puppet troops to be returned to their bases, that too is nothing new. Almost all of them are already trapped in their bases, besieged by the resistance, and only a few cities under the regime's control are considered safe for them. Even before this call for a cease-fire they have not been able to move freely but rather have been pinned down by the widespread resistance.

In its cease-fire proposal, the puppet government claims the right to rule over the borders and main roads — which is totally at odds with reality. Out of Afghanistan's 3500 kms of border with Iran and Pakistan, the government controls no more than 200 kms. The proposal to halt transport of arms and materiel by the guerrillas in these regions and allow the government to secure them would mean that the resistance would have to concede 3300 kms of border to the government. The government also claims that the main roads are under its control, whereas in reality most of them are controlled by the resistance day and night unless the government dispatches major forces. Even the main roads passing through cities under the control of Russian and puppet regime troops can be used by the enemy only by engaging in constant fighting.

The puppet regime considers this question of allowing it control of the borders and main roads to be one of the main points of the cease-fire, and in fact a precondition. So it can be seen from this aspect too that the proposed cease-fire really would mean the resistance's surrender. The bulk of the clashes be-

tween resistance forces and enemy troops are presently taking place in the border regions and along the main roads. Under the regime's plan those areas where neither the guerrillas nor the enemy has complete control would also be given up to the government.

One of the goals of this plan is to create, under the protection of social-imperialist invasion forces, a non-war atmosphere among the puppet armed forces presently in constant turmoil due to dispatches to the front and constant desertions. With relative calm and stability in the puppet armed forces they hope not only to put an end to these desertions but also to re-attract some of those youth who've already deserted and escaped chiefly to other countries. Unfortunately, because of the lack of unity among the resistance guerrilla fronts, their local nature and most importantly because of the predominance of reactionary policies, these urban youth can find no place for themselves in the villages controlled by the resistance and are forced to seek refuge abroad.

[Another] goal of social-imperialism and the mercenary regime in declaring this cease-fire is to try and isolate the active resistance fronts and to prevent other fronts from giving them aid, so that they can be suppressed.

Soviet social-imperialism and the puppet regime have always claimed that the Afghanistan resistance is mainly reliant upon foreign aid and would not be able to survive without it. When the puppet regime, in its indirect negotiations with Pakistan, gives the cutting off of foreign aid as a precondition for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, it claims that such aid is the basis for the resistance in Afghanistan. Now that these negotiations may have reached a crucial stage, the social-imperialists and the puppet regime hope that by declaring a cease-fire they can encourage the Pakistani regime and its protectors to cut off military aid to the resistance and thus eliminate what they think is the resistance's basis for existence.

Political Aspects

The policy of persecuting mullahs followed by Taraki and Amin

alienated a strata which could very well serve the interests of the regime and of the social-imperialists. Now this policy has been cast aside and the regime is assiduously trying to win them over. Now one can say that the number of mullahs who are linked to the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and financially supported by the puppet regime is no less than the number of mullahs linked to the anti-government Islamic forces. The regime is counting on the mullahs to play an important role in its planned national coalition and will try and use the clergy in its coalition committees, in order to compete with reactionary forces among the resistance in making use of the religious sentiments of the masses. It should be kept in mind that the puppet regime conciliated with feudalism from the beginning. This was shown in the land reform policy of leaving 14.3 acres of the best land to each landlord, and the "ten theses" are an important step towards deepening this conciliation. Now, according to the mandate of the fake revolutionary council of the puppet regime, land and irrigation reform throughout the country will be carried out by the national reconciliation committees, with the aim of further concessions to the feudals and Khans. Thus Soviet social-imperialism avoids seriously attacking feudalism and recognises its class privileges to a considerable degree. The comprador and bureaucrat bourgeoisie dependent on Soviet social-imperialism are eager to unite with feudalism and are ready to form a government with them on the basis of a "national reconciliation" and a "fair" distribution of power between them to end the war, as long as the dominance of the comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie is maintained.

In sum, Soviet social-imperialism and the puppet regime are trying to draw the remnants of feudalism into alliance with the bureaucrat comprador bourgeoisie and to sever Afghan feudalism's traditional links with Western imperialism.

Economic Aspects

Unfortunately the regime has had some success in carrying out its

economic policies (in making the villages more dependent on the cities), because the resistance has lacked an economic programme for the areas it controls due to reactionary leadership in many guerrilla fronts and the fact that most commanders take up only one sort of economic task: gathering religious funds, cash or other material for the resistance, and collecting fines.

The development of these markets has to some degree ensured the regime's economic control of some rural areas. The small merchants and shopkeepers who have arisen in these markets constitute a dependent stratum economically, and socially are a centre for the line of national capitulation in the villages. Even the initial outlay of capital for this stratum comes mainly from the government. Not only does this stratum augment the puppet regime's economic control of the villages, it also has served as the regime's intelligence network in these areas.

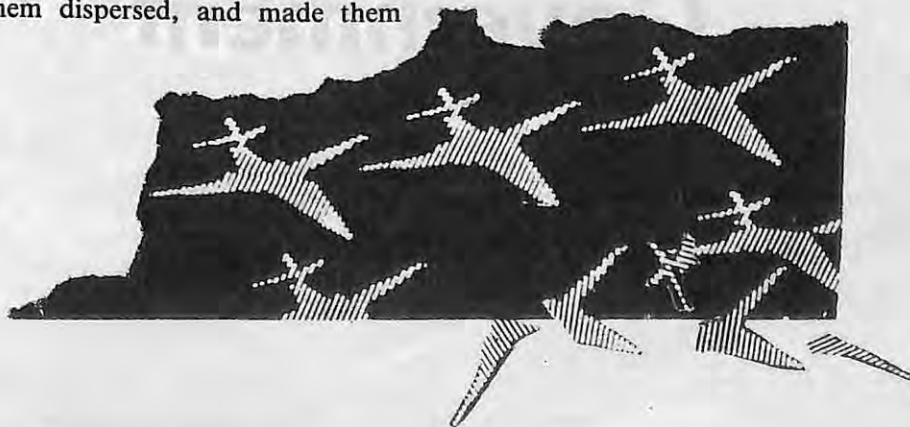
Deviations within the Resistance

Although many factors hinder the formation of the authentic Afghan communist party, the political and ideological deviations within the movement should be considered the main factor that has weakened the communists of Afghanistan in their efforts to build the party, despite the thousands of martyrs they have given in their struggle. In the past few years the heroic struggles waged by the masses of people against social-imperialism and the puppet regime have provided the basis for the communists of Afghanistan to build such a party; these favourable possibilities have been lost because of the deviations within our movement that have confused the communists of Afghanistan and kept them dispersed, and made them

vulnerable to attacks. In the last few years liquidationists influenced by the revisionist Three Worlds theory have chosen to assemble around the grey banners of the Islamic Republic, under the pretext of fighting the main enemy, thus serving the main enemy in theory and practice by liquidating communist ideology from the right and squandering the fighting energy of the country's communists in the interests of feudalism. Others who have tended towards Hoxhaite revisionism and borrowed the revisionists' programmes as well as centrist flunkies of Soviet social-imperialism have liquidated communist ideology from the "left," propagating attacks on Mao Tsetung that have damaged the country's communist movement and spread confusion that in the final analysis has served and will serve social-imperialism and their revisionist mercenaries.

The urgent, immediate and principal need at the present stage of the struggle is the formation of the communist party of Afghanistan. This requires that in the context of struggle against Soviet social-imperialism and its flunky Khrushchevite revisionists, in the context of struggle against imperialism and reaction, there must be vigorous ideological and political struggle against Three Worldist and Hoxhaite revisionism and those who propagate these two deviations, thus enabling the Afghanistan communists to form the communist party of Afghanistan by solving the problems at hand and to accomplish their historic task of continuing and developing the armed struggle of our people and leading it to victory through protracted people's war. □

[Abridged by AWTW]



Document from PCP

Develop the People's War to Serve the World Revolution

Part Two: One Year of APRA Government

In the previous issue of our magazine we published the first half of this important document recently issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). The first part, entitled "Six Years of People's War," summed up the Peruvian government's efforts to stop the people's war through mass slaughter, as well as the political and military advances achieved so far in the people's war. Here in this current issue we present the second and final part, which analyses the first year of the reactionary government of Peruvian President Alan Garcia whose APRA party came to power in July 1985 — *AWTW*

The Garcia government ended its first year in July (1986 — *AWTW*); therefore it is fitting that we examine some questions concerning its rise and performance.

THE 1985 GENERAL ELECTIONS. Let us remember what Marx taught: "Once every several years the oppressed are permitted to decide which members of the oppressing class are to represent them and crush them in parliament" and let us emphasise, in our case, that it is mainly a question of who is to preside over the government towards that end. It was within this framework that the April 14th 1985 general elections were organised to elect a president, vice-president, senators and deputies. As usual, these elections were called the purest, cleanest and most democratic in Peruvian history and it was said that they "strengthened democracy in the country and throughout Latin America" and represented a defeat for so-called "terrorism." Garcia claimed that he was "elected by the votes of the absolute majority of Peruvians." What is the reality despite all the propagandistic distortions? Let us look at some facts. (See Chart A).

Workers of the world unite! Develop base areas! Communist Party of Peru.



Mayo 87

DESARROLLAR BASE

PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL

CHART A
COVERAGE BY DEPARTMENT OF THE
NATIONAL ELECTIONS REGISTRY

Comparison of people who should have been registered, according to the 1981 National Census, and the number of people issued voter registrations cards as reported by the JNE (National Board of Elections) not adjusted for deaths.

Department	% Registered	% Unregistered	Unregistered
Cajamarca	64.4	35.6	198,323
Apurimac	65.2	34.8	60,898
Ayacucho	66.1	33.9	93,170
Piura	68.2	31.8	201,592
Amazonas	68.6	31.4	43,059
Tumbes	72.4	27.6	16,708
Loreto	72.8	27.2	64,521
Pasco	73.1	26.9	30,945
Cuzco	73.4	26.6	127,555
Huancavelica	75.8	24.2	44,974
Puno	75.9	24.1	122,212
Ancash	75.9	24.1	111,324
Tacna	80.4	19.6	17,563
Moquegua	81.8	18.2	11,142
Huanuco	82.6	17.4	45,561
La Libertad	83.9	16.1	91,538
Ucayali	84.3	15.7	16,664
Lambayeque	84.6	15.4	59,678
Arequipa	86.2	13.8	59,783
Junin	87.3	12.7	61,469
San Martin	87.8	12.2	21,224
Madre de Dios	91.5	8.5	1,703
Ica	92.4	7.6	19,460
Callao	93.2	6.8	19,633
Lima	94.7	5.3	161,044
Total not registered by JNE			1,701,743 (17%)
Total registered by JNE			8,290,846 (83%)
Total of persons who should have been registered according to the Census			9,992,589 (100.0%)

The above table is taken from the April 8th, 1985 issue of *Caretas* magazine. The first thing that stands out is that 17% of those citizens eligible to register have not done so; further, in five departments the percentage of unregistered persons is around a third, while in another five departments this percentage is nearly a fourth; in 13 departments, that is, more than half the total number of departments, including the most important of the Andean region, the percentage of those who have not registered runs from 19.6% to 35.6%. It is rather noteworthy that in Huancavelica 24.2% of the citizens did not register, a percentage that reached 33.9% and 34.8% respectively in the departments of Ayacucho and Apurimac, the area most convulsed by guerrilla warfare, where the state made special efforts to make the elections suc-

cessful. This 17% of those eligible who did not register must be taken into account, especially since these 1,701,743 people amount to 22.5% of those who did vote. Neither the official data issued by the National Board of Elections nor the pompous so-called political analysts have anything to say about these unregistered people; all of them, including the parties of the much-touted "left" have kept a complicit silence meant to cover up the facts and channel the people along the worn-out path of "electoral democracy" preached by General Morales Bermudez at the end of the military government (1968-1980 AWTW).

To protect its elections the Peruvian state mobilised 85,000 troops from the three branches of the Armed Forces and 70,000 police, according to the chairman of the Armed Forces Joint Command and the In-

terior Minister. That same Joint Command usurped the functions of the National Board of Elections by changing the voting places, concentrating them in provincial and district capitals "for security reasons" with a view to possible guerrilla actions. Such actions did take place in hundreds of towns in the provinces of Cangallo, Victor Fajardo and La Mar in the department of Ayacucho, as well as in Manta, Acobambilla, Conaica and Lircay in the department of Huancavelica and part of the department of Apurimac; in Ticslay and Yanahuanca in the department of Pasco, and in the provinces of Huamalies, Ambo, Dos de Mayo and Maranon in the department of Huanuco. The Joint Command also ordered special security measures "to assure the free exercise of the right to vote" and "protect electoral officials and the voters at large." In this way the reactionary Armed Forces once more stepped in to fulfil their traditional role as the great voter, "guardians of the republic and of democracy" in this country where the citizens and people are considered under-aged incompetents who need military guardianship. Once again we see an exemplary exercise of "the people's sovereignty"!

Let us examine some noteworthy facts about the electoral process. The elections were to have taken place on April 14th from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon. It was said that the polls would be ready at eight without fail, but in many places, including in the capital as well as the provinces, the polls did not open until noon, as the JNE chairman himself admitted. In Concepcion, in the province of Cangallo which is in the department of Ayacucho, 3700 out of 5000 eligible voters did not cast their ballots; soldiers assassinated four peasants in Vilcas and jailed quite a few peasants in Cangallo. In Chingui, in the province of La Mar in the same department, a town turned into a strategic hamlet by the Armed Forces, with eight polling places, all the votes were for the APRA party, there was not a single vote for any other party nor one blank or spoiled ballot; 100% of the ballots were

for Garcia. In the province of Huamanga the Departmental Elections Board received complaints about Armed Forces fraud on behalf of the APRA party committed in the small towns of the San Cristobal de Socos, Huamanga and Acocro districts as well as in other provinces of the department of Ayacucho. There was considerable voter abstention in the towns of Andahuallas in the department of Apurimac. In Huancavelica, 70% did not vote in the Santa Ana and Huachocolpa districts; in Pilpichaca voter registration cards were just stamped, while in Santa Ines the Army pressed the peasants to vote for APRA. These repeated coincidences raise a question: which side were the Armed Forces on? In the province of Alcides Carrion in the department of Pasco the voting was centralised in Yanahuanca, but the elections were held on the 15th, and the same thing occurred in the towns of Caujul, Navan and Cochamarca in Cajatambo province in the department of Lima. Obviously the question arises: are votes valid if they are not cast on election day? And in how many towns did this situation occur? It is very revealing that in Tingo Maria, headquarters of the VII Political-Military Command, there was "remarkable absenteeism" according to the pro-APRA daily newspaper *La Republica*. Finally, in Lima itself, with 40% of the national total of voters, the voting had to be extended until five in the afternoon, while from noon on the TV channels let loose a well-orchestrated publicity campaign in favour of APRA, broadcasting poll results and projections in favour of that party; there was a whole plan aimed at influencing voters, conducted especially through Channel 5, whose owners include one of Garcia's well-known advisers. But this was not all that happened in the capital, which saw the most chaotic recount of votes amid a torrent of denunciations and scandals. Just to cite two eloquent facts: first, half a million votes were missing, the difference, according to the spokesperson for the United Left, between the number of voters and the number of votes counted; these 500,000

CHART B RESULTS OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

		%
Eligible for registration	9,992,589	100.00
Unregistered	1,701,743	17.00
Registered	8,290,846	83.00
Did not vote	733,664	8.84
Voted	7,557,182	91.16
Spoiled or blank	1,043,797	13.81
APRA	3,457,030	45.74
United Left	1,606,914	21.26

CHART C PERCENTAGE COMPARISON BETWEEN THOSE ELIGIBLE TO REGISTER, THOSE WHO REGISTERED AND VOTERS

		(a)%	(b)%	(c)%
Unregistered	1,701,743	17.03	20.53	22.50
Didn't vote	733,664	7.34	8.85	9.70
Spoiled and blank	1,043,797	10.45	12.59	13.81
TOTALS	3,479,204	34.82	41.97	46.01
APRA	3,457,030	34.59	41.70	45.74
United Left	1,606,914	16.08	19.38	21.26
CODE	773,705	7.74	9.33	10.23
AP	472,627	4.73	5.70	6.25
Others	198,930	2.00	2.40	2.63

a) in relation to 9,992,509 eligible to register

b) in relation to 8,290,846 registered with the JNE

c) in relation to 7,557,182 who voted

votes represent 18.9% of the total cast in the capital city. Second, a thousand record sheets, amounting to 200,000 votes, were withdrawn in order to fix votes in favour of certain senators and deputies. Both these exposures were left forgotten in the final rush to end the counting of the votes in Lima, the last to be forwarded to the National Board of Elections despite the Board's repeated demands. Furthermore, the great scandal made about the rigged votes for senators and deputies, which puts many "fathers of the country" and consequently the validity of parliament itself in-to doubt, served to hide the main question, that of the fraud carried out around the presidential votes to ensure APRA's election. Here are some pearls of wisdom spoken about the supposed democratic purity and cleanliness of the elections, "the most eloquent proof of democratic vocation . . . a truly genuine democratic race, the mark of an unblemished and flawless civic culture" according to then-president Belaunde.

