

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ 1991/16

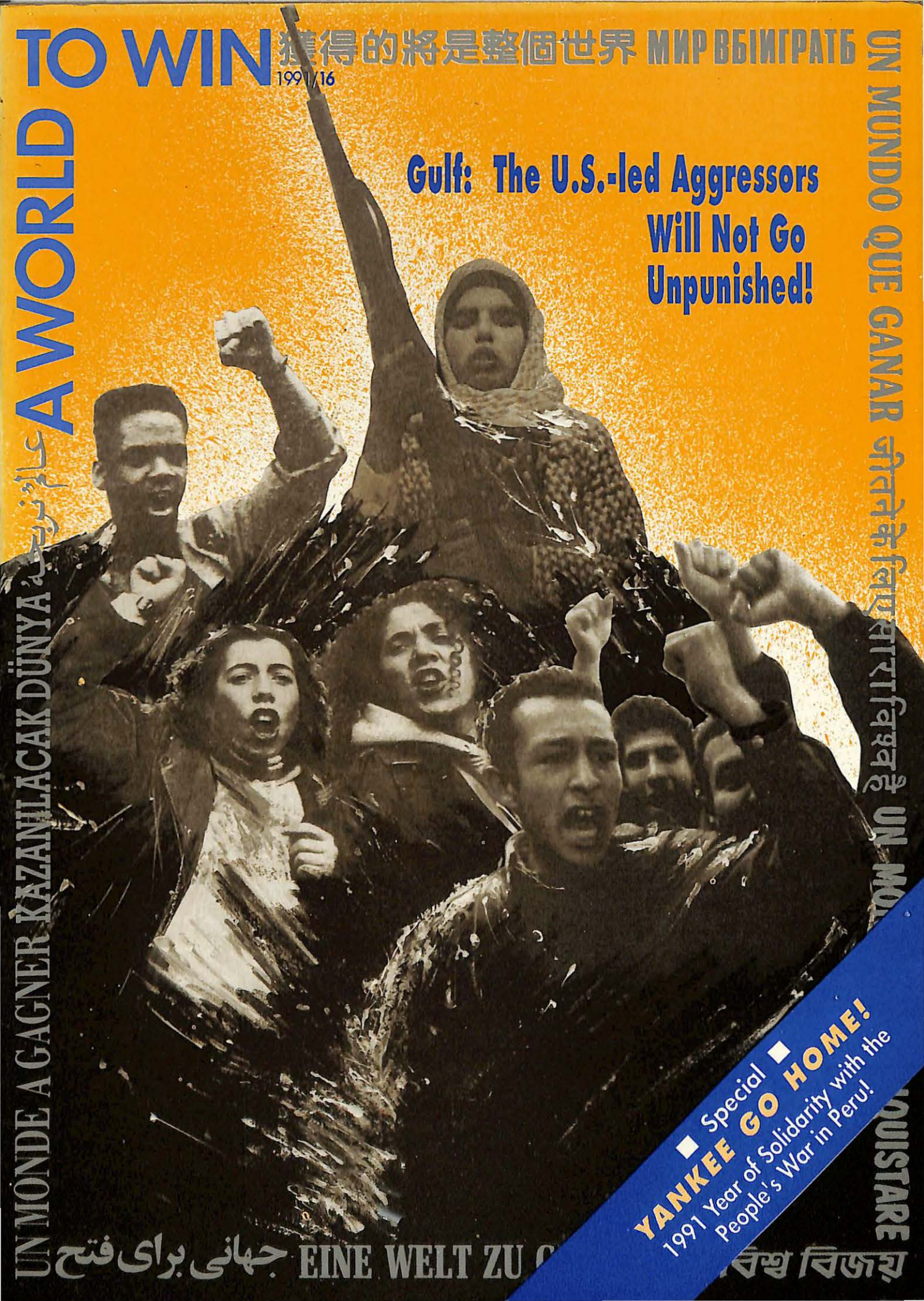
A WORLD

عالم نريده

UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DÜNYA

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतने के लिए सार्वविश्व है UN MONDE A GAGNER

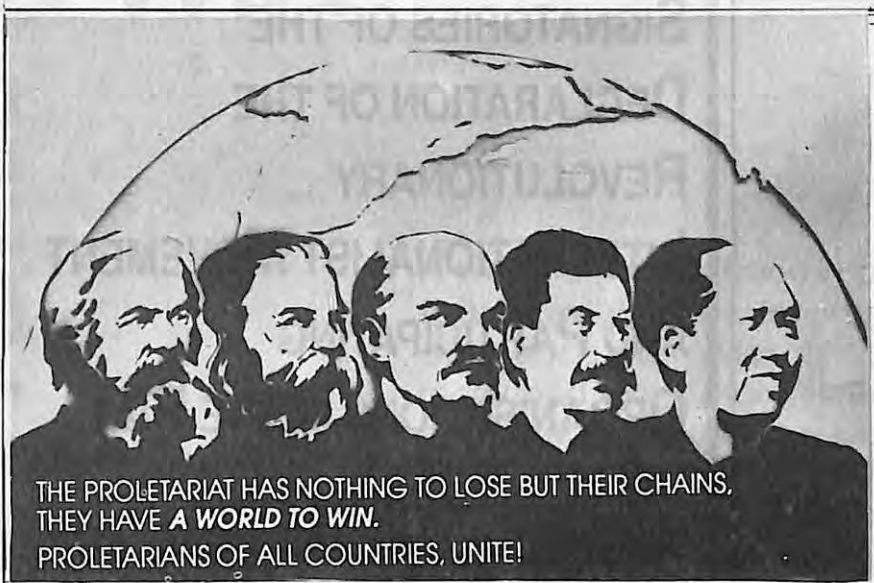
Gulf: The U.S.-led Aggressors Will Not Go Unpunished!



Special ■
YANKEE GO HOME!
1991 Year of Solidarity with the
People's War in Peru!

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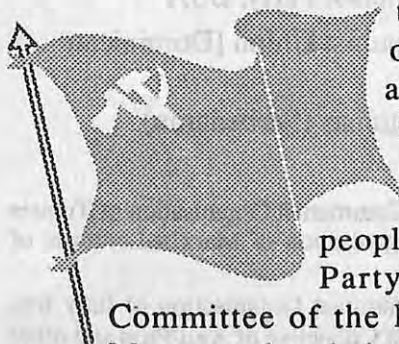
1991/16

The U.S.-Led Aggressors Will Not Go Unpunished!

U.S. imperialism and its allies waged a vicious six-week war against Iraq. They tried to send a message of terror to the region and the whole world. But their claims that their high-tech military might has made them invincible are the snarlings of a paper tiger which has been, can be and will be defeated by revolutionary people's war.

Yankee Go Home!

1991 – Year of International Solidarity with the People's War in Peru! Today it is the people of Peru who are showing the whole world how the oppressed can successfully fight and defeat their enemies. The U.S. imperialists are stepping up their preparations for a big escalation in their intervention against the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru. In this light, the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has designated 1991 a Year of International Solidarity with the People's War in Peru under the slogan, "Yankee Go Home!"



Aggression in the Gulf

Editorial 4

RIM Committee on the Gulf

- Oppose U.S. Imperialist-Led Aggression in the Gulf! 12
- Drown the U.S. Invaders in a Sea of People's War — To the People of the Middle East and the Arab World! 14
- Fight Against the U.S.-Led War of Aggression Against Iraq! 24
- The U.S.-Led Aggressors Will Not Go Unpunished! 25

■ ■ ■

- Let's Turn Every Inch of Land in the Region and the Gulf into their Graves! (from Turkey) 33
- To the Militant Arab People! (from Tunisia) 34
- On the Gulf Crisis (from Italy) 35
- Down with the New World Order! (from the U.S.) 36
- Rise Up Against Imperialism's War of Aggression! (from Iran) 37

Historical Document from Maoist China

- Strategy: One Against Ten – Tactics: Ten Against One 28

■ ■ ■

- Cold Blooded Calculations of Soviet Imperialism 38

Images of Resistance

- Storm of Protest Across the Globe 40

The Weapon of Criticism

- The UN, Cuba and the Gulf War 48

■

Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru

- Yankee Go Home! RIM Committee Call for International Campaign 73

- Messages of solidarity and support to the PCP and the people's war in Peru, by participants in and supporters of RIM 74

■

- PAC Leader Zephania Mothopeng — Lifelong Azanian Revolutionary 84

Document

- Marxism-Leninism-Maoism By the Organisation of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan 85



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CONTACT

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Write : Information Bureau
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SIGNATORIES OF THE DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND PARTICIPATING ORGANISATIONS IN THE RIM

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Ceylon Communist Party

Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-
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* The Marxist-Leninist Communist Organisation of Tunisia developed out of the Organisation of Marxist-Leninists of Tunisia

** The RedWorker Communist Organisation of Italy was formed by the Communist Collective of Agit/Prop and other local groups in Italy.

In addition to the above list of those whose participation in the Movement has been publicly announced by the Committee, a number of other organisations work closely with the Movement to advance its cause and build and strengthen vanguard communist organisation.

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

عالم نریخته عالم نریخته DUNYA KAZANILACAK DUNYA

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिए सारा विश्व है UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

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 side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

STEP FORWARD!

A *World to Win* cannot accomplish its tasks without the active support of its readers. Letters, articles and criticism are needed and welcome. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced. In addition we need translators, help with distribution (including through commercial channels) to make this magazine available in as many countries as possible, art work (as well as clippings and original photos), and financial contributions from those who understand the importance of the continued publication of this magazine. This includes both individual contributions and the efforts of those who undertake the responsibility for raising funds for this magazine. Send pledges and donation cheques made out to "A World to Win".

جهانی برای فتح EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN বিশ্ব বিজয়

The U.S.-Led Aggressors



17 January 1991. Arab masses in Algeria demonstrate against U.S. bombing of Iraq.

For six weeks the world was witness to a brutal display of gangsterism rarely seen in such a naked form. The U.S. imperialists, along with the British and French, temporarily put aside the business suits in which they usually appear before the people to don military khaki. These gentlemen, who like to present themselves as the pinnacle of human civilisation, carried out a gigantic human sacrifice to their God of Profit.

The excitement of the imperialists over having succeeded in defeating Iraq is truly stunning. After all, the strongest military and economic power on earth, the U.S., was leading the charge, directly supported by the military might of Britain and France and with varying degrees of support from all of the other imperialist countries as well, including the Soviet Union. Iraq, on the other hand, is a small country of 18 million people which, in the final analysis, never really fought. What glory

can there possibly be in winning such an unequal conquest?

In fact, the undisguised thrill of the imperialists at delivering what most resembles a kick in the teeth to a person already on the ground shows the desperation of the enemy for cheap and easy victories.

When one civilian in the West or Israel is injured or killed in an attack headlines scream about "terrorism" for days. But when an entire bomb shelter full of hundreds of non-combatants, including many children, is deliberately destroyed it is a "legitimate target", and the destruction of a crowded open-air market is called "collateral damage" in the latest military doublespeak.

The intentions of the imperialists are multifold in this conflict. But one of their important objectives is an effort to send a message to the people all over the world that imperialism is all-powerful and that anyone who dares to stand up to it will be crushed into the dirt. The

war does reveal much about the nature of the imperialist enemy — its vicious, ruthless character, its two-faced hypocritical theatrics (UN resolutions and crocodile tears over the violation of international law, for example) which accompany its crimes, the fact that it is still a very strong enemy capable of lashing out wildly at the people. It certainly shows that these monsters will never lay down their butcher knives nor stop feeding off the flesh of the people until forced to by the armed force of the masses. But it most definitely does *not* prove that it is impossible for the people to defeat the imperialists.

As the Gulf War reaches an end of at least one phase, the anger of the masses of people throughout the world in the face of this aggression has been coupled with an extreme disappointment and bitterness. In its statement of 28 December 1990 the Committee of the RIM pointed out that, "Throughout the Middle East

Will Not Go Unpunished!

and the Arab world millions of people are hoping that the Iraqi regime will deal serious blows to U.S. imperialism if it attacks, and the revolutionary communists completely understand these sentiments. But the hopes of the people are likely to be dashed once again." The fact that this defeat was predictable, alas, does not make it any easier to suffer.

The repercussions of this war will be felt for many long years, yet there is much reason to believe in — and work towards — the possibility of transforming the situation in the Middle East from the one-sided slaughter of today into a different kind of "killing zone" where the imperialists and reactionaries will be bogged down in a massive trap surrounded on all sides by revolutionary peoples determined, guns in hand, to liberate their countries from the clutches of imperialism.

For the people the world over it is necessary to begin to make some summation of the events of the last seven months. What is the cause of the war? What has the war shown about the way the imperialist enemy fights? Why was the army of Saddam Hussein unable and, in the end, unwilling to fight? How could the people of Iraq and the region fight a *different type of war* which would lead to victory and not humiliation?

What is the cause of the war? Any pretext that it had much to do with the so-called "liberation of Kuwait" should have been dispelled when the U.S. and its "coalition partners" unceremoniously rejected the Soviet cease-fire proposal which met essentially all of the original U.S. demands and in which Iraq explicitly announced its intention to with-

Mao Tsetung on the War of the Chiang Kaishek Government Against the Japanese Invasion of China

"...As for the lessons, they are likewise great ones. Several months of fighting have disclosed many of China's weaknesses. They are manifest above all in the political sphere. Although geographically the war involves the whole country, it is not being waged by the whole nation. As in the past, the broad masses are restrained by the government from taking part, and so the war is not yet of a mass character. Unless it has a mass character, the war against Japanese imperialist aggression cannot possibly succeed. Some say, "The war is already an all-embracing war." But this is true only in the sense that vast parts of the country are involved. As regards participation, it is still a partial war because it is being waged only by the government and the army, and not by the people. It is precisely here that the chief reason for the great loss of territory and for the many military setbacks during the last few months is to be found. Therefore, although the present armed resistance is a revolutionary one, its revolutionary character is incomplete because it is not yet a mass war. Here, too, the problem of unity is involved. Although the political parties and groups are relatively united as compared with the past, unity still falls far short of what is needed. Most of the political prisoners have not yet been released, and the ban on political parties has not been completely lifted. Relations are still very bad between the government and the people, between the army and the people, and between officers and men, and here one observes estrangement instead of unity. This is a fundamental problem. Unless it is solved, victory is out of the question. In addition, military blunders are another major reason for our losses in men and territory. The battles fought have been mostly passive, or to put it in military terms, have been battles of "pure defence". We can never win by fighting this way. For the attainment of victory, policies radically different from the present ones are necessary in both the political and the military fields. These are the lessons we have learned..."

— From Mao Tsetung, *Selected Works, Vol II*, "Interview with James Bertram"

draw from Kuwait, all well before the final U.S. ground assault. The U.S. made it clear that they were not interested in a settlement and, unofficially, they spoke of an Iraqi pull-out of Kuwait as the "nightmare scenario" because it would deprive them of unleashing their war of aggression.

Long before the outbreak of hostilities on January 17th there were numerous opportunities to find a diplomatic solution involving the retreat of Iraq from Kuwait. Press accounts indicate that the basic military plans, including the date for the beginning of the air war and another for the ground attack, had been set by George Bush as early as October. Gorbachev's foreign policy advisor Primakov reported that Western leaders were decidedly uninterested in Saddam Hussein's "peace feelers" and that Margaret Thatcher, then still Prime Minister of Britain, specifically advised Primakov to do nothing to stop the march toward war which she considered both inevitable and beneficial.

In any event, invasions of one state by another are fairly commonplace in the Middle East as well as in other parts of the world. The U.S. itself has carried out many invasions, including as recently as one year previously when it invaded the small country of Panama, kidnapped the head of state and imprisoned him in the United States. Many other invasions have also taken place — Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Turkish occupation and de facto annexation of Cyprus in 1974, Senegal's conquest and annexation of Gambia in 1981, to name but a few examples. Israel's very existence is built upon the theft of Palestinian land, and even the United Nations has solemnly ordered it to withdraw from the territories occupied in the 1967 war. Even *after* the Gulf crisis began in August 1990, the Syrian army conducted the latest in a long series of armed interventions against Lebanon. So why did the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait meet with such a massive military response from the great powers, while the others have been the object of, at most, tongue clucking and toothless resolutions by the United Nations?

It is well known that the Western imperialists are heavily dependent

upon Middle East oil which is also a giant source of profits for them. But this war was not just about securing higher oil profits. George Bush has been completely unabashed in proclaiming his desire to build a "new world order" to last "for the next one hundred years". For the people of the world it is all too clear what this order is meant to be. As the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement said at the outbreak of the air war, "This order is nothing other than the same old imperialist law of exploitation and plunder of the poor by the rich; aggression, interference and bullying of the weak by the strong; and domination of the whole world by the West." It means that the prosperity of the imperialist countries will continue to be assured by the exploitation of the oppressed peoples — their resources and, above all, their labour. That the economic organisation of the earth will still be such that whole regions and countries are organised for the benefit of the advanced countries. And that the U.S. and its imperialist allies hope to be even freer to use naked force to impose their diktat all over the world.

In order to impose this "order" the U.S. imperialists must attempt to terrorise the people of the world into accepting it. The imperialists are particularly happy to have aligned all of the imperialist countries on the same side of the conflict, enabling them to bring together enormous military power against a far weaker foe. The new "understanding" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union has most definitely created new opportunities for imperialist aggression.

The Soviet Union's support for the UN Gulf resolutions, including the infamous authorisation of the use of force by "member states", is proof of this. But it would be most wrong to draw the conclusion from this that everything is easy sailing in the camp of the imperialists. The arrogance of the U.S. is to be explained not so much by the increased opportunities now that the Soviet Union is acquiescing in U.S. adventures, but more by the necessity felt by all of the imperialists to reconsolidate and expand their "spheres of influence". Clearly, the post-World War 2 order is coming to an end. Already the collapse of the East bloc has sent the

whole imperialist world into disarray. All of the imperialist powers sense that now is the time to grab, and if they fail to do so, their competitors will grab first. Countries long under the domination of these imperialist powers are experiencing increased hardship and unresolvable crisis and are seething with unrest and popular discontent.

Indeed, there is an air of desperation in the feeding frenzy of these sharks. The "New World Order" is not a luxury but a necessity for the imperialist powers. The imperialist system can only live by ever expanding its sphere of production and exploitation. Each power is driven to seek new and even vaster markets for investments and sources of raw materials and labour. They carry out this deadly battle not only against their victims in the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but from time to time they turn violently against each other — like a pack of wolves fighting over a limited piece of meat. Today they are joined together to butcher Iraq, but even their much-heralded unity can quickly turn to renewed conflict in their own ranks.

The rule of the imperialists has always been built upon blood and bones and cannot be otherwise. For more than two years they yammered about a "new era of peace" and "peace breaking out all over" but the clearest indication of what this new era will offer is the bloody rampage in the Gulf. Even before the blood has dried in the Gulf, "peace talks" are beginning again. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist teaching that "imperialism means war" has never been more true. Those who may have hoped that it would be possible to come to some accommodation with the imperialists or avoid having to fight them have been slammed in the head.

What the world has seen over the last number of months is not an *exception* to the workings of the imperialist system — it is the inevitable consequence and *concentrated expression* of this system. Imperialist war at least has the merit of lifting the veil which usually covers its most hideous features. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, is the source of massive misery and bloodshed throughout the world — this is in *every* soul. But most of the time imperialism's

robbery takes place in conditions of world "peace", and even its constant bloody attacks against the masses of the oppressed countries are usually carried out indirectly by imperialism's neo-colonial regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America and presented as marginal to the workings of the world imperialist political-economic order. Behind the daily but hidden enforcement of imperialist order stand the deadly war machines the imperialists keep ready to unleash at a moment's notice.

At least for a few months the volume was turned down on the deafening and nauseating hymns to imperialist democracy that had been blaring loudly ever since the collapse of the East bloc in winter '89-'90. It is true that it is difficult to use the democratic paintbrush to decorate the Emir of Kuwait, one of the last absolute monarchs on Earth, or the Saudi royal family, who regularly execute women for adultery and cut off the hands of petty thieves while they themselves have huge harems and squander their country's wealth in the casinos of Europe.

But in reality the Gulf War and the orgy of self-congratulation about the so-called "victory of democracy" (by which they mean the collapse of the East European revisionist regimes) are part of the same package. Both represent the efforts of U.S. imperialism and its Western allies to grab more and consolidate what they already possess in the midst of a turbulent and rapidly changing world.

The war in the Gulf is proof of Mao Tsetung's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Although Mao and his followers have been roundly condemned as "warmongers" for this declaration, the imperialists themselves have always understood this truth and put it into practice. The U.S. sought to drive this point home through the war — not only to the oppressed peoples of the region, but even to other imperialist countries as well, such as Germany and Japan, who have great economic strength but cannot match U.S. military power.

The imperialist drive to establish a "New World Order" cannot help but

put them ever more squarely in opposition to the people. The struggles of the people are already intensifying and will continue to do so. More and more people will be seeking the ways to take on the military might of their enemies.

In order for the masses to make real headway in their struggle they will have to reject the false path of revisionism and opportunism which has had such a stranglehold on much of the struggle of the peoples in the Middle East region. The most hallowed precepts of the revisionists and opportunists have been proven to be utterly bankrupt.

The Soviet Union, the self-described "natural ally" of the oppressed peoples, has willingly sacrificed even its former clients in the pursuit of the USSR's own imperialist interests. Those forces who for decades have been trying to apologise for the Soviet Union and portray it as a socialist and revolutionary force are now worse than empty-handed.

The truth is that the Soviet betrayal of today is just the continuation of their "kiss of death" of a few years ago. Their previous "support" for liberation movements and today's support for the "coalition" are *both* the pursuit of Soviet imperialist interests in a changed international context. What links the two policies together is that at no time has the Soviet Union been in favour of a determined struggle against imperialism and reaction. At no time did they cease preaching to the oppressed that they would have to come to some kind of accommodation with the imperialist order. At most, the oppressed were asked to trade one imperialist overlord for another. This was their message to the Palestinians where, despite their material "aid" and expressions of sympathy, the Soviets have consistently supported an "international settlement" whose central point would be the recognition of Israel and its "right to exist". In return for giving up their birthright, the Palestinians were to be given a small, disarmed mini-state completely at the mercy of Israel and the great powers. One would hope that those who demagogically justified this betrayal as "a first step toward the complete liberation of Palestine" would now see that the PLO's past

opportunism was but one step toward the complete disorganisation of the Palestinian cause.

Nowhere on earth has cynical "realpolitik" been so loudly vaunted as in the Middle East. Opportunist alliances are established or broken on the basis of the most narrow expediency, political positions are bought and sold at the auction block. The only consistent principle among the myriad opportunists was that the progress of the oppressed could only depend upon their enemies! Now the bankruptcy of this endless search for illusory solutions should be apparent to all. But opportunism and revisionism is not mainly a question of ignorance.

No experience, even the most bitter, will bring the misleaders to abandon their course. One of the main political and ideological roots of the successive betrayals and capitulations in the region has always been a distrust in the capacity of the masses to take matters into their own hands and defeat the enemy — a distrust which stems from the goal of these opportunist leaders to themselves become new exploiters (even if they perceive it as being the "saviours" of the masses). Already one negative effect is that a section of the masses, finding their "protectors" on earth to be powerless, are turning more and more to supernatural protectors in the sky.

The situation in the Middle East is, objectively, more favourable than before for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. But this development can never come about spontaneously. It will require consistent, vigorous and on-going work by the genuine Maoist forces of the region.

With the imperialist juggernaut aimed directly at his throat, it is not surprising that Saddam Hussein had become the object of widespread support among the oppressed peoples throughout the world. In the Middle East and Arab world certainly, but in a great many other areas as well, there were few illusions that the Iraqi army would defeat the "coalition", but people deeply hoped that Saddam would stand firm and deal the imperialists some of the punishment they so richly deserve.

This is why the bitterness is so keen in the face of the Iraqi army's collapse without a fight.

The Iraqi army, like all armies, is a reflection of the society that produced it. It is a *reactionary* army built to use against the masses of people, certainly not to fight in their interests. The cause of Iraq against the U.S. was just, but the army's reactionary and unjust nature, which permeates all aspects of the army — doctrine, training, relations between officers and the rank and file soldiers — could not help but stand in stark contradiction to the kind of war it was objectively necessary to fight.

In a fundamental sense, Saddam Hussein could not stand up against the imperialists because he opposed the people and could not rely on them. Even though the people wanted to fight and indeed displayed great heroism in the face of the unprecedented air attack, these qualities could not be fully mobilised. Iraq's defeat does not show that it is impossible to defeat imperialism, but it does show that, as Mao Tsetung so brilliantly pointed out, "without a People's Army the people have nothing."

The Saddam Hussein regime represents the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie in Iraq which has been directly fostered and nourished by various imperialist powers. This can be seen by the actions of the regime throughout the events in the Gulf and, most especially, by the army's inability and unwillingness to fight.

The invasion of Kuwait and the Iraqi leadership's hope of gaining control of at least some of Kuwait's oil wealth itself was an effort to come to better terms with the imperialist powers, not an effort to break free of them. Throughout the crisis, the regime sought some sort of compromise with the imperialists which would avoid a conflict and restore the good relationship they had previously enjoyed with the West. But the enemy was not interested, and every concession by Hussein just whetted the appetite of the U.S. and its partners in crime for ever more humiliating conditions.

The soldiers who make up the Iraqi army no doubt sensed this themselves. It seems many may have asked themselves, why die in a deadly game of poker when, in the

last analysis, everyone knows that Saddam Hussein is bluffing?

Mao Tsetung made the extremely important observation to the Palestine Liberation Organisation that they should follow the principle of "You fight your way, I'll fight mine", by which he meant that the forces of the people must fight a completely different kind of war than that of the reactionaries. But such a policy could never be implemented by the Iraqi regime. The army Saddam Hussein trained and equipped and the kind of war he was prepared to fight are almost useless in the face of imperialist aggression.

The Iraqi army was equipped with a great deal of the most modern arms available. But these arms, purchased from the imperialists (East and West) themselves, were never meant to be used against their providers. (For example, neither the Soviet Union nor the Western powers sold Saddam a single plane that could make the return flight from Iraq to Israel.) More importantly, these modern high-tech weapons only work when they form a link in a whole chain in modern high-tech society. They must be maintained and operated by trained technicians. They need sophisticated and difficult-to-produce spare parts. Further, each high-tech weapon runs the risk of being countered by an equally high-tech "counter-weapon", forcing those who would rely on them into a never-ending spiral of newer and more sophisticated weaponry.

In the hands of the dominated countries, these weapons are, above all, a further means of control and interference which the imperialist powers exercise. It is these latter powers who provide (or stop providing, if that is in their interests!) the spare parts, technical assistance, counter-measures and so forth. These weapons are useful when they are aimed at another dominated country, or against the masses themselves within a dominated state, but they have yet to do real damage to the imperialists or their Zionist attack dog.

Yasser Arafat, the PLO Chairman, is quoted as saying, "By acquiring technology, Iraq is the defender of the Arab nation, of Muslims and all free men everywhere."¹ But the development of the war has shown this to be wrong. Imperialist-provided technology has proven to be the "secret

weapon" of the U.S.-led forces, who have been able to use their own super-sophisticated electronic spy equipment to target Iraqi positions with their so-called smart bombs.

For decades lack of modern arms has been used as the constant excuse by a number of regimes in the region to back down in the face of the Israeli arsenal. And different opportunist forces have echoed this same line well. Now the illusion of somehow trying to rely on the imperialists to achieve arms parity has gone up in the smoke of Desert Storm.

Who can help but be gladdened by the news of Scud missiles slamming into Israel? But the fact of the matter is that all of the Scuds so far have been less damaging to the state of Israel than the rocks and knives in the hands of the Palestinian youth. When it comes to missile technology the imperialists win hands down. But technology alone will not enable them to defeat the masses of people if they rise in armed struggle, even using relatively unsophisticated weapons at first, and follow a correct Maoist military approach which pits the people's strong points against the enemy's weakness.

Military doctrine also reflects the nature of different types of armies. There is a reason that the Iraqi regime felt required to fight a fixed positional battle on its frontiers and could not follow the policy Mao used of "luring the enemy in deep". Not only was the regime incapable of relying on the masses and mobilising them to fight behind enemy lines, they *feared* the masses, and the army remained, even in the midst of a war against an external enemy, a tool for *controlling and suppressing* the masses.

Saddam Hussein himself spoke, at least on some occasions, of the possibility of the courage of the foot soldier compensating for the enemy's technological strength. "Under all circumstances, one who wants to evict a fighter from the land will eventually depend on a soldier who walks on the ground and comes with a hand grenade, rifle and bayonet to fight the soldier in the battle trench. All this technological superiority, which is on paper, will eventually be tested in the theatre of opera-

tions.”² But the class nature of the Iraqi Army would not allow it to pursue the kind of fighting or apply the kind of military doctrine which would overcome the technological superiority of the enemy.

Saddam Hussein no doubt would have preferred that his soldiers fight, but because his regime is not a people’s regime Hussein was unable to very effectively mobilise the troops. Instead he relied on a combination of lies (ridiculous battlefield claims bearing no relation to reality), religious incantation, bribery (even offering large cash awards to his own people for turning in enemy pilots!) and threats — all of which made his appeals to patriotism seem hollow indeed.

Heroism also has a class content. Although even soldiers in an imperialist army are capable, at times, of a sort of battlefield courage, it is nonetheless true that men and women fighting for a just cause, knowing that their sacrifices are in the interests of all humanity, can withstand far greater hardship and fight far more courageously than imperialist soldiers kept in ignorance and generally drawn from classes with no interest in defending imperialism, and most comfortable when bludgeoning someone who is defenceless. It is only a revolutionary army, led by the proletariat, which can fully bring out the heroic characteristics of the people.

Furthermore, for the courage of the combatants to play its full role, it is necessary to apply a military doctrine which emphasises mobility, daring and fighting at close quarters. It will not do to rely on a military doctrine borrowed from the imperialists (Soviet, Western or, as in Iraq’s case, both), and then simply exhort the soldiers to carry out their patriotic duties. There is no doubt that the Iraqi soldiers have shown a certain degree of heroism in standing up to one of the most brutal onslaughts in history — certainly the U.S. soldiers would not have held out as well for six days, let alone six weeks, under such bombardment. But it is also true that this heroism was stifled and squandered by the kind of leadership they had and the type of war they were obliged to fight.

In fact, the imperialists themselves were more than a little worried

about engaging the Iraqi army at close quarters. They often spoke of the great “unknown factor” being how well the Iraqi troops would hold up in combat — but the great “unspoken factor” was how well American and other reactionary troops would hold up once they were not able to rely entirely on their technological advantage and once they started taking some serious casualties. Further, the more the forces of the people are intermingled with those of the enemy, the less capable the enemy is of unleashing their air power without hitting their own forces.

It is Mao Tsetung who taught that the communist position was to combine tactical respect for the enemy — their ability to cause a great deal of death and destruction — with strategic contempt — that they represent a sick and dying system opposed by the masses the world over. The Iraqi regime followed exactly the opposite policy — strategically they both feared and admired imperialism and never gave up looking for some kind of solution that would preserve intact the basic relation between Iraq and imperialism. Yet they did not base their tactics on a realistic appraisal of the strength of the imperialist enemy and its capacity to overrun Iraqi fixed positions. And they underestimated its merciless character.

The people treasure human life, unlike the rabid imperialist dogs whose very military doctrine is to destroy everything in their murderous path. But the people have a tremendous capacity for sacrifice when they understand that such sacrifice is necessary to achieve their liberation.

The reactionary ruling classes are afraid and unable to arm the masses with the truth and unleash them to fight on a scientific basis. But the people can and must be given an accurate picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy and of their own forces as well. They can grasp and apply a strategy of protracted people’s war which enables their armed forces to go from weak to strong over time and defeat the enemy bit by bit.

The imperialists are currently

crowding that with their high-tech weapons they have rewritten the laws of warfare — but nothing is further from the truth. They made the same claims in Vietnam which was, after all, the beginning of the so-called “electronic battlefield”. In that war they ended up in ignominious defeat. Of course, weaponry has evolved in the two decades since the Vietnam war, but the difference is that Saddam Hussein, to the extent that he fought at all, tried to fight the imperialists “their way” and was far less able to mobilise and rely on the people. Now the imperialists hope to use the defeat of Iraq to try to wipe out the memory of their debacle in Vietnam and, specifically, to vaunt the so-called invincibility of their high-tech weaponry, but really they have proven no such thing.

Part of Iraq’s dilemma, and one of the strong suits of the imperialists, has been that Iraq’s rulers fear losing all that has been built up, largely with oil money, over the last two decades. This has meant that from the beginning the Iraqi regime sought some way out of the conflict other than total war.

Even in the midst of the war itself Iraq has continued to function along the pattern established by its condition as a country dominated by imperialism. Baghdad, for example, continued to hold a widely disproportionate part of the Iraqi population, even though what little industrial base that existed had already been substantially destroyed by the bombing. A revolutionary regime would, under the circumstances, have evacuated Baghdad to the greatest degree possible, and mobilise the people to fight in more favourable areas.

The countryside, by its very nature more suitable to fighting people’s war, remains relatively underpopulated, and the mountainous Kurdish region, the most favourable terrain in the country for waging guerrilla war, could not be fully utilised to resist aggression because of the reactionary policy the regime has carried out in regard to the Kurdish people.

Iraq was built up to play a role in imperialism’s “international division of labour”. Despite the fact that the

Tigres-Euphrates river valley, one of the earliest centres of civilisation on Earth, has been an extremely fertile agricultural area for thousands of years, the country has been developed almost exclusively around two poles — the oil industry, whose production is controlled by and serves the imperialist countries, and the armed forces, who up to now have been used primarily in an imperialist-sponsored war with Iran and on barbaric attacks on its own population, especially the Kurdish nation.

Building up the country in such a way could not help but leave it extremely vulnerable to imperialist attack. As long as imperialism continues to dominate the world, it will always be able to hold the urban centres hostage to its blackmail. The development of a "modern Baghdad" was an illusory bubble, based on a coincidence of high oil prices and the need of the imperialists to construct a "counter-weight" to Iran. The war has shown that what the imperialists give, they can take away.

Mao Tsetung was very clear that a correct policy of economic development was very much linked to the problem of national defence. He argued that in order to be prepared against imperialist invasion it was necessary to build up industry in the rural areas and in the interior of the country and not just the big cities along the coasts. Furthermore, while carrying out socialist construction in both city and countryside, Mao always realised that these accomplishments were provisional as long as imperialism remained strong, and that they were likely to come under attack. He was prepared, ideologically, politically and practically, to abandon the cities of China and "return to Yenan", as he was fond of saying, and carry out guerrilla warfare against an invading enemy. The famous Chinese revolutionary policy of "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and do everything for the people" was an expression of this line. The ability of a proletarian revolutionary like Mao to carry out this policy is linked to the communist goal of wiping out imperialism throughout the world and bringing into being communist society. He knew that with imperialism still strong in the world the socialist development of one country could

only go so far, that peace with the imperialists would be at most a truce until the latter attacked once again.

Although even a genuine socialist economic policy will include developing urban centres, in the oppressed countries the centre of revolution is the countryside — and this must also be the centre of national economic development and national defence. In light of the imperialists' efforts to starve Iraq, the full importance of Mao's instruction to "take grain as the key link" can be readily seen.

Even a correct military line will not be able to keep the imperialists from exacting a terrible toll on the people — on this point there can be no illusions. But the country can be developed, and defended, in such a way that the tremendous sacrifices of the people are not in vain and that, through waging protracted people's war, they are in the end victorious.

The imperialists have many other weaknesses as well that a genuine people's war would be able to exploit. For example, U.S. imperialism is hated all over the world, and this hatred is particularly strong throughout the whole of the Middle East. In many countries of the region and the world, spontaneous outbursts of opposition to imperialist aggression and outpourings of revolutionary sentiment took place. But why has it proven so difficult for Saddam Hussein to take advantage of this?

First of all, Saddam Hussein's Baathist ideology, given a new Islamic coat of paint for the circumstances, has real limitations in its capacity to mobilise masses, especially the non-Arab peoples. The scars of Iraq's brutal war against Iran are an important factor working against the mobilisation of the people of Iran against the U.S. aggression. In Kuwait itself Hussein was unable to mobilise a very large section of the population who hate the reactionary rule of the Kuwaiti elite. This section, made up largely of Filipinos, Pakistanis, Indians, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, etc., cannot be expected to embrace a slightly different version of the same Arab chauvinism which had been used to justify their servitude in Kuwait

under the rule of the royal family.

It is particularly clear how a correct revolutionary and internationalist policy concerning the Kurdish nation would have led to entirely different results than the reactionary policy followed by the Iraqi regime. For the Baathists, the presence of millions of Kurds within Iraq is a dangerous liability. Yet not only are they a vital force to mobilise within Iraq itself but the Kurdish masses in Turkey, with a long history of opposing imperialism, are seething with revolt, and the potential for another front against the "coalition" was evident. The Turkish regime and its U.S. masters were aware of the danger of unleashing this torrent of rebellion (which is one reason they turned down offers from opportunists in Iraqi Kurdistan who wanted to enlist their guerrilla fighters in the ranks of the "coalition"). But how would the Kurds of Turkey feel about coming to the aid of an Iraqi regime which has used chemical weapons against their people and which, like the Turkish regime, preaches the inferiority of the Kurdish people?

Saddam Hussein also tried to break out of his isolation by reaching out to other forces in the region — but he did this on a *reactionary* basis. He was able to come to a quick agreement over a territorial dispute with the reactionary regime of Iran over which eight years of bloody war were fought. But when it came to the rights of the Kurdish people, the only "concession" of the regime was to remind them of Halabja.³

Among the Arabs themselves, the reactionary past of the Baathist regime could not help but stand in the way of the people's desire to combat U.S. aggression. In Egypt, where up to two million workers had been in Iraq, it is widely known that the Baathist "Arab brothers" were brutal, chauvinistic and often deadly exploiters of the Egyptian workers. Unleashing the impoverished Egyptian masses against the Mubarak regime could have been one of the greatest possible "secret weapons", but it is a weapon that the Iraqi regime could not wield.

Even the Palestinian masses, who were solid as a rock in supporting Iraq against the U.S., were left sitting on the sidelines and waiting for

Saddam Hussein to make good on his pledge to "burn half of Israel". In the final analysis, Hussein's bombast was a *demobilising factor* in Jordan and occupied Palestine and joins a long series of empty talk by Arab misleaders who promised to "liberate Palestine" but always restrained the people from fighting. The masses were ready to fight, and with correct leadership a second front in Jordan could have been opened up which would have delivered blows to Israel, mobilised further support throughout the region and diverted the "coalition" armed forces.

Generally it can be said that the potential in the region and in the world for opposition to the U.S.-led aggression has hardly been tapped. Mass demonstrations in all of the belligerent countries showed that the imperialist aggressors also faced opposition at home. An unjust war will give rise to opposition — this is a law of history, confirmed again during the Gulf war. This worldwide opposition to the war could have been a vital reserve of strength for Iraq, but without a determined struggle on the part of Iraq itself this could only be partially mobilised — if you want others to stand firm you must first stand firm yourself. But there is every reason to believe that if Iraq's war against U.S.-led aggression had gone on for a protracted period of time and begun to deliver blows to the enemy, opposition to the imperialists would have grown stronger. This is another important lesson of the Vietnam war, which led to an unprecedented movement of opposition within the United States itself, as well as other countries, which cannot be obliterated.

