

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 **МИР ВБИГРАТЬ**

1995/20

A WORLD

عالمی فوجیہ **UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DÜNYA**

**Chiapas
Peasant
Uprising**

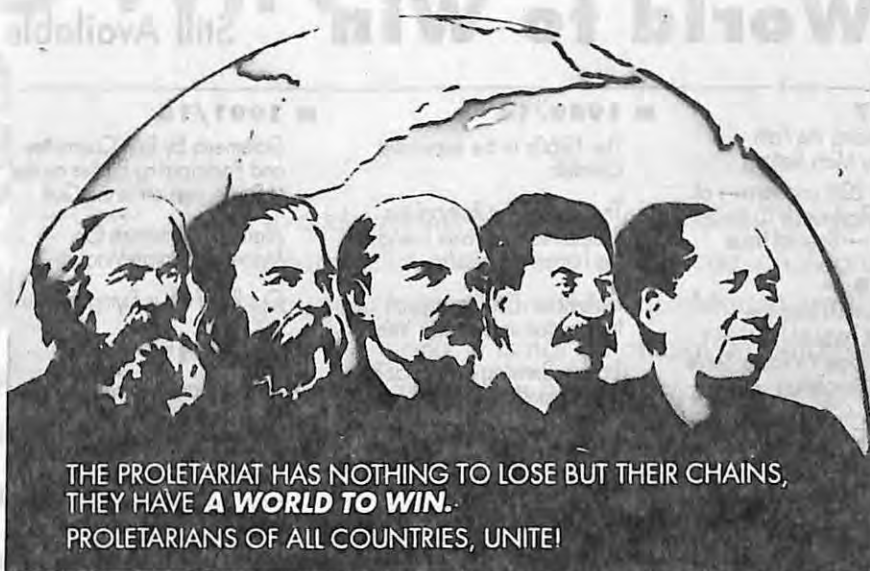
**A Call
to Arms!**

Inside: New RIM Document

Support the People's War in Peru • South Africa: Changing of the Guard

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिएसाराविश्वही **UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE**

جهانی برای فتح **EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN** विश्व विजय



1995/20

New RIM Documents

In a major new document, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement takes a leap forward in its understanding and unity by adopting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its ideology. Also reprinted here are "On The World Situation", which analyzes the increasingly favourable conditions for revolution following the collapse of the Soviet social-imperialist bloc; and a RIM resolution hailing the People's War in Peru.

Support the People's War in Peru

Photos from around the world of the campaign to defend the life of PCP Chairman Gonzalo, who is being kept in solitary confinement in the prisons of the US-Fujimori regime. Also, a 1991 document of the Second Plenum of the PCP Central Committee analyzing how the People's War will advance through what will inevitably be a path filled with twists and turns.

Changing of the Guard in South Africa

South Africa's 1994 elections pose many important questions to the oppressed: what kind of crisis forced the ruling class and imperialists to update their political rule? Can reforms lead to fundamental changes in colonial society? How did this become a feasible option after decades of apartheid? Maoist New Democratic Revolution raises a whole different solution to settler colonialism and imperialist domination.

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Long Live

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! **4**

On the World Situation **10**

In Support of the People's War in Peru Led by the PCP and in Defence of the Life of Chairman Gonzalo **12**



Support the People's War in Peru

Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War
— Excerpts from 1991 PCP document **14**

Yankee Free Market Means More Misery for Peru's People **18**

Campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo
The Battle Continues! **22**



Mexico

Peasant Uprising in Chiapas **30**

Support the Uprising in Chiapas! **35**

Agrarian Revolution and Semi-Feudalism **36**



Mao Tsetung Centenary Celebrated **44**

Long Live the Red First of May 1994! **50**



Changing of the Guard in South Africa **52**



RIM Committee

Yankee Marauders Out of Haiti! **60**

What Died on the White House Lawn: The Yasser Arafat Surrender Ceremony **63**

Message to the Communist Party of Philippines **65**

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TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

عالم نربحہ KAZANILACAK DUNYA

UN MONDE A GAGNER

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतने के 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-Maoist parties and organisations from around the world. It is not an official organ of RIM. Its pages are open to all those on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

NOTE TO THE READERS

The editors of *A World to Win* would like to apologize for the lateness of this issue of the journal. This has been due above all to an increase in activity in other areas of work essential to the journal. But measures have been taken to ensure that future issues will come out more regularly, as the editors are only too aware that the heightening contradictions in the world imperialist system and the more favourable conditions for revolution demand that this important weapon be available to revolutionaries everywhere.

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"

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جهانی برای فتح EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN বিশ্ব বিজয়

Introduction

In 1984, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was founded, grouping together the nucleus of the Maoist revolutionaries the world over who were determined to carry forward the fight for a world without exploitation and oppression, without imperialism, a world in which the very division of society into classes will be overcome — the communist world of the future. Since the formation of our Movement we have continued to advance and today, on the occasion of the Mao Tsetung Centenary, with a deep sense of our responsibility, we declare to the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the world that our guiding ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Our Movement was founded on the basis of the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* adopted by the Second Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations in 1984. The *Declaration* upholds the proletarian revolutionary ideology and on that basis in the main it correctly addresses the tasks of the revolutionary communists in different countries and on a world scale, the history of the international communist movement, and a number of other vital questions. Today we reaffirm the *Declaration* as the solid foundation of our Movement upon which we are building a new clarity and deeper understanding of our ideology and the more solid unity of our Movement.

The *Declaration* correctly stresses "Mao Tsetung's qualitative development of the science of Marxism-Leninism" and affirms that he raised it to "a new stage". However, the use of the term "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought" in our *Declaration* reflected a still incomplete understanding of this new stage. In the last nine years our Movement has been engaged in a long, rich and thoroughgoing discussion and struggle to more fully grasp Mao Tsetung's development of Marxism. During this same period the parties and organisations of our Movement and RIM as a whole have been engaged in revolutionary struggle against imperialism and reaction. Most important has been the advanced experience of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru which has

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Long Live

succeeded in mobilising the masses in their millions, sweeping aside the state in many parts of the country and establishing the power of the workers and peasants in these areas. These advances, in theory and practice, have enabled us to further deepen our grasp of the proletarian ideology and on that basis take a far-reaching step, the recognition of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the new, third and higher stage of Marxism.

New, Third and Higher Stage of Marxism

Mao Tsetung elaborated many theses on a whole series of vital questions of revolution. But Maoism is not just the sum total of Mao's great contributions. It is the comprehensive and all-round development of Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integral whole; it is the ideology of the proletariat synthesized and developed to new stages, from Marxism to Marxism-Leninism to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, by Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin and Mao Tsetung, on the basis of the experience of the proletariat and mankind in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It is the invincible weapon which enables the proletariat to understand the world and change it through revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a universally applicable, living and scientific ideology, constantly developing and being further enriched through its application in



Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

making revolution as well as through the advance of human knowledge generally. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the enemy of all forms of revisionism and dogmatism. It is all-powerful because it is true.

Karl Marx

Karl Marx first developed revolutionary communism almost 150 years ago. With the assistance of his close comrade-in-arms Frederick Engels, he developed a comprehensive philosophical system, dialectical materialism, and discovered the basic laws which shape human history.

Marx developed a science of political economy that revealed the exploitation of the proletariat and the inherent anarchy and contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. Karl Marx developed his revolutionary theory in close connection with and to serve the class struggle of the international proletariat. He built the First International and wrote, together with Engels, the *Communist Manifesto* with its resounding call "workers of all countries, unite!" Marx paid great attention to and summed up the lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871, the first great attempt of the proletariat to seize state power.

He armed the world proletariat with an understanding of its historic mission: seizing political power through revolution and using

this power — the dictatorship of the proletariat — to transform social conditions until the very basis for the cleavage of society into different classes is eliminated.

Marx led the struggle against the opportunists in the proletarian movement who sought to confine the struggle of the workers to improving the conditions of wage-slavery without challenging the existence of this slavery itself.

Together, the stand, viewpoint and method of Marx came to be called Marxism, and represents the first great milestone in the development of the ideology of the proletariat.

V.I. Lenin

V.I. Lenin developed Marxism to a whole new stage in the course of leading the proletarian revolutionary movement in Russia and the struggle in the international communist movement against revisionism.

Among many other contributions, Lenin analysed the development of capitalism to its highest and final stage, imperialism. He showed that the world was divided between a handful of imperialist powers and the great majority, the oppressed nations and peoples, and showed that the imperialist powers would be forced to go to war periodically to redivide the world amongst themselves.

Lenin described the era in which we live as the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin developed the political party of a new type, the Communist Party, as the proletariat's indispensable tool for leading the revolutionary masses in the seizure of power.

Most importantly, Lenin raised the theory and practice of proletarian revolution to a whole new level as he led the proletariat in seizing and consolidating its political power, its revolutionary dictatorship, for the first time with the victory of the October Revolution in formerly Tsarist Russia in 1917.

Lenin waged a life-and-death struggle against the revisionists of his day within the Second International who had betrayed the proletarian revolution and had called on the workers to defend the interests of their imperialist masters in World War I.

The "guns of October" and Lenin's struggle against revisionism further spread the communist movement throughout the world, uniting the struggles of the oppressed peoples with the world proletarian revolution, and the Third (or Communist) International was formed.

Lenin's all-round and comprehensive development of Marxism represents the second great leap in the development of proletarian ideology.

After Lenin's death, Joseph Stalin defended the proletarian dictatorship against enemies from within as well as from the imperialist invaders during World War II, and carried forward the cause of socialist construction and transformation in the Soviet Union. Stalin fought for the international communist movement to recognise Marxism-Leninism as the second great milestone in the development of the proletarian ideology.

Mao Tsetung

Mao Tsetung developed Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage in the course of his many decades of leading the Chinese Revolution, the worldwide struggle against modern revisionism and, most importantly, in finding in theory and

practice the method of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism and continue the advance toward communism. Mao Tsetung greatly developed all three component parts of Marxism — philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism.

Mao said, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Mao Tsetung comprehensively developed the military science of the proletariat through his theory and practice of People's War. Mao taught that people, not weapons, are decisive in waging war. He pointed out that each class has its own specific forms of war with its specific character, goals and means. He remarked that all military logic can be boiled down to the principle "you fight your way, I'll fight my way", and that the proletariat must forge military strategy and tactics which can bring into play its particular advantages, by unleashing and relying upon the initiative and enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses.

Mao established that the policy of winning base areas and systematically establishing political power was key to unleashing the masses and developing the armed strength of the people and the wavelike expansion of their political power. He insisted on the need to lead the masses in carrying out revolutionary transformations in base areas and to develop these politically, economically and culturally in the service of advancing revolutionary warfare.

Mao taught that the Party should control the gun and the gun must never be allowed to control the Party. The Party must be built as a vehicle capable of initiating and leading revolutionary warfare. He emphasised that the central task of revolution is the seizure of political power by revolutionary violence. Mao Tsetung's theory of People's War is universally applicable in all countries, although this must be applied to the concrete conditions in each country and, in particular, take into account the revolutionary paths in the two general types of countries — imperialist countries and oppressed countries — that exist in the world today.

Mao solved the problem of how to make rev-

olution in a country dominated by imperialism. The basic path he charted for the revolution in China represents an inestimable contribution to the theory and practice of revolution and is the guide for achieving liberation in the countries oppressed by imperialism. This means protracted People's War, surrounding the cities from the countryside, with armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the army led by the Party as the main form of organisation of the masses, mobilising the peasantry, principally the poor peasants, carrying out the agrarian revolution, building a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party to carry out the New Democratic Revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and establishing the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat as the necessary prelude to the socialist revolution which must immediately follow the victory of the first stage of the revolution. Mao put forward the thesis of the "three magic weapons" — the Party, the Army and the United Front — the indispensable instruments for making revolution in every country in accordance with its specific conditions and path of revolution.

Mao Tsetung greatly developed the proletarian philosophy, dialectical materialism. In particular, he stressed that the law of contradiction, the unity and struggle of opposites, is the fundamental law governing nature and society. He pointed out that the unity and identity of all things is temporary and relative, while the struggle between opposites is ceaseless and absolute, and this gives rise to radical ruptures and revolutionary leaps. He masterfully applied this understanding to the analysis of the relationship between theory and practice, stressing that practice is both the sole source and ultimate criterion of the truth and emphasising the leap from theory to revolutionary practice. In so doing Mao further developed the proletarian theory of knowledge. He led in taking philosophy to the masses in their millions, popularising, for example, that "one divides into two" in opposition to the revisionist thesis that "two combines into one".

Mao Tsetung further developed the understanding that the "people and the people alone are the motive force in the making of

world history". He developed the understanding of the mass line: "take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action". Mao stressed the profound truth that matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter, further developing the understanding of the conscious dynamic role of man in every field of human endeavour.

Mao Tsetung led the international struggle against modern revisionism led by the Khrushchevite revisionists. He defended the communist ideological and political line against the modern revisionists and called upon the genuine proletarian revolutionaries to break with them and forge parties based on Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles.

Mao Tsetung undertook a penetrating analysis of the lessons of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the shortcomings as well as the positive achievements of the construction of socialism in that country. While Mao defended the great contributions of Stalin, he also summed up Stalin's errors. He summed up the experience of the socialist revolution in China and the repeated two-line struggles against revisionist headquarters within the Communist Party of China. He masterfully applied materialist dialectics to the analysis of the contradictions of socialist society.

Mao taught that the Party must play the vanguard role — before, during and after the seizure of power — in leading the proletariat in the historic struggle for communism. He developed the understanding of how to preserve the proletarian revolutionary character of the Party through waging an active ideological struggle against bourgeois and petit bourgeois influences in its ranks, the ideological remoulding of the Party members, criticism and self-criticism and waging two-line struggle against opportunist and revisionist lines in the Party. Mao taught that once the proletariat seizes power and the Party becomes the leading force within the socialist

state, the contradiction between the Party and the masses becomes a concentrated expression of the contradictions marking socialist society as a transition between capitalism and communism.

Mao Tsetung developed the proletariat's understanding of political economy, of the contradictory and dynamic role of production itself and of its interrelationship with the political and ideological superstructure of society. Mao taught that the system of ownership is decisive in the relations of production but that, under socialism, attention must be paid that public ownership is socialist in content as well as in form. He stressed the interaction between the system of socialist ownership and the other two aspects of the relations of production, the relations between people in production and the system of distribution. Mao developed the Leninist thesis that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, showing that under socialist society the correctness of the ideological and political line determines whether the proletariat actually owns the means of production. Conversely, he pointed out that the rise of revisionism means the rise of the bourgeoisie, that given the contradictory nature of the socialist economic base it would be easy for capitalist roaders to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power.

He profoundly criticised the revisionist theory of the productive forces and concluded that the superstructure, consciousness, can transform the base and with political power develop the productive forces. All this took expression in Mao's slogan, "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production."

Mao Tsetung initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which represented a great leap forward in the experience of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hundreds of millions of people rose up to overthrow the capitalist roaders who had emerged from within the socialist society and who were especially concentrated in the leadership of the Party itself (such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Deng Xiao-ping). Mao led the proletariat and masses in challenging the capitalist roaders and imposing the interests, outlook and will of the great majority in

every sphere that, even in socialist society, had remained the private reserve of the exploiting classes and their way of thinking.

The great victories won in the Cultural Revolution prevented the capitalist restoration in China for a decade and led to great socialist transformations in the economic base as well as in education, literature and art, scientific research and other parts of the superstructure. Under Mao's leadership the masses dug away at the soil which engenders capitalism — such as bourgeois right and the three great differences between town and country, between worker and peasant, and between mental and manual labour.

In the course of fierce ideological and political struggle, millions of workers and other revolutionary masses greatly deepened their class consciousness and mastery of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and strengthened their capacity to wield political power. The Cultural Revolution was waged as part of the international struggle of the proletariat and was a training ground in proletarian internationalism.

Mao grasped the dialectical relationship between the necessity of revolutionary leadership and the need to arouse and rely on the revolutionary masses from below to implement proletarian dictatorship. In this way, the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship was also the most extensive and deepest exercise in proletarian democracy yet achieved in the world, and heroic revolutionary leaders came forward such as Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao who stood alongside the masses and led them into battle against the revisionists and who continued to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the face of bitter defeat.

Lenin said, "Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat.*" In the light of the invaluable lessons and advances achieved through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, this dividing line has been 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 recogni-

tion of the objective existence of classes, of antagonistic class contradictions, of the bourgeoisie in the Party and of the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the whole period of socialism until communism. As Mao so powerfully stated, "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism."

The capitalist restoration following the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup d'etat led by Hua Kuo-feng and Deng Xiao-ping in no way negates Maoism or the world-historic achievements and tremendous lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; rather this defeat confirms Mao's theses on the nature of socialist society and the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Clearly, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents a world-historic epic of revolution, a victorious high point for the world's communists and revolutionaries, an imperishable achievement. Although we have a whole process ahead of us, that revolution left us great lessons we are already applying, such as, for example, the point that ideological transformation is fundamental in order for our class to seize power.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: The Third Great Milestone

In the course of the Chinese revolution Mao had developed Marxism-Leninism in many important fields. But it was in the crucible of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that our ideology took a leap and the third great milestone, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, fully emerged. From the higher plane of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the revolutionary communists could grasp the teachings of the previous great leaders even more profoundly and indeed even Mao Tsetung's earlier contributions took on deeper significance. Today, without Maoism there can be no Marxism-Leninism. Indeed, to negate Maoism is to negate Marxism-Leninism itself.

Each great milestone in the development of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat has met with bitter resistance and has only achieved recognition through intense struggle

and through its application in revolutionary practice. Today the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement declares that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must be the commander and guide of the world revolution.

Hundreds of millions of proletarians and oppressed masses of the world are increasingly propelled into struggle against the world imperialist system and all reaction. On the battlefield against the enemy they search for their own flag. Revolutionary communists must wield our universal ideology and spread it among the masses to further unleash them and organise their forces, in order to seize power through revolutionary violence. To accomplish this, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, united in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, must be formed wherever they do not exist and existing ones must be strengthened in order to prepare, launch and carry through to victory People's War, to seize power for the proletariat and the oppressed people. We must uphold, defend and, most importantly, apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We must step up our struggle for the formation of a Communist International of a new type, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The world proletarian revolution cannot advance to victory without forging such a weapon because, as Mao Tsetung taught, either we all go to communism or none of us go.

Mao Tsetung said, "Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but in the final analysis they all boil down to one: it is right to rebel." The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement takes the rebellion of the masses as its starting point, and calls on the proletariat and revolutionaries the world over to take up Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This liberating, partisan ideology must be brought home to the proletariat and all the oppressed because it alone can enable the rebellion of the masses to sweep away thousands of years of class exploitation and bring to birth the new world of communism.

Hold High the Great Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

26 December 1993

In 1984, the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* pointed out, "The post-World War II world is rapidly coming apart at the seams. The international economic and political relations — the 'division of the world' — established through and in the aftermath of World War II no longer corresponds to the needs of the various imperialist powers to 'peacefully' extend and expand their profit empires. While the post-World War II world has undergone important changes as a result of conflicts between the imperialists and especially as a result of revolutionary struggle, today it is the entire network of economic, political and military relations that is being called into question. The relative stability of the major imperialist powers ... is coming unravelled. The revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations are again on the rise and delivering new blows to the imperialist world order ... The heightening of contradictions is now drawing, and will do so more dramatically in the future, all countries and regions of the world and sections of the masses previously lulled to sleep or oblivious to political life into the vortex of world history. So the revolutionary communists must get prepared, and prepare the class conscious workers and revolutionary sections of the people and step up their revolutionary struggle."

The *Declaration's* analysis of the impermanence of the existing world order and its call for urgent preparations for sudden changes and leaps in developments have been borne out by world events, though the exact turn of events — the collapse of the Soviet social-imperialist camp and the easing of the sharp rivalry between the U.S. and Soviet-led imperialist blocs which had brought the world to the brink of world war — could not be anticipated.

In the context of the deepening crisis of the imperialist system, the main features of the present world situation include: the upsurge of struggles in the oppressed nations of the world, particularly the glorious achievements of the People's War in Peru, the outbreak of rebellions even in the bellies of the ugly imperialist beasts, the re-emergence of U.S. imperialism as the sole top gendarme of the imperialist order, imperialist intervention and aggression against the oppressed nations and intensified exploitation and attacks on the masses in the oppressed nations and in the capitalist countries themselves, and the realignment taking place amongst the imperialist powers.

Imperialist Pipe Dreams of "A New World Order"

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet imperialist camp, which was in fact only an important manifestation of the severe crisis gripping the

Resolution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

whole imperialist system of which the Soviet Union was one great pillar, the U.S. imperialists arrogantly declared the imposition of a "New World Order". For their own followers at home and for the very gullible, this new order was thinly veiled with words of "respect for international law", a "new era of peace", "democracy", "fighting tyranny and dictatorship" and even "human rights". Imperialist powers who just yesterday were at each other's throats put on a spectacle of embracing. The U.N. and other similar imperialist world bodies were presented as the guardians of the "new era of world peace". The imperialists had fond hopes of covering up the real nature of the collapse of the Soviet social-imperialist bloc and utilising it to disarm the oppressed masses of the revolutionary ideology of communism. Their ideologues, along with reactionaries and revisionists of all hues, launched a counter-revolutionary offensive, proclaiming the end of the communist vision of a world free from exploitation and even the "end of history". Imperialism, reaction and revisionism huffed and puffed to flutter the tattered, drooping banner of "democracy", this inhuman, blood-soaked rule of capital, and present it as the only alternative. It was indeed a sinister conspiracy, but the sordid, bloody results are only too evident.

The opening act of this "new" world order was the brutal rape of Iraq by the U.S., aided by other imperialist powers and with a modern foreign legion comprised of soldiers from the countries they dominate. This was meant to carve out empires and terrify the oppressed into submission. But it only served to rip off their "peace" masks and underscore once again that the comprador regimes in the oppressed nations can never deliver resolute and uncompromising blows to their imperialist masters. The imperialists put on a show of disarmament, but peace could never come from the banquet halls of these bloodsuckers. After all their pacts and treaties they, particularly the U.S. and present-day Russian imperialists, still retain deadly arsenals capable of destroying the world any number of times. The imperialists talked about a "new era of development and cooperation", but the only result has been a heightening of the intense exploitation of the masses in the oppressed nations and in the capitalist countries themselves — the immiseration of the real producers. In the



On The World Situation

countries of the former Soviet bloc, including Russia, the naked rule of capital is increasingly tearing to shreds the illusions of prosperity and crisis-free growth. And the Western imperialists' dreams of overcoming their crisis have turned into nightmares as they get bogged down more and more, create trouble and get rebuffed, and now face the wrath of the oppressed even in their own countries. The course of events has been rapid, underlining once again the volatility of the world situation. The trumpets of the reactionary counter-offensive, heard loudly just a couple of years ago, are increasingly sounding on deaf ears. More and more sections of the masses in many corners of the world continue to be stirred to resistance, rebellion, and revolution, increasingly aware of the bankruptcy of revisionist haggards, welcoming the brilliant rise of red power in the high mountains of Peru, and seeking more powerful ways of delivering blows at their own oppressors.

"Great Disorder" Is Fine

Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the world proletariat, has taught us that imperialism always lifts up big rocks to throw at the oppressed and ends up crushing its own feet. This is entirely true of the present world situation. The big boasts about their "new" world order and the actual course of events have only served to prove beyond doubt that nothing good can come out of this human-devouring system. Their institutions, reactionary lackeys and revisionist tools are getting exposed more and more. The People's War in Peru has created base areas where our class has once again established people's power. In the oppressed nations of the world, the "storm centres" of world revolution, the struggles and resistance of the masses against imperialism and their reactionary lackeys are on the rise. They are pushing aside the sold-out leaders of yesteryear and new generations are grappling with the tasks of advancing their struggles. There is ferment and rebellion, in varying degrees, among each and every section of the oppressed, among women, youth, and the deepest layers of the masses enchained for centuries by reaction in all of its monstrous forms. The ugly U.S. bully has just received a sound thrashing within its own territory from the victims of its class and racial oppression. And the imperialist paper tigers continue to be punctured by the sharp spears of the

oppressed masses in all the countries they dare to commit aggression against. A great tide of "revolutionary disorder" is in the making, and it is fine.

In the light of the deepening crisis of the world imperialist system, all the major contradictions — the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialist powers, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and imperialist countries, and the contradiction among the imperialist powers themselves — are undergoing new development. Among them, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialist powers and to a significant extent, though secondarily, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries are intensifying. The collapse of the Soviet imperialist camp led to an easing of the inter-imperialist contradiction from its previous level of intensity. But imperialist collusion is based on contention, which is being manifested today in the realignments and new rivalries taking place among the imperialist powers in the face of their deepening crisis and the rising struggles of the people.

To repeat the words of the 1984 *Declaration*, in these times where unprecedented prospects for revolution are in the making, "We must sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and increase our political, ideological, organisational and military readiness in order to wield these opportunities in the best possible manner for the interests of our class and to conquer the most advanced positions possible for the world proletarian revolution." The existence of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the Maoist parties regrouped in it provides a powerful basis for achieving this goal, and it should be done. In particular the communists should take the weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the millions of the oppressed masses, persevere in the fierce struggle against all hues of revisionism, new or old, form Maoist parties wherever they do not exist and strengthen existing ones, in order to prepare, launch, develop and carry through to victory People's Wars to destroy imperialism and reaction forever and march to the glorious future of communism.

26 December 1993

Resolution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

In Support of the People's War in Peru Led by the Communist Party of Peru and in Defence of the Life of Chairman Gonzalo



From its very formation, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has been proud to count the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) in its ranks and has considered the glorious People's War led by the PCP as the foremost struggle against imperialism and reaction in the world today.