From the reports published on

the elections we can extract, for instance, the following: (See Chart B).

In this table attention must be paid to those who were not registered, who registered but did not vote or who cast invalid or blank ballots. Their importance can be seen in the next chart: (See Chart C).

In these tables the bottom line is that the total of the unregistered, the non-voters and those who cast blank or spoiled ballots adds up to 3,479,204. This great mass is made up of the unregistered, that is, those who are outside the prevailing political system or are openly against it; the non-voters, who are opposed to the elections or are not interested in them; and those who cast blank or spoiled ballots to formally comply with their legal duty while expecting nothing from the elections or not in agreement with any of the political parties taking part in them. In general terms, this enormous mass of citizens is expressing rejection, alienation or indifference regarding the prevailing

(Continued on page 69)

THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM

Mission to Teheran

General Robert E. Huyser
Andre Deutsch, London 1986

All Fall Down

Gary Sick
Random House, New York 1985

All classes sum up their defeats as well as their victories. In General Huyser's *Mission to Teheran* and Gary Sick's *All Fall Down*, two tried and trusted servants of the US imperialist ruling class attempt to explain the debacle of US imperialism's Iran policy and the fall of the Shah in 1979. Of course, the class blinders of these two imperialists, as well as their ultimately petty concern to shift blame from themselves and onto others, greatly limits the value of such summations. Still, the collapse of the Shah's regime in Iran did represent a very considerable blow to the US imperialists even if the Iranian revolution ended up aborted and deformed into a reactionary and barbaric Islamic Republic. For these reasons the imperialist ruling circles, especially in the United States, have paid considerable attention to summing up the "lessons of Iran" and, it seems, are even trying to apply these summations in their interventions in other dominated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America when long entrenched reactionary regimes are under assault (most recently in Seoul). For this reason it is not enough for the revolutionaries to sum up *their* experience and that of the masses; they must *also* know what the enemy is thinking and planning so as to be better able to foil them. It is in this light that these two books, which represent a sort of "second wave" of memoirs (the first wave being those of President Carter, US Ambassador to Iran Sullivan, etc., published shortly after the end of the Carter Presidency in 1980) are at least worthy of note.

General Robert E. Huyser was

the highest-ranking army officer sent to Iran by President Carter to supervise the departure of the Shah and to directly oversee the Iranian military. His book is mostly a day by day account (albeit heavily filtered) of his activities during his 40 day mission. Gary Sick, on the other hand, is a relatively unknown retired Navy captain who served on the staff of the U.S. National Security Council as the resident "Iran expert" during the whole of the Iran crisis. Sick's book is far more pretentious than Huyser's account, but is actually of less value.

The starting point for both is the recognition that the Pahlavi dynasty was the main support for US interests in the vital Gulf region and that the Shah was considered a permanent feature of the region. As Sick puts it: "No regime could have appeared stronger, richer or more firmly entrenched than that of the Shah in the mid 1970s."

The propping up of the Shah dates way back to the postwar period and especially to 1952 when the U.S. was instrumental in engineering a coup d'etat which allowed the Shah to depose the bourgeois liberals centred around the former Prime Minister Mossadegh and mercilessly crush the masses. From that time on Iran was a "privileged" recipient of all sorts of U.S. attention. The "White Revolution," the massive military buildup of the Iranian armed forces, the building up a modern intelligentsia in the cities—all this was done in conjunction with Western, especially US, imperialism.

This process took on an even greater dimension under the Nixon-Ford administrations (1969-1976) as Nixon tried to implement his policy of developing "regional gendarmes" to avoid direct reliance on the intervention of US troops in various "troublespots" in the world—a response to the devastating defeat the US had suffered in Vietnam.

In both books an account is

presented of an Iranian society thoroughly bound to that of the US itself. The 30,000 strong "American community" in Iran played a major role in almost every aspect — and most especially the military. When it comes to describing what the *nature* of these US-Iranian bonds were, the unabashed Huyser is more to the point than the sophisticated Mr. Sick. The latter contends that one of the principal problems was that "Iran was the regional tail wagging the super-power dog." He bases this rather ridiculous statement on the fact that Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger had given the Shah a blank check to acquire any non-nuclear equipment in the US arsenal (an internal US government report from 1976 had said that in the relationship between Iran and the US "the Government of Iran exerts the determining influence").

In fact, General Huyser's book shows more clearly than ever that the old slogan of the Iranian revolutionaries, "The Shah Is a US Puppet," was a thousand times true. Even before General Huyser was appointed the US "regent" when his Highness the Shah was sent off packing, the General was well known in Teheran. As the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of US European Command (responsible for all US troops in NATO as well as the Middle East) had been called upon to "advise" the Shah, and to integrate the Iranian military into US military contingency planning.

In the opening pages of his book Huyser's conceit lets an important cat out of the bag: Huyser himself personally wrote (in "hand-writing"!) the "Concept of Operations and Operational Doctrine" for the Iranian military. He boasts how he did this after a team of US officers had studied the problem and that his draft was approved "without changes" by the Iranian chiefs of the armed services as well as the Shah himself. Thus the US imperialists decided not only in con-

tent but even in form the basic war-fighting doctrine of the Iranian military! Hardly a case of the tail wagging the dog! If anything, Sick only shows that the US presidents and the very top levels of their advisers preferred to give orders to the Shah directly rather than entrust such an important task to lowly State Department bureaucrats. As for the argument that the enormous payments by the Shah for US military equipment somehow modified the basic master/lackey relationship (a contention not only of some openly pro-imperialist commentators, but also of the supporters of the notorious "Three World Theory") the ability of the U.S. to quickly and effectively "freeze" the many billions of dollars of Iranian assets during the "hostage crisis" of 1979 shows that this much heralded "economic clout" was really little more than a US bookkeeping arrangement.

In fact, both the Huyser and the Sick accounts show that as the crisis deepened the puppet strings grew taut and the Shah was left with little room to wiggle about on his own. Ambassador Sullivan would hold *daily* meetings with the Shah (usually accompanied by the British ambassador) and was instructed from Washington to provide advice to the Shah with "greater specificity." Even the arrangements for the Shah's departure were made by the US, and his last words to his own chief of staff were "to obey" General Huyser!

Huyser's basic mission was to take direct charge of the Iranian military and to assure that the reactionary state power (essentially the army) remained intact even after the Shah fled the country. His first task was to convince the top Iranian generals themselves not to flee with the Shah. He describes a snivelling and cowardly bunch of incompetents who had to be controlled by gruff scoldings alternated with condescending babying. Huyser's description of the emotional col-

lapse of the generals as the Shah departed on his airplane is particularly amusing. . . .

Once he was assured that the leadership of the Army would not desert, Huyser set about trying to organize a military intervention. Although he ultimately failed (to some extent because things were too far gone by the time Huyser got there), his account reveals quite a bit about the strategy of the US imperialists in such a situation, especially the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the carrot and the stick.

Those who see savage military repression as incompatible with political "reform," or who would prefer to believe that a so-called military/fascist bloc can be opposed to a "civilian bloc" (as we heard argued in the Philippines) would do well to read Huyser's account.

Huyser, whose mission and, indeed, whose very existence is bound up with a "military option," points out that the Shah needed to "make the transition to a more democratic form of government" and "modernise his methods of ruling."

Huyser was told to make various contingency plans involving the military, either a coup in which the generals would take power or unleashing the military in support of the civilian government of Bakhtiar (who had been appointed Prime Minister in the last days of the Shah). Huyser seems rather indifferent to the choice to be made. He points out that the "preparations" for the two things are the same and furthermore seems clear on the imperialists' necessity to combine bloodbaths with reforms, changes in government, and even a basic modification of the regime itself. Gary Sick made the same point in an internal memorandum (quoted in his book) written just weeks before the final overthrow of the Shah. "If we are to back the Shah in a series of repressive moves it should be with the clear understanding that repression is no substitute

for political concessions on his part, leading to a new government which will have some real credibility."

Huyser makes a couple of interesting observations on the relationship between the carrot and the stick. Without the carrot, he points out, it will be difficult for the stick (in this case a military coup) to be accepted. In addition, he points out later, the threat of a coup makes various schemes for a change in government more palatable. He quotes Carter's National Security Adviser Brzezinski (Sick's boss at the time) as telling him to openly make plans for a coup because "we could scare the opposition into supporting Bakhtiar by warning that the alternative was the Army." When one reads these lines it is difficult not to think of the Philippines where the open preparations for a coup are used precisely to "scare the opposition" into supporting, or at least acquiescing, in the reactionary Aquino regime, and it is all the more unfortunate that some of our comrades seem to have been slow to perceive this point as well. (See "An Open Letter to the Communist Party of the Philippines," *AWTW* 1987/8).

Much has been written about alleged policy disputes within the U.S. ruling circles over the best way to handle the Iran situation. In fact there seems to have been a large measure of consensus up to almost the very end when the impending fall of the Shah increased the tendencies toward mutual recrimination and buck-passing. As long as the preservation of the monarchy seemed a feasible option, all of the key US figures were in agreement to do what needed to be done to prop up the Shah while encouraging measured steps toward "democracy." But as the collapse of the Shah loomed closer it became clear that it would be necessary to rely on opposition figures to form a government while trying to hang on to the Shah as the chief of state and, more to the point, chief of the armed forces. But while Bakhtiar was willing to take a gamble at forming a government under the monarchy, Bazargan saw that it was too late for any accommodation with the Shah and ended up form-

ing Khomeini's first government.

Nor did the US ruling class necessarily refuse a role to Khomeini himself. Secret contacts between Khomeini forces and Washington had taken place through numerous channels. While Huyser was trying frantically to prop up the Bakhtiar regime he repeatedly sent messages to Washington "about trying to establish some relationship with Khomeini." And, "My even bigger concern at this time was that there was absolutely no dialogue between Bakhtiar and Khomeini." In fact, Huyser insisted to the Iranian Army that they should "adjust their ideas" and get ready to accept the return of Khomeini as a "religious leader."

One reason Huyser was hoping for a reconciliation with Khomeini was his concern about the emergence of a "third force": "[US Defense] Secretary Brown wanted to know if I thought third parties could make trouble, and of course *this was one of my abiding fears*. They were the ones who had caused most of the latest bloodshed. I told them I wasn't sure exactly who the third party was — PLO, local terrorists, Communists or a combination of all these. I thought it probably included just plain hoodlums. Certainly it was growing in strength." Elsewhere Huyser writes of trying to approach the Khomeini forces based on their "common cause" with the military against this "menace."

To the extent there ever was real dispute it seems that it was over whether it would be possible, as Huyser claims Ambassador Sullivan proposed: "to unplug the military, switch them off, and when Khomeini returned in triumph, just plug them back in." All were clear that the critical ingredient was to maintain the existing state power (essentially the armed forces) intact. And all saw a place for Khomeini.

In the writings of many observers Ambassador Sullivan is painted as the "bad guy" whose unauthorised contacts with the Khomeini forces weakened the US position of supporting the Shah. Of course, these books were written before the "Irangate" affair and one wonders

whether now, when rapprochement between Iran and the "Great Satan" seems more and more possible, perhaps history will smile more kindly on poor Sullivan.

Finally it is worth noting briefly some of the concretes of Huyser's preparation for military action — again either in the case of a coup or in support of the "legal government." First, Huyser was planning to rely on elite forces — probably no more than ten or twenty thousand men out of an armed forces of 450,000 — to deliver the necessary blow. As he put it: "history has often shown [that] with prudent planning it does not take a great many troops to seize control of a country. The plans we had drawn up were very precise and did not require us to take on the masses. The strategy was to defend the key installations; against such dispositions the masses could not hope to dislodge them. We had no intention of trying to dominate each city and thoroughfare. . . . This way was both easier and more effective." In his book Huyser justifies civilian casualties of five to ten thousand deaths — how many he was really counting on is anybody's guess.

When reading the US imperialists' accounts of the collapse of the Iranian regime one cannot help being struck by the seeming impotence of the reactionary classes in the face of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. And this is a country where President Carter had toasted the Shah, only one year before his overthrow, as "an island of stability in the Middle East." As Sick warns his fellow imperialists: "Certainly one should guard against casual judgments that *any* regime is so strong or so well established that it is immune from revolutionary contagion." (emphasis in original)

At the same time it is absolutely clear that no revolutionary crisis, no matter how deep, will result in a genuine revolutionary transformation of society unless the proletariat is able to lead an armed struggle to resolutely and thoroughly smash the existing state apparatus and completely sweep away the reactionary order. That is an important lesson for our side. □

(Continued from page 65)

Peru

system, its elections which only choose oppressors and its political parties which serve as instruments to maintain, protect and develop the established order. This is, in short, a rejection, an objective and obvious challenging of Peruvian society and its institutions, of this historically decrepit social system that must be swept away with arms in hand as is now being done because there is no other way to replace it with a new social system that will really serve the people. This enormous mass of 3,479,204 people adds up to 34.86% of those eligible to express themselves politically, 41.97% of registered voters and 46.01% of those who voted in the general elections, and this even in terms of the laws imposed by the reactionary Peruvian state; it adds up to is a conclusive and irrefutable truth which the exploiting classes, their political parties and their electioneers and hacks are trying in vain to conceal. The undeniable reality of this mass is a fundamental question in the class struggle in this country. Their potential transforming power, their revolutionary potential, must be taken rather seriously into account, especially since a people's war has been successfully developing and growing for more than six years, and the context for this question is the developing revolutionary situation which will inevitably continue drawing more and more of the masses into real and definitive transformations carried out by means of "the criticism of arms."