Often communists are told that our politics are "unrealistic". Your ideas may be correct "in theory", but "in practice" there is no choice but to bend your principles to meet the expediency of the moment. This approach is just as wrong in war as it is in politics. In fact, it is the same ideology and the same approach that preaches a mini-state, recognition of Israel and talks with the U.S. one day, and the next day stakes the fate of the Palestinian people on Scud technology.

Fighting a people's war, which

requires a genuine people's army, uniting with and fighting together with the masses and for their interests, is the *only path* to victory. Other paths are but a dangerous mirage. And history has shown again and again that only the proletariat, through its vanguard party, can forge and lead such an army and wage such a war.

No, the politics of the revolutionary communists are not just a "better line" in the abstract. The ideologies of the exploiting classes, be it Baathism, imperialist-sponsored reformism, religious fundamentalism or any of a host of others, are wrong. Only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can explain the world correctly, can reveal the targets of the revolution, and can unite all who can be united of all nationalities. Only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can show the people how to use their strong points to attack the enemy's weaknesses, how to go from weak to strong. In short, how to win.

In this light it is important to note once again the example of the Communist Party of Peru which has been waging genuine people's war for ten years. There is the danger that the U.S. will now step up its intervention against the Peruvian revolution and it is vital that the slogan "Yankee Go Home!" resound all the louder in the wake of U.S. imperialism's ugly performance in the Gulf. In the final analysis, the people's war led by the PCP will prove stronger than all the fire and steel of the imperialists.

The imperialists have won a victory, but it will be short-lived. Even at the height of the war the imperialists were deathly afraid that the suppressed rage of the masses in the region could blow up in their face. And this is why even in the very days following the cease-fire, the imperialists already began to speak of the need not to totally crush the Iraqi army which, they said, might be needed to "quell internal disturbances".

The U.S. imperialists will not be able to organise their "New World Order" in the Middle East or elsewhere without further attacks on the people and continually disturbing the existing reactionary set-up, however much they strive to keep it intact. Furthermore, the period ahead also will be marked by

increased squabbling and fighting among the imperialists themselves over the spoils of war. This increasing instability in the world and the region opens new doors for the revolutionary struggle.

The imperialists are already beginning to talk about a "lasting solution" to the "Palestinian problem". For more than forty years, the existence of the state of Israel in occupied Palestine has been the lynchpin of the imperialist order in the Middle East. On the other hand, the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Zionist state has been an inexhaustible source of revolution in the region. In George Bush's dream of a "New World Order", the Palestinian people would meekly submit to Israel's reinforced role in the region.

But the Palestinian people have proven again and again that they will not allow their homeland to be bargained away. After the bloody spectacle in the Gulf the people are being told to put their confidence in international conferences sponsored by the same predators whose fangs are dripping with the blood of the Iraqi people. But it is unlikely that the Palestinians or other peoples of the region will soon forgive or forget.

The task still remains of "drowning the U.S. invaders in a sea of people's war".⁴ Now, more than ever, there is a need for the people to have their own revolutionary force in the field. The first and immediate step now is for the rapid creation of genuine Maoist vanguard parties which can lead and wield such an army and uphold the independent interests of the proletariat and the oppressed. With these weapons it is possible indeed to turn today's defeat into tomorrow's victory. □

Footnotes

1. Palestinian news agency WAFA, quoted in the *International Herald Tribune*, 26 January 1991.
2. Speech at the Islamic conference in Baghdad on 11 January 1991, quoted in the *IHT* 27 February 1991.
3. Before the outbreak of hostilities, Izzat Ibrahim, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Iraq, made a speech to the people in Sulaymaniyah in Iraqi Kurdistan in which he reminded them of Halabja. Halabja is the town in Iraqi Kurdistan which was the victim of a chemical gas attack in 1988 which killed thousands of people.
4. See the Call to the Peoples of the Arab world and the Middle East by the Committee of the RIM in this issue.

Oppose U.S. Imperialist-Led Aggression in the Gulf!

— Statement by the Committee of the
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

17th August 1990

U.S. imperialism, aided by the world's other major imperialist powers, is frantically assembling a massive military force in Saudi Arabia and in the waters of the Gulf. There is every reason to expect that the U.S. imperialists, itching for a fight, will unleash bloody aggression and perhaps a full-scale war with Iraq.

U.S. imperialism is using the pretext of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait to justify its aggression. But it is the U.S. itself that has repeatedly trampled on other nations and which takes particular delight at using its massive military might against weak and defenseless victims, such as Grenada and Panama. It is the U.S. which brutally occupied the southern portion of Vietnam and killed millions in their failed attempt to suppress the people of that country. And it is the U.S. which arms and finances the Zionist state of Israel, whose very existence is based on the illegitimate occupation of Palestine and which periodically lashes out violently at the peoples of the neighbouring states.

The real purpose of the U.S.-led aggression is to clamp down on the whole region, attempt to terrorise the peoples of the Middle East and the whole world, and strengthen their world Empire. The U.S. has even threatened the use of nuclear weapons in the event of hostilities. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which unites genuine Maoist parties and organisations around the world, including in the Middle East and in the U.S. itself, resolutely condemns the aggression of the U.S. hoodlums and its partners-in-crime and calls on the proletariat and the oppressed peoples to oppose them.

The masses in Iraq and throughout the Middle East and the Arab world have understood that this imperialist aggression is against their interests and they burn for the chance to fight gun in hand for their national liberation against the U.S., the other imperialist powers, the reactionary Arab regimes and the Zionist state of Israel. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement supports all such resistance.

But the masses of these countries have seen their hopes, their struggles, their sacrifices repeatedly betrayed by impostors who wrap themselves in the national garb and claim to oppose imperialism and Zionism but always end up stabbing the people in the back. Sadaam Hussein is another of these reactionary impostors — for many years he has been up to his neck in dealings with imperialists, East and West, and his crimes are numerous. He who uses chemical warfare in his own country to suppress the national aspirations of the Kurdish people will not and cannot lead the Iraqi and Arab masses in fighting for genuine liberation from imperialism.

Ridding the Middle East of imperialism and Zionism cannot be done unless the proletariat and the peoples hoist their own banner, that of New Democratic Revolution and Peoples' War. They must rely on their own efforts and not count on "help" from imperialists and reactionaries, or plan on "purchasing" liberation with the revenues from oil, that curse on the Middle East.

For years, opportunist forces in the Middle East, as elsewhere, claimed that only by relying on the Soviet Union could the U.S. be opposed, and these same forces bitterly opposed the Maoists who always told the truth: the USSR is a social-imperialist power and no friend of the oppressed. Now the USSR feels its imperialist interests are best served by allying themselves with the U.S. in the Gulf, and the bitter fruit is seen today when the Soviet's protege, Assad of Syria, who postured as a big anti-imperialist, is shamelessly participating in the U.S.-sponsored aggression against the Arab masses.

U.S. imperialism *can* be defeated. History has shown that the masses of people themselves can defeat the most powerful of enemies, and this same lesson is coming alive again in Peru, where the Communist Party of Peru, a participant of our Movement, has been successfully waging war for ten years with weapons captured from the enemy and with the support of the masses, without a drop of aid from reactionaries and imperialists.

Behind the bravado of the U.S. imperialists is a frantic effort to respond to the deepening crisis of the world imperialist system. The U.S. is desperate to repair and strengthen its web of domination, exploitation and murder in order to continue feasting on the wealth produced by the masses all over the world. The Soviet Union, Britain and France feel obliged to take part so as to protect their own interests and not be excluded from the banquet hall. Reactionaries like Mubarak of Egypt have been told that the time has come to pay back their debts to their imperialist masters with the blood of their own people.


All of this will mean hardship and suffering for the people, but more importantly, it means better conditions for the people to strike back at the source of hardship and suffering — imperialism and reaction — by waging revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary communists must strive to put themselves at the head of the struggle of the masses against U.S. imperialist aggression, help the masses to distinguish their friends from their enemies in the course of the battle, and step up their efforts to establish genuine proletarian vanguard parties. Now is the time for the proletariat and the people to start writing their own history. □

To the People of the Middle East and the Arab World

Drown the

By the Committee of the Revolutionary
Internationalist Movement

— 28th December 1990



Western drums of war have reached a deafening roar. Backed by a massive lineup of camouflage uniforms and tanks "made in USA" crawling through the Saudi desert, British, French, U.S. and other Western warships are choking the Gulf waters, while helicopters, fighter planes and stealth bombers darken the sky like a deadly swarm of locusts. The world's imperialist powers, headed up by the biggest criminals in the history of humanity — the U.S.A. — may have already unleashed this unprecedented firepower against you, the peoples of the Middle East, by the time you read this call. There can only be one answer to their outrageous crimes: rise up and defeat them!

To whatever fools they can convince, these puffed-up liars say they are teaching the Iraqis a lesson, they are fighting terrorism, thwarting new Hitlers, stopping nuclear weapons, restoring sovereigns to their rightful thrones. Well, aggression is the United States' last name — they are the ones who have always squeezed and trampled other peoples and nations, who invaded Panama just last year, and Grenada before that, and in fact who finance and command the Zionist police post in occupied Palestine. The United States of Aggression make Hitler look like a neighbourhood bully, and *they* are the only ones to have ever committed genocide with nuclear weapons!

No, their war machine is not being cranked up to snatch back a few oil wells stolen out from under Al Sabah's nose in the imperialist-created bank-state they called Kuwait. They are shifting their forces for a long-term military occupation of the Gulf. Today the imperialists must realign and tighten up their guard dog states in the Middle East to forge and protect the "new world order" among bigtime thieves ~~they~~ have declared; they have decided that to

Battle of Karameh, Jordan, June 1967. A small force of Palestinian guerrillas heroically held off a much larger Zionist force and electrified the world. After this battle 40,000 Arab youth asked to join the Palestinian guerrilla forces.

U.S. Invaders in a Sea of People's War!

achieve this, blood must flow, torrents of blood.

You have always hated and resisted them since they carved up this area of the world into their respective zones of influence and plunder at the end of the Ottoman Empire, first as colonial occupiers and then through the loyal servants they installed to run neo-colonial regimes for them. You have always fought back against them, against the vicious attack dog Israel, which they bred, trained and hired to crush your struggle alongside the reactionary armies of the Arab states. Now with their direct massive military invasion menacing high technology mass slaughter, the imperialists and reactionaries are closing the noose around their own necks, and each step of aggression they take to resolve their crisis draws the noose tighter. They are handing the ropes to you, the masses of the Arab world and the Middle East.

They swagger with big power pride at their piles of steel and sophisticated instruments of death, confident that with all their arsenal, wealth and the momentary consensus of imperialism's rulers worldwide, they are unstoppable, invincible. They are wrong: not only is it possible to beat them, they are doomed. Their overkill Rambo posturing in the Gulf only mirrors the enormity of their crisis. Their system is falling apart and the sickness has no cure: their empire is shaky, nearly every week there is an attempt to topple one of their puppet dictators, their economies and financial markets are on the edge of a precipice. Spiraling unemployment, homelessness and widespread rumbling from the masses at the bottom of society make their home base far from the politically stable headquarters they claim.

Their fundamental problem is that they are divorced from the people and always will be. It is the people in the long run who are powerful, not the reactionaries, and we have a solution for defeating the mighty armies of big exploiters. We will swallow them in revolutionary protracted people's wars, mouthful by mouthful.

The Only Solution: People's War

A people's war of liberation is the only way to devour the imperialist armies, their Zionist attack dog, and the reactionary forces of the Arab regimes. This type of war relies on the masses of people, most importantly the masses of peasants, those who have watched foreign powers in league with big capitalists at the head of the Arab states and feudal landlords rip away their land, ravage the economy and destroy their existence, spit and tread on their national aspirations



*Palestinian fighters
study Mao in the 1960s.*

while preserving the most backward traditions that keep them in chains.

The leader of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung, developed the strategy of protracted people's war which enables revolutionary forces starting out from a weak position to take on a strong enemy by surrounding the cities from the countryside and to finally seize power. By leading a war against imperialism and reaction in a semi-feudal, colonised country to victory for the first time in 1949, Mao showed that in revolutionary war people are the most precious thing, that it is they who are decisive, not weapons. People with inferior weapons can defeat foes with superior ones. Their people's army can grow from small to big through a protracted war. Mobilised to fight a war of resistance, they can lure the enemy's powerful forces in close to them, then encircle and defeat them, by chopping them up piece by piece. As Mao said, the enemy fights his way, and we fight ours.

People's war is not only possible today, as boldly shown by the major advances of the revolutionary war in Peru under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), but is needed around the world, urgently needed. The PCP, a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, started armed struggle ten years ago with a small guerrilla army using homemade weapons like *huaraca* slings, dynamite and small arms captured from the enemy. Without taking one bul-

let or weapon from any outside power, they have accelerated their war, consolidated the base areas under their command and grown to the point where they may soon contest for countrywide political power, now barely held together by the reactionary Peruvian state backed by both U.S. and Soviet imperialism. Knowing the Yankees will try to stop them, under the cover of the war on drugs or whatever other excuse, if the imperialists attack the PCP will turn their people's war into a broad anti-imperialist war of resistance, which will help spread revolutionary people's wars into other parts of Latin America.

In the Gulf we can fight such a war if we base ourselves on the revolutionary laws of people's war developed by Mao. We will fight in our own way, because this is how we can win. Our methods have nothing in common with those of the enemy and if we try to copy them or match his strength, weapon for weapon, we will always lose. The people don't need complicated weaponry to start. They will fight on their own land that they know the best, that is their home, in areas where the imperialists are weak and the masses have advantages, where the vast majority of the people can be won to support the revolutionary war.

The enemy will always have bigger armies, high-tech military equipment, refined skills and greater firepower, but we will fight in such a way that these things become an obstacle rather than an advantage for him. He will be like an elephant tramping clumsily and noisily through the mountains, stuck in the desert sands, hungry and thirsty where he is isolated from the people. The imperialists' modern weapons systems, rockets, air power and big troop movements depend on bulky and complex logistics, like the Apache tank-killing helicopters they've brought to the Saudi desert that require 24 hours maintenance for one hour service! For their 500,000 troops they must fly in 4 million litres of water a day! They spend millions to recreate their artificial Western environment to make their elaborate armaments work and to be able to withstand the desert heat. But the masses know how to move through this terrain, how to eat and survive because this grueling existence is their daily life. Who needs imported cushions when the people have slept on date palm leaves for centuries?

We have the key to victory that the enemy will never possess: the masses of people. Relying on the ingenuity of the masses, especially the youth of the working class and the poor peasants, the people's armed forces can scatter the enemy's units, impair their logistics systems, develop "low-tech" to counter



their high-tech as the Vietnamese learned to do. Our way of fighting will render their conventional type of warfare futile, however brutal it may be, and will turn their strength into weakness.

Throughout the Middle East and the Arab world millions of people are hoping that the Iraqi regime will deal serious blows to U.S. imperialism if it attacks, and the revolutionary communists completely understand these sentiments. But the hopes of the people are likely to be dashed once again.

The big armies of the Arab states like Saddam Hussein's, with his heavy artillery and Western training, will never win against imperialism, even if they try. The war rooms in Washington,

Paris, London and Moscow know everything about his army up to and including his battle plans, because their military experts created it: he will fight just as they have taught him; they know what cards he holds and how he will play them. Hussein depends upon them for food and supplies. Over the past several years of his repressive rule, he burned down the wheat farms and razed the fruit trees of the Kurds, displacing hundreds of thousands of Kurdish peasants, destroying their villages and essentially ruining farming in that part of Iraq, instead of relying on them and building up agriculture. Who sold him his chemical gas to massacre thousands of Kurdish people right inside Iraq fighting righteously for their land and national aspirations if

not the West? Hussein's big army with modern weapons looks to some like it can inflict damage on the invaders, but the problem is that he will never fight a thoroughgoing war against them because the interests of the exploiting classes he represents ultimately depend upon coming to terms with imperialism. He cannot represent the interests of the oppressed and their yearning for liberation.

The USA and its friends are preparing to fight a quick war based on air power so they can avoid protracted fighting as much as possible. Their biggest fear is getting tied down in a long drawn-out conflict, as George Bush has said. This is exactly what revolutionary people's wars in the Gulf and the Middle East will do to them, as the determined struggle of the Vietnamese people showed in Indochina when they drove out the modern and powerful Yankee enemy. The longer it goes on, the better for us. They have good reason to dread a protracted war — not only will they suffer military defeats, but cracks and disagreements will begin to appear in their ranks, their temporary alliances will become strained, sometimes to the breaking point, and at home, people will rapidly awaken and rebel against the atrocities their rulers are carrying out abroad.

They have set up guardposts with armies throughout the Arab world and the Middle East, but everywhere they face hostile masses they have exploited and oppressed. We will fight them in as many places as possible, not on just one front where they have chosen to attack. The revolutionaries must force them to spread their forces out thin, drawing them in amongst the people as deep as possible. People's war can also be launched in those places where the U.S. is not now directly invading, to overthrow the reactionary states that are the watchdogs of imperialist interests. You long to combat the Zionists and imperialists face to face? Then why not seize

Left: Mao at Yanan, in the 1930s

Below: The Chinese Red Army of poor peasants guided by Mao's theory of people's war ate up the larger imperialist backed armies bite by bite.



hold of their crisis in the Gulf to step up the struggle at home, striking at these states, and this will be a major blow to their masters' forces tied down over in the Gulf:

Look at the powderkeg of Egypt, for example, which is seething with turmoil and has a huge rural population. Here revolutionaries can mobilise the masses to go directly up against Mubarak's reactionary regime, which also must be overthrown, and the Zionists will come running to help him, lured out of their tiny military base of Israel. This will give the Palestinians a freer hand to turn their intifada into a real people's war, which is essential if it is to deal decisive blows to the enemy. At the same time, the Arab masses will be able to help defeat Israel, which is the enemy of all of the oppressed in the region and not only the responsibility of the Palestinians to rout. Won't the Palestinians, who have faced the Zionist armed forces alone, be overjoyed if other fronts are opened up against imperialism and its allies? And think of the boost to the anti-imperialist struggle in the region if the Camp David kingpin is knocked down. Since they want to dominate the entire region, the imperialists and their Arab and Zionist flanks will spread out their forces in order to try to fight the people wherever they start wars against them in the Middle East and throughout the Arab world. This will only spur the masses to resist more and help people's wars gain momentum.

In the Arab world as in other oppressed nations, the cities are strongholds of the imperialists and their client regimes. In these countries we must centre our war in the countryside, not only because the main force of fighters is there, the peasants, whom the working class must lead, but also because the state apparatus is weaker there. We can make the best use of our methods in the countryside, encircling enemy forces trapped deep in our territory, capturing bases for ourselves and building our army. We will grow food there to become self-sufficient and mobile and we will politically arm the peasants to understand the revolutionary war, so that they can offer invaluable knowledge and means of support, including increasing numbers of soldiers, building up the worker-peasant alliance that is the backbone of the war.

In this way the masses led by the proletariat can carry out a long protracted war that over time allows us to gain on the enemy. Because we are weak, we must build ourselves up, mobilising our own initiative, little by little, through guerrilla warfare. We start small and grow larger, gobbling the enemy bite by bite, seizing arms from him, training more of our own soldiers and developing more extensive and powerful warfare. Gradually we become strong, and become able to fully bring to bear the role of the masses, so that they actively take their destiny in hand to defeat the enemy's armed forces, the key to overthrowing the old political rule and to enable the proletariat and masses to seize power and build a new society.

So the question is, who is going to encircle whom? If we truly rely on the masses, imperialism can't encircle us. Today the Communist Party of Peru is encircling the armed forces backed by Yankee money and expertise, attacking the enemy's lifelines of the imperialist-created cities. Let the "almighty" imperialists try to impose their U.N.-approved embargo on the PCP and people's army in Peru! Who will have trouble filling their stomachs then?

As the PCP is doing today, we will build the political power of the masses in the areas of the Arab countries and the Middle East that the people's army has liberated. We will train fighters from all over, produce our own food, set up new revolutionary political organs and begin to change the old relations among the people. This will provide an example, a taste of the future when the people and society are totally liberated, and we will call upon others to follow. When the enemy comes to try to snatch these bases away from us, the people will surround their forces and destroy them bit by bit.

Our revolutionary method of fighting will be connected to the new democratic revolution against feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism as part of the process of building new societies in this part of the world and setting up red base areas for spreading the revolution to other countries. So protracted people's war relying mainly on the masses in the countryside where the enemy's rule is weaker is the key to defeating imperialism: revolutionary-minded workers and intellectuals who understand this must boldly take up the task of mobilising the peasants to fight such a war.

Needed to Guide a Genuine Liberation War: Uncompromising Revolutionary Leadership

This strategy of people's war for defeating powerful imperialist enemies and liberating the oppressed by relying on the oppressed masses themselves is a Maoist strategy, connected to a



Vietnam 1966. Masses sabotage railroad tracks to prevent the enemy from entering the region.

whole method, ideology and plan for how to make revolution worldwide, and how to create a new social order without exploitation, wars and national oppression. This science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, forged through both bright victories and bitter experience gained through the bloodsoaked uprisings of the downtrodden throughout history, as well as the positive and negative experience in building new revolutionary societies, owes its existence to the birth of the working class, whose liberation is dependent upon the destruction of imperialism and all types of exploitation and oppression. Because of this, it has a distinct advantage over other ideologies of not sharing any common ground with the oppressor. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the key to unlocking the



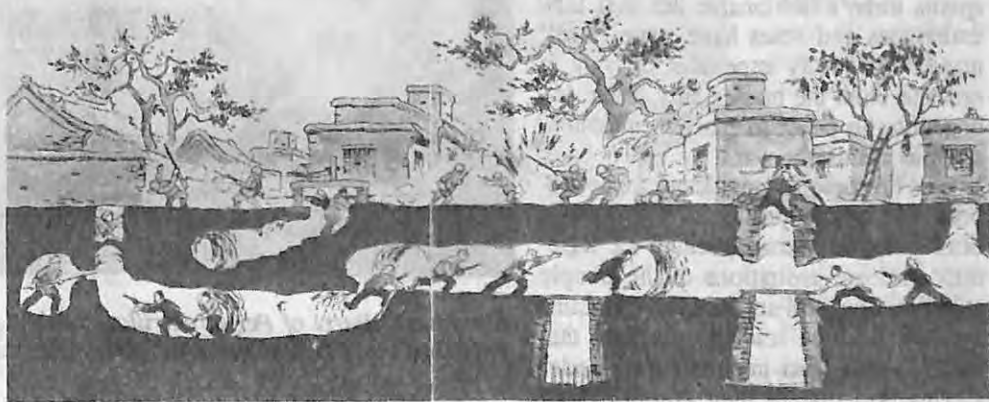
Vietnam 1966. Guerrillas build traps in the jungle against US soldiers.

Maoist party that the Arab masses have never had. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is already present in several countries of the region. But in most places the task of forging a vanguard party still remains. The situation in the Arab world today pushes this responsibility to the fore more urgently than ever.

U nmask all the Arab Impostors, Traitors and Servants of Imperialism

Summing up the reasons why previous revolutionary struggles in China had won so little, Mao emphasised their failure to clearly distinguish real enemies from real friends. Under the pressure of crisis and the imperialist war of aggression in the Gulf, the masks are dropping from the sultans, sheiks and presidents one by one, revealing cringing flunkies who rush to line up behind their powerful Western masters to help stabilise the situation, and to suppress and squeeze you.

From your own experience you have seen the role of state presidents dressed in "anti-imperialist" military uniforms who militantly denounce the Yankee and foreign aggressors and strut as zealous opponents of Zionism, in order to better derail and channel the people's struggle, but use their repres-



China: The underground tunnels used in guerrilla warfare against Japan were still visited by Peking residents during the 1960s. This method was also used by Vietnamese against the U.S.

future, a key that belongs to the oppressed.

In order to successfully lead a war of liberation, there must be a party, a group of revolutionaries politically and ideologically welded together with the science of MLMTT that systematically infuses the oppressed masses with the vision and method for such a war, and mobilises them to act upon this. Without such a party, people's war cannot be victorious, for class outlooks other than that of the international proletariat will compromise or capitulate along the way. In fact, this has been proved by several decades of just struggle of the Palestinian people.

While arousing the masses to fight against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, the revolutionaries in the Arab countries need to wage determined struggle to form this type of

sive armies to attack *you*, the masses, and never the real enemies, despite the Arab nationalism with which they embellish their promises and bluster. Other two-bit sovereigns perform their services openly, like the palace regimes of the double-zeros — the oil sheiks — or petty kings like Hassan II, whose own cities are on fire.

Look at the hated Camp David capitulators who in exchange for continued imperialist protection have joined the pro-U.S. military lineup against Iraq in order to lend the invasion "Arab" legitimacy, using the Arab League and Arab summit to gain more disciples. They send Egyptian troops to shoot down their Iraqi sisters and brothers. These reactionary dogs have even provided 5000 Egyptian women to be prostitutes of the Yankee

troops! The "left-wing" Baathist and Arab "patriot" Hafez Assad of Syria went from serving and depending on the Soviet social imperialists (who used to masquerade as friends of the people), to sending forces to fight alongside the U.S. invaders, and is actively cooperating with Washington's proposals to redraw the regional map in its favour! But why should he who counts on generous handouts from the oil princes' profits to bankroll huge arms deals balk at using these arms against other masses of the Middle East when he stood guard for the Christian Phalangist butchery of Palestinians at Tal al Zataar in Lebanon and massacred thousands of villagers in Syria?

Who has forgotten the 1970 slaughter of the thousands of Palestinian masses and freedom fighters by the Black September king in Jordan, whose future is now squeezed between a righteously furious Palestinian population and the U.S. imperialists who have always buttered his bread? Or what about that "democratic" impostor General Ben Ali of Tunisia, who dyes his hair daily to look younger than Saddam Hussein, but who depends for his survival on petro-dollars from Al Saud and injections from the French and U.S. imperialists? His contribution is to feign opposition to the Arab-imperialist alliance — he spouts today's fashionable lies that U.N. embargoes and votes have some "legal" mandate to justify imperialist bullying in order to blunt the masses' fury, while setting loose his police to attack their demonstrations against the war.

Why do these sultans, kings and petrodollar or "patriot" presidents always make deals and compromises, selling the legitimate national aspirations of the people out? These political and religious chieftains are rooted in the reactionary classes that stand to gain from imperialism's plunder and exploitation of their countries and masses. They do their part by protecting this racket: the whole state machinery and backwardness of semi-colonial society work to serve imperialist interests, from selling off the national resources, to allowing a completely lopsided economy to develop, to the most important of all — consolidating political power over the masses of people.

Whether these guard dog palace regimes show their teeth, or whether they pretend they are the agents of sweeping social change and "democratic openings" touted in Jordan, Algeria and Tunisia of late, their job is to keep you, the masses of this part of the world, fooled, passive and suppressed, and to give the imperialist sharks a freer hand. Besides loading up their Western and petrol-financed bullets at you, they use other powerful weapons like dividing the people by nationality, reinforcing reactionary "traditions" that keep women silent and subservient to men, and fanning nar-



Communist Party of Peru guerrillas conduct a political meeting. Poster in photo hails the "Day of Heroism" when political prisoners rose up.

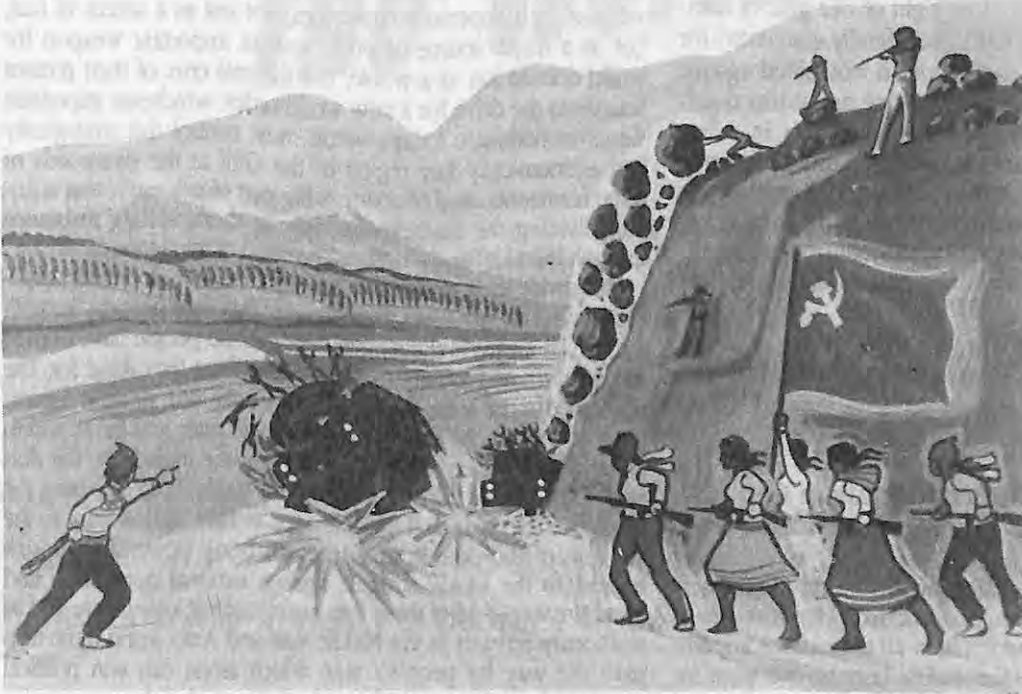
row nationalist and religious sentiments and old feudal ideas, all to tighten their hold on you and to maintain some kind of stability.

Do we need any *more* experience with reactionary puppets and impostors? No! We must tear off *all* the masks and step up the struggle against imperialism and against all its representatives and local enforcers!

Nor can the oppressed masses look to the obscurantist Islamic forces for salvation or liberation. Ten years of Islamic "revolution" in Iran have exposed the opportunist hangmen crouching behind this ugly and backward ideology to pervert the masses' nationalist and anti-imperialist aspirations while drowning their hopes in blood and tightening the web of collaboration with the imperialist powers, East and West.

Soviet Social Imperialist Snakes

The Soviet imperialists and their client states in the Arab world spread the poisonous idea that the Yankees and Zionists couldn't be defeated unless the people depended on Soviet aid. They trained Palestinian cadre in conventional warfare and pushed a strategy of large armies and heavy weaponry which has proven not to work: their goal was never to "assist" the overthrow of the reactionary state of Israel or wage a genuine war of liberation, but to *disarm* the anti-imperialist masses, using them as leverage in their rivalry with their Western counterparts. In fact the Soviet imperialists have always sup-



Drawing of Peru's guerrilla fighters.

ported Israel's "right to exist", settling large numbers of Soviet Jews there, ready and trained to go into the Zionist armed forces, while at the same time buying off some Palestinians who opposed their U.S. imperialist rivals and financing a few client states of their own as rear bases, such as Assad of Syria. If they have replaced their mask with fangs to gang up on Iraq, this is in order to pursue their imperialist interests under the new conditions of "detente".

The Masses of People, Not Oil, are the Greatest Resource

The way you fight itself reveals what kind of society you aspire to: we of the oppressed classes led by the proletariat fight differently from other armies like Saddam Hussein's

claiming to oppose imperialism, not only because we have the only strategy that can mobilise the masses to win, but because our goals are also different: we want to achieve a society that destroys the semi-feudal and semi-colonial economy as well as the political and cultural scaffolding that keeps this vicious system in place. We are not interested in sacrificing our sisters and brothers in heroic struggle only to persuade the imperialist powers to let some new overseers govern these societies and once again be reduced to misery and begging for life support from them or for cancellation of some "debts" (to them, of course) if we sign up on their oil industry payrolls.

Seizing the oil in order to use it against imperialism, is as useless as it is impossible. Oil is not a treasure, but a curse on the people of the Gulf. Only the imperialist system makes oil into a source of wealth and major club in world politics and it is this

very system we must raze to the ground. When the proletariat and the masses seize power, they cannot build a society based on oil, for this will lead directly to a lopsided and crippled economy, back into depending on imperialism's grip, and these gangsters will again use it as a weapon against us.

In the Middle East and Arab states you have seen the people's basic interests sacrificed by rulers who are addicted to the few riches imperialism can sprinkle on them, like Saddam Hussein, who can only provide 20% of the country's food needs. In oil-dependent Algeria, which is still heavily rural, 95% of the national budget hangs in the

balance of world oil prices, while the people must pay more for food and adjust to continually tougher austerity measures to keep the country afloat.

We must and will bring forward our own *revolutionary* leaders who refuse to share any ground with imperialism and its twisted man-eating view of human society, leaders who consider the people, not oil, the hope for the future.

Instead of taking it over, the new revolutionary society must do away with the imperialist-built foundation of the economy and develop in its place a new economy based on agriculture with industry as the leading factor in order to produce the basic means of livelihood for the masses to become self-sufficient. It is the masses of people, not oil, who are the greatest resource and whose creative genius we must rely upon to change the world. They can produce food and build industries for their own well-being, rather than slave in the oil fields to

try to gamble in a game of oil markets that is already won by the imperialists. We don't need a society where oil finances a few big cities with modern high-rises and supermarkets stocked with imported luxuries for the privileged classes while the peasantry is ruined and growing numbers of the masses crowd into sprawling urban slums.

The working class and its party will lead the new democratic revolution as demonstrated by Mao, by smashing the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations, carrying out an agrarian revolution based upon the slogan "land to the tiller" and breaking away from imperialism's economic stranglehold. This is the necessary first stage to clear the way for socialist revolution and in order for the oppressed masses to become masters of their own destiny. Then the working class will unite the peasant masses to develop step-by-step new socialist forms of constructing a national economy, not based on exploitation, feudalism and imperialist dependency, but on self-sufficiency and cooperation. We will never lose sight of our goal of communism, where social classes have been finally eliminated for good, where one section of the people is not pitted against another with men oppressing women or one nationality dominating another. Sisters will be equal to brothers in every sphere, and the basis for Arabs dominating Kurds, Blacks or Berbers, for Persians lording it over Arabs and Kurds, or for the grey cloud of Turkish chauvinism to hang over other nationalities will be overthrown, along with all of these repulsive social relations and the imperialist and feudal oppressors that spawn them!

This is a future worth fighting and dying for — it is the future our movement, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, stands for.

Only Proletarian Internationalism Can Overpower Imperialism's Divisions

Waging a people's war of liberation by relying on the masses of peasants to encircle the imperialists, front by front, is a strategy that the oppressed can apply in all the nations imperialism dominates. We are internationalists because we want to liberate the whole world, wipe imperialism from the face of the earth and move on to a higher form of society with the conscious labouring masses at the helm. But we also know that because we have this common enemy, we must rally the strength of our forces or we cannot win.

In the Middle East and Arab world, if our strategy is not also internationalist, relying on and mutually supporting the people's wars of all the masses of the region — the Arabs, Kurds, peoples in Iran and Turkey, Algeria, Afghanistan, etc. — we will not be able to generalise our war against imperialism and Zionism, spread their forces out thin, and turn them into kefta meat, battalion by battalion. However it can be successful if it is guided by the "nothing to lose and a world to win" outlook of the international proletariat.

Beginning people's war in the Arab world will truly be like a spark setting off a prairie fire, as Mao said. And if, for example, the NATO-prop country of Turkey opens up a flank of the imperialists' war by attacking from the North, this will inevitably be a great impetus for the people's revolutionary struggle inside Turkey.

Seize Hold of the Imperialists' Weakness to Prepare their Downfall

There is no better time than right now! Despite their massive buildup and obscene spectacle of unity (including even the Soviet social-imperialists) — their threat of colossal destruction, their undisguised plans to remain and to occupy parts of the Gulf and Middle East, their aim to fortify the Zionist police outpost — it is the imperialists who are fundamentally weak and in deep trouble. Their love affair is not so sweet or lasting as their TV news portrays it: together they peacefully agree to make war on the oppressed peoples and nations while preparing future rivalry and wars of division among themselves, and not just to command world oil prices. They do certainly want to continue to control the oil in the Gulf, for "cheap" oil pumps through the veins of their imperialist economies, not just as a source of fuel, but as a major source of profit and an important weapon for world domination as a whole. But the real crux of their present insanity is the drive for a new world order: whichever imperialist wants to dominate today's world must control this strategically and economically key region of the Gulf at the crossroads of three continents. And of course a big part of achieving *that* is further dividing the masses who oppose them, stifling resistance through intimidation — in short, preventing revolution.

Worldwide their system is in serious crisis and worldwide, especially in the many nations they oppress, they face political "instability", which means nothing more than that the people have learned to hate them and to fight them and everything they stand for. The oppressed must seize the time to intensify our struggle against them, to prepare the way to be rid of them once and for all and to create a new society without them! From the intifada, to the riots against the cost of living squeeze in the Maghreb, to opposing the sending of Egyptian and Syrian troops to fight against Iraq, to the struggle of the people in Turkey to bring down the Turkish regime, to the Kurds' struggle against national oppression and extermination — all of these fires raging against imperialism and its reactionary servants in the Middle East and Arab world must help pave the way for people's war, which alone can win political power and put the masses' future in their own hands.

Around the world the struggle of the people pounds away the common imperialist enemy, from South Africa to Afghanistan to Haiti. In Peru a full-scale revolutionary people's war has the reactionary government cornered and begging for help from Washington. In the U.S. and other imperialist countries themselves, participating parties and supporters of the RIM are building broad opposition to the grisly war machine in the Gulf and exposing their plans for intervention in Latin America, while preparing for the day when they can meet them head on in civil war at home. In the Gulf and Middle East, it is up to you, the masses of people, to drown them in a sea of people's war. If the heroic struggle of the Palestinian masses and the three-year intifada in particular has inspired and aroused the Arab masses and the people of the world in general, it has also made painfully clear the need for a thoroughgoing solution to the bitter conflict between the oppressed Arab people on the one hand, and imperialism and Zionism on the other. The imperialists' answer is savagely taking shape in the waters and deserts of the Gulf. What will be ours? □

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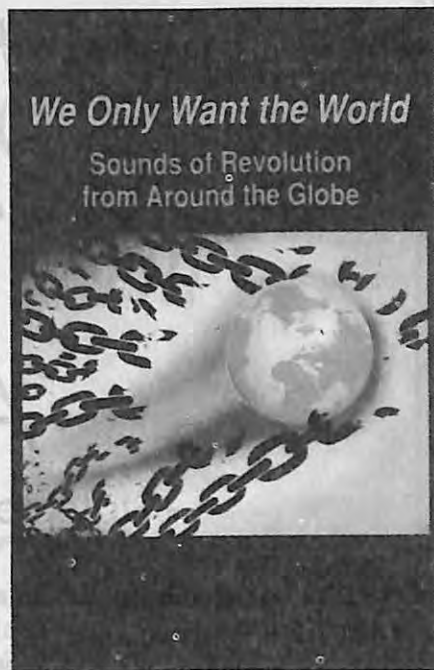
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Fight Against the U.S.-Led War of Aggression Against Iraq!

— Statement by the Committee of the RIM
17th January 1991

On 17th January, in the dark of night, U.S. imperialism and its allies launched a vicious and cowardly attack against Iraq. These U.S., British and French criminals, with the support of the Soviet social-imperialists and with their Israeli watchdog on alert, threw their massive and sophisticated armaments against a far weaker foe. This shameful crime cannot and will not be left unanswered.

Throughout the world, workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and all who oppose imperialist bullying and aggression support their sisters and brothers in Iraq and throughout the region in fighting back against the aggressors. Once again we call upon the people of the Arab world and the Middle East to drown the U.S. invaders in a sea of people's war. However great the sacrifices will be, only such a war based upon the masses of the people can defeat the U.S.-commanded imperialist armada.