Beginning with small forces in May 1980, the armed forces of the Peruvian people led by the PCP have grown in the stormy sea of class struggle. By relying on the masses, especially the poor peasantry, following the road of surrounding the city from the countryside and fearing no sacrifice or hardship, the Communist Party of Peru has led in winning great victories, establishing the rule of the people in vast areas of the countryside and reaching the stage of strategic equilibrium in the war with the reactionary regime.

The PCP has fought with absolute confidence in the final victory of the new democratic revolution with the goal of ushering in the socialist revolution in Peru and transforming the country into a base area for the advance of the world revolution and the ultimate triumph of communism worldwide.

Like all things in nature and society, the revolution in Peru has not developed in a straight line. It has advanced amidst arduous struggle, in the face of fierce counter-offensives of the enemy, and through twists and turns. This process has served to temper and steel the Party, to render it more capable of carrying through the revolution until victory.

The advances and victories of the Peoples' War are testimony to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist leadership of Chairman Gonzalo and the PCP Central Committee. By creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete situation in Peru, the PCP under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo

not only enabled the Peruvian revolution to advance but made important contributions to the understanding of proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world.

In September 1992, Chairman Gonzalo was captured by the reactionary regime aided by U.S. imperialism. Since Chairman Gonzalo's capture, the entire Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has taken up the call "Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!" Hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals and progressive forces on every continent have participated in a powerful, coordinated international campaign. Chairman Gonzalo gave heart to the people and astounded his captors with his stirring revolutionary call from his prison cage. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement once again affirms its determination to carry through to the end the struggle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo.

Today the revolution in Peru faces new challenges as it marches forward toward nation-wide power. Armed with the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and tempered by thirteen years of revolutionary warfare, the Communist Party of Peru has proven that it is capable of confronting and defeating every kind of enemy attack, correctly analysing and acting upon new situations as they arise, remaining firm in principle and flexible in tactics and overcoming all difficulties to achieve victory.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement pledges its unreserved support to the campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo, to the Communist Party of Peru and to the heroic combatants of the People's War and the struggling masses of Peru.

26 December 1993



**Declaration
of the
Revolutionary
Internationalist
Movement**



**Long Live
Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Signatories of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Participating Organisations in RIM

Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)
 Communist Party of Afghanistan
 Communist Party of Bangladesh
 (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD(ML)]
 Communist Party of Peru
 Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist
 [TKP/ML]
 Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group
 Marxist-Leninist Communist Organisation of
 Tunisia
 Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
 Nepal Communist Party (Unity Centre)
 New Zealand Red Flag Group
 Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP)
 [Bangladesh]
 RedWorker Communist Organisation [Italy]
 Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
 Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
 Union of Iran Communists (Sarbedaran)

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary
Internationalist Movement* has been
 printed in over 20 languages.

Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish,
 English (2 editions, Indian & U.S.), Farsi,
 French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian,
 Japanese, Kannada, Kurdish, Malayalam,
 Nepalese, Punjabi, Spanish (4 editions,
 Colombian, Peruvian, Spanish & U.S.),
 Tamil, Turkish.

And *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*
 is also available in many of the above
 languages. Order from:

BCM RIM; WC1N 3XX; London, U.K.

Declaration - £ 2.00 *Long Live MLM* - £1.00
 plus £1 postage

The RIM Committee has announced that the Nepal
 Communist Party (Unity Centre) has been accepted as a
 participating party of RIM.

The Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party
 of India (Marxist-Leninist) has dissolved itself. RIM still
 includes MLM forces from India who are struggling to re-
 group.

The Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican
 Republic] has also dissolved.

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 close-
 ly with the Movement to advance its cause and build
 and strengthen vanguard communist organisation.

Build the Seizure of Power

(II PLENUM OF THE PCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE)

Excerpts from an important document of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru, in 1991. This document sheds light on how the People's War develops through twists and turns — AWTW.

PREPARATORY SESSION

... On the particular conditions. We know the facts; the problem consists in analyzing them correctly and learning from them. Once more it is demonstrated that the Party, its leaders and Chairman Gonzalo specifically and principally know how to navigate and steer the ship through storms in turbulent waters. Chairman Mao teaches us that all developments generate disequilibrium, and this, as well as struggle, is absolute. As a result, we must learn to deal with disequilibrium; but what is implied by dealing with it? Draw out its laws, for if the laws which govern the process are understood, be they simple or complex, it can be dealt with and these laws can be applied to transform reality to benefit the proletariat and the people and serve the revolution. Our glorious perspective of seizing power will be the finishing stroke for the democratic revolution, and we will immediately begin the socialist revolution, and that interval of blood and victory will be one of profound disequilibrium; even after we seize power there will be troubles and tempestuous winds. Thus these types of situations strengthen us; that is, this is how communists are forged, in turbulence and difficulty, never in calm. It is said that he/she wins who endures to the end and we know how to endure to the end because we have the true ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, which arms our souls and hands with the incontrovertible truth. Disequilibrium, however slight or profound it might be,

forges, tempers and steels us. Chairman Mao said: "In difficult times, we should bear in mind our successes, see our brilliant future and pluck up our courage." Today communism is being attacked around the world and also here in our country by the lackeys of imperialism and the followers of foreign revisionist masters. What to apply? Maoism, unleash the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought campaign to crush this sinister counter-revolutionary counteroffensive that is converging from imperialism and revisionism. Our Party is at a new moment in the war, higher, more complex, more victorious, and the Plenum's particular circumstances reflect this. What we confront is nothing more than part of the disequilibrium, and it is forging us for the truly complex moments that all revolutions must go through. Communism teaches us to be prepared for defeats. Chairman Mao says that whoever doesn't understand victories and defeats doesn't understand war...

QUESTIONS OF MILITARY STRATEGY: "THE PROTRACTED WAR AND ITS THREE STAGES"

"The three specific stages of the protracted People's War in Peru. Strategic equilibrium and preparation for the counteroffensive: the enemy tries to recover positions to maintain its system; the Party prepares the strategic offensive by Building the Seizure of Power. The reaction needs to annihilate the People's War and the Party, while the people must build the seizure of power."

Note well the stages of protracted war. Chairman Mao teaches that People's War goes through three stages: strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium, and strategic offensive.

This theory is not exclusive to the anti-Japanese War but rather a component part of the theory of People's War. We must see how the particularities of these stages are reflected in our People's War, and what specific characteristics each one of these stages adopts.

It is of great significance to have defined and proven in reality and here to officially affirm that we are in the second stage of the People's War, a new stage: strategic equilibrium. Chairman Mao defines it as the stage where the enemy as well as the revolutionary forces take positions and prepare themselves for the decisive battles which will take place in the strategic offensive. In point 37 of "On Protracted War," referring to the enemy, he says "they will try to safeguard the occupied areas", and referring to the revolutionary forces, he says "our guerrilla war will develop extensively in the first stage, and many base areas will be established seriously threatening the enemy's consolidation of the occupied areas, and so in the second stage, there will be widespread fighting." He later continues, "the duration of this stage will depend on the degree of change in the balance of forces between us and the enemy and on the changes in the international situation..." "This second stage will be the transitional stage of the entire war; it will be the most trying period but also the pivotal one."

We have specified: "Strategic equilibrium and preparation for the counteroffensive: the enemy tries to recover positions to maintain its system; the Party prepares the strategic offensive by Building the Seizure of Power; The reaction needs to annihilate the People's War and the Party, while the people must build the seizure of power." We think that given the development of our People's War and the situation of the

Amidst People's War!

counter-revolution, these are the points that characterize both belligerent parties. Peruvian reaction must "regain positions" on all levels, principally politically; where we have generated a power vacuum we have built the New Power, we have the People's Committees and Base Areas, we exercise Power. Even in the cities, we decree an armed strike and the masses follow the voice of the Party. The reactionaries themselves see that the old state doesn't extend to many areas in the countryside and in others it can't rule. Even worse, the lower and deeper basic masses and the people as a whole feel more and more that the old state doesn't satisfy their elementary needs for food, health and education, and we must draw attention to this more clearly. The old state is worm-eaten to its foundations, incapable of fulfilling its specific functions, and a state that doesn't fulfill its role loses credibility before the masses and is undermined. The current regime, the new government which leads the old state, represents the big, principally comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords and is the most unabashedly pro-Yankee imperialist. It has taken office in worse conditions than the prior government. It is much more discredited. It lacks a majority in parliament. It doesn't have a party and the so-called Cambio 90 lacks cohesion. For example, the leaders of the old state see themselves subjected to the growing strength of the executive branch, the main laws are dictated by decree and since the first government of Belaunde, they have been ruling like this, abusing article 211, section 20 of the Peruvian Constitution. The parliament is stripped of its role of passing laws and supervising the budget. Fujimori has attacked the judicial branch since he took office, and every day there is flagrant violation of their own rules,

laws and constitution. The contradictions between the factions and groups of the big bourgeoisie have deepened in the midst of collusion and contention. They cannot, and will not, be able to resolve the economic crisis. Moreover, it is going to worsen. The counterinsurgency war becomes a war without prisoners, genocide, as they vent their rage against the masses. The armed forces commit murder and do not respect even the most basic so-called human rights. Regarding the entire national territory, 2/3 is under a state of emergency, and the Communist Party of Peru through People's War controls and influences wide areas, mainly in the countryside. In addition to all this there is the Party's work abroad and the international repercussions of the People's War in Peru. To summarize, their state is in serious danger.

The only way in which the enemy can regain political and military positions to save its state is to wipe us out. Looking at any serious study of the People's War in Peru, and even the most simplistic commentaries, for example that of Ayacucho Congressman J. Valencia, we see that they refer to either the absence or the weakness of their old state, to which must be added the continuous resignations of old authorities.

Since the Congress, we have been planning to build the seizure of power and we are building that seizure. Strategic equilibrium is a political fact, not a mere slogan. We are building the seizure of power. Why did this demand arise urgently at this time? We have already passed through four stages in the leap from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare, and this shows how the process develops; the problem is that if they don't wipe us out, we'll wipe them out. The reactionaries need to destroy the People's War, we need to

build the seizure of power. When a mouthpiece like Raul Gonzalez says "There is still time," that proves even the reaction realizes this fact. His declarations are in the magazine *Gestión* of the beginning of the current month. The reaction plans to annihilate us but doubt corrodes them, such that the IDL (Institute of Legal Defence) considers that this possibility exists before the end of Fujimori's government. Also generals like Arciniegas, Renjifo and Jarama publicly declare that the Party is preparing to take power. That they recognize it as an objective fact is extremely telling.

Note here that we are not saying that it will only be the Party's task to build that seizure. It is also that of the people. The Party's situation and the growing explosiveness of the masses, justly and correctly analyzed and specified in our programme, are intimately linked. There is no separation at any point. If we look at the "three bases and three guidelines" we have another example: "Strengthen the People's Guerrilla Army, especially build the main forces," "Develop the New Power and Build Open People's Committees", and leading the three are the references to the Party, "Strengthen the Construction and Forge Cadre." We also point out "prepare the strategic offensive through Building the Seizure of Power", as being part of strategic equilibrium. It is here that the basis is laid for the coming stage: our strategic offensive.

All of these elements demonstrate a political fact. We insist, it is a material fact, real, existing in practice, in society, in the class struggle of the country, in the People's War and from there we reflect it in ideas. Make it known to the people and grasp it: We have entered the stage of strategic equilibrium.

"The three stages of revolutionary civil war have different characteristics than in anti-imperialist wars of resistance. In the former, the strategic defensive is more prolonged and goes from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare, which is principal."

Here the point is that the three stages of the People's War don't occur solely in the war of anti-imperialist resistance but rather in all of the specific forms of the People's War, for example in our revolutionary civil war and in each period of the People's War. It is part of the general theory of the People's War. It doesn't apply exclusively to the anti-Japanese war in China. Therefore, these characteristics differ in the three stages. They occur in one way in the civil war period and another way in the period of the anti-imperialist resistance. In the civil war, the strategic defensive of the revolution is more prolonged and also goes on to develop from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare, this being principal. Third, taking into account what Chairman Mao teaches in "Strategic Defensive and the Strategic Offensive in Guerrilla War" and which we have dealt with in the document of the Second Plenum Preparatory Session, page 390, the defensive and the offensive occur in all battles and campaigns.

The three stages of protracted war have different characteristics in each period. For example, the defensive is different in anti-imperialist war. There the defensive is brief. It is not the same as in civil war. During civil war the defensive is longer; our war today is a civil war and we have gone over from the strategic defensive to strategic equilibrium. Thus, if direct imperialist aggression were to occur, it would signify a change in the principal contradiction, and the nature of the war would change from that of civil war to anti-imperialist war. It would become a national war which is when many more masses take part in the revolution. The majority unite. For example, if 5,000 or 20,000 men invade with all the materiel at their disposal, it would be a powerful, bloody, imperialist offensive and this would imply our retreat. We would go on the defensive, but this defensive would be shorter than that which occurred in the civil war, when we began the People's War.

Besides, it would not be the same. We would have more favourable circumstances for the seizure of power than during ILA [the beginning of the armed struggle]. If the anti-imperialist war of resistance occurs once we are in strategic equilibrium, we would go over to a distinct strategic defensive, and, by means of successive and more developed defenses and offensives, we would reach the strategic offensive and the seizure of power. It could happen that imperialism would become involved once we are in the strategic offensive; then too we would be on the strategic defensive for a time. But this would be necessarily brief and we would return to the offensive and seize power. The defensive in a civil war is not the same as in an anti-imperialist war. In the anti-imperialist war the imperialist offensive is devastating, powerful and bloody and generates a strategic defensive within the strategic equilibrium or within the strategic offensive. The strategic defenses are not the same, each has its own specific strategy, always applying offensive operations, each has its own characteristics, but the strategic defensive is shorter in the anti-imperialist war because in changing the principal contradiction and the character of the war, it unites a broader majority of the people more deeply and firmly, and at the same time international support grows and becomes more powerful.

Another change occurring at present is that guerrilla warfare is giving way to mobile warfare, which will become the principal form, but not the only form. The guerrilla war will continue developing as fundamental for the immediate future.

"The protracted character derives from the correlation of three situations: 1. ours; 2. that of the enemy; and 3. the international situation. *The last is the one which now and in the immediate future presents problems*, but aside from the fact that revolution will more concretely express its condition as the main trend spurred on by the counterrevolution itself, *the principal thing is to rely on our own efforts and seize power to serve the development of the world revolution*. We will continue to develop our own socialist revolution building socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Of the three situations the problem is the international one, but the principal thing is us. The seizure of power in the entire country is in our hands. This seizure by the Party will be in the service of the world proletarian revolution. We will proceed immediately to the socialist revolution, build it, develop it, as well as set up and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat until, through cultural revolutions, we reach communism.

The international factor, even though not principal, is basic, and we should grasp that although today it presents problems, in the immediate future revolution will express its character as the main trend, spurred on by the counterrevolution itself. We can triumph without revolution being on the offensive on the world level. Some say, "How can we triumph alone in the world?" They don't see that, as Chairman Mao says, the main thing is to rely on our own efforts, that that is the way to advance and will be decisive. This will necessarily accelerate the international situation....

"Campaigns of encirclement and annihilation. Countercampaigns, principal form. Through them, broadening and developing them, principally by maintaining the initiative, we have reached the strategic equilibrium. We have not suffered any great defeat. We prepare ourselves to prevent this. But if it does happen (which would require major direct or indirect action by U.S. imperialism), it would only be a partial and relative defeat within a perspective of developing the People's War aimed against Yankee imperialism and its puppets within the context of national polarization moving toward the seizure of power. In addition the international situation and above all proletarian internationalism and the support of the peoples of the world will be expressed more broadly and resolutely."

In ten years of People's War we have expanded through these campaigns and countercampaigns of encirclement and annihilation. What we have to see here are the particularities of our case. This process has brought us to a new stage. We have passed through campaigns and countercampaigns of encirclement and annihilation from the strategic defensive to the stage of strategic equilibrium.

Militarily speaking, retaining the initiative has been key. Since the beginning of the armed struggle we have set political and military objectives for ourselves and we have met them. No one can show that we have not obtained our objectives, that the New Power doesn't exist in the diverse forms of People's Committees, from the Organizing Committees to the Open People's Committees. It is evident that the enemy aims to annihilate the commissioners [of the Open People's Committees] trying to destroy the New Power. The existence of the People's Guerrilla Army, with its platoons, companies and battalions, is so real that the newspapers even report about it. If it does not exist, why do they write "300 storm or attack this or that barracks"? There are main forces, local forces and militia rooted among the masses — if not, who are they fighting and why do they destroy villages and slums accusing them of being "senderistas"? And who leads all this? The Party. And who sustains these apparatuses? The masses. Are they phantoms? The fact that one or another mouthpiece for Yankee imperialism and Peruvian reaction is paid to deny the truth is so common in the old and rotten bourgeois systems that it should not surprise us. Now that we have entered strategic equilibrium, they say, "It cannot be!" "It's impossible!" etc., etc. But the process will continue unfolding and will not stop just because some shills dejectedly wail and rack their brains to deny it.

Going back to "we have not suffered any big defeats. We prepare ourselves to prevent this." Until today this process has developed with successes and setbacks. We have lived through hard times, like the years 1983-84, without a single big defeat. Nevertheless, we think that in the same way that the revolution develops and grows powerful, the counterrevolution also learns, as it applies plans, tactics, etc. We know they are preparing the involvement of Yankee imperialism. The greatest quantity of coca in the world is grown in Peru (together with Bolivia we have 90% of the coca fields). The biggest consumer of cocaine is Yankee imperialism, and it deals with drug trafficking with military action,

as part of its global interests. If we add that in Peru a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War is unfolding which has communism as its final objective, then the problems and dangers are even greater for imperialism. The basic point is that here there is a confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution. Here Marxism is being applied, the World Revolution; the Peruvian People's War is the beacon of hope for the communists, proletarians and peoples of the world. For these reasons it is extremely important that we strengthen ourselves ideologically and politically in the best way possible, and that we prepare on all levels, principally militarily, for a direct or indirect invasion by Yankee imperialism. If imperialism directly invades us it will be Yankee imperialism. Then we will have as our main enemy the superpower that seeks hegemony, the big gendarme. We know this and we are not afraid. But this doesn't mean that we have forgotten the other imperialist superpower, the USSR, which is the skinny dog we should also take aim at. While today it has problems, it is still a main enemy. Of course, we never forget the imperialist powers. We always take into account the contradictions in the imperialist camp and make use of them, especially in a national anti-imperialist war. We have solemnly promised to never lay down our weapons until we have reached communism, to persist in the struggle for communism even if the superpowers or other powers come, armed to the teeth with their powerful weapons. We communists know what we want and why we are struggling. Nothing should or can stop us from fulfilling the Party's objective to serve the people, the proletariat and the world revolution.

Let us teach the masses that Yankee imperialism and the reactionaries are paper tigers, not to fear imperialism, to be prepared ideologically and militarily. We know how to build tunnels. In China they provided a great experience which was later also successfully applied in Vietnam. It is possible to develop "tunnel warfare" and, moreover, Chairman Mao taught that their construction is a strategic guideline. We have been digging tunnels since 1983. Today we should develop

them. It is key.

If imperialism invades, it will do so with enormous propaganda, to justify its occupation and ravaging of the people. Behind talk of ending drug trafficking or crushing communism and defending "democracy," its deeds would be those of imperialist aggression, an unjust war, a great massacre, and cruel and sinister destruction. Starting today, we should denounce this. We do not fear this, rather it makes us stronger. What they are doing in the Persian Gulf, their arrogance, invading and murdering to the point of genocide and with great cynicism (they have bombed an oppressed people like never before) is an example of the monstrous barbarism that imperialism, Yankee imperialism in particular, harbours in its very entrails.

If during the strategic offensive, Yankee imperialism should directly intervene with all the bloody ferocity that its monopolist, parasitic and dying conditions allow, we would be in a situation of going on the defensive. But that would not change the stage of strategic offensive. Our defensive would imply a strategic retreat in order to counterattack. Obviously they would hit us and the masses hard, but we would retreat, then regroup, outflank them and concentrate on their weak points and annihilate them, bit by bit, until we defeat them and throw them out. It would be an arduous and bloody task, but these would be magnificent conditions to unite the immense masses of people and lead a war of national liberation against imperialism, a prelude to the seizure of power throughout the country which also would mean overthrowing the imposed puppet regime. There would be greatly heightened polarization: on one side the imperialists and the pro-imperialists, all of the big bourgeoisie and its partners, the feudal landlords and their lackeys; on the other, the classes that make up the people, the patriots and all the anti-imperialists. We would continue to grow through superior offensives and successive, ever higher levels of campaigns and countercampaigns, finally going over to insurrection and the seizure of power in the entire country.

We should also consider the different forms of imperialist intervention,

direct or indirect, through other countries or by applying its "low intensity warfare." They accumulate forces, and come in as "advisors" giving "help", responding to "terrorist aggression", or they might intervene after we seize power, using pro-imperialist elements and armed groups to systematically undermine us, waiting for the opportunity to reverse the situation with a counter-revolutionary coup. Because of that we should prepare ourselves to seize and defend power with People's War. The Yankees do not want to get bogged down in a Vietnam war, a protracted type of war, which does not suit them. They prefer quick, decisive action to "restore order" and to "help" their lackeys with pacification. We should be prepared for various types and methods of imperialist aggression, mainly Yankee. They could dislodge us from areas and even regions fundamental to our struggle, but they will not crush the People's War. It would seem to be a great defeat, but it would be nothing more than the logical course of imperialist aggression. We would continue to learn and apply the principles of People's War. We would fall back to other regions and areas and we would return more steeled than ever to recover them. We would return more tested and closer to the seizure and defence of power throughout the country. This defeat then would only be partial and relative within the perspective of developing the People's War, aimed principally against Yankee imperialism and its puppets, within the national polarization moving toward the seizure of power throughout the country. That is how we unfold the strategic offensive. As to the cost, we are as always prepared to pay the highest cost, but we shall struggle to ensure that it is as low as possible, applying the principles of the People's War. In facing imperialism, as in everything, we maintain strategic firmness and tactical flexibility according to the specific existing conditions.

Also, in such conditions, proletarian internationalism and the support of the peoples of the world would be broader and more determined. The counter-revolutionary action of imperialism will itself generate the anti-imperialist action of the proletariat and the people of the world... □

Yankee Free Market

By Inika O'Hara*

In the 16th century, Europeans told stories of a country that was unimaginably rich, a country where there was gold and silver for the taking. They told of galleons returning to Spain loaded with precious metals, and of the empire that was being built with the spoils. Five centuries later the pages of the *New York Times* and slick brochures designed by US advertising agencies sound like an echo from the past, as they trumpet promises of the quick profits that can be made by exploiting the natural resources and the labour of the people of Peru.

For 500 years the people of Peru have been forced to dig the riches from their own land and to hand them over to rich and powerful foreign countries — first Spain, later Great Britain, and then the US. During the 20th century, as imperialism's tentacles drew impoverished third world countries ever more tightly into its net, Peru did not escape. By the early 1970s Peru's government had become more and more dependent on the imperialists for infusions of capital in a desperate attempt to modernize a country which for centuries had seen its lifeblood sucked out of it by those same foreign dominators. The noose of foreign debt tightened around the necks of the people, forcing them into ever deeper poverty.

During the same period the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), led by Chairman Gonzalo, was training and preparing itself politically, ideologically, and organizationally to wage a protracted Maoist People's War aimed at overcoming the "three mountains" which oppressed the Peruvian people: imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

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They trained new revolutionaries, mainly students from the peasantry in the Ayacucho area, in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and sent them back to their villages to carry out a detailed study and analysis of the social conditions in Peru. Deep roots were established among the peasantry and an organizational network was built to enable them to unite and fight in such a way as to withstand the assaults the revolutionaries knew were inevitable.

When the People's War was launched in 1980, it resonated deeply in the hearts of the people, many of whom knew there would be no way out of their misery if they continued to rely on the Peruvian state and the imperialists. Beginning with only a small group of armed combatants, the People's War developed into a flexible and mobile force, capable of preserving itself and destroying the enemy. The Peruvian military, unable to destroy an invisible army rooted among the most oppressed, tried to wipe it out by indiscriminately killing the peasantry in the areas where the People's War had its deepest roots. The crude methods of the Peruvian military exposed the regime even further. Rather than accomplishing its aim of drowning the People's War in blood, the massacres had the opposite effect. More and more people recognized that there could be no peace with the genocidal regime.

When Alan Garcia ran for president in 1985 he promised to eliminate poverty and misery and to place the social needs of the people of Peru before the payment of the rising foreign debt. He promised a revolution without violence and sang the praises of the then popular Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. He promised to pay the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank only 10% of the value of all of Peru's exports — a promise which

Means More Misery for Peru's People



Guerrilla column in Sorata, Ayacucho

was popular especially with the middle class. However, when Garcia became president not only did he fail to deliver on his promises but the economic crisis got even worse during his presidency. The multilateral lending agencies suspended all loans to Peru. The government was deprived of new loans which it was depending on to survive, and interest and arrears began to accrue at a tremendous rate. Peru's junkie economy was in a shambles. Inflation reached run-away levels and industry stagnated.

Peru's crisis sounds remarkably like economic crises in dozens of other Third World countries caught in the claws of imperialist domination, except for one thing: the very existence of the Peruvian state was being challenged by a People's War and the laying of the foundations of a New State in areas controlled by the PCP.