Furthermore, these same tables show that the APRA party obtained 3,457,030 votes, i.e. 34.59% of those eligible to vote out of Peru's total population, or 41.70% of those registered, or 45.73% of the voters. One can easily see the falsity of Garcia's assertion that he was "elected by the absolute majority of Peruvians" as he claimed in his message to Congress on July 28th, because 45.74% is not even the absolute majority of voters, still less is 41.70% the absolute majority of those registered, and in no way is 34.59% the absolute majority of

Peruvians eligible to vote. Garcia's "absolute majority of Peruvians" is just another demagogic phrase in his so-called "new style of government" — a style of falsehoods, cynicism and demagoguery. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that such "landslide victories" are becoming a common trend in bourgeois elections in many countries. For instance, in the U.S. Reagan was also said to have won a "landslide victory" which did not protect him against the tremendous erosion and loss of his reputation. We saw something similar here, in 1980, when Belaunde's "landslide victory" was followed a year later by his plummeting prestige despite polls attempting to prove otherwise. The roots of these "landslide victories" lie in the way in which the reactionaries manipulate elections, and deeper still, since elections are reaction's way of replacing its members who are to "represent and crush the masses" in the way these elections serve and are channelled to benefit those best suited to perform these functions. What's more, Garcia and his party apparatus obviously failed in their aim of winning an absolute majority in the first round, but nevertheless, in shameless disregard for reality and for the respect the people deserve, Garcia insultingly and insanely declares himself "faithful to my electoral promises, endorsed by more than 80% of the electorate. . . ." Incredible but true! This is a remarkable example of "the new ethical style of government" and the basis of his "great moral authority based on the votes of the absolute majority of Peruvians."

As for the so-called United Left (IU), it obtained 1,606,914 votes, that is, 16.08% of the total number of Peruvians eligible to vote, 19.38% of those registered to vote, and 21.26% of votes actually cast. What role are they playing in the country's class struggle with these votes? First, they are a continuation of the old electoral line, today even more reckless and tied to Soviet as well as Chinese revisionism, to callous bourgeois parliamentarism, to nationalist or inconsistent revolutionary positions that tried to trap the people into parliamentary-

cretinism, unable to understand the necessity of revolutionary violence and still less the ways this violence has been taking shape through six ardent years, and sinking ever deeper into protecting the old order, its rotten parliament and fraudulent elections, its Constitution and laws, and are living trembling with reverential fear before the Armed Forces and the threat of a coup d'etat, and on their knees before APRA and especially before Garcia whom they consider their protective democratic wall. A concentrated expression of this crawling and capitulationist attitude is Barrantes, the APRA man who heads the IU. Further, if we analyse their 16.08%, the reactionary role they play in the service of reaction stands out clearly. This percentage shows they oppose an alignment of the majority of Peruvians against the present system of exploitation and oppression; without their harmful promotion of electoral illusions; a clearer and more vigorous polarisation would have developed. How much harm does this opportunist IU do to the cause of our people's emancipation and to the people's war? Barrantes' own words so often repeated are very revealing. When he handed Garcia victory on a silver platter, this "APRA member who has never been expelled" said, "The battle has not ended; we shall continue with greater strength against imperialism, terrorism and the enemies of the people." Here the key word is "terrorism," a term whose current usage was popularised by Reagan to fight against revolution, a term promoted by all who thrive and prosper with the system. This position is not new, since Barrantes called for "defeating terrorism" during the 1983 municipal elections, and thus it represents a persistent defence of the system and hatred of everything that works to undermine it. This is the same Barrantes, that phony follower of Mariategui and real APRA supporter, who invented the sinister lie that what is going on in Peru is not people's war but only "terrorism" because "a Lin Piaoist line has seized the Party's leadership"; for this fellow the recent elections were "a rejection of ter-

rorism" and once again during his trip to Venezuela in May he said "Shining Path will fail . . . the results of the April 14th elections and the mass turnout were the best rejection of terrorism" clearly coinciding with Belaunde who also said, "The big loser is terrorism." We should think seriously about the role played by electoral opportunism and its divisive efforts, and, as Lenin said, combat it implacably, because without fighting against parliamentary cretinism one cannot seize political power for the class and the people, just as imperialism cannot be swept away without fighting revisionism. Furthermore, that 16.08% for the IU made it easier for APRA to take the presidency, and shamelessly fit the reactionary plan. What was the excuse they invoked? That "the people voted for change by electing the left" as the APRA-ist who heads the IU claimed when he went to congratulate his comrade

us not forget how the IU, particularly its leaders and mainly Barantes, swindled the masses by serving as a Trojan horse. The people must draw that great lesson and never forget.

As for Accion Popular (former President Belaunde's party — AWTW), and the PPC (Popular Christian Party, which supported Belaunde — AWTW) allied with the Rank and File Hayist Movement under the CODE label, they obtained 4.73% and 7.74% respectively of the ballots of those Peruvians eligible to vote; thus this sinister effort of the AP/PPC governmental alliance was doomed.

Another point that deserves to be analysed regarding the elections is the so-called "rejection of terrorism." Let us look at the results in Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica, the region where the people's war has been developing most intensely. (See Chart D).

CHART D
ELECTION RESULTS IN THE DEPARTMENTS UNDER THE
V POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMAND

	AYACUCHO		APURIMAC		HUANCAVELICA	
		%		%		%
Not registered	93,170	33.9	60,898	34.8	44,974	24.2
Registered	181,667	66.1	114,096	65.2	140,868	75.8
Did not vote	38,016	20.9	23,262	20.4	41,577	29.5
Voted	143,651	79.1	90,834	79.6	99,291	70.5
Spoiled and blank	54,043	37.6	33,249	36.6	39,527	39.8
APRA	47,875	33.3	30,354	33.4	29,230	29.4

on election night: "I have come to congratulate him and in this way show that despite our ideological and political differences we can recognise the people's endorsement and thus demonstrate to our people that with their votes they have ousted the political right and have chosen the political expressions of the left" (our emphasis). When Barantes conceded his defeat, he further said: "The people voted in their majority for the APRA party, and this is why I went to congratulate Dr. Alan Garcia and to tell him that the IU does not want to stand in the way of his taking office." What purpose, then, have the IU served? Simply and plainly to facilitate the triumph of APRA. Today when hunger and genocide fatten themselves even more on our people, let

This table is based on population statistics and on data regarding those registered with the JNE, as well as the vote tabulations from each department established by the Board, as published in the dailies *El Comercio* and *Expreso*, both beyond suspicion of any revolutionary ideas but on the contrary great defenders of the establishment. The first thing that stands out is the high percentage of the unregistered: 33.9% in Ayacucho, 34.8% in Apurimac and 24.2% in Huancavelica; and all this despite the big campaign and pressure the Armed Forces exerted in their efforts to demonstrate a rejection of the people's war, which they call terrorism. Secondly, let us emphasise the percentage of those who did not vote. In the department of

Ayacucho 20.9% of the people did not participate in the elections; nevertheless, the JNE's official results (according to percentage statistics published, not absolute numbers) assert that abstentionism in that department was 1.04%, a big lie to "prove" the majority voted. In Apurimac 20.4% and in Huancavelica 29.5% did not vote, but according to the JNE these percentages were 17.90% and 21.69% respectively; these same figures verify the clumsy adulteration of the data regarding Ayacucho. Thirdly, the percentage of spoiled and blank ballots is very important. In Ayacucho it reached 37.6%, while in Apurimac it reached 36.6% and in Huancavelica 39.8%. The data show that in each case the spoiled and blank ballots equalled and surpassed the percentage obtained by the APRA party, since APRA got only 33.3% in Ayacucho, 33.4% in Apurimac and 29.4% in Huancavelica. Such being the case, who in his right mind can claim that so-called terrorism was defeated in the voting? Besides the fact that it is absurd to speak of defeating armed actions by means of paper ballots, it has been clearly and conclusively shown that in the region of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica over a third of those eligible did not register (a quarter in the case of Huancavelica); one-fifth did not turn out to vote (almost 30% in Huancavelica); while in these three departments the number of spoiled and blank ballots largely exceeded those obtained by the APRA party, and this with the help of the Armed Forces and the frauds it committed. So who was defeated? APRA, the Armed Forces, the electioneers and the organisers of this electoral farce, for in short, APRA could not get more than a third of the votes, and so was far from the 45.7% attributed to it on a national level by the JNE, and obviously very far from the 50% plus one vote required to win. However, in a grotesque mockery the official results give APRA 50.19% of the votes in Apurimac, 61.84% in Ayacucho and 41.20% in Huancavelica! How did the JNE rig these figures so as to "defeat terrorism" in the most convulsed region of the

country? They simply waited until June to release the percentage results by department while rejecting or ignoring a tremendous number of challenges, and that was it! The rest is based on the JNE's "unappealable authority"!

And in the rest of the country the situation was the same: a big hue and cry about how the elections were "impeccable and irreproachable," how "the big loser is terrorism" as then-president Belaunde claimed. "We have seen, therefore, the most overwhelming and massive defeat of communist terrorism imaginable," according to the political hack Ulloa, the former executive of International Petroleum who was Belaunde's prime minister, "there were two big losers in Sunday's general elections: The Shining Path . . ." It is very telling that these renowned pro-imperialist reactionaries cooked up this so-called "defeat of terrorism" but it is also rather revealing, in turn, that Barrantes should chime the same tune, boasting, during one of his countless trips abroad, in Mexico, "For me and for the United Left it is very significant that we won in Ayacucho. We have drawn a clear dividing line between ourselves and terrorism, in our speeches. And the fact that the people supported us in Ayacucho, one of the main operational areas of the Shining Path group, means that the people there reject terrorism." Once again this APRA-ist IU mayor (Barrantes was then mayor of Lima and head of the United Left, positions which he subsequently lost — *AWTW*) celebrates his defeats, for the plain truth is that in Ayacucho the IU only obtained 21.23% of the votes, and that Garcia, his comrade, defeated him there, with the aid of the Armed Forces. But the total of non-voters and of spoiled and blank ballots there adds up to 58.5%, overwhelmingly and hopelessly burying both of them. In these elections, as in the past, the Communist Party of Peru limited itself to calling for an electoral boycott, for thwarting and hindering the elections wherever possible, but not for trying to stop the entire process, as the reactionaries mendaciously implied in order to claim a false vic-

tory when they lacked a real one. But the main historical tendency is the fusion of the people's war led by the Party with the great torrent formed by millions of people who did not register, or who registered but did not vote, or who cast blank or invalid ballots. It is this torrent which the Party is helping organise as part of the ocean of armed masses that will inevitably sweep away the old order of exploitation and oppression.

All this fuss and manipulation did not put an end to the electoral contest nor solve the central question of the presidential elections. Article Number 203 of the Constitution stipulates, "The President of the Republic is elected through direct suffrage and by more than one half of the valid votes cast.

"If none of the candidates obtains an absolute majority, a second election is held within 30 days, between the two candidates who have obtained the highest relative majorities." Obviously if one goes around proclaiming to the world one's respect for the Constitution and the established legal order of the Peruvian state, if one proclaims one's respect for "the state ruled by law" and "the sacred rule of law" then one's deeds must conform to the law if one's words and deeds are to be consistent and if one is to assume the exalted title of "constitutional president" and make such a fuss about one's "respect for the democratic set-up." Has this been the case? Obviously not; just the opposite. During the months of April and May the electoral process unfolded amid contention and collusion among the reactionaries, behind the backs of the people, as always; once again the political bigshots, the institutions and powerful interest groups, along with the direct participation of the imperialist superpowers, especially the Yankees, chose who would best serve their interests. This period should be kept in mind to understand the reality and essence of their so-called "democratic elections."

Shortly before the elections, the candidate Garcia told the magazine *Caretas* that if he should end up in second place, he would concede and not take part in a second round of

voting; this was a rather important statement because it is exactly what his comrade Barrantes did later. When the results of the voting were made known, the candidates obtained 45.74% and 21.26% respectively of the valid votes cast; consequently, since no one had won the absolute majority stipulated by the Constitution, a second round of elections was called for. This was acknowledged by the daily *El Comercio* itself in its April 15th issue: "a second round absolutely must be held." Furthermore, this was understood and expressed by the best known IU leaders. The PUM (United Mariategui-ist Party — *AWTW*), one of the parties that makes up the IU, wrote that "the United Left must take part in the second round of elections." The daily *El Diario de la Marka* said May 2nd, "the real right, the right of the big transnational interests, the oligarchy run by imperialism that blindly serves the IMF and shamelessly grants tax exemptions to oil and mining enterprises, this oligarchy is brazenly demanding that the Constitution be pole-vaulted and Garcia be declared president-elect without a second round of elections." Agustin Haya de la Torre agreed: "If APRA has not won 50% plus one of the votes in the April 14 elections, a second round must be held." Senators Carlos Malpica and Rolando Brena took a similar stand. Senator Bernaldes himself stated, "The electoral law stipulates that if none of the candidates obtain 50% plus one of the votes, a second round must be held, without fail, no matter what. . . . That is why we confidently await a second round in which Barrantes will pull off a surprise victory." And even the revisionist senator Del Prado said, "in any case a second round must take place as much for constitutional reasons as because APRA avoided debating its programme in the first round." These and others were the good intentions then expressed.

But let us remember that on the very night of election day when only the preliminary results and projections were known, D'Ornellas, a well-known journalist linked to Ulloa, Belaunde's Primer Minister

and Yankee imperialism's representative, proposed that Barrantes should concede before the second round. Further, that same day Barrantes himself told Garcia that "the IU does not want to stand in the way of (Garcia's) taking office." Thus since the beginning the mayor sought to pave the way for his co-religionist and was only awaiting the moment and opportunity to do so. The chairman of the Armed Forces Joint Command jumped into the arena April 20th, indicating that, since APRA had received only 47% of the votes, "the possibility of discounting blank and spoiled ballots now arises. I believe it must be recognised that we are in a difficult situation and the appropriate bodies can declare Sunday's election valid despite the results." These positions marked the launching of a big campaign in dailies like *La Republica*, magazines like *Equis X* and radio and television, invoking the "serious risks with which the country and democracy are threatened" amid legal debate over the interpretation of the Constitution. What was APRA's position? Two-faced: while for Alva Castro, now prime minister, "a second round, organising yet another election for the presidency of the Republic, would be a big waste of time that could be better used and of millions upon millions of *soles*", Garcia said. "If it turns out that we don't have 50% of the votes plus one we will have to have a second round of elections to ratify the people's triumph." Fundamentally APRA did not want a second round, and so it hatched up an alliance that would allow it to take the presidency with 45.74% of the votes. As he had so often done during the campaign itself, Garcia made all sorts of promises and told the audience whatever they wanted to hear.

On April 25th, after Barrantes had met with the AP and APRA top leadership and held an unusual meeting with his two vice-presidential running-mates Bernales and Haya and taking the attempted assassination of the National Board of Elections chairman as a further pretext, Barrantes withdrew his candidacy, amidst the boundless approval of those who had promoted

him and the unhappy confusion of his followers. Some spoke recriminatingly of capitulation to APRA and others like Brena supported the move as having avoided a coup d'etat, but in the end all reconciled themselves to this shameless capitulation to APRA and to reaction as a whole. Barrantes was recognised by the Church when Cardinal Landazuri blessed him and declared that he had earned "the Lord's favour." But this did not solve the problem, since the legal debate continued and attempts to resolve it through an interpretative law failed, while the contradictions amongst the reaction intensified further.