In the imperialist countries themselves, despite an unprecedented propaganda barrage of lies and distortion by the ruling classes of these countries to justify their gangsterism, a large section of the masses have already recognised that this war of aggression is not in their interests, and outpourings of resistance to the imperialist war have taken place in all of the aggressor countries. We hail this resistance and call upon the masses in those countries to step up and intensify their struggle against this barbaric war.

While the focus of the attack is on Iraq, it is aimed at the people of Palestine, the whole Arab world and the Middle East. In fact, George Bush has nakedly declared that the real purpose of this war is to establish a "new world order" which will last one hundred years. This order is nothing other than the same old imperialist law of exploitation and plunder of the poor by the rich; aggression, interference and bullying of the weak by the strong; and domination of the whole world by the West.

But the people will never tolerate such a terrible future. Already the need for revolution cries out all over the globe. Their latest bloody massacres can only intensify the hatred of the people for this system and escalate their revolutionary struggle worldwide.

The imperialists hope that their colossal military might will mask the reactionary, putrid and fundamentally weak nature of a system which can only survive through massive terror. But they have been defeated in the past, as in Vietnam, and they can be defeated today — just as the Communist Party of Peru has been successfully waging people's war and is preparing to defeat the Yankee aggressors head on. Final victory will belong to imperialism's gravediggers, the proletariat of all countries and the oppressed nations of the world.

The people of all countries have a common interest in defeating this U.S.-led war of aggression against Iraq. □

The U.S.-Led Aggressors Will Not Go Unpunished!

— Statement by the Committee of the RIM

3rd March 1991

The U.S. together with the British and French imperialists and a motley collection of their bootlickers have just finished at least one phase of their bloodthirsty aggression against Iraq. With their powerful propaganda machine and media supremacy, they are shamefully boasting of a “glorious victory” in a “clean war” with “unprecedentedly low casualties”. But already the whole world knows there was neither “glorious victory” nor a “clean war” nor “low casualties”. In fact, more than a war it was a one-sided massacre, an invasion of a much weaker oppressed country with a population of only 18 million, carried out by all the Western imperialists together (with three in the front and the rest in the rear). These powers control most of the world’s riches and possess the most advanced technology and have a huge population of 350 million (just counting the U.S., Britain and France and leaving aside the other imperialists and their lackeys). Their war was mainly an uninterrupted, cowardly bombing of unparalleled intensity from the safe distance of the sky. But in the dictionary of the imperialists, “casualties” means only soldiers or citizens from their own countries. These reactionaries do not count the Iraqi people massacred as casualties, even though the dead number in the tens of thousands.

In the name of liberating Kuwait, they have occupied a vast oil-producing region of Iraq, and they are pressing and manoeuvring to further enslave the Iraqis, the Arabs and all the people of the Middle East.

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists are trying to use the opportunity and rewrite the history and memory of their humiliating defeat in Vietnam. These enemies of the world’s people want to send a message that any opposition to U.S. domination will be met with extreme brutality. This is an essential part of Bush’s dream of a “new world order”.

The war has also unmasked the vicious hypocritical face of the Soviet social-

imperialists. In siding with the U.S.-led aggression, the Soviets pursued their own imperialist interests. The Maoists of the world have been pointing out the true nature of the USSR for over 30 years since the restoration of capitalism in that country.

In this war, Saddam Hussein talked big but surrendered without putting up a real fight. This capitulation corresponds to the class character of the Iraqi regime, which represents the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. Once again it has been proved that these reactionary classes and their leadership are completely incapable of standing up for the just cause of the people. As we said in our statement of 28 December 1990: "Throughout the Middle East and the Arab world millions of people are hoping that the Iraqi regime will deal serious blows to U.S. imperialism if it attacks, and the revolutionary communists completely understand these sentiments. But the hopes of the people are likely to be dashed once again." So long as the people have not taken matters into their own hands and developed their own leadership there always will be people like Saddam Hussein who blow a lot of hot air but wind up capitulating or being defeated — as has happened so many times in the past. No matter how many modern tanks, planes and missiles may be in the hands of a comprador state, it won't help the people to win their liberation. As Mao Tsetung said, "Without a people's army the people have nothing."

Around the world, the masses waged a sharp struggle to oppose and resist imperialist aggression in the Gulf even before the outbreak of the war. This was true not only in the Arab countries but in many oppressed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in the imperialist countries too, including the U.S. itself. Now it is important and necessary to widen and deepen this international solidarity of the world's masses. This is especially true because the U.S. imperialists are preparing to expand their military presence in many places and to directly intervene in other oppressed countries. The people must be particularly on guard to oppose further intervention against the advancing people's war in Peru led by the Maoist Communist Party of Peru.

The oppressed masses must cast away all illusions of any short-cut on the road to liberation and victory. As the enemy is powerful, the road is protracted and the cost will be high. The only correct solution for the liberation of the masses of the oppressed countries is to wage a protracted people's war, relying upon the masses and based mainly in the countryside, to go from weak to strong while destroying the enemy bit by bit, applying the principle of self-reliance and hard struggle. These are lessons summed up by Mao Tsetung. In carrying out this line, the masses need the correct leadership of the party of the proletariat which is based on the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon the revolutionaries around the world, especially those of the Arab countries and the Middle East, to grasp and develop the correct strategy of revolution based on this science and ideology and to build parties of the proletariat.

However mighty the imperialists might appear, with all their high technology and "smart bombs", they are not invincible as they now claim to be. The U.S. imperialists have been defeated before and they can be defeated today. In this new stage of U.S.-led aggression in the Gulf, the masses all over the world should continue their struggle. We affirm anew our call to the peoples of the Arab world and Middle East to "Drown the U.S. Invaders in a Sea of People's War!" □

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Excerpts:

Strategy: One Against Ten — Tactics: Ten Against One

— An Exposition of Comrade Mao Tsetung's Thinking
on the Strategy and Tactics of the People's War

By Li Tso-peng

The following article originally appeared in Hongqi (Red Flag) nos. 23-24, 1964. An English language translation was published after some changes by the author in 1966 by Foreign Languages Press, Peking, from which these excerpts were made — AWTW.

...The Chinese revolution took armed struggle as its main form of struggle; by destroying the counter-revolutionary armed forces one after another and smashing the reactionary state machinery in one area after another, it finally captured state power throughout the country and ended the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The historical experience of the Chinese revolution in winning this great victory provides striking proof of the wisdom, greatness and correctness of Comrade Mao Tsetung's thinking....

I. The Method of Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One Is the Embodiment in Military Struggles of the Great Strategic and Tactical Thinking of Comrade Mao Tsetung

...Comrade Mao Tsetung has pointed out again and again that although imperialism and all reactionaries are seemingly powerful, they represent the reactionary, decaying and declining classes. The law of historical development determines their inevitable doom. The revolutionary people must, therefore, see the essence of their nature,

look at them from a long-term point of view and regard them for what they are — paper tigers; they must despise them strategically, dare to struggle against them and dare to seize victory. On this they should build their strategic thinking. At the same time, Comrade Mao Tsetung has also pointed out repeatedly that just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature, so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature. Before they are finally destroyed, they may still be powerful for a certain period, may still enjoy a temporary military advantage, and will continue to devour people. From this point of view, they are living tigers made of iron. Tactically, therefore, with regard to each specific struggle, the revolutionary people must take the enemy seriously, be prudent, carefully study and perfect the art of struggle. On this they should build their tactical thinking. Only by combining a fearless revolutionary spirit with an art of struggle which is flexible and inventive will they be able to seize victory in every specific encounter and finally defeat the enemy....

The method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is a concentrated expression in a military struggle of the concept of tactically taking the enemy seriously, it is a concrete expression of the concept of tactically "pitting ten against one" and "using the many to defeat the few"....

The method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy

forces one by one also embodies the idea of despising the enemy strategically. For only by strategically despising the enemy and displaying a revolutionary and militant spirit of "pitting one against ten" can we remain cool-headed in face of a powerful enemy and not be overawed by his truculence or confused by a complex situation; only in this way will we dare to concentrate our forces and deal the enemy blows. On the other hand, victories won in a succession of campaigns and battles — by the use of this method — will further educate the people and their army and enable them to see clearly through their own experience that the enemy can be defeated and that it is entirely correct to despise him strategically. This will inevitably increase the confidence of the people and their army in their struggle against the enemy and encourage them to fight and win still greater victories....

II. Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One is the Most Effective Method of Fighting to Change the Situation in which the Enemy is Strong while We are Weak

At the outset and even over a fairly long period of time, the people's revolutionary armed forces are always relatively weak and small in numbers and subject to continuous attacks and "encirclement and suppression" by their powerful enemies. This is usually the objective situation in regard to the balance of

forces. In the eyes of Marxist-Leninists, such a situation can be changed. War is a contest of strength. The objective basis for initiative or passivity is to be found in the superiority or inferiority of the forces of war but neither in itself constitutes initiative or passivity. In the course of war we must know how to change the balance of forces and make it possible for the small and weak revolutionary forces to seize the initiative and shake off passivity in the face of the enemy's superiority so that instead of being pinned down by the enemy we will be able to gain the upper hand and defeat him. The decisive factor here is the subjective effort. That is to say, we must use the correct method of fighting, win more victories, commit less errors, and continuously eliminate the enemy forces and enlarge our own forces through protracted, hard and complex struggle and thus turn our strategic inferiority and passivity into superiority and initiative. Comrade Mao Tsetung has pointed out:

"...it is possible to escape from our position of relative strategic inferiority and passivity, and the method is to create local superiority and initiative in many places, so depriving the enemy of local superiority and initiative and plunging him into inferiority and passivity. These local successes will add up to strategic superiority and initiative for us and strategic inferiority and passivity for the enemy. Such a change depends upon correct subjective direction."¹

This correct direction refers, first and foremost, to implementing the method of fighting characterised by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one.

This method of fighting was widely employed at various periods in China's revolutionary war. It played a most important role in changing the situation in relation to advance and retreat, the offensive and defensive, and fighting on interior and exterior lines as well as in enabling our army to change from being weak to being strong and from inferiority to superiority. It has undergone all manner of tests in the prolonged practice of revolutionary war and has been proved correct.

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War period, Comrade Mao

Tsetung applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to make a penetrating analysis of the situation in which the enemy was strong while the Red Army was weak. He pointed out that China's revolutionary war had both favourable and unfavourable conditions, that is, the Red Army could grow and defeat the enemy, but that it could not do this quickly. Such was the fundamental law governing China's revolutionary war. In the light of this law, Comrade Mao Tsetung put forward a whole series of principles and methods of operation, such as "divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy", "the enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue", "extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around", "lure the enemy in deep", and "concentrate superior forces, pick the enemy's weak spots, and fight when you are sure of wiping out part, or the greater part, of the enemy in mobile warfare so as to crush the enemy forces one by one". Thus he solved the most difficult problem of how the weak and small Red Army could defeat a powerful enemy....

III. The War of Annihilation is the Fundamental Idea of Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One

...No matter whether the balance of forces is in our favour or the enemy's, operations must be carried out by concentrating our forces. It is only by concentrating a superior force — especially when the enemy is strong and we are weak — that we can muster sufficient strength to fight a battle of annihilation and gain a quick decision. When offensive operations are carried out in this way, we can quickly break through the enemy's defence, smash his reinforcements and counter-assaults, mass enough troops to outflank, encircle, and cut up his forces, fight one engagement after another, and swiftly exploit the victory. And when defensive operations are carried out, we can weaken and inflict

great losses on the attacking enemy, win time for our side, and even shift from the defensive to the offensive. If we do not concentrate a superior force, we cannot achieve the aim of annihilating the enemy, nor can we fight quick engagements and gain a quick decision. Moreover, a situation of stalemate may arise in campaigns and battles; they may become battles in which there is more loss than gain, and the danger of being crushed piecemeal by the enemy may even arise....

Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out:

"In the first and second stages of the war, which are marked by the enemy's strength and our weakness, the enemy's objective is to have us concentrate our main forces for a decisive engagement. Our objective is exactly the opposite. We want to choose conditions favourable to us, concentrate superior forces and fight decisive campaigns or battles only when sure of victory ... we want to avoid decisive engagements under unfavourable conditions when we are not sure of victory...."²

This means that whenever we use the method — because of the enemy's strength and our weakness — of destroying the enemy forces one by one we must necessarily begin with "tidbits" by gathering together small victories into a big one. Then we must eat the enemy up with big mouthfuls. This method of gradually destroying the enemy forces requires many decisive engagements with the enemy in campaigns and battles. This is the objective process by which the enemy is wiped out despite his strength and our weakness. As the situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak had not basically changed during the initial stage of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, we had to proceed from destroying in one battle an enemy battalion, or a regiment, or a brigade. Following the change in the balance of forces, we were gradually able to wipe out an enemy division or a corps until we could finally destroy one to several powerful enemy armies at one time and fight battles of annihilation on a much bigger scale.

By concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one, we can also deal dialectically

with the relation between annihilation of the enemy's effective strength and the holding or seizing of cities. That is to say, the outcome of a war does not depend on the seizure or loss of a city or place but on the decrease or increase of effective strength of the belligerents. Comrade Mao Tsetung has said: "The principle of concentrating our forces to wipe out the enemy forces one by one is aimed chiefly at annihilating the enemy's effective strength, not at holding or seizing a place."³ To concentrate our troops to annihilate powerful attacking enemy forces, we must adopt the policy of luring them in deep and abandon some cities and districts of our own accord in a planned way, so as to let them in. It is only after letting the enemy in that the people can take part in the war in various ways and that the power of a people's war can be fully exerted. It is only after letting the enemy in that he can be compelled to divide up his forces, take on heavy burdens and commit mistakes. In other words, we must let the enemy become elated, stretch out all his ten fingers and become hopelessly bogged down. Thus, we can concentrate superior forces to destroy the enemy forces one by one, to eat them up mouthful by mouthful. Only by wiping out the enemy's effective strength can cities and localities be finally held or seized. We are firmly against dividing up our forces to defend all positions and putting up resistance at every place for fear that our territory might be lost and our "pots and pans" smashed, since this can neither wipe out the enemy forces nor hold cities or localities. In order to concentrate its troops for flexible operations and lure the enemy forces in deep so as to annihilate them one by one on the move, our army — in the first year of the Third Revolutionary Civil War — abandoned on its own initiative 105 major cities such as Yen-an, Changchiakou, Chengteh, Shenyang and Antung (now Tantung). This placed burdens on the enemy and greatly reduced his striking force. Meanwhile, our army evaded the enemy's main offensive force, shifted its troops to the enemy's flanks and rear to seek favourable chances for battles and thus annihilated his forces in large numbers while they

were on the move. As a result, not only were the lost cities recovered, but new cities were liberated.

Of course, not making the holding of cities and places our chief aim does not in any way mean arbitrarily abandoning them and letting the enemy occupy large parts and cities of the base areas easily without fighting. Comrade Mao Tsetung has said: "... we must hold or seize territory wherever the balance of forces makes it possible to do so or wherever such territory is significant for our campaigns or battles...."⁴ Our army firmly adhered to Comrade Mao Tsetung's directive. Thus, at the stage of strategic defence, our army, while annihilating the enemy's effective strength, resolutely held those cities and places which had to be held as positions for launching strategic counter-offensives and offensives. At the stage of strategic offence, our army closely linked the annihilation of the enemy's effective strength with the seizing of cities and places, thus simultaneously attaining the goal of destroying the enemy and fulfilling the task of holding or seizing cities and places. ...

The basic principle of our army's operations is to fight a war of annihilation, but this does not imply total negation of the war of attrition. When the enemy is strong and we are weak, we advocate a war of attrition strategically but battles of annihilation in campaigns and engagements, and achieve strategic attrition through the latter. As Comrade Mao Tsetung has said: "...campaigns of annihilation are the means of attaining the objective of strategic attrition."⁵ Therefore, wherever circumstances are favourable, we must concentrate a superior force, employ encircling and outflanking tactics and fight battles of annihilation. Under special circumstances, we may also adopt the method of dealing blows of annihilation at the enemy so as to wipe out one part of his forces while routing another. The battle of annihilation takes the primary place in campaigns and engagements. There is also the battle of attrition which is supplementary to the battle of annihilation though this is not a "contest in attrition". For instance, when the main force of our army is used to annihilate certain enemy forces, it is sometimes necessary to fight a battle of attrition

in other directions in order to intercept and pin down the enemy forces....

V. This Method of Fighting Can only Be Used Effectively by a People's Army

In spite of the fact that military experts in all times and in all countries have been familiar with these ideas of the "concentrated employment of troops" and "smashing the enemy forces one by one" and that a great deal of military literature has repeatedly discussed and stressed them, no one hitherto has ever viewed them as parts of an integral whole and used them dialectically. It was none other than Comrade Mao Tsetung who comprehensively put forward the strategic and tactical principle of "concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one" and dialectically applied it with great success to the practice of China's revolutionary war. This is because the war we waged was a people's war, our army was a people's army and its military operations were guided by dialectical materialism. Comrade Mao Tsetung has pointed out: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." He has also added; "The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible...."⁶ This is the fundamental condition for the victory of the people's revolutionary war.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has provided a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of a people's war: You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we cannot. In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we do not let you and you cannot even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you cannot get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we cannot, we see to it that you do not wipe us out. It is opportunism if one will not fight when one can win. It is adven-

turism if one insists on fighting when one cannot win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics. It is because of the necessity of fighting that we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. Such strategy and tactics can be successfully applied only in a people's war, by the people's army, guided by dialectical materialism.

The war waged by us was a people's war in which the principle of combining main with local forces, regular army with local armed units and people's militia, and armed with unarmed masses was put into practice. The local armed units, militia and the masses of the people took part in the war on an extensive scale; they actively supported the front and consolidated the rear, and in direct co-ordination with the operations of the main forces, destroyed communications and transport in the enemy's rear, contained and dispersed the enemy troops and harassed and threatened their rear. This made it possible for the main forces of our army to concentrate their troops to a high degree and carry out operations with great flexibility. Meanwhile, participation of the militia and masses in such activities as standing sentry, conducting reconnaissance, preventing the leakage of news and acting as guides also created favourable conditions for our army to concentrate its troops in time and in secret so as to surprise, encircle and annihilate the enemy. Take, for instance, the Pinghsingkuan Campaign fought at the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Our troops were assembled for as long as one week at places 15 to 30 kilometres away from the route of the enemy's advance, but the enemy completely failed to discover them because of the active cooperation of the masses who hid the news and thus thwarted the enemy's special agents and traitors. With the help of the masses, our army was promptly informed of the state of the enemy and disposed its forces correctly, thus taking him by surprise and putting him out of action with lightning speed.

On the contrary, the enemy fought in isolation without the support and

cooperation of the people because the war waged by them was of an anti-popular nature. Wherever the enemy occupied one of our places, they were opposed by the people and had to send in troops for defence. All this inevitably affected the concentration of their troops. Even if they succeeded in concentrating their troops in a certain area, they were always in a passive position and found it hard to carry out their plans because they failed to win the people's support, could not find out what the conditions were or locate the objectives of their attacks. At the same time their own actions were always exposed.

Our army was founded on Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of army building; it is a new-type army wholeheartedly serving the interests of the people under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Its nature determines its ability to give the fullest play to the power of the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. Strategy and tactics are carried out by men. The qualities of an army play an important role in deciding whether the correct strategy and tactics can be carried through so as to produce the greatest effect in practice. Our army has the steadfast leadership of the Communist Party and most loyally carries out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policies. It has a high degree of conscious discipline and is heroically inspired to destroy all enemies and conquer all difficulties. Internally there is full unity between cadres and fighters, between those in higher and those in lower positions of responsibility, between the different departments and between the various fraternal army units. With the establishment of firm revolutionary political work, the masses of our commanders and fighters are highly class conscious and clearly aware that they are fighting for the interests of the people. Thus, when using this method of fighting, they display a vigorous fighting will and courageous spirit. When concentrating, they move quickly and have no fear of fatigue or difficulties; while on the offensive, they advance courageously and persistently and dare to outflank and cut up the enemy and fight single-handedly; on the defen-

sive, they can resist the successive attacks of a powerful enemy, stand firm on their positions and fight doggedly. Army units are able to cooperate on their own initiative and coordinate their activities closely with each other. They are not afraid of sacrificing themselves for the interests of the whole. In addition, commanders and fighters can give full play to their own judgement in working out various methods of defeating the enemy. All this fully ensures that this method of fighting can be used to the best advantage and have great effect in defeating the enemy and winning victory.

The enemy's army is an anti-popular force. The great majority of the soldiers are coerced or cheated into joining. Their fundamental interests are diametrically opposed to those of the reactionary ruling classes. Deep contradictions exist between officers and men and between superiors and subordinates. Although the reactionary ruling classes do their utmost to carry out deceptive propaganda and reactionary education among the soldiers, the troops have a low morale and lack a vigorous fighting will. Such troops are afraid of fighting at close quarters, night engagements and casualties. Moreover, mutual distrust and strife among different corps and factions of the army stop them from coordinating activities on their own initiative. The enemy forces subjectively attempt to deal with us by employing the method of concentrating superior forces. But, in practice, they often fail to realise their aim — especially when conditions are difficult or critical — because of the inherent weaknesses in their forces.

We study, analyse and direct war by using the principles of dialectical materialism. We can correctly employ the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one and get the greatest results from this, precisely because of the fact that we are able to assess the subjective and objective situation correctly, analyse comprehensively the balance of forces as between the enemy and ourselves, make good use of the contradictions within the enemy ranks and then proceed from reality. It is also because we can correctly handle the various relations confronting us in the course of using this method of

fighting, such as those between the whole and the part, concentration and dispersal, main and secondary directions, annihilating the enemy and holding cities and places, advance and retreat, offence and defence. Consequently, even when engaging a powerful enemy, we are invincible and able to attain the objective of both wiping out the enemy and preserving and strengthening ourselves.

Our enemies are idealists and their method of thinking is metaphysical. They are unable to analyse the objective situation correctly and comprehensively and proceed from reality. They always overestimate their own strength and underestimate the revolutionary forces; they judge the situation subjectively and thus make light of their opponents and advance recklessly. They always look at problems from a one-sided point of view and cannot correctly handle the various relations encountered in military activities. For instance, in order to cope with our method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one, the Kuomintang reactionaries put forward — at one time during the Third Revolutionary Civil War — the so-called “tactics of massing troops and advancing abreast” — “the employment of troops must be conventional rather than tricky, the stationing of troops must be concentrated rather than dispersed and the manoeuvring of troops must be slow rather than swift”. These tactics were used when their troops were asked to carry heavy weapons. At another time they formulated the so-called “tactics of making use of loop-holes” when they switched to the idea that their troops should carry light weapons and rations and use mountain paths instead of highways. They used now this and now that tactic without a definite principle. In short their strategic intentions and specific actions were always in contradiction because of the anti-popular nature of the war they waged. At the beginning of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Chiang Kai-shek laid down a principle of “concentrated and flexible employment of troops”. But, on the other hand, he wanted to occupy a great many places including the Liberated Areas on the borders of Honan and

Hupeh, north Kiangsu, Chengteh, Shenyang and Antung (now Tantung). With his objectives so scattered and his forces limited, he put a burden on his back whenever he occupied a city because he had to send troops to defend it. The more places he occupied, the heavier his burden and the fewer the troops for further flexible employment. That is why the principle he formulated could only remain empty words. Even if he temporarily succeeded in concentrating a relatively superior force in one particular area and making some gains, lots of loop-holes were exposed in other areas. Such contradictions were insurmountable for our enemy.

In a word, the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is based on the waging of a people's war by a people's army and on dialectical materialism; it can be employed effectively only by a people's army. No antipopular army can fruitfully use or cope with this method. As Comrade Mao Tsetung has said:

“The Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and the U.S. imperialist military personnel in China are very well acquainted with these military methods of ours. Seeking ways to counter them, Chiang Kai-shek has often assembled his generals and field officers for training and distributed our military literature and the documents captured in the war for them to study. The U.S. military personnel have recommended to Chiang Kai-shek one kind of strategy and tactics after another for destroying the People's Liberation Army; they have trained Chiang Kai-shek's troops and supplied them with military equipment. But none of these efforts can save the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang from defeat.”⁷

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Concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is the materialisation in military affairs of Comrade Mao Tsetung's strategic and tactical thinking of strategically “pitting one against ten” and tactically “pitting ten against one”. Comrade Mao Tsetung has also made a great contribution to Marxist-Leninist military science by applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, views and methods to the concrete

practice of China's revolutionary war. It is the crystallisation of the experience gained by the Chinese people in their prolonged armed struggle against their enemies, both internal and external. This principle is not only one for operations in campaigns and battles, but also one of guidance in strategy. It fits in with a war fought both under the condition in which the enemy is strong and we are weak and vice versa. It is a principle of offence, but as a guiding concept of operations, it holds good in defence too. Apart from the glorious role it played in the Chinese people's revolutionary wars and its great historic significance in those wars, this principle is of enormous practical significance in strengthening our national defence and making preparations to smash imperialist aggression now. As a method of thinking and work, concentrating forces to fight a war of annihilation applies not only to military struggles, but also to political and economic struggles. It is of significance in guiding all activities of our socialist construction.

Although this method of fighting took shape and developed in the practice of the Chinese revolutionary wars, it has a general significance for all revolutionary wars. This is because all revolutionary wars, including those in China, have the common characteristics of a big and strong enemy and a weak and small revolutionary force which can achieve victory only through arduous and hard struggles. Of course, this method of fighting, like the use of other methods for directing war, must be developed according to the progress of history and war. It must be flexibly used according to different adversaries and places. Only in this way can it fulfil its role — the role of defeating the enemy and winning victory. □

Footnotes

1. Mao Tsetung, “On Protracted War”, Selected Military Writings (SMW), Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, p. 234.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 254-55.
3. Mao Tsetung, “Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One”, SMW, pp. 315-316.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
5. Mao Tsetung, “On Protracted War”, SMW, p. 249.
6. Mao Tsetung, “On Protracted War”, SMW, p. 260.
7. Mao Tsetung, “The Present Situation and Our Tasks (excerpts)”, SMW, p. 348.

The following are excerpts from statements of comrades in those countries most directly involved in the Gulf crisis.
—AWTW

The Rabid Yankee Dogs and Their Allies Are Asking For It: Let's Turn Every Inch of Land in the Region and the Gulf into their Graves!

By the Maoist Party Centre, Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist

The Gulf region and the Middle East are about to be turned into a bloody battlefield of plunder by the imperialists.

A war mobilisation on a scale unwitnessed since World War 2 is piling up war materiel and troops in the region. This mobilisation is led by the Yankee imperialists who are throwing their weight around with an arrogance worthy of Mafia godfathers. This Yankee mafia has used all available means, including the United Nations, it has pulled in the other imperialists as much as possible, it has called to duty lackey, dependent regimes like the fascist state of Turkey, the reactionary kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Egyptian ruling classes, and it is mobilising the entire U.S. war machine and rolling up its sleeves for widescale military violence and barbarism in the region.

...As for the fascist state of the Turkish Republic: it is ready to fight this war as NATO's orderly, without ever taking into consideration the great political and economic crisis it is in, the rottenness of its entire structure as well as its isolation. The true owners of this Takunyaci-Greywolf-Kemalist fascist state, the imperialist finance capital mafia of the Yankee imperialists and their allies, have ordered their puppet, the Turkish ruling class, to "snap to attention"....

...The state of the Turkish Republic and its ruling class — who bought the land from Van peasants for five kurus, drove them off their land and gave it to the U.S. to build bases — and the Yankee devils who are seeking new positions and military aggression in the region, should listen well to what Mao says:

"[A]ll military bases of the United States on foreign soil are so many

nooses round the neck of U.S. imperialism. The nooses have been fashioned by the Americans themselves and by nobody else, and it is they themselves who have put these nooses round their own necks, handing the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in those places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become." (1958)

The ideologues of *Yuzyil* (The Century), comprador-"Marxist" defenders of the system, call on the Turkish ruling class to be "wise" or to be like "India's Nehru", and to try to take the noose around the state away from the hands of the people. But in vain — the workings of the imperialist system itself inevitably are pulling the noose around the imperialist devils and their lackeys even tighter and, as can be seen in the region today, are putting the rope into the hands of broader and broader masses of people. Perincek and Co., totally aware that the rope is starting to go around their own necks as well, intentionally try to put Mao's politics and ideology on a par with the attitudes of fascist Kemal's Turkey and Nehru's India; they dream of preventing the masses of people from making use of the developing opportunities to make revolution and to pull the nooses until the breaking of the enemy's bones can be heard (see *Yuzyil* no. 2). What are this comprador-"Marxist" Perincek and his gang — who claim to uphold Mao when the necessity presents itself — trying to hide from the people?....

If in spite of everything the Turkish state enters this counter-revolutionary

war, our responsibility is to shoot the Turkish army jackals and their owners from behind through revolutionary war and struggle to have the Turkish army and state taste one defeat after another. Only by doing this can the foul plans of imperialism and reaction be exposed and thwarted and their graves be dug. The fascist Turkish army has already witnessed loss after loss in Kurdistan. The new, changing conditions will create the possibility for broad masses of people to take on the Turkish state and army on a wider front and to spill more enemy blood. For those within the borders of the Turkish state, defending the revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities on both sides of the border and building this unity with gun in hand is bound up with the struggle for the defeat and bitter rout of the Turkish state and army.

It falls on our shoulders to eradicate the roots of the Turkish state and army from inside and in an all-round way. To hell with the imperialist devils and their murdering dogs!

Long Live People's War!

Death to Imperialism and their Lackeys!

Long Live World Proletarian Revolution!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

Hail the People's War in Peru!

Long Live the Guiding Ideology of Proletarian Revolutions: Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long Live Our Party, the TKP/ML!

To the Militant Arab People!

Call Issued in Red Flag, the Tunisian Marxist-Leninist journal

To the militant Arab people: Neo-colonialism is once again trampling Arab land at the invitation of its lackeys. You once again are rebelling against this occupation with the slogan, "We must fight for our land, liberty and national dignity", and once again you are up against the reactionary Arab regimes, watchdogs of neo-colonial interests.

Oppressed masses, the world has not seen such a concentration of murderous weapons since World War 2. Why were not these arms and these war machines used to stop the Zionist occupation? Or when this enemy invaded "East Jerusalem" in 1968 or in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or even the Golan Heights? Why didn't they so much as lift a little finger when the Shah of Iran annexed the Tunb Islands in 1974? How can the silence of these same armies, spokesmen of so-called detente, be explained when they occupy Panama or when Russian social-imperialism invades Afghanistan?

Labouring masses, neo-colonialism has agreed unanimously in its UN and Security Council institutions to impose its hegemony on the Arabian Gulf, a region which is very strategically located and contains more than 40% of the world's oil reserves. Neo-colonialism has also agreed to profit from the natural resources and to exploit the oil as though it were theirs. It plunders, sucks the sweat off your forehead and controls the economy by imposing its orders and will. It is imperialism and social-imperialism that are the cause of your poverty, while Arab reaction aids them in every way and executes to the letter the directives of the International

Monetary Fund and the World Bank, directives aiming to starve you and keep you in slavery.

Toiling people, your struggle against neo-colonialism is a life-and-death struggle. Either you give in and it will skin you alive, or else you raise your head and conquer your land, liberty and dignity.

You have come to realise what fabulous wealth Al Saud possesses, the world's second largest billionaire. You have seen Al Sabah's bank accounts and the piles of money he puts at the service of neocolonialism, his only backers. You have denounced Mubarak's Camp David regime so many times. You have exposed the true nature of Assad, who abandoned Golan and collaborated with the enemy to support the Emirs, the real hypocrites who take advantage of your convictions and gorge themselves at your expense. Neither have you forgotten King Hussein, called Black September, nor the other Arab lackey regimes of imperialism whose political positions reflect how dependent they are on this or that imperialist power and how developed the class struggle is. All these regimes have unanimously agreed at the Algiers summit meeting to recognise the Zionist institution, on the basis of UN Resolution 242. Although unevenly, they have all applied the imperialists' directives aiming to starve the people. Saddam and the Iraqi Baathists are part of these servants. What have these regimes done since they took power and since 1967 and 1973? They have squandered enormous sums of money, your money, to buy arms and then they use them against you, and never against Zionism; they put down your rebellions and now break up your demonstrations

against the occupation.

Masses of people, revolt against the occupiers, against the compradors and the traitors, against the Muslim Brothers who are servants of the imperialists, take your destiny in hand and join the camp of revolution under the banner of New Democratic Revolution, be loyal to the blood of the martyrs, for none of these regimes will come to your rescue. All of Arab reaction, including the Baathists, rely on demagogy to deceive you and use your aspirations in order to preserve their thrones.

Neither colonialists nor compradors, working people throw them out!

Down with the traitors and colonialists — people's war is the only solution!

This call was distributed at a demonstration where the following chants were raised:

Sultans and presidents, servants of Yankee colonialists!

Stamp out, smash (Arab) reaction of the Muslim Brothers!

Down with imperialist interests on our land!

Down with American interests, take our destiny in hand!

Smash Mubarak and Saudi reaction!

People's war is the only solution against traitors and colonialists!

Price hikes are a scheme of the IMF!

In the Gulf the soldiers are there, in Tunisia cost of living has soared!

On the Gulf Crisis

By the RedWorker Communist Organisation, Italy

For two weeks now a massive bombardment, far more powerful than Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has been rained down upon Iraq by the imperialist alliance headed by the U.S.A. This barbarous, unprecedented aggression has probably killed hundreds of thousands of Iraqi men, women and children, and brought about destruction and disaster. Some people say it may constitute one of the worst crimes against humanity ever committed.

We are in solidarity with and on the side of the masses of Iraqi people, as are also the Arab masses, with the Palestinians in the forefront. We will struggle, and we call on everyone to struggle, ever harder and stronger against this imperialist aggression.

We do not approve of the occupation of Kuwait by the Saddam Hussein regime. But this is simply a pretext for the imperialist alliance, and for the U.S. in the first place. They have arrogantly and hypocritically raised the banner of "international law". How can they talk about international law, when they themselves invaded Vietnam, Grenada and Panama, and whipped up aggression against Nicaragua and every country that has sought to liberate itself from imperialist domination? The U.S. and their allies are using the figleaf of carrying out UN resolutions, as if the UN were not merely a tool in the hands of the imperialist powers, in which the people count for nothing, as if UN resolutions were not merely pieces of paper to be torn up and discarded when it comes to the rights of the Palestinians and other peoples oppressed by imperialism.

The only thing the U.S. and European governments are out for is absolute, gangster control of the oil they consider theirs and the protection of their economy at the price of the hunger of the proletarians and peoples who produce that oil. This is what their war is all about, this is

what they are seeking to strengthen and extend with their presence in the Middle East and their aid and support for regimes that are certainly no better than that of Saddam Hussein, such as those of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait. This is a war to assert a "new world order" for which the proletarians and the peoples are to pay the costs.

But this war is tending to prove it will be more than a quick little stroll, that it is aimed above all at the aspirations for national and social liberation of the Arab proletarians and masses, and therefore it will lead to an intensification and spreading of the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the Middle East, alongside the Palestinian intifada.

Italian imperialism, through the decisions of the Andreotti government, has chosen to play a front-line role in this war. Twisting the Constitution and putting their warships and troops under American command, the Italian government is now an accomplice and a participant in the massacre of the Iraqi people. Italian forces, using Tornado bombers, are echoing the criminal deeds of Italian fascism, using phosphorous bombs against the population of Iraq, according to Bishop Molfetta Bello.

The parliamentary political parties and their newspapers and television channels, whether these be the parties of the government or the opposition, are all united in solidarity with "our boys" at the front. But this is a big litmus test permitting one to distinguish between those who defend Italian imperialism's interests and those who fight against those interests.

The government is militarising the country, gagging the press and television and turning them into tools of the open consensus around the war, censoring dissenting voices and criminalising the most consistent opposition. They are trying to suffocate the broad mobilisation developing in this country against

the war and against Italian participation in it. They are relying on the repression being marshalled by the police, Carabinieri and the Army, but above all, at this moment they are counting on the servile support of the trade union apparatus, to avoid a general strike. Marini, Benvenuto, Del Turco, Trentin and their stooges in every city and workplace at this moment represent the MAIN ENEMY of the development of a real movement against the war.

Who is to pay the cost of this filthy war, publicly put at 80 billion lira a month? Certainly not Andreotti, Craxi, De Michelis, La Malfa, certainly not the financiers and industrialists, the journalists and generals, but once again the labouring people and the masses who are to make yet further sacrifices. They seek to incite the masses against Saddam Hussein to hide their own real, personal responsibility for the war, for the high cost of living, for unemployment, for the restriction of democratic rights, for cutbacks in social services in our country.

Therefore we call for, and will fight for, the proletariat, the youth, the masses of people, not to let themselves be fooled, to desert, and to oppose this filthy war on every level. We must organise in every city, every school, factory, workplace, in committees, collectives, united rank and file groups and mass organisations, to overturn the imperialist government that has dragged the country into war, that is unleashing reaction and attacking living standards and working conditions.

This can and must be the highest contribution we can make to our Iraqi brothers and sisters being massacred by bombs, and to the liberation of the Palestinian people and all the Arab masses.

RedWorker Communist
Organisation

January 1991

Down with the New World Order!

From the Revolutionary Worker, Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

Last September, when George Bush first sent troops to the Persian Gulf, he said, "Out of these troubled times... a New World Order can emerge." Now, two weeks into war, Bush continues to put this "New World Order" at the very heart of what the U.S. ruling class wants to achieve through the war.

What is this "New World Order"?

The short answer: This sounds like what it is — naked imperialist talk with a Nazi ring to it...

In the dreams of the powers who rule the U.S., victory in this war could put them in a new position *worldwide*. The very fact that the president of the U.S. is talking about new *world* relationships coming out of this war is *proof that U.S. troops are not there to "stop aggression"*. It is proof that it is the *United States* which is the one making a historic power grab to control this key region.

What is this New World Order?

A longer answer: Europe, Japan and many countries of the Third World rely on the Persian Gulf for their main source of oil. The United States ignited a regional war there to violently recast power relations in this important area.

It's a Gangster Thing

Millions of people here and around the world see that there is something really rotten in this New World Order. They sense that behind the rhetoric of the powers, this war is a war between the haves and the have-nots — that it is not in the interest of the majority of people.

Those on top of this country have built a world system that is based on robbing the oil in the Persian Gulf — and keeping it cheap. They have polluted the oceans and beaches of the planet with their constant oil spills. They have poisoned many people with their toxic wastes. They have built an economic system

which keeps most of the countries of the world chained in debt. They have backed corrupt and brutal regimes in the Persian Gulf where women have no political rights. They have created a setup which provides Western banks and corporations with tremendous wealth, while the millions of Arab people are dirt poor. If the Arab people weren't so poor, the oil would not be so cheap. It has been a setup soaked in oil and *blood*. And the powers-that-be are demanding that people shed even more blood to keep this whole imperialist setup going and put the U.S. even more at the head of it....

"American Leadership" Equals U.S. Domination

In Bush's New World Order, key lines of power flow back to the United States and those who rule the United States.

This, for example, is why the White House rejects any peace settlement with Iraq that includes "linkage" to the Palestinian issue. The United States may plan to arrange some new "settlement" for pacifying the Palestinian Intifada uprising in the post-Gulf war period. But if that comes, they want it to be seen as an *American* act, not a *concession* the U.S. makes to a small power like Iraq.

Within the U.S. ruling class, their gestapo fantasy New World Order is being called "*Pax Americana*". This means that the American powers want to copy the "*Pax Romana*" (which means "*Roman Peace*") that the Roman emperors maintained for centuries. "*Pax Romana*" is the setup that gave the world the word "imperialist" in the first place. Now modern capitalism has taken "empire" to a whole new level of rottenness.