As the People's War extended throughout the country, rural areas under revolutionary control were transformed into base areas from which the People's Guerrilla Army could grow even stronger and carry out successful battles against the reactionary Armed Forces. The Peruvian military was forced to withdraw from large areas and by 1987 one third of the country was under the control of the revolutionaries. In these areas People's Open Committees were formed, which established a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture. As people from rural areas immigrated to the shantytowns surrounding the capital city of Lima, new forms of revolutionary organizations were built up there too which conformed to the class interests of the poor and mobilized them to serve the People's War. The future the oppressed were fighting for began to assume a real form, even further strengthening the determination of the people to advance the war to destroy the old state and take power throughout the entire country.¹

Faced with the prospect of a protracted people's war that could not be crushed by the crude methods of the Peruvian military, the US, with its "Vietnam training", stepped up its involvement. The People's War faced an increasingly complex and highly developed strategy of low-intensity counter-revolutionary war-

fare. The US intervened directly with their so-called "War on Drugs". The Peruvian military and state were armed with the latest weaponry and means of surveillance. A highly sophisticated psychological war aimed at dividing the people assaulted the population daily and attempted to isolate the People's War from the broad international support it enjoyed.

The Peruvian people suffered mightily but continued their assault. Like a wildfire, the People's War flared up in one area, subsided and smouldered, then flared up in another. Three governments declared it all but defeated, only to be forced to later admit that it was continuing to gain popular support.

The People's War made it impossible for foreign companies and investors to keep on extracting enormous profits from Peru. Not only was the People's War a threat to the future existence of the state, but they were threatened in the immediate sense. The infrastructure they relied on to get their plunder out of Peru was under continuous attack. Electrical pylons were bombed, causing massive black-outs. Roads from the jungle over which they tried to transport lumber to the ports were destroyed. Railways from the mines were blown up. Agronomists attempting to develop new crops for international agribusinesses were attacked. When Mobil Oil set up a heavily secured base for oil exploration in the Amazon it was attacked and destroyed along with its helicopters. When ASARCO Petroleum discovered the immense Camisea Oil Field in 1981 they could not exploit it because of the certainty of attack.

When Alberto Fujimori became president in 1990 his mandate from the ruling class in Peru and his Yankee masters was to try to crush the People's War and to make the country safe for foreign investment. To accomplish this he had to get back into the good graces of the international lending agencies. Following their dictates, he instituted "Fujishock" — an economic austerity programme designed to pay back the foreign debt.² He announced a privatization program and promised new laws to protect foreign investment.

Faced with an increasingly urgent

need for successes in the counter-insurgency war and with the threat of collapse of his own regime, on 5 April 1992 Fujimori took the extraordinary measure of a "self-coup" and suspended the Constitution. While so-called democratic countries pretended concern about such dictatorial measures, potential investors were jubilant. It was widely revealed that the CIA started to play a crucial direct role in the Fujimori regime. Fujimori was clearly not held back by "human rights concerns" and would go to any length to hold power and protect the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries. The Fujimori regime instituted massive house-to-house searches of entire neighbourhoods, and arrested and imprisoned anyone even suspected of opposing the government. When Chairman Gonzalo and some of the other leaders of the People's War were captured in September 1992, Fujimori's triumphalism went into high gear. The regime and its Yankee bosses boasted that Peru was now safe for foreign investment.

Fujimori immediately announced that all of Peru's nationalized industries would be auctioned at incredibly low prices. Peru's privatization commission advertized:

"Look again at Peru. A breathtaking opportunity.

"Freedom to operate in a free market economy — freedom to enjoy the same legal treatment as nationals — freedom to invest in any business, economic sector or activity — freedom to transfer abroad hard currency capital gains, profits, and royalties — freedom to trade stocks and obtain tax-free returns... - freedom to apply for concessions to build and manage public facilities and supply public utility services - freedom to participate in the privatization of state-owned mines, ports, banks, telecom, electricity and oil companies. Freedom. We really mean it."³

The U.S. stepped up its economic aid to Peru in order to prop up the Peruvian state against the danger posed by the People's War. US spokesmen squawked a few times about their "human rights concerns" in order to cover up that Peru received \$137 million in US aid in 1993, making it the top recipient in South America and second in all of

Latin America. The US also facilitated Peru's reintegration into the international financial community.

Not surprisingly, the most advertised offerings in the privatization campaign were Peru's mines. (In 1992 Peru was the world's largest producer of lead and zinc, and the second largest of copper and silver. It has some of the world's largest deposits of gold and a great oil potential.) One of the first big investors was Newmont Mines (the US's largest gold producer, which also has mines in Indonesia and Uzbekistan). Newmont bought Yanacocha Gold Mine for \$36 million and within seven months their profits had exceeded the initial sales price. Everything after that was sheer profit.⁴

This unheard of investment success caused a veritable gold rush to Peru. Huge mining giants snatched up 9 million hectares of land (6 times the total arable land) at \$2 per hectare; within 6 months, more claims were staked out by foreign investors than during the previous 200 years. With the success story of Yanacocha Mine as the bait, foreign investors were assured that Peru was an investor's paradise.⁵

But in spite of all the media hype which advertises that only 5% of Peru's natural resources have been mined, that there is a huge pool of cheap labour, and that there are still untold fortunes to be exploited, Fujimori's privatization program is not proceeding according to plan. Many of the companies Fujimori is trying to auction off have gone up for auction several times without being sold. Other companies have been sold at ludicrously low prices, and include contract clauses which allow the new owner to abandon the investment (and promised payments) at any time. Most facilities are old and weighted down with the legacy of the past. Many are located in isolated areas, and the infrastructure in Peru is not adequate to get materials to refineries or ports. Potential investors want to be sure that Peru will make the promised improvements to the highways, electrical system, and other infrastructure needed to guarantee their investment. Most importantly, it has been two years since Fujimori announced that the People's War was defeated but instead it has con-

tinued, and, for these investors, the political stability of Peru is still an open question.

"Attempts by the Peruvian government to attract foreign investment could be set back by an upsurge in activity by the country's Maoist guerrilla group... Any resurgence in guerrilla activity... would set back government moves to draw foreign investment back to Peru and, more immediately, would dampen investor interest in the forthcoming sell-off of dozens of state companies."⁶

The centrepiece of Peru's privatization program was to be the sale of Centromin, Peru's largest diversified mining company and its largest producer of zinc, silver, copper, and lead. It was opened by a US mining company in 1902 and, until it was nationalized in 1971, Centromin was the source of direct superprofits to the US. Even today it accounts for a full 10% of all of Peru's exports. But Centromin has been dubbed the "sale of hell" by potential investors.

Centromin miners and their families live in one-room company shacks, without access to clean water or basic sanitation. The company used to provide a pair of boots and overalls each year but now even that has been discontinued. A miner who has worked more than 20 years makes less than \$7 a day. Miners and their families suffer from lung, skin and eye diseases. In one of Centromin's company towns, the hospital that last year treated 40 new patients each day is now closed. People have to travel over 30 miles of dirt road on the back of a truck in freezing weather in order to get medical treatment. Miners seldom live past the age of 50 years.

The hills surrounding Centromin's mining towns are bleached white. Trees and crops can't grow there. The rivers are dead — contaminated with acids and heavy metals. Slag heaps cover the land farther than the eye can see. Smoke fills the sky and copper particles are visible in the air.

To make the sale attractive, Peru's government assumed all of Centromin's potential environmental liability for past operations, permitted Centromin to close its hospital and decrease its employee benefits to reduce its operating costs, and laid off 7,000 of its workers *before it was put up for auction*. It has been

for sale three times at auction at \$280mn, and no one has bid. In 1992 a Chilean subsidiary of Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa paid \$12mn for a copper deposit owned by the state. In Chile it paid \$190mn for a similar copper deposit.⁷

These are living examples of the rape and plunder of the people and resources of Peru. International prices for copper, zinc, and lead are going down. Many countries with huge foreign debts have large deposits of these metals. In order to pay the debt they are mining more than ever before. As these huge stocks come onto the market, the prices drop. They cannot stop mining in order to control the prices so they are forced to increase production and sell at lower prices. This vicious cycle has the poor countries in an iron grip.

Finally, while the government can change their laws to make the investment climate better, they cannot change the fact that the People's War is continuing, and investors are not free from continuing attacks. Mining companies, as well as other industries, operate under constant fear of attack, and the cost of security at newly privatized industries ranks among the highest in the world. Newmont Mines is employing two security personnel *for every miner*. One of Centromin's main mines was *shut down for an entire year* as the result of a single guerrilla attack. There have been more than 300 known guerrilla attacks on mines over the past 15 years, and miners have themselves been strong supporters of the People's War and have appropriated large amounts of dynamite and other material.⁸

Foreign investors continue to worry about whether the government will be able to hold back the People's War and protect their investment. At the same time, the government's plan for holding state power depends on increased imperialist penetration and foreign investment.

Peru's foreign debt is now estimated at \$26.1 billion. Over 20% of Peru's budget (\$1.28bn of \$5.9bn in 1994) is currently appropriated to pay multilateral lending agencies like the IMF and World Bank. Yet Peru continues to borrow more from

Continued to page 87

The Campaign to Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo:

The Battle Continues!

The capture of Chairman Gonzalo, Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), on 12 September 1992 gave rise to a fierce and resolute battle to defend his life. Chairman Gonzalo's capture by the enemy was felt as a bitter blow to revolutionaries in Peru and around the world. In the 1960s and 1970s Chairman Gonzalo led the struggle to reconstitute the PCP and lay the basis for the launching of a People's War. After the initiation of the People's War in 1980, Chairman Gonzalo played the central role in guiding and advancing the development of the war, and became the recognized leader of millions of peasants, workers, intellectuals and others in Peru. The revolution in Peru led by Chairman Gonzalo has been a precious and fresh revolutionary wind blowing away the stench of old revisionism and presenting a new challenge to imperialism and reaction. When Chairman Gonzalo was captured, for communist revolutionaries around the world defending his life meant defending the right of the slave to rebel against their slavemasters. It meant defending revolution and communism.

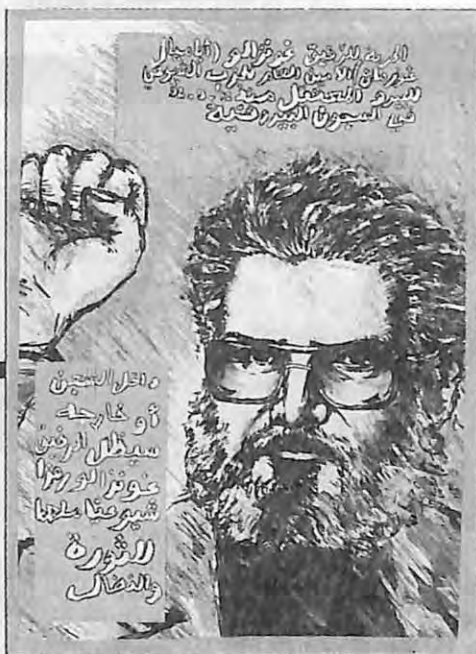
On 12 September 1992 the reactionaries celebrated what they thought was the virtual defeat of the People's War. However, not only has the People's War continued despite this blow, but the international cam-

paigned to defend Chairman Gonzalo's life has reverberated around the globe and shone an even sharper light on the features of the two sides locked in mortal combat. This has inspired the masses and helped puncture the imperialists' lie that it is impossible to challenge the New World Order and that revolution and communism are dead.

Internationally the battle to defend Chairman Gonzalo's life has been spearheaded by the world's proletarian revolutionary forces, who rallied around the call of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to "Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo". Hundreds of thousands of people around the world have actively taken part in this struggle in one way or another. One especially strong component of this fight has been the campaign coordinated by the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzman (Chairman Gonzalo's given name). The IEC has united and mobilized people in more than 40 countries who are outraged over the US-backed Fujimori regime's murderous treatment of this revolutionary leader and the other political prisoners, and recognize that a dangerous precedent is being set for revolutionary leaders and other opponents of imperialism and reaction around the world.



The campaign to defend Chairman Gonzalo has been a complex and fierce uphill battle. On the one side, the US-Fujimori regime, backed by reactionaries around the world, has done everything they could to humiliate, discredit, torture, and even kill Chairman Gonzalo. On the other side an unprecedented array of forces from every corner of the globe who hate imperialism and its endless reactionary schemes to crush the hopes and dreams of the poor and oppressed have stepped forward to defend his life. Faced with the continuation of the People's War in Peru and this unexpected international alliance to defend Chairman Gonzalo's



life, the reactionaries, despite all their might, have been unable to attack Chairman Gonzalo with impunity. France's main newspaper, *Le Monde*, stated that a secret plan to kill him was halted at the last minute because of international public opinion. The US-orchestrated campaign of lies and slanders designed to isolate Chairman Gonzalo and the People's War in Peru has been punctured. And all those who have witnessed this powerful realignment of the revolutionary and progressive forces who have come to the defense of Chairman Gonzalo and the People's War in Peru have been infused with new hope for the future.

The attacks on Chairman Gonzalo have enraged people from very different political trends and ideologies. Many do not understand or agree with the need for a Maoist revolution. However, they do recognize that Chairman Gonzalo is the cherished leader of millions of people in Peru. They recognize the basic right of the people to take up arms against a repressive regime and know that by attacking revolutionary leadership the imperialists are trying to deny the people this precious right. That such a broad array of people has joined together to defend a communist leader has contributed to the fact that Chairman Gonzalo is alive today and their resoluteness and tenacity has surprised and angered the reactionaries. It has also changed the terrain for revolutionaries. In the course of taking up the defense of Chairman Gonzalo, great numbers of people have learned the truth about the People's War in Peru for the first time. As a result, there is a broad reservoir of international support for the People's War

Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!

The capture of Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Party and the Revolution, is part of a plan to carry out greater genocide against the people. The reactionaries dream that this will allow them to annihilate the Revolution. They do not realize that the more blood they shed the closer they come to their extinction. We demand that the genocidal Fujimori government respect his health and life.

The Communist Party of Peru will deal an exemplary punishment to all those who dare to put their dirty hands on Chairman Gonzalo.

**Long Live Chairman Gonzalo, Leader of the
Party and the Revolution!**

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Long Live the People's War!

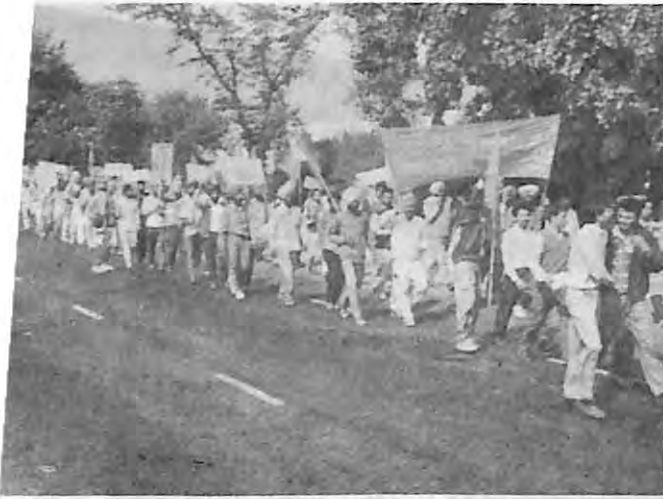
**We Will Give Our Lives for the Party
and the Revolution!**

Communist Party of Peru,
Lima Base
September 1992

LEFT: New Delhi, India. Meeting outside the Peruvian Embassy demanding the release of Comrade Gonzalo.

TOP RIGHT: One of many demonstrations in Kathmandu, Nepal, against the puppet Fujimori regime.

TOP CENTER: Postcard distributed in Tunisia reads: Freedom for Comrade Gonzalo captured since 12 September 92 in the reactionaries' prisons. Inside prison as outside Comrade Gonzalo remains a communist symbol inciting us to make revolution.



and an emerging network of activists fighting to defend it. It has also presented the Maoist forces with many new challenges to play their independent role in both strengthening the worldwide campaign and at the same time taking up more overall revolutionary communist tasks in an increasingly receptive and enriched atmosphere.

When Chairman Gonzalo was arrested, the regime boasted that it had decapitated the People's War. For two years Fujimori and the international media have trumpeted its defeat. At the same time the Peruvian regime unleashed its entire arsenal of weaponry against the People's War — new repressive laws, a psychological war aimed at creating divisions and confusions, empty promises of future prosperity, all backed up by the brutal might of the military which has waged constant war on the people. But in spite of increasingly desperate and brutal attacks, even the regime is forced to admit that they have been unable to wipe out the People's War. Not only have there been continued attacks on banks, newly privatized companies, and the electrical system which have affected Lima and other cities, but the military has

suffered many losses in fierce fighting with PCP combatants in the countryside. They complain of surrounding revolutionary fighters in villages, only to have them escape through elaborate tunnel systems into the jungles. They whine about being unable to land their helicopters in the jungle without coming under fire. They justify massacres of entire villages by saying that the combatants are being hidden among the people, and that every person is a collaborator. The enemy's frustration reflects that they will never be able to crush the deep determination of the Peruvian people to stand up to their oppressors.

However, much more needs to be done to protect the life of Chairman Gonzalo as well as to support the People's War he has so powerfully led. Chairman Gonzalo's life continues to be in danger. The US continues to intensify its sophisticated strategy of low-intensity counter-revolutionary warfare in their attempt to crush the People's War. Chairman Mao said that as a protracted People's War advances, the reactionary regime must be expected to unleash increasingly desperate and brutal attacks against the revolutionary forces, and that the people must be prepared to

TOP LEFT: Punjabis as well as people from other parts of India are brought together by the Joint Committee for Comrade Gonzalo's Release

BELOW: IEC explaining the campaign to the masses in the USA.



From Kerala, India

The slogan of our procession read "Our Solidarity with the Revolutionary People of Peru is Indomitable". Copies of Dr Guzman's speech were distributed along the route.... At the culmination of the procession an effigy of Fujimori, with the badge "Man-Eater", which also symbolizes the rulers of India, was burned and the head of the 'Fujimori' was beaten to smithereens...

“ I am thankful to IEC for providing me with the latest information about the case of Dr Guzman. I think that after the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee (1920-1927), this is the next big movement that spread throughout the globe. I received the statement... and got more than 50 signatures, mostly from human rights activists and lawyers. ”

— Lawyer, Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee, India



“ The Bagong Alyansan Makabayan (BAYAN) declares its wholehearted support for the campaign to defend the life and rights of Dr Abimael Guzman, and demands the release of all political prisoners in Peru... The raging armed revolution in Peru can in no way be considered as terrorism, as the Western mass media claims, but a liberation movement of the people seeking profound social change.... ”

7 March 1993, Manila, Philippines
BAYAN organization (2 million members)

“ Today Peruvian working people are living under the yoke of the US-sponsored Fujimori regime. On Oct 31, 1993 the US-backed Peruvian government is holding a referendum under the farce of creating a new constitution, but in effect to secure the approval of the people to reinstate capital punishment. In opposition to their referendum, and as part of the most urgent world-wide struggle to protect the life of Dr Guzman, the great leader of the Peruvian working people, we, using our power derived from production, have stopped work for one day and devote one day's wages to the Campaign. ”

Worker's representative Ozcan Dogan, Ankara, Turkey,
Yil Isl Sitesi Factory (a radiator factory)

meet unexpected twists and turns, dangers and possibilities. The upcoming April 1995 presidential elections may well be a focal point of new manoeuvres, as the various reactionaries compete with each other to try to prove to their Yankee masters that they are the best choice to preside over the attacks on the People's War.

During the past two years the many forces who have taken up this fierce battle to defend Chairman Gonzalo's life have resolutely met each new challenge the reactionaries have thrown at them, and have become increasingly steeled. They have become schooled in the enemy's unrelenting campaign of disinformation. They have played a decisive role in mobilizing people from all walks of life to defend Chairman Gonzalo, and a strong and powerful front has been formed. People from many different political trends and ideologies have marched in the streets, signed petitions, written letters and decorated the walls of the cities and the hills in the countryside. They have contributed money and have engaged in fiery debates with people who have been swayed by the lies of the enemy. IEC committees and groups made up of these diverse forces have formed in dozens of countries. Moreover, new committees to support the People's War in Peru have been formed. To many, the battle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo has become integrally linked with supporting the People's War in Peru, and this has opened up a whole new vision of what is possible. Some of these fighters have stepped forward to become revolutionary communists.

The campaign to defend Dr Guzman's life continues to be an uphill battle. Even though the Fujimori regime had previously announced that his isolation would end after the legal limit of one year, they have ignored their own laws and maintained the isolation for more than two years now. No one can know exactly how the reactionary forces will next attack. But one thing is certain. The revolutionary and progressive people of the world are in a better position to meet each of the enemy's challenges, and to win.

TOP CENTER: Berlin, Germany. Kreuzberg declared itself sister city of Ayacucho. The banners, hung since 1991, are joined by many more in defence of the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.

TOP RIGHT: IEC delegates to Philippines and Japan with students after an IEC forum in Manila University.



Above: Caracas, Venezuela. Following the resolution of the IEC founding conference to spread the campaign in Latin America, IEC Colombia took the message to Venezuela and Ecuador as well as other neighbouring countries where they were warmly greeted.



Above: "Long Live the PCP". Part of the internationalist and anti-imperialist contingent of May First 1993 demonstrations. Montréal, Canada.



Below: Graffiti on the Hills of Tamil Nadu, India, calls on people to join the international movement to release Comrade Gonzalo.

Highlights of the International Campaign to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzman:

Highlights of particular activities cannot begin to convey the totality of what people around the world have done as part of the international campaign to defend Dr Guzman's life.

Much of this activity has been coordinated and reported on by the more than 50 IEC Emergency Bulletins. Using these as an organizer, supporters in dozens of countries have carried out independent and creative activities for more than two years. Hundreds of programs and meetings have been held. Thousands of book tables and information centres have been set up. Tens of thousands of people have signed the IEC Call, as well as other petitions and letters of protest. Strong appeals have been made to human rights organizations demanding that they take a stand; when they have refused they have been exposed. Peruvian embassies and consulates have been picketed and even occupied. Tens of thousands of people have taken to the streets in protest. Millions of leaflets have been distributed, and posters and banners have appeared on the walls of hundreds of cities around the world. Songs have been composed. Leaflets and news articles have been published in both the mainstream and alternative media. The IEC video "You Must Tell the World" and "People of the Shining Path" have been shown on battery-powered VCRs in small villages nestled in the Himalayas, to peasants in the steaming jungles of Colombia, behind the walls of ivy-towered universities in America and in ghettos from Berlin's Kreuzberg to Los Angeles and Calcutta. To say that millions of people have heard the truth about Chairman Gonzalo and the People's War in Peru for the first time during the past two years is no exaggeration.

September 1992 As news of Dr Guzman's arrest flashes around the world, people immediately demand that his life be respected. Within days, tens of thousands sign the IEC Call to Defend the Life of Dr Guzman.

24 September 1992 Dr Guzman's historic "speech from the cage" is broadcast around the world.

October 1992 In Lima, the first IEC delegation of international lawyers is refused entry to the secret trial of Dr Guzman, but their presence makes media headlines and informs the Peruvian people of the worldwide campaign. Dr Guzman's "trial" by a military tribunal of hooded generals is denounced worldwide. The government, which had made plans to execute Dr Guzman on 15 October, is unable to carry them out in the spotlight of international public opinion. Supporters around the world pledge "one day's wages" to support the campaign. The second delegation is arrested by the secret police, DINCOTE, detained for 30 hours, and expelled.

November 1992 3rd IEC Delegation arrives in Peru and meets with members of the Association of Democratic Lawyers. Shortly thereafter, Dr Guzman's lawyer, Dr Crespo, is arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment.



“We, political prisoners in Bucaramanga, Colombia... want to greet and show our voice of militant solidarity; and at the same time we condemn the government of the dictator Fujimori, for the cruel outrage against Dr Abimael Guzman Reynoso, Chairman Gonzalo....”

February 1993 The IEC South Asia Regional Conference is held in Kathmandu, Nepal. Two weeks later, more than 1,000 people from 33 countries attend the IEC Founding Conference in Germany.

April 1993 The 4th IEC Delegation is welcomed by shantytown residents in Lima, who ask them to “go back to your countries and tell them what you have seen and what you have heard here.”

14-15 May, 1993 - International Days of Action Powerful unified actions denouncing the treatment of Dr Guzman and demanding respect for his life and health are carried out simultaneously by supporters in more than 20 countries.

July 1993 A team of international lawyers meet to support 3 petitions on behalf of Dr Guzman, other political prisoners, and democratic lawyers which were filed with the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) by lawyers in Lima.

12-24 September 1993 Coordinated international activities mark the first anniversary of Dr Guzman's capture. Activists arrange for Dr Guzman's “speech from the cage” to be disseminated round the world — on radio, in newspapers, in leaflets, and through street theatre.

August-November 1993 Two international lawyers argue for support for the petitions filed by the Lima lawyers at an IACHR session. Sweeping range of activities against the official reinstatement of the death penalty in Peru and the government's intention to use it against Dr Guzman and other imprisoned political leaders. 5th Delegation arrives in Peru to demand an end to the isolation of Dr Guzman, which by Peruvian law was to have ended on 12 September 1993. Formal requests to visit Dr Guzman are filed by international lawyers in the IACHR case.

January-February 1994 Lawyers from Colombia and Mexico maintain a prolonged presence in Peru in pursuit of breaking the isolation of Dr Guzman.

March 1994 - IEC East Asia Speaking Tour Three IEC delegates meet with organizations of peasants, workers, students, political prisoners, women, and human rights groups in the Philippines and Japan.

April 1994 The IEC video, “You Must Tell the World”, is released.