In the end the solution was left in the hands of the National Board of Elections. In a June 1st resolution it said that while "none of the candidates for the Presidency of the Republic has obtained the more than half of the valid votes necessary to be elected as stipulated in Article 203 of the Constitution, the largest relative majorities were obtained by the candidates Dr. Alan Garcia Perez with 45.74% of the votes and Dr. Alfonso Barrantes Lingan with 21.25% . . .", and then proceeded to state that "Dr. Alfonso Barrantes declines to take part in the second round of elections." "Neither the Constituent Assembly nor the Legislature," it continued, "foresaw a situation in which one of the two candidates lawfully entitled to participate in the second round of elections would decline." Finally, it made the astonishing claim that "moreover, the APRA presidential list headed by Dr. Alan Garcia Perez has obtained, according to the official tabulation, 53.10% of the valid votes . . ." in order to accept Barrantes' concession, conclude that there would be no second round and "proclaim Citizen Alan Garcia Perez President of the Republic." This resolution is clearly in violation of the Constitution and the laws which govern the Peruvian state's elections; clearly, if according to its stipulations one does not obtain 50% plus one of the total votes, according to their own rules one cannot constitutionally be considered the president, and the resolution

itself says that Garcia only obtained 45.74% of the total ballots cast. Therefore a second round had to be held, and given the imperative character of Article 203, Barrantes' decision not to stand in the second round was inadmissible, as was fully brought out in the debate; finally, the claim of "53.10% according to the official tabulation" is fallacious, absurd and groundless. It is clear that the JNE's resolution only ratifies a connivance and collusion meant to install as president the man best suited to the interests of imperialism and Peruvian exploiters, without having to run the risks of a second round and the consequent dangers of increased abstentionism and even more blank and spoiled ballots, which would have increased the difficulties faced by reaction and further discredited the elections, thus serving to turn the people's hopes increasingly towards armed revolution.

In synthesis, the most salient points of the April 1985 elections described above indisputably demonstrate that just as the counterrevolution has had to violate its own Constitution and laws to combat the people's war, so also in holding their elections amid a developing people's war these reactionaries have been forced to violate their Constitution and electoral laws and to carry out wide-scale fraud in order to replace their officials. Consequently, not only is the parliament of a specious and objectionable composition, but Garcia himself pretends to be president without being the constitutional president of the Peruvian state because the Constitution and the electoral laws have been violated. This incontrovertible truth cannot be covered up by any flattering fanfare or propaganda whatsoever, no matter how vile and high-sounding it may be; moreover, within its own bourgeois-democratic framework, the very Constitution that Garcia pledged to obey stands against him, since its Article 82 states, "No one owes obedience to an usurper government nor to anyone who takes public office or employment in violation of the procedures established by the Constitution and the law."

THE SO-CALLED "NA-

TIONALIST, DEMOCRATIC AND PEOPLE'S STATE." On July 28th 1985, at the beginning of his address to Congress, Garcia said, "I must repeat, to the whole nation, that my commitment is to all of its citizens." These are the same concepts that Belaunde used in 1963 and 1980 when he proclaimed himself "president of all Peruvians" with similar tiresome speeches about "the people's vote" and bragging about "taking office with the support of the masses." Simple coincidence? By no means; this is the same old content and chatter of the exploiting classes and their hacks. But this man who pretends to be president dusts off and recycles old APRA ideas and with his well-known demagogy is given to far-reaching historical analysis, pontificating, "Our history is also the history of our dependence on external forces allied to and expressed through powerful internal interests which have brought our country to its current crisis. Lacking a national agenda, lacking an historical and popular leadership, we have lived by adjusting our economy to the powerful interests of international capital." Further on, when "proclaiming the revolution" he asserted, "The crisis we are going through today is not a crisis that arises from dependency, rather it is dependency itself which is in crisis and there is only one solution to that crisis. The democratic revolution will make us more free, more just and more masters of our own wellbeing, and this revolution which I proclaim is the declaration of the independence of our economic interests." What, in essence, is this all about? What is being covered up? The history of Peru in this century which Garcia claims to outline is in fact a history of domination by imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, in league with the Peruvian big bourgeoisie and feudal landlords; this exploitation and oppression are the cause of the present crisis and of the ties that bind us to the imperialist system, and not the "lack" of an "agenda" or "leadership," a claim which expresses his "thesis" about our supposed co-responsibility along with im-

perialism's "civilising" domination, a thesis which as an APRA-ist he must believe in, though his demagogy prevents him from saying it. As for the second paragraph, the "crisis of dependency" which he invokes is simply and plainly the crisis of imperialism and its domination which can be solved only by democratic revolution, not merely by "proclaiming the independence of our economic interests" but fundamentally and mainly by political action to destroy the three mountains that weigh upon us, imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism, a political action that can be carried out only through people's war, and what's more, as part of the world proletarian revolution that will sweep imperialist and reactionary rule from the face of the earth. It is not a matter, as Garcia says, of "new relations" being reinserted within the imperialist system to keep it going, but of the destruction of the system. Thus the question is a political one, a point demonstrated by the great turns in Peruvian history where political and military action preceded economic change. Today in Peru nobody can hide this fact: the pressing need is for democratic revolution, which is already unfolding, carried out by people's war within the framework of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought. What Garcia is saying is simply the same old rotten APRA nonsense now made up with pseudoscience about a "different future," as can be seen by his different lucubrations in the same message and even more clearly by comparing all this to reality, to practice, which is the highest criterion for truth.

On the so-called "three injustices." This is how Garcia perorates about the "three injustices": "Our economic history has resulted in a situation of profound injustices, and the economic problems we suffer today are because of them." Here the problem is no longer "the crisis of dependency," the phony anti-imperialism has vanished; now it is "profound injustices" that are the cause of our problems. The self-styled anti-imperialist becomes an avenger who

leaps to the fore as the "champion of justice," waving the flag of "Social Justice," that stale slogan of nineteenth-century anarchism, a current trend within APRA represented by the knights of so-called free trade unionism such as Sabroso and his hacks, to say nothing of Gonzalez Prada, a well-known figure whom APRA has always tried to make use of. What, concretely, are these injustices? Let's look at their first "dimension," as Garcia says: "First, there is the regional injustice that separates Lima and the coast from the rest of forgotten Peru. Lima has 80% of the country's industry, located not in the slums which are still provincial, but in the Lima of the wealthy and middle classes, where the state apparatus and the administration of education and health are also concentrated. . . . If things continue like this and the country gets poorer and poorer, for whom will Lima produce?" This "regional injustice" has two outstanding aspects: conditions in Lima, and the state. Why is there such a big difference and separation between Lima and the rest of the country? Because semifeudalism persists, a reality stubbornly denied, although reality itself and especially the people's war are increasingly forcing them to admit the existence of the Andean region, where semifeudal conditions meet the eye at every glance due to the development of a bureaucrat capitalism that increasingly concentrates the means of production in the capital city. It should be recalled that Velasco (head of the self-proclaimed "revolutionary" military junta, 1968-1975 — *AWTW*) also talked about "decentralisation" but promoted centralisation; today centralisation is greater than ever, mainly due to imperialist domination, principally by the U.S. The backward world, particularly Latin America, exhibits a monstrous macrocephaly, as exemplified in Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. This is the cause of the problem and what we should talk about, and not hide behind terms like "regional injustice." Furthermore, this man who pretends to be president talks about "the Lima of the wealthy and middle classes."

The middle classes are the intermediate classes, including the national bourgeoisie and the upper layers of the petite bourgeoisie, the so-called "emergent classes." Is the wealth in their hands? No, it is in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, with its comprador and bureaucrat factions, the big bankers, industrialists, merchants and real estate tycoons who control the ownership of the means of production, along with the biggest imperialist interests also concentrated in Lima. It is the economic power of these classes and of imperialism which is being obscured. In short, the power of the big exploiting classes is being covered up. But Garcia can't be accused of forgetting about classes, because as quoted above he does speak about the "middle classes." The other outstanding aspect is the concentration of state power, of the Armed Forces which are its backbone, and the bureaucracy; they are concentrated in the capital city exactly in order to maintain the landlord-bureaucrat class dictatorship that is the Peruvian state and from there to control the whole country. This is the basic point, and not the concentration of "health and educational administration" which arises on this basis; this is the central question that must be analysed, especially given the growing militarisation and bureaucratisation of the Peruvian state during the last decade as a consequence of the very functioning of the antiquated social system, and especially of the revolutionary development of the masses, particularly the people's war which undermines it and aims to tear it down. Finally, Garcia says, "if things go on this way, for whom will Lima produce?" What does he want? Is he fundamentally in agreement with this "regional injustice"? Is he fundamentally interested in a "market" for the productive system of the exploiting classes and imperialism, which was what earlier interested Velasco, Morales, Belaunde (General Morales succeeded Velasco as head of the junta, and was in turn replaced by the return of Belaunde, originally overthrown by Velasco — *AWTW*) and the rest of the "heads of state" before

them, each in different conditions and circumstances, whose love, as the popular saying goes, was "not for pigs, but for bacon?"

But let's continue with the analysis of these famous "injustices": "There is a second dimension of injustice, an economic divorce between the sectors; when we analyse the country's economic workings we see that there are two clearly separate sectors.

"On one side there is modern industry. . . . This is the modern sector, which contains 85% of Peru's investments but employs only 38% of its people. The other side is the marginalised sector, the rural agriculture of the Andes region, with millions of *comuneros* (Indian peasant communities — *AWTW*) and small landowners, and that other part of humanity that some call the urban marginalised sector, made up of the unemployed and underemployed who almost always live in the slums. It must be asked, if the majority get poorer and poorer for whom will industry produce? If there is no production in the country what will the state administer? I have come to say that there will be no solution as long as the state only concerns itself with industry and administration. There will be no far-reaching revolution until the state goes out to the *comuneros* and the unemployed."

Let us ask ourselves once more, what is modern industry in Peru? Simply bureaucrat capitalism tied to imperialist domination and the feudal landlords. The degree of modern industry's subjugation to imperialism, especially the U.S., can be seen in the following two extracts from industrial studies:

"The dynamic of industrial growth in Peru during the last two decades has been propelled by big enterprises and multinational conglomerates based in the U.S., Europe and Japan, which have tended to establish monopolistic and oligarchical forms as they entered our economy, both in terms of the production as well as the distribution of their products. . . .

"The penetration of large enterprises and multinational conglomerates into 'Peruvian' industrial manufacture has directly

contributed to the slow but steady marginalisation of new and old sections of the national bourgeoisie. . . . Thus in the last two decades the 'national bourgeoisie' has increasingly played the role of developing new industrial groups that with time come under the control of foreign capital. Therefore at present what is developing is an intermediary bourgeoisie emerging from certain groups who based on their prestige, experience and social and economic connections have been integrated into the big enterprises and multinational conglomerates, becoming part of the ever-increasing intermediate sector." (E.A. Anaya, *Imperialismo, industrializacion y transferencia de tecnologia en el Peru*. It must be kept in mind that when the author speaks of the national bourgeoisie he means the domestic bourgeoisie, and moreover, the big bourgeoisie.)

"Perhaps the most significant conclusion to be drawn from a structural analysis is the high degree of control that foreign enterprises still possess in the extractive and industrial sectors of the Peruvian economy. Furthermore, a simple quantification of the level of foreign investment in the country would not give a correct picture of the degree of control foreign capital exerts over the economy. That control has been substantially strengthened due to the strategic character of this investment, since the most important enterprises in each industry are foreign-owned, and since the majority of these enterprises are subsidiaries of large multinational corporations." (J.A. Torres, *Estructura economica de la industria peruana*.)

This is the question, and not some cover-up "second dimension of injustice"; what needs talking about is this evil bureaucrat capitalism and especially its subjugation to imperialism — these are the mountains to be overthrown arms in hand so as to build a real national economy that will serve the oppressed masses of people, including an industry for the benefit of the proletariat and the people. But Garcia, cunning and demagogic, poses the question, "if the majority grow

poorer and poorer for whom will industry produce?" Once more it is evident which side he is on and what he is really concerned about.

What is this "marginal sector"? First of all, what is rural Andean agriculture? Concretely, it is semifeudalism, with the three characteristics described by Mariategui: land, serfdom and *gamonalismo* (the rule of local feudal despots — *AWTW*). The land question is the driving force of the class struggle in the countryside, a centuries-old problem of land concentration rooted in feudalism; it was evident that it is one of the country's basic problems in the 1960s, when three agrarian laws were passed regarding the purchase and sale of land that essentially did nothing but preserve the concentration of land, as is shown by the following table from the "General Agrarian Reform and Rural Settlement Board": (See Chart E).

This table clearly shows that the land handed over to individual peasants amounted to only 7.7% of the total that had been appropriated; this means approximately 1,800,000 peasants. According to the 1981 census, there are 6,245,000 peasants, so these much-publicised "agrarian reforms" did not affect so much as a third of the peasantry. If we recall that according to the National Farm Census of 1961, 83.5% of the total farm units owned less than five hectares, or in other words, only 5.4% of the total land, while 1% of the units owned 81% of the land, the question necessarily arises: what is the problem? What is at the root of this situation? This is sharply and seriously shown today by the situation in Puno, which Garcia himself called "another Ayacucho," and indeed that is what Puno is becoming, much to the dismay of Garcia and others. (See Chart F).

This December 1983 chart from the "General Agrarian Reform Board" shows that 23 SAIS with a total of only 20.87% of the families own 52.20% of the awarded land, while 74 peasant communities with 48.59% of the families possess only 2.30% of this land. Further, the associated enterprises (SAIS, CAPS, ERPS — *AWTW*) with

CHART E ADVANCE OF AGRARIAN REFORM 1963-1979

(Summary as of June 24, 1979)

	Units	Land		Beneficiaries	
	Receiving	Hectares	%	Number	%
Cooperatives	581	2,196,147	25.5	79,568	21.2
Agro-Industrial Units	12	128,566	1.5	27,783	7.4
SAIS	60	2,805,048	32.6	60,954	16.2
ERPS	11	232,653	2.7	1,375	0.4
Peasant groups	834	1,685,382	19.6	45,561	12.1
Peasant communities	448	889,364	10.3	117,710	31.4
Independent peasants	-	662,093	7.7	42,295	11.2
Total	1,907	8,599,253	100.0	375,246	100.0

(SAIS are large state-linked farms established by the Velasco government. ERPS are another form of Velasco's rural enterprises — *AWTW*)

CHART F THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN PUNO D.L. 17716

TYPE	HECTARES AWARDED	%	BENEFICIARY FAMILIES	%
23 SAIS	1,024,287	52.20	6,249*	20.87
16 CAPS	499,503	25.50	6,480	21.64
5 ERPS	216,845	11.06	939	3.13
Total	1,740,635	88.76	13,668	45.64
74 Peasant communities	46,180	2.30	14,547	48.59
72 Peasant groups	131,672	6.80	1,460	4.87
Total	177,852	9.10	16,007	53.46
261 Individuals	41,069	2.10	261	0.87

(* Does not include the 6,663 families of the SAIS communities; in practice they do not receive any significant benefits from the units. They should not be considered "beneficiaries." (This is generally true in all the SAIS in the country). (CAPS are cooperatives established by the Velasco government — *AWTW*)

CHART G LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, UNDEREMPLOYMENT AND ADEQUATE EMPLOYMENT IN FARM AND NON-FARM SECTORS: 1980-85 (RELATIVE STATISTICS)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
UNEMPLOYMENT LEVEL						
RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT	7.0	6.8	7.0	9.2	10.9	11.8
FARM	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
NON-FARM	10.9	10.4	10.7	13.9	16.4	18.4
RATE OF UNDEREMPLOYMENT	51.2	47.9	49.9	53.3	54.2	54.1
FARM	68.2	61.5	60.9	67.5	63.2	60.4
NON-FARM	41.4	40.3	43.9	45.8	49.6	50.5
RATE OF ADEQUATE EMPLOYMENT	41.8	45.3	43.1	37.5	34.9	34.1
FARM	31.5	38.2	38.8	32.2	36.5	39.3
NON-FARM	47.7	49.3	45.4	40.3	34.0	31.1

45.64% of the total families received 88.76% of the appropriated land, while communities and peasants groups, with 53.46% of the families, only received 9.10%. This is the big basic problem in the

Andean region, the principal problem though not the only one. It is not "another dimension of injustice," but the persistence of semifeudalism with its characteristics of land, serfdom and *gamonalismo*,

and it cannot be resolved by any law passed by the old state but only by the peasantry under the leadership of the Communist Party, conquering and defending the land arms in hand through people's war, as is being demonstrated in our country.