Roman Peace was not peaceful for the masses of people: This was a

brutal slave empire maintained by constant wars of brutal suppression. It raised the city of Rome to great wealth on the basis of alliances with other city states and then the conquest, robbery and enslavement of whole peoples. When Bush talks about the "rule of law" he really means "rule by Rome". It's the law of the slavemaster.

These Are the Big Fantasies of a Paper Tiger

How long do the modern-day imperialists of the U.S. hope their *Pax Americana* will last? In Bush's speech he talked twice about the "next American century".

There are two things to say about this dream: the people of the world should work to defeat it, and it is unlikely to succeed.

This is the era of *both* imperialism and proletarian revolution. The great powers have fought huge wars — and dreamed that victory would stabilise their rule far into the future. Instead they have run smack into the ambitions of their great power rivals and the tremendous revolutionary power of the people of the world....

Here, within the United States itself, shouldn't the basic people do everything possible to stop Bush's ugly fantasy of a New World Order from coming true? Why should the basic people here support their own oppressor's dreams of being the top dominators of the planet? Why should the basic people here kill and die as hitmen for this *Pax Americana*?

**Down with the New World Order!
U.S. Troops Out of the Gulf —
Now!**

**The Arab People Are Not Our
Enemy! They Are Our Sisters and
Brothers!**

Rise Up Against Imperialism's War of Aggression!

By the Union of Iran Communists (Sarbedaran)

The aggressor Yankees, with the help of their European allies, regional lackeys and their attack dog Israel, have unleashed an immense mass murder under the guise of the "liberation of Kuwait". They have come in order to drive the masses of Palestine, the whole Arab world and the Middle East to their knees through bloody suppression. In the past several days they have rained tens of thousands of bombs down on Iraqi cities and villages and have piled up huge amounts of armament in their stock in order to be able to carry out even more mass murder. More than half a million armed mercenaries led by the U.S. are now carrying out these actions.... The Soviet social-imperialists, who are busy riding their tanks through the Baltics and butchering the people over there, once again announce their support for "international law and order" and the decisions of the United Nations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations Company is "sorry" that nothing can be done and sheds crocodile tears.

In another corner, the heads of the Islamic Republic regime jump up and down and announce: "we are neutral"(!). They are promoting themselves as the regional gendarme of imperialism. On the one hand, they assure their masters that, "We are in full agreement with the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council"; on the other hand they are trying to convince the angry masses — who are following the events of the war carefully and anxiously — that they also should stay "neutral"; ie, they should not rise in support of the Iraqi masses whose blood is being shed by the imperialists and they should not challenge the U.S. and its allies. They try to convince the peoples of Iran to stay "neutral" in the face of an important event that

will have a serious impact on the global alignment of forces and on the relative strength of revolution and counter-revolution in the coming period. In fact, they want the masses to turn a blind eye and let the imperialist powers and the reactionaries decide the fate of the masses of this region for many more decades. The Islamic regime is well aware that the instant our peoples decide not to stay "neutral", the flames of their wrath and anti-imperialist struggles will rise high and aim principally at the main expression and representative of the imperialist system in Iran — ie, this same reactionary regime. That is why the officials of the Islamic Republic crawl to the courts of the imperialist powers, weeping that they "are afraid of the war" and begging them to "establish political stability in the whole region"....

The response of the rebellious masses to these repressive measures has given a glimpse of the numerous troubles that have gripped the imperialists — and more will come. In the "United States of Aggression" itself there are many clashes, flag burnings and much struggle. In Europe, the progressive and anti-system strata have waged angry protests against the crimes of the imperialist rulers. In the North African countries, violent clashes between the masses and government forces have increased, and the economic and diplomatic centres of the imperialists are at risk. In Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, the largest anti-imperialist protests of recent years have burst out and put the U.S. dependent forces in those countries on the run. Turkey is pregnant with explosive events. In South Africa, so far, dozens of black militants protesting against imperialist military aggression have been arrested.

The situation in the Phillipines and S. Korea is turbulent. Latin America can become a violent scene of anti-Yankee imperialist struggles. This war of aggression met broad opposition even before it started. Indeed, with every criminal step the imperialists teach the masses to hate them and in fact dig their own grave deeper. They prove again and again that imperialism cannot be reformed and that the only way to eliminate this infection is radical surgery.

The world is witnessing big events and many things are changing. In the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the workers, peasants and other oppressed are coming onto the scene in increasing numbers. They want to get rid of the yoke of imperialism and reaction; they want their national and class aspirations to be realised; they want to straighten their backs bent by humiliation for ages; they want to wash off the bitter memories of past defeats not with tears but with the blood of their enemies. The masses around the world are coming to write history with their own hands. The struggles being waged against this imperialist war are part of this trend. Struggles around the world should be intensified to defeat this imperialist war of aggression and we must specifically and actively defend the masses in the Arab world who are bound by the same chains as we are. Such a struggle is an important step in our protracted revolutionary battle to rip apart the web of imperialist domination of the world and overthrow all the reactionaries and guardians of the old order.

We Will Drown the Imperialist Aggressors and their Lackeys in a Sea of People's War!

19 January 1991

Cold Blooded Calculations of Soviet Imperialism

By H.S.

The launching of the air offensive and then the ground offensive by the U.S. imperialists and their coalition were both immediately preceded by a headlines-grabbing flurry of Soviet "peace initiatives". Since then the Soviet government has repeatedly lamented, "this was a war which could have been avoided", in the words of Gorbachev's personal envoy Yevgeni Primakov.¹ While no-one bears more responsibility than the U.S. imperialists for the rivers of Arab blood shed in Iraq, these crocodile tears from the Soviet social-imperialists cannot obscure their own murderous role in the war.

Like a medieval Pope giving his blessing to the Western crusaders off to their wars of conquest, 1990 Nobel Peace Prize winner Gorbachev supported every major UN resolution that smoothed the path to the U.S.-led war. The Soviet rulers piously talked of the "right of small nations to self-determination" in order to justify the brutal bashing of a small nation, Iraq, by a coalition led by the West's great powers.

Though the Soviets did not send soldiers to the battle zone, their military cooperation was crucial to the war effort. The whole world knows that the Iraqi military was more dependent on Soviet arms, technicians and know-how than on that of any other power. And it is now clear that the Soviets meticulously fulfilled their promise to deprive Iraq of all of this. Without spare parts, technical advisers and overall support from the Soviets, much of the Iraqi military machine was rendered useless. It was thus the Soviets themselves who delivered the first heavy blow to Iraq's war-fighting capability.

The Soviets went further than simply gutting Iraq's high-tech equipment. Several military experts have observed that one of the best-kept secrets of the war was the extent to which Soviet intelligence actively

aided the U.S.-led coalition. The ability of U.S. air power to knock out key Iraqi technical assets like air-defence radar was, implied a former Soviet military adviser to Iraq, enhanced by the Soviets' passing on details of their functioning. He added, "No one wants to speak about the fact that the Americans know very well the performance capabilities of missile launchers, and not only those made in the West".² BBC radio reports quoted sources saying that it was Soviet intelligence about the Soviet-built Scud missiles which enabled the Patriot missiles to intercept them. One Western military expert summed up the "coalition" success in the air war, "It would simply not have been possible without Soviet help."³

The RIM's Call to the People of the Middle East noted, "The war rooms in -Washington, Paris, London and Moscow know everything about his (Saddam's) army up to and including his battle plans, because their military experts created it: he will fight just as they have taught him; they know what cards he holds and how he will play them." It appears that just as Saddam Hussein underestimated the bloodthirstiness of the U.S. imperialists, he also failed to assess correctly the extent to which his former Soviet patrons would not only refuse to come to his aid, but actively cooperate with Washington in the destruction of the very military machine they had played such a vital part in building. As Mao Tsetung once remarked of another imperialist underling, "It's no fun being a running dog."⁴

The extent to which Soviet support actually aided the U.S.-led war effort remains shrouded in mystery, but it should not be underestimated. The psychological impact on the Iraqi comprador regime of their former patron turning over the details of the innermost workings of their war-fighting technology undoubtedly dealt a grave blow to their willing-

ness even to fight at all.

A telling indicator of the importance of Soviet support for the attack on Iraq is that the U.S. imperialists were so confident of their new relationship with the Soviet rulers that they left not only Western Europe but the U.S. itself far more vulnerable militarily than at any time since World War 2. Three quarters of all American fighter planes and nearly half of U.S. military manpower were deployed from Western Europe and the U.S. into the Gulf area, stripping away much more of their military defence than even during the Vietnam war. Without the "new understanding" with the USSR, it would have been impossible for the U.S. to concentrate enough firepower to decimate the Iraqi military without serious risk to itself.

Why did the Soviets turn on their own protégé? They supported the U.S.-led war for the same reason for which they have often opposed the U.S. in the past — their own imperial interests. And now that the spoils of war are being portioned out, these imperialists are scrambling alongside the rest to tear off their own share of flesh from the Middle East. Soviet Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh proudly declared that "no single party" was responsible for forcing the Iraqis out of Kuwait; "each country that participated in the settlement of the crisis can claim part of the success" — which, in imperialist diplomacy, means claiming part of the spoils of war.

Though all the calculations that went into the Soviet decision to support the U.S.-led war against Iraq are not yet known, a few of their basic interests are apparent.

Soviet social-imperialist cooperation in the butchery of Iraq was part of their "new understanding" with the West, which involves scaling down military confrontation in return for economic cooperation. The way this is commonly put by Soviet spokes-

men is that they no longer see the world in terms of a "zero sum game", where an advance for one superpower can only come at the expense of the other, but as a "balance of interests", where all the Great Powers "share" and "grow" together. What this really means is that in exchange for political concessions, especially in Eastern Europe, and toning down military rivalry with the West, the Soviets should be let in on the West's network of plunder of the rest of the world. This "new understanding" has already required that the Soviets sacrifice certain of their protégés in the Third World, for instance, in Nicaragua. Saddam Hussein was merely the next sacrificial offering to the West. Allowing the Yankee imperialists to carry out such unprecedented butchery on an important protégé in a region as key as the Persian Gulf was perhaps not a step the Soviets wanted to take — but it was hard to refuse it without risking their "new understanding" altogether. Those who continue to entertain illusions that Soviet support can be used to gain independence from the West should seriously think over the cold-bloodedness with which the Soviet rulers served up Saddam Hussein.

While some U.S. spokesmen complained loudly that the last-minute Soviet peace initiative on the eve of the ground war was designed to "save Saddam", Bush calmed his "Cold Warriors" and explained that what Gorbachev was trying to save above all was his own face: the Soviet initiatives were, he said, a matter of image. They were indeed an attempt to put a good face on the fact that the Soviets were treacherously selling out a long-time ally for deutschemarks, dollars and Western acquiescence in their own bloody suppression of domestic discontent, especially in the Baltics. But the Soviet initiative was also an effort to put some mud on the U.S.'s face and to position themselves in order to seize on any U.S. difficulties in their intervention. This "peace initiative" they worked out with Iraq appeared to comply with the UN resolutions; the Soviets almost certainly knew beforehand that the U.S. would reject it, but this put the U.S. in a position of having to more nakedly reveal its own imperial designs on the region.

There are also indications that the Soviets were acutely concerned with the extent of the U.S. manoeuvring

in the region and that this has given rise to concern within the Soviet ruling class over how to ensure that Soviet imperialist interests are upheld in the context of the "new understanding". Gorbachev personally denounced the U.S. for "going beyond the UN mandate". Soviet liberals declared that the resignation of Gorbachev's longtime friend and supporter Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was not voluntary, but compelled by powerful forces in the Soviet establishment, the military, KGB and Communist Party apparatus, in part because they deemed he had given away too much to the U.S. in the Gulf crisis. High military authorities repeatedly denounced the U.S.' "massacre", pointed out the danger to the USSR of having the largest concentration of firepower since World War 2 so close to the USSR's "southern flank", and argued that Bush's "New World Order" really disguises a U.S. bid for unchallenged world hegemony.

Soviet Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, Gorbachev's chief military adviser, summarised the point of view of influential sections of the Soviet rulers:

"NATO remains, even though the Warsaw Pact has actually disbanded. NATO persistently rejects talks on naval cuts. Some in the West have repeatedly tried to dictate to us, even to shape our domestic policies.... [Soviet] defence spending in 1990-91 will be slashed by over 16 percent, while the U.S. is cutting its own expenditure by just four percent... we have cut half a million troops — twelve percent — while the Americans are only 'planning' similar reductions, and with the Gulf war have stopped even planning.... I add this question to the leaders of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party: shall the Soviet Union continue as a single entity, or break up into dozens of Western client-states, with all the suffering and humiliation that will mean for the people? Faced with the same challenge in 1941-45, we made a fitting response. What will be your response today?"⁵

Marshal Akhromeyev is not issuing a call to arms or even to a return to pre-Gorbachev era confrontation with the West. In the same speech he supports the normalisation of relations with the U.S. and even acknowledges the need for serious cuts in defence spending in order to combat the economic crisis. But his speech does

reflect deep concern among influential sections of the Soviet ruling class that they must vigorously safeguard basic Soviet interests, especially as concerns the bedrock of strength of the Soviet rulers, the military forces of the centralised, unified state. At the peak of the Gulf war, the Soviet Army united with the Communist Party to hold rallies mobilising hundreds of thousands under the signboard of supporting the Army and the unified Soviet state.

There was also struggle within the Soviet military over why the Iraqi military was so easily routed. Soviet Defence Minister Yazov took the side of those who mainly defended Soviet equipment and doctrine, saying that it's who wields it that counts. Others argued that the war shows the impotence of massed formations of tanks and armour which are at the heart of Soviet strategy. Whatever conclusions they draw, there is already agreement on one basic point: that they must pay serious attention to avoid further erosion of Soviet military strength, especially its high-tech sectors.

To those political forces who welcome all this as a sign that the Soviets might "stand up" to the U.S. and so prevent aggression in the future: instead of nostalgia for the mummified bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the Brezhnev style, who "liberated" nations the same way the U.S. does, as in Afghanistan, with napalm, cluster bombs and the rest of their typically imperialist arsenal, why not fight *all* imperialism and rely not on compradors but on the masses of people?

While it is true that Soviet collaboration with the U.S.-led war reflected a certain amount of weakness especially militarily, the Soviet social-imperialists are not impotent. They are still head of the only force on earth that can really challenge the U.S. — spearheaded by their thousands of nuclear weapons. Their stand did not reflect a surrender of any pretensions to Great Power influence in the Middle East. On the contrary, as noted above, Bessmertnykh immediately claimed their rightful share of plunder. There was not helpless capitulation but a cold-blooded calculation of how to advance their own interests in the given conditions of economic weakness and internal adversity. The Saddam Hussein regime was not really a Soviet puppet — as in Afghanistan — and had substantial aid and influence from the

Western powers too. Moreover, the Soviets seem to expect that the problems for the U.S. from the Gulf War have really just begun — and they may be right. There is much precedent in the Middle East for a military victory to give way to the conquering power being besieged and eventually retreating ignominiously, as Israel had to from the greater part of Lebanon it occupied in 1982. Furthermore, while the U.S.' demonstration of military might enables them to assert their world superiority, stepping up the role of military force in world affairs does not affect the Soviets in the same way it does the Japanese or Germans: they are, after all, the only other power capable of annihilating the planet.

In the Middle East itself, the image of their protégé Saddam Hussein delivered up for a beating by the other superpower is certainly not a good advert to sign up new compradors. But that is not really at the heart of the Soviet's plans in the Middle East right now. They are concentrating instead on extending their influence into areas of traditional Western hegemony, and not without success: the USSR has established consular relations with Israel for the first time since 1967; it has finally established diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia; relations with Egypt have dramatically improved; even Kuwait has put several billion dollars into the Soviet banking system.

Events with Syria illustrate how Soviet "new thinking" safeguards its own interests with one of its most favoured compradors. At the fall U.S.-Soviet summit meeting, Bush promised Gorbachev that in return for Soviet collaboration against Iraq, the Soviets would participate in the future regional security structure to be set up after the war. Syria's Assad has long been in the Soviet camp, but the West likes him too because he oversees the bloody suppression of Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon. Assad sent nearly 30,000 troops and several hundred Soviet T-62 tanks and APCs to fight alongside the U.S. In return, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates have granted Syria \$3bn; Syrian and Israeli troops have begun to cooperate in southern Lebanon to smash the PLO guerrilla forces who trouble them both; and now, as Bush promised, Soviet-backed Syrian troops are, together with the Egyptians, the spearhead of the

(Continued to page 51)

Images of Resistance

Storm of Protest Across the Globe

Algiers, Algeria. Banner reads: Mitterand=Bush murderers; Gorbachev traitor.

Slogan at a demonstration in Tunisia: Assad, Lion in Lebanon, Mouse in Golan!



If the death toll of imperialist and reactionary flags is any indication of what the world's peoples — once they are armed and prepared for genuine people's war — have in store for these mass murderers in ties and desert camouflage — the shallow glory of easy one-sided slaughter (what they call victory) will be short-lived. Most popular were U.S., British, French and Israeli flags, though some included the Soviets, as well as effigies of Bush, Schwarzkopf and Mitterrand.



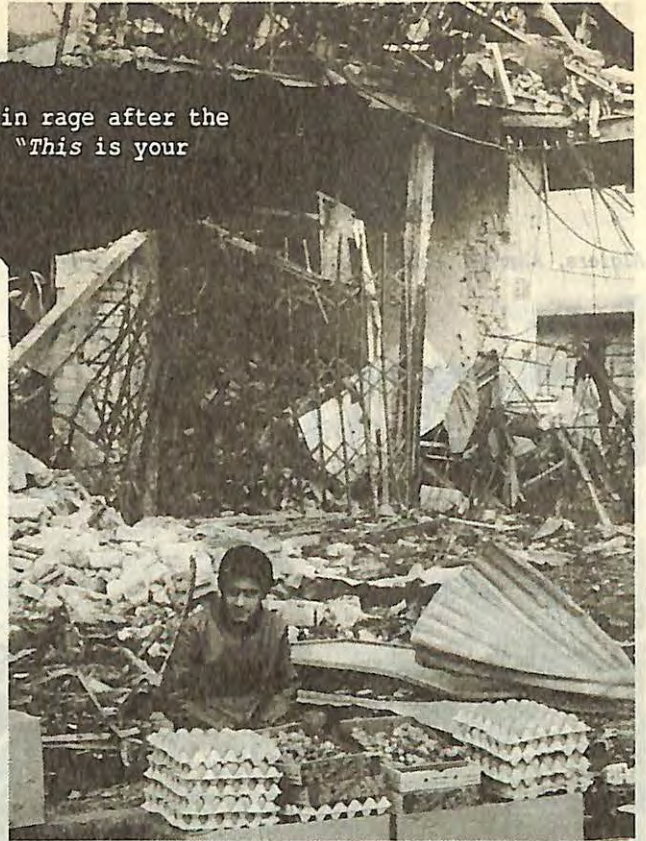
Amman, Jordan. Banner reads: Will of the people is stronger than destructive arms.

One woman shouted to the Western television cameras in rage after the bombing of the civilian air raid shelter in Amiriya: "This is your civilisation, you murdering bastards!"

In the Arab and Muslim countries this was of course especially true, with some places exploding into sustained righteous fury that has put the reactionary regimes on guard, and given them to fear for their own position in the refurbished "world order."

With its majority Palestinian population, Jordan was the bastion of pro-Iraqi support. From the schoolchildren and others who smashed the wind-screens of Syrian lorry-drivers headed for Saudi Arabia with food, to the

almost daily demonstrations, flag-burnings and attacks on U.S., French and Egyptian embassies, to the mass funerals of the Jordanian volunteer drivers bombed by the "allies", to auctions of pieces of downed American planes to raise



In Baghdad during the period of round the clock massive bombardments.

French flag burns in Rabat, Morocco.





Morocco. Banner reads: We are all Iraqis.



Amman,
Jordan.
Palestinian women fight
police in effort to attack the
U.S. embassy.

About 100 students opposed to South Korea's plan to send troops and transport planes to the Gulf attacked a police station in Seoul with gasoline bombs on Friday, setting it on fire and injuring a policeman. A police spokesman said six students were arrested.

money for medicine and food in Iraq, the masses seethed with the desire to see the U.S. marauders and their friends get the beating they richly deserved.

In the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Palestinian youth spread through the villages to call for a 3-day general strike to denounce the bombing, and Palestinian refugees held marches in Syrian-occupied Lebanon.

The Maghreb countries of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco exploded against

imperialism, unleashing a massive wave of struggle particularly against the former colonial masters of France as well as the U.S. Shattered along with the broken windows of consulates and other symbols of foreign domination, were any remaining delusions about France's "intermediary" or "humanitarian" role in global politics of aggression.

Huge mobilisations and strikes turned up the heat under King Hassan II of Morocco, who was already sitting atop a virtual volcano in his country, even before he fully aligned with the reactionary Arab-imperialist coalition and sent some token troops against the Iraqi masses.

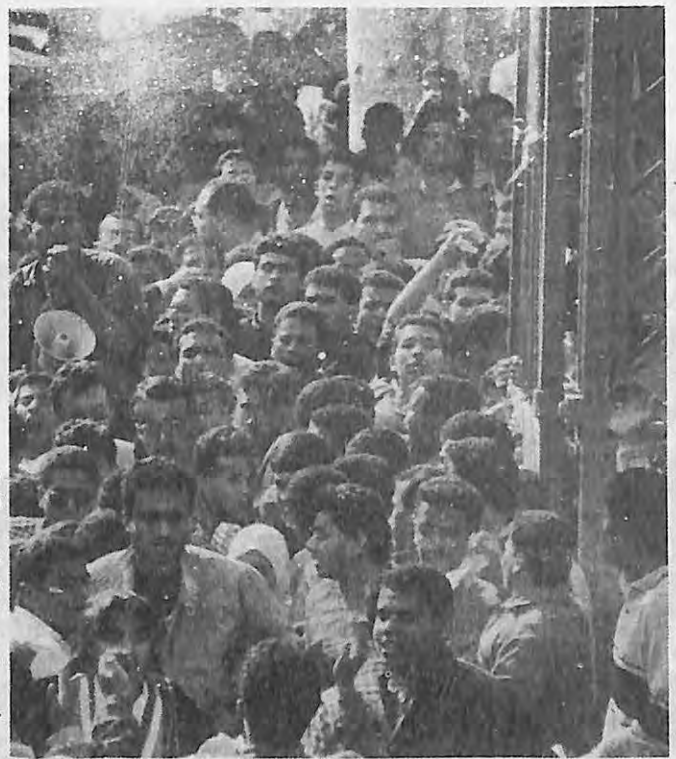
In Algeria the nearly non-

stop demonstrations during the war and the period leading up to it featured the ceremonial torching of hard-to-get French passports, attacks on French institutions and continual debate in the streets amidst different political forces contending in the mass outpouring of anger that at times the government went along with, and at times tried to stop.

Some 6000 demonstrations throughout Tunisia by

CAIRO — About 35 Egyptian women burned U.S. and Israeli flags Sunday at a sit-in to protest the war.

Universities were closed to avoid turmoil, but students and others demonstrated across Egypt the day the imperialist ground offensive began.



Above: Madrid, Spain. Call for deserting the army. In another demonstration, more than 10,000 people demanded the end to the U.S. use of Spanish military bases and a peaceful end to the Gulf war. The demonstration ended with violent conflicts with police.



Left: Mexico City. Thousands of demonstrators chanted, "Asesinos, Asesinos!" (murderers) Another favorite: "Yankees out of the Planet!"

Palestinian woman after hearing of Iraq's defeat: We were counting on Saddam, but he has let us down. But make no mistake, we will continue our Intifada til the end!

the people caught the ruling classes off guard. Pressured by mass anger, they tried with great difficulty to straddle the line of not overly annoying the imperialists with their mild disapproval of the war while stationing tanks in the capital and clamping down on the increasingly furious protests against the U.S and France and in support of Iraq. In some cases people chanted, "People's war, people's army", and carried photos of Mao Tsetung.

In Egypt some early courageous actions broke through a very tense atmosphere reflecting the big trouble the Camp David bootlickers are in. While the experience of many workers who lived as second-class citizens in Iraq dampened support for Hussein, overall hatred of imperialism and Zionism couldn't help but finally spill out, and was met with vicious repression by the police. Reports from Turkey indicate that popular sentiment in the Kurdish areas was overwhelmingly against the U.S.-led coalition.

Throughout the Near and Far East, anti-imperialist rage poured into the streets in the powder kegs of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan as well as in Malaysia, South Korea and the Philippines. In Africa, Muslims in particular took action in Niger, Nigeria, Mauritania

and South Africa, along with more officially-sponsored protests in Libya and the Sudan.

In the imperialist countries, there was a massive wave of anti-war protests just prior to and during the early phases of the war, which in many places were larger than at the beginning of the Vietnam war.

Significantly, Vietnam veterans



Maoist contingent. Berlin, Germany.

A few protesters have taken more provocative actions, blocking the entrances to U.S. military bases, bursting into a television studio to protest war coverage they consider slanted or pouring a trail of pig's blood through central Berlin.



Drawing received from Tunisia.

2000 American soldiers refused to fight this criminal war.

The demonstrators, who witnesses said numbered more than 5,000, dragged the U.S. and Israeli flags through the streets of the Muslim city of Marawi before setting them on fire with the effigy of Mr. Bush. The largest U.S. military installations overseas are in the Philippines.

targeted recruitment centres, body bag factories, banks, government buildings, petroleum company offices, department stores, stopped traffic for hours, marched to air bases and naval training centres, took over university administration buildings and interrupted national television news programmes.

Across Europe in huge marches in Amsterdam, Paris, London, Madrid and

Rome, throughout Germany, Japan, Australia and the U.S., the chant "No Blood for Oil" was heard in every language. There were even protests of hundreds of people in Moscow, Leningrad and Warsaw. In Britain, the militant Irish population showed they have little

interest in the ruling class' war spoils but are ever ready to encourage its difficulties on the home front, while other protestors outraged by the internment of Arabs during the war were arrested for blocking the entrances of detention centres.

Though millions in the "ally"



Dhaka, Bangladesh.

opposed to the war, along with a growing number of military resisters in both the U.S. and Germany, played a big role in mobilising others. In the USA, youth and students, including many Latino, Black and Arab masses, anti-Vietnam war era demonstrators and revolutionary communists



On January 26th, especially large anti-war protests spread throughout Turkey.

Below: Los Angeles, U.S.



countries were taking action against this criminal war, the imperialist media army did its job, churning out the ruling class arsenal of lies that the war was clean and unopposed; angry but mainly peaceful protests continued, with some notable exceptions of more militant and determined actions such as those which blocked military bases in Spain and



U.S.

Italy, street-fighting with police in Berlin and support of GI resistance in Germany.

High on the imperialist casualty list in these countries were the illusions for large numbers of people that the rich aggressor powers seek peace and detente and that their press tells the truth. New lessons about the basic weakness of the imperialists were learned. Their genocide-coalition brutally massacred the Iraqi people in

order to protect their own stakes in the region. At the same time, they so feared political opposition that they risked discarding what tatters of democracy they hide behind at home in favour of both blacking out the massive resistance to them and nakedly lying about their bloody and cowardly war against an oppressed people that reveals so clearly the nature of their world order — old and new. □



OF CRITICISM

The Talk Before the Storm

The UN, Cuba

By R.M.

U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba speaks out at the United Nations

Speeches by Cuba's UN ambassador Ricardo Alarcon and Fidel Castro, and articles from the Cuban government newspaper Granma, in August, September and October 1990. (Pathfinder, New York, November 1990)

The United Nations played an essential role in the political preparations for the West's rampage against Iraq. Cuba played a despicable part in this by lending what is left of its prestige among people opposed to U.S. aggression to cover up the fact that the UN is and always has been a flag of convenience for imperialism. Castro's claim that Cuba speaks with the voice "of the Third World" is all the more disgusting because on the whole it added its yelp to the barking of the big dogs of war.

The UN Security Council is the only UN body that counts. It was established by the winners of World War 2, whose veto power over any decision reflects their respective armed strength. Today, it is made up of the four best-armed and H-bomb equipped imperialist powers — the U.S., Britain, France and the USSR, along with China. (The U.S. puppet government of Chiang Kai-shek held China's UN Seat until 1971.) In addition, there are 10 seats which go to the rest of the 159 UN members on a rotating basis. All of the permanent members and most of the rotating members backed the U.S.-led attack coalition in this matter. Only Yemen and Cuba voted against any of the twelve Security Council resolutions the U.S. and their allies sought. Cuba, currently serving a two-year term, voted for six resolutions, abstained on three and opposed three. On these grounds alone, you'd have to say its stand was at best ambiguous. On

examination, it gets worse, as this book meant to defend Cuba inadvertently reveals.

These resolutions built up a chain of interlocking "condemnations" of Iraq and "invitations to member states" to take escalating measures until the inevitable consequence of the "will of the world's nations" they expressed was war. This was to become all the more plain when the pack of murderers led by the U.S. used these resolutions first as an excuse to unleash the war and then as an excuse not to accept Iraq's surrender until they had accomplished what they considered a sufficient amount of UN-sponsored killing and destruction. It cannot be argued, as Cuba tried, that the U.S. twisted or took unfair advantage of these resolutions because not one of them was innocent or neutral.

The UN's opening salvo was the August 2nd approval of U.S.-sponsored Resolution 660 condemning Iraq's move into Kuwait and calling for "further steps to ensure compliance with the present resolution". These "steps" were giant strides towards aggression: the U.S. was already sending out orders for its warships to head towards the Gulf. It was especially important for the U.S. and its allies that this resolution — to be waved about as the "legal basis" for the war — be passed without opposition to disguise the fact that they were simply enforcing a law they themselves had enacted. Cuba's ambassador to the UN pointed out that the UN had never bothered to call for a single step to enforce its hypocritical slaps on the hand of Israel. Nevertheless, Cuba voted *for* this resolution. Even Yemen went so far as to abstain.

The next measure was the imposition of a military blockade against Iraq by UN Resolution 661. Despite its billing as an attempt to avoid war,

and the Gulf War

this blockade was a most aggressive act, involving the biggest emplacement of troops, armour, aircraft and ships since World War 2 with the express purpose of starving the Iraqi people and the even more sinister though unspoken purpose of preparing politically and militarily to invade. Though this time Cuba joined Yemen in abstaining, Cuba's UN Ambassador Ricardo Alarcon explained that "my government has taken the relevant steps to ensure that our country too complies with it". Cuba later voted for subsequent resolutions that affirmed Resolution 661. The moment the tattered fax submitted by the U.S. as a draft resolution was passed, the U.S. launched the "defensive" Operation Desert Shield destined to become the openly offensive Desert Storm once the equipment was in place. The blockade was further sanctioned by Resolution 662 (with Cuba voting yes), a resolution that went so far as to call for the restoration of the Kuwaiti monarchy in whose name the U.S.-led forces were to fight.

This was followed by Resolution 664 appealing to countries to keep their embassies in Kuwait City open. The resolution was in fact a provocation, since its purpose was to give France and other countries a pretext to escalate their military presence in order to "protect" their embassy personnel who had refused to leave the country. By this time, August 18th, the U.S. had already set up its naval blockade and had begun firing at Iraqi shipping. Cuba (and Yemen) approved the resolution.

UN Resolution 665 on August 25th "call(ed) upon those member states cooperating with the government of Kuwait which are deploying maritime forces to the area to use such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary to halt all inward and outward

maritime shipping". In other words, rather than condemning the U.S. and other powers whose attacks on Iraqi shipping constituted an act of piracy contrary to the very laws they claimed to be enforcing, this UN resolution simply sanctioned the shooting that had already begun. The resolution also "request(ed) the states concerned to coordinate their actions in pursuit of the above paragraphs" — in short, to set up a military joint command, in which the U.S. rather than the UN would call the shots. Again, Cuba and Yemen abstained.

Cuba's first negative vote came on September 13th, when, citing humanitarian grounds, it opposed Resolution 666 extending the blockade to cut off all food and medicine to Iraq. By focusing its opposition around the question of how tight the blockade should be, Cuba helped hide the fact that the blockade was never meant to be anything but a prelude to war. Then, most significantly, Cuba supported the subsequent Resolution 667 authorising "further concrete measures as soon as possible", even though Cuban Ambassador Alarcon piously warned that "some powers might use its provisions to exacerbate the conflict and press on to military action." Alarcon also voted in favour of Resolution 669, meant to strengthen the embargo resolution Cuba had previously abstained on (this fact is omitted from the Pathfinder book).

Resolution 670 in late September was presented as an even further tightening of the blockade to include all civilian air travel, and on this basis Cuba rose to oppose it all by itself. But this opposition was not extended to the most important part of this resolution, a paragraph threatening the Iraqi government and leadership from top to bottom that they would be held responsible for violations of the Geneva Convention (con-

cerning the so-called rules of war). This was a clear indication that the U.S. and its allies had no intention of stopping once they forced Iraq to quit Kuwait but would strive to claim the victors' right to dispose of governments as it suited them. Ambassador Alarcon complained that his request for a separate vote on the last paragraph had been turned down, and that his government would have supported that paragraph had it been presented by itself! This support for aggression was washed down by a big draught of hypocrisy. Alarcon lamented that the final resolution linked this paragraph to "clear threats that other measures — military measures, I presume — will be used against Iraq." But who did Alarcon think was going to hold Iraqis responsible, if not the Western war criminals themselves? In a perfect imitation of the Pope, Alarcon ended his speech by quoting the Bible: There is "a time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war and a time of peace", and crying, "Give peace a chance". But there was already not a chance that the West would be derailed from its course. Such talk could only feed the illusions of those who clung to the idea that the imperialist governments might yet listen to "reason".

Shortly after, Fidel Castro gave a speech in Havana where he referred to his country's "great struggle in the UN": "Now they have approved an air embargo. Cuba voted against it, the only country to do so! We had the honour and glory of being the only country to vote 'no'! History will record the honour, the dignity, and the courage with which Cuba acted during that moment of such importance to the life of humanity. It was necessary to take a firm position and we did not abstain — we voted 'No'! And we will vote against everything we do not agree with, even if we are

the only one." But his ambassador *abstained* on the very next UN resolution on the Gulf, Resolution 674, which escalated the threats against Iraq by demanding financial compensation for all claims presented against it. Later U.S. spokesmen would float out the idea that this resolution entitled them to occupy Iraqi oilfields for years to ensure payment. But with this abstention the Pathfinder book's account ends.

The UN, however, had not quite finished its work. On November 28th, Alarcon cast his delegation's vote in favour of Resolution 677, encharging the UN with protecting Kuwaiti population records. Even this apparently least objectionable of the dozen UN resolutions on the Gulf had reactionary content, since the purpose of Kuwait's records of births, deaths, etc. is to deny all political rights to the majority of the people in the country who are not Kuwaiti citizens. The UN Security Council was quite aware of what kind of society was represented by the Kuwaiti apartheid banner it placed at the front of the aggressor coalition.

The following day, when the Security Council closed down its talk shop with what was to be its last resolution on the Gulf, Cuba voted against Resolution 678 which authorised the U.S. and its allies to use "all necessary means" against Iraq starting January 15th. It was the only important Gulf resolution Cuba (or Yemen) voted against — and all it did was draw the logical conclusion from all the preceding resolutions and give its blessing to the date the U.S. had set three months earlier. Besides, it no longer mattered. With this resolution, the UN chapter of war preparations drew to a close. The imperialist powers deemed that it had exhausted its usefulness. (This was the only resolution China failed to approve — it abstained in order to try and save some influence in the Third World while refraining from using its veto power which might have annoyed some imperialists.)

In short, during the period in which the U.S. and its allies were working to build up the political framework for their invasion of the Gulf, Cuba, like all the other governments represented on the Security Council, went along with the programme in its most

essential aspects.

Of course, Cuba, being Cuba, and playing the role it does in world affairs, also sought to distance itself from the war it was helping to prepare. Its ambassador did some telling exposures of U.S. duplicity. "Is it really the need to promote respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states that motivates the United States? Or is it the ambition of the United States to intervene and dominate in the Middle East?" Alarcon demanded. He repeatedly brought up the U.S.'s invasion of Panama, which the UN had chosen to ignore. He pointed out that when George Bush was the U.S.'s ambassador to the UN, he had gone before that body to defend the U.S.'s decision not to respect the UN-imposed embargo on the apartheid regime in Rhodesia. (These sanctions, like the rather leaky embargo against South Africa that the U.S., Britain, etc., mostly ignored, were voluntary, since a military blockade against apartheid was unthinkable.) In discussion of Resolution 664 demanding Iraq pay reparations Alarcon remarked that the U.S. had ignored the World Court ruling ordering it to pay compensation for mining Nicaragua's harbours. But that didn't mean he voted against the resolution.

What did all Alarcon's talk at the UN amount to? His speeches read like the worn, rote words of a very tired man. No one at the Security Council was listening. It is a denunciation of some U.S. policies, within the context of not getting too much in the U.S.'s way in terms of its immediate needs at the UN. Further, this is coupled with ugly efforts to woo European imperialism, especially France. For instance, why did Cuba abstain on Resolution 665, which the Cuban government newspaper *Granma* denounced as "legitimising the piratical actions of the U.S. Navy"? Perhaps because it was co-sponsored by the U.S., U.K. and France, and neither Alarcon nor *Granma* saw fit to point out the piratical unilateral actions of the navies of the latter two countries. When Alarcon cast his vote in favour of Resolution 667, the key resolution in terms of handing over the UN flag to the Allies' joint military command, he explained that he was doing so "as

an expression of friendship and respect for France, Canada and other countries" whose Kuwait City embassies were deprived of fresh water for their swimming pools under Iraqi pressure. At the time of Alarcon's statement, France had 13,000 troops and 13 warships in the Gulf, ready to take "further concrete steps" of the kind referred to in the resolution. In his luke-warm litany about UN protection for the apartheid regime of South Africa, Alarcon neglected to mention that France happened to be the power that ended up vetoing the proposed expulsion of South Africa from the UN in 1974, just as it also used its veto to protect the fascist Franco regime in Spain and Dutch colonialism in Indonesia as well as its own in Indochina. Nor did he mention the Canadian forces dispatched to the Gulf, though Canada was ready to exhibit a special bloodthirstiness in order to claim a seat for itself at the big-power banquet when it came time for the imperialists to feast on those who remained alive in the region.

The Soviet Union is never mentioned in these speeches and documents. Yet it was Soviet willingness to go along with the U.S. that made this war possible. Being entitled to a veto, the USSR was not permitted the luxury of an ambiguous position like Cuba's. But Cuba's actions during this crisis fit in quite well with the USSR's interests, in covering up the imperialist collusion going on and the various imperialist interests behind it. It may seem ironic, given Castro's posturing, but especially since the collapse of the Soviet bloc in Europe there is no country in today's world politically more subservient to the USSR than Cuba. That reflects its continuing economic domination by Soviet capital, a situation neither the USSR nor Castro have done much to change. Did the coming renewal of Cuban-Soviet trade agreements in early 1991 have anything to do with Cuba's behaviour?