19-20 May 1994 Coordinated international days of action demand an end to Dr Guzman's isolation, respect for the basic rights of political prisoners, freedom for lawyers, and denounce US intervention in Peru.

12-24 Sept 1994 International Days of Action marking two years since the capture of Dr Guzman's focus on denouncing the US-Fujimori regime for refusing to allow Dr Guzman to meet with his lawyers, his family, his medical doctors or his friends, and demand an end to his complete and total isolation.

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TOP ROW FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: Members of the 5th delegation: Haluk Geregek, Turkey; Martin Heimig, Germany; Peter Erlinder, US; and Mario Bustamente, Mexico.

Turkey: Inmates of URCLA have given continuous support to defending the life of Abimael Guzman.

Dhaka, Bangladesh: Recreation of Chairman Gonzalo's historic cage speech. The Banner floating over demonstration of International Days of Action, reads “Buildup revolutionary struggle in order to seize our own power along the Maoist ideology.”

Pakistan: 1992; Demanding the freedom of Comrade Gonzalo along with political prisoners in South Africa.

London, UK. September 1994.

Excerpts from the *Revolutionary Worker**

A Discussion with Raymond Lotta about

Maoist Economics and the Revolutionary Road to Communism: THE SHANGHAI TEXTBOOK

... You know one of the points I make in the introduction to the book is that it wasn't until Mao and the Cultural Revolution that Marxism really developed a comprehensive understanding of the political economy of socialism. This may seem odd. After all, Marx and Engels gave us the theory of scientific socialism, and Lenin led in establishing the first socialist state. But that theory had to be applied and vastly enlarged. And that could only happen through the concrete experience of building a socialist economy and waging the class struggle under socialism. The Soviet and Chinese revolutions were the first attempts by oppressed humanity to create societies run by and in the interests of the labouring majority. Mao summed up the strengths and weaknesses of economic construction in the Soviet Union when it was a socialist society, and forged a much more radical and antibureaucratic approach to socialist development and planning. Mao also said that the revolution doesn't stop when power is seized. It must continue and keep continuing in every sphere of society. One of the things that stands out about this textbook is that it doesn't analyse and leave things where they are. It constantly talks about where society has to go.

The Maoists in revolutionary China have provided us with the most advanced synthesis of how a socialist economy works and functions, what its potential and contradictions are, and why this road towards human emancipation is one of ceaseless struggle and experimentation....

Economics is the foundation of society. And to truly liberate people, you need to establish a truly liberating economic foundation. I would say this is one of the most important things people can get from this book: that there is a liberating economics,

that this liberating economics has certain principles that can be mastered and applied by the masses, and that by consciously doing that, people can not only solve all sorts of problems but can also begin to take hold of the economic system and society as a whole. Humanity has lived under the blind, elemental tyranny of economic forces. We can now get beyond that point in historical and social development.

...the majority of the world's people live in the oppressed nations and neocolonies of the Third World. They live in conditions of hunger, disease, and superexploitation; they live in societies whose economies have been twisted and distorted by imperialism. Look at much of Africa, where there is terrible crisis and suffering. The imperialists either write these countries off as hopeless cases, or preach their gospel that the only alternative to stagnation and famine is to hook into and become subordinate to the world imperialist market and financial institutions. Look at Cuba, which is sinking fast. Look at Mandela and Aristide, who are making deals with international bankers and investors. People get demoralized and confused when they see this. But the lesson is that revolution has to break these societies out of the web of imperialism. Revolution has to create self-reliant, sustainable economies that serve the needs of the masses. And the Maoist model is the only one for actually doing this.

...there is a connection between the level of development and living standards of a country like the U.S. and the fact that a handful of rich capitalist countries control the economic lifeblood and economic destinies of the oppressed nations. This is a basic feature of the world economy. And one of the aims of a revolution in a country like the U.S. is to contribute to breaking down this division of the world.

...What this book is talking about has everything to do with recasting the foundations of society and creating a different future for the planet...

...Also, I think this book is a tremendous weapon in going up against the bourgeoisie's charges about how communism is a failed social and economic system. I laugh when they say that communism fell apart in the former Soviet Union. That was state *capitalism* not socialism. Read *The Shanghai Textbook* and tell me what in the world the former Soviet Union had in common with these economic and political principles.

...The communist revolution is totally opposed to everything they stand for. They will never stop trying to defame and destroy it. And there's a reason they have to go after Mao. Because his theory and practice concentrate, as no one else's does in our time, the all-the-way, "turn the world upside down" mission of the communist revolution...

...There's something else, and that's the reality of economic and social transformation in Maoist China between 1949 and 1976. Hunger was conquered and infectious disease wiped out; women were no longer slaves to households, husbands, and landlords but were broadly involved in economic and political life; the masses were debating issues of politics, art, and education; a socialist planned economy based on mass participation was developed. These things really happened. They weren't abstractions or slogans or half-baked intentions that went awry. This was the most liberating society on the face of the earth. But one reason many people, even progressive and socialist-minded intellectuals, are vulnerable to the imperialist and revisionist slanders against Mao is that they know very little about what was really happening in revolutionary China, especially the economy. That's part of why I wrote this essay on the planning system in Maoist China that's at the end of *The Shanghai Textbook*. It goes concretely into the economic mechanisms; it gives the data on Maoist China's economic performance and achievements; it shows how this theory actually worked...

* The *Revolutionary Worker* is the voice of the RCP, USA. This discussion was originally printed in Nov. 19, 1994

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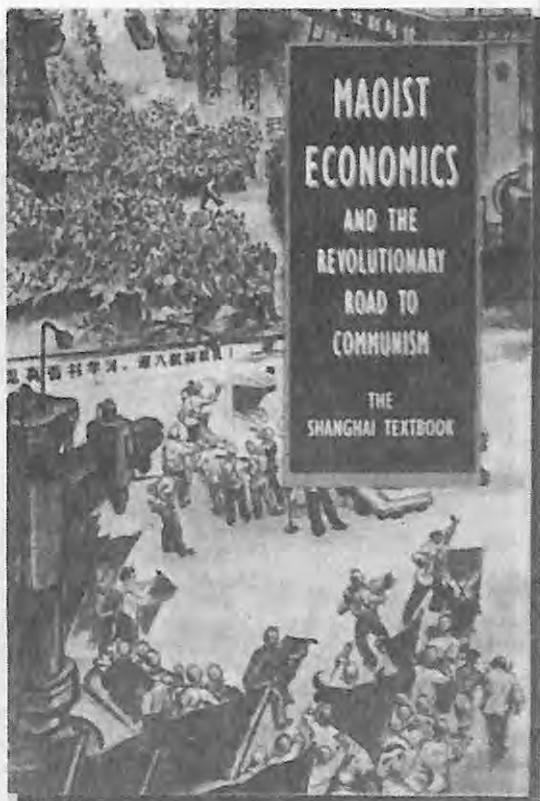
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“This is a volume of historical importance published by Mao’s supporters during the height of the Cultural Revolution in China. The text advances many crucial as well as controversial themes about the task of socialist construction and the dangers of capitalist restoration in post-revolutionary societies. This is an ‘inside’ source focusing on ideological debates of theoretical significance. One certainly need not agree with particular views in this volume — for instance, the applicability of the law of value to socialist society — to appreciate its systematic treatment of the issues. A must for students of political economy and Chinese studies.”

Cyrus Bina – Political Economist and Research Fellow, CMES, Harvard University

“This work is the fullest presentation of the late Cultural Revolution era theoretical view of the Shanghai group. In its analysis of imperatives of class struggle under socialism, in its lumping together all ‘revisionists’ from Liu Shaoqi to Lin Biao, Chen Boda and the post-Stalin Soviet leadership, and in its single-minded resolve to eliminate ultimately all traces of the private sector, it well evokes the mood and priorities of the final days of this stream of late Maoism. Nearly two decades after its original publication, this first translation of the fourth edition provides a yardstick against which to measure the new economic and social path subsequently initiated by the Deng Xiaoping leadership.”

Mark Selden – Author, *The Political Economy of Chinese Development*

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low woodpecker

A WORLD TO WIN 1995/20



**Top: Chiapas,
January 1994**

**Right: Rebel peasant
helping destroy the city
hall in Altamarino,
January 1994**



The Peasant Uprising in Chiapas

by Meche Sierra Rojas

This issue of *AWTW* includes two articles and one statement on Mexico and the uprising in Chiapas that shook that country in January 1994. The first article, by Meche Sierra Rojas from Mexico, presents a valuable overview of the peasant uprising. Rojas draws important lessons from the uprising for developing the road to revolution in Mexico, arguing for the path of New Democratic Revolution against the illusory road of electoral

democracy.

Second is the statement of the Committee of RIM which supports the uprising and stresses that the road to revolution in Mexico can only be developed under the leadership of a party that is armed with the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and that bases itself on the strategy of people's war, as is illustrated by the People's War in Peru led by the Communist Party there.

Finally, there are excerpts from an in-depth

RIGHT:
Peasant women participated broadly in the uprising

BELOW:
Government documents destroyed during the rebellion



A WORLD TO WIN 1995/20



analysis by Isidro Serrano of the oppressive nature of Mexican society. Serrano shows how some of the seemingly "modern" features of the Mexican economy disguise its semifeudal essence and explains the key role of agrarian revolution as part of an overall New Democratic Revolution led by the proletariat and its party. — AWTW

Thousands of Indian peasants rose up in arms on the 1st of January, 1994 in Chiapas, a state in southern Mexico, under the leadership of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional— EZLN). They seized the county seats of Ocosingo, Chanal, Las Margaritas, Altamirano and Oxchuc, as well as San Cristobal, the biggest city of this region of Los Altos and the Lacandon Jungle. They carefully protected the civilian population and the tourists, but they sacked the government offices and burned the papers they found there. They liberated 179 prisoners from the prison near San Cristobal, the majority of which were Indian peasants that had been unjustly imprisoned by the landlords and their government. They gave them the arms they found in the prison and called on them to join the rebellion. They declared that "the oppressor government's shops and stores will be opened so that the people of San Cristobal can take what they need." They sacked the National Bank of Mexico and burned a meeting place of the Cattle Ranchers' Association, a reactionary organization of the landlords in the region.

The uprising electrified the entire nation. Among the masses, especially the poorest masses, it was common to hear the comment, "if they come here, I'm joining". On the other hand, dismay predominated among the better-off strata, promoted by the mass media and the government, who didn't lose any time in charging that the Indian peasants of Chiapas were "foreign terrorists." The reporters from the main mass media received orders from their superiors not to mention the name of the EZLN, but rather to use terms like "transgressors of the law."

The federal army was not well prepared. There were reports in 1993 of the presence of guerrillas, which was used as an excuse to repress peasants. Nevertheless the government, which was in the final

stages of approving the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States and Canada, wished to minimize the importance of the matter, so as not to harm the efforts to attract foreign investors. The Yankee embassy also maintained that there were no guerrillas, for the same reasons.

The federal army reacted with caution, in part because they didn't know how strong the peasant army was, but also because, although the EZLN wasn't going to be able to defeat the federal army with offensive actions, it was very possible that the rebellion might spread and there might be rebellions in other parts of the country. So the army first acted to isolate the rebellion.

The EZLN, on the other hand, pulled out of San Cristobal and attacked and laid siege to the military base at Rancho Nuevo, 25 km from the city. In their previous actions, they had the element of surprise and initiative in their favour, and they defeated the limited resistance of the police forces and the landlords' white guards (paramilitary groups). The peasants took away their weapons and in this way became better armed: although they had begun with some modern weapons that they had bought during their years of preparation, the majority of their weapons were old, small calibre guns used for hunting, and many fighters, including the new people that were joining the ranks of the Zapatista army, entered battle without a gun. Although at first they were able to penetrate the military base, the positional warfare involved in laying siege to it favoured the reactionary forces, which had the advantage of better arms and fortified positions.

Meanwhile, more than ten thousand federal army troops occupied San Cristobal and the main county seats and unleashed bloody repression of the people. In order to cover up their brutality, they prohibited the press from entering the zone. Although in general the EZLN troops retreated in the face of the enemy offensive, there was an important battle in Ocosingo. Some reporters photographed Zapatistas there who had been taken prisoner and then murdered, shot point blank in the back of the head. There were other reports of dead bodies that the

army spirited away to try to hide their criminal assassinations, as well as reports of clandestine graves and various cases of torture. They bombed the civilian population near San Cristobal, and then the National Defence Secretary had the gall to deny it. When it came out that they had even bombed reporters from the national press, they said that it wasn't bombing, because they used missiles instead of bombs against the people! They "disappeared" various individuals and jailed peasants, including even some who were members of the official government party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—PRI). During these military actions, the U.S. State Department issued a statement approving the measures taken by Salinas de Gortari, the president of the reactionary government in Mexico.

After occupying the small cities of the region, although the federal army carried out some "combing" operations, they didn't pursue the guerrillas in a serious way in the countryside, where the rebellion enjoys immense support among the population and the terrain also favours the rebel army. It wasn't going to be easy to finish off the guerrillas militarily in the countryside, and trying to do so could have destabilized the already shaky reactionary regime even more. So the government decided to declare a ceasefire on January 12, as various representatives of U.S. imperialism advised them to do. The EZLN also declared a ceasefire. Salinas demanded that the rebels turn in their guns, as a condition for having the talks. The EZLN, on the other hand, demanded recognition as a belligerent force. In the end there were talks between Manuel Camacho Solís, the government-appointed "Peace Commissioner" and subcommander Marcos and other leaders of the EZLN, without the EZLN turning in guns and without the government recognizing them as a belligerent force. In June the Zapatistas rejected the government proposal in the negotiations and Camacho Solís resigned his post, but the government has named another commissioner who the EZLN has accepted, and there continues to be talk of more negotiations, although there has been nothing concrete so far.

The EZLN's political positions include the struggle for "Democracy, Liberty and Justice", and their "10 points": "work, land, housing, food, health, education, independence, liberty, democracy, justice and peace." In their communiqués, a central demand has been "the resignation of the illegitimate government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari and the formation of a democratic transition government to guarantee clean elections in the entire country and on all levels of government." Their "revolutionary laws" include limiting agrarian property to 25 hectares (or 50 in some versions) of good quality land, expropriating the "big agricultural enterprises", price and wage controls by "a local price and wage commission... composed of freely and democratically elected representatives of the workers, people from the neighbourhoods, employers, merchants and authorities," and that foreign companies pay their workers the same wages they pay in their own countries, among other points.

Nevertheless, the true importance and meaning of what has happened in Chiapas can't be understood from only looking at the positions and communiqués of the EZLN, which are similar on various points, to the positions of other political forces that haven't inspired the people nearly as much. The true importance of this movement lies, on the one hand, in that it is the **just armed rebellion of the peasants and Indians**, that has awakened the people and fanned the flames of rebellion throughout Mexico and has inspired and heartened the oppressed and revolutionary people throughout the world. The country will never be the same as it was before January 1st, and the most important change is the revolutionary awakening of the masses throughout the country. The importance of the Chiapas rebellion, on the other hand, lies in that it **expresses and represents an intensification of a revolutionary situation that continues to develop, although unevenly, in the entire country.**

THE END OF THE MYTH OF SOCIAL PEACE

It is important to learn the lessons of this just rebellion and to analyze the development of the revolutionary situation. It is a rapidly changing

situation that requires more investigation and analysis. However, as an initial assessment, it can be said that the rebellion confirms five important conclusions.

The first lesson and a great achievement of the rebellion was that it **demolished the myth of social peace**. Before January 1st the media was full of propaganda about the marvels of the imperialist system: communism was dead; revolution was a thing of the past; Mexico was now leaving behind a decade of crisis; with the negotiation of NAFTA, the promotion of foreign investment and the privatization of state enterprises, they even told us that we were about to "become part of the first world." Reality was quite different. Imperialist modernization meant increasing misery for the great majority: half of the population is malnourished, the minimum wage is half of what it was in 1982, and there has been accelerated ruin and bankruptcy of peasants and small businesses. On the other hand, imperialist modernization policies also led to an enormous increase in foreign investment, weak growth of the economy and the outrageous accumulation of wealth by a handful of individuals. An example: in the last three years the number of Mexican multimillionaires in *Forbes'* list of the world's richest men has almost doubled, putting Mexico in fourth place in the world. The annual income of these 24 multimillionaires is greater than the total income of 40% of the national population. (And it should be kept in mind that in addition to these individuals, the richest members of the Mexican big bourgeoisie, the Mexican people are also exploited by the imperialists who take billions of dollars out of the country every year).

The growing misery of the majority and the outrageous accumulation of wealth by a few were expressed in the rebellion of the poorest and most oppressed, the Indian peasants of Chiapas. They entered into combat saying "Better to die fighting than die of dysentery." The Zapatista peasants say that "The people themselves said 'now, let's start now'. We don't want to keep suffering because we're dying of hunger." "Years and years have gone by like this. Because where we live, for a long time, I think since about 1974, we have been ask-

ing for land, housing, the construction of roads and rural clinics. But nothing has been accomplished. The only responses they give us are tricks, false promises and lies." Another peasant says, "We aren't going to give up our guns because we prefer to die fighting, with dignity, than die of cholera, of measles, or from repression by the landlords that make us live like pigs."

After January 1st, the politicians and mass media who had promised a little while ago that Mexico was going to "become part of the first world", found themselves obligated to "recognize" the injustice of the conditions of the peasants, the Indians and the poor in general and to admit that the "policies of the government" haven't been "adequate." Among the people, new hope for revolution has been born and their struggles are increasing. Yesterday it was said that revolution was a thing of the past. Today it's the happening thing. The lesson is that, however strong the ideological offensive of the reactionaries may be at any particular moment in time, the nature of the system inevitably provokes the rebellion of the masses.

THE LAND STRUGGLE

The second lesson is that the **struggle of the peasants for land is still very important**. The struggle for land was the main detonator of this rebellion, and the rebellion has also encouraged various land seizures in Chiapas and in other states. As one Zapatista says: "In these communities it's a miracle that the people are still alive, because families of seven or twelve people have survived from just a little plot of land, maybe a hectare, or half a hectare of infertile, uncultivable land. That's how our people have survived. And that's why we see and feel an urgency to have land in our hands, as peasants. We need that land... none of the Indian villages have got land. That's why we've been fighting for a plot of land for 30 or 40 years, but they don't ever give us anything. At the same time, we know about people that aren't peasants that have thousands of hectares of land where they feed cattle. That means its worth more to have hundreds of heads of cattle than to have hundreds of peasants. It means we're

worth less than animals.”

For a long time, a lot of the so-called “left” in our country has argued that, because of capitalist development, neither the struggle for land nor the peasants are very important as a revolutionary force and that semifeudalism no longer exists, or never did exist. It’s true that there has been an important growth of bureaucrat capitalism, i.e., of capitalism subordinated to imperialism. Especially in the northern part of the country this has created a modern agriculture that appears to be predominantly capitalist in its internal relations. However, the basis for this sector is the peasant economy, which is still subjugated with semifeudal forms and which provides the more capitalist sector with a superexploited labor force and which is also exploited and oppressed with more openly semifeudal forms by the landlords and “caciques” (the reactionary landlord chieftains).

This is why, as Isidro Serrano analyzed in his 1991 pamphlet, *Revolución agraria y semifeudalidad* [*Agrarian Revolution and Semifeudalism*, key sections of which are reprinted in this issue — AWTW], “Taken as a whole, the system of exploitation in the countryside is predominantly semifeudal.” Moreover, in the past, “ardent and ferocious legions have arisen from among the peasants that have ignited the entire country with the flames of revolution, while official society staggered with shock and fear. They tell us that this is all a thing of the past; Mexico is no longer an agricultural country; much of the land has already been divided up; now everything is capitalist (or a “mixed economy”); now the peasants are only a sector that can either provide the [ruling] PRI with captive audiences or the opposition with votes.

Those who think this are mistaken. There are innumerable signs that indicate that the country is approaching a decisive moment once again. The downtrodden will arise again from the shadows and in their ranks the bitter cry from the countryside will be heard once more. If the revolutionaries know how to act correctly, that cry will herald a new revolutionary storm, and the peasants, in firm unity with their proletarian brothers in the city, will finally

find their own voice in the melody of people’s war.”

The armed rebellion in Chiapas has confirmed these conclusions, as well as emphasizing the revolutionary potential of the land struggle. The growth of bureaucrat capitalism has not lessened the importance of the struggle for land: on the contrary, it has sharpened that struggle by taking away the best lands from the peasants and accelerating their impoverishment and ruin. Here it is worth mentioning the best contribution of the EZLN’s agrarian law: “The big agricultural enterprises will be expropriated...” This shows how the growth of bureaucrat capitalism in the countryside has not eliminated the revolutionary struggle for land and has been creating a firmer material basis for consciousness on the part of the peasants of the need to struggle, not only against the landlords and caciques, but also against the big bourgeoisie and imperialism. Although the EZLN’s program doesn’t reach the point of calling for confiscating the property of the imperialists, big capitalists and landlords, which is necessary for the New Democratic Revolution, their demand against the big agricultural enterprises is the fruit of repeated experiences on the part of the peasants, who have found that even when they are able to take back part of the land, it doesn’t help them much without the means to make it produce, which are concentrated more and more in the hands of the big capitalists and landlords.

THE REBELLION OF THE INDIANS AND OF THE WOMEN

The third lesson is the revolutionary potential of the indigenous peoples and of women. Among those who call themselves revolutionaries here, as in other countries, there is no lack of those who consider women and Indians to be a great mass of backward elements, without understanding, as Mao shows us, that oppression breeds resistance, and that the great oppression suffered by Indians and women leads to a great rebellion on their part.

The rebellion in Chiapas has awakened the consciousness and rebellion of people all over Mexico. As one Indian woman in another state com-

mented: “I feel as if I were asleep and then I woke up.” It has also helped many *mestizos* raise their consciousness regarding the oppressive situation faced by the Indians.

There are about 56 indigenous groups in Mexico, distinguished by their languages. Some of the Indians also speak Spanish, while others, especially among the women, don’t. Although they are only about 10% of the population, they are concentrated in the mountains and in Mexico’s southern states, so that they are the majority in various regions. The zone controlled by the EZLN is almost completely Indian, including Tzeltals, Tzotsils, Tojolobals, Chols and others. The Indian struggle is principally a peasant question. They face ruthless semifeudal oppression exercised by the *caciques* and landlords, as well as general discrimination and racist ideas that have a lot of influence among the *mestizo* population.

The EZLN poses the demand for regional autonomy. A Zapatista explains that “We think that we have to have our Indian people. There are many ways. But it could be in a very simple way. As Indians we believe and feel that we have the capacity to determine our own destiny. There’s really no need for them to take us by the hand. As mature people, as conscious people, we can determine our own destiny, we can govern our own people. We believe that our people are capable of governing themselves because our people know how, and they think... As Indians we need our own autonomy, we need that identity, that dignity.” It is correct and necessary to establish regional autonomy, with regional governments for the various Indian groups, in the context of overthrowing the reactionary State and establishing the People’s Republic in Mexico as a whole.

Women have won an important role for themselves in the Zapatista rebellion. With the growing ruin of the traditional peasant economy, peasant women, out of necessity, have begun to participate more in production and commerce outside of the home, as day workers, in the sale of handicrafts and in other activities. The sale of handicrafts produced by women has also become an important source of cash for many peasant households in Chiapas and else-

Continued to page 80

Support the Uprising in Chiapas!

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement
15 January 1994

On January 1st 1994 hundreds of armed peasants arose in rebellion in the Mexican state of Chiapas. Their bold and daring action mobilized the support of thousands in the immediate area and aroused the enthusiasm of the masses throughout the whole country. The news was greeted with jubilation by the class conscious proletarians and revolutionary masses, especially those who suffer exploitation and oppression at the hands of U.S. imperialism, including within the U.S. itself.

The rebellion demonstrates the deep revolutionary sentiments of the Mexican people and their basic needs: to be free of imperialist subjugation, (principally by the U.S. which is being even further tightened by the North American Free Trade Agreement); to implement a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution; and to overthrow the bureaucrat-capitalist class that rules Mexico in the service of U.S. imperialism and in league with the landowning classes.

The Chiapas uprising struck panic into the hearts of the Mexican ruling class and its U.S. overlords who were in constant contact over how to suppress the uprising. It was met by counter-revolutionary dual tactics of vicious indiscriminate repression and terror directed against the people, on the one hand, and the spreading of false promises of reform on the other.

Although the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is not fully informed as to the political programme and ideology of the Zapatista National Liberation Army which has been leading the revolt in Chiapas, it is clear that this revolt is fully justified and merits the support of revolutionary communists and progressive forces the world over.