Let's look at the other part of this "injustice," the question of unemployment and underemployment. If we consult the *Statistical Compendium of 1985* published by the National Institute of Statistics, we find: (See Chart G).

Unemployment and underemployment are clearly growing; the former rose from 7% in 1980 to 11.8% in 1985. Moreover, it should be emphasised that in the non-farm sector, that is, concretely, in the cities, unemployment jumped from 10.9% to 18.4% during these same years. Underemployment rose from 51.2% in 1980 to 54.1% in 1985, but this includes both city and countryside, and it is particularly notable that while it dropped from 68.2% to 60.4% during these years in the countryside, in the cities it rose from 41.4% to 50.5%. Is this another form of "injustice"? Not at all: it is simply the necessary consequence of a decrepit semifeudal and semicolonial system with bureaucrat capitalism developing in its midst and of the crisis we are suffering; it is the necessary result of an evil social system that can maintain itself only by condemning two-thirds of the population to hunger, a rotten system that condemns the masses of Peruvian people to living on a per-capita income little changed since 1965. The survival of this social system increasingly requires a more militarised and bureaucratic state gripping the farthest corner and the poorest masses to contain their revolutionary explosiveness and their participation in the people's war, a state ready to repress the people by fire and sword, carrying out continuing genocide; this is what Garcia is trying to conceal behind the phrases "if there is no production in the country what will the state administer" and "the state must go out to the *comuneros* and the unemployed."

Finally, let's analyse the last element of the trinity of injustices Alan

Garcia has pontifically consecrated. Due to its importance, we will refer to it in parts in the order followed in his message: "But injustice in Peru is not only between regions and sections of the population. It is also profound social injustice. I have spoken of a symbolic pyramid. At the peak of this pyramid 2% of the population receive the highest incomes thanks to their monopolistic enterprises and their ownership of the means of production. Frequently these riches created through the efforts of all Peru are achieved at the cost of the hunger suffered by the Peruvian people. . . ." Here, we would point out, the pyramid we have run into is magical and we need to get to the bottom of its symbolism. Let's consider the "2% of the population at its peak." Who does this percentage of the population include, as seen from the standpoint of proletarian ideology? It is the very core of the exploiter classes, the big bourgeoisie (with its comprador and bureaucrat factions) and landlords as well as the most direct representatives of imperialist domination, especially Yankee imperialism. In other words, this 2% is the concentrated expression of the three mountains that oppress the people; they are the core of that minority (which can be calculated at roughly 10% of the population) whose power has to be wholly and completely destroyed, at least on the political and economic level, in order to carry through the democratic stage of the revolution. The essence of this question is not its percentage but its class character. In the same way, the problem is not simply that these people "receive the highest incomes thanks to their monopolistic enterprises and their ownership of the means of production," as Garcia demagogically says, but that they are part of the three targets of the democratic revolution — imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism. They are clearly monopolists and exploiters in that they have taken possession of the most important social means of production of Peruvian society and the riches created by the masses of people, the exploited, snatched through exploitation and oppres-

sion which daily suck the people's blood while casting them deeper into hunger and poverty.

"But as I have also said," continues this man who pretends to be president, "the state, in order to preserve this pattern of domination and guard the wealth of this 2% of the population, has become an instrument of this unjust concentration of income, a kind of bureaucratic defensive buffer serving the most powerful, and so has become unproductive and centralist. It has given out jobs, but far more than necessary, sometimes in order to pay off political supporters and in other cases to accumulate bureaucratic riches." Once again Garcia, after covering up the class struggle, distorts and confuses the main questions concerning the state, all with his famous "three injustices." What does Garcia seek to accomplish? To reduce the question of the Peruvian state to the statement that it "has become an instrument of an unjust (once more his clumsy magic word) concentration of income," giving away too many jobs "to pay back political supporters," thus becoming "unproductive and centralist" "to preserve a pattern of domination"; therefore the problem would seem to be how to reduce bureaucracy and bring about the long-promised decentralisation. This hides the essence and the main question: the role of the Armed Forces. "The two most characteristic institutions are the bureaucracy and the standing army . . . the bureaucracy and the standing army are 'parasites' stuck to the body of bourgeois society, engendered by the internal contradictions that divide it, but exactly a parasite that 'plugs up' the body's vital pores," as Lenin taught, and he emphasised, "In particular imperialism results in an extraordinary strengthening of the state machinery, a hitherto unknown development of the bureaucratic and military apparatus, in relation to the increase of repression against the proletariat." To this must be added Chairman Mao Tsetung's great summation, "Everything grows out of the barrel of a gun. According to the Marxist theory of the state, the

army is the chief component of state power." This is the only true and scientific way to analyse the problem, emphasising how this man of the so-called "injustices" not only negates the historic process of development of the state, but also seeks to cover up the truth and hide the state's principal component, the very source of reactionary power, a question of the greatest importance especially in a country where revolution and counterrevolution are facing off in armed confrontation. Once again we emphasise the following Marxist thesis: "The standing army and police are the basic instruments of state power. But what other possibility is there?"

After these lies exposed above, Garcia exhibits the reactionary essence of his "symbolic pyramid" with his own demagogic rhetoric: "But proceeding down this road, the state has got itself and the country deeper and deeper into debt, and almost all the debt has been incurred by the top 30% of the country that is urban, industrial and administrative.

"But below that layer there is the 70% of the population that is marginalised, the unemployed and the street vendors, the people from the provinces and the shantytowns." First of all, the Peruvian state's debt has been incurred within the framework of development plans, loans and investments imposed by imperialism on oppressed nations like ours, in concert with the plans the Peruvian exploiters unfold through their state to develop bureaucrat capitalism and evolve semifeudalism. If we focus on the period from 1970 to the present in which foreign debt has greatly increased, we find that from 1974 to 1983 the economic growth rate was almost zero (0.1%), in contrast to the preceding nine years in which the average rate of growth was 5.1%. Industrial production as a percentage of the GNP went from 24.7% in 1970 to 25.1% in 1980 and then dropped to 22.0% in 1984. The manufacturing proletariat which had represented 14.6% of the labour force was reduced to 13.7% in 1980. While business profits went from 17.5% of the national income in 1972 to 31.9% in 1980 (and in

1979 hit 33.3%), wages and salaries which made up 51.2% of the national income in 1972 fell to 39.3% in 1980 (state employees suffered the biggest wage cuts). Hand in hand with this process; the agricultural work force as a percentage of the country's total fell from 43.7% in 1970 to only 35.4% in 1980, while farm production which had accounted for 14.34% of the GNP in 1969 fell to 12.14% at present. Since these people could not be absorbed by industry, there was an inevitable growth in the service sector, from 28.6% in 1970 to 38.8% in 1980. This phenomenon took place in the capital city itself, which is the country's industrial centre, as can be seen in the following data: in 1972 industry employed 19.1% of the economically active population, while by 1981 it only employed 16.9%. Employment in the commercial and service sectors which had accounted for 48% of the economically active population in 1972 rose to 62% in 1981.

From these figures it can be seen that foreign debt and the various plans carried out have not benefited the "top 30%, the urban, industrial and administrative areas of the country" but instead benefited imperialism, the domestic exploiters and their state, as is seen both in the growth of business profits and the jump in foreign debt from around \$800 million in 1969 to \$16 billion at present. What is Garcia trying to do? To defend his so-called "peak 2% of the population." With his demagogic invention of the "top 30%" he is trying to confuse the proletariat with part of the petite bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, to mix them up all together in one mass, behind which are hidden the interests of the imperialists, big bourgeoisie and landlords. It is to this phony agglomeration that he demagogically opposes the interests of the "marginalised 70% of the population, farmers and peasants, unemployed and street vendors, people from the provinces and the slums." This can be seen in the following extract from his message to Congress: "Until now the state has not belonged to these people, because it has enriched the few and

extended its scarce resources in employment, health and services to a few others, while remaining alien to the 70% of the population on whom I believe the future of our country's history depends. *We must resolve the social confrontation that pits the owners of the means of production plus their public or private subsidiary groups on one side, against the disinherited who make up the immense majority on the other.*" (emphasis ours)

The reactionary essence of the "symbolic pyramid" built by the man who pretends to be president is this: around his "2%" — the monopolists and the owners of the social means of production — he groups his "top 30%," and to this he opposes his concept of "the marginalised 70%." Thus the two opposed ends of his pyramid, the two terms of the contradiction which gives rise to "social conflict," are, he claims, the "owners of the means of production plus their public or private subsidiary groups" on one side and the "disinherited who make up the immense majority" on the other. Since "we must resolve the social confrontation that pits" them against each other, what is the purpose of this "symbolic pyramid"? Its purpose is to defend the exploiters and oppressors of our people; the rest is foolish imagination, rhetoric and demagogy, at bottom the same old APRA ideas recycled by sprucing them up with the latest pseudo-scientific sociological jargon. He completes his trinity of "injustice" by resolving the question of the Peruvian state with a simple declaration, "*I declare, and this is my pledge, that from this day on the state will belong to all Peruvians, and if until now no one has spoken in the name of the comuneros and the unemployed, from now on the state will speak in their name in favour of righteousness and justice.*" (emphasis ours) One year after this statement, anyone who believed these hypocritical and arrogant lies and who has confronted the everyday reality of life in this country, cannot but have an increasingly better grasp of what Marxism, the outlook of the proletariat, teaches about the state: "The state is a pro-

duct and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when and insofar as class antagonisms objectively *cannot* be reconciled: And conversely, the existence of the state proves that class antagonisms are irreconcilable."

In conclusion, the three so-called "injustices" clearly deny the character of Peruvian society, the classes and class struggle that exist within it, and especially the character of the Peruvian state as a landlord-bureaucrat dictatorship, as well as the necessity for revolutionary violence to overthrow the old state and the exploiters in order to initiate the development of a new society. This is the basis on which he proposes his so-called "democratic revolution," which the message referred to defines as follows: "What I have come to propose is something different. *What Peru needs is a democratic revolution*, an historical restructuring that reactivates and frees the profound social forces which have been ignored until now.

"I propose to encourage *agricultural production*, from which millions of Peruvians have lived in the same way for centuries, so that this land that is now abandoned, seedless, without fertilizers and tractors, this land that is now cultivated only about every eight years, will produce the food that we now buy abroad.

"That is the reactivation of *social production*. Secondly I propose that the hundreds of thousands of *unemployed and underemployed hands in the shantytowns be given access to income or employment. That will be the reactivation of social consumption.*

"And in this way, when at the very foundations of society we link *agricultural production* with consumption by those who today cannot eat because of lack of jobs, *a new Peru will arise, which will be the national market for Lima's industrial production*, a production now being slowly extinguished due to the lack of buyers. *Then public administration*, which is mainly centred in Lima and which now appears to be administering an unproductive country, *will have an*

historical reason to exist in a country reactivated from the bottom up.

"... if we don't decide to change the situation very soon it will be a thousand times worse, with more violence, more recession and more unemployment." (emphasis ours)

Is this the democratic revolution Peruvian society needs, the overthrow of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism throughout the country, by means of the people's war which has been developing for six years? No, it is not. Instead it has more in common with the basic problems that have been pointed out and with solutions proposed decades ago. It will suffice to recall some aspects of the "Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1967-1970" passed during Belaunde's first administration, which said, for example, "In general, if present economic tendencies are not vigorously corrected and turned around... they may give rise to severe tensions, with unforeseeable economic, political and social results." "It should be taken into account that the principal political decisions regarding economic development usually have to do with the process of capital formation... they set limits on the consumption of luxury goods in order to free capital and direct it towards investments made attractive by adequate incentives." The development of agriculture, held to be a strategic sector, was given particular importance so as to reduce the importation of agricultural products and especially to expand the national market considered "indispensable for the growth and expansion of industry," requiring "structural changes" and "concentrated direct and indirect state intervention in agriculture." Another basic goal of the plan was industrial development. It emphasised that "at present industry is highly dependent on imported inputs" and claimed that financially "the role of the state in this plan is to transfer income from consumption, especially in the urban areas, to investment; from the point of view of income distribution its role is to transfer income from the city to the countryside." The so-called People's Cooperation organisation,

among others, was set up precisely for the so-called marginalised masses.

Further, to be brief, we will give two quotes from General Velasco's speeches: "In upholding and defending a nationalistic and quite revolutionary policy, we are fulfilling our highest patriotic duty. We believe that our country can attain neither security nor grandeur by leaving untouched its old structure of discrimination against the majority of the nation. We aspire towards the creation of a truly free and just social order, which we consider incompatible with the persistence of the inequalities that have made our country a nation of great injustices." (April, 1969)

"We have correctly and repeatedly emphasised that one of the central goals of our government is vigorous industrial development. Within the traditional framework that prevailed, Peru had no industrial future. The underdevelopment imposed on this country by interest groups with no sense of history had made any real industrial development impossible. The disequilibria of underdevelopment always translate into the existence of social groups made up of millions of our fellow Peruvians whose extremely low buying power would never permit the development of the internal market indispensable for the development of a truly Peruvian industry.

"This was precisely one of the reasons for the agrarian reform. It served not only the need to transform the unequal and unjust system of land ownership, but also to redistribute the wealth so as to increase the buying power of the peasantry, who must become, in the future, the consumers of the products manufactured by the industry that we have lacked.

"... The accelerated development of industry must be a cornerstone of the structural transformations we seek to achieve..." (October, 1969)

What does all this mean? That the various governments of Peru, whether de facto or elected, have been confronting the same problems and making the same statements for decades, all the while seeking

nothing more than to expand Peruvian society by developing bureaucrat capitalism and evolving semifeudalism within the framework imposed by imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism; each confronting specific conditions giving rise to specific differences, but all striving to maintain and defend the landlord-bureaucrat dictatorship that is the Peruvian state.

In general terms, these are the foundations on which Garcia's July 1985 message is based, upon which his "Nationalist, democratic and popular state" is erected and which guide his government's actions.