This subservience to the USSR is a major reason why Cuba's ambassador, for all his anti-U.S. comments, cannot expose imperialism, the system that lies behind this rapacious scrambling for control of neocolonies and the world control that rests on that foundation, nor even really

oppose the particular policies of the U.S. in this case. But it is not only that constraint that inhibits Cuba; there is also a reluctance to cast aside any possibility of a rapprochement between Cuba and its former colonial master. This is what leads Castro to declare his opposition to a war "that will even produce quite negative consequences for the economies of the developed countries and for the economy of the U.S." as well as lead to "\$70 a barrel for oil" which would be "a catastrophe" for Third World countries. As if this were what was wrong with it! Never, in any of these speeches, despite all their rhetoric, is it even mentioned that the war being prepared was an unjust war, an imperialist war of plunder. Not only the word imperialism, but the whole concept of struggle against it, is missing from the Cuban government's words on this subject, and this in turn is a reflection of its practical stand.

The United Nations is a club created by and for the imperialists, and aggressively wielded by them. Cuba's role in all this was to cover up for the UN. Again and again, Alarcon accuses the U.S. of "misusing" UN resolutions and subverting the UN. He insists on acting shocked that such a body could ever do anything that might somehow fit in with U.S. aggression. *Granma* called the U.S.'s assumption of the West's military command in the Gulf "a grave violation and an unacceptable reinterpretation of the UN Charter", when in fact Cuba hadn't even voted against Resolution 665 that authorised the U.S. to do just that. *Granma* pretended to be shocked: "it is truly astounding that a body that has never before in the forty-five year history of the United Nations authorised the use of force should do so now in such an irresponsible manner". Here, even the Trotskyite publishers of this book had to add a footnote referring to UN sponsorship of the U.S. invasion of Korea (approved by the Security Council while the USSR was boycotting it in protest over the UN's refusal to seat the People's Republic of China). But the publishers managed to continue their defence of Castro under difficult circumstances by botching the footnote numbering.

We could add a long list of imperialist crimes committed under the UN

banner, from the infamous massive UN intervention in Zaire that ended the life of the nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba in 1964, to the UN troops in Lebanon who were sent not to expel the Israeli invaders but to protect them. We defy anyone to come up with a single example of an intervention by UN troops that was not in the direct service of imperialism, or a single example of any UN action, armed or not, that hindered imperialism in the slightest. Even the distribution of food in famine-stricken Ethiopia, for example, though a very, very small part of the UN's work, was done in a way so as to ensure the country's continued economic dependence, and it was part of imperialist intrigue. (Not coincidentally, Ethiopia, also currently sitting on the Security Council, went along without a peep on every single vote.)

Of course, even if Cuba had cast its ballot against every single one of the UN Security Council Resolutions it would not have stopped the war. But that is precisely the point. The UN is utterly powerless to do anything that imperialism is not disposed to permit. It is not a body standing above the clash of classes and nations, but an instrument of imperialism. It is a forum of contention between imperialists at times (as it was when the U.S. and the USSR fought over missiles in Cuba in 1962, or in 1956 when the U.S. opposed a French and British attempt to grab Egypt), but at such times the UN becomes irrelevant as the various powers use arms or the threat of arms under their own flags to settle the question. The UN has been most effective as a weapon on matters where various imperialist powers are in some degree of collusion. It is part of the organised structure of the present unjust "world order". China and the USSR, when they were revolutionary countries, recognised this fact, while refusing to let the imperialists have a monopoly on this forum. Cuba is simply striving to become a member of the club in good standing. Its attempts to be accepted as a "loyal opposition" within the UN served to legitimise this imperialist-dominated institution instead of exposing and opposing the whole UN sham. □

USSR Gulf

(Continued from page 40)

new Arab peace-keeping troops designed to enforce imperialist order in the Gulf region. So the so-called anti-imperialist Assad helped slaughter Arabs on behalf of the U.S. in exchange for his own infusions of capital and a free hand in suppressing threats to his own rule, all under the signboard of Gorbachev's "new thinking". It is an illustration in blood that it is once again the masses of people who will pay for the Soviet rulers' "peaceful cooperation" with the West.

Finally, there is the question of how the Soviets assessed the U.S. war aim of achieving tighter control of the oil lifelines of the world's industrial economies. The U.S. was after this in order to gain greater leverage and competitiveness, especially against Japan and Germany, a particularly important objective given the threat of increasing Soviet-German cooperation. While this worries the Soviets, it is not clear how practical it is for the U.S. to rely on actually using this leverage. The Soviet media made a point during the Gulf War of featuring articles highlighting the fact that the USSR has 60% of the world's known oil deposits.⁶ The problem, they repeat, is that they don't have the capital and infrastructure to exploit these reserves properly. But someone else might — say, Germany. The magnetic attraction between the two poles of the German economic locomotive and the Soviet military superpower is obviously of serious concern especially to the U.S. and British imperialists, but whether the Gulf war and tighter U.S. control over oil will serve to anchor Germany more firmly to the U.S. or whether it might push Germany to look to Siberia and increased cooperation with the USSR remains to be seen. □

Footnotes

1. *Time*, 4 March 1991
2. *International Herald Tribune*, 13 February 1991
3. *The Independent* (London), February 1991
4. *Mao Tsetung Unrehearsed*, "Remarks at the Spring Festival", p. 198.
5. *Sovetskaya Rossia*, 7 February 1991.
6. *Soviet Weekly*, 14 February 1991.



Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru

Wall hanging entitled "Long Live the People's War in Peru," done by the Mexico Committee to Support the People's War in Peru.

I. Introduction: A New Political Power Is Being Born

The poor and downtrodden of Peru, despised for centuries as *indios* (Indians) and *cholos* ("half-breeds") by the rich for whom it was their lot to labour, are standing up. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), a Maoist party, they have organised a revolutionary army. In the last year, their people's war has made far-reaching advances and inflicted important defeats on the government and its troops. They have set up revolutionary political power in areas of the countryside comprising a third of the country's population; their

army carries out actions in every part of Peru, rural and urban. Now the PCP has issued the call to organise and prepare for the seizure of power countrywide, "in the service of the world revolution".

Like a baby in its mother's womb, the People's Republic of Peru is taking shape, building nerves, bones and flesh, gathering strength and preparing to be born amidst struggle. The U.S., for its part, is preparing to do its best to strangle the revolution in Peru.

In August 1990 the newly-elected government of Alberto Fujimori renewed the state of emergency in the country's capital, Lima, and extended it to ten of the country's 24

departments. This itself represents a rapid quantitative change. But in a large part of the countryside, the situation in which the government Armed Forces and the revolutionary armed forces contest for political power is undergoing a qualitative change as well. For the first time in the ten years of people's war, the red flag is flying openly in many villages. Many of the thousands of People's Committees are no longer clandestine, but rule openly, by the light of day. Some of the revolutionary base areas made up of the People's Committees in a given region have become relatively stable, and new ones are coming into being. Following Mao, the PCP calls



these base areas "the essence of people's war", because they enable the war to unfold as truly a war of the masses of people and not the work of an isolated "roving rebel band".

The People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) nourished by these People's Committees is on the threshold of a whole new level of fighting. So far it has waged mainly guerrilla warfare, wearing down the enemy bit by bit. It began by attacking isolated police outposts and later mastered the art of ambushing Armed Forces patrols. Now on several occasions the PGA has ambushed enemy units of hundreds of soldiers and assaulted major fortified Armed Forces bases. The process of shifting from guerrilla

warfare to mobile warfare means a greater concentration and mobility of revolutionary troops, and striving to seize heavier armament, in order to attack columns and even well-fortified bases, no longer always relying on the advantage of surprise, in large-scale battles sometimes lasting several hours. Even as the main forces of the revolutionary army begin to acquire the characteristics of a regular army, the village militias (whose members continue to work full-time in their fields) and the local guerrillas are also expanding and heightening their fighting capacity, so that in large parts of Peru the reactionary army faces an armed people. In the cities, including Lima,

the revolution has begun to measure its strength against the enemy through a series of armed shutdowns and by other means. Workers, shantytown dwellers and other city people are looking to the people's war centred in the countryside and preparing the future urban insurrections that will mark the revolution's victorious climax.

The armed forces of the ruling classes still enjoy strategic superiority over the revolutionary armed forces. They have several hundred thousand armed men under their command in the Army, Navy (whose Marines are particularly bloodthirsty), Air Force (Soviet-equipped and now receiving used Soviet heli-

copter gunships withdrawn from Afghanistan) and various police services (including two anti-guerrilla battalions). To protect their troops they must concentrate more and more in strategic strongholds and withdraw from increasingly broad areas of the countryside. Massive concentration of troops and reliance on fortifications and air power gives the enemy a certain strength, but as in Vietnam it also reveals the enemy's political weakness and brings about new military vulnerabilities. It leaves the revolutionary armed forces greater room to manoeuvre and creates new possibilities for revolutionary political power. The fortresses from which reactionary troops stage airborne and overland incursions to overwhelm guerrilla units can themselves be encircled and overwhelmed as the guerrillas learn the skill of concentrating their forces to attack and then disperse once again to carry out their other revolutionary tasks.

Since 1983 the Armed Forces have deployed so-called *rondero* (also known as *mesnada*) vigilante gangs to carry out a terror campaign on the village level against PCP supporters and fighters. The term *rondero* originally meant peasants who banded together to defend their livestock against robbers. But the present-day gangs are directly run by the Armed Forces. Their hard core is made up of ex-soldiers and policemen, people tied to the landlords and local tyrants, and criminals. For instance, former President Garcia called the *rondero* leader Comandante Huayhuaco "my personal representative" and said that if he had a hundred men like Huayhuaco he could put an end to "subversion" overnight. The revolutionary newspaper *El Diario* (forced by the government to operate clandestinely) revealed that Huayhuaco is a notorious local drug lord. He was released from prison in order to re-convert his network of gangsters controlling the trade in coca leaf (from which cocaine is made) in the Apurimac river valley of north-eastern Ayacucho into a model of what the Armed Forces are attempting to organise in many areas. The Armed Forces surround these men with peasants forced to abandon their villages and relocate in Vietnam-style strategic hamlets (Armed Forces-



controlled camps), obliged to participate as human shields and to risk death in battle by threats of a slower death by torture or the murder of their families.

These bands serve a political as well as military purpose: to blur the class nature of the civil war and exaggerate its character as a war among the people themselves. They enable the government to pit "white" villages (under Armed Forces control) against "red" villages and portray the war as a "war of peasant against peasant". When *ronderos* carry out a massacre, the government reports it as a massacre carried out by guerrillas, and when the *ron-*

deros are defeated in battle, this too is reported as a guerrilla attack on peasants. But because of the military defeats the People's Guerrilla Army has inflicted on these gangs and the Armed Forces that organise and lead them, the destruction of many strategic hamlets by guerrilla units working with peasants within them, and the Party's successful policy of annihilating the *rondero* leaders, the Armed Forces have been forced to pull back and regroup these gangs. Now the government is aiming to rebuild them and implementing measures beneficial to a minority in the countryside, in order to strengthen the social basis for the re-



Poster portraying PCP Chairman Gonzalo. It reads: Seize Power Countrywide! 10th Anniversary of People's War, May 1990. Communist Party of Peru. Proletarians of the world unite!

attempts to avoid complete isolation and defeat.

The PCP has analysed the three stages its people's war will have to go through. The shift from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare is a precondition for being able to go over from the present stage in which the revolutionary armed forces are on the strategic defensive against the enemy, to a new and higher stage, that of strategic stalemate. This would mean that the government could no longer concentrate on trying to roll back the revolution but rather would have to defend itself by trying to consolidate its rule where it is strongest. After wresting strategic superiority away from the enemy Armed Forces, in a third stage a revolutionary counter-offensive will wipe them out thoroughly and completely.

It is not possible to foresee now how quickly or exactly how this will happen. As the PCP points out, international experience has shown that the first stage is by far the longest in protracted people's war, and the second and third stages

could be relatively brief. Further, the transitions to the two future stages depend on the political situation within the camp of the reaction, on the U.S.'s actions, and on the international situation overall, as well as on the developing situation on the battlefield, especially because of the impact that wiping out the enemy nationwide and establishing the People's Republic of Peru would have on the region and the world. But the prospect of countrywide political power is now in sight, not in the sense that it will inevitably happen very soon, but in the sense that the people's war has developed mightily, that the balance of forces could tip very quickly, and that the Party and the revolutionary masses must now prepare to do something that no oppressed people have done for too long now: run their own country, in the service of the world revolution.

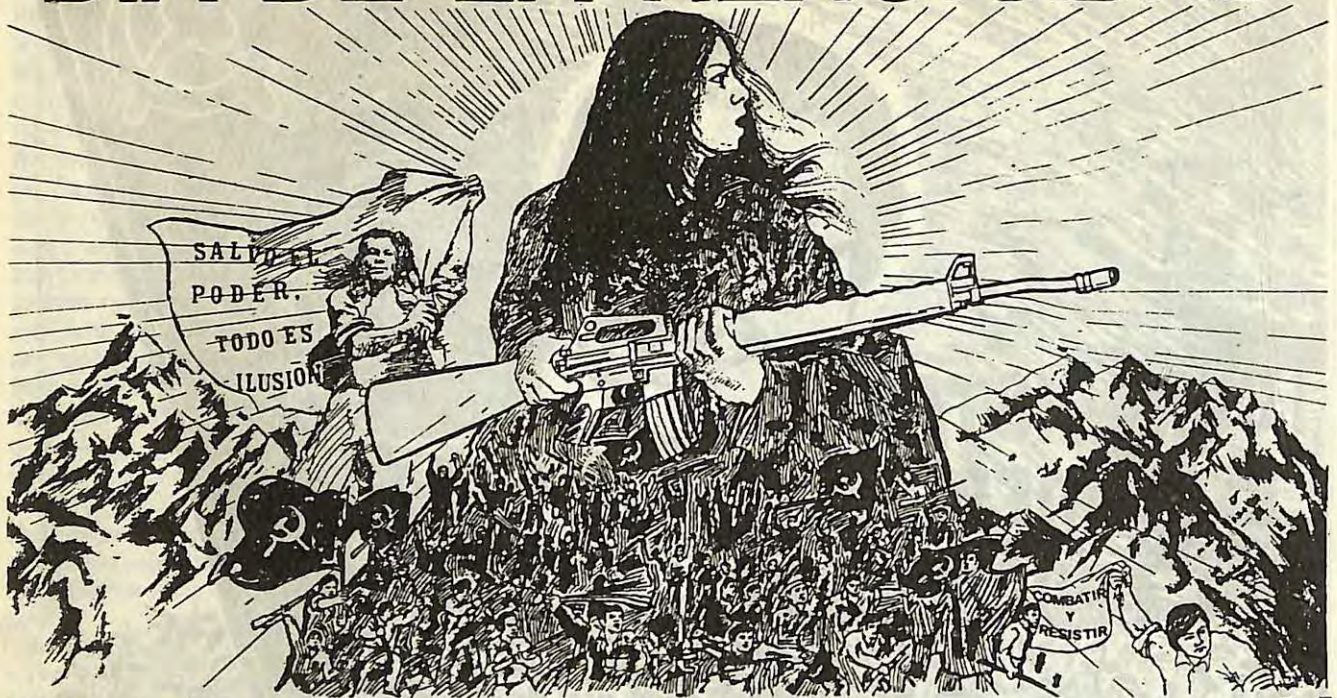
The U.S. government has escalated its military presence in the country and announced that planning is underway for possible massive inter-

vention in the near future. Certainly the U.S. cannot stand back and allow the People's Republic of Peru to emerge in its own "backyard" without a fight.

II. Advances in the People's War

The Andes mountains running the length of Peru are the backbone of the people's war. The greater part of the country's people live there. The small highland cities (almost none bigger than 100,000 inhabitants) strung together by the few roads running through Peru's mountains are occupied by the enemy: the Armed Forces set up major bases in the departmental capitals and maintain permanent sub-bases in the smaller provincial capitals. In the countryside, many hundreds of thousands of people actively participate in the revolutionary political power arising in the multiplying, expanding and increasingly contiguous revolutionary base areas in the mountains and the river valleys leading to the jungle in the east and the Pacific

DIA DE LA HEROICIDAD



¡Viva la Guerra Popular en el Perú!

Poster for a Mexico City meeting to commemorate the June 19th 1986 Peru prison uprising — the "Day of Heroism".

Ocean to the west. (Although the jungle lowlands account for a majority of the country's total area, they are sparsely populated and not a major theatre of revolutionary warfare.)

The ambit of the people's war is made up of these base areas and the surrounding guerrilla zones (where the revolution is contending for political power), operational zones (into which the guerrillas carry out raids and then withdraw), and points of action (places where the enemy has complete control, such as cities, but where the guerrillas act). As these areas move towards becoming an articulated whole, this greatly multiplies the power and range of the revolution's military blows, as well as making possible a fuller exercise of revolutionary political power and a more extensive economic development of the zones under revolutionary rule.

The people's war first arose in 1980 in the south-central Andes, in the department of Ayacucho and neighbouring Huancavelica and Apurimac. Now there are extensive

zones in these dry, cold and sparsely vegetated mountains where the Army rarely penetrates. In 1989 and again in mid-1990, the People's Guerrilla Army unleashed a spectacular series of engagements that destroyed many rondero gangs there. The U.S. is reportedly planning to establish a firebase between the rivers Ene and Tambo, from which attacks can be launched directly against the area which continues to be a main battleground of the revolution.

In 1986, the revolution took a spectacular leap to Puno, a high plateau in southern Peru. Land invasions there involved tens of thousands of peasants. In this region the People's Guerrilla Army has several times taken over cities (including Azangaro, a provincial capital) and held



From Spain.

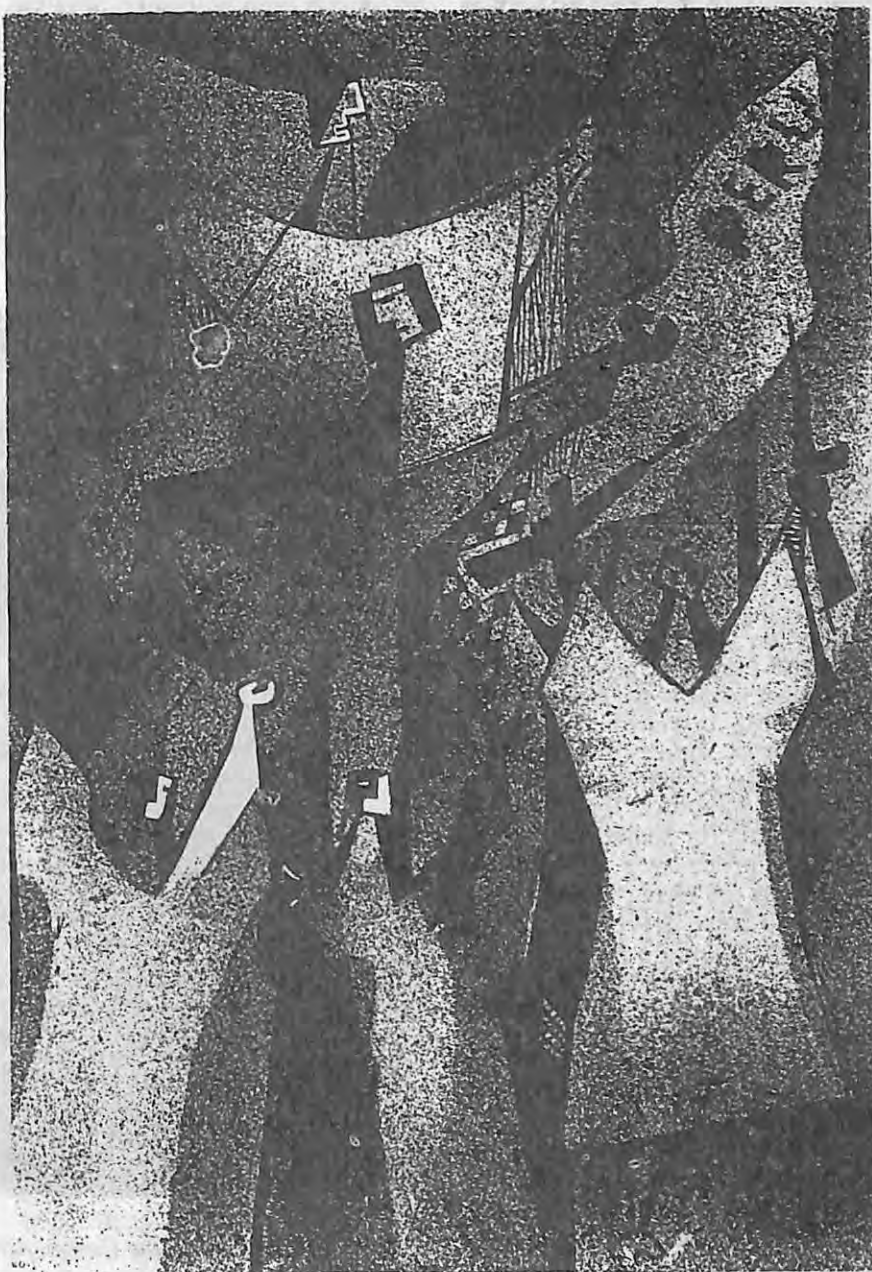
mass meetings. In September 1990, the PGA wiped out a column of the elite anti-guerrilla Grude police sent in to mount an offensive against them. The commander and three sergeants were killed in a seven-hour fire-fight. Armed propaganda has been carried out in the adjoining southern departments. In the city of Cuzco, not previously notable for guerrilla activity, 10 soldiers were killed in an ambush in August 1990. The war has also developed in the northern departments, including the coastal cities as well as the northern highland regions where the PCP has also led large-scale armed land seizures.

In the latter part of the decade the people's war began breaking through in the central region, vital to Peru's economy because of its mining and large-scale commercial farming. The PGA has repeatedly sabotaged these facilities. In November 1989 it led powerful armed shutdowns with especially strong mass participation in Junin and Pasco. The people's war is also advancing up the river valleys leading from the coast into the mountains in the mid-northern and mid-southern regions. This has led to important work in coastal cities and an increasingly tight encirclement of Lima itself.

The Huallaga river valley is a key region. It has been chosen by the World Bank and other international imperialist agencies as a potential focus for major investment and development. It has witnessed a powerful upsurge in people's war since the middle of the 1980s. Although U.S. advisers, mercenaries and other forces have been involved in the war since its beginning in Ayacucho, it is in the Upper Huallaga where the Peruvian revolution and the U.S. have most come face to face.

Two spectacular battles in the Upper Huallaga Valley herald the changes occurring in the war on both sides.

This region is sometimes called the "eyebrow of the jungle" because here the fringes of the jungle climb the eastern foothills of the Andes. Due to the success of guerrilla ambushes against troop convoys in the last several years, the reactionary Armed Forces in this region seldom travel overland, but instead are dug



into sandbagged "anti-subversive warfare" bases from which they launch land and air attacks.

In July 1989, "hundreds of guerrillas", according to press reports, surrounded and completely destroyed the Madre Mia Armed Forces base, the main reactionary bastion in that part of the department of Huanuco, which included a well-known concentration camp and torture centre. Hundreds of peasants had been brought there, to emerge once again only as corpses or to "disappear". In a four-hour battle, half of the 150 soldiers stationed there fled, while most of the rest became casualties.

This was an unprecedented blow. The PGA was able to confiscate a large amount of weapons and ammunition, making good on their policy of obligating the enemy to serve as the main source of the revolution's armament. The Armed Forces took their revenge by murdering over 1500 peasants in the area in the following months.

April 1990 saw the attack on the U.S.-commanded counter-revolutionary warfare base at Santa Lucia, in the heart of the Huallaga river valley.

The base was opened in February 1990, staffed by about 30 American

military advisers and "civilian" helicopter pilots and mechanics under contract to the U.S. government, with 500 Peruvian troops at their disposal. A *New York Times* reporter wrote that it reminded him of U.S. firebases in Vietnam, its "perimeter bolstered by watchtowers, pillboxes, mine fields, barbed wire and waist-high piles of black plastic sandbags... safely accessible only by military air transport". Units of the People's Guerrilla Army surrounded the base and poured in automatic rifle fire and rifle-propelled grenades for several hours, damaging seven helicopters. This was the first large-scale combat directly opposing U.S. forces and the People's Guerrilla Army. It is not likely to be the last. In addition to reinforcing Santa Lucia after this attack, the U.S. began negotiations with the Peruvian government to open other bases in the region.

The area is renowned as the world's main source of coca leaves, bought up by Colombian-based drug gangs and shipped in light airplanes to Colombia (or sometimes Brazil) for final processing. Most of its inhabitants are recent settlers, peasants who were driven out of the backward mountain regions in the past two decades by feudal oppression. The government encouraged them to move to the jungle highlands to relieve the pressure of peasant movements demanding land in the central mountains. Once installed in this fertile region, the peasants found that government policies and the economic system made it impossible for them to grow any cash crops profitably enough to pay the debts with which they were burdened — except coca leaves.

Soon they found themselves becoming vassals of drug dealers and the Army and government officials in league with them. A certain amount of the trade in coca leaves, traditionally chewed by Peru's highland people, is legal. It is supposed to be a government monopoly. This gives government officials the opportunity to bleed an enormous amount of money out of the peasants legally, through various fees and interest, while turning a blind eye to the far more extensive illegal coca trade without which the peasants could not pay such exorbitant tribute. Further, much of the leaf bought

by the government ends up in the illegal trade controlled by gangsters. Through credit, monopoly control of purchasing and most especially guns, both the government and the private-sector warlords exploit the peasants and cooperate to impose a rein of terror against the masses, though they sometimes clash on matters of immediate interest.

many decades: changing the cultivation habits among the peasants, as a beginning to doing away with drug trafficking."

Shortly after taking office in July 1990, President Fujimori criticised the U.S. for limiting its "war on drugs aid package" to Peru to military aid, instead of combining arms with money to help peasants change



Guerrilla fighters from the Communist Party of Peru.

The People's Guerrilla Army began working with these peasants to enable them to protect their land and crops (and their lives) from the various drug barons. As they have established the new political power, the peasants have begun to shift part of their land to subsistence farming, in order to hold out against the government, and have been building up the revolutionary strength necessary to do away with the whole system, including drugs, which are not used in the revolutionary base areas. Even the reactionary Peruvian magazine *Si* had to admit that in the Huallaga valley, "Sendero [the PCP] has accomplished in a few years what the government has not done for

crops in the Upper Huallaga. This demagoguery allows him to maintain a certain political distance from the U.S., which is highly unpopular in Peru to say the least. It also allows Fujimori to put a certain moral cover of "concern for peasants" on the fact that under his presidency, as under all the previous governments, the state and its armed forces have been up to their necks in the drug trade, and have always aimed the spearhead of their attacks against the PCP and the peasants, and never against the drug dealers.

Ex-President Garcia, who accused his predecessor Belaunde of being financed by narcotics money, himself sponsored legisla-

tion to enable narco-dollars abroad to legally re-enter the country. General Arciniega, military commander and political chief of the Huallaga emergency zone, was transferred to a new command at the end of 1989 when his public identification with the drug trade became too blatant, but his replacement maintained the dual policy of

actively protecting drug traffickers and attacking only the revolution. Fujimori "solved" some problems in the chain of command between the national police, who are supposed to conduct anti-drug actions, and the Armed Forces, in charge of fighting "subversion", by giving the Interior Ministry to the Armed Forces and thus putting the police

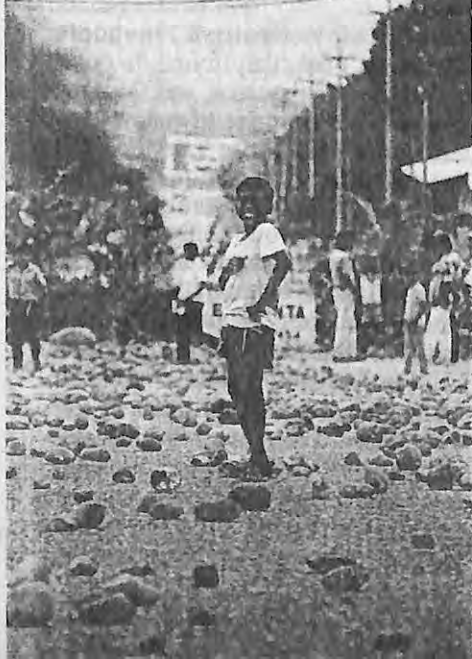
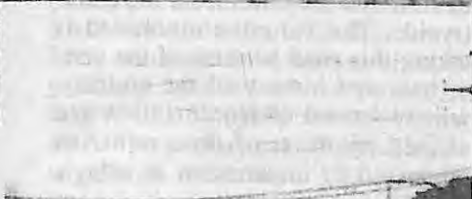
grow coca leaves so as to pay back the loans he received for seed and fertiliser to grow other crops, such as coffee that remained unsold or fruit that rotted because there is no transport.

No such reform could succeed, no matter how much money was spent, because the workings of the Peruvian economy under imperialist capital's domination make it more profitable to import food than to grow it, and cheaper to bring it by boat from the U.S. than to truck it over the mountains of Peru. Under current international conditions, where imperialist investment has brought about a glut of almost all Third World export commodities in the world market, and a disastrous drop in their prices, the amount of investment needed to profitably reorganise the economy of the Upper Huallaga into some other imperialist scheme is just not possible.

The other side of this exceedingly valuable coin is that the estimated \$1 billion or more U.S. dollars a year brought to Peru by what has become by far the country's biggest export make it possible to keep the country's import-addicted economy afloat. The regime counts on the coca trade for some of the shreds of economic stability without which it would be difficult to prosecute the counter-revolutionary war. The PCP has given proof of its anti-drug stand, while the regime has shown that its survival depends on drugs.

The revolution cannot completely liberate the peasants from dependence on growing coca leaves at one blow before countrywide political power is in its hands. But the people's war has spelled its doom. Nothing less than revolution could put an end to it.

The People's Guerrilla Army carried out about 35,000 armed actions during the first six years of the people's war, over twice that many actions during the two and a half year period from December 1986 to May 1989, and 23,000 actions during the last four months of 1989 alone. These actions peaked during the Party's boycott of the November 1989 and May 1990 elections — and mounted once again in September and October 1990, alongside the mass upsurge that exploded in reaction to the measures taken by the new president. By the end of 1990,



under Armed Forces command.

This is the organisational reflection of the government's political stand: no matter what happens in the "war on drugs", it will be subordinate to the war against the revolution.

The U.S., in complete agreement both about the real target and the need to lie about it, finds Fujimori's words quite acceptable and his actions even more so, and does its part in this fraud by covering up the Peruvian state's drug dependency. The money already spent by the Peruvian government for previous crop substitution schemes, in fact, has ended up forcing the peasant to

Left, an armed shutdown in the jungle town of Tarapoto.

the total number of actions carried out by the PGA during the decade probably exceeded 200,000.

Along with ambushes and assaults on the Armed Forces in most of the country, including Lima itself, the People's Guerrilla Army also carries out sabotage with the aim of damaging the economy that finances the counter-revolutionary war and undermining specific government projects. For instance, the state-owned mining industry in the centre of the country, upon which the government depends for much of its legal foreign exchange earnings, has been repeatedly attacked, and train lines that carry minerals to foreign buyers have been cut. Foreign-owned enterprises such as the giant Bayer chemical plant and domestic monopolies such as the Hogar department stores in Lima have been burned down. Explosions and sabotage of electrical pylons and powerlines they carry have completely blacked out whole cities and regions innumerable times, to the delight of the revolutionary masses and the consternation of the impotent government, which reveals still more its class nature as it scrambles to restore electricity to banks and industry while leaving the people in darkness. Tourist installations, such as the government-owned hotel at Machu Picchu, are sabotaged to wreck the tourist industry, though it is not Party policy to destroy the ruins that represent the people's history or attack foreign tourists.

One of the first acts of the people's war was to hang a dead dog in front of the Chinese embassy in Lima, with a sign around its neck that read "Deng Xiao-ping". Since then the PCP has continued to publicise its foreign policy with quite a few attacks on various embassies — the Indian embassy, for instance, in solidarity with the Indian revolutionary movement, and the Israeli embassy. In October 1989, car-bombs went off in front of the U.S. consulate, and also the Soviet and Chinese embassies, to dramatise the PCP's opposition to what it calls "the worldwide revisionist offensive headed by Gorbachev and Deng" and the Peruvian revolution's stand with the Chinese people who rose up against the Deng regime.

There has been the selective annihilation of well-known enemies of

the people (Armed Forces officers, government officials, mayors of villages and towns who ignore the Party's invitations to resign, etc.), as well as the informers on whom the government depends to direct the murder of revolutionaries. In September 1990, in Lima, a top military counter-intelligence officer was shot, and a car-bomb exploded in front of the home of a U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency officer in a district inhabited by high Armed Forces officials. There are Europeans working as volunteers on various governmental projects in the rural areas; the fact that such schemes are part of the efforts by the government and its imperialist backers to smother the revolution is explained to them, and they are warned to leave or risk the consequences.

Agitation and propaganda constitute a major part of the work of the People's Guerrilla Army. This includes painting slogans on walls (or rocks, in the countryside); hanging Party banners (in June 1990, 70 red flags appeared simultaneously one morning at key intersections and other spots in Lima); setting huge fires in the shape of a hammer and sickle on the hillsides, especially during blackouts; launching swarms of red balloons carrying banners; putting up Party posters; giving out the pictorial leaflets that are important for reaching illiterate masses, as well as regular leaflets; distributing Party pamphlets (in quantities of as many as 100-200,000 each) and Party reprints of selections from the Marxist classics; agitating at illegal "lightning" demonstrations that appear and disappear on city streets without warning; holding mass meetings in the countryside; leading people's schools (which conduct clandestine courses for political education in the outlook and line of the Party, combined with practical work); and many other ways of creating the public opinion without which it is impossible to seize power.

In the cities, the PGA leads armed shutdowns, which combine the forms of struggle just mentioned with work stoppages, halting commerce and transport and violent mass confrontations with the forces of order. Their purpose is to prepare the future urban insurrections.

The People's Guerrilla Army takes part in production (usually farming), so as not to be a burden on the people. Furthermore, it is mainly through the PGA that the Party conducts its mass work, including organising the new political power in the countryside and developing mass revolutionary organisations that serve the people's war. A journalist described the PGA as "a youth movement supported by their parents", since so many of its members are in their early and mid-teens or twenties. A large percentage of the fighters and commanders of this army entrusted with carrying out the political tasks of the revolution under the leadership of the Party are women. The patriarchal ruling classes find this rather threatening. In fact, what most is throwing Peruvian reactionaries and their foreign bosses into a mortal panic is that the PGA represents the political awakening, organisation and arming of the masses of people themselves, especially the poor peasants.

III. Character and History of the Revolution

The war the PCP is leading is mainly a peasant war. Though it also involves fighting and other work in the cities, it is based in the countryside and its fundamental strategy is to surround the cities from the countryside. The Peruvian revolution is taking this road because of the conditions and history of the country, whose broad characteristics are shared by most of the countries oppressed by imperialism in today's world.

When the Spanish invaders arrived in Peru, they found "a communal agrarian system, and this was beginning to give rise to a slave system, the Inca empire", as the PCP has analysed. This empire could not withstand Spanish steel and was razed to the ground. Despite the Indians' resistance the Spanish imposed their own feudal system. The vast majority of people became serfs, forced to serve the Spanish lord entrusted by distant kings with the Indians' souls and most of the land. They were given "rights and obligations": in return for the right to tend their own poor plots or graze their livestock on the landlord's hacienda, they worked in his fields

and his house without pay, subject to being hung up and whipped at his whim.

For several hundred years the country was a colony. Although later Peru won independence, it continued to be a dominated country. Unlike the imperialist countries where the rising bourgeoisie (capitalist class) was able to settle accounts with feudalism and give free rein to all-around capitalist development, Peru never underwent a bourgeois-democratic revolution. PCP Chairman Gonzalo describes contemporary Peru as "a semifeudal and semicolonial society within which bureaucrat capitalism is developing".

This characterisation is based on a qualitative assessment of the determining features of the society: "the outworn semi-feudal system continues to exist and affect the country from its deepest foundations to its most developed ideas, with the essential persistence of the land question, motive force of the class struggle of the peasants, especially the poor peasants who make up the majority." Most of the land is still concentrated in a few hands, both in the form of traditional landlord ownership and "associative" forms established in the 1960s and '70s when the state bought the old individually-owned estates and set up state-linked "agrarian enterprises" (SAIS). The administrators of the SAIS are often the landlord's sons. They continue the tradition of local political tyrants whose power is based on monopoly ownership of land. The production relations holding those who work the land in bondage have little changed. This is why the PCP considers these SAIS "an evolution of feudalism".

Payments to the government for the land continue to hinder the development of agriculture. The leading members of these SAIS are former rich and middle peasants, while the majority of peasants, especially in the mountains, remain without land or tools and bound by relations of servitude. They are obligated to perform free labour for the SAIS in return for lodging and food, and personal services for the new feudal tyrants who run them. (For instance, carrying their packages — no self-respecting rural big shot would be seen carrying anything himself.) The PCP considers these

SAIS the principal target of the struggle in the countryside, while also opposing the remaining traditional landlords. There is an autonomous (locally self-sufficient) agricultural economy alongside the national economy, especially in the mountains. "Semi-feudalism exists in new modes but continues to be the country's basic problem."

Much has been made in the foreign press about PCP-led attacks on several Andes experimental farms run by European agronomists and other rural scientists. Supposedly this shows the PCP is, for some inexplicable reason, against "progress". These farms are run in the interests of imperialist capital in university garb (after all, what European university is in the hands of the people?). The scientists in their pay usually ignore the bondage of the peasants who care for the cattle, though those semi-feudal relations are what makes these farms cheap to run in Peru. These men choose not to see that the vast expanses of land they monopolise (often many thousands of hectares) are urgently needed by the peasants who work them, to emancipate themselves and feed their families. Unlike the traditional landlords who must be more concerned with reducing expenses than increasing productivity, and thus leave most of their land idle, and the technocrats whose notions of productivity lead them to think it more sensible to raise meat for the rich and import wheat than to grow potatoes, and thus devote the best land to pasture, the peasants are interested in figuring out how to produce as much food as possible. Such farms are in fact an obstacle to the country's overall economic development. So who is really blocking progress?

The PCP defines semi-colonial to mean that Peru is "politically independent but economically subjugated"; bureaucrat capitalism refers to the particular kind of capitalism "generated by imperialism in the backward countries", which fails to challenge the pre-existing feudalism and serves the interests of foreign capital instead of the country's own national development.

This analysis leads to two fundamental conclusions. The first is that the proletariat, the class of propertyless workers whose conditions most

cry out for socialism and communism, can rely upon and lead the peasants, especially the poor and landless peasants, as well as forces from the urban petite bourgeoisie (the middle classes) and even, at certain times and under certain conditions, be joined by or neutralise the national bourgeoisie (medium-sized capitalists with economic interests opposed to the country's domination), in order to smash imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, who are the immediate targets of the revolution, and thus open the door to socialism and serve the cause of communism. The second conclusion is that the revolution can and must wage armed struggle from the very beginning, to build up strength through armed struggle, seizing political power little by little in the countryside and carrying out other work on this basis until it becomes strong enough to seize power countrywide.

The PCP is applying the concept of New Democratic Revolution developed by Mao Tsetung to the concrete conditions of Peru. The PCP defines the tasks of that revolution as the following:

"Destroy imperialist domination, principally that of Yankee imperialism in our case, and ward off the other superpower, Russia, and the other imperialist powers. 2) Destroy bureaucrat capitalism by confiscating monopoly capital inside and outside the state sector. 3) Destroy feudal landlord ownership by confiscating large-scale property whether associative or non-associative, redistributing the land on an individual basis guided by the slogan 'land to the tiller', to the poor peasants first and foremost. 4) Support for medium-sized capital, which is permitted to work if it observes certain conditions. All this implies overthrowing the old state through people's war by means of revolutionary armed force under the leadership of the Communist Party, and building a new state."