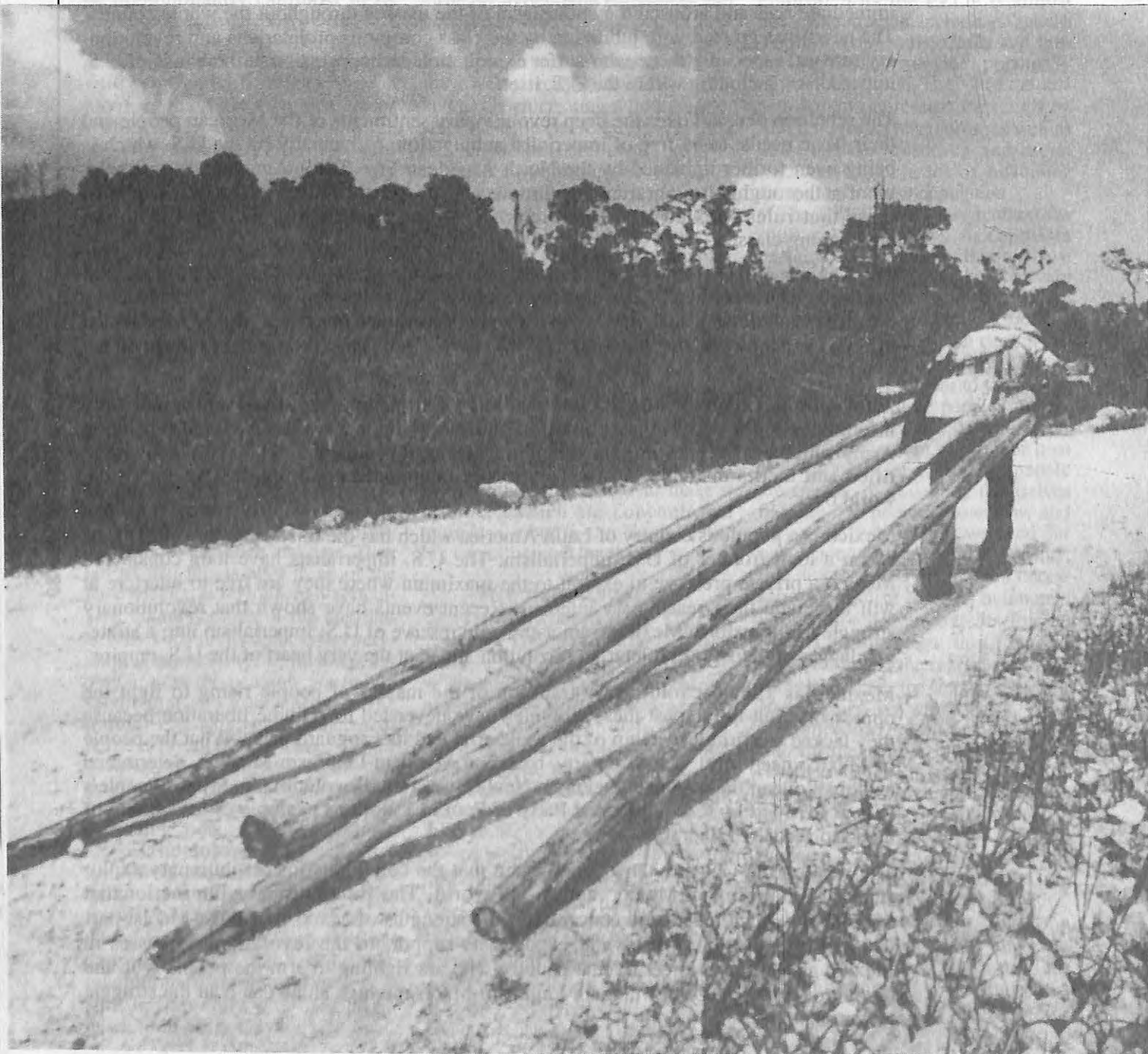
Mexico is a populous country of Latin America which has the misfortune of being located on a long frontier of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. imperialists have long considered Mexico a private preserve to exploit to the maximum where they are free to interfere at will to defend their reactionary interests. Recent events have shown that revolutionary struggle can transform Mexico from a strategic reserve of U.S. imperialism into a strategic dagger of the world proletarian revolution aimed at the very heart of the U.S. empire.

Mexico has a long revolutionary tradition of the masses of people rising to fight the oppressors. But in the past these struggles have never led to genuine liberation because they lacked the firm leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard party. What the people of Mexico need most is such a party, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, determined and able to lead the people in waging a New Democratic Revolution. Today the People's War in Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru is a glorious example of the vitality of the Maoist road of liberation.

The rebellion in Chiapas shows once again that the conditions for revolutionary explosions are maturing in Mexico and in the world. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which unites and concentrates the strengths of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organisations worldwide, pledges its support to the revolutionary masses in Mexico and to those forces in that country who are fighting to arm the people with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism which alone can lead the struggle to victory. □

On the Political Economy of Mexico

Agrarian Revolution



and Semi-Feudalism

This article is excerpted from the pamphlet of the same name by Isidro Serrano which originally appeared in 1991 in Mexico. — AWTW

INTRODUCTION

In ordinary times, the countryside and the peasants are hidden, almost



RIGHT:
Washing
clothes.

BOTTOM:
Chiapas
peasant
holds
document
demanding
the title to
his land.



forgotten by Mexican society. The official society is that of the city, an urban one, and even more so that of the capital, Mexico City. The peasants search for a refuge from the hunger that threatens the countryside, they move in the shadows of the city dwellers as squatters, street vendors, beggars, proletarians with minuscule salaries. They come out of the shadows for an instant to be given the anonymous fame of being "the illegal immigrant problem of the United States". The government, preoccupied by "social peace", constantly promises them "justice". But in the countryside they are almost invisible.

They burst out every now and again in the city in one protest or another. Sometimes vague, brief journalist's notes mention the massacre of another half dozen peasants — the murder of just one is almost not considered to be "news". The rest of the time they pay attention to the peasants only as it concerns how to extract more production, more exports and more foreign exchange.

With all of this, in the crucial moments in the life of the country, from this almost invisible world, from this vast oblivion, from these "humble" peasants, have risen up ardent and ferocious legions have arisen from among the peasants that have ignited the entire country with the flames of revolution, while official society staggered with shock and fear. They tell us that this is all a thing of the past; Mexico is no longer an agricultural country; much of the land has already been divided up; now everything is capitalist (or a "mixed economy"); now the peasants are only a sector that can either provide the [ruling] PRI with captive audiences or the opposition with votes.

Those who think this are mistaken. There are innumerable signs that indicate that the country is approaching a decisive moment once again. The downtrodden will arise again from the shadows and in their ranks the bitter cry from the countryside will be heard once more. If the revolutionaries know how to act correctly, that cry will herald a new revolutionary storm, and the peasants, in firm unity with their proletarian brothers in the city, will finally find their own voice in the melody of people's war.

I. THE PEASANT ROAD AND THE LANDLORD ROAD

The oppression of the peasants in Mexico has its historic roots in the feudal and colonial society which Spain imposed on us. There exist two roads to overcome feudalism in the countryside: the landlord road and the peasant road. The landlord road is the conservative road of slow transformation of the feudal landlords into capitalists. The peasant road is the revolutionary road of overcoming feudalism through confiscating the land belonging to the landlords without compensation and dividing it among the peasants.¹

In spite of the so-called agrarian reform, the road followed by Mexico has essentially been the landlord road, the road of the gradual transformation of the feudal landlords into capitalists. The reform helped to accelerate the transformation of the feudal landlords into agricultural capitalists by taking away their marginal lands. On a few occasions peasants were given good lands to hold back and stop their revolutionary struggle. But there is no doubt that the transformation of the feudal landlords into bourgeoisie has been the main road to the expansion of capitalist relations in the countryside. The peasant economy, on the other hand, has been hemmed in, restricted and subordinated at each step.

The landlord road is the conservative and counter-revolutionary road. It fully corresponds to the maintenance of the semi-colonial character of the country and its domination by imperialism, mainly US imperialism. The big bourgeoisie which has arisen in the countryside from this road is a bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, dependent and subordinate to imperialism. Capitalism generated by imperialist capital and its Mexican minor partner is bureaucrat capitalism in the sense given to this term by Mao: capitalism that is completely subordinated to imperialism and closely linked to semi-feudal relations, both in the state-owned and the private forms of capital. This bureaucrat capitalism is the "state-owned monopoly, comprador and feudal capitalism" that arises in the colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries under imperialist domination.²

Even though the landlord road and the expansion of imperialist and bureaucrat-comprador capital in a semi-colonial country like ours tends, in the long run, toward the elimination of feudal relations, in the medium term this transforms them only partly, adapts them to the needs of big capital and reproduces them partially. That is the reason why semi-feudalism persists in the Mexican countryside and, as we will see, still plays an important role in the operation of the system as a whole. Even where feudal relations are transformed into capitalist relations, transformation through the landlord road is always counter-revolutionary in the political sense, that is to say, it always reproduces the subordination and oppression of the rural workers, albeit in a more capitalist form.

Which road today opposes the landlord road? The rise of the struggle in the 1970s proved without doubt that the main opposition in the countryside is the peasant struggle, mainly the struggle for land.³ It proved that, in spite of the considerable expansion of capitalist relations through the landlord road in the postwar period, the peasant road continues to be the immediate alternative bursting forth from the concrete reality of the class struggle in the countryside.

The peasant road, in its most radical expression, is the revolutionary road that destroys feudalism, not through the gradual transformation of feudal landlords into bourgeoisie, but through the complete expropriation of the landlord class, the distribution of all the land among the peasants and the consequent elimination of the oppression and exploitation of the peasants by the landlords. Today, with significant bourgeoisification of the landlords and the ever greater presence of imperialist capital in the agro-industrial complex, the peasant struggle has not only a deep anti-feudal content but it also directly confronts big imperialist and bureaucrat-comprador capital. This creates an even firmer objective basis to forge the worker-peasant alliance under proletarian leadership.

In fact, the main conflict in the countryside is between the continuation of the landlord road under the

command of big capital subordinated to imperialism and tied to semi-feudalism, and the peasant road which is most sharply expressed in the struggle to wipe out the domination of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi-feudalism in the countryside and replace it with a peasant economy. Whoever opposes or downplays this peasant struggle, whoever underestimates the revolutionary potential of the peasants, is not a true revolutionary, and in the final analysis not even a consistent democrat. Such is the case of the "workerists" who, after a lot of hemming and hawing, conclude that the hundreds of thousands of peasants who have risen in struggle for land in the last decades were mistaken and should abandon "the populist fiction according to which it is necessary to promote the distribution of land to strengthen the small peasant economy".⁴ The peasants, they say, did not concern themselves with the truly "proletarian" struggle...the struggle for trade unions for *jornaleros* [day labourers — their payment is on a daily, not hourly, basis]! Incredibly, they even say this without blushing.

Of course there is nothing wrong in itself that *jornaleros* try to organize a union. What is extremely wrong — and revisionist — is that so-called "Marxists" tell the peasants that the most important and "proletarian" struggle is the struggle for *jornalero* unions. For the revolutionary proletariat, the trade union struggle is not even the most important or "proletarian" struggle for urban proletarians — that point of view, Lenin teaches us, is economism and serves the political interests of the bourgeoisie. All the worse to propose it to the peasants, where it can only serve as a cover for contempt and even opposition to the main current which the struggle has adopted, especially among the poor peasants (and *jornaleros*), in the periods of their most radical surges: the struggle for land. The method, the attitude toward the peasantry and the political point of view which are manifested here have much in common with those of a previous "workerist" tendency: the Mensheviks during the Russian Revolution.⁵

Likewise, the struggle for land, as

any other struggle, can lend itself to purely reformist purposes — and the Secretariat of Agrarian Reform exists to ensure it does. After all, history shows that obtaining land without armed struggle for political power only reproduces the subordination of the masses to the reactionary system. The task of the revolutionary communists is not to passively support the spontaneous peasant struggle, but to encourage the tendency toward the highest form of class struggle: people's war.

In this essay we do not consider the very important questions of military strategy, but it is not possible to correctly focus on the agrarian question or any other question of revolution without taking into account the simple conclusion of historical materialism that true revolutionary transformation occurs only through the road of armed struggle. Revolutionary victory is unthinkable without the uprising of the oppressed in the countryside in a country like ours where more or less half of the people can be found in towns with less than 15,000 inhabitants⁶ — and this does not include millions from the countryside who are temporary immigrants in the USA or migrant workers in the cities of Mexico.

The revolutionary participation of the peasants in the history of the country has always expressed itself through armed forms, and this revolutionary force has not yet been exhausted. There is in fact a war in the countryside: according to the fragmentary reports available, *a peasant is murdered every three days* in the course of struggling for land or against the political bosses — (*caciques*) or in other peasant struggles.⁷ The problem is that this war is very unequal, in spite of the occasional outbreaks of spontaneous armed resistance by the peasants. For the revolutionary peasants the final solution has always been and continues to be replying to reactionary violence with revolutionary violence of the masses.

For all these reasons, in spite of the big differences between contemporary Mexico and China before liberation, the challenge which Mao posed continues to be a dividing line for us: the peasants "will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no

power, however great, will be able to hold them back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation.... Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing, or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every(one) is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly."⁸

II. THE PEASANT ROAD AND THE SOCIALIST ROAD

We have said that whoever in fact opposes the peasant struggle is not a revolutionary, and not even a consistent democrat. Considering the question from another perspective, in the agrarian revolution the class-conscious proletariat must consider as allies not only the (true) socialists but also every democrat who supports the struggle — above all the revolutionary struggle — of the peasants. The immediate struggle is not a directly socialist struggle, rather it is a struggle between the landlord road and the peasant road. This peasant road in its most consistent expression leads to an agrarian revolution that divides all the land among the peasants, confiscates imperialist and bureaucrat-comprador capital and makes possible the free development of the peasant economy. It is a democratic revolution.

The democratic forces, even the "campesinistas" [those who exaggerate the qualities of the peasants, thinking they alone will carry out revolution — AWTW], who do not see beyond the "free development" of the peasant economy and promote various ideas and theories, can be political allies to the extent that they support and promote this agrarian revolution and the national revolution of which it is part. Where revolutionary communists distinguish themselves from their democratic allies in the agrarian revolution is in understanding that leaving the "free development of the peasant economy" to its spontaneous course, according to the laws of the market, is in the end also capitalist development: a more open and democratic

development than that brought about by the landlord road, but capitalist development nonetheless.

This does not prevent the communists from putting themselves in the vanguard of the agrarian revolution, because it is the most revolutionary transformation possible in the present conditions and because that revolution opens the road not only to a possible capitalist development but also to the possibility of the broader and more deep-going participation of the peasants in a subsequent socialist transformation of the countryside and the whole society. In order to bring about this latter possibility, the communists must not get carried away by the populist tales of the inherently "anti-capitalist" or "socialist" nature of the peasant struggle, or of how "harmful" the leadership of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party is, and the like.

We must say to the peasants openly: the first stage of the agrarian revolution will mean a great blow to the ruling system and all must unite and struggle for it. However, once they have the land and the means to make it produce, two roads will open up to the peasants: 1) development according to the laws of the market, which inevitably leads to class polarization within the peasantry and the exploitation of the immense majority by the new bourgeoisie which could only ally itself with imperialism and restore semi-colonial oppression on the country; or, 2) the socialist road which passes through the voluntary collectivization of the countryside as an integral part of the socialist transformation of the entire society.

Socialist collectivization represents a second great revolution in the countryside, which confronts real enemies who want to take the capitalist road. Socialist collectivization is the only salvation for the great majority of the peasants, the only way to avoid being subjected once again to exploitation. Therefore "the poor and lower-middle peasants... enthusiastically want to continue the socialist road".⁹ The final goal of the proletariat revolution is not the utopian and impossible attempt of indefinitely prolonging the peasant economy, but the definitive liberation of humanity:

communism, classless society, throughout the world.

To prepare the transition to socialist revolution both in the agrarian revolution and in the national-democratic revolution, the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party is indispensable. There is no need for another democratic revolution of the old type, that is, led by the bourgeoisie, like the revolution of 1910 which in the final analysis was incapable of resolving the great problems which still afflict the country. What is necessary is a new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat and its party which smashes imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi-feudalism, establishes the people's democratic dictatorship and begins the socialist revolution.

To sum up, the policy of the revolutionary communists in the agrarian revolution is guided by two fundamental principles. First, the agrarian revolution in its present stage corresponds necessarily to the peasant road, the peasants represent the principal revolutionary force and the communists must lead their struggle — above all their armed struggle — against imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi-feudalism. Second, this first stage of the agrarian revolution can pave the way either to a new capitalist development, even if it is under the signboard of the free development of the peasant economy, or else to socialist transformation, and the latter is always the strategic perspective of the revolutionary proletariat and its most important ally, the poor peasants.

III. FEUDALISM AND THE COLONY

Both the landlord road and the peasant road are ways of overcoming feudalism in the country. But, what is feudalism?

The essence of feudalism lies in the *latifundia system* and *serfdom*, that is feudal ownership of land and the corresponding relations of production and exploitation. Under feudalism, control of the land is the key to exploitation: appropriation by the exploiting class (the landlords) of the surplus produced by the exploited (the peasants). By contrast, under capitalism land is only one among

many forces of production and it is the control of capital, not only of land, that makes exploitation possible.

The feudal landlord class often gives the peasants parcels of land on which they can produce their sustenance as a condition of their exploitation by the landlords, whether in the form of land rent, peonage or others. Since in this way the peasants actually possess some land and its products, exploitation always implies the existence of what Marx calls "extra-economic coercion": open or disguised coercion to obtain the surplus, in other words, servitude in its broadest sense.

Thus under feudalism the direct producer (the peasant) is linked to the land; capitalism, instead, presupposes the complete separation of the direct producer (the wage worker) from the land or any other means of subsistence. Under feudalism the peasant produces their own sustenance; under capitalism the workers have to buy their sustenance with their salary. Feudal exploitation requires to one degree or another extra-economic coercion — servitude — while for wage workers under capitalism, economic coercion is enough: "if you don't work, you don't eat". Workers under capitalism are free in a double sense, Marx tells us: "free" of means of production with which to produce their own sustenance and free of any pressure and requirement to work other than the simple necessity of earning a living.¹⁰

Both Marx¹¹ and Lenin¹² point out that the most basic and simple form of feudal exploitation consists of the peasant working part of the time on the land of the landlord without payment to produce a surplus. This basic configuration is found in the history of Mexico in the specific form of the *encomienda*, the first colonial form of exploitation of indigenous labour. Its owner, the *encomiendero*, received from the Crown the right to the labour (as well as tribute in the form of products) of the Indians of his *encomienda*, giving them no compensation at all. Of course this feudal system of forced labour was based on the most cruel coercion and violence against the Indians and contributed to a great extent to the genocide perpetrated against them.

The basic form of feudal exploita-

tion was transformed and modified in two main directions, without ever completely breaking out of the framework of the feudal system. In terms of the exploitation of the peasant parcel, the evolution of land rent (to which Marx paid particular attention) passed from the basic form, already described, of rent in labour, to rent in products (or sharecropping)¹³ and rent in money. Feudal rent, even in the case of money rent which is often a transitional form, is the typical form of exploitation, of the appropriation of the surplus, and as such it comprehends all or almost all of the surplus. This is the distinction between capitalist land rent, which is paid in money and which represents only a fraction subtracted, and the typical form of capitalist exploitation: profit realized through the exploitation of wage labour.¹⁴

The feudal form of "personal prestation" ["prestation" refers to the rendering of services due under feudal custom — AWTW] by the peasants (or "payment through labour") — their unpaid labour on the lands of the landlord — also went through a process of development.¹⁵ Beginning with unpaid labour on the lands of the landlord as a feudal obligation in exchange for the peasant's use of the parcel — in other words, the same basic form already described, considered from its other aspect — it developed into labour on the lands of the landlord with some remuneration in products and to labour partially remunerated with money. This feudal "personal prestation", partially remunerated with money, is distinguished from capitalist wage labour by the subsistence that the labourer derives from his production on the parcel or receives in kind over and above his wage in money, and by the existence of various forms of servitude, of non-free forms of labour. Over and above these basic forms of feudal exploitation — land rent and personal prestation — there are numerous other specific forms of exploitation of the peasants by the landlord class in any given feudal society.

In Mexico during the Colony there was a process of development and transformation of feudal relations. There was the rise of *repartimiento* which was distinguished from the *encomienda* in two fundamental

ways. First, the supply of indigenous labour was in the hands of colonial authorities who parcelled the Indians out among the particular landlords, in an attempt by the Crown to prevent the creation in New Spain of independent fiefdoms that could undermine its rule. Second, the Indians received (at least in theory) a nominal payment in money, with the object being to mitigate the purely coercive character of the labour system and to slow the rapid extinction of the Indians (and therefore of the source of exploited labour). Payment in money was purely nominal. It did not compensate the labour of the Indians, whose sustenance continued to come essentially from their own production (from which they had to still pay tribute as well), nor did it eliminate the need for coercion or the forced character of labour. For all these reasons it must be considered a feudal form of exploitation.

Finally the *hacienda* [the large landed estate — AWTW] made its appearance. This would represent the typical form of feudal and semi-feudal relations in Mexico until well into the twentieth century. The two basic forms of production relations characteristic of the haciendas were land rent (principally sharecropping) and personal prestation in the form of peonage, although the feudal landlord class also exploited the peasants in other forms, such as usury, commercial retention of products, tribute, tithing, taxes, etc., which we will not analyze in detail here. (It should also be mentioned that colonial society was not purely feudal because slavery also existed.)

Under the regime of *mediana*, or sharecropping on hacienda lands, the sharecropper had to deliver part of his harvest (generally about half) to the hacienda, and in many cases the sharecropper and/or his family members also had to work for a time without pay on the hacienda. This form is clearly feudal in character and was very important in the hacienda system, a fact which often is omitted in attempts to characterize the hacienda as "capitalist".

Peonage assumed two forms: those called *acasillados* and the temporary peons. The *acasillados* lived and worked permanently on the hacienda and in exchange received a parcel of land (*pejugal*), a ration of corn and

other basic food and a wage. That is, it was personal prestation compensated by the usufruct of the land, products and money. As in the case of *repartimiento*, in spite of the wage, it is a basically feudal form, in the first place because the labourer continues to be tied to the land and the greater part of his subsistence and compensation corresponds to his production on the parcel and payment in kind. Even the supposed wage was typically more of a form of internal accounting of payment in kind by the hacienda, since most of the peon's small wage was discounted to pay for provisions obtained in the hacienda "company store".¹⁶ The *acasillado* also was not a free labourer, rather typically he was tied to the hacienda through the mechanism of debt when other terms of his treatment were insufficient to maintain a permanent labour force.

The temporary peons who either lived near the hacienda or came from outside and lived temporarily on the hacienda at times received parcels of land or were paid a wage, often with a ration of corn. The exploitation of the temporary peons was feudal in that their sustenance came principally from their own production in their village (supplemented with payment in kind when they did receive it), and therefore the hacienda could pay a wage that did not even cover their sustenance (which is, however, the "normal" case in the capitalist system) and which for the most part they never saw in the form of money but which disappeared into the accounts of the hacienda's company store as payment of their debts.

Although the link of the temporary peons with the hacienda was not as tight as that of the *acasillados*, theirs was not free labour either. The Indians of the villages "naturally resisted being temporarily rented out to the haciendas because this meant abandoning their crops, yet without receiving any of the advantages of the *acasillados*. When in these cases the promises and advance payments didn't have the desired effect, the owners of the haciendas chose to bribe the bosses of the villages to obtain the Indians they needed, and as a final resort they used violence." "The system of debts also was used to 'entice' or attract the Indians to the hacienda. It was also very common to get Indians in by giving them

advances in the form of goods or wages for a day's work, or paying debts they owed as tribute or obligations to the royal hacienda or to the Church."¹⁷ All these forms are "tied", not free labour forms; they are forms of servitude and therefore essentially feudal.

These feudal production relations required an entire system of extra-economic coercion which, besides the features already mentioned, included the armed forces and private jails which the hacienda owners used to impose their own laws. The system of coercion often involved the Indian villages either through direct intervention, or through the cacique bosses. Finally, the government authorities and their armed forces reinforced the system where the power of the hacienda owner alone was not enough, including through passing legislation which recognised that the peons were attached to the hacienda, spelling out that upon the sale of the hacienda the peons would belong to the new buyer.¹⁸

The feudal production relations which defined the feudal character of the society corresponded, as in feudal societies in general, to relatively rudimentary forces of production and to a small-scale agricultural and artisan economy. Even where agrarian exploitation proceeded on a larger scale, for example, in the plantations, it was extensive exploitation which achieved the larger scale not through revolutionizing the forces of production but essentially through repetition and aggregation on a single site of the productive techniques characteristic of small-scale economy. Moreover, production was carried out repeatedly on the same technical base, and technological change was notably slow. This was in contrast to capitalism, where "the bourgeoisie cannot exist except by incessantly revolutionizing the instruments of production..."¹⁹ Although capital begins with the forces of production inherited from feudalism, "only large industry with its machinery provides a firm basis for capitalist agriculture."²⁰

Finally, the feudal character of the relations of production determined that production for use²¹ would predominate in the economy, since the peasants usually directly produced most of their own sustenance, and a part of the surplus product either

stayed on the hacienda for use by the hacienda owner and his hangers on, or else went to the direct use of the civilian and religious authorities through tribute and in-kind tithing.

However, part of the surplus product typically was destined for the market — including the world market — unlike the feudal societies of Europe, Japan, China, etc. which existed before the rise of capitalism and the world market. A part of the fruits of feudal and colonial exploitation in New Spain passed through Spain, which still was in a late stage of feudalism, to end up in the hands of the capitalists of England, thus contributing to the so-called "primitive accumulation" of capital. This fact has confused some researchers like Frank, who claims that production in the Colony was oriented to the market and that therefore "Iberoamerica (was) capitalist not only in its cradle but even from conception".²²

The basic methodological error of locating the essential difference between feudalism and capitalism in the sphere of circulation (production for use vs. production for the market) instead of proceeding from the relations of production, as a Marxist does, has been widely criticized, including by Marx himself.²³ On the other hand, as we have stated before, the greater part of the production of the economy was indeed for use and although production for use naturally tends to predominate under feudalism, a greater or lesser part of the surplus typically is destined for the market, and this was the case even in "classic" European feudalism.²⁴ The link with the world market was certainly an important factor which shaped the particular character of feudal and colonial society in Mexico, but it does not contradict the essentially feudal character of the relations of production and therefore of the society.