The self-proclaimed "nationalist state." "We know that in order to carry out the democratic revolution we must be anti-imperialists," Garcia said before the United Nations. But anti-imperialism does not mean simply defending "the nation against the monopolistic structure of some corporations"; it means frontal combat against the monopolies which form imperialism's economic foundations. Still less does it mean favouring the biggest petrol monopoly in the world as has been done with the contracts awarded to Occidental Petroleum. One cannot call oneself an anti-imperialist and at the same time claim that the problem of foreign debt, one of the gravest and most concrete problems afflicting mainly the backward countries, is a question of "the relationship between the poor and the rich" or "between the North and the South." We all know that that the burning question is the exportation of capital, one of the characteristics of imperialism, an expression of its parasitic character, of living by "clipping coupons," as Lenin wrote. This is a striking and decisive example of the relationship between the oppressed countries and the imperialist countries which exploit and squeeze them — while Garcia implies that the oppressed nations share the responsibility for the overwhelming debt which crushes and suffocates them. One cannot be an anti-imperialist and at the same time seek to separate the problem of foreign debt from the worldwide contention between the superpowers

for hegemony, nor much less pretend to stand aside from that contention, claiming to ignore it, which means to serve it. On the contrary, one should oppose it, denouncing the collusion and contention carried out by Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism which cast the Third World especially into ever deeper suffering as they unleash counter-revolutionary wars in different parts of the world and prepare for a third world war brandishing their atomic bombs to frighten the oppressed and keep them from fighting back. Likewise one cannot be an anti-imperialist and at the same time call upon the rest of the imperialists, particularly European imperialism, to help out the world's poor, nor much less dream of and await understanding and support from the superpowers themselves. This phony anti-imperialism drops its mask rather quickly when it comes to serving monopolies like Occidental or to recognising and promising to pay the country's foreign debt under the pretext of "honouring our obligations," and even more when Garcia raises an uproar about "imperialist aggression" when "military aid" is suspended, aid whose purpose is to train genocidal officers like Hurtado, nicknamed "The Lorry" (Lieutenant Hurtado, trained by the U.S. Army under a U.S. "aid" scheme, was held responsible for the 1985 Aqomarca roundup and mass murder of peasants — *AWTW*) and others of their ilk. Garcia's "anti-imperialist" accomplices from the chieftains of the Second International to Fidel Castro to the United Left headed by Barrantes added their voices to the clamour for more such "aid." After all this fuss Garcia finally ended up meeting his overdue debt payments and the "military aid" programme to train officers to commit genocide was reestablished. Despite his pompous promise to limit debt repayments to 10% of Peru's export earnings, Garcia ended up paying 35.5% — and 56.9% in the second half of 1985 (14.7% to pay public debt; 6.4% for Central Reserve Bank debt and 35.8% for private debt), according to economists. After threatening to withdraw from

the evil International Monetary Fund if it didn't accept these conditions, and after the IMF rejected them, Garcia concluded that it was better not to withdraw after all. This "nationalist state," then, doesn't really exist; this false anti-imperialism is really pro-imperialism.

The self-proclaimed "democratic state." "Secondly," reads the message that some people found so hopeful, "we need a democratic state, a state which is democratic not only because it was elected and because of its respect for freedom of opinion and expression, but also because of its role as arbiter of justice, and fundamentally because of its new organisational structure." First, regarding its being "democratically elected," we have previously shown that the present APRA government took office in violation of its own Constitution and other laws, that, in short, Garcia did not obtain the 50% plus one of the votes as required by the Constitution to be elected president of this country, but that rather his election was the product of a sinister alliance between Yankee imperialism and the domestic exploiting classes, with the backing of the Armed Forces. Because of this Alan Garcia Perez only acts as if he were president, and consequently the ministers he appoints and the actions they carry out are without any legal basis according to their own set-up. In the same way the Congress of the Republic is deeply tainted by the rigged voting that was exposed and challenged, giving rise to scandals still not cleared up. Regarding "respect for freedom and expression" as it applies within the reactionary order, these freedoms are reserved for the exploiters, the owners of almost all the mass media; but the striking thing is the uniform manipulation that the APRA government has imposed in this field, as obviously and undeniably exemplified in the information given out about the June 19th genocide committed against the prisoners of war. There are indirect and even brutally shameless restrictions placed against the few mass media that escape government control; the censoring and persecu-

tion of the newspaper *El Nuevo Diario* and of television programmes are clear examples. Furthermore, let us ask a simple question: when has any newspaper or other means of mass communication other than *El Nuevo Diario* or *Equis X* agreed to publish any communique denouncing the persecution, torture, disappearances or genocide carried out against the people? But the freedoms and rights the people have won and have forced into law cannot be reduced to simply freedom of opinion and expression. The right to life and physical integrity, freedom of thought and expression, the inviolability of the home and the mail, the right to assemble, to organise and to strike, job security and social benefits, etc., and also the right to bury one's dead — are any of these respected in this country under their so-called "democratic state"? And this without mentioning the state of emergency and curfew and all that their sacrosanct "defence of the established order" implies. As to the state being an "arbiter of justice," it will suffice to ask the workers of Sima, Moraveco, the miners of Canaria and Pasco, the members of the unions CITE and Sutep (teachers), the doctors, sugar cane workers all over the country, the people of Puno, Cuzco and San Martin, and the inhabitants of shantytowns like Garagay — not to speak of what this "arbiter of justice" did in Aqomarca, Lurigancho and the recent genocide committed in the three shining trenches of combat, nor Garcia's frenetic scream "That's enough! I have run out of patience!" with the workers' struggle nor all the repression against the workers the APRA government has carried out since it took office. All this is part of a policy of "reestablishing the national order and returning to the principle of authority," or as he said in his 1985 message, "If those who don't wish to listen stir things up, the state order will punish them, applying the law firmly and energetically . . . vacillation would promote disorder, instead there will be decisiveness and firmness."

What merits special attention is the claim that the state is

"democratic fundamentally because of its new organisational structure." The Peruvian state is conceived fundamentally as a bourgeois "representative democracy," that is, a parliamentary democracy. Thus, what is meant by a "new organisational structure"? In short, to organise the state along corporatist lines, which is the aim behind the "decentralisation and de-concentration," regionalisation, development committees, micro-regions and "peasant communities as the social base" and the "National Economic Congress," in addition to the state's organisational attempts mainly among the so-called marginalised masses, in the shantytowns and among the peasants of the "Andean trapeze" mountain region, with the planned slum organisations and federations, the "Rimanacuy," the onslaught of "people's cafeterias," "mothers' clubs" and other activities with women through what they call the "Direct Assistance Programme," and the recently-created "Youth Development Programme," as well as the takeover of various "professional associations," etc., and, unavoidably, dual unionism and especially APRA's accelerated formation and training of shock troops, in order to pit the masses against each other as they did, for example, with the PAIT (a minimum-wage government work scheme) during the recent strikes by teachers and doctors. The organisation of these corporatist structures is linked to a fascist political conception whose expression can be seen in the parliamentary crisis increasingly enmeshing the legislative branch, in a systematic denial of rights and liberties, and Alan Garcia's dictatorial actions and moves — rather significantly, his closest henchmen call him "the conductor." In short, does this much-ballyhooed "democratic state" exist? No, absolutely not. What is developing and being prepared is the replacement of the democratic-representative setup by a social-corporatist order, under the leadership of a fascist policy already pushing forward and promising sinister future developments.

The self-proclaimed "People's

State." "But," reads the 1985 message, "the people's state must resolve the immediate and grave problems the country faces." How has the economy been run — has it benefited the masses of people? Previously in this same message Garcia had warned, "*I hereby announce, as is my duty, that we are instituting a government austerity programme to reorder the economy and promote its revolutionary transformation. . . .*" (emphasis ours) Immediately after taking office, Garcia put into effect an emergency plan that was simply a modified version of Argentine President Alfonsin's, with the goal of what was called "expansive adjustment" (Alfonsin's plan, consented to by International Monetary Fund head J. de Larosiere, aimed to bring that indebted country into compliance with the IMF). This plan had to be readjusted in October 1985, again in February 1986, and then once more in July 1986. In general we can say that this plan has had to be increasingly modified to meet the need to develop bureaucrat capitalism under imperialist domination, principally that of the U.S., linked to semifeudalism, while focusing on overcoming the crisis bureaucrat capitalism has undergone since 1974 and anxiously seeking to "reactivate the economy." For a long time the government hailed the great successes of the "new economy" it had launched, but the reality turned out to be quite different and today the man who pretends to be president has had to call for "thinking it over," to face facts and drop the premature claims of triumph that had filled the air for months.

Let us examine some points. There was a lot of talk about the sharp reduction of inflation, but now it is clear that it was Belaundé, with the inflationary increases and devaluations at the end of his government, who made the present government's so-called "success" possible. As United Left member J. Iguiniz said, "After an economic package like this, it is normal for inflation to level off or fall, as was the case with previous adjustments." But furthermore, the containment of inflation, which is basically

recessive, should have generated "higher real wage increases than turned out to be the case," so that, consequently, "By holding back wage increases, the government had held back the reactivation of the economy." Thus, according to this writer, the government does not deserve any credit for reducing inflation, and at the same time it has held back wages and the much-talked about economic expansion.

If we analyse the problem of real wages more deeply, we see that by January 1986 they had declined to only 89.4% of their purchasing power of July 1985. Furthermore, it should be emphasised that when the July 1985 wage increases were decreed, "salaries jumped curiously higher than wages," while workers without collective bargaining contracts received higher increases than those covered by such contracts — the former rising by 8.8%, the latter by 4.9%. As *Actualidad Economica* said, "The real May-February wage increases in industries where there is no collective bargaining compared to similar enterprises with collective bargaining contracts is particularly noteworthy: 36.9% vs. 4.6%!" The APRA government's class outlook and goals in this are rather indicative. Concerning the boost in the minimum wage the government has bragged about so much, the following should be emphasised: what does a wage of 700 *intis* a month mean when a minimum monthly budget just for food is 2,586 *intis*? How much has the price of food gone up between July 1985 and June 1986? 210.8%, taking into account only the most basic items people usually eat in the cities, particularly the capital, without including milk, bread, sugar and rice, items under price control which have appeared and disappeared from the market time and again.

What has happened in the countryside? There have been grandiose plans, especially regarding the so-called "Andean trapeze" region. Interest-free loans for the region were announced, but these credits were extended to only eight or ten percent of producers, and many of them were not in the mountains. Then there was the 3,200 million *inti*

"Fund to Promote Agriculture and Guarantee Food," 80% of which goes for crops cultivated on the Coast. Actually the "trapeze" region has received only 50,000 *intis*, given to an undetermined number of communities, half in cash and the rest to be delivered, through the usual intermediaries, in materials for community projects. What can be accomplished with this, and for whose benefit? It is easy to see that these materials will benefit whoever controls them, especially APRA party members, who will take advantage of the peasants' free labour. It should be kept in mind that the *People's Cooperation* scheme, in its so-called community works, ended up paying only 23% of their costs, while the peasants paid the remaining 77% with their own hands. This scheme is still in operation, let us recall. Furthermore, the blows dealt to domestic agricultural production by big increases in imported foodstuffs should also be kept in mind, as should the fact that despite this scheme's emphasis on the development of domestic agricultural production in the mountains in particular, it envisions subjugating it to low prices and state control.

We should give some emphasis to the PAIT, another scheme that the government brags about. It employed about 50,000 people in 1985, especially in Lima and the surrounding shantytowns, 80% of them women, paying minimum wage, partly in goods. As the government itself admits, the programme supplements others already in practice elsewhere, and it is inevitably leading to more unemployment. But moreover, the PAIT is a method to organise and control the marginalised masses, to use them against others among the masses. Now the government is seeking to expand the number of people involved to 150,000, of whom 80,000 would be in the mountains and the rest on the coast, mainly in Lima. We can easily see the corporatist political goals that lie at the heart of the PAIT. In the same vein, we should emphasise the overall attacks on the proletariat and the workers in general, and especially underline the so-called "job security" law

which violates the Constitution and opens the way for massive numbers of workers to become redundant. This aspect is even worse in the so-called "Emergency Employment Scheme," which allows public as well as private enterprises to hire personnel for up to two years at minimum wage, provided they are also paid "all the benefits provided for by law," of course; this means that the two-thirds or so of the workforce which is unemployed or underemployed, this huge army of the hungry, will be thrown into the maws of capital accumulation to be squeezed to the last drop like a lemon for the sake of profits. All this without mentioning the government's measures to undermine the workers' grievances, to destroy and divide their unions and to prevent strikes, so as to force the working class and working people to accept the crumbs thrown to them with gratitude for the kindness of their exploiters and the "people's state."

Despite everything being said, neither health nor education receive any consideration. Further, also in violation of the Constitution, to reduce state health expenses they have combined social security services with those of the Ministry of Health, to the detriment of the interests of the workers and working people. Education is also undergoing an assault by APRA teachers and authorities, in order to seize control of it. The government's effort to take direct control of the state universities represents an extremely important attempt to fulfill an old APRA dream. This is the reason for unleashing the campaign against the universities and labeling them "centres of terrorism" several months ago.

To all this must be added the reduction in export earnings by \$500 million this year, plus the increase in imports, leading to a deficit commercial balance which began to appear in June, alongside the foreign exchange deficit beginning last February. Furthermore, despite government denials there is a growing budget deficit, which clearly in this country has always hurt the people, and of course all this inevitably comes on top of the growing foreign debt problem. But we

must have faith, because as the message we've referred to says, "food does not spring up overnight . . . nor do wages . . . but anyway, a people's government starts by strengthening the national morality, which must be guarded over by the country's police forces." We've already seen this "morality" — the reorganisation of the police is its best example.

All of this led Garcia to say in his recent July 1986 message, "*This has been a hard year. There have been shortcomings and problems . . . but the truth, sir, is that this has been a difficult year and the coming years will be too. . . . Nevertheless, we have made progress during the last twelve months, in regard to social and economic developments, and most importantly, in regard to the development of the nation's patience.*" (emphasis ours)

In sum, is this a "people's state"? Does it serve the masses of people? Absolutely not. It is simply the same pro-imperialist, anti-democratic and anti-people class dictatorship, along with some recycled old ideas, old wine in new bottles, and lots of demagogy, all tending towards the corporativisation of Peruvian society under a fascist political leadership able to draw lessons from its domestic predecessors.

THE GENOCIDE COMMITTED AGAINST THE PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE SHINING TRENCHES OF COMBAT. Despite all the meetings between APRA's CONAPLAN (National Government Planning Commission) and the heads of the Armed Forces and all the Velazcoite military advisers, the reactionary APRA government has not yet made public its so-called "new strategy to fight subversion." Plainly all they have done is to continue the old strategy, which we analysed in the first part; at most they have given the Armed Forces more economic, political and social resources, and a freer hand to develop more counterrevolutionary warfare, now aided by the police, against the raging people's war which has been growing and will continue to grow. At first the present government tried to ignore the

people's war, but it exploded in the government's face with the genocide at Aqomarca; then it tried to evade responsibility for this massacre by removing the chief of the Armed Forces Joint Command. But that was a farce, because that dismissal had already been decided upon a week earlier, due to differences of opinion concerning the entry of Yankee troops into the jungle region, while the other resulting changes in the military were taken care of by the military command itself. However, it should be recalled that several days before the genocide at Aqomarca, General Jarama, then head of the II Military Region, was in Ayacucho accompanied by five generals and eight colonels and lieutenant colonels. What were they doing there? Obviously setting into motion a plan approved by the National Defence Council, presided over by Garcia himself. As for the proposed investigations, they came to naught, despite all the evidence, and as we will see the genocidal criminals Hurtado and Artaza were rewarded and upheld as "heroes of democracy." Thus the firings and the investigation were two sides of the same coin, a manoeuvre especially meant to defend the international image of "Mr Constitutional President, supreme chief of the armed forces and police," who had strutted like a righteous peacock before the United Nations. "Our respect for people's lives and rights constitute the democratic credentials we present to the world. Nothing justifies torture, disappearances or summary execution. Savagery cannot be fought with savagery." Let everyone compare his words and deeds! These words fit in with what he said July 28th 1985, to the so-called "Peace Commission." What was he trying to do? What did he do and how did he end up? Shipwrecked, like a boat that had been leaking all along, as a co-participant in the June genocide; the United Left leadership that solemnly negotiated an amnesty for its jailed followers is still waiting for Garcia to fulfill his promise.