The Communist Party of Peru was founded on a revolutionary basis by Jose Carlos Mariategui in 1928, as part of the Third International established by Lenin. Mariategui made a general analysis of Peruvian society that still holds today, though later it was to be further developed by applying Mao's conceptions to the

particularities of Peru. For instance, Mariategui considered Peru "a nation in formation" centred on the Indians who made up three-quarters of its population, in opposition to those who spoke of "Indians" as something different from "Peruvians". He also stressed that the Indian question was basically a peasant question. He sketched out the road the revolution would take in Peru: a peasant war led by the proletarian party. Yet within a few years, after Mariategui's untimely death, the Party leadership fell into the hands of revisionists who abandoned the revolutionary road, though revolutionaries persisted within the Party.

In the mid-1960s, under the influence of the polemic led by Mao Tsetung against the new capitalist class that had usurped power in the USSR after the death of Stalin, revolutionary forces began to come to the fore within the PCP. Led by the man who would come to be called Chairman Gonzalo, they began to fight for a revolutionary orientation and ideology, a correct definition of the road and objectives of the Peruvian revolution, and a party capable of carrying it out. The long process of what is called the Party's reconstitution began with the 1964 expulsion of the PCP's then-chairman, who had eagerly grasped (and in fact helped pioneer) the revisionist theses that the USSR was attempting to impose on the international communist movement at that time. Still, there was to be a prolonged and difficult series of struggles within the Party between the views represented by Chairman Gonzalo and his "red faction" and different revisionist lines. These two-line struggles were critical in reconstituting the PCP as a Party capable of initiating and leading the revolution. The First Congress of the reconstituted Party, held in 1988 on the basis of the advances of the people's war, was to adopt the formulation Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought to describe the stand, method and political line that had been key, "for it is the Chairman who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has developed it, thus providing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is the

guarantee of victory".

The process of party-building, especially in its later stages, also involved specific organisational steps, including sending people from Ayacucho, where Comrade Gonzalo's forces were based, to establish Party organisation and links with the



The drawings on these pages are taken from a booklet entitled Third Anniversary of the Day of Heroism! published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru in a call to devote one's life to the Party and the revolution.

masses in other parts of the country according to the strategic needs that flowed from the line and programme around which unity was emerging. The PCP founded the Party-led mass organisations and people's schools that would later play an important role in the people's war and which at that time played a role in preparing it. In June 1979 the Party held an Expanded Conference which marked the culmination of the process of reconstituting the Party. The conference agreed to launch the people's war. The PCP then went over to a short period of preparation which included intense study of military issues and military training, as well as careful planning of the opening phase of the war.

People's war was launched on 17th May 1980, with the seizure and burning of the ballot boxes in the Ayacucho village of Chuschi, on the eve of elections through which a weakened and widely opposed military junta hoped to pass power on to

its civilian successors. The slogans "Armed Struggle! For a Workers' and Peasants' Government! Down with the New Reactionary Government!" were given the dignity of a programme of action. The Party did not yet have support from the broadest masses in large areas of the country, but from the beginning it sought to rely on the masses in the face of the enemy's attacks, to call upon them for food and shelter, and to draw in masses and wage the war as a war of the masses.

In Ayrabamba, also in the department of Ayacucho, hundreds of peasants were mobilised to burn down the house of a particularly



cruel and rapacious landlord who had stolen their land. The guerrillas had called the peasants together and held a meeting to explain the Party's programme and allow the peasants to speak their grievances. The landlord was driven off and the crops and livestock divided up by the peasants themselves. The Party warned the peasants that the authorities would retaliate; some took heed and withdrew temporarily, while others were under the illusion that because justice was on their side the authorities might be also. The enemy himself administered a practical lesson in the need to wage war to establish revolutionary political power. When the police came to terrorise the masses and restore feudal order, the guerrillas took the struggle a step further and assaulted and burned the police outpost. In the poor neighbourhood of San Martin de Porros in Lima, guerrillas called together a crowd of people and led

them to attack and firebomb the local police station. Agitation was carried out in the centre of Lima. The people's war itself was awakening people and drawing them in to participate.

The people's war has gone through four different phases since it began on 17th May 1980, each marked by a distinct plan drawn up by the PCP leadership. In the first few months of the Party's Plan to Begin the armed struggle, only a few hundred actions took place. A small number of very poorly armed men and women attacked police outposts and local authorities in the countryside in the mountain departments of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, as well as elsewhere, including the capital. A main aim of these initial clashes was to seize weapons; in one of the first attacks, guerrillas captured a police barracks by surprise using painted wooden guns. Other early assaults on police outposts depended on firebombs and dynamite thrown into flimsy buildings. Later, in 1981, in the Plan to Unfold guerrilla warfare, the Party



led the formation of detachments and platoons that fought to open up guerrilla zones, areas in which the guerrilla forces could count on mass support in order to move around and hit the enemy, with a view towards later building base areas. In some places, the Party had had contacts among the local masses for years, while in newer areas the initial work was even more difficult and the guerrillas had to sleep in caves and go hungry until they had won over local people.

The first guerrilla company (made up of several platoons) saw action in the 1982 assault on the prison in the city of Ayacucho. Guerrillas pinned down the police, shot and blasted their way into the prison and freed dozens of prisoners of war. A few months later, as a guerrilla unit withdrew after an attack, one of those escaped prisoners, Edith Lagos, was captured by police and stabbed to death with a bayonet. Her funeral became one of the biggest mass outpourings Ayacucho had ever seen. Tens of thousands of people marched through the streets behind her coffin draped with the Party's red banners.

By the latter part of 1982 a power vacuum had been created in many rural areas. The first sprouts of revolutionary political power had arisen in the form of peasant committees to divide the crops and land seized from old-style feudal landlords and the state-linked farms. Now this power was beginning to blossom. As the guerrillas moved from village to village, mobilising the peasants and attacking local authorities, units stayed behind in the villages to organise the Party, recruit fighters and build People's Committees. In this way, by relying on the masses, guerrilla zones were gradually being turned into base areas, where the revolution held political power.

At the end of 1982 President Belaunde was forced to send in the



Peruvian Armed Forces, despite his earlier reluctance to do so for fear that rival factions in the ruling classes might use the occasion for a coup d'etat. Now facing the regular army

for the first time, the revolution entered a very hard period. The Armed Forces carried out massacre after massacre of whole villages suspected of revolutionary sympathies, with the stated policy that "it is necessary to kill ten peasants to kill one guerrilla". Many thousands of peasants died, combatants and non-combatants alike. Some People's Committees were destroyed. Nevertheless, the Party founded its People's Guerrilla Army, so as to be able to fight on the higher level now required and carry out its Plan to Win Base Areas by re-establishing overthrown People's Committees and building new ones.

PGA units operate under a system of dual command. There is a military leader, whose word is decisive during combat, and a political leader. Both are Party members, but the political leader is in charge overall, responsible for the formulation, carrying out and summing up of the plans to carry out the military work which is at the heart of the Party's work, and also for other political tasks, including the political and ideological training of Party members and other fighters so as to build and rely upon their consciousness, initiative and fearless, self-sacrificing spirit.

Although this guerrilla army could not yet threaten the encampments the enemy was establishing, it learned how to ambush the Armed Forces patrols that sought to enforce government power in the villages. But this revolutionary power was not yet even relatively consolidated because the enemy could still carry out repeated incursions into the developing base areas. As the PCP was to explain, "restoration and counter-restoration", the see-saw battle for political power in the countryside, characterises people's war at this stage.

By 1986, the people's war extended through the Andes from Puno in the south through the central part of the country and up to Cajamarca in the north. As the revolutionary tide rose, the government moved its prisoners of war out of the countryside and concentrated them in three Lima gaols. In the face of clear indications that the newly-inaugurated Garcia government was planning to kill them all in order to flex its muscles and demoralise the revolutionary

masses, the prisoners rebelled and took over the prisons.

The prisoners were determined to defend the morale of the revolution with their very lives. They had been able to obtain small quantities of dynamite. They made spears and crude flame-throwers and assembled bags of rocks to throw. Garcia unleashed the Armed Forces. At the Fronton island prison, the revolutionaries held out for 20 hours until naval artillery destroyed everything standing. With captured weapons, the prisoners killed six officers among the Marine landing force. In Lurigancho, which had a glass roof and open walls, the prisoners were not able to withstand attack as long, but they fought. Those taken alive were murdered. The women prisoners in Callao held out against the Air Force. No one surrendered at any of the three prisons. Only a few among the 300 prisoners survived. Their resistance on what became known as the "Day of Heroism" — 19th June 1986 — threw the Garcia government into a crisis from which it was never to recover. Among the ruins at Fronton, the immense red hammer and sickle painted on the side of a wall remains.

(Since then, several hundred new and old prisoners of war have been regrouped in a new Lima prison called Canto Grande. They are held in two buildings, one for men and another for women, in equal number, separate from other prisoners. Despite the lack of electricity and water and frequent attacks by the guards, they continue their programme of handicrafts and other collective work, study and physical education so as to continue contributing to the revolution. The Committee of Relatives of Prisoners of War, Political Prisoners and the Disappeared has warned of the danger of a new massacre.)

At the end of 1986, the people's war entered a new phase, the Plan to Develop Base Areas — to spread them and consolidate them where possible. The Pilot Plan of this phase was completed in May 1989. It was followed by what the PCP calls the Great Plan to Develop Base Areas So As To Seize Power Countrywide. This title speaks for itself.

Summarising the beginning of the people's war, the PCP wrote: "It was a defiant political blow of far-reach-

ing importance; unfurling red banners and raising hammers and sickles it proclaimed 'It's Right to Rebel!' and 'Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun!', calling the people, especially the poor peasants, to stand up arms in hand, to light the bonfire and shake the Andes, to write a new history in the countryside and the mountains and ravines of our tumultuous geography, to knock down the rotten walls of the oppressive order, to conquer the mountain peaks and storm the heavens rifles in hand to clear the way for a new dawn. The beginnings were modest, almost without modern arms; we fought, we advanced and built from the small to the large, and from our weak armament the initial fire became a roaring, tumultuous, raging, expanding blaze, further sowing revolution and giving explosive momentum to the people's war."

IV. Exercising Political Power in the Countryside, Preparing to Seize Power in the Cities

The new revolutionary political power is for those who have never had any power at all in their whole lives, for those who have been the most lowly and scorned of society, though they carried the country on their backs: the workers and peasants, along with progressive forces from among the middle classes, under the leadership of the proletariat's party. The PCP describes it as the joint dictatorship of four classes, since although the weak and vacillating national bourgeoisie does not now participate in the revolution, they may in the future, and their interests are taken into account. This new state being born openly declares itself a dictatorship because unlike the old state which pretends to rule in the interests of all and tries to hide the fact that it rests on armed force, the revolution has every reason to reveal the antagonism between the interests of the big bourgeoisie, landlords and imperialism, and the masses of people, especially the workers and peasants.

PCP Chairman Gonzalo is said to have remarked that even at the beginning of the war, the guerrillas carried the new political power in their knapsacks. The seizure of political power is the central task of any revolution. In the conditions of

their revolution the task was to begin to set it up piece by piece, in the form of People's Committees organised at the village level.

These Committees are made up of five members, called commissioners because they are commissioned by the masses and subject to recall at any time. These commissioners are chosen by representatives of the village mass organisations of poor peasants, labourers, women, intellectuals, youth and children. They include communists, ordinary peasants and other local progressive forces. Their job is to begin to create a new politics, new economics and new culture in the countryside, as part of preparing to be able to do so on a countrywide scale.

The Secretary among the five commissioners represents the Party and the proletariat. (The proletariat is present in the countryside mainly through the Party. There are Party units at village level and up, distinct from the less stationary Party units in the PGA.) The commissioner of security, also a PCP member, is in charge of the defence of this new political power, by the local population as a whole, organised into militias, along with local guerrilla forces and the main forces of the People's Guerrilla Army. This also means preparing the organised withdrawal of villagers from the area, in case that becomes necessary. The security commissioner is also in charge of police functions, taking measures against counter-revolutionaries who attack the new political power or common criminals who harm the masses. Robbery, drugs, constant drunkenness, prostitution, gambling, beating of wives and children, rape and other scourges which long flourished under the protection of the old established authority are now suppressed.

The commissioner of production and economy orchestrates the development of a new economy based on a new kind of relations between people. The land is divided up and given out first to those who have no land and then, if there is any left, to those who have a little, on the basis of how many people there are in a family. It is given to the family as a whole, and not just the fathers or men in general. (Youth who want to leave their parents and start their own family also get land.) But while this possession of the land is indi-

vidual, planting and harvesting are collective and carried out by all. The PCP refers to this policy as a seed of the future, socialist stage of the revolution. This commissioner must see that the land of old people, widows and orphans is taken care of. He or she also organises the production directly owned by the People's Committee, such as communal raising of chickens, ducks or guinea pigs, and collective work on irrigation projects.

Often changes have to be made in terms of which crops are grown, to allow the base areas to become more self-sufficient. The People's Committee sets up seed exchange, so as to permit scientific seed selection and a diversification of crops. This seed exchange is particularly important. Along with efforts to replace import-dependent chemical fertilisers, it aims at ending the need for credit. These measures and the abolition of rent frees the peasants of the burdensome and costly weight of the government bureaucracy that long sucked the blood of agriculture and the tyranny of the local despots whose power over the land, credit and inputs was exercised in a most arbitrary manner. The organisation of new relations of production and exchange, designed to meet the needs of the people and the people's war, frees the productive forces from their fetters and leads to improvements in productivity. There is even some beginning manufacture of clothes and tools, so that these base areas can become more self-sufficient.

Small and medium merchants are allowed to continue to exercise their important functions; in fact, for them, too, this is a liberation. But in addition the People's Committees also organise exchange. Locally, this might mean a People's Fair at which items are directly sold from producer to consumer or traded. It also means mule trains that can securely cross the mountains and allow commerce with other localities, for the base areas cannot be completely self-sufficient and the Party must lead in resolving this problem.

As the military strength of the revolution advances and its political power begins to become relatively consolidated in some areas, these economic questions are increasingly crucial. Economic self-sufficiency means self-sufficiency from debt and inflation and the chance to begin

developing an economy that feeds the people instead of feeding upon them. It is key for the war, because without these advances revolutionary political power would collapse and the revolutionary army would no longer be able to rely on the people for its sustenance. These changes are also part of building the future, when an economically independent and militarily powerful Peru can hold out against imperialism and serve the world revolution.

The commissioner of community affairs is in charge of administering justice. This means organising people's trials: a prosecutor presents the case of the People's Committee, the accused has the right to defend himself and present evidence, while the masses of people listen and decide. Another example is the establishment of a damages committee from among the peasants on a rotating basis. If a peasant's cow damages another peasant's seeded fields, it is up to this committee to impose payment of damages. The first time, a warning is issued; the second time, the cow is detained; the third time the cow is slaughtered and the meat divided up for the necessities of the villagers.

This commissioner also presides over marriages. The two people who wish to marry must bring two witnesses to testify to the fact that neither is married to anyone else — that and a health examination are the only requirements. Community affairs also includes registering births, stocking the people's medical dispensary (with drugs confiscated from the enemy and herbal medicines) and health care in general. Education is guided by the communist outlook and linked with labour. Peasants are taught basic mathematics, Spanish (which the PCP considers important so that the masses who speak Quechua can have a window on the rest of the world), natural science and history. The commissioner also organises recreation, including sports and culture (such as plays and puppet shows), celebrations to mark revolutionary anniversaries, and helps with the feast of the village saint. This feast has become a popular holiday — the Party neither helps nor hinders other, more religious observances. The Party carries out a policy of what Lenin called freedom of religion in the broadest sense — it respects the people's right to their

religious beliefs while at the same time it also reserves the right to struggle to educate people in dialectical materialism.

Divorce is granted instantly, at the demand of either person, with no conditions. This commissioner must get the couple to reach an agreement about the children. In general, the community affairs commissioner tries to help settle family disputes, between a couple, or between parents and children, through a process of criticism and self-criticism. If it happens that a woman wants to leave to join the People's Guerrilla Army and her parents or husband are opposed, she can go anyway. The husband has priority to get the children, if he is willing; otherwise, the People's Committee finds another solution.

There is also a commissioner in charge of convening and planning the meetings of the Party-led mass organisations.

This is how an open People's Committee works. They have taken different forms, according to the relative strength of the revolution and the counter-revolution in a given area or at a given time, and the fluidity of the people's war, expanding, contracting, appearing and then perhaps disappearing, only to reappear there or in another place. For instance, until 1989 their members were always secret (known only to the Representative Assembly that chose them). Attempts to keep these committees operating publicly in the beginning of the people's war failed because too often the commissioners were murdered. If the reaction reoccupied an area, a clandestine committee might be able to exercise an authority parallel to that of the old authorities. A destroyed committee might have to be reorganised. In a new area, an organising committee would strive to bring about conditions under which the emergence of a full-scale elected committee would be possible. Of course, the functioning of the clandestine committees is somewhat hampered, especially by the fact that the commissioners cannot be publicly known but must work through delegates. In any case, the Party makes it very clear that it stands for political power for the proletariat and the people and not for personal power; any commissioner who exercises personal power can be submitted to a people's trial,

removed or otherwise disciplined. With the appearance of the first Open People's Committees, this whole process can be carried out more freely and fully.

In 1983 the PCP formed an Organising Committee for a New Democratic People's Republic, with a view towards the future. Today, the development of the People's Committees, the growth and linking up of base areas and the emergence of more and more state functions that cannot be handled locally are posing the question of organising state power on a new and far higher level, in the near future, even short of nation-wide victory.

In the countryside, where this rev-

olutionary People's Defence Movement, "with the goal of mobilising the masses to resist and to raise their struggles to a higher level — people's war — so as to harass, undermine and shake the old state apparatus and serve the future insurrection, preparing the cities by waging people's war there as complementary [to the war in the countryside]. We implement the dual policy of primarily developing our own forms of organisation and secondarily infiltrating all kinds."

The Party's policy is to "go lower and deeper", as Lenin said, to rely on the poorest and most basic masses and distinguish between them and the upper layer most influenced by

town dwellers for their basic necessities such as electricity and water; in the struggles of women of all the popular classes, for women's emancipation (under the Chinese revolutionary slogan "women hold up half the sky") and for specific demands that affect poor women with families, and against affronts to the moral integrity of the people (such as pornography and prostitution); in winning over intellectuals, including secondary school and university students, as well as professionals and artists in various fields, to serve the people; and in leading youth and children to take up the proletarian outlook and fight for their future through revolution. The Party has



Prisoners of war at El Fronton prison line up in a revolutionary ceremony for visiting family members in 1982.

olutionary political power can already exist, the entire population is armed and fully participates in the Party or Party-led organisations, the People's Guerrilla Army and the new state power. The situation is different in the cities, because they are strongholds of the reaction and political power can only be taken there in the final moments of the war. Instead of People's Committees, the Party has formed the

revisionism and the trade union bureaucracy, and to participate in the masses' struggles and link them to the struggle for political power, training the masses in the course of waging revolution and struggling against revisionism. Through the People's Guerrilla Army it has played an active role in strikes and the formation of what are called class-conscious workers' committees; in campaigns waged by shanty-

founded mass revolutionary organisations among these sectors in order to carry out this work (in addition to the Party-led peasant organisation in the countryside), and is also active in a number of trade unions and other groups which are beginning to support the people's war. In places and struggles in which there are no Party-generated organisations, the Party, through its army, often creates "resistance centres" of a small

nucleus of people, to push these struggles forward and link them to the people's war.

The Revolutionary People's Defence Movement have called armed shutdowns in the city of Ayacucho since the beginning of the war. Four regional armed shutdowns swept the departments of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac in 1988, lasting three days in most places and seven days in Ayacucho. Tingo Maria, on the Upper Huallaga River, was shut down for three days that year in actions involving not only the paralysis of this city, but also the digging up of the main roadway by thousands of peasants under the leadership and protection

and frequency. The capital was shaken in November 1989 and March 1990. On the eve of the November strike, the traditional "day of the dead", about 3000 families of prisoners of war and other people marched in Lima carrying floral offerings to a cemetery in honour of the fallen heroes of the people's war. This march was brutally suppressed by the police, who formed a wall at Manco Capac Plaza. Three people were killed and fifty more wounded when police opened fire with automatic weapons. The casualties would have been much greater if People's Guerrilla Army fighters had not waged a half-hour all-out battle against the police so that the bulk of the marchers could withdraw. People in the neighbourhood took the wounded into their houses and took care of them.

The following days saw mass clashes with police in several factory districts and shantytowns, the closing of the markets, cinemas, banks and most other businesses and schools, a complete stoppage of the public transport system (state-owned buses were attacked and burned, while most of the mini-buses owned by individuals or small companies stayed home), and major strikes in several industries. Hated class enemies and informers were annihilated. The armed shutdown in March was even more bitterly fought on both sides. The government sent in a helicopter gunship to fire on a mobilisation in a shantytown, killing eleven people.

The Revolutionary People's Defence Movement called for another armed shutdown on 21st August 1990, following Fujimori's price hikes that sparked violent mass outbursts in Lima. It was prepared by two weeks of mass work: leafletting at markets, factories and schools; armed seizures of neighbourhoods and radio stations to allow agitators

to give speeches; slogans painted on walls along main streets and bridges. This time, there was no central march, to the frustration of police who lay in wait at certain plazas. Instead several lightning processions crossed the shantytowns of Chosica and Huaycan, on the outskirts of Lima. A phalanx of uniformed revolutionary youth in formation strode rapidly and audaciously through the grounds of the San Marcos university campus. Their escape from police was facilitated by paint-filled dynamite bombs and crowds of students who blocked pursuit. Strikes were particularly strong in the many small workshops, textile and shoe factories, a tobacco processing plant, a paper mill and so on along the Carratera Central, an artery leading from Lima towards the mountains. This area is a stronghold of the Party-led Class-Conscious Workers Movement. For their own opportunist reasons, the revisionist-led, official national unions based mainly in large-scale plants and state industries maintained an ambiguous attitude toward the shutdown, taking no firm attitude for or against it in many cases.

The Party's work was never confined to the countryside. But the advance of the war principally in the countryside has permitted the Party's work in the cities to advance with giant strides, because the strength of the new, red republic arising in the rural areas has enabled broad numbers of people in the cities to see the link between their longings and reality. Today the country's ruling classes are "huddled against the coast" in Lima and in a few other bastions, as a correspondent for the London *Guardian* put it, surrounded by the advance of the people's war in the mountains on which Lima depends for its food, power and revenue and in the river valleys advancing to the coastline to the north and south of the capital, encircled by the "rings of poverty", the shantytowns, that are turning into iron bands tightening around the capital, and increasingly isolated and opposed by broad numbers of all the classes of the people who are coming to support the people's war.

V. Elections and Crisis

The situation in which Peru's rul-



From the PCP booklet, Day of Heroism.

of the guerrillas. Huancayo, Juaja, Oroya, Huanuco and Cerro de Pasco, in other words, departmental and provincial capitals in the centre of the country, have also been shut down. Small cities and towns as well as rural districts in eight departments were shut down for as long as three weeks in connection with the boycott of the April 1990 general elections.

These armed shutdowns are now rocking Lima with increasing power

ing classes are waging war on the revolution is being torn apart at both ends by political and economic crisis. The PCP, in its analysis of the development of Peruvian society, refers to this period as "the general crisis of bureaucrat capitalism" in Peru, from which there is no exit but revolution.

The intense penetration of imperialist capital which shaped the country's development in the past decades threw Peru's economy into a deep pit: economic stagnation and inflation that began in the mid-1980s and have yet to show any signs of improvement. The government is stumbling under the weight of a \$22 billion debt owed to the U.S. and other rich countries — loans which for the most part went to finance further enslavement of the economy to imperialism. This debt is about equal to the country's entire production for one year. It is also more than twice the estimated cost to the government of carrying out its reactionary war for the last decade. As expensive as the counter-revolutionary war has been, economic subservience to imperialism is even more expensive. These debts must be paid because under the present system Peru cannot survive unless it gets new loans. One Peruvian president after another, including the newly elected Fujimori, has tried to deal with this problem by devaluating Peru's currency in order to boost exports while restricting imports and enforcing "shock" measures to cut living standards.

Fujimori had stood for election on a platform opposed to the devaluations and "shock" cutbacks proposed by the odds-on favorite in that campaign, Mario Vargas Llosa. But within days of taking office he turned around and implemented the sort of measures he had just denounced. This was no surprise to the kind of people who read the foreign financial pages, which reported Fujimori's private meeting with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), banks and Peru's other creditors in New York, where he agreed to reverse the stand that had got him elected. But it was a cruel deception to many of his middle class supporters, who took to the streets alongside Lima's poor in several days of outraged protests.

The term "hyper-inflation" fails to capture the catastrophe: Peru's currency has been devalued by a mil-

lion percent since the mid-1980s. This devastated the lives of working people. Real wages fell by half during that period. But such inflation also provokes serious problems for investment and business overall, adding to the growing climate of *desgobierno* ("ungovernment", as in "undo"). In an attempt to deal this inflation a death blow, Fujimori slashed the dollar value of Peru's currency (the inti), and removed price ceilings and government subsidies on basic necessities. Since Peru depends on imports (even of oil, though it is a medium-ranking oil producing country), prices rose by an average of 600% within a few days. These price hikes were concentrated where they hurt the masses most: with the new petrol prices bus fares jumped so high that some people could no longer afford to go to work. Kerosene, the basic cooking fuel, became prohibitively expensive, as did medicines, and bread, noodles and everything else made with wheat. Though the minimum wage (the maximum wage for the majority) was raised from the equivalent of \$12 U.S. dollars a month to \$55, to eat three meals a day and live in a house the average family of five would need five times that much, according to government figures, and eight times that much according to private economists. In Lima's shantytowns, home to half the city's population, to live on one bowl of potato soup a day is now considered normal.

Fujimori hoped to repeat the experience in Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil, where such drastic "shock" measures dampened inflation, at least for a short time. But inflation is not the underlying problem. Peru's economy has been stagnant since the beginning of the 1980s. President Garcia was able to inject a brief spurt of growth during the mid-1980s at the cost of turning galloping inflation into runaway inflation. Fujimori's recent measures to lay open the country even more nakedly to imperialist investment could, at most, only work to pull up those areas of the economy where such investment is concentrated, and even that presupposes that there would be massive investment, when this is not the case presently anywhere in Latin America.

Five hundred years ago, before the Spanish invaders, people ate consid-

erably better in Peru than they do now. (Average caloric consumption was over the minimum needed to maintain health, while now it is considerably lower.) The deterioration in the last decade has been rapid. Over a third of the country's 23 million people are said to suffer malnutrition; over half of all children have been irreversibly affected. Statistics such as the declining average life span and the recent leap in infant mortality do not fully reveal the depths to which living standards are falling, because antibiotics and other medicines today save many people from epidemics that formerly would have decimated a hunger-weakened population.

Yet the spectre of epidemic is once again rising, to an extent not previously seen in modern times. Hepatitis and other diseases have seeped through Lima's now thoroughly-befouled water supply for the past several years.

In some shantytowns, mothers have to decide whether to buy water from a cistern lorry or bread. Yet even the the most painful of mothers' efforts have failed to protect the children. The cholera outbreak of 1991 may have shocked people around the world, but it was certainly a disaster foretold, an IMF-ordered disaster. To comply with the IMF's instructions to slash public spending and channel the money to foreign banks, the government cut funding for Lima's sewage-treatment plants; raw sewage pumped into the ocean soon smeared the city's beaches. Cholera was the inevitable result.

Without imported wheat, modern Peru — especially coastal Peru — starves. Formerly, the country lived on domestically-produced corn, potatoes, barley, wheat, mutton, pork and beef, despite the semi-feudal relations that kept all but a fraction of potentially arable land from being planted. Yet the pressure of food imports and the chase after maximum profits dictated by foreign investment has ruined agriculture, especially over the course of the last two decades. Agricultural production fell by a third between 1970 and 1986. Only one out of three peasants capable of working full-time is actually able to do so. A third of the formerly cultivated land was unseeded in 1989, particularly in the Andes, where credit for seed was unavailable

to poor families. In 1990, less than half the capital needed for seed, fertiliser and other inputs was available and the year's crops were declared a disaster long before the harvest.

The exodus from the countryside — fueled not by urban development so much as rural disaster — has swollen Lima's population by several times in the last decades. This has brought about the kind of urban development typical in oppressed countries: millions living in whatever kind of shacks they can build themselves, on whatever worthless land they can seize or borrow. Besides proletarians, these shantytowns also are home to impoverished people of the middle classes, such as lower-level schoolteachers, who have waged particularly militant strikes. Hundreds of thousands of people make their living peddling cigarettes one at a time or selling other items in the street markets on which most people depend.

Now, because of the country's reliance on imperialist capital, factories are shutting down due to lack of dollars to import raw materials. The official unemployment rate of 14% refers only to formerly full-time, legally employed and registered workers who have been made redundant; there are no real unemployment statistics in a country where two-thirds of working-age people are said to be under- or unemployed. State workers (including many labourers as well as office workers and others) have seen their incomes drop to a fraction of what they were a few years ago, as the government does everything possible to be able to pay its foreign debt.

Many skilled workers and middle class people are also facing severe difficulties and a hopeless future. They find that if they don't change their Peruvian intis for dollars on the streets on payday, their cheques will be worthless within a few days. The prices of all but the most daily purchases are given in dollars. Some people can so little afford to keep any money at all in intis that they are obliged to use the money traders who ply the pavements across from city cinemas in order to simply buy two tickets. These moneychangers, who operate with complete legal impunity, are said to change four million dollars a day. This is an important way in which the dollars

paid by drug dealers for coca leaves are recycled into the more mainstream sectors of the Peruvian economy, where they play an indispensable role in preventing a difficult situation for the middle classes from becoming completely impossible, in fuelling Peru's import-dependent economy, in lubricating the enrichment of the upper classes and in maintaining the flow of dollars in payments and profits being pumped to the U.S. monopoly capitalists who sit on top of this mess, along with their European and Japanese partners. This situation led 300,000 young Peruvians to immigrate in 1989, to neighbouring countries and, ironically, to the U.S. itself.

These economic conditions, along with the advance of the people's war and the consequent changes in the political climate, have inflamed an equally disastrous political situation. Fujimori's appointment of a "government of national unity" reflects tremendous disunity in the ruling classes: no party was able to win even a third of the votes in the general elections and no-one has been able to unite the ruling classes and those who support them around a programme other than trying to hold together a quivering house of cards.

Even the pro-Soviet revisionists and others who have tried to present themselves as a "third way", between the revolution and the counter-revolution, have all but collapsed. They split into two motley factions, the United Left of some self-styled "Marxists" and the more openly reformist Socialist Left led by former Lima Mayor Alfonso Barrantes. Together they failed to achieve even 10% of the national vote in 1990. By comparison, at the end of the 1970s they won a third of the ballots. This defeat was all the more bitter because throughout the mid and late 1980s the foreign press predicted Barrantes would become President in 1990. Pro-Soviet forces and others abroad had held them up as a model of a parliamentary "left" that would come to power through elections, in opposition to the road taken by the PCP. The pro-Cuba Tupac Amaru group (MRTA) that has combined armed actions with negotiations and other agreements with the government dropped its initial demagogic opposition to the elections, supported United Left candidates and even ran

its own candidates as part of the United Left coalition in some places. All of these "left" forces have ended up at least as discredited as the rest of the system's politicians.

The PCP applied the same policy to these elections that it has to all elections since the people's war began in 1980: to expose them, to call on people to boycott them, to disrupt them, and to stop them through military actions wherever possible. The PCP never claimed that it would prevent the elections from taking place, which would be impossible as long as the enemy holds state power. Still, an analysis of these elections and a comparison to past elections reveals important elements of the current political situation.

In much of the countryside, the November 1989 municipal elections simply did not take place at all. This was especially true in the revolutionary base areas, where the government was not able to organise candidates, hold campaigns or set up polling places. The ruling classes had to concentrate their voting stations in the provincial and departmental capitals and in Lima. In some cities where the government was able to carry out election activities, those elected accepted the PCP's advice to leave town rather than take office. Quite a few officials elected were subsequently disqualified because of the scarcity of valid ballots. For instance, a mayor in Chongos Bajos, in Huancayo, "won" with the votes of three people, said to be himself, his wife and his son.

To take the example of the department of Ayacucho, there was little semblance of elections in a dozen towns in the southern part of the department, and in the north, there were no candidates even in the provincial capital of Huanta. The elections in the departmental capital of Ayacucho had to be subsequently overturned by the courts because two-thirds of the few votes cast were null and void. Just before the day of elections, the People's Guerrilla Army briefly took over the cities of Huanta and Ayacucho simultaneously, temporarily pinning down the Army in their barracks, amidst an armed shutdown, as part of the Party's anti-elections campaign.

In the neighbouring department of Huancavelica, the Armed Forces who used the departmental capital as

their base from which to assault the countryside were met with sabotage and Party slogans painted in red everywhere. One night, agitators joined the crowd leaving a cinema, leading them in a march which grew in strength when it passed through the central plaza. While PGA units blacked out the city and trapped the repressive forces in their lairs with dynamite and rifle fire, the plaza filled with people chanting, "Long Live the PCP! Long Live Chairman Gonzalo! Don't Vote, Long Live the People's War". As the PCP says, this was truly an example of how to use elections for revolutionary purposes.

The government was to show just how much it needs elections to legitimise its system of repression, by unleashing the repression on which this system rests. On election day itself the Armed Forces brought in reinforcements from other areas and went house to house in Huancavelica to enforce obligatory voting. Nevertheless, only 40% voted. In the outlying districts and villages the Armed Forces could not occupy, there was no voting and people put up barricades to block roads leading in and out of the city.

Even on the outskirts of Lima, the government found it impossible to carry out elections in Huaycan, a shantytown along the Carretera Central on the eastern edge of the capital.

Voting is mandatory. Not voting is punishable by a large fine; more importantly, a voter registration book is the national identity document. Those who do not have a stamp to prove that they voted face serious problems in applying for a job, school or anything else. Just before the April 1990 elections the armed forces warned that soldiers would examine the voter books of all travellers stopped at military checkpoints. The government mobilised all its repressive apparatus and all possible social support to hold the April presidential elections. Because of the lack of a majority by any candidate in the first round, they had to hold a second round in June.

The percentage of absentees and blank or spoiled ballots in the November 1989 municipal elections totalled about 65%, according to the *London Independent*. As for April 1990, according to official figures, the national average of those regis-

tered who didn't vote was 21.2%, compared to 10% for the last presidential elections, in 1985, and 19% in 1980. The abstention rate rises to 27% if both registered and eligible but un-registered voters are counted. Of the ballots cast, 15.3% were blank or spoiled, compared to 14% in 1985 and 21% in 1980. Absenteeism and blank or spoiled ballots totalled over 50% in the ten departments of the country where the vast majority of the country's population outside of the capital is located (Ancash, Apurimac, Ayacucho, Cajamarca, Huancavelica, Huanuco, Junin, Pasco, Puno, San Martin), reaching 89.3% in Ayacucho and 80% in Huanuco (which includes the Upper Huallaga). In Lima, 12.9% didn't vote, and 8.7% of the ballots cast were blank or spoiled.

No regime ever fell because of lack of votes. As the PCP says, the task is to "merge the people's war led by the Party with this torrent made up of millions who don't register, who don't vote or who cast blank or spoiled ballots, this torrent the Party is helping to organise as part of the armed sea of the masses who will inevitably sweep away the old order of exploitation and oppression".

Given the disarray in the ruling classes, the discrediting of their politicians and the system of government itself, the PCP has analysed that a military coup d'etat is a real possibility. The Party's policy towards such a coup is to oppose it, because its main purpose would be to unleash an even more unrestrained bloodbath in the cities as well as the countryside. But whether under an "elected" or a military government, for the vast majority of the people, especially the basic masses, the people's war is the only way out.

VI. Yankee Go Home! Victory to the People's War in Peru!

As a result of the advances of the people's war and the deepening crisis undermining the regime's ability to combat it, the United States is making serious preparations for more direct military intervention.

This threat is more than an idea. Pieces are being moved into place.

The U.S. began sending equipment, "civilian" helicopter pilots and mechanics under contract to the U.S. State Department and "Drug En-

forcement Administration" military advisers in mid-1989. At the same time, General Maxwell Thurman, head of the U.S. invasion of Panama and chief of the U.S. Panama-based Southern Command in charge of U.S. military operations in South America, began drawing up plans for different military contingencies in Peru and the neighbouring countries. The CIA and other U.S. government services are using spy satellites to create detailed maps of the Upper Huallaga Valley and other parts of Peru. Such maps, previously non-existent, are necessary for planning and carrying out a stepped-up counter-revolutionary war and would be a precondition for an invasion. The U.S. is also planning to install hi-tech communications systems in Peru and Bolivia.

After decades in which the U.S. had virtually no official military relations with Peru, in 1990 it came up with an offered \$36 million military aid pact. Fujimori, adopting a temporary nationalist pose amidst grave opposition to his economic policies, at first rejected it. The U.S. responded by increasing its offer to \$110 million, including \$39 million in direct military aid. Fujimori then turned around and presented the U.S. offer as his own proposal.

This package would bring U.S. "aid" to Peru to about the same level as El Salvador. While not an enormous amount in terms of U.S. spending, it would represent a big foot in the door. According to the *New York Times*, the pact provides for Green Berets (U.S. counter-insurgency Special Forces) to train and equip six Peruvian battalions into an elite force of 5500 men, to furnish river patrol boats and train their crews, and to refurbish and maintain 20 ground-attack jets. Even without a formal agreement between the governments or U.S. Congressional approval, Bush has used his legal powers to directly transfer military equipment from U.S. stocks to the Peruvian government.

All these measures resemble U.S. efforts in the early days of the Vietnam war. This will certainly mean an immediate escalation of the airborne machine gun and napalm attacks that have already rained down on several villages and shantytowns.

The new U.S. ambassador to Peru, Anthony Quainton, is part of this

military build-up. He was stationed in Nicaragua when the U.S. mined that country's harbours; as ambassador to Kuwait he helped engineer the U.S. naval build-up against Iran in the Persian Gulf. His associate, Richard Meadows, who served with the U.S. secret services in Vietnam and Iran, first went to Peru in 1983. Now he is director of security at a palm oil plantation near the U.S. firebase at Santa Lucia, where he oversees a small private army. Other Americans involved in the "private" air force under contract to the U.S. State Department at Santa Lucia were last employed in the Contra operation run from the White House by Oliver North.

U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle himself went to Peru to speak to Fujimori a few days after Fujimori took office. In Lima, Quayle held a news conference to deny "false reports". "We have no plans for military operations in the war on drugs — period", he said, with a straight face, to correspondents who had already heard from other U.S. government sources that he was there to discuss sending Green Berets. In the same vein, top Bush cabinet member William J. Bennett warned newspaper editors that "if these efforts are caricatured as another Vietnam, an American invasion or involvement in a foreign war, then we risk crippling a series of strengthened relationships that our president and the presidents of the Andean region have recently forged." This is a typical example of the U.S.'s policy of coating its Peruvian intervention with tranquilising deception and trying to forbid people to draw the obvious conclusions. Quayle's very presence in Peru reflected escalating U.S. involvement, since he was the first U.S. government big shot to visit Peru in 30 years.