VII. THE "GREEN REVOLUTION" AND BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISM IN AGRICULTURE

In the postwar period, the country experienced a rapid development of bureaucrat capitalism (or bureaucrat-comprador, which is the same thing),

that is to say, capitalism in both the State sector and "private enterprise" tied to imperialism and still linked to semi-feudalism. Mexico became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with significant growth in bureaucrat-comprador capitalism.

This process of transformation took two main roads: industrialization through import substitution, sponsored by imperialist capital, and the formation of a capitalist sector in agriculture. The agrarian reform of the 1930s promoted the disintegration of the hacienda as the dominant structure in the countryside and laid the basic pattern for the subsequent transformation of land ownership. However, the main direct impulse to the greater development of bureaucrat capitalism in agriculture was the "green revolution". And the green revolution was a project of U.S. imperialism.

The Office of Special Studies, which would lead the technical innovations of the green revolution, was created in 1943, formally as a semi-autonomous bureau of the Agriculture Secretariat, but in reality a creature of the well-known Yankee imperialist political instrument, the Rockefeller Foundation. The Foundation named the head of the Office, provided the majority of the budget and hired all of the scientific personnel. According to the Foundation report, the initiative came from suggestions of the U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, Josephus Daniels, who got Vice President Henry Wallace to support it in the Roosevelt administration.²⁵

The Office developed "improved seeds" and a whole package of inputs — irrigation, machinery, fertilizers, insecticides, etc. — necessary to achieve the predicted higher yields. Technological development is not politically and socially "neutral". The programme was based from the beginning on the presupposition of conditions typical of big capitalist agriculture. The proposals of various Mexican scientists to orient the programme to the conditions and needs of peasant agriculture were rejected.²⁶ In the 1950s and especially beginning in the 1960s, the Rockefeller Foundation began to promote this "green revolution" strategy, tested in Mexico, for other countries in the Western bloc. The International Centre

for Improvement of Corn and Wheat, based in Mexico and financed mainly by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the Agency for International Development, the World Bank, etc., has played a key role in this effort.²⁷

In Mexico the promotion of this technical package was accompanied by a battery of government measures to foster large-scale capitalist agriculture: large investments in irrigation, highways and aid to marketing efforts, and other large subsidies granted to big producers through guaranteed prices, credit policies, etc.²⁸ These initiatives were financed in great measure by imperialist capital through loans from international banks and various "development" institutions. At the same time direct foreign investment became important in the formation of an agro-industrial complex which provides inputs and processes the product of commercial agriculture.

As a result, the character of large-scale agriculture in the country was significantly transformed. Consider the example of wheat, a key crop in the first phases of the green revolution. In 1944 only Sonora cultivated wheat in more or less capitalist conditions, reflected in a certain level of mechanization of harvesting. In other regions of the country the primitive technique characteristic of feudal agriculture — a wooden plough pulled by oxen or mules — was the general rule.²⁹

An important change got under way. From 1940 to 1960 the value of agricultural machinery in the country multiplied almost eight times in real pesos [Mexico's currency].³⁰ In 1950 the national consumption of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium in fertilizers still was only at the level of 11,700 tons, but by 1970 it reached 554,400 tons.³¹ Similar changes occurred in other areas of inputs linked to modern agriculture.

These changes in the means of production correspond to the formation of a large-scale agricultural sector in which the directly feudal and semi-feudal relations characteristic of the old hacienda no longer predominated and were replaced by relations of bureaucrat capitalism which, nevertheless, continued to be closely tied to semi-feudal relations in agriculture taken as a whole.

VIII. BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISM AND SEMI-FEUDALISM

This new sector, which is predominantly capitalist in its internal relations, is on the one hand extremely dependent on imperialist capital and on the many aids and subsidies from the semi-colonial State. On the other hand, it has subordinated, partially transformed and integrated into its functioning the feudal relations in the entire countryside. Feudal relations have been modified to a greater or lesser degree as a result of its more direct subordination to big capital. This is why we speak of semi-feudal relations and semi-feudalism.

In the countryside, there are very few cases of purely capitalist relations in which wages are the only source of maintenance for the worker and his family and no form of extra-economic coercion intervenes. The majority of those living in the countryside continue to be linked to the peasant economy which suffers from semi-feudal oppression. One part of big agriculture still is marked by important semi-feudal features; and even that part of big agriculture which is predominantly capitalist in its internal relations depends on the wage complement which comes from the peasant economy and semi-feudalism in the countryside in general as the essential basis for the super-exploitation of the overwhelming majority of its workers, the *jornaleros*. Therefore we can affirm that in spite of the formation of a bigger or smaller capitalist sector in its internal relations, *the system of exploitation in the countryside continues to be predominantly semi-feudal*.

The core of today's semi-feudalism can be found in the persistence of the latifundio system, the fact that the subordination of the peasant economy continues to be the essential basis of the exploitation carried out by the large agricultural holdings and, therefore, serfdom is still in effect, and coercion is exercised against the oppressed in the countryside, although in a modified manner. The latifundio system persists in the system of land holding with large and small landed estates, which is found in many countries of Latin America and elsewhere, and in Mexico expresses itself principally in the

form of large holdings and communal holdings (*ejidos*). In most cases the best lands — the area covered by the old hacienda and also new irrigated lands — remain in the hands of the landlords, either in the form of direct property, or through renting of peasant lands, control of the latter by way of contracts, open despoliation, etc.

What has changed is that production in these lands is according to norms which are more or less capitalist — we say "more or less" because open semi-feudal forms, such as sharecropping, the system of recruiting and indebtedness, unpaid labour, etc., are still practised to some degree on part of these large land holdings, and extensive production which has not yet reached the level of typical capitalist dynamics persists above all in the large land holdings dedicated to cattle raising. With the development of capitalist production, the landlords have become more bourgeois and more integrated with the bourgeoisie at the national level, and some capitalists in other sectors have also entered into agricultural production.

The essential basis of the system of exploitation is still the domination and exploitation of the peasant economy, which takes two forms: the system of peonage and the direct exploitation of peasant production. The essential role of peasant production is obvious in the case of the direct exploitation of the peasant economy by means of sharecropping, usury, commerce, etc. In the peonage system, although the form of exploiting *jornaleros* is capitalist — wage labour (often mixed with open semi-feudal forms, with which we will deal later) — the system presupposes that the *jornalero* complements his wage with peasant production because the wage is insufficient for his maintenance and reproduction. In other words, the complement provided by the peasant economy makes possible the absolute super-exploitation of the *jornalero*, payment below the minimum for the physical survival of the *jornalero* and his family.

Therefore the overwhelming majority of the *jornaleros* are still linked to the peasant economy. Either they own a small piece of land, or they may

Continued to page 83

The celebration of the Centenary of Mao Tsetung marked the year 1993, especially on December 26, Mao's date of birth. It has been an event that sowed the

seeds of revolution in many different corners of the world. By looking at the life and teachings of Mao Tsetung, a new generation who themselves never witnessed the dramatic changes wrought in revolutionary China could begin to understand that the poor and oppressed could indeed rise up and transform the world through revolution; that the imperialists' declarations that "communism is dead" reflect their hatred and fear of the very class of proletarians that can and will do away with them forever; and that to move forward to all the way liberation, the understanding forged by Mao Tsetung in the Chinese revolution and summed up as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the indispensable weapon for victory.

Mao Tsetung Centenary



TOP: Art done by Peruvian prisoners reproduced in Colombia as colour postcards to raise funds for RIM.

BOTTOM: Efforts to spread the IEC campaign in Latin America have in some parts led to higher unity with the most advanced. Youth in Caracas, Venezuela, taking up RIM's campaign to celebrate Mao's Centenary.



The Communist Party of Afghanistan is struggling under extremely complicated and difficult conditions there to blaze a Maoist road in the midst of the death and destruction that the reactionary U.S.-made Islamic parties are bringing down on the masses. This is an excerpt from an inspiring statement by the CPA on the occasion of the Centenary:

"Today, 26 December 1993, is the 100th anniversary of the birth of Mao Tsetung, one of the great leaders and teachers of the international communist movement, a teacher and leader who in the course of guiding the Chinese Revolution and especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as well as the struggle of the communists worldwide developed the ideology of our international class to the new stage of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

"On this auspicious day, the Communist Party of Afghanistan sends its greetings to all revolutionary communists, workers and oppressed masses of the world, particularly in Afghanistan, and calls on them to carry forward the struggle along the path charted by Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung in order to overthrow imperialism and reaction and bring about a world without exploitation and oppression. It is only this path, and none other, that will lead to true emancipation.

"We take this opportunity to once again declare boldly and clearly that we are communists and that our final goal is to bring about communism in the world. We have embraced MLM as the ideology guiding our thought and action, and we fight for the victory of the New Democratic Revolution through preparing, launching and advancing the protracted people's war as a stage in the transition to socialist revolution. Let us smash the fallacies of the reactionary rulers of the country and their imperialist bosses about the death of communism in Afghanistan and the world and expose their lies by heroically, steadily and with sacrifice and determination advancing along this proud and revolutionary path.

"The imperialists are advertising the destruction of Soviet social imperialism and the bloc they led as the 'death of communism', and their reactionary gangs of lackeys are repeating this false claim by pointing to the collapse of Nagib's lackey regime. But the destruction of Soviet social imperialism and the Warsaw bloc and the collapse of Nagib's lackey regime as part of schemes of conciliation with the Islamic reactionaries has nothing to do with the 'death of communism' in the world or in Afghanistan. Their collapse is instead only a sign of crisis in the camp of world imperialism and reaction. These events only shed more light than ever on the truthfulness and brilliance of real communism (MLM) and sharpen the ideological weapon of the proletariat."



Celebrated

The celebrations of the Mao Tsetung Centenary have been carried on as battles against imperialism and revisionism. Even the very way the Centenary was initiated reflected that this would

be a celebration of slaves determined to do away with their masters. For it was from one of the enemy's darkest dungeons that the initial call came for the Centenary. A fortnight after his capture, on 24 September 1992, Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru, in a prison cage surrounded by dozens of armed thugs, defiantly called for the People's War to go forward and for the Maoists of the world to celebrate the Centenary in an unforgettable way.

It is fitting then that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the international organized centre of Maoists, uniting Maoist parties and organizations worldwide, including the PCP, launched its celebration of the Centenary by announcing on December 26th that RIM had taken an important leap forward in its unity



Celebrations took place in the Himalayan country of Nepal. This country, one of the poorest in the world, is currently undergoing a deep political crisis. The Nepal Communist Party (Unity Centre) reports that a year-long programme to celebrate the Centenary was launched with a massive march that wound through the capital city of Kathmandu on December 26th, 1993. Hundreds of marchers carried red flags as well as photos and posters of Mao Tsetung and the other great revolutionary leaders. Large red and yellow posters of Marx, Lenin and Mao, stating "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!", were put up all over. NCP (Mashal), another participating party of RIM in Nepal, also celebrated this occasion. In nearby Pakistan, RIM's May Day statement and other revolutionary literature were translated into Urdu and distributed to the revolutionary masses, under conditions requiring secret activity.

In Colombia, the Revolutionary Communist Group carried out a series of events, including their huge, brightly coloured banners and graffiti drawings, sometimes up to 5 metres high. These included the RIM Poster, Chairman Gonzalo, and others. The Red Guard Youth celebrated with street theatre at the University in Bogota, and a series of publications was released featuring material from the Cultural Revolution period in China.



TOP: Celebrating Mao's Centenary and adoption of MLM by RIM in streets of Kathmandu, Nepal.

TOP RIGHT: Maoist graffiti adorn the walls in Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogota.

LEFT: RIM's May First 1994 statement was translated into Urdu and distributed in Pakistan by Maoists there.

The new RIM document, Long Live MLM! has already been translated into many languages. Here are Turkish, Bengali and Punjabi.





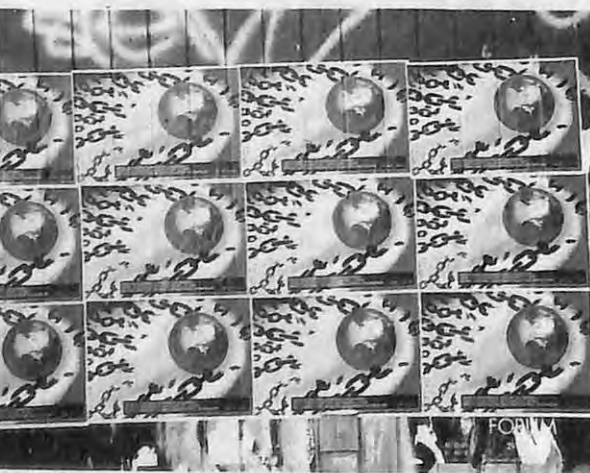
Maoists from Australia report that May Day activities involved revolutionaries from several countries; leaflets were distributed broadly there, entitled *Who Will Bury This System?*; posters saying *Celebrate the Mao Centenary* were put up and funds collected from many people for RIM. A Mao Tsetung Centenary meeting included the showing of a video entitled *Mao: The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time*, and statements were made by a Maori speaker from New Zealand, and by people from Turkey, the Philippines, Greece and elsewhere. Money was raised, including for AWTW's project for printing a new edition of *Quotations from Mao Tsetung*. Following the meeting, red flags were unfurled and several dozen people defiantly marched through the streets.

TOP: Masses sign the red flag in Australia

BOTTOM: RIM founding posters cover the walls of Copenhagen, Denmark, on May First 1994

and revolutionary understanding by adopting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its ideology. RIM's adoption of MLM was presented in a document that has already been translated into many languages and spread around the world: *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* [reproduced in this issue].

Today, the myth of the imperialists' New World Order is breaking down, the clash of arms is sounding in nearly every corner of the planet, and currents of rebellion are swirling beneath the surface and increasingly bursting forth. The adoption of MLM by the parties and organizations of RIM signals the mounting strength and ability of the world's revolutionaries to seize the opportunities and hasten the day when the oppressed will arise, guns in hand, and do away with imperialism forever. Such a leap is timely, for the collapse of the revisionists and the worldwide battle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo have tended to leave the Maoists occupying a more central position in the face of the imperialists. This is challenging the revolutionaries to



In Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, the Centenary was launched in December 1993 by a march and mass gathering organized by the Committee for the Celebration of the Birth Centenary of Mao Tsetung. A thousand people, including more than a hundred garment workers and many homeless children, gathered in front of the National Press Club in downtown Dhaka at about noon, and then set off with hundreds of fluttering red flags with the hammer and sickle, banners, festoons, posters and photos of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and numerous photos of Mao Tsetung, some of them life-size. The march wound for two and a half hours through key parts of the city, including a garment district and bazaar areas. As the red-hot sun blazed overhead, the marchers surged forward under banners proclaiming, "Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung", and "Celebrate Mao Tsetung Birth Centenary". The Mao Centenary was also strongly present in the minds of revolutionaries on May Day, where hundreds again took to the streets of Dhaka under the leading banner, "Build Up Revolutionary Struggle in Order to Seize Our Own Power Along the Maoist Ideology".

assume their responsibilities and lead the masses forward. As Mao himself wrote,
*"So many deeds cry out to be done,
 And always urgently;
 The world rolls on, time presses;
 Ten thousand years are too long,
 Seize the day, seize the hour!"*

The Mao Centenary was celebrated in a great variety of ways, including armed attacks, village meetings, video showings in urban ghettos, and discussions in venerable academic institutions. There was also enthusiastic support for the plan announced by RIM to publish a new edition of Mao's famous *Red Book*, with new chapters of quotations from the Cultural Revolution period. Though some funds have been raised, more are quickly needed to publish this important weapon.

In Germany, supporters of the Turkish Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist, Maoist Party Centre) (TKP/ML, MPC) and the Revolutionary Communists of Germany (RK) issued the call, "Revolution is the only solution here and around the world", and broadly distributed a leaflet addressing proletarians and new revolutionary forces in Berlin. Many individuals and groups came forward to support this call and to carry forward the tradition of Red May Day, even while certain forces who were formerly active on May Day are now capitulating in the face of the anti-communist offensive. Many masses came forward as they saw red flags flying and May Day activities stepping off. There was great jubilation, and at its peak as many as 4,000 people were present. Another significant change in this year's celebration was the presence of proletarians from Poland, youth from Palestine, immigrants from Romania, Kurdistan, and Yugoslavia, and many people formerly crushed by the East Bloc. Proletarian immigrants along with "nothing to lose" youth of Germany stepped forward and carried the banner of May Day. Although the police viciously attacked 8 or 10 times, they failed miserably to stop the demonstration or dampen the spirit of the people. There were many injuries, but people persevered. Pictures of Mao and slogans on the Centenary of Mao's Birth and RIM's 10th Anniversary characterized this Red May Day, and the entire city of Berlin was well decorated.

In Denmark, the Mao Centenary infused the May Day 1994 rally, which was held by a group of Danish people, supporters of PCP and other revolutionary immigrants. 1500 copies of the poster issued for the founding of RIM were put up all over the Copenhagen area in honour of the RIM's Tenth Anniversary, where many still remain, and many people took part in discussions with the revolutionaries.

The Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) issued a poster proclaiming, "A Spectre is Haunting the Andes, the Spectre of Maoism" and "Celebrate the Centenary of the Birth of Chairman Mao!" A meeting was held in the Parainfo University, with music and speeches by several professors on Mao's contributions.



Top: 26 December 1994. Mao Centenary celebrations in Berlin, Germany.

Above: The Banner of UIC Supporters in Germany reads Long Live MLM. Celebrate the 10th anniversary of the foundation of RIM.

Left: December 26, 1993. Gathering in Dhaka, Bangladesh, organized by Mao Birth Centenary Celebration Committee.



In the state of Punjab, the RCCI(ML) held May First street theatre, torchlight processions, small factory meetings and public meetings in over a half dozen cities and rural towns in which nearly two thousand people participated. Long speeches detailed the collapse of phoney communism, the advance of real communism, including through the people's war in Peru, the need to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, and the need for the international communist movement to advance its unity around MLM. The RIM Committee's May Day leaflet and several thousand copies of a poster hailing the Tenth Anniversary were put up in many small towns and villages around Punjab. Many factory workers from small towns attended, as did some women, day labourers, and peasants who had just finished the season's wheat harvest.

The Mao Tsetung Centenary has also inspired many other diverse kinds of activities worldwide. A magazine in West Bengal, India, raised the support necessary to publish and distribute a thousand copies of the original Little Red Book (the *Quotations of Mao Tsetung*) in Bengali.

Elsewhere in India, a coalition including various Pro-Mao forces that have their roots in the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) of Charu Mazumdar, held a massive rally in Calcutta, attended by tens of thousands of people.

An international meeting in honour of the Mao Centenary was held near Düsseldorf, Germany, in November 1993, attended by hundreds of people from many countries. Among the organizers were some forces stepping forward to reclaim the banner of Mao, such as the Communist Party of Philippines, which is undergoing a rectification campaign to struggle against deviations that arose over the past period. They are looking to Mao Tsetung's teachings as a key weapon to carry this battle through and help advance the revolutionary war there. Many others at the meeting were, however, from a hodgepodge of reformist and revisionist groups, including the notorious Patria Roja group from Peru, who have supported the Peruvian government's genocidal war against the PCP-led People's War.

RIM forces attended, and Maoist theoretician Raymond Lotta from the US spoke about Mao Tsetung's Last Great Battle. His support for Mao's comrades-in-arms Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chao and his denunciation of Chou En-lai as the patron of Deng Xiao-ping caused controversy, as did his identification of the key source of capitalist restoration as the new bourgeoisie under socialism, the capitalist-roaders headquartered in the party and state apparatus.

1994 also marked the Tenth Anniversary of RIM — and the deepening crisis of the world imperialist system and the increasing revolutionary prospects prove that it was most timely and correct to found RIM and to strengthen this precious centre of the world's revolutionaries. Today Maoist parties and organizations exist on every continent. The relative isolation that characterized the Maoist movement in the wake of the loss of proletarian power in China and the subsequent crisis in the ICM is being transformed step by step by adhering firmly to MLM and applying it with boldness and dogged determination. Strengthening RIM means strengthening a Movement that enables the world's revolutionaries to deepen their understanding of the experience of the international communist movement, to learn from advanced experience such as the People's War in Peru, to compare notes on how they are carrying out revolutionary struggle and making preparations to launch people's war, and to learn to act as one class, with one goal, worldwide communism.

Celebrations of the Mao Centenary have been held in every corner of



TOP LEFT: First of May 1994. Madrid, Spain.

ABOVE: Mao Centenary toasts in Libros Revolution. Los Angeles, US

the globe by the parties and organizations in RIM and by other revolutionaries, and word about some of these has yet to arrive. But what is known already shows the depth of the respect that millions have for this great leader of the world proletariat, of the struggle he led against the imperialists and reactionaries and for the immortal contributions he made to our understanding of how to wage revolution and advance towards communism. The Mao Centenary also sharply marked the celebration of May First 1994, as did the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of RIM. □



Mao and Maoism were also celebrated right in the belly of the world's biggest imperialist beast, the United States. A special issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, was released on December 26th, containing the two new RIM documents and articles about Mao Tsetung. Programs were held at Columbia University in New York and at revolutionary bookstores in New York, Berkeley, and other cities, and a demonstration was organized in San Francisco's Chinatown. A programme was held in Los Angeles not long after the Chiapas rebellion. People also commemorated Mao Tsetung in a variety of other ways, utilizing video showings in housing projects in the ghettos and barrios, study and correspondence circles in prisons, and exhibits and classroom discussions in high schools.

150 attended the programme in New York, including people from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Central and South America, the former Soviet Union, and China, as well as homeless activists, supporters of the revolution in Peru, artists, Vietnam vets, youths, and others of all nationalities. Statements were given by spokespeople from the RCP, USA; the Committee To Support the Revolution in Peru; the December 12th Movement (a Black revolutionary nationalist organization); the Haiti World Autonomous Cultural Movement; the Movimiento Popular Dominicano, Marxist-Leninist; and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, as well as by one of the Attica Brothers who participated in the prisoners' takeover in 1971, activists in the anti-intervention and Native American movements, and others.

In Spain, lively meetings were held in streets dotted with posters and banners proclaiming "Long Live Red First of May! Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! Celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!"

In Peru the Centenary was marked by a wave of attacks that came to a crescendo during the week beginning December 26th. Several attacks were carried out on army units and outposts in the countryside, and in the capital of Lima, revolutionary fighters launched the Centenary week by targeting a military barracks. For the rest of the week attacks followed daily in Lima, hitting numerous banks, a telecommunications centre, and police and military facilities, including the headquarters of the notorious DINCOTE secret police, where heavy damage was done and 13 secret police wounded. On December 31st, near midnight, the Centenary attacks culminated in the blowing up of electrical pylons feeding the Lima metropolitan area power supply. As the city was plunged into darkness, the flames of a huge hammer and sickle suddenly lit up the skies from a hillside overlooking one of the vast shantytowns, not far from the city centre. The wave of attacks was carried out despite repeated announcements by the government of increased security preparations in anticipation that the PCP would mark the Mao Centenary. The ability of the Maoist revolutionaries in the PCP to mark the Centenary in such a powerful way, despite the enemy's preparations, dashed any remaining hopes of the imperialists and reactionaries that their capture of Chairman Gonzalo had dealt the PCP and the People's War a mortal blow. The supporters of the PCP abroad actively took the Maoist message to the revolutionary and rebellious masses in various European countries.

TOP RIGHT:
Posters in
Kurdish hail-
ing the adop-
tion of MLM by
RIM.

RIGHT: Durban,
South Africa



Long Live the Red First of May 1994!

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement
1 May 1994

Since the beginning of May First over one hundred years ago, the class conscious proletarians have always used this occasion to measure their strength, focus their struggles, examine the current situation of their movement and reaffirm their goal of carrying the struggle all the way through to the end — the achievement of a world without classes, or communism.

What is the situation we face today? The world is still reeling from the momentous events of the last few years which brought about the collapse of the former Soviet bloc. The Western imperialists were quick to leap upon this development as proof that communism had disappeared from the earth. But those twisted regimes of Eastern Europe and the former USSR were “communist” in word only, and in those countries, like in the West, a small class of exploiters lived off the labour of the working people and sought to expand this exploitation to the far corners of the earth. Mao Tsetung had long ago exposed these regimes as socialist only in name but capitalist and imperialist in deeds.

So the genuine communists grouped in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement were not in any way deterred by the collapse of the East bloc. Rather we were overjoyed at the collapse of one set of reactionary rulers and saw in their fall the forerunner of further shocks and crises that would shake the Western rulers and their servant regimes as well.

And indeed this has been the case. The “new world order” proclaimed by the U.S. imperialists has been shown to be full of turmoil, strife and crisis. Even though the U.S. has committed great crimes such as the invasion of Iraq, they have been unable to prevent people from struggling. This can be seen most powerfully in Peru where the Communist Party of Peru, a participant in RIM, has continued to wage a powerful People’s War against the reactionary regime sponsored by U.S. imperialism, despite the difficulties involved with the capture of the Chairman Gonzalo, the Party’s leader.

In Mexico the armed peasant revolt in Chiapas shook the whole country and brought the possibilities of revolution into much sharper focus for millions around the world. In the Kurdish regions of Turkey masses have continued to resist the barbaric counter-revolutionary war of the Turkish reactionary regime. In for two years now, periodic upheavals have punctured the reign of terror the Islamic Republic has tried to impose on the people. In other nations oppressed by imperialism, outbreaks of struggle are frequent.

In the U.S. itself powerful explosions of the masses have taken place in Los Angeles and shown that even in the imperialist heartlands there are armies of gravediggers waiting for the chance to bury their oppressors.