Then came the October 1985 Lurigancho genocide. After this, the reactionary APRA government

staged a big farce about a supposed "mass surrender of Senderistas" (as the Peruvian press calls PCP members — *AWTW*) in Llochegua and Corazon-Pata, in La Mar province in the department of Ayacucho. The mass media even broadcast a staged meeting between the "supreme commander" and the "surrendering leaders" Garcia received in the presidential palace, filmed from a distance so nobody could hear anything or see anyone's face, for what were called "understandable security reasons." But this poorly worked-out plan soon fell apart when the declarations of the Marine officer who took part in the operation that started it all were made public: "*The officer himself,*" when interviewed by this correspondent, "*explained that the hundred or so people involved, including men, women and children, did not come to the Armed Forces bases at Corazon-Pata and Llochegua of their own free will, but rather were rounded up by the Marines in the high mountain ranges and were then taken to these camps. When Lieutenant 'Anibal' was asked if they were carrying arms when they surrendered, he said no,*" according to *La Republica* October 25, 1985. (emphasis ours) This was the famous "surrender" hoax.

Nevertheless, these plans, actions, genocides and farces were part of APRA's measures against the people's war. To quote the May 18, 1985, *El Nacional*, "APRA will try to crush terrorism during the first hundred days of its government. This is one of the objectives of the emergency plan, part of the overall APRA plan for the government, elaborated and approved by the National Government Planning Commission (CONAPLAN)." But everything, all the manoeuvres and "objectives," blew up in their faces with the unleashing of a new and thundering offensive in the people's war at the end of that year. The Joint Command itself, presided over by Army Commander in Chief General Guillermo Monzon Arunategui, Navy chief Vice Admiral Victor Nicolini and Air Force head General Luis Abram Cavallerino and their advisors all had to travel

to Ayacucho for several days in early February 1986. Why? Essentially to formulate new plans which were then approved by Garcia's National Defence Council. Thus new operations were launched, especially in the V Political-Military Command Zone. As we've seen in the first section, the revolutionary war developed still further, striking violently and hard in the capital city itself.

The June 1986 genocide should be seen within this general framework and the specific plans cooked up a year earlier, as well as taking into account the upcoming anniversary of the APRA's first year in government and the planned congress of the so-called "Socialist International" Garcia sought to use as a trampoline to boost his image as a "third world leader" and to strengthen his government's position internationally, seeking to offset the failures suffered by his domestic political and military plans and the setbacks suffered by his international policies. In addition to this framework, there was an intensification of systematic provocations against the prisoners of war, in violation of agreements they had extracted from the Belaunde government and the APRA government itself October 31st 1985, agreements which recognised them as "special prisoners" and acknowledged their rights as guaranteed by international legislation subscribed to by the Peruvian state as well as Peru's Constitution and the relevant laws. These signed documents and rights were won and defended through firm and stubborn struggles; there was really no other way they could have been obtained. These provocations also included Naval incursions in El Fronton, reconnaissance flights over that prison, as well as other provocations against families and supporters of the prisoners of war, and death threats and beatings given to prisoners who were being taken to court. Moreover, a campaign was relaunched to transfer the prisoners to the new Canto Grande concentration camp and prison authorities made provocative statements about it. Parliament ap-

proved a law stipulating that the prisoners should be transferred to prisons in the areas they were from but Garcia postponed its implementation. With all this in mind, it can be clearly seen that there was a plan to commit large-scale genocide, by hook or by crook, and that the APRA government and reactionary Armed Forces were awaiting the most politically favourable moment to carry it out, in order to strengthen their so-called "democracy" and the APRA government, especially Garcia, and deal a heavy blow to the people's war. It was within this political context of acute class struggle and the development of the armed struggle led by the Party, and of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution in general, waged principally by force of arms for over six years, that the prisoners of war rose up. The reactionary Peruvian state under Garcia's political leadership, his government and its Armed Forces and police, responded with a genocidal extermination that provoked international repercussions and horrified condemnations of this barbarous genocide. Alan Garcia's touted international prestige crumbled like a sand castle; domestically it provoked the APRA government's most serious crisis so far. The genocide sharpened the contradictions within the reaction itself, particularly shaking up the political institutions, including the United Left, whose head, the APRA-ite Barrantes, had acted as an accomplice by proposing a "united front against terrorism," and shocked the masses of people, whose condemnation can never be obliterated. Thus these repeated and unrepentant genocidal murders have provoked worldwide condemnation and a political crisis which will not abate, a crisis with long-term repercussions.

In June the Communist Party of Peru put out the following Resolution:

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

DAY OF HEROISM

Following in the footsteps of its predecessor, since the very start the reactionary APRA government has resorted to genocide against the

people's war, covering it up with pompous demagogy, with the support and aid of the electoral opportunists. This was amply proven by the crimes committed by the Peruvian state's police and Armed Forces in Aqomarca, Umaru, Bellavista and Lloclapampa.

The reaction took sinister aim against the prisoners of war, planning their genocidal annihilation. This took place October 4th last year, with the cowardly and brutal murder of 13 combatants in the Lurigancho prison. This is another abominable crime that has gone unpunished, and only the victorious people will be able to mete out punishment.

On the 18th of June 1986, at El Fronton, Lurigancho and El Callao, the prisoners of war rose up in rebellion against the new genocide under way, after having publicly and repeatedly denounced, before the courts and the authorities themselves, the slaughter the government and its Armed Forces were plotting. They arose in defence of the revolution and their lives, putting forward 26 very just and reasonable demands.

On the 19th, after the reactionary APRA government headed by Garcia went through the grotesque farce of manipulating the so-called "peace commission," it unleashed the most vile and evil extermination operation, mobilising the Army, Navy, Air Force and police under the Joint Command to carry out the most monstrous genocide, killing hundreds of prisoners of war, guerrilla fighters and sons and daughters of the people and bathing themselves once more in the ardent blood of the people. Let Alan Garcia, his cabinet, the Joint Command, the Armed Forces and the police be covered with indelible ignominy that the people shall never forget and that only the people shall punish!

The combatants of the People's Guerrilla Army, prisoners of war, fought heroically and daringly, upholding the slogan "It's Right to Rebel" and setting a landmark of heroism, valour and courage that history will cherish as exemplary of the heroes that only a people's war can bring forth.

Thus June 19th 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, and before it we communists, fighters and sons and daughters of the people pledge our unwavering commitment to follow their shining example, to develop the people's war in order to serve the world revolution until the inextinguishable light of communism dwells upon the whole earth under the forever victorious banners of Marx, Engels, 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,
June 1986

Furthermore, we must also see that the truth comes out and the facts be recorded for history just as they really occurred; as everyone can see, the episodes we have witnessed are already an indelible part of our history, and we must make sure that they are handed down clearly preserved for future generations. The question is, to make it perfectly clear, in the first place, the responsibility of Alan Garcia, the APRA party leadership, the Cabinet, the Joint Command and the Armed Forces and police. It is evident that the political responsibility principally rests with Alan Garcia, who besides acting as president is supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and it was he and his cabinet who directed the genocidal extermination, carried out principally by the Armed Forces under the leadership of the Joint Command, with the aid of the police.

Secondly, the United Left leadership and especially Barrantes, APRA's man who heads that organisation, are also responsible. In particular the mayor is an ac-

complice because his call for a so-called "united front against terrorism" undeniably helped to prepare the genocide.

Thirdly, it is generally known that the leaders of the political parties and of the Church had been informed of the situation and the measures to be taken. Therefore the question arises, what did they do? Doesn't their silence imply co-participation and in some cases complicity?

Fourthly, the cunning distortions and disgusting implications poured out by the press and broadcast media are impermissible. Amongst these, the weekly newspaper *Amauta* has provoked surprise and repugnance. Do such distortions and implications serve the people or do they serve reaction? Whatever disagreements and opposing positions there might be cannot justify vile filth, all the more when it is a matter of fighters willing to give their lives for their ideas, who deserve no less than respect from any decent person.

Fifthly, this genocidal extermination is undeniably a milestone in the class struggle in this country and its repercussions have brought about the APRA government's biggest crisis so far, provoking shock at home and abroad. It shows the decrepitude of the prevailing social system and the incontrovertible need to completely and thoroughly overthrow it, no matter how long it takes, because history already demands it; moreover and very revealingly it has shattered the phony "nationalistic," "democratic" and "popular" mask worn by APRA and the sham president, demonstrating the essence of things for all who wish to see — the fascist and corporatist road the government has set out on and will continue to follow.

Finally, the armed actions unfolding since 1980 show very clearly, even if some people choose not to see it for whatever reasons, that a powerful and ever-growing people's war is developing as the ardent expression of the class struggle, sustained by the masses, whose support is undeniable because without it the persistence of the people's war would be inexplicable. It is a people's war led by the Communist

Party of Peru, following Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the ever victorious ideology of the proletariat whose emancipation it serves, together with that of the people, as part of the world revolution. The genocide committed in the Shining Trenches of Combat at El Fronton, Lurigancho and El Callao against Party members, fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army and sons and daughters of the people who fought alongside us, is an inseparable part of our people's war; and moreover it is a milestone of that war. With their rebellion they built a monument we will always commemorate as the Day of Heroism, on which are engraved along with others the indelible names of our comrades David Javier Guevara Torres (Alejandro) and Victor Felipe Vidal Marino (Jose).

As for the background to this genocide, we must take into account the different struggles that had taken place in the Shining Trenches of Combat, emphasising among them the joint struggle of July 13th, 1985, in which the first signed agreement was won, and the genocide of October 4th of the same year and its corollary on the 31st of the same month when the second agreement was extracted from the APRA government. As for the facts, a good chronology of the events of June 18th and 19th is needed; moreover the general tendency is to emphasise the events at Lurigancho. Without at all minimising the special importance of the events there, it is also very important to expose what happened at El Fronton; to cover up the events there would mean covering up the responsibility of the Navy, an institution which has carried out sinister genocide and which perversely and bloodthirstily continues this policy today with the disappearance of the bodies of the fallen heroes. We reiterate the Army's responsibility at Lurigancho despite its attempts to make the Republican Guard the scapegoat; the Republican Guard shares the blame but is not the main culprit. It is also appropriate to point out the statements signed by judicial and parliamentary authorities who initially took steps regarding the situation only to be ignored and

who subsequently resigned their posts, whereupon they were replaced by members of the military court of justice. Likewise it is also worth clarifying the role of the so-called "Peace Commission" which either consciously or through manipulation served to make it look like there was mediation when there really was none. Regarding what happened after the genocide, it is key to analyse Garcia's speeches at the Congress of the Second International, on television and above all his performance at Lurigancho. Aware of the facts since the very beginning, he let loose a flood of hysterical demagoguery to cover up, deceive and especially to save his own image. It should also be emphasised that Alva's absence at the start doesn't exempt him in any way from his responsibilities as chairman of the Cabinet; moreover, though he was present at Lurigancho and knew all the facts, he shrewdly kept his silence so as to absolve himself of all responsibility. In the same way then-Justice Minister Gonzalez Posada is also directly responsible despite his cunning resignation for phony "ethical reasons." One fact should be remembered: after the bloody events of January 15th 1986 he said that those accused of terrorism would not be transferred to Canto Grande, but with his "resignation" he seeks to keep his image clean for the future. Apart from this question of political responsibility, it is evident that others responsible are: General Monzon Arrunategui, chairman of the Joint Command, and Vice Admiral Nicolini and General Abram Cavallerino, also of the Joint Command, members, respectively, of the Army, Navy and Air Force and those principally responsible for leading the operations, along with the secondary responsibility of the police. These men, in accordance with the policies of genocide and extermination taught them by their Yankee masters, planned, organised and carried out the genocidal extermination plans in violation of even the most basic and universally accepted rules of warfare such as those of the Geneva Convention. Likewise it is indispensable to analyse the role

played by Congress' Permanent Commission, which instead of dealing with the events as a matter of public interest which should have been openly aired, maliciously treated them as secret and then postponed looking into them until the following session of parliament. The performance of the different parties that belong to the Permanent Commission has been very revealing, especially that of the IU, whose document presented in the Commission condemns those who arose in defence of the revolution and their lives and treats the rights of their relatives as humanitarian gifts for which they should beg.

Finally, we must denounce before the proletariat and peoples of the world the slimy role played by the so-called "Socialist International" in this genocide. It should be recalled that it originated from the old revisionists who defended their bourgeoisies and led the masses to be cannon fodder under the slogan "defend the fatherland" in that first great imperialist war of plunder, in opposition to Lenin's great thesis of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary war, which when firmly applied led to triumph over the renegades and to the Great October Revolution. The counter-revolutionary work carried out by social-democracy with Ebert at its head should also be recalled — united with the exploiters and German militarists they drowned the German revolution in fire and blood and held back the revolution throughout Europe; sinking further into parliamentary cretinism, they became a prop of imperialism, firemen to be used to smother revolutionary sparks among the proletariat and people. Since the 1950s they have discarded like old leaves the few Marxist terms that, empty of content, had clung to them, in order to continue wheeling and dealing as social democratic parties mainly in the service of European imperialism, and in recent decades in the service of these masters they have tried to extend their influence in Latin America, which was why they were so eager to hold their congress in Lima. We must especially denounce their party boss Willy Brandt for his dirty

and miserable defence of Garcia, seeking to exonerate him of his responsibility for mass genocide while defaming the people's war being waged in Peru. In the same way we denounce Carlos Andres Perez, a bloodstained swaggerer who like his predecessors used fire and sword to crush the Venezuelan armed struggle, and who today, passing himself off as a democrat, has been Garcia's and the APRA's big defender. Thus the self-proclaimed "Socialist International" by trying to cover up the June genocide, has only continued to bathe itself in the blood of the proletariat and the people, this time of the Peruvian proletariat and people, of the hundreds of their sons and daughters who were savagely annihilated; but in doing so they undermined their own congress, which took place in the midst of the shocks and tremours provoked by the genocide they'd tried to cover up, thus sharpening their own internal contradictions, until it fizzled out without grief or glory in the middle of the night, amidst confusion due to changes in agenda and meetings suspended and even prematurely brought to a halt, despite the thousands of soldiers and police guarding their meeting headquarters. In this way the rebellion and the subsequent massacre served to once more unmask the long and black history of the slimy "Socialist International," with a bloody and shocking new lesson that makes plain its pro-imperialist and reactionary essence.