These statements do reflect the unease with which many senior U.S. military and political strategists view the situation in Peru. The Vietnam war was a disaster for U.S. imperialism whose impact is still being felt today, including in the political constraints and domestic and international opposition that would certainly meet open U.S. involvement in a large-scale counter-insurgency operation. This is one major reason why the U.S. has gone to such lengths to paint

what it is doing in Latin America as a "war against drugs" and not as armed counter-revolution. Furthermore, if the U.S. does send troops into Peru they are not in for a quick romp as in Grenada or a relatively easy victory such as they won in Panama. The PCP is a Maoist party, determined to fight until imperialism and all reaction are wiped from the face of the earth. It is leading a people's war and a revolution. It is a most formidable opponent and the U.S. is not at all anxious to take it on directly. The consequences of such a war, in the rest of Latin America, elsewhere in the world and in the U.S. itself, are potentially momentous. The more cautious imperialist thinkers are quite correct to fear that if the U.S. invades Peru it might be biting off more than it can chew, and choke on it.

A March 1990 report prepared for the U.S. State Department by the Rand Corporation think-tank sharply presented a part of this dilemma (like the rest of the reactionary press, this writer calls the PCP Sendero or Shining Path):

"Peru is a country poised on the brink of internal collapse... Sendero and the social and economic disequilibrium that have fostered its growth have moved Peru into a pre-revolutionary situation. What the final outcome of this condition will be is far from clear. At best, Peru can look forward to a protracted campaign against the Shining Path. Should this conflict devolve into a 'dirty war', it could end in a full-scale class conflict between the Army and Peru's rural and urban poor. The worst case scenario is that Sendero could win. Although that seemed inconceivable even as late as 1987, it has become a plausible outcome. That we can discuss this possibility today is a testament both to Sendero's vitality as a political force and to the government of Peru's continuing inability to make any serious inroads against the insurgency. One way or another, the Shining Path will be a force to be reckoned with for the foreseeable future. There will be no quick or easy solutions. The movement is firmly entrenched in the highlands and is already a permanent presence in and around Lima. Its growth has not been rapid, but it has been steady. Sendero now enjoys a substantial base of support in the coun-

tryside and has begun actively recruiting from among the urban work force and the country's rapidly growing mass of urban unemployed. It has also proven to be a resilient, adaptable, and ruthless organisation. These traits, together, have made Sendero a formidable adversary."

Formidable or not, the United States cannot just sit back and tolerate the victory of a Maoist revolution, not anywhere, and especially not in the heart of a continent ready to burst into flames, a continent where U.S. control and exploitation is a key part of what gives U.S. imperialism its power. It is already working to prepare a political climate in which "public opinion" regards large-scale U.S. military intervention as a reasonable future option, even while covering up the military moves already taking place.

The U.S. has other options as well, that could be used alone or in combination. Describing some of the military operations being planned, a U.S. Defence Department official said "We wouldn't pull the trigger, but we would point the gun." To some extent this refers to U.S. attempts to beef up and command Peruvian troops. But such measures are more of a stop-gap than a solution. He was also referring to the possibility that the U.S. might use the troops of one or more third countries to invade Peru. This was how the U.S. got rid of a government it didn't like in Bolivia in the early 1970s, when the U.S. directed and backed the Brazilian army in temporarily taking over Bolivia on its behalf. It is in this context that one should see the recent agreement between the Bush administration and the Paz Zamora government in Bolivia to send U.S. officers and Green Berets to that country, whose borders lie close to main strongholds of the Peruvian revolution. Under the "war on drugs" label, Bush has also sent massive arms shipments to Colombia, Peru's northern neighbour. Brazil, which is pressing for an outlet to the Pacific, has mobilised troops along the Peruvian and Colombian borders with the pretext of fighting narcotics traffic.

The people's war in Peru has tremendous international significance. It is living proof that the oppressed can rise up, relying on their own strength and not any impe-

rialist or reactionary powers, and deal powerful blows to all the oppressors. It is a living example of the correctness of the Maoist outlook and political line, of the miracles that can be accomplished by the masses of people led by a communist party armed with this line, and of the power of people's war.

The revolutionary people of the world and the parties and organisations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement of which the PCP is a part hold this revolution very dear. There has been important work to defend it, most notably a world-wide campaign to Support the People's War in Peru waged by the RIM parties and organisations in 1985 and 1986 that involved meetings, rallies and other kinds of actions on all the inhabited continents of the world and showed the great potential support this people's war enjoys in all countries. Through several years of efforts, big holes have been blasted through imperialism's blockade and distortion of news on the people's war. But today, the qualitative leap in the attacks on the Peruvian revolution must be met by something more.

The Peruvian people have suffered from 20,000 to 30,000 dead since 1980. The vast majority of them have been non-combatants murdered by the police and Armed Forces in their terror campaigns against the villages. Certainly the reaction will exact a far higher price if the masses are to wage the kind of battles on a grand scale necessary to win countrywide political power, and to face and beat back U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. But the alternative is for the masses of Peruvian people to continue to die anyway, in poverty and degradation, without consequence. PCP Chairman Gonzalo has said, "Yankee aggression, whether direct or indirect by way of puppet governments, is bringing about a war of national liberation, and despite the sacrifice and efforts this would require, there will be a magnificent opportunity to unite 90% of the Peruvian people, at a time when the Party is calling for the countrywide seizure of power, and this will mean more favourable, though more difficult, conditions for the Peruvian revolution. Imperialism is dreaming if it thinks it can snuff out the revolution, and while this period will be

extremely difficult, complex and bloody, it will lead to the people's triumph and serve the emancipation of the class and the world proletarian revolution.... Only through great storms, Chairman Mao said, can the world be changed." (From the speech "In Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution")

A great storm will certainly rise across the world to oppose Yankee intervention and defend the revolution in Peru.

The authorities in the West have crowed quite a bit about what they call "the death of communism", as if the Soviet-bloc regimes that matched the West ugliness for ugliness had not abandoned Marxism and installed their own brand of disguised capitalism long ago. Yet the "old mole of revolution", as Marx put it, is still at work, crisscrossing the earth underground. It has burst out into the daylight in Peru. □

Bibliography

This article drew upon the major May 1990 pamphlet by the PCP Central Committee, *Elections No, People's War Yes*. It is not yet available in English. Many of the direct quotes come from the document Basis of Discussion prepared for the PCP's 1988 First Congress, which has been translated into English.

These and other PCP documents have been reproduced abroad in various languages and are distributed by participating parties and organisations of the RIM, the Peru People's Movement and other overseas supporters of the people's war in Peru, as well as a few bookshops and other outlets. Among other places, many of these documents are available from the Comité Sol-Peru, B.P. 24, 94370 Sucy en Brie, France.

Also available in the same form is the Interview With Chairman Gonzalo published in the Peruvian newspaper *El Diario* in 1988, and later published in a slightly corrected edition by the Party itself. After the interview appeared and circulated in two editions of 100,000 each, the third edition was confiscated and the editor of this legal daily newspaper was driven into exile. Police later occupied

the newspaper's offices and threw its interim editor into prison, where she remains. Now published clandestinely, *El Diario* continues to appear several times a month; photocopies are available abroad. The newsletter *El Diario Internacional* published in Europe is available from B.P. 1668, 1000 Bruxelles 1, Belgium.

The following PCP documents have been published in Spanish, English and other languages in *A World To Win*: "In Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution" and "Honour and Glory to the Proletariat and People of Peru" (No. 15), "Documents from the First Congress" (No. 11), "Develop the People's War to Serve the World Revolution" (No.'s 8 and 9), "Day of Heroism" (No. 6), "Don't Vote — Step Up Guerrilla Warfare" and "PCP Salutes the RIM" (No. 3), "On the Shining Path of Mariategui" (No. 2), "Letters from the PCP" (No. 1).

The following issues of *AWTW* carried articles and other materials on the people's war in Peru: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15.



1991 — Year of International Solidarity
with the People's War in Peru
The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

1991 — Year of International Solidarity with the People's War in Peru

Yankee Go Home!

Call by the Committee of the RIM for a World-Wide Campaign

The towering granite and steel wall of oppression that girds the world is being breached in the mountains of Peru. There the poor have risen up, guns in hand, and their guns are thundering a challenge to the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and other countries. Now these imperialists are seeking to blast them back into submission. Now is the time for all those who hate the world order to come to the aid of the people's war in Peru.

Peru is where the world revolution is breaking through today. Those at the very bottom of society, led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) and its Chairman Gonzalo, have formed a People's Guerrilla Army whose soldiers and commanders alike are mostly peasant men and women. They get their weapons by capturing them from the enemy, so they owe nothing to any power. Though this revolutionary army started very small and is growing step by step, its strength comes from relying on the masses of people for everything, from supplying bread and military intelligence to steadily swelling the ranks of fighters. They are defeating the army of the centuries-old order of domination, murder, rape and humiliation.

These revolutionary military victories have made it possible for the People's Committees to flourish. In these villages, it is the formerly downtrodden who now rule. They are seizing the land, replacing exploitation with voluntary cooperation and transforming the old social relations, habits and ideas accumulated through centuries of subjugation. Their red flag — our red flag — is now flying defiantly in the light of day above many villages where once the peasants' backs were stooped and broken by landlords and despots.

This war centred in the countryside can never be blockaded into surrender. Instead, it is the ruling classes, barricaded in the big cities, that are being encircled by this war drawing tighter and tighter around their strongholds each day. In Peru's shantytowns, the clandestine armed platoons of the poor are dealing blows, contributing to developing the people's war and preparing for the time when this war advances to the point where the cities themselves can be captured through urban insurrection.

The PCP is a participant in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, formed by Maoist parties and organisations in many countries as a step towards enabling the international proletariat to lead humanity to emancipation. These parties are waging revolutionary war or carrying out revolutionary work to prepare for waging such a war according to the conditions of their particular countries. Their goal is not a half-way revolution where a new set of exploiters emerge, but rather continuing the revolution until communism, the creation of a world without oppressors or exploiters in any form. In Peru today, after 10 years of people's war, the seizure of nationwide political power can now be seen on the horizon. This is irrefutable proof of the power of a revolutionary war waged by the masses of people, relying on them-

selves and led by a proletarian party wielding the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, a people's war fought not in the manner of reactionary armies but in a way that gives full play to the strengths of the masses of dispossessed.

The very success of the Peruvian revolution has set it on a collision course with the U.S. The Yankee rulers, despite their bloated bragging at the moment, are well aware of the danger of getting bogged down in what they fear will be "another Vietnam", a war that was a disaster for them, including within the U.S. itself. But they cannot allow the People's Republic of Peru to be born without a fight. U.S. exploitation of Latin America is the dirty secret behind much of Yankee wealth. Though the people who run the U.S. arrogantly consider Latin America their "back yard", hundreds of millions of Latin Americans long to break free of them. With a Maoist revolution Yankee power would begin to unravel.

The U.S. armed forces and CIA have been fighting secretly in Peru since the start of this war in 1980. Now the U.S. government is openly sending Green Beret "advisors", pilots and other armed personnel, along with helicopter gunships, jet bombers and river patrol boats. Pentagon planners are drawing up the charts for future large-scale moves under the pretext of "the war on drugs". They are also making political preparations, including preparing public opinion, for the possibility of massive intervention by the U.S. armed forces directly and/or through the U.S.-commanded armed forces of a neighbouring country.

In this, the U.S. can count on the backing or complicity of the world's governments. The Peruvian revolution has nothing to rely on but its own strength and the support of the world's proletariat and peoples.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has declared an international year of solidarity with the people's war, starting December 26th 1990. The parties and organisations of the Movement will be taking responsibility for implementing this campaign in their countries, according to the conditions and their tasks. The need for this campaign stands out even more strongly in the wake of the Gulf war, which gave proof of the imperialists' appetite for intervention and also of the crucial importance of the political content, ideology and military strategy of any struggle which claims to oppose them. Already many people opposed to U.S. intervention in Peru have stepped forward to push this campaign out in other oppressed countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa and within the belly of the imperialist monsters, including the U.S. itself, and many more can be united in the course of this year of solidarity.

The cry "Yankee Go Home" will find an echo amongst all of the world's people who see in this revolution the embodiment of their own hopes for a completely different world, and among all those opposed to imperialist aggression. The Yankee imperialists can and will be stopped!

9 March 1991



The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement issued a statement on the 10th anniversary of the launching of the people's war in Peru (see AWTW 1990/15), and a number of parties and organisations did so as well. Following are those messages of support to the PCP that so far have reached our hands and been translated.

Revolutionary Internationalist
Greetings to the
Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Peru,
the Proletariat and the
Oppressed People of Peru
From the
Ceylon Communist Party

Dear comrades,

We take this opportunity to wish the Central Committee of the PCP, the proletariat and the oppressed people of Peru all strength and success in the glorious people's war you are waging in the face of mounting life-and-death challenges.

We are aware that the people's war you are waging has arrived at a most decisive conjuncture. The very success of the revolutionary war, which you have been waging for over a decade, and which has already liberated two thirds of the country, is rapidly bringing about the total collapse of the neocolonial regime in your country, making it both possible and necessary to capture nation-wide state power and establish the People's Republic of Peru.

In the face of the victorious forward march of the people's war, U.S. imperialism is taking concrete steps to commit military aggression against Peru so as to drown the revolution in a river of blood. U.S. imperialism, along with the rest of the imperialist powers, simply will not allow the people's revolution to continue to establish and expand the liberated red base areas under the New Democratic state power of the people any further. This is because the development of the people's war in your country has already had, and will continue to have, the most decisive impact on the development of the world proletarian socialist revolution, which can and will spell the doom of world imperialism.

As a founding member of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the PCP today, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and guided by Chairman Gonzalo, is playing a most crucial historical role in the current world conjuncture.

Following the loss of Red China, the PCP mounted the stage of world history with exemplary proletarian courage and determination on behalf of the international proletariat by beginning the people's war in your country on March 17th, 1980, thereby raising high the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, through the thunder of revolutionary war itself. This thunder of the people's war echoing from the peaks of the mighty Andean mountains has spread hope, joy, inspiration and courage to revolutionaries across the world. It has shattered the vile schemes of world imperialism and international revisionism in their concerted effort to distort and bury the immortal revolutionary legacy and the living critical scientific essence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Through the blood of tens of thousands of revolutionary martyrs, the people's war in your country provides living testimony to the invincible truth and all-conquering power of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

At the same time, the people's war in your country continues to provide many crucial revolutionary lessons theoretically and practically to the international proletariat and revolutionaries across the world in mastering, applying and advancing the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Our party is making a serious study of the historical experience of the people's war in your country as part of our preparations to develop the line and path of the revolutionary armed seizure of power in our country.

Brothers and sisters of Peru, your heroic struggle and sacrifice is shining the path towards our goal of communism. You stand in the forefront of the struggle of our class, the international proletariat, in accomplishing the historic mission of destroying world imperialism and ushering in the bright new world of communism.

Our country too is undergoing a most profound revolutionary crisis, and our people are accumulating crucial experience in waging war against imperialism and the neocolonial state. Based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and drawing from the rich lessons and experiences of the revolution in your country and worldwide, we are confident that we can develop the correct political and organisational line and step forward to accomplish our revolutionary internationalist tasks in this most momentous period in history. In unity with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, our party is making efforts to rally the anti-imperialist progressive forces in our country with the aim of exposing and opposing U.S. imperialist aggression

and spreading the lessons and experience of the revolutionary war in your country to the broad masses.

As Mao said, "The path is tortuous, but the future is bright. Nothing is impossible if you dare to scale the heights." Your struggle today represents and concentrates the glorious path and future of the world proletarian revolution! The dawning of the new world is affirmed by your heroism, by your blood and sacrifice! In unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and led by Chairman Gonzalo and the PCP, the proletariat and the people of Peru will surely meet the deadly challenges ahead, continue to develop revolutionary strength and experience, defeat the vile schemes of world imperialism and go on to establish the People's Republic of Peru in the service of the world revolution.

"'Tis the final conflict, let each stand in his place,

The international working class shall be the human race."

25 September 1990

May 17th 1980 - 1990
10 years of People's War
in Peru
From the Committee for
a Revolutionary
Communist Party
in Australia

The Committee for a Revolutionary Communist Party in Australia sends fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of Peru to mark the 10th anniversary of the launching of the people's war in Peru. Peru is the centre of the world revolutionary movement. The people's war in Peru, under the leadership of the line of the Communist Party of Peru Chairman Gonzalo, is of worldwide significance to the people of the world in their struggle for communism, and is another death blow to the imperialist system.

The struggle of the PCP is a beacon shining through the fog of imperialist lies and distortion that "communism is dead" and is an inspiration to comrades who may, temporarily, face difficulties.

The Communist Party of Peru's

unquenchable determination to fight to the end, apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete situation in Peru, to identify themselves with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the worldwide struggle for communism, urges us to redouble our efforts to carry the message of their struggle to the four corners of Australia.

Long Live the Armed Struggle!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Victory to the People's War in Peru!

From the Committee of
Propaganda and
Agitation of Marxism-
Leninism-Mao Tsetung
Thought for the
Formation of the
Communist Party of
Afghanistan for the
Emancipation of the
Working Class

Ten years ago, on May 17th, 1980, the heroic people of Peru launched an armed struggle against the reactionary forces of Peru. The struggle that was prepared for and led by the Communist Party of Peru opened a new chapter in the history of the international proletariat and oppressed people around the world. Despite the twists and turns in the people's war, and despite the atrocities and crimes that are committed by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Communist Party of Peru has led the people's war victoriously for a decade.

As the phony communism of Soviet social imperialism and Chinese revisionism dies, the red banner of genuine communism is raised and hoisted up high on the peaks of the Andes. As the genuine sons and daughters of the Peruvian people fan the heat of revolutionary armed struggle deep into the valleys and cities of Peru, the Yankee leadership organises to suppress the people's war in the name of the "War on Drugs". The "War on Drugs" is nothing but a sham pretext to cover up U.S. aggression against the people. The hypocritical leaders of the U.S., who foster, prop up and support the ring-leaders of drug cartels as their political surrogates,

organised a summit with their Latin American counterparts earlier this year. George Bush, whose connection with Noriega and other drug lords has a long history, approved a \$35 million increase in military aid to the Peruvian government. The aid is used to send American troops, Green Berets, to Peru's Upper Huallaga River Valley in order to set up a new U.S. military base. As the people's war in Peru enters into a new stage, the Bush administration is planning to ask the U.S. Congress for another \$35 million aid in 1991. All this U.S. military aid, which will amount to approximately \$100 million by the end of 1991, will be spent on military bases, guns and attack planes. It is obvious that the imperialists' "War on Drugs" is a war on the revolutionary people.

The U.S. support for the Islamic parties of Afghanistan, which are heavily involved in smuggling drugs from the border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan, is another example of the U.S. "War on Drugs". Since the Islamic parties carry out U.S. policy and safeguard the interests of the Western imperialists in the region, the U.S. remains a faithful supporter of the Islamic parties. Heavy involvement of the Islamic parties with the Pakistani drug lords is ignored by the policy makers. Truckloads of heroin smuggled by the Islamic parties, in return for the arms delivered to the Islamic parties through CIA channels, is overlooked by the U.S. authorities. Fostering, propping up and supporting the Islamic parties of Afghanistan, which are the major drug traffickers in the region, is not war on drugs. Rather, it is war on the people - war on the revolutionary people who oppose the Islamic parties just as much as they do the Soviet puppet regime. Thus, the demagogic slogan of "War on Drugs" cannot deceive the revolutionary people of Afghanistan. In the case of Latin America and Peru, it is clearly understood that the "War on Drugs" is war on the people of Latin America. It is a reactionary war against the revolutionary war of the Peruvian people.

The people's war in Peru is the war of all oppressed people against imperialism and reaction. The conscious revolutionary forces cannot and will not tolerate the U.S. aggression against the Peruvian comrades. The PAC (MLM), as a part of the Maoist movement of Afghanistan, strongly condemns the U.S. intervention in Peru. We demand an unconditional withdrawal of American troops from Peru, and demand that the Yankee imperialists stop their murderous moves against the Peruvian people once and for all.

Victory to the People's War in Peru!
Down with the U.S. Intervention in Peru!
Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

17 May 1990

To the Communist Party of Peru
From the Committee of
Revolutionary Internationalists
on behalf of the Joint
Committee in Support of the
RIM (Australia)

We send our greetings and congratulations in honour of the 10th anniversary of your launching people's war in Peru on May 17th 1980. In doing so we aim to defend firmly the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and link the advances that your party has led in the last ten years in fighting the people's war in Peru with our worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction.

Even though there are victories still to be won by the oppressed of Peru, progress made by your party and the class it stands for mean that defeat stares in the face of the forces of imperialism and reaction in Peru. Your party has shown the world that a decisive break can be made with imperialist domination through mobilising the masses in a people's war and waging a New Democratic Revolution, overturning the old state powers, the old social system preparing to make way for the blooming of a new society in a way only last seen in revolutionary China. The people's war in Peru is the sharpest expression today of the worldwide struggle to create a world free of class distinctions and oppression, and the armed struggle your party is leading is a massive material force on the side of, and as part of, this struggle. Your party in fighting ten years of people's war has illuminated the invincible truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

As a part of the international communist movement, we in Australia compare ourselves to you who ten years ago launched forward on your historic task because we also are committed to treading the same path of your resolute fighters who dare to create the future. We often turn to the part of the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* where it says, "...if one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first there will be soldiers and even if there is no political power, power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of the international communist movement since the time of Marx." This reminds us that you like ourselves once faced the tasks we now

confront and are determined to overcome as we fight ahead for the forces necessary to end Australian imperialism and all it stands for. Your struggle in Peru and especially the events of May 17th are a concentrated demonstration of the truth which makes us strive even more toward our responsibilities in Australia and contribute to the development of world revolution.

Our task of building a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party is inseparable from our support for the people's war in Peru and is part of ending all imperialism worldwide. Our proletarian internationalism isn't simply a unity of workers against all the oppressive conditions in oppressed countries but reflects the fact that we are part of a single class worldwide facing a world system of imperialism where we are all charged with the duty of our class of liberating all of humanity. Political preparation and organising forces for revolution is our task in Australia where nothing short of revolution is urgently needed, as it is in Peru. We are part, as the *Declaration of the RIM* says, of "the strategic alliance between the revolutionary proletarian movement in the advanced countries and the national-democratic revolutions in the oppressed countries." Revolution in Peru belongs to the international proletariat, as does revolution in Australia. The oppressed of Peru can't be free if exploiting and oppressing imperialist countries like Australia are left to continue their domination in the world.

We do not just aim to eliminate its control from certain areas of the world, because Peru and other countries oppressed by imperialism cannot be truly free if the foundations of imperialism are left intact, but while it is true the Australian monopoly capitalists aren't one of the major imperialists directly exploiting Peru, they have gone on the political, economic and diplomatic offensive in South America, and as a very close ally of the U.S., are likely to stand right beside U.S. intervention in Peru. Australia is going through a period of chauvinist resurgence creating new and enforcing old relationships and imperialist order of the kind the U.S.A. enforces in Peru. To fully contribute to support for the revolution in Peru and highlight the launching of people's war in Peru, we must at the same time fight very hard to bring down Australian imperialism. We have a lot to learn and a long way to go but those fighters who launched out on May 17th in Peru remind us we can do it and we can win. □

Let the Peruvian Revolution Illuminate the Path for the Revolution in Colombia!

By the Communist
Organisation of
Colombia/Marxist-Leninist-
Maoist

The people's war in Peru which began ten years ago, on the 17th of May 1980, is today advancing victoriously under the leadership of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru, a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. This heroic deed took place "in the very bowels of your centuries-old, unbearable poverty and burning rebellion — hope was unfurled, defiant, calling out, in the concrete form of gunfire — the armed struggle. A handful of sons and daughters of our fatherland, flesh of your flesh, dared to take up arms to overthrow the old order of exploitation and create a new world that will truly be for the people, where up until now there has only been misery and growing oppression"... "Thus, everything is growing out of the barrel of a gun, the armed struggle is giving rise to things that are new and serve the people and destroying everything old and reactionary."

The Peruvian revolution, the people's war, not only serves the Peruvian people, but also the world proletarian revolution and in this sense it is a light of revolutionary hope, encouragement and optimism for all the world's oppressed. In these times when the imperialists and reactionaries are shouting that "communism is dead", spreading scepticism, surrender, capitulation and conciliation, the people's war in Peru fully demonstrates the shining vitality of authentic communism and the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the only theory that guarantees the triumph of the liberation of the class and the people. The people's war in Peru shows that it is revisionism that has failed!

The surging people's war in Peru gives concrete proof of the correctness of Chairman Mao's guidance: to make revolution, there must be a *Maoist*

party, the most advanced organisation of the proletariat; a guerrilla army, the main mass organisation, and a united front of the revolutionary classes, tools with which to carry out the democratic revolution to overthrow the exploitation and oppression of imperialism and bureaucrat capital and the continuing existence of semifeudalism; and a people's war whose essence is the building of revolutionary base areas.

The people's war in Peru also shows the crucial importance of focusing the whole party on "one single idea": the omnipotence of revolutionary warfare! Courage, combativity, fighting spirit and daring are all products of a correct ideological stand centred on the orientation given by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: Revolutionary violence, violent revolution, is the *only* way to win political power and transform the world. In the case of the nations oppressed by imperialism, this principle takes the form of people's war, to culminate the democratic revolution, advance to socialism and keep going towards communism by means of several cultural revolutions under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today, in 1990, the sinister plans of all the imperialists, especially the U.S., in collusion with the Peruvian and other Latin American ruling classes, are taking aim at the revolution in Peru. The U.S., with its "war on drugs" strategy, means to fight the people's war in Peru by means of an invasion. That is what they are now preparing, wiping out any possibility of people's uprisings in Latin America, and even of opposition to the regimes in power. Colombia is an example of what the imperialists and the ruling classes are ready to do to prevent popular and revolutionary movements. With blood, steel and "political negotiations" they are backing down the people's movements!

While in Colombia the reactionary classes unleash brutal white terror, while the guerrilla movements here give themselves up for a bowl of beans — legality and a few votes — in Peru the people are advancing in the building of a New Democratic Republic, burying the rotten old Peruvian state as they go. These are the two poles of a single truth: political power is born out of the barrel of a gun, and not from votes! Those who take up arms must continue on to communism and never give up or bury their weapons!

It is most urgent to denounce the imperialists' plots, their preparations to invade Peru to try and smash the people's war. We must support that war and prepare to stop the Yankee offensive in Latin America. On this occasion marking ten years of heroic deeds, the Communist Organisation of Colombia/Marxist-

Leninist-Maoist (OCC/MLM) salutes the Communist Party of Peru and its Chairman, Comrade Gonzalo, its men and women Party comrades and all its fighters. We give homage to the heroic fighters and comrades who have given their lives and with their blood sown the seeds of the Peruvian people's emancipation.

Long Live Maoism!
Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!
Support the People's War in Peru!
Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

17 May 1990

Long Live the 10th
Anniversary of the
People's War in Peru!

From Victor Fernandez,
Chairman, Communist
Party of Spain

It has been ten years since the Communist Party of Peru, now truly glorious, assumed its role of heroic combatant and unleashed the great storm of the revolution. Consistently upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and concretising it in Gonzalo Thought, today that small spark has been transformed, through the work of guns, into a roaring bonfire lighting up the world with the example of its liberating action.

The class struggle, international action and the struggles of the proletariat and peasants allowed Marxism to strike deep roots in Peru, bearing fruit, the Communist Party of Peru, first with J. Carlos Mariategui and today with Chairman Gonzalo.

Centuries of poverty, suffering and exploitation began to give way May 17th 1980 with the launching of the people's war. Guerrilla fighters, guns in hand, began to open a new road from the Andes to the sea, unfolding thousands of actions that have splashed red all over Peru, forging the base areas which now shine openly in the countryside, in the light of day.

The People's Guerrilla Army has been tempered in the course of hard-fought, fierce battles, in constant combat with no quarter against the Army, the police and the vigilantes of the reaction who have tried to set sections of the people against

each other, and today against the forces of Yankee imperialism as well, developing the New Democratic revolution, destroying imperialist domination, semifeudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and bringing into being the new state of the workers, peasants and progressive people, the People's New Democratic Republic.

These ten years of people's war are showing the world's proletariat and masses that the rights of the people can be won and defended only by force of arms, and that imperialism and its flunkies will stop at nothing to defend the old, rotten reactionary state and the outmoded, decrepit world of which they are lord and master: massacres, genocide, disappearances, mass detentions and imprisonment, hunger and misery. We can expect nothing from this world of horrors.

Under the pretext of fighting narcotics traffic, Yankee imperialism is hastening to intervene directly in Peru. Its only objective is to fight the people's war. This manoeuvre against the revolution has been joined by the Spanish imperialist state and its current government through the Trilateral pact, in this way once again revealing their true nature to the proletariat and masses of people in the Spanish state.

The press in the service of the state and the government, especially *El Pais*, have been dedicating themselves lately to spreading slander against the people's war in Peru, echoing the psychological warfare campaign waged by the Peruvian Army, claiming that the PCP "have temporarily laid down their arms" and that "they are divided on the question of the armed struggle". The reactionaries cannot understand that when the proletariat takes up arms, under the leadership of its party, following Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it will never put them down until winning victory. What is the purpose of such campaigns? World reaction grasps the significance of the Peruvian revolution, it knows the living example of the people's war is knocking down their reactionary counteroffensive against the ideology of the proletariat and its most lofty aspirations, a counteroffensive involving the converging participation of revisionism, imperialism and all churches and religions, and they are not about to give in to this revolution.

We communists of the Spanish state are proud to count the Communist Party of Peru amongst our comrades; the teachings of Chairman Gonzalo and the example he has given us of heroic dedication to the proletariat and masses serve as our guide to take up the tasks that history and the class have set before us. From here, I would like to express to you, in my own name and in the name of

the Communist Party of Spain, our firm and unshakable support. We uphold the banner "the Peruvian Revolution is Our Revolution", and just as we have pledged our lives to the Party and the revolution in Spain we also express our resolution to do the same in defence of the Peruvian revolution if it were necessary to do so.

Long Live the 10th Anniversary of the People's War in Peru!
Long Live the Communist Party of Peru and Its Leadership, Chairman Gonzalo!
Uphold, Defend and Apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!
May 1990

To the Communist Party of Peru
Central Committee

From the Maoist Party Centre,
Communist Party of
Turkey/Marxist-Leninist

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the revolutionary proletariat and the broad masses of people in Turkey, we are proud to hail the people's war in Peru and to express our revolutionary joy and greetings to your Party and its Chairman Comrade Gonzalo who for a decade has been leading the heroic sons and daughters of our class and the oppressed masses in Peru in a resounding revolutionary war from victory to victory.

Ten years after its launching, the people's war in Peru stands as formidable testimony to the strength and vitality of our class's Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and to the inexhaustible creative fighting power and collective wisdom of the oppressed masses armed with and led by the ideology of the international proletariat.

On 17th May 1980, the first salvoes bursting from the gunbarrels of your handful of heroic fighters was the declaration of war by the oppressed in Peru on the reactionary Peruvian state and the imperialist world order that backs it. Firmly upholding Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, your Party "put daring above everything and boldly aroused the masses", as Mao taught our class. In ten years of revolutionary warfare filled with brilliant victories and inspiring sacrifices, the proletariat and masses of people in Peru stand tall and proud — they

are full of revolutionary exuberance and optimism and confident of their ability to put a decisive end to the vicious rule of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism, in the service of the world proletarian revolution. These are most heart-lifting, inspiring achievements for our class and the oppressed all over the world. The oppressed masses of Peru, who had been treated as "nothing" by the reactionary ruling class in Peru and by the imperialists East and West, are now in a position to be able to dictate to these reactionaries that "they shall be all"!

Under the leadership of your Party and in the furnace of people's war, the People's Guerrilla Army has developed by leaps and bounds and today fields a mighty force of tens of thousands of warriors who bit by bit are driving the reactionary armed forces of the state out of the countryside and increasingly surrounding them near Lima. Even there their rule can no longer escape being the target of the revolution, because the military and political power of the revolution has spread deep roots and developed in the countryside, conquering the mighty Andes, descending onto the plains and into the valleys, and rallying around the red flag millions who already have their eyes and minds fixed on the strategic offensive. The dawn has already risen for the People's Republic of Peru, which is exercising its own political power in a number of areas in the Peruvian countryside.

Our teacher Mao said, "So long as there are people under the leadership of the communist party every miracle is possible." The victorious unfolding of the people's war in Peru underscores not only your Party's genuine and resolute defence and practice of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and science but also that the final nationwide seizure of power that will hoist the red flag of world proletarian revolution all over Peru is indeed no longer just a distant possibility. Your Party ideologically, politically and militarily "dared to struggle and dared to win", it fully seized upon the truth that "among all things, people are the most precious" and it drew the lesson from Mao's teaching that "without a people's army the people have nothing". Hence we are confident that the people of Peru "have nothing" to doubt about the final victory of the people's war in Peru, because they have not only a mighty revolutionary army but also an experienced genuine Maoist Communist Party, the PCP, leading them and their revolutionary army inexorably towards the complete defeat of their oppressors.

The TKP/ML Maoist Party Centre has learned and continues to learn from the

invaluable experiences of the struggles and achievements of your Party and the people's war it is leading, in order to carry out the strategy of people's war in Turkey of encircling the cities from the countryside, as part of the world proletarian revolution. We are united by our common cause of achieving worldwide communism and our common Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, and we are also proud to be united with your Party within the ranks of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which was formed to heighten the growing strength and ability of the Maoist parties and organisations to achieve our common goal. The advance of the people's war in Peru under the leadership of your Party and its Chairman Gonzalo also has made crucial contributions to the fighting unity of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

While the advances of the people's war in Peru bring joy to the world's oppressed, they threaten the imperialists and all the world's reactionaries. The U.S. imperialists in particular have gone on record for their preparations to carry out a major aggression against the Maoist revolution in Peru and the mortal threat it poses to their imperialist interests in Latin America and beyond. Knowing the vicious, criminal nature of the U.S. imperialists, we believe that they will step up their already thinly disguised political, economic and military intervention in Peru in a major way, possibly even by a full-scale counter-insurgency war deploying Yankee troops against the people's war. For they fear the armed forces of the reactionary Peruvian state will not hold out for long against the might of your people's war.

In such a case, our Party will carry out its tasks in an all-round way to expose and fight the renewed criminal aggression of our common enemy, the imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, in order to stand more firmly shoulder to shoulder with our comrades in Peru and to foil the enemy's desperate aggression against the shining trench of world proletarian revolution in Peru.

Again, we are confident that the Yankee and other imperialists, by launching such a criminal attack, will only harvest a bitter, mortal defeat at the hands of the heroic masses of Peru led by your Party. In the final analysis, they will only provide an opportunity for the people and the proletariat of Peru to make even bigger contributions under the leadership of your Party and its Chairman Gonzalo to the cause of world proletarian revolution. □

Resolution in Support of the People's War in Peru

From the 5th National
Conference of the Nepal
Communist Party
(Mashal), COC

Today, the revolutionary communists worldwide are facing a serious attack from various reactionary forces and rightist opportunist elements. Especially citing the example of the open declaration of capitalism in the so-called socialist countries of Eastern Europe, bourgeois-imperialist forces are making a huge noise, saying Marxism has failed. In such a situation, the communists throughout the world have to shoulder the serious responsibility of holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung. Thought by firmly leading the people in the struggle against imperialism on a world scale and domestic reaction in each country, exposing all sorts of revisionist elements.

In the context when communists are not in possession of state power in any country in the world since the counter-revolution in China that occurred with the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung, it is very necessary for the revolutionary communists to march ahead in leading the international communist movement in a planned way. The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is an encouraging step in this line, and our party heartily supports the process of further strengthening it and extending its contacts further.

Comrades: When the reactionaries and right opportunists worldwide are intensifying attacks on the revolutionary communists, the people's war in Peru, which has been firmly forging ahead under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), has provided a new source of inspiration. Our Party firmly supports the revolutionary movement in Peru and extends its revolutionary greetings to the heroic Peruvian revolutionaries. Also, while taking lessons from this revolutionary movement, we promise to take steps in concretely preparing for New Democratic Revolution in the concrete conditions of our own country.

Today, as the Peruvian revolutionary war is marching towards victory day

after day, the danger of imperialist intervention against the revolution has also been increasing. By exposing and resisting these deplorable designs of American imperialism, our Party promises to fulfill its proletarian internationalist duty towards the Communist Party of Peru and the revolutionary Peruvian people. In this very context, the Party heartily supports the "Yankee Go Home!" campaign called by RIM, and decides to take full initiative in spreading this campaign, especially in Nepal and India.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao

Tsetung Thought!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Long Live the People's War in Peru!

Down with American Imperialism!

Yankee Go Home!

October 1990

Message to the
Communist Party of Peru
From the Organisation of
Revolutionary Communists of
Afghanistan

Comrades!

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the people's war in Peru, the Organisation of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan (ORCA) sends its comradely salutes and greetings to the leaders and members of the Communist Party of Peru. Your success in waging and developing ten years of people's war inspires the Maoist forces worldwide — including our organisation — and it is a source of hope. This has been achieved with the dear blood of thousands of the people's sons and daughters. The Position Document of our organisation states on this question: "The struggles of the peoples of Latin America in the past years occupy an important place in the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world. The revolutionary war of the people of Peru, under the leadership of the (Maoist) communist party of that country, which is under the leadership of Comrade Gonzalo, has been going on for a decade and has liberated a quarter of the country from the claws of the imperialists and reactionaries. It is a source of inspiration for the peoples of all other countries, and the revolutionaries of the world long for its complete victory."

The savage intervention of the U.S. imperialists in South and Central America is not a war on drugs, it is a war on the people. As the fundamental goal of this intervention is to suppress the people's war in Peru, the resistance of the people of Peru will, in turn, stand at the forefront of the resistance of the peoples of the region. Our Position Document states on this question: "While U.S. imperialism has turned parts of South and Central America into a parade ground for its troops and has occupied Panama and sent forces into Colombia, Bolivia and Peru, it is very likely that the north of South America and parts of Central America will be turned into a battleground of the peoples against U.S. imperialism's rapacious activity. In this situation, the struggle of the people of Peru will certainly have a role of the highest importance, for the conscious and revolutionary proletarian leadership in that country has the potential to organise the people's war in Peru in such a way that it will stand at the fore of the wars of resistance of the other peoples of the region."

Comrades!

The Organisation of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan, as a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organisation, approves the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist political-ideological line of the Communist Party of Peru and admires your vanguard role in hoisting the flag of Maoism. Our Position Document states on this question: "The term 'Maoism' was used for the first time by the Communist Party of Peru. This party in its numerous documents published since the formation of RIM have used the term 'Maoism'." We are looking for ways to establish closer relationships with you comrades and together to lay the grounds for raising our present level of ideological and political unity.

From our point of view, this should be done on the basis of proletarian internationalism and by relying on the line put forward in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, through the common struggle of all the participants of our movement and in close links with its Committee. "...The ideological-political line presented in the *Declaration of RIM* is a solid basis for carrying forward the reunification of the international communist movement and is the pivot around which we can advance the regrouping of the genuine communist forces worldwide toward the formation of the new communist international." (from the Position Document of ORCA)

Comrades!