In Palestine the U.S imperialists felt they could impose a settlement that would bury the hopes of the Palestinian people for a return to their homes and permanently establish and sanctify Israel as an imperialist outpost in the Middle East. But here too their vicious plans have encountered great difficulties. The masses have seen that the treachery of Arafat and the massacre at Hebron are two sides of the same reactionary coin.

All over the world, the conditions for the majority of the people are becoming more and more difficult. In many places they have long since become intolerable and the people yearn to take up arms against their oppressors. The people are compelled to struggle.

World imperialism can only offer more exploitation, further tightening of repression, hunger, disease and misery for the majority of the population of the world. Even many of those sections of the people who, in some countries and for some periods of time, had a more tolerable existence are increasingly coming under attack.

Why, then, are there so few struggles in the world today with a genuine revolutionary perspective? A great reason, of course, is the cowardly betrayal of those forces who claimed the leadership of the people's struggles only to clamour after a place at the servants' table. Some of those who previously postured as opponents of imperialism are today openly protecting its interests. And these misleaders and these betrayals do weigh heavily. Some of the former friends of revolution lost heart under the fierce anti-communist barrage of the class enemies.

But we cannot rest content to blame the current state of affairs on the opportunists, revisionists and betrayers. As the words of the *Internationale* put it, "We must ourselves decide our duty, decide and do it well."

In order for revolution to advance, there must be a revolutionary vanguard organisation and it must have the vanguard ideology. Today that can only mean Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is the proletarian ideology, the scientific ideology forged by Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin and Mao Tsetung in the course of leading revolutionary struggle of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants the world over. It shows us how to fight and how to win. It shows the relation between our struggle of today and the communist goal. Without it we cannot understand the world correctly, and we would never be able to change it.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is the only movement which joins together the vanguard parties of the proletariat in different countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is the only international movement which, since its inception, has been resolutely opposed to all of the imperialists and to the revisionist and opportunist misleaders as well. Today our forces are growing, both in strength and in their ideological and political unity, waging the armed struggle for power in Peru and preparing to launch the revolutionary struggle for power as soon as possible in other countries, in accordance with the strategy for revolution in each country.

Supporting the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is a task for all of the class conscious proletarians and revolutionary-minded people. We are calling on our supporters to make further sacrifices and donate financially to help RIM.

Comrades throughout the world should study and apply the historic document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*

Where there is no Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard party, those who are serious about revolution should take up the fight to forge one. Where such organisations and parties exist, they should be strengthened and helped to step up their revolutionary activity.

The hatred of the existing system must be infused with a scientific understanding of the nature of the current system and how to destroy it. The hope for revolution must take on a concrete programme for bringing it about. The desire for a new society must be combined with a vision of what this society is. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its participating parties and organisations are unifying the dreams of the oppressed with the power of the only scientific ideology — Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

**Celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!
Contribute Funds to RIM!**

Build and Strengthen Maoist Parties United in RIM!

Support the People's War in Peru!

Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism, Long Live the Red First of May!

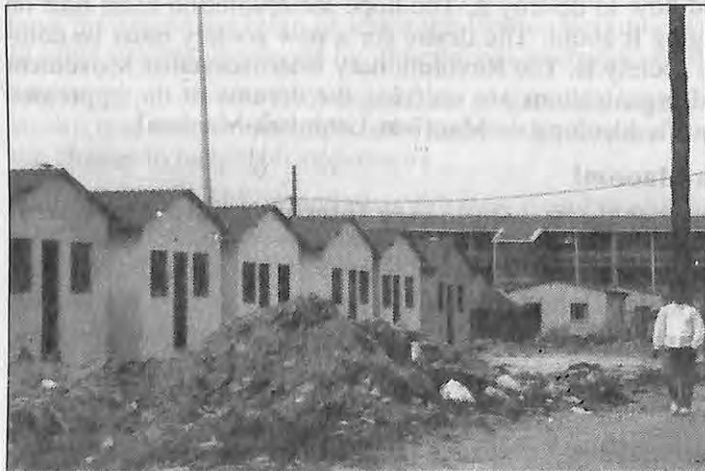


ABOVE: "Squatter" camp.

BELOW LEFT: New "matchbox" type housing in Crossroads near Cape Town.

BELOW CENTER: Construction worker.

FAR RIGHT: Agricultural workers.



The Azanian Masses must Seize Power from Below

Changing of the Guard in South Africa

With grand fanfare imitating the hallowed institution in the West, open elections were held in South Africa in April 1994, allowing the black majority to vote for the first time ever. What the press called the "most profound and promising transformation to democracy in modern times" was actually the consolidation of South



Africa's colonial state — the bastion of imperialist-backed white settler power. An organized transfer of the presidency and parliament to the African National Congress (ANC) was completed, in a joint administration with the old white ruling National Party.

"Free at Last"?? The very idea of voting in a black president — the longtime political prisoner Nelson Mandela — to serve as head of a "government of *national unity*" in the land of *apartheid* shows what this transition was all about. It was about stabilising a political crisis that had reached a point of no return by bringing forward blacks into some top political posts as well as incorporating a section of the black national movement into South African colonial rule in almost every sphere of society.

Orchestrated and financed to a great extent by the imperialists, especially the U.S., this historic settlement of a longstanding political deadlock in their troubled empire was an attempt by both the Western powers and a section of the white settler colonial class to reorganize the old state within parameters that safeguard the main pillars and interests of their colonial setup.

It was repeated waves of the struggle of the masses of Azania (the term blacks commonly use instead of the colonial name, South Africa) shaking the apartheid system to its core that forced the South African rulers and imperialists to search for a solution to a situation that was no longer politically tenable. Neither the increased repression and escalating number of black deaths that accompanied the long process of negotiations begun in

1990, nor the scrapping of some of the apartheid laws, was able to check the mass struggle.

In this article we refer to black people, or Azanians, as the majority population (86%), which includes 30 million Africans, 3.5 million "coloureds", as they are sometimes called, and 1 million of Indian origin. (There are today some 5.5 million white settlers of European origin.)

The ANC has never fought for genuine liberation of the people, but once given the chance, it wholeheartedly devoted itself to bourgeois imperialist politics and a massive political sell-out of the people. "We must forget the past; we are one people with one common destiny", Mandela's election speeches exhorted. Preaching harmony and national reconciliation, the ANC's message in effect liquidated the colonial problem, the Azanian nation, and the difference between oppressed and oppressor.

The ANC provided a valuable opportunity for the ruling class as a whole to preserve and even reinforce the political and economic system underlying apartheid, while dispensing with some of the open barbaric features of white-only rule, based purely on racial exclusion. The ANC and the national and petit bourgeois classes they are connected to represented by far their best prospects for helping to organize the passage to electoral democracy and the appearance of black-shared power. After steering as much of the anti-apartheid movement as possible into parliamentary debate, this new black elite will help try to squash the volatile mass resistance altogether, in part through building up black

middle strata and even a tiny black comprador class which have a stake in the system and which could help disorient and rein in the masses in the future. It was and still is a great gamble, but one the South African rulers could not afford to pass up.

Sections of the political struggle of the people were in fact consciously diverted from the sweeping nothing-to-lose, "we want all and now" spirit that has characterized it in past decades. The Azanian masses' struggle had never been aimed at getting the vote inside a white-dominated oppressor setup, but by the depth of its rage and breadth of its path, this struggle over and over targeted and cornered the entire racist, exploitative system and especially its settler colonial enforcers; it was the expression of the vehement and deep-seated resistance of the people against their oppression, against a whole way of life. And it nearly always outstripped the narrow, reform-minded and non-violent visions of the established national liberation movements, the ANC in particular.

Increasingly the petit bourgeois and national bourgeois leadership of these movements, like the ANC and the PAC (Pan African Congress), their ear constantly more tuned to the tentative bidding of the white ruling class than to the magnitude and power of the mass struggle, tried to shift this struggle into what became known as the "negotiations" process. This was a euphemism for imperialist-sponsored elections and a multi-party system, a Constituent Assembly, a U.S.-style Constitution, etc. At the same time, they tried to use the people's struggle as a means of pressure they could turn on and off to negotiate the terms on which this sell-out would occur. To a large extent the struggle continued to go way beyond these bounds, making the country "unsafe", as some saw it. The black opposition movements were given a short four-year period to forge the future social base for a black-in-appearance victory, which by its very nature would compromise from the outset on the crucial question of who holds real political power.

But a second process was also at work: sharp contradictions inside the white ruling class and its social base pushed this compromise process ahead. Some saw the need for it and

others were given a good political shove (along with \$ millions in advice) by the managers of the New World Order, whose clear hand can be traced in this imperialist-underwritten and negotiated solution. Others within the regime's reactionary white social base stubbornly refused to slacken in the least the reins of government or give up any of the ensemble of privileges that have carved a separate, comfortable world, literally "apart" for most white people.

These political forces rebelled, formed new alliances, including with reactionary black nationalists like the Inkatha Freedom Party, threatened race war, carried out repeated massacres with impunity, actively fomenting violence against the masses in the townships and countryside to destabilize and derail the election process. But most often this was inseparable from the vicious stepped-up highly partisan violence of the state itself during this period through its police and security forces: between 13,000 and 15,000 Azanians were killed in the process of cementing this bloody pact to hold elections and bring about what the regime and the imperialists like to call a "non-violent" transition.

This was therefore no celebration of brotherly love and newfound understanding, but an intensely fought out contest amongst the bourgeois classes from amongst the oppressed and oppressors, with the common aim of stifling the mass struggle and forging a renovated state, through the complex dynamics that this process required. Building the mixed race election coalition was a major feat for these incongruous new partners of the state, and pulling it off required bundles of lies and promises, hefty bribes and future "investments", threats and full use of their armed state.

Far from exorcizing the ideological demons of racial superiority which have dominated the rationale for apartheid and earlier forms of colonial rule, the "national unity" charade curbs the most overt racism, while retaining the right for every group to be what they are. Enshrined in this was an explicit "protection" of the white minority and its right to property — to ownership of the land, industry, finance and agriculture.

On the individual level, no good

white citizens were going to have to give up their private pools and barbecues, the master and servant relationship was not going to be challenged, the right to a basically separate, privileged world was not about to crumble.

Thus a sort of truce was brokered and bandaged together through the election process by means of deals and corruption, the sell-out by most black opposition leaders, and most of all the continued bloodshed of the people. Although this partnership succeeded in stemming a major uprising by the Azanian masses and to some extent suppressing white right-wing destabilization schemes, the mass struggle continued to hammer away at the regime and oppressive conditions, as if to say that phony bourgeois democracy was neither the issue nor the goal.

Mass fury against the countless continued killings by the state erupted sporadically and vehemently into struggle throughout this period, often as an extension of the many funeral marches and protests. For instance, after the police and Inkatha murdered some 49 people in Boipatong in June 1992, angry youths drove de Klerk out of the township when he came to calm things down. At a rally that same month, people interrupted Mandela's speech, demanding weapons.

Struggles over land and against the puppet black homeland administrators broke out in many places as people carried out occupations and in some cases regrouped to rebuild their old villages and farm their old land again after having been forcibly removed to the homelands. There were also massive stayaways, and struggle against squatter camp evictions. Reports estimate that nearly 250 black policemen were killed and some 3,000 of their houses burned down by militant youth.

■
Amongst the 19 choices on the ballot, the ANC won 65% of the vote, taking 7 out of the new 9 provinces, which was enough to present a solid majority in the new constitutional bodies without achieving overwhelming power to completely rewrite the constitution. By vote-casting time, this was no longer a danger. Chief Buthelezi of the Natal-based Inkatha Freedom Party succeeded in stuffing the ballot boxes, it seems, to achieve a

10% vote and the representation in parliament he had been assured by pre-election haggling. The National Party (which formally instituted apartheid in 1948 and has run the state for the last 46 years), ran a scare campaign in Cape Town that the ANC would take jobs away and swung much of the sizeable "coloured" vote there, while retaining a prescribed and considerable number of key posts in the new national cabinet, including the second vice-presidency.

Total score: ruling class and imperialists 1, the people of Azania 0; political power is now "shared" by various political forces and shades of leaders in a slightly-darkened ruling class, but the oppressed still have none.

Furthermore, the beast is still in place. With some of its most atrocious features pruned back, South African colonial rule looks like a different creature to some, but to the masses of Azanians (and class-conscious proletarians the world over) it is as hideous and nasty as ever. Most importantly the system's roots are still intact — the extremely exploitative and oppressive social relations upon which the apartheid political apparatus was built have not been changed by elections and may even be strengthened to choke the majority of Azanians more. If anything, the polarization between social classes in South Africa is likely to widen. European settler businessmen and foreign powers openly pointed to one of the major purposes of the elections as they announced "we have made South Africa safe for foreign investment".

Still, a majority of eligible Azanians stepped out to vote, and for many reasons. This is not surprising, as it was the first time they had ever had the right to vote. In a sense their vote was tantamount to voting for the end of apartheid. Their struggle had forced the settler regime to make a major political concession by holding open elections and the masses recognized this and went to the polls in large numbers. It had been declared by these politicians so many times that they would be "free" if they voted, many people believed this.

As AWTW subscribers from Azania have written in their letters, it was carefully promoted among the black masses as a great privilege to vote

and that there was "dignity" in voting. Some who were more cut off from media and the cities thought blacks would be rich now and the white people poor. In addition some people were afraid not to vote, as authorities marked the identity papers of those who went to the polls. The ANC's victory was organized and certain, so it was no surprize that most Azanians would vote for the black winner.

Another important factor is the material basis in Azania for people to look for and fight for ways to relieve the extreme national and semi-feudal oppression they face. The complete denial of not only political participation in society, but also the most basic human rights ranging from access to public facilities to the freedom of movement in one's own country were a strong motivation for voting. The ANC also promised that other aspects of their lives would change, including the most important of the masses' democratic demands — the birthright to their land.

It is also true that a significant minority did not go vote and wanted little to do with this exercise of getting the people to approve the next leader of an oppressive system. Whilst the primarily middle-class blacks interviewed on TV gushed about new-found freedom, the poor masses and township youth took a more realistic attitude: "I'll give them 3 months before I start protesting again," one young woman said to reporters. A revolutionary wrote AWTW: "...I think it was good that such kinds of elections take place because the struggle here in Azania was twisted to focus on a demand for votes, it was no longer a struggle for power. Now the misleaders are in parliament, the masses who voted them in have high expectations, i.e., land, the reduction of taxes, houses, free education and free medical care. Most of all, the people expect that the minorities should be moved from the privileged positions, the farmers should be expelled from the big plots of land which they occupy, the military and police should not harass and imprison them anymore because it is an ANC government. (When they find out) this is not going to happen it is going to throw them back into struggle."

This particular election was close

to the imperialists' hearts, an important example for defusing conflicts in places they intend to stabilize within the New World Order, from Palestine to Haiti, to Northern Ireland, among others. If, after all, the angry revolutionary mood in a place of such extreme social tensions as South Africa could be sedated and shifted into passive support for a new "multi-racial" government presiding over the same system, this would indeed be a big success, even if temporary.

The Western powers heaped piles of praise on Mandela and de Klerk for "miraculously" bringing about the "peace programme" of "shared" black and white power which the imperialists have been advocating for quite some time and preparing them for. However, the basic problem for these masters of illusion and peddlers of democracy who postured as though they had really achieved miracles for humanity by letting South Africans vote for them, is that while they may have purchased some valuable time to keep the revolutionary situation there from exploding, in the end, they do peddle *illusions*, and fundamentally have *very little* to offer to the masses of oppressed Azanians except more of the same old exploitation, oppression and deeply-imbedded white supremacy.

I. DISASSEMBLING THE POLITICAL STRUCTURES OF APARTHEID AND HOLDING ELECTIONS WITHIN A COLONIAL FRAMEWORK

How was this possible? There were two essential and interpenetrating reasons that the ruling class and imperialists were able to proceed with the formal discarding of apartheid's overt political structures. First of all, amongst the oppressed black majority there existed a class basis and organized political forces upon which to build the movement for electoral democracy and the participation of blacks in the state. Secondly, within the context of the unending political instability and the need of the settler colonialists and Western powers to end it, important shifts in the international situation as a whole facilitated an imperialist-sponsored "peaceful" renovation of the old state.

The apartheid rulers had never recovered from the major upsurge of 1984-85 and every tactic they tried only triggered more unrest. The political situation had become hazardous, if not ungovernable.

The settler regime had already begun to get rid of some of its formal apartheid laws, like the 1953 Separate Amenities Act which segregated beaches, pools, libraries and nearly all "public" facilities (to which white local authorities in the rural areas reacted by raising fees so blacks couldn't afford access to them), and the Group Areas Act, which had sealed off white neighbourhoods unto themselves. It had also ended the vile system of classification by race. Even the hated bantustans had already started to collapse.

When in February 1990 de Klerk released Nelson Mandela and some other long-time political prisoners, it became clear that secret negotiations had already been well underway. The ban was lifted against black political organizations, and the struggle of the masses took off again, heightening the fears of the colonial state about the future, while some investors left because of the violence. This dynamic of the class struggle interpenetrating with the workings of the system itself became another example of Marx's well-known expression, "tools speaking through men": the extremely backward social relations in South Africa and outmoded political structures strained against the productive forces. Something had to give way. Clearly, in this type of crisis, the ruling class had every interest in deciding a strategy that gave them the upper hand to steer the process of announced "change" from the outset.

**THE CLASS BASIS FOR A
BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC
REFORM MOVEMENT AMONGST
THE OPPRESSED**

Once the imperative had basically been decided by the ruling class, it became possible for them to use the internal factors for what they called a "democratic solution" to their advantage.

The most important factor was the existence of both a small but relevant black petite bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie and the position of a section of them in the leadership of the na-

tional liberation movements and of numerous political groups, trade unions and a wide range of community-type organizations.

While they have escaped the worst suffering and misery of apartheid, these classes were still formally and practically excluded from the political system and most spheres of white and European-style life because of race. At the same time, the intense national oppression that apartheid gives rise to throws many amongst these strata, especially the petite bourgeoisie, into direct contact with the people and their poverty, their daily struggle and the brutality they face. The road of bourgeois democratic reforms appears to many amongst these class forces to provide a shortcut to power and it does in fact offer a chance to some to climb the social ladder.

Although relatively modest, an urban petite bourgeoisie has developed in South Africa, a "white collar" section of the black masses, from civil servants to a few university professors and computer programmers to lawyers, doctors, small business owners, teachers, journalists and talk show hosts and so on.

Some of the professionals are better off and, along with a small number of corporation executives or board members, constitute a real but fragile basis for a black comprador bourgeoisie in the new state. The American black bourgeois magazine *Ebony* interviewed some of them in a special issue on South Africa celebrating an end to "direct colonialism in Africa". Their credo is essentially, "We've made it, we don't expect handouts", while hoping that Mandela will simply open the doors long closed to them, that the wealth can be spread out a little more evenly, and that monopoly will not be concentrated in just a few hands. Their motto is "open the power" (to them) in their professional and personal lives. Their programme is to build up the black middle class through "black economic empowerment", developing small businesses, acquiring capital and bank loans up until now unobtainable, breaking up the conglomerates through anti-trust legislation and patronising those foreign investors that have "progressive" policies towards upwardly mobile blacks.

The white settler class and imperi-

alists were seeking to use the aspirations of these strata amongst the oppressed for its gestures of reforms and partial social justice, and especially sought to lure in those leading the national liberation movements against their own political rule. On that depended these forces' ability to channel the masses into this same paralysing process, fueling illusions that change could come about in some way other than through the revolutionary struggle of the people that for so long has dizzied and destabilized the whole oppressive system and was aimed at one common enemy — the white colonial ruling minority.

As is usually the case, an important section of these mainly urban-based bourgeois and petit bourgeois classes from the oppressed nations are intellectuals, and different lines among a section of them had been contending for decades to lead a wide range of reformist and nationalist activity, as the struggle of the masses continually pushed against the system. What was new was that this formally outlawed activity not only became approved, but was encouraged and aligned with the state's reform programme.

The enemy's real coup, then, was its strategy of uniting all these Azanian opposition forces into one "healing" and all-consuming political current that promoted negotiations and compromise with the oppressors to their followers, which tended to minimize these groups' historical and political differences. In the framework of the imperialists' and colonial rulers' plans, this effectively meant most of them were sucked in to march behind the ANC-led banner of elections — not necessarily organizationally, but politically; this also explains in part the overwhelming vote for the ANC as opposed to other black candidates.

Despite all their racist talk to the contrary, it was also useful for the colonial rulers' reform scheme that these black petit bourgeois and bourgeois forces were able to provide sufficient educated people to carry out the necessary discussions for negotiations, as well as the actual political handiwork of crafting the new programme, uniting and consulting with various representatives in business and the ruling class about the way forward.

What is the *actual* content of this imperialist reform solution? Rather than "winning multi-racial democracy" with "majority black rule" it is a road that calls for adjustments in the enemy's political rule *over* the majority, in which a few reforms are handed down from above, from the ruling class itself, while the masses' energy is roped into helping sustain the system as it is. While always presented as an easier and faster road to change, it is actually a long and torturous path to a total sell-out of the masses' fundamental interests *and* even of their ability to win significant bourgeois demands.

This has nothing in common with the proletariat's solution for *New Democracy*, in which the masses are mobilized to use revolutionary violence to change society, uprooting the colonial and semi-feudal system from the bottom up; this road from below is in fact historically the shortest way to bring about both important bourgeois demands, especially the right to land, and it is also the only way to prepare for moving on to socialist revolution and totally remaking society in the interests of the labouring masses.

THE ANC

In a sense, a primary tenet of the ANC strategy — not to overthrow the class in power — always consisted of forming an alliance of liberal and "democratic" forces which the ANC would lead to eventually force the National Party to hold a vote. This perfectly suited the imperialists' own menu for the New World Order following the disappearance of their Soviet rivals. It was just what they ordered for dinner — and got — from the ANC. In fact as they went into the new government, the South African ruling class as a whole fully embraced an even more conciliatory version of the ANC's programme, a fitting arrangement for the "national unity" coalition.

The ANC came into existence about the same time that the land was carved up into destitute bantustans on just a fraction of the territory, from which the majority black population was to serve as cheap labour pools some three and a half decades before apartheid was formally instituted. Always mainly based among urban in-

tellelectuals, it represented and organized the protest of the educated black elite against the injustices of the new Anglo-Boer republic forged after the war between the British and Dutch settlers. In fact the early ANC often sent delegations to Britain to plead on behalf of the natives.

Although the ANC adopted much of the rhetoric of national liberation, in particular after its affiliation with the revisionist Communist Party of South Africa in 1921 (which first opposed and then only passively carried out the 1928 Comintern demand for an independent native republic), it has always been a conservative force in the liberation movement and has always had as a central part of its platform the sharing of power with white settlers, but from a position of Soviet-backed strength. It consistently has upheld that the problem is not imperialist domination but lack of bourgeois democracy and majority rule.

The ANC's campaigns of mass defence actions and civil disobedience were accompanied by sporadic armed actions as a means of pressuring the regime. Never has it had a revolutionary programme nor strategy of mobilizing the masses to bring down the colonial class ruling South Africa and to uproot the system it thrived on. Repeatedly it alienated the most revolutionary elements because of its essential liquidation of the national question, which added momentum to its reformism. Its Freedom Charter, for example, drowns the national liberation struggle in concepts copied from the U.S. Constitution, like "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white..." and champions the "peaceful road to socialism" (also espoused by the reorganized SACP). This prompted Azanian revolutionary nationalists to split off and form the PAC, to turn to more radical opposition against the system.

Although the ANC has always enjoyed Western backing, especially from social democratic governments in Europe pretending to censure the apartheid regime, it mainly relied on the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union for political, military and financial support. From 1960 to 1980 the Soviet Union paid a lot of attention to keeping the ANC afloat by organizing a massive international public relations campaign to legitimize

the ANC and SACP and throwing lots of resources into international conferences, speaking tours and press.

The collapse of Soviet-style revisionism and the general disintegration of the East bloc pushed ANC and SACP leaders reluctantly at first and then running headlong into the waiting, baiting arms of the Western imperialists. The West, and especially the U.S. — with its vast swamp of experience employing either direct destabilization strategies through the CIA and other secret services manipulating and "working with" moderate political forces, including from within, or more subtle intervention in order to displace and isolate more radical movements — had always kept its options open on the ANC.

The ANC had never refused Western aid, but the Soviets had assisted in seeing this was mostly channeled through anti-apartheid movements, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and smaller imperialist aid funds rather than straight from the bank accounts of the biggest reactionaries the ANC ranks opposed. But once SACP theoreticians leading the ANC had written their repudiation of first Stalin, and then Gorbachev, the way was cleared for the US imperialists to fully buy up political shares in the Mandela-de Klerk sweepstakes they had in fact initiated.

The U.S. sent in millions of dollars in special funds along with advisors and NGO "specialists" to teach "negotiation" and "outreach" to liberation groups and to patch up the National Party's suspect image, while prodding the more hard-core revanchist Boers in the ruling circles to climb on board the great trek to multi-racial elections. They kindled a sudden love affair with bourgeois democracy amongst some of the most nakedly vicious colonial tyrants anywhere, and de Klerk & Co. led the negotiations band, at the same time trying to unite their own social base, while Mandela & "comrades" led *their* social forces to garner support for and give this process life.

To get this strategy underway amongst the liberation movements, alliances were formed to create a broad front against the National Party and other political forces, with the

ANC at its centre. Compared to its weak and passive role in especially the 1976 Soweto rebellion, but also to some extent in the mid-1980s upsurge, the ANC was built up by the imperialists' and colonialists' negotiations strategy. This led to its unbanning and to its official role as the leading "legitimate" opposition force to pull together this social base for a more coherent reform movement (but did not stop them from also being the target of harsh repression by the state in this pre-elections period).

After Mandela's release in 1990 and the call for negotiations and a constituent assembly (composed of all races), the ANC ran a minefield of mass protests against the apartheid regime and intolerable conditions, and almost without exception called on the people to calm down or stop their strikes and boycotts. (According to a joke about the ANC's notorious tailing of the masses, after the struggle of the people had made the townships ungovernable, the ANC raised the slogan "Make the townships ungovernable!").

The ANC cadre worked diligently alongside the de Klerk regime to pull forward as many of the national liberation organizations into the negotiations process as would be pulled — from influential rivals like the PAC, to less willing groups like Azapo (Azanian People's Organization), and its Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) affiliates, to smaller forces. This was far from a straight-line process, however, because the rank and file of these groups objected to or fought against the sell-out and in many local areas went about forming their own organizations, or offshoots of the main ones.

The PAC became badly split, its central command at first trying to expel its regional and local leaders for balking at compromise with the white state the PAC had always opposed. In the spring of 1993, the PAC carried out a number of armed political actions, and the regime lashed out rapidly at the whole organization in return, raiding and arresting many of its leaders with the (successful) objective of drawing the leadership more tightly into negotiations.

Even though the ANC had never carried out much more than isolated armed actions aimed at pressuring the white regime, its final suspension of

the "armed struggle" in August 1992 proved to be a key turning point. This was true both in terms of *which* masses it would attract for the capitulationist reform road it was leading and in satisfying the settler regime and imperialists. AZAPLA (Azanian People's Liberation Army), the military wing of the PAC, followed suit in January 1994, suspending the armed struggle for a period of ten years and vowing instead to wage a "war against capitalism".

Since the ANC was anointed as pointman for mobilizing the black opposition movement, its mass base grew (the first time really since its mass disobedience actions of the 1950s), but also split into many pieces because its line had become openly collaborationist with the white regime and had led to organizing the widest possible participation in this sell-out of the people. While many people were drawn in because they wanted to see black people win *something*, others were sickened by this road and rebelled, forming local ANCs that put out their own calls for action, or looking for other groups to join, and so forth.

In sum, the ANC all along had a strategy of forcing some concessions from the white settlers and bringing about change through reforming the same colonial system it wanted to oppose. And through a number of intensifying contradictions, especially the growing political crisis and rotting structure of the old apartheid state converging with major changes in the world situation, the ANC option became the most useful to the South African ruling class and the imperialists. Mainly, however, it was the class nature of the movement's leadership that made this "coming to terms" possible.

THE INTERNATIONAL STAKES OF STABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Just as the fall of the East induced the ANC to grow fat on more pro-Western diets, this turn in the international situation also facilitated U.S. ability to bring about a resolution of the longstanding impasse in South Africa in its own interests.

As we have seen, the imperialists seized and made full use of this opportunity, both grooming and supporting forces within the ANC and

preparing a section of the South African ruling class to comply with and even guide this transition from raw colonial dictatorship to a more nuanced dictatorship of mixed colonial and new black comprador rule.

(To grant Mandela and his tiny comprador class the title of "semi-" or "neo" within this thoroughly colonial state apparatus would be to go beyond the political transformations they will be able to enact. In fact, it could be said that this type of adjustment of the state apparatus could *only* take the form of refurbishing *colonial* rule; at this point, with the armed white settler comprador class still at the core of the state, there is little chance this could become a fully black *neo-colonial* state with the imperialists turning over the reins of power to a black bourgeoisie.)

The U.S. followed its haughty announcement of a "New World Order" after the collapse of their Soviet rivals' empire — which was just a symptom of the severe crisis within the whole imperialist system of which the Soviet Union was a major pillar — with lots of pontificating about peace and cooperation.

Cloaking the reorganization of their empire with humanitarian missions and the imposing of "democracy" in dictatorships they have close ties to has become a more frequent habit of the imperialists lately. Actually it is in the oldest of traditions. When it was useful, they have always distanced themselves from the brutal, murdering puppet leaders and apparatuses they have created, funded and trained throughout the Third World, appearing on the scene as the new "democratic" saviours with the right to openly call the shots themselves. But the tightening up of the "New World Order" under their command today increasingly requires this form of imperialist intervention. And whether it is their own US-flag waving marines, the armed Zionist dogs in Israel, the murderous British army in Northern Ireland, or the cruel South African military machine, every "peace" process has the armed might of the state close at hand. These readjustments are not in contradiction with their ruthless shows of force like in Iraq.

In today's context of deepening global crisis, the imperialists are obligated to clean up, reorganize and po-

litically restructure many of the colonial and semi- or neo-colonial arrangements that were a result of the overall sweep of vast former colonial territories by the U.S. in the redivision after World War 2, and the subsequent upsurge of national liberation movements in the 1960s. Some of these state structures are in such shambles that they no longer correspond to the needs of the U.S. empire, that is, to its expansion in areas of key economic or strategic interests, and its overall ability to control and quash the struggle of the masses. This includes areas of influence and control by their social-imperialist rivals of the Soviet Union, which they have long coveted and clashed over. In oil-rich Angola the imperialists fostered long years of bloody war, while they made a passing — and failing — stab at stabilising Somalia, using the famine crisis they were responsible for. In the Middle East they have imposed a bloody peace on the region in the face of an *intifada* that wouldn't stop, and were able to do so because they could force the comprador leadership of the PLO and its class base to carry it out for them, though the success of this postage stamp-sized political solution is far from assured.

South Africa's instability too was worrisome, openly so, for the U.S. rulers who see developing the region with South Africa as the economic generator, and of course, returning to a safe climate for profits overall. The South African economy has been in a slump for many years, with some capital flight and little growth, due both to the global imperialist crisis and to the political situation and extreme social tension there. But South Africa has always had great strategic importance for the West, both regionally and due to its geographic location and its key shipping lanes for oil, strategic raw materials and minerals for U.S. war production, as well as its steel production, its sophisticated Western-financed military communications and tracking systems, and its modern military port facilities, which are at NATO's disposal.

The imperialists invested heavily on all fronts in the organization of a negotiated settlement in South Africa, where a political solution obviously had to be found if imperialism was going to continue to effi-

ciently function there. And if they could succeed in a place where a revolutionary crisis has existed for some time, it would be a useful model in other afflicted areas, of which there is no shortage in their empire. One U.S. official was quoted as asking, "is there a way to "capture the essence of what is happening in South Africa ... to bottle it and inject this elixir into the disruptions and disputes which burden U.S. foreign policy in other locations?"

There is also another aspect to this: the ANC, through its decades of promotion as a national liberation movement, is connected to nearly every left opposition movement in the world, and most especially in the oppressed nations. By trying to bury the political struggle in South Africa in Western-style bourgeois democratic demagoguery, the imperialists undoubtedly count on the ANC teaching their friends that such capitulation to the New World Order is now "okay".

**SPILLING THE MASSES' BLOOD
TO IMPOSE A CONSENSUS OF
ALL-RACE ELECTIONS**

How did they pull it off? Much of the drama was purposely focused on the contrasting "duo", Mandela and de Klerk, the willing stage managers of this production, both of whom were promoted to Nobel peace prize winners and great statesmen even before the curtain went down. However, besides the boardroom and poolside wheeling and dealing from Washington D.C. to Johannesburg, this deadly political battle of the ruling class to impose a consensus for a "peaceful transition" was carried out by stoking reactionary violence against Azanians with the black townships and bantustans as the grim and blood-stained theatre.

Despite the talks going on between the reasonable tie-clad negotiators, much of this violence was stepped-up repression by the reactionary state against township dwellers and bantustan residents. One doctor revealed to the press that of 200 postmortems he had carried out, he was sure 90% had been murdered by the police.

The struggle of the masses continued to pound away in various spheres against this repression and the whole political order. After the

leader of the ANC's armed wing was assassinated by white reactionaries linked to the police in April 1993, there was a mass outpouring of anger at the state. Although the ANC tried to organize and utilize such protests, they always spilled way beyond these limits. In Johannesburg youth burned cars and shops and clashed with police outside the 100,000-strong funeral ceremonies, burning down buildings owned by the mining companies. In Cape Town, during a large march to the police station, journalists, photographers and police were reportedly fired on. In the rural areas, the collapse of one "independent homeland" after the other, to the fury of tribal administrators the regime had built up, brought new clashes and struggle.

All throughout negotiations, there was continual bickering between the government negotiators and the ANC over who was to blame for all the killings, how to maintain law and order, and over the ANC's demand for the reactionary state to stop the violence between various political forces, as though the state were a neutral force.

So, in September 1992, when an ANC march went into Bisho in the Ciskei ("homeland") to "peacefully occupy" the town as a protest against military puppet leader Oupa Gqozo, Ciskei soldiers opened fire, killing 28 and wounding some 200. The government's hand in the attack became a further point of struggle in the "talks", since the regime was clearly making use of dual tactics of physically attacking the ANC's supporters while supposedly negotiating the terms for helping to stop the violence.

There were also significant sections of the white ruling class that strongly opposed holding elections and coming to an agreement with the ANC. Not surprisingly they were heavily represented in the armed apparatus of the reactionary state itself, which was rife with secret clubs, arms deals, death squads inside South Africa, and sabotage units carrying out assassinations of Azanian activists abroad. There were also not-so-secret armed fundamentalist "brotherhoods", white republic (Volkstaat) associations, neo-Nazis,

Continued to page 67

Yankee Marauders Out of Haiti!

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

10 October 1994

Once again the US army has intervened in a “crisis”, this time invading and occupying Haiti behind a heavy barrage of slogans like “humanitarian interests”, “stemming the refugee flow”, “reinstalling a democratically-elected president” and disarming the dictatorship’s “brutal armed forces”. What?! — the world’s biggest thugs and exploiters promising to “liberate” some of the world’s poorest people from the clutches of the very killer thugs they themselves have trained and hired?! The US military’s true mission in Haiti is as familiar as their increasingly frequent invasions around the world: to establish order, *US-imposed order*, in a situation that has slipped out of the imperialists’ control.

In the present international framework, marked by deepening imperialist crisis, the US imperialists are trying to head off mass revolts against their rule, especially in the neo-colonies, while shoring up their position relative to the other imperialist powers. Since the collapse of their main rivals in the East, the Soviet social-imperialists, the US rulers feel they have a freer hand to clean up messy spots and patch up real and potential faultlines in their New World Order. But, as they have seen in Somalia, taking such a path is also filled with danger. Deep divisions exist within the US ruling class over *how* to proceed. These divisions were reflected in sharp in-fighting over whether, when and how to invade Haiti. But this in-fighting did not at all change their basic drive to establish political stability in the region and throughout Latin America, as a major step in dealing with the problems of their empire.

The Haitian masses have been desperately pressed between dire poverty and the military generals’ campaign of terror; many have struggled courageously in the face of this, while many others have been trying to escape the rampant killing and utter misery by going to the US (which has either detained them or sent them back to their deaths at the hands of the junta and police). The fact that the US imperialists finally chose to invade shows their determination to snap their local henchmen into line and defuse the explosive social tensions that have built up there. They want to stop the exodus of refugees towards their shores and most of all to prevent another revolutionary uprising of the Haitian people from completely unraveling their control in Haiti and igniting the neo-colonial tinderboxes stretching across their so-called backyard of Latin America.

The Haitian people have a long, rich history of struggle against slavery and feudalism, colonial invaders and imperialist-installed military regimes. Little has changed in the US’ basic relationship to Haiti — that of strangling the economy and propping up a local reactionary army — for almost 100 years. The US first invaded Haiti in 1915, right on the heels of its bloody incursions into the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, and Nicaragua. This first invasion was part of the regional consolidation of the US’ imperialist empire and its drive to crush armed struggle against feudal landlords. Widespread peasant resistance continued against the US invasion and its harsh 19-year-long colonial occupation, during which thousands were massacred. The Yankees pulled out militarily in 1934, but they extended their economic and political hold, turning Haiti into a neo-colony, helping to build up a small comprador class, along with a state, including an army and laws. A leap in this process took place with the coming to power in the late 1950s of “Papa Doc” Duvalier, a CIA favourite, followed by his son “Baby Doc”, which helped consolidate the reactionary classes and suppressed the masses’ struggle against

the murderous military machine. This paved the way for more thorough imperialist penetration and dispossession of the peasants.

In 1986 a mass *dechoukage* (uprooting) movement spread throughout the island and overthrew this bitterly-hated Duvalier dictatorship. People's justice was meted out to his death squad members, called the Tonton Macoutes. The mass struggle and revolutionary mood did not subside, and a succession of new governments with the old Duvalierist repressive apparatus still in place were not able to contain the sharp infighting within ruling circles.

The US imperialists shifted strategies in 1991 and helped to organize elections in an effort to channel the fury of the masses into the electoral process and to restructure and stabilize the state through a realignment of pro-US forces within the Haitian elite. The result was the election of the radical populist priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who got 70% of the vote. Aristide emerged from *pétit-bourgeois* forces opposed to the Duvalier regimes who wanted to alleviate some of the poverty and suffering of the masses. But his immense popularity, due in no small part to his posturing against US domination at the time and his measured support of the *dechoukage*, did not mean he had full political power: Aristide's position at the top of the same state and military structure he wanted to reform was precarious and short-lived. Just six months after his election, Aristide was toppled in a military coup (in which powerful forces in Washington DC are widely believed to have lent a hand). He was replaced by General Raoul Cedras.

For three years the US has been debating how to stabilize Haiti again. One section of the US bourgeoisie wanted to abandon Aristide and preferred to pressure the corrupt military junta to step down or at least to loosen its destabilizing clampdown against the masses. But it was of course the people who suffered from the subsequent economic embargo, while CIA kickbacks and "anti-drug" funds continued to fatten the generals.

Another section of the US rulers, including Clinton, insisted on seizing the opportunity of returning Aristide to power in order to send in the US marines (posing as freedom fighters) to get a firm grip on the situation. To convince public opinion, the Clinton government exposed to the world some of the torture, rape and murder that these local brutes were guilty of, while trying to conceal who signs their paychecks and to pretend that the "new" army, also trained by US killer police and soldiers, will be different. For his part, Aristide, exiled in the US, has been negotiating his return to office in exchange for completely surrendering to US demands and conditions.

Despite Aristide's torrent of appeals for reconciliation in Haiti, his future role remains uncertain. With or without him, and partly camouflaged by the arriving hand-picked international peacekeeping force and police trainers from places like Israel, the US will continue its occupation in an effort to reorganize a reliable Haitian military and police force that can maintain the comprador-feudal order in Haiti and protect imperialist interests.

At first the US troops allowed the people to let off steam from the pressure cooker building up. But the masses' desire for revenge against their enemies is displayed in great *disorder* everywhere. The US troops' job of enforcing amnesty at gunpoint for the people's murderers in the police and military will inevitably throw the masses into direct conflict with the Yankee army, which will then spill plenty of the people's blood if necessary in the name of "order", that is, suppressing violence by the oppressed.

Cruel illusions are being spread among the Haitian masses about what the new situation will mean for the economy. It was many years ago under the Duvalier regime that the situation of the always poor Haitian masses became the living hell it is today. Economic production was organized to serve US requirements. Landlords threw large numbers of peasants off the best land. Imperialist agro-industry penetrated the countryside setting up coffee and cacao plantations for export. Big export-oriented capitalist pig farms replaced small family pig production through a phoney health scare. US-owned sweatshops sprang up in free trade zones in which the daily wages of the masses did not even feed them, and all the profits left the country untaxed.

The Haitian masses are literally starved by their dependency on imperialism and the

semi-feudal system in the countryside; they eat a less than subsistence diet of rice, corn and sometimes plantains, if they can afford them. They get little protein, except for what they can get from sorghum, and consumption of meat, eggs, milk or even beans is rare. The average Haitian earns less than a \$1 a day and spends almost 20 cents of it to buy water. (See *A World to Win* 1986/6 for more background information.)

A new president might even be able to raise a small section of the masses out of the hellish depths of poverty and misery they are currently in, thus fueling illusions about what they can gain from a new government. But *most* of the poor people will likely be plunged into deeper poverty. And, even if some of the middle classes see their situation improve, Aristide's cooperation with the US to tighten the noose on the basic masses — with the usual package of developing the "free" market, keeping foreign investors happy, and IMF and World Bank austerity schemes — is bound to throw the people into renewed struggle against him or any future president.

As for the US claim to restore democracy, when Clinton says, "Democratic neighbours make better trade partners", it is obvious that he means US-imposed order is better for exploiting the poor masses in neo-colonial sweatshops like Haiti. This is the basic relationship underlying the forms of very "undemocratic" political rule over the masses in Haiti, which they know as terror and weekly funerals of their people. One of the purposes of this so-called democratic mission is to foster hopes and disarm the people with another big lie: that a "new" regime under the present set-up in an oppressed nation like Haiti can reform and develop a bourgeois society that will offer the kind of political rights and partial freedoms generally allowed some sections of the people in the rich countries. Such a fantasy — that loyal US guardians in Haiti, even new so-called reformers, could somehow reverse the imperialist domination of the country — is as ridiculous as it is impossible.

But it *is* possible for the people to rise up and liberate themselves, and this is what they must do: make revolution — New Democratic Revolution. This requires developing a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party that can lead an alliance between the proletariat and Haiti's majority peasant population with other progressive classes to wage a protracted people's war. Such a revolutionary war, like the one the people of Peru are waging today under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, aims to overthrow bureaucrat capitalism and semi-feudalism in Haiti and break free of imperialism's grip. Only this type of revolution can begin to give real political power and genuine democratic rights to the masses oppressed by the old society, such as the central demand for land to the tiller, by mobilizing the peasants to seize back their land, while paving the way for socialist revolution.

The Haitian masses have a wealth of experience of fighting against US imperialism and Haiti's reactionary classes. Many will learn through this occupation just who they are up against, that these are the very same enemies who have raped their country and its labouring people for a century and whose own "*attachés*" — the whole class of US-dependent comprador and feudal rulers — have drowned their many heroic struggles in blood. A significant section of the people already know this and have a deep hatred for the US. Most of all, the Haitian people can learn that it is only the proletariat guided by its science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that can create a peasant guerrilla army and unite the broadest-ranks of the people to transform Haiti into a stronghold of liberation.

Although the Haitian people's enemies are trying to replace the lid on their struggle with another tighter fitting one, the imperialists are playing with fire — and they know the lid could blow off altogether: the fact is that the people are aroused to deal blows to their oppressor and can rapidly become an unpredictable factor exploding in the US' face. People around the world must expose and loudly denounce this latest invasion by the Yankee marauders and firmly support the struggle of the people against them. Dechoukage of the old order is fine — let it go all the way and prepare to uproot reaction and imperialism from Haiti altogether! □

The Yasser Arafat Surrender Ceremony

What Died on the White House Lawn?

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement
14 September 1993

On 12 September the whole world was subjected to Yasser Arafat's surrender ceremony on the White House lawn. The reaction from the Palestinian masses was swift. Anger and a sense of betrayal swept across Palestine, among refugees and all friends of the Palestinian people.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement expresses its resolute and complete opposition to this latest capitulationist agreement and pledges its support to the Palestinian masses in their continuing struggle for a democratic secular state on the entire territory of Palestine. With great trumpets, the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists are proclaiming that the signing of the Israel-PLO agreement means the end of the long struggle of the Palestinian people and the definitive acceptance of Israel's existence on Palestinian land. They are declaring that this surrender agreement is the reward for the many decades of aggression, occupation, repression and arrogance of the imperialists and of their most faithful attack dog, Israel, in this region.

At the same time, these same reactionary forces are calling on the PLO to fulfill its new role as a policemen repressing the people in the service of imperialism and Zionism.

Many Palestinians are urgently seeking to understand how it is that such a heroic struggle for which so many thousands have given their lives has ended up betrayed. How is it that the PLO, an organisation identified with the struggle of the people, has become little more than an Israeli-backed militia?

In fact, this betrayal was long in the making, long before the hatching of the infamous Madrid conspiracy, and even before the Gulf War or Arafat's 1988 recognition of the state of Israel.

For two decades now, the Palestinian leadership has been seeking some way to reconcile the struggle of the Palestinian people with the imperialist-imposed "realities" of the Middle East. This way came to be known as the plan for the Palestinian "mini-state" in the West Bank and Gaza, and it was promoted at the time especially by the Soviet Union and those Arab and Palestinian forces aligned with it. This dream of reconciling the legitimate national aspirations of the Palestinian people with imperialism and Zionism was never realisable, not then and not now, for the linchpin of imperialist domination of the Middle East is the dispossession of the Palestinian people and the establishment of the pro-West military outpost known as Israel.

Different Palestinian leaders and tendencies, and different forces among the imperialists and reactionaries themselves, have been divided over what would be the role for the Palestinians in such a mini-state, and especially over whether and how a small section of the Palestinian upper classes would be given the right to share in the exploitation of the people. As long as the imperialist states themselves were sharply divided into the conflicting East and West blocs, it was impossible for the so-called "comprehensive peace plan" to be instituted and shoved down the throat of the people. Now the U.S. feels that with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and with the punishing example of the Gulf War accomplished, it is finally possible to enforce a Pax Americana on the Middle East, at the expense, of course, of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Today many forces who have been allied in the past with Yasser Arafat are loudly con-

demning his betrayal. But the main criticism they raise is not of the Israel-PLO agreement itself, but of the particularly humiliating *terms* of the agreement. Some are saying, in effect, that abandoning the struggle against Israel, giving up the most basic rights of millions of Palestinians, and coming to an agreement with the imperialist overlords of the region, in short, selling out, is acceptable *providing the price is right*. Certain Islamic forces claim to be fighting for the complete liberation of Palestine but say nothing about the imperialist powers behind the Zionist state and in fact seek support from the reactionary states of the region.

The revolutionary communist forces can never accept any of this logic. It is impossible to separate the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national liberation from the overall world-wide struggle against imperialism and all reaction. Any attempt to make such a separation cannot help but lead to the kind of shameful humiliation and betrayal that Arafat personifies today.

The great strength of the Palestinian people's struggle and the support the struggle has received from revolutionary and progressive people around the world has come from the fact that the Palestinian people have been a shock brigade in the international struggle against imperialism and reaction. Today the Palestinians are being asked to turn their back on this proud heritage while Arafat polices the streets and begs the imperialist and Zionists for a bowl of soup.

But the people of Palestine cannot and will not remain meek and silent while others trample on them. As Mao Tsetung put it, "wherever there is oppression, there is resistance". This latest capitulation and whatever new structures of oppression are set up as a result of it will only lead to a new round of resistance.

Today the Palestinian people have the task of defeating Arafat's capitulation. But it is important that Palestinian revolutionary comrades draw correct conclusions from the many decades of struggle as well as from the series of betrayals. The link between the Palestinian people's struggle and the world revolutionary process has been deeply strained by the treacherous behaviour of Arafat and others who sought the friendship and support not of the revolutionaries but of the imperialist states (the U.S. or former Soviet Union) and the blood-soaked Arab regimes. This type of leadership is based upon the interests of a minority of exploiters and its class nature makes it drawn like a magnet toward capitulation and betrayal.

It is high time the revolutionaries in Palestine went about building a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard party. Only such a party is capable of standing up ideologically, politically and organisationally to the threats and bribes of the imperialists and reactionaries. Only such a party can correctly situate the struggle of the Palestinian people as a vital link in a worldwide chain which unites the proletarians and oppressed all over the globe. Only such a party can lead the masses of people in carrying out the long and bitter struggle for genuine national liberation as part of the world proletarian revolution.

The capitulationists claim that the Maoist path is "unrealistic". But as we have said before, what is truly unrealistic is to expect that the Palestinian people can ever achieve justice at the hands of the imperialists and Zionists. The capitulationists say we are for war and not peace. But we know that there will never be peace in the region as long as the imperialists and their Israeli hooligans run roughshod over the people. The capitulationists say that now is the time for construction. But we know as Mao taught us that there can be no construction without destruction. A bright red Palestine, a Palestine of the proletariat and the people, can only be built upon the ashes of imperialism and Zionism.

We pledge the support of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to the Palestinian people at this difficult moment. Through struggle, this latest attack on the people can be transformed into another nail in the coffin of imperialism and reaction. The capitulationists declare that the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian people has died with the signing of the Israel-PLO accord. But it is the illusion of a "just settlement" reconciling the just demands of the Palestinian people with imperialism and Zionism that died on the White House lawn. □

Message to the Communist Party of the Philippines On the Occasion of its 25th Anniversary

From the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Twenty five years ago, as Mao Tsetung led millions of people in the Cultural Revolution to blaze an uncharted path towards the new world of communism under the watchword, "It's right to rebel against reactionaries!", a handful of Filipino revolutionaries founded the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) to lead the people of that country forward as part of the world proletarian revolution. This was a joyous event, not only for the Filipino people, who had fought the imperialists, particularly the U.S. rulers, for many long years, but for the oppressed and exploited of all the world. Indeed, the CPP is not only the fruit of the Filipino people's struggle, and not only of the world revolutionary struggle in general, but it is also an offspring of that world historic battle of the Chinese masses against the imperialists and especially the modern Soviet revisionists and their Chinese counterparts, which was led by the great leader of the international proletariat, Mao Tsetung.

The comrades of the young CPP boldly took up Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which they hailed as "the acme of Marxism-Leninism", and brought it to the masses. They fearlessly applied Mao's pathbreaking theory of People's War to the specific conditions of the Philippines, and went to the countryside to mobilise the masses, particularly the poor peasants, in people's war; they carried out agrarian revolution and roused the masses to create new forms of red power in the rural areas, relying