After this genocidal extermination, Garcia tried to wash his indelibly bloody hands and restore his image with huge ads in the principal newspapers of the world costing the Peruvian people eight million dollars, to no avail. Today he continues this effort, cynically and scandalously lying in "interviews" published in foreign publications such as *El Nacional* of Caracas, where he said, "No. At El Fronton the Marines only helped out with explosives to blow open a breach"; referring to the shooting of the prisoners of war at Lurigancho, he says, "We have denounced it. We have arrested a hundred people for that crime, and right now they are being held in jail." However, fac-

ed with the political defeat he has suffered due to his own errors which are as big or bigger than his vanity, he resorts to the same stale insults as Belaunde and others to express the hatred revolution fills him with: "Shining Path" is an anarchistic and cruel outburst, in the style of Pöl Pot, and that's why I am vigorously anti- "Shining Path," he recently told the U.S. magazine *Newsweek*. The basic question behind all this demagogic foliage is clear and concrete — the people's war is the main problem confronted by the Peruvian state and its reactionary APRA government, as "Mr constitutional president and supreme chief of the armed forces and police" clearly said in his July 1986 message: "*The foremost obstacle to our democracy is subversive violence*"; further, in the same message, knowing very well what is holding up the reactionary state and himself, he reiterated for the nth time recently, "*I salute and express my full support for the Armed Forces and police, which are loyal, respectful and obedient to the constitutional government.*"

For years now, but especially since the genocide, the condemnations of the people's war have grown, condemning revolutionary violence in the name of bourgeois pacifism and the masses and accusing the Party of being sectarian. We propose that all those who are capable of seeing reality, and especially those who are obligated to see it, think seriously and deeply about the following quotes and experiences.

Regarding pacifism. We ask, aren't the calls for peace in accord with the "pacification" sought by the Armed Forces, Garcia, APRA, etc.? Is this a coincidence? No — one should recall what happened in Uruguay in the 1970s. To combat the Tupamaros, the repressive forces also put forward the necessity for "pacification." The revisionists, according to Rodney Arismendi, their leader, promoted a movement for peace, justice, democracy and other pleas; the end result, as we all know, was that all this only served to help the Uruguayan reaction smash the Tupamaros. Is this, then, what they

want in our country? The smashing of the people's war? The difference is that here what is developing is a people's war led by a Communist Party that follows Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought; we are not Tupamaros, ours is a different ideology with everything that derives from that. These words from Lenin deserve serious consideration: "Marxism is not pacifism. Of course, one must strive for the speediest possible termination of the war. However, the demand for 'peace' acquires proletarian meaning only if it is linked to a call for *revolutionary* struggle. Without a series of revolutions, what is called a lasting peace is a philistine Utopia" — "Whoever wants a lasting and democratic peace must stand for civil war against the governments and bourgeoisie."

On revolutionary violence, Engels' words, called by Lenin a "panegyric on violent revolution," should be kept in mind:

"... That force, however, plays another role (other than that of a diabolical power), in history; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with a new one, that it is the instrument with which social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilised political forms — of this there is not a word in Herr Duhring. It is only with sighs and groans that he admits the possibility that force will perhaps be necessary for the overthrow of an economy based on exploitation — unfortunately, because all use of force demoralises, he says, the person who uses it. And this is in spite of the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has been given by every victorious revolution! And this is Germany, where a violent revolution — which may, after all, be forced on the people — would at least have the merit of wiping out the servility which has penetrated the nation's mentality following the humiliation of the Thirty Year's War. And this person's mode of thought — dull, insipid and impotent — presumes to impose itself on the most revolutionary party that history has known!"

And on what Lenin taught, "The necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with *this* and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of the *entire* theory of Marx and Engels."

And furthermore, Chairman Mao's great thesis should be deeply considered,

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

"Whoever has an army has power, and war decides everything."

"A few small political parties with a short history, e.g. the Youth Party, have no army and so have not been able to get anywhere."

"In other countries there is no need for each of the bourgeois parties to have an armed force under its direct command. But things are different in China, where, because of the feudal division of the country, those landlord or bourgeois groupings or parties which have guns have power, and those which have more guns have more power. Placed in such an environment, the party of the proletariat should see clearly to the heart of the matter."

"Communists do not fight for personal military power (they must in no circumstances do that, and let no one ever again follow the example of Chang Kuo-tao), but they must fight for military power for the people. As a national war of resistance is going on, we must also fight for military power for the nation. Where there is naivete on the question of military power, nothing whatsoever can be achieved. It is very difficult for the labouring people, who have been deceived and intimidated by the reactionary ruling classes for thousands of years, to awaken to the importance of having guns in their own hands. Now that Japanese imperialist oppression and the nation-wide resistance to it have pushed our labouring people into the arena of war, Communists should prove themselves the most politically conscious leaders in the war. Every Communist must grasp the truth, 'Political power grows

out of the barrel of a gun.' Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party. Yet, having guns, we can create Party organisations, as witness the powerful Party organisations which the Eighth Route Army has created in northern China. We can also create cadres, create schools, create culture, create mass movements. Everything in Yen-an has been created by having guns. All things grow out of the barrel of a gun. According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power, whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the 'omnipotence of war.' Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and the landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed. We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

And since we are on the subject, while discussing other fundamental questions it is not out of place to analyse the profound meaning of the following words by Lenin: "The mind of an opportunist, full of stingy philistinism and 'reformist' stagnation, only sees what occurs around him, namely: only 'municipalities'!

"The opportunist has even grown out of the habit of thinking about proletarian revolution."

Regarding the masses, the following deserves to be studied conscientiously:

"One of the most common sophistries of Kautskyism is its reference to the 'masses.' We do not want, they say, to break away from the masses and mass organisa-

tions! But just think how Engels put the question. In the nineteenth century the 'mass organisations' of the English trade unions were on the side of the bourgeois labour party. Marx and Engels did not reconcile themselves to it on this ground; they exposed it. They did not forget, firstly, that the trade union organisations directly embraced a *minority of the proletariat*. In England then, as in Germany now, not more than one-fifth of the proletariat was organised. No one can seriously think it possible to organise the majority of the proletariat under capitalism. Secondly — and this is the main point — it is not so much a question of the size of an organisation, as of the real, objective significance of its policy: does its policy represent the masses, does it serve them, i.e. does it aim at their liberation from capitalism, or does it represent the interests of the minority, the minority's reconciliation with capitalism? The latter was true of England in the nineteenth century, and it is true of Germany, etc., now.

"Engels draws a distinction between the 'bourgeois labour party' of the *old* trade unions — the privileged minority — and the 'lower mass,' the real majority, and appeals to the latter, who are *not* infected by 'bourgeois respectability.' This is the essence of Marxist tactics!

"Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitively decided only by the socialist revolution. But we know for certain that the 'defenders of the fatherland' and the imperialist war *represent* only a minority. And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down *lower* and *deeper*, to the real masses; this is the whole meaning and the whole purpose of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of the minority of workers, that they are the

vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influences, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to appreciate their true political interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

"The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism, to utilise the experiences of the war to expose, not conceal, the utter vileness of national-labour politics." (Lenin, *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*.)

And most especially, this great truth expressed by Chairman Mao Tsetung should be thoroughly and deeply reflected upon, "Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, 'It is right to rebel.' For thousands of years, it has been said that it was right to oppress, it was right to exploit, and it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed by the appearance of Marxism. This is a great contribution. It was through struggle that the proletariat learned this truth, and Marx drew the conclusion. And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism."

Finally, regarding our supposed sectarianism, we would like to recall Mariategui:

"We are living in a period of total ideological war. Those who represent a renovating force cannot, either by accident or chance, unite or merge themselves with those who represent conservatism or regression. There is a historic abyss between them. They speak different languages and have a different understanding of history."

"I think we should unite the like-minded and not those who differ. We should approach those whom history wants to unite. There should be solidarity between those of whom history requires solidarity. This, it seems to me, is the only possible alliance. A common understanding with a precise and ef-

fective sense of history.”

“I am a revolutionary. But I believe that men who think clearly and definitively will be able to understand and appreciate each other, even while struggling against each other. The one political force with whom I will never reach an understanding is the other camp: mediocre reformism, domesticated reformism, hypocritical democracy.”

These, in our judgement, are some of the basic questions that have emerged after the APRA government's first year. In synthesis, the APRA party, its government and Garcia who heads them both, responding to the development and future perspectives of Peruvian society, which is rotting alive, and of the reactionary Peruvian state, and developing their own contradictions, have plunged into the corporativisation of the Peruvian state and society guided by a fascist political orientation. The key reasons behind this reactionary decision and future perspective are the persistent and unyielding struggle of the people, the masses and the organisations that genuinely defend the people's interests, above all the people's war led by the Communist Party, and, concretely, in the current conjuncture, the sharpening of the class struggle, the intensification of the people's war and the rebellion of the prisoners of war against whom this vile genocidal extermination was unleashed, a genocide which was the last straw and in turn has drawn a line of demarcation and shattered the phony demagogy about the “nationalist, democratic and people's state,” and helped to sharpen the contradiction within which the APRA party is trapped, by exposing its underlying fascist and corporatist essence. Under Garcia's leadership APRA has followed the strategy of relying on the poor masses of the shantytowns, and of winning over the peasants in the mountains, especially in the so-called “Andean trapeze” region, to hold back the people's struggle, especially by using the United Left as shock troops, and of uniting all the reactionaries under APRA's command, to isolate the proletariat,

repress the broad masses and target the people's war. To accomplish this APRA has relied on repression carried out by the Armed Forces and police. Now this strategy will be heightened with even more demagogic lies about the “nationalist, democratic and people's state” and even more pompous verbal anti-imperialism.

During the last year the United Left has supported the APRA government and even acted as its shock troops, mainly due to the work of Barrantes, APRA's man who heads up the IU, and to the course set by its national leadership. Furthermore, in the context of the past months and especially of the crisis generated by the unleashing of the genocide, the United Left — despite its internal contradictions, since its principal aspect is electoralism — has continued to be what the British call “Her Majesty's loyal opposition,” the government's shield against wind and rain, in the name of the “defence of democracy,” as it so often claimed, and even more in the name of “preventing a coup d'etat.” These old opportunist excuses for the most wanton electoralism in our history have been more feverently upheld than ever under the empire of Barrantes and his supporters. Today with the United Left's “disagreements overcome” but its internal contradictions remaining, as well as those between the United Left and APRA, the IU is preparing for the municipal elections into which they and APRA hope to channel the people and keep them from their real interests and true path.

* * *
These are the more than six years of people's war, its flames blazing and spreading, led by the Party, relying on the masses of people, principally the peasants, under the streaming banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the sole and universal world outlook of the proletariat, and Guiding Thought, its application to the concrete reality of the Peruvian revolution. This people's war, which has served the international proletarian revolution since the beginning and will continue to do so, enjoys the support of

the international working class and the world's peoples, of the genuine communists and revolutionaries, and especially of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement of which the Party is a member. This people's war, which will continue to advance undaunted, because as Marx pointed out the banner of armed struggle cannot be lowered until the achievement of communism, pledges more solemnly than ever before, under the Party's leadership, to develop base areas for the emancipation of the Peruvian people and thus advance in fulfilling the main contribution the Communist Party of Peru can make to the world revolution at present. And this Party that is leading the people's war, the greatest accomplishment of the Peruvian proletariat and people, with a profound sense of historical responsibility pledges to strive unflinchingly for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to command and guide the world proletarian revolution, since only in this way will it march ahead steadfastly and victoriously, and, with the full conviction that only with guns will we transform the world, holds high the struggle for the proletariat and peoples of the world to take up people's war as the only complete and true proletarian military doctrine and the main form of struggle through which we shall sweep imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth, putting it into practice, as Chairman Mao taught, according to conditions, whether they be of democratic revolution, socialist revolution or the great proletarian cultural revolution, and according to the specific conditions of each concrete revolution as well as of the world revolution taken as a whole.

**DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S
WAR IN THE SERVICE OF THE
WORLD REVOLUTION!**

**GLORY TO MARXISM-
LENINISM-MAOISM!**

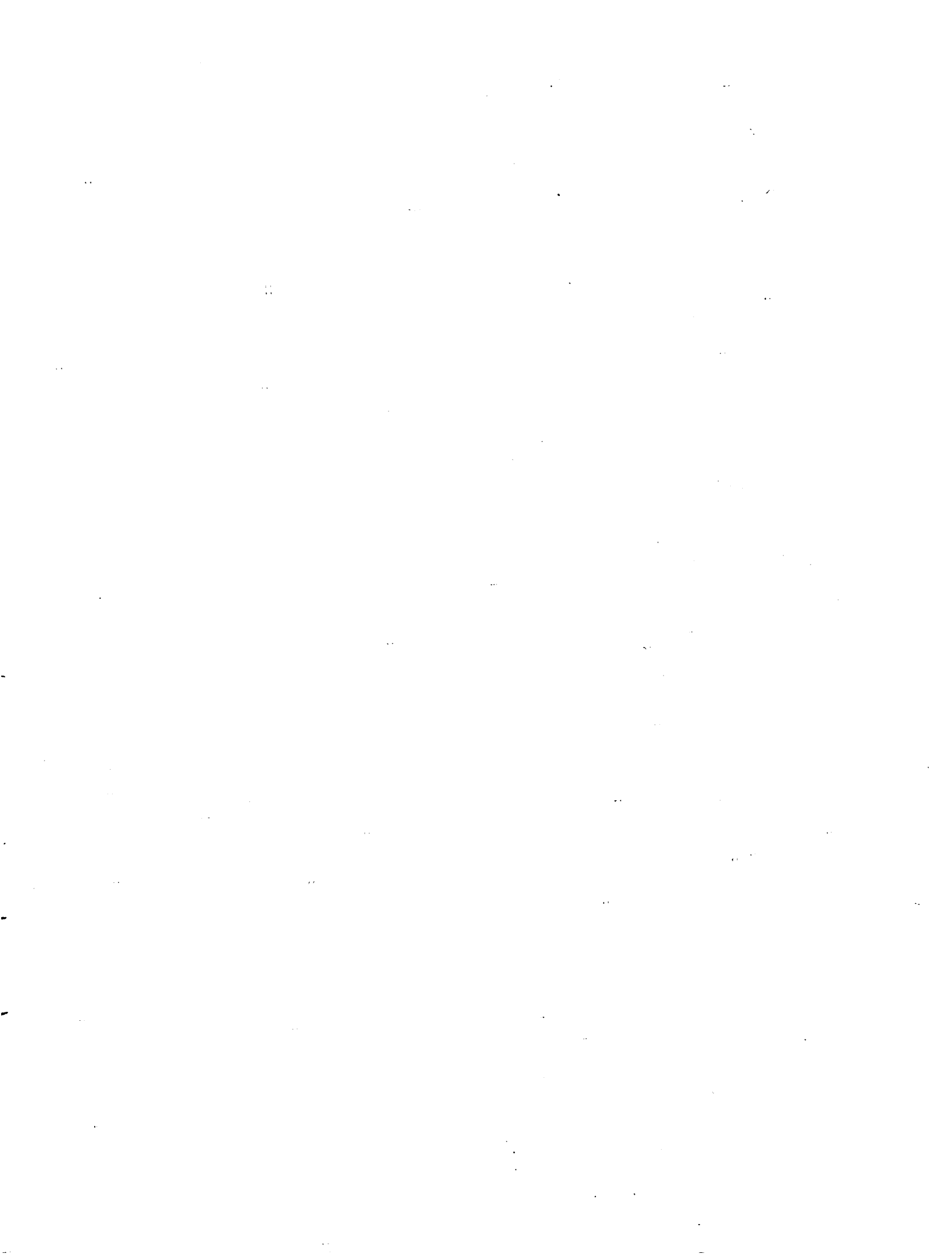
**LONG LIVE THE WORLD
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!**

**LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN
GONZALO!**

**Central Committee,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF
PERU**

Peru, August 1986

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