Afghanistan is a country under the domination of the social-imperialists, the imperialists and different kinds of reactionaries. Like Peru, it is a semi-(neo-)colonial, semifeudal country. For almost ten years a bloody war of resistance has been waged against the Soviet social-imperialists. Our people have paid dearly for this war — thousands of villages and towns have been totally destroyed; one third of the population of the country have become refugees, scattered in 25 countries on five continents; one and a half million people have died, thousands are crippled, and the best sons and daughters of the people have become its victims. Yet this heroic resistance did not lead our people towards the destruction of the reactionary semi-(neo-)colonial semifeudal system, towards New Democratic Revolution. Even though "the aggressor army of social imperialism has withdrawn from the country and the occupation of Afghanistan by the social-imperialist invaders has ended, the military and administrative rule of its ally, the Kabul regime, the regime of the bureaucrat comprador bourgeoisie and the feudals, is still in power. Further, feudal and comprador bourgeois classes which are dependent on Western imperialism rule over a great part of the countryside and some small cities." (From the Position Document of ORCA)

For a number of reasons, the war of resistance of the people of Afghanistan did not advance as a stage of protracted people's war against social-imperialism, imperialism and reaction. In other words, it did not advance as a stage of the New Democratic Revolution in the country. One major reason for this failure was that a Maoist communist party did not exist in Afghanistan — a shortcoming still to be solved. Our organisation is striving seriously to resolve this problem as soon as possible and, in the most principled way, to form the vanguard proletarian party of Afghanistan. We think this is the most fundamental step to be taken in preparation for initiating the people's war in this country.

We have learnt much from you comrades, and will continue to do so. We admire your heroic war and we support it. The best and most effective support we can give to the glorious battle in Peru is to hasten our own efforts to begin the people's war in Afghanistan so that the blood of the martyrs of the "Andes" will also blossom and bear fruit in the valleys of the "Anduz"!

Warm comradely salutes!

20 September 1990

Congratulations on the
Occasion of the 10th
Anniversary of the
People's War in Peru
Led by the Communist
Party of Peru!
From the Central
Committee of the
Proletarian Party of Purba
Bangla (Bangladesh)

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the people's war of Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru, we are sending our warmest revolutionary congratulations to the leaders and cadres of PCP and to the revolutionary masses on behalf of the entire cadres, sympathisers and leadership of the Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP).

The spark of the revolutionary war kindled by your Party ten years ago under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo has turned today into a prairie fire. The blazing up of this prairie fire of people's war has been made possible by firmly upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the guide to the emancipation of the people of the whole world, by applying it creatively to the concrete conditions of Peru, and by sticking unremittingly to arduous struggle, keeping the deepest faith in and relying on the people in order to surmount all sort of difficulties. And it is through all this that, since the beginning of people's war ten years ago, your small force has developed tremendously both qualitatively and quantitatively, that a strong Party has been built up and has achieved its ideological-political and practical enrichment and maturity, that the People's Guerrilla Army has taken shape and has been continuously becoming stronger and stronger, and that it has been and is possible to organise the Peruvian revolutionary masses at an increasing rate under the banner of people's war led by your Party. Hence, today, your Party is able to more efficiently lead the People's Guerrilla Army and the Peruvian revolutionary masses to advance in spirited strides like waves towards the final victory. And it is on this basis that a number of base areas have been built up. These base areas have started to be linked up, which in turn is expanding the Andes red base area in length as well as width; its light is shining increasingly in all corners of the country. These advances of the revolutionary struggle in your country have placed the people's war in Peru at the forefront of the world proletarian rev-

olutionary movement.

Our two Parties are united by the same ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, by our common commitment to achieving socialism and communism throughout the world and by our common participation in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Our two Parties face a common enemy, i.e., all kinds of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. Both of our Parties, at the present time, are waging struggles to perform the New Democratic Revolution in our own countries. Our Party, like yours, is leading the people's revolutionary armed struggle in our country — although we have not yet been able to raise this armed revolutionary struggle to such a developed stage as the people's war in Peru.

In 1988 and 1989, the American fascist puppet Ershad government launched an all-out suppression campaign against our struggling areas with a view to rooting out the people's armed struggle led by our Party. But in this situation we failed to confront this suppression campaign of the government by raising our armed struggle to a higher phase. Hence we were compelled to make an overall retreat. In this way we lost an excellent opportunity to rouse a forceful people's war in our country. At the moment we are summing up the experience, and in this case the people's war in Peru led by your Party is rendering valuable lessons and experience to us, as it is doing to all the revolutionary communists of the world.

Comrades,

Your Party and the people's war in Peru led by your Party is contributing moral and material assistance to us by developing the revolutionary struggle continuously and by weakening the strong grip of our common enemy, American imperialism. In the same way, our Party too is striving hard to continue its moral and material assistance to the people's war in Peru, so as to enable it to grow gradually stronger and stronger, by making a fresh advance in the revolutionary armed struggle in our country and thus weakening American and Russian imperialism along with all other imperialism and reaction and by doing propaganda work and creating public opinion in favour of the people's war in Peru. We firmly believe that, having summed up the experiences of our past disasters, we will surely be able to rouse armed struggle afresh in the coming future and thus prepare ourselves in order to render the best possible assistance to the Peruvian revolution as well as to world revolution.

Comrades,

It is our resolute faith that the great

people's war in Peru, led by the Communist Party of Peru, will be able to continue its advance not only as before but in larger strides and thus attain final victory, by confronting all adversities, including direct and indirect, continuous and increasing, American aggression. It is through the continuous victorious advances of the people's war in Peru that the Communist Party of Peru is making a great contribution to the further advance of the world revolution and to the final achievement of Socialism and Communism.

With great revolutionary warmth.

16 November 1990

10 Years of People's War in
Peru: Without Political Power
All Is Illusion!

From the Revolutionary
Communist Group of
Colombia

"The rebellion is snowballing, becoming an unstoppable landslide that will bury oppression and keep growing until communism" — Chairman Gonzalo

This 17th of May marks the tenth anniversary of the people's war in Peru. In the ten years of the revolution's victorious advance, it has come to control a third of Peru's territory. The achievements of the Peruvian masses led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP, called Shining Path in the daily press) fill the world's oppressed with joy, and they see this revolutionary deed as a great source of inspiration.

Amidst the current offensive of world reaction, which is attempting to pass off the bankruptcy of revisionism, of phony communism, as the "failure" of communism, and thus try to portray their system of exploitation and oppression as the only alternative for the world's peoples, the people's war in Peru is demonstrating the oppressed's real alternative, to put a real end to the spiritual and material suffering of the masses under this system. What makes this revolution different from other recent revolutions is that it is being led by an authentic communist party, a party that has taken as its guide Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the philosophy and politics of the international proletariat, which has developed as a living science amidst class struggle (a philosophy, a world outlook, through which the proletarian revolution, unlike all others, seeks to put an end to all

exploitation and oppression and not just replace one system of oppression with another). Amidst the confusion created by all kinds of revisionists, the PCP, under the correct guidance of its leader, Chairman Gonzalo, has been able to defend Mao's legacy in deeds and enabled it to take root amongst the masses. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* says, "The principle involved is nothing less than whether or not to uphold and build upon the decisive contributions to the proletarian revolution and the science of Marxism-Leninism made by Mao Tsetung.... Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Without upholding and building upon Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general."

Creatively taking up Mao Tsetung's great contributions to Marxism-Leninism, the PCP has fought for the application of this science to the conditions of the Peruvian revolution, for the investigation of society, for the knowledge of reality the proletariat must acquire, in order to equip the Peruvian masses with an understanding of the character of the revolution and the revolutionary road, people's war, forging a line and leadership amidst ideological struggle against right and left opportunism, achieving and fighting to maintain a correct orientation and a leadership capable of leading the people's war in order to guide the armed masses until communism, guiding them so that this revolutionary deed they are carrying out serves the world proletarian revolution and becomes a base area for that revolution.

The PCP has built the party with revolutionary violence as its centre, preparing the masses around the central task and highest form of revolution: the seizure of political power through war. The Peruvian communists have been guided by Mao's teaching that the main form of struggle is warfare and the main mass organisation is the guerrilla army; all other forms of mass organisation and mass struggles are also indispensable and in no way can be cast aside, but the objective of all of these is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of war, the purpose of all organisations and struggles is to prepare for it; after the outbreak of war, all organisations and struggles are directly or indirectly coordinated with the war. The PCP guides everything to serve the war, and the centre of the war is the building of political power by and for the masses of people, giving concrete reality to Chairman Gonzalo's words, "Nothing in this world, absolutely nothing at all, disappears by itself, and exploitation and

oppression will only disappear when the class forces them to disappear."

To centre on the omnipotence of war does not mean that the gun rules in the PCP. The Party leads the gun, and not the other way around; the PCP puts politics in command. People and not weapons are the main thing in people's war. The centre of this war is the seizure of political power and its defence, and the building of the new political power must go through the building of revolutionary base areas in which the masses exercise this power (in the case of the PCP, through clandestine People's Committees). The masses of workers and poor peasants themselves have arisen to put an end to centuries of oppression. They have arisen to put an end to the domination of imperialism, the bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords. They have arisen consciously, under the leadership of the authentic party of their class, the proletariat.

We communists take as our starting point that the masses and the masses alone make history. This truth put forward by Marxism since the very beginning and emphasised by Mao Tsetung is bursting through in each and every action of the PCP, and this is a valuable lesson for revolutionaries around the world. If the masses do not rise up, or if their struggles are channeled by forces foreign to the proletariat and under narrow banners, it is not the masses who bear the blame, but the communists who have not been able to lead them correctly. Those who do not have full confidence in the masses' potential and strike a messianic pose are destined to fail or become simple agents of reaction. Those who see hope in the present system or who think that the suffering of the masses is only due to problems with part of the bourgeoisie or with individuals are destined to fail. Around us now, chiming in with the chorus of world reaction, the ruling classes and forces of the petite bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are striving to show that revolutionary violence has failed. But the masses of workers and peasants are learning from the example of our brothers and sisters in Peru who are constructing the new, guns in hand. Their revolution is something new in Latin America, where especially since the victory of the Cuban revolution, armed struggle and guerrilla warfare have been associated with a revisionist outlook opposed to people's war, which is a war of the masses guided by a party that relies upon them, develops their initiative, bases itself on their will and with them builds political power.

The comrades of the PCP drew a dividing line between themselves and those who think that Maoism can be reduced to simply military strategies and tactics. With the military line of the proletariat Mao Tsetung has left us, the PCP is guiding the

Peruvian masses in a New Democratic revolution, which will go over to socialism, but they want even more — they are fighting for communism. For this reason the Peruvian revolution is based on serving the world proletarian revolution, and as part of this line, the PCP together with other Maoist forces from all over the world formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement six years ago, in order to build towards an International of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The advances achieved by the Peruvian masses have driven the Peruvian ruling classes and imperialism itself to desperation. That's why the U.S. imperialists, with the consent of all the other imperialists, including the USSR, are preparing for large-scale intervention to try and prevent the U.S. from losing control in a country they consider part of their "back yard". The U.S. is constructing military bases and sending Green Berets under the pretext of "the war on drugs", but in reality they are trying to beat down the masses who have arisen against the system. The real communists and the oppressed in general, and all those who really seek to put an end to the present rotten state of affairs, must denounce and oppose these manoeuvres by the imperialists who, together with the local oppressors, want to drown the people's achievements in blood.

Support the People's War in Peru!
Oppose Imperialist Intervention in Peru
and Latin America!
Down with the Lies and Slanders Against
the Peruvian Revolution!
Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao
Tsetung!
Strengthen the Revolutionary
Internationalist Movement!

May 1990

To the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of Peru
From the Central Committee
of the Revolutionary
Communist Party, USA

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru, we send you our revolutionary salute on behalf of the entire membership and leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Ten years ago your Party, under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, took

the daring revolutionary step of initiating the people's war. Although your forces were small at the beginning, by grasping the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and applying it to the concrete situation in your country, by continually relying on the masses, by persevering in arduous struggle and overcoming all difficulties, your Party has led the People's Guerrilla Army and the revolutionary masses in advancing wave upon wave.

The first revolutionary sparks of ten years ago have led to the vast red base areas beginning to link up all along the length of the Andes and whose light is shining increasingly in all corners of the country. These advances have placed the revolutionary struggle in your country at the forefront of the world proletarian revolutionary movement.

Our two Parties are united by our ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, by our common commitment to achieving communism throughout the world and by our common participation in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Our Party, like other revolutionary communists throughout the world, has striven to learn from the advanced experience achieved in Peru so as to better prepare to carry out the revolution in the U.S. which, while taking a different road than in Peru, will share the fundamental feature of being a people's war, led by the proletariat and its communist vanguard.

Our two Parties face a common enemy — U.S. imperialism — which in addition to ruling over the masses of exploited and oppressed in the U.S. has built a worldwide empire of robbery and murder.

U.S. imperialism has arrogantly declared Latin America its "back yard" where it is free to run roughshod as it wishes. Today the U.S. has escalated its aggression, direct and indirect, under the cover of the so-called "war on drugs". The possibilities of even further intensified U.S. intervention against the people's war is real indeed. Our Party will shoulder its internationalist duty of struggling against U.S. imperialist aggression in Peru, just as the blows you are delivering against U.S. imperialism in your country weakens our common foe and helps hasten its final defeat.

Comrades,

Our Party is convinced that, despite whatever criminal attacks are launched by U.S. imperialism and the Peruvian reactionaries, final victory will belong to the people of Peru. By persisting in the difficult but glorious path of people's war your Party is making a great contribution to the further advance of the world revolution and the final achievement of communism. □

Message to the Communist Party of Peru On the Sinister Designs of U.S. Imperialism Against the People's War in Peru

From the Union of Iran
Communists
(Sarbedaran)

Dear Comrades:

First we would like to send our warmest communist salutes to Comrade Gonzalo, Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), under whose leadership the heroic detachment of the international proletariat in Peru, the PCP, have been able to arouse the downtrodden of Peru wave upon wave in a people's war and have scored great victories for the world revolution; we want to send our heartfelt communist greetings to the PCP Central Committee, to the members of the party and to the fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army. We would like to ask you to convey our revolutionary sentiments to the invincible masses of Peru, the workers and peasants who have taken their destiny into their own hands and are toiling hard, with blood and sweat, for the final victory of revolution in Peru. They should know that they give a sense of confidence, pride and power to all revolutionaries and oppressed the world over and that the Peruvian revolution is in the forefront of the world revolution. We declare our resolute support of the people's war in Peru in general but also, specifically against the sinister plans of the Yankee imperialists which are designed to crush the people's war.

Under the leadership of the PCP, the people's war has made great achievements: bit by bit destroying the old state and its corresponding relations on the one hand and, on the other hand, giving birth to and building step by step the New Political Power and new social relations, increasingly strengthening this new revolutionary state, with the emergence of the perspective of the country-wide seizure of political power; these are indeed extremely important and heart-lifting victories for the international communist movement, and specifically for our

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Especially in the context of the new worldwide anti-communist offensive by the revisionists, imperialists and all reactionaries, these achievements of the proletariat in Peru constitute a strong, concrete counter-offensive and bring into play the power of our science and ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

A new society is being born in the Andes mountains and this proves that our setback in China after the death of Chairman Mao and the restoration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism there was only a temporary setback in our long march along the tortuous path of world revolution towards worldwide communism.

We communists of Iran have learnt much from your party and will learn more: on firmness regarding our ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; on doggedness in constituting a revolutionary party, because there can be no revolution without a revolutionary party; on deeply grasping and acting upon the central task of communists to seize power through people's war, and that "without a people's army the people have nothing".

Today, the proletariat and oppressed masses of the Middle East burn with the desire to drown the occupying forces of the Yankee imperialists and their allies in the hot waters of the Gulf and to send to hell all the reactionary states of the region which have been forged by the imperialists as bases for their domination of the region's oppressed. And this can only be achieved through people's wars under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; so the proletariat and masses of this region urgently need communist parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The masses of the Middle East have risen to make revolution more than once, but even though they have dealt important blows to the imperialists and reactionaries, every time most of their revolutionary energy has been wasted by revisionists, reactionary nationalists and religious demagogues, and their hopes have been betrayed. The establishment of the hated Islamic Republic of Iran is one of these bitter experiences. It is high time to put an end to this vicious circle. This is the task of the communists here. The shining torch of people's war in Peru is a great help to these efforts.

The international bourgeoisie try to black-out the news of the advances of the people's war in Peru or spread sinister lies about it in order to prevent the oppressed and exploited of the world from seeing their shining torch in that part of the world. It is clear that the

U.S. imperialists shiver at the thought of the final victory of the revolution under the leadership of the PCP, because they know that it will not only uproot them from Peru but will shake their rule in Latin America and will give a new impetus to the world revolution. Thus they conspire and hatch plans to destroy the people's war in Peru, including their preparation of the option of massive intervention of Yankee military forces.

We believe that the vast, deep valleys of Peru can be turned into fitting burial ditches for the Yankee army or any other reactionary army which comes to crush the people's war. And we are absolutely confident that the heroic masses of Peru, the valiant fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army, under the leadership of the PCP, will lure the invading reactionary and imperialist armed forces in deep and encircle and destroy them. We are confident that in Peru it will be proven a hundred times more than in the Vietnam war that U.S. imperialism is only a paper tiger, because the ideology which leads the people's war in Peru and the goal for which it fights are vastly stronger and loftier than those which led the war against the Yankees in Vietnam.

It is clear to us that our greatest assistance to the people's war in Peru consists of intensifying our efforts to build our party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and to start people's war in Iran; but we also will defend concretely the people's war in Peru and will struggle against U.S. intervention and their designs to crush the people's war. In intervening, U.S. imperialism will face not only the masses in Peru but the oppressed and exploited from all over the world. We communists will tell the workers and peasants and revolutionary masses of Iran that this war, whose main battlefield is in Peru and whose principal fighters are the sons and daughters of the Peruvian people, is our war also; the revolution in Peru is precious and we will never let the imperialists and reactionaries destroy this shining torch; nobody can put out its red flames.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Victory to the People's War in Peru!
Proletarians of the World, Unite!

August 1990

Letter from the Nepal
Communist Party
(Mashal), CC

Comrades,

It is a matter of great pleasure to report that in a joint conference of intellectual and cultural mass organisations of Maoist Communist Centre of India, resolutions regarding some international and national questions were adopted in which the resolution supporting the people's war in Peru and condemning Yankee imperialism was at the top. Top priority has been given to supporting the Peruvian revolution and opposing Yankee imperialism. The following resolution was passed with loud applause by nearly 35, 000 people attending a huge mass meeting after a rally organised by them in Patna (India), today:

The revolutionary war of the Peruvian people has reached a higher stage and is spearheading towards country-wide victory.

In such a situation, American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, specifically American imperialism, is hatching various conspiracies in order to smash the revolutionary struggle of Peru. But all its conspiracies are becoming worthless. So, like a madman, American imperialism is trying to launch a direct intervention in Peru.

Therefore, it is the duty of all communist, progressive and democratic-minded people to give whole-hearted support to the Peruvian revolutionary war and oppose all conspiracies hatched by American imperialism and the reactionary government of Peru.

Long Live the Liberation War of Peru!
Yankee Imperialism Be Off from Peru!

7 November 1990

Internationalist
Campaign:
Yankee Go Home
From the Indian Marxist-
Leninist journal Mass Line

Responding to the grave danger of U.S. intervention in Peru, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which is a regrouping of Marxist-Leninist parties at the world level, has initiated an international campaign "Yankee Go Home". All those who stand against imperialism's intervention and aggression are called upon to support and join this campaign to build up a mass movement of opposition and resistance. Peru is not the first or only country facing the threat of U.S. aggression. But it occupies a special position because a momentous revolution led by communists is sweeping across the country. This revolution has developed by solely relying on the revolutionary Peruvian people, without links with any reactionary regime or imperialist power. It is living proof of the capacity of the oppressed masses to wage revolution and build a new society self-reliantly. This is why Peru is becoming the focal point of imperialist intervention and resistance to it. If the presence of U.S. armed forces in Peru is something in common it has with other countries, the revolution sweeping across Peru stands apart and points out the direction of resistance to imperialist intervention. This is why this campaign has universal significance and a message for the oppressed throughout the world. This is why it must be supported and developed.

November 1990

PAC Leader Zephania Mothopeng — Lifelong Azanian Revolutionary

Up until his death in late October 1990 Pan Africanist Congress of Azania leader Zephania Mothopeng remained a staunch fighter for liberation from white settler rule, for which he spent much of his life in apartheid's dungeons. Rather than being broken by the enemy's efforts to silence him, Zeph, as he was widely known by the people, fought consistently to lead the struggle forward through difficult conditions and periods of severe repression, seeking to arouse the masses and to heighten their capacity for combativity. While in his late 60s he was closely associated with the fresh outpouring of youth rebellions in 1976 that shook South Africa from one end of the country to the other.

As part of the emerging Africanist current in opposition to the compromising "Freedom Charter" of the African National Congress — a programme that conciliated on the central questions of national liberation and land dispossession, offering the white minority an equal place instead of fighting for the overthrow of the white oppressor state — in 1959 Zeph and others split off from the ANC and formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), a separate organisation.

The PAC led tens of thousands of masses throughout the country in 1960 to defy the hated laws requiring Blacks to carry identification passes. The regime's repressive forces tried to stop the campaign by massacring demonstrators in Sharpeville and Langa, declaring a state of emergency for the first time, and banning, arresting and jailing the PAC leaders, including Zeph, as well as numerous Azanian activists. The armed wing of the PAC at that time, POQO ("to stand alone"), was formed shortly afterwards and supported the peasant rebellions in the 1960s against the bantustan system, its tribal chief collaborators, and to demand land. Its attempts to engage

the white colonialists in armed struggle struck an enthusiastic and deep chord among the Azanian masses who on their own had resisted many times before, but the opposition movement, especially the reformist ANC, had always advocated peaceful protest. The PAC did try to develop work in the countryside and applied some notions of guerrilla warfare, but rapidly became a target of government counterinsurgency, although sporadic fighting continued to erupt over a period of years. The PAC was strongly influenced by the Chinese Revolution and, alongside its Panafricanism, borrowed from Mao's teachings on the oppressed countries. But they never fully embraced the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung. Thought that Mao had further developed and that was the political and ideological basis of his pathbreaking contributions that attracted national liberation movements like the PAC. They were therefore unable to carry through on their aims to liberate the land through a genuine people's war and failed to take the decisive step of forming a Maoist party in order to lead the oppressed in waging such a war. Forming such a party remains the key task of Azanian revolutionaries today.

After getting out of prison in 1969, Zeph actively encouraged the growing black consciousness movement and, following the youth and student uprisings that blazed across the country in 1976-77, he and 17 others were among those the state blamed, with charges of predicting the riots and "sowing the seeds of anarchy and revolution", of maintaining underground organisation and sending youth abroad for military training. A secret political trial was held in the remote town of Bethal, and Zeph, the number one accused, turned his back on the judge and refused to recognise the court. He was sentenced to 30 years

in prison.

In November 1988, as part of a facelift effort by the apartheid government which was politically cornered after the mass upsurge of the mid-1980s, Zeph and a few other political prisoners were released unconditionally. He remained strong and called for the struggle to continue. Unlike Mandela, who immediately jumped into the international frenzy to negotiate away Azania's future and wrench it out of the hands of the oppressed, including by calling on the masses to throw their arms into the sea, Zeph stood firm on the need for the oppressed to liberate themselves. The state's tactics of "sharing a little power with a few Blacks" have begun to have the intended effect of provoking crisis and division within the ranks of the liberation movement, including some PAC circles, where discussion of acceptable "conditions and climate for negotiation" is increasingly heard — a far cry from its original defiant aims of organising the oppressed and dispossessed majority to fight arms in hand to liberate their land and determine their own future. Despite battling lung cancer for several years, Zeph refused to buckle in the face of the pressures on the PAC to sit down and bargain with the enemy. A little over a year before his death he said, "There exists a fallacious notion that the demise of apartheid can be realised by a change of heart on the part of the racist regime. No oppressor in history has willfully abdicated! Equally, the notion that apartheid can be reformed is based on deception. On the other hand there are some who are peddling the line that the racist army can sustain the system indefinitely. Greater empires have fallen!"

The spirit of Zeph Mothopeng will continue to fire the youth who will shoulder much of the responsibility for charting a revolutionary path in Azania. □

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

Maoism — A New Stage in the Development of the Proletariat's Science of Revolution

By the Organisation of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan

The following are excerpts from the founding document of the Organisation of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan (ORCA), a participant in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) formed through the recent merger of the Revolutionary Cell of Afghan Communists and the Union of Marxist-Leninists of Afghanistan (Mao Tsetung Thought). —AWTW

The international proletariat's science of revolution has been applied, strengthened and further developed during one and a half centuries of class struggle since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*. Marx discovered this science and established its basic foundations. Lenin raised it to a new level, and then Mao developed it to a still higher level. Thus the science of revolution of the international proletariat has advanced and become more developed through three qualitative stages: 1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, and 3) Maoism.

In today's situation it is vital to stress Mao Tsetung's contributions to this science and his qualitative development of it. This emphasis separates the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries from those of various revisionists who have betrayed proletarian revolution and revised the basic foundations of the science of revolution of the international proletariat. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* states:

"Upholding Mao Tsetung's qualitative development of the science of Marxism-Leninism represents a particularly important and pressing question in the international movement and among the class conscious workers and other revolutionary-minded people in the world today. The principle involved is nothing less than whether or not to uphold and build upon the decisive contributions to the proletarian revolution and the science of Marxism-Leninism made by Mao Tsetung. It is therefore nothing less than a question of whether or not to

uphold Marxism-Leninism itself...

"...We affirm that Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Without upholding and building on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general."

Advent of Maoism

Maoism was born in the midst of sharp class struggle. After eight years of revolutionary war against the Kuomintang, Mao Tsetung was chosen as the leader of the Communist Party of China by the Tsunyi conference. This meant the victory of Mao Tsetung's line, after years of struggle against "left" and right lines that had dealt fatal blows to the Chinese revolution in the preceding years. Ten years after this meeting, the Seventh Congress of the CPC, held in 1945 following the epic Long March and the war of resistance against Japanese imperialism, emphasised that: "The Chinese Communist Party is guided by Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung."

Even though at the Eighth Congress of the CPC the phrase "Mao Tsetung Thought" was eliminated, the struggle continued. In the 1950s, after the victory of the Chinese revolution, Mao's ideas began to gain influence in other countries, and in China itself the application of these ideas was displayed in the stormy mass struggles of the Great Leap Forward and the building of the people's communes. The struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism gave a new dimension to Mao Tsetung Thought and expanded its influence on a world scale. But it was with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) that Mao Tsetung Thought emerged as a new level in the development of Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao was established as the leader of the world revolution. On this basis, summing up the GPCR, the Ninth Congress of the CPC in 1969

declared, "The CPC is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

Many of the world's communist parties and organisations that had arisen against Khrushchevite revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In 1973, the Tenth Congress of the CPC threw away the Lin Biao-ist reference to the "era of the total collapse of imperialism" and let the science of proletarian revolution shine brighter.

The setback of the revolution in China and the usurpation of power by the Chinese revisionists was the beginning of new attacks on Mao Tsetung's contributions which were to cause serious confusion in the ranks of the international communist movement. But the line struggle around Marxism-Leninism-Maoism continued on a world scale. This struggle was expressed in the autumn of 1980 with the First International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations and its Communique and took on international prominence with the second conference of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought (Maoist) parties and organisations that led to the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

The RIM *Declaration* considers "Mao Tsetung Thought" a development of Marxism-Leninism, saying, "we emphasise that Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism...." It points out that the most important principle of Mao Tsetung Thought, the "theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat", is the line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism: "...Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the recognition of the objective existence of classes, antagonistic class contradictions and of the continuation of the class strug-

gle under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the whole period of socialism until communism.”

The term “Maoism” was first used by the Communist Party of Peru. The PCP have used this expression in numerous documents which have also been published by RIM since its formation. It was also adopted at the eighth plenary session of the second Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA in 1988. The term Maoism has not yet been established among the forces of RIM, who still refer to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Maoism correctly shows that Mao's contributions are as precious as and on the same level as those of Marx and Lenin; it clears up any incorrect understanding or underestimation regarding Mao's contributions and thus indicates more clearly than the term “Mao Tsetung Thought” the third stage in the development of the proletariat's science of revolution. So we consider it correct to use Maoism rather than Mao Tsetung Thought. Maoism, in our opinion, will sooner or later become generalised among the participants and supporters of RIM, replacing Mao Tsetung Thought.

Contributions of Mao Tsetung to the Development of Marxism-Leninism

As we know, Marxism consists of three component parts: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism.

The qualitative development of these three parts results in the qualitative development of Marxism as a whole to a higher level. Mao's contributions have meant qualitative leaps in all three parts of Marxism, raising this science to a higher level than Marx and Lenin. We will take up this question in three sections.

Philosophy

1) Mao Tsetung indicated that the law of contradiction is the fundamental law of dialectics in nature, society and human knowledge, and he developed the understanding that this is the essence of dialectical materialism. He deeply analysed the law of contradiction and in that light explained the meaning of the principal contradiction as the leading contradiction in any particular stage of development of a process, separating it from the fundamental contradiction which is

the basis for the existence of a process from beginning to end.

2) He masterfully applied dialectical materialism in politics, using the law of contradiction to analyse events and political struggle.

3) Mao Tsetung developed and deepened the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge by deeply studying the two leaps: from practice to theory and then from theory back to practice, emphasising practice as the main aspect.

4) Mao Tsetung succeeded in taking philosophy to the masses. In doing so, he pulled philosophy out of books and libraries, snatched it away from the monopoly of philosophers, and turned it into an active material force.

5) Dialectically analyzing the relation between the base and the superstructure, he countered the metaphysical, one-sided conception of the relation between base and superstructure, waged struggle against economist interpretations of Marxism and countered the revisionist theory of the development of the productive forces. He said that while the base affects the superstructure and determines its nature, and this is the principal aspect, the superstructure also affects the base and at times determines its character. On this basis, he developed Lenin's view that “politics is the concentrated expression of economics” and emphasised that revolutionary politics must dominate all fields. Thus Mao Tsetung gave revolutionary consciousness its proper place in regard to the revolutionary transformation of the world and developed Lenin's slogan, “without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.”

Political Economy

1) Mao Tsetung further developed the political economy of socialism. He developed and implemented the economic policy of socialist construction in China through criticising some aspects of Soviet economic policy in socialist construction. The central point in this is arousing the initiative of the masses based on a correct line and promoting production through popularising economic policies and not through bureaucratic commands. In this context he settled the relation between revolution and economic development and formulated the famous slogan, “grasp revolution, promote production”.

2) His three basic points with regard to the economic policies of New Democracy are:

a) Uprooting feudalism on the basis of applying the policy of “land to the tiller”.

b) Expropriating all foreign and domestic economic institutions that are “monopoly in nature” or whose scope is beyond private management.

c) Leading, controlling and limiting private capital so that “it would not be able to take control over the livelihood of the people.”

This economic policy was implemented during the long process of the New Democratic revolution in China from the establishment of the first revolutionary base area (1927) until the socialist revolution and prepared the ground for socialist construction in China.

3) Mao Tsetung pointed to bureaucrat capitalism as a form of capitalism created by imperialism in the oppressed countries as a lever of domination. This question is of vital importance. The bureaucrat bourgeoisie must be reckoned with and expropriated; otherwise it will be impossible to overthrow imperialism in the dominated countries. Also, its expropriation is a vital necessity in laying the foundations for socialist construction.

Scientific Socialism

1) New Democratic revolution — in this era, revolution in the dominated countries is one of the two components of the world proletarian revolution, along with revolution in the imperialist countries. As opposed to the imperialist countries, revolution in the dominated countries does not have an immediately socialist character, but rather a national-democratic character which under proletarian leadership takes a socialist orientation. Mao Tsetung charted the strategy of New Democratic revolution in the process of the revolutionary struggle in China and established the path of revolution in the dominated countries by leading the Chinese revolution to victory. New Democratic revolution is based on the communist party providing leadership for the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles of the popular classes through the national united front in the course of protracted people's war.

2) Mao led the protracted armed struggle of the CPC to victory and even more importantly for the first

time provided the international proletariat with a fully developed military line. Mao's theory of people's war is not merely a military strategy; it is the expression of proletarian revolutionary violence in class struggle to lead the revolution to victory. "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is its concentrated expression.

3) He developed further the theory of classes and class struggle in different economic, political and ideological aspects and advanced the theory of the continuation of the class struggle in the whole period of socialist construction until communism. Summing up the bitter experience of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, he noted that the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie under socialism is very complex and protracted. He formulated the method to struggle against capitalist restoration in socialist society and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. Thus by developing the theory of the "continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat", he made an enormous contribution to the international proletariat's science of revolution and raised the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, which is the essence of scientific socialism, to a completely new and higher level.

Now once again we note the *Declaration's* emphasis. "Lenin said: 'Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.' In the light of invaluable lessons and advances achieved through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, this criterion put forward by Lenin has further sharpened. Now it can be stated that only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the recognition of the objective existence of classes, antagonistic class contradictions and of the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the whole period of socialism until communism. And as Mao so powerfully stated, 'Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.'"

The Three Component Parts of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

Considering Mao Tsetung's great

contributions to the science of revolution of the international proletariat and his qualitative development of this science after Marx and Lenin, we enumerate the fundamentals of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in its three component parts of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism.

Philosophy

The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is dialectical materialism. It explains the basic truth that the whole of reality and existence is made up of matter in motion, in different forms. All knowledge springs from it and is dependent on it. All the different forms of matter in motion exist only in the form of a unity of opposites. The law of contradiction, that is, the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, is the fundamental law of the development of nature, society and thought. Unity or identity is temporary and relative in all phenomena, whereas the struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is permanent and absolute and this is the cause for leaps and the emergence of new qualities and phenomena. Belief in permanent equilibrium, permanent order or the eternal or divine is incorrect and reactionary.

Dialectical materialism considers practice to be the source and final criterion of truth and relies on revolutionary practice more than anything else. On this basis, dialectical materialism is a philosophy in the service of the revolutionary transformation of the world.

Historical materialism is the application of dialectical materialism to human society and its development. It emphasises the fundamental role of two things:

1) Production and the fundamental contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production.

2) The interrelation between production and the political and ideological superstructure of society. The coming into being of social life was accompanied by the social production process and its survival depends on it. But the productive forces can only exist and develop when people enter into certain relations of production. The contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production will become openly antagonistic at a certain stage of the development of the productive

forces. The need to develop the productive forces makes it necessary for there to be radical and revolutionary change in society and for new relations of production to replace the old ones. This radical and revolutionary change starts in the political and ideological superstructure and is concentrated around the class struggle for political power. If the material conditions are not ripe, ideology and politics cannot create revolution, but as they ripen, the superstructure (ideology and politics) becomes the decisive battleground of different classes and political forces and a qualitative change in the superstructure becomes the principal requirement for the development of society.

Political Economy

The theory of surplus value is the central point of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist political economy in analysing the economy of capitalism. The source and reason for the existence and growth of capital is the production of surplus value which through the market mechanism materialises as profit. In the capitalist mode of production, profit is both the initiator and final goal of production, and it is accumulated through the appropriation of the surplus value created by the collective labour of the workers. So capitalism is a mode of production whose characteristic is the transformation of human labour into a commodity.

The contradiction between socialised production and private appropriation is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism and it carries in its womb the anarchy of production and gives rise to numerous capitalist crises. In the process of the continuous expansion and development of capital which is accompanied by the impoverishment of the workers, collision occurs between different capitals. This gives rise to rivalry between the different capitalists and finally results in monopoly. The growth and expansion of monopolies in different dimensions compels them to overflow national boundaries, and the export of capital begins. All this gives rise to imperialism and its specific character: it plunders the oppressed peoples and nations as well as exploiting the workers of its own country. In the era of imperialism, the contradiction between socialised production and private appropriation takes on global dimen-

sions. The contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples emerges and the rivalry among different capitalist powers rises to the level of a contradiction on a world scale. Along with this, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is heightened daily.

Socialist revolution, by expropriating capitalism, takes an important qualitative step towards solving the fundamental contradiction of capitalism. But this is not enough. The new socialist state, as the representative of society, expropriates the means of production, but this is not yet a real and thorough socialisation of the means of production. Socialist revolution, to lead to communism, must turn this partial and formal socialisation of the means of production into a thorough and real one. This is a question of basic orientation and decides the real nature of society.

Moreover, there are some points of fundamental importance for the economic construction of socialism that must be taken into account in relation to the complete resolution of the fundamental contradiction: controlling and restricting the function of the law of value and restricting bourgeois right, overthrowing profit from its commanding position in production, and continuous struggle to resolve the contradiction between mental and manual labour, between city and countryside, and between worker and peasant. In socialist production, human labour and the means of production are not considered commodities. But a socialist economy is an economy in transition from capitalism to communism and is qualitatively different from a communist economy.

Scientific Socialism

Scientific socialism consists basically of the theory of classes and class struggle; that class struggle leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and that states and parties are generated from classes and will wither away with their disappearance.

From the emergence of classes and class society until the advent of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution all revolutions have replaced one exploiting class by another and one exploiting system by another (in this context the Paris Commune is an exception). The capitalist system, which is the last

exploitative system, has laid the material foundations for building a society free from exploitation and has given birth to the only class in whose interest it is to build such a society, the proletariat. The fundamental contradiction of capitalist society will be resolved through proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of socialism and leading revolution towards communism under the dictatorship of the proletariat and finally reaching communism.

The imperialist stage of the capitalist system is a world system, and the proletariat is a worldwide class. Thus the revolutionary proletarian movement is by nature an international movement and proletarian internationalism is its foundation. The proletariat should lead its struggle on a world level and, while carrying out struggle in a particular country, emphasise that the international arena is the most decisive in deciding the outcome of the struggle, and the general interest of the world proletariat is the most important in carrying out the struggle.

The world today is divided into the imperialist countries and the countries dominated by imperialism. The world proletarian revolution is carried forward by the proletariat, the oppressed and the people in both types of countries. The revolutions in these two types of countries are different. Revolution in the imperialist countries has an immediately socialist character. The October Revolution is a victorious example of political struggle carried out to prepare insurrection in the cities and then general civil war. Revolution in the oppressed countries, however, does not have an immediate socialist character, but is a New Democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat which prepares the ground for socialist revolution by overthrowing imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat and comprador capitalism. The Chinese revolution is a victorious example of this kind of revolution. On the basis of the strategy of protracted people's war, by relying on rural base areas and surrounding the cities, the revolution gathers enough forces to capture the cities and establish country-wide revolutionary political power. Even though revolution in different countries will take different forms according to the particularities of each situation, in general all revolutions belong to one or the other of these paths. The general principle for

both paths is the use of revolutionary violence and armed struggle as the highest form of political struggle to seize power.

The proletarian revolution does not end with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolution must continue under the dictatorship of the proletariat during the whole period of socialism until communism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung represents the most advanced achievement of the international proletariat in the revolutionary march to communism. This revolution has shown how and by what means the masses can be mobilised and relied on to prevent capitalist restoration in socialist society and advance to communism. The central point in this achievement was paying attention to the nature of the revolutionary proletarian party after the seizure of political power. The revolutionary proletarian party, as the vanguard of the proletariat, leads the revolution and the struggle to achieve communism. But when the party takes over the leadership of the socialist state, contradictions between the party and the people crystallise the contradictions of the transitional, socialist society. The party should lead the march towards world revolution and the final resolution of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism. Those in the party, especially those in positions of leadership who don't want to move in this direction and ultimately try to restore capitalism, are the headquarters of the bourgeoisie inside the party and state and become the targets of the revolution. Such headquarters arise continuously. In struggling against them, the party must rely on the masses to overthrow them, continuously advance the process of increasingly revolutionising the party at all levels, and lead the steady march towards communism. This does not at all mean that one country on its own can complete this struggle and reach the stage of communism. The victory of communism cannot be achieved without the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the international struggle. So it should be emphasised that the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is not limited to the continuation of the revolution in one country but takes place on a world level. □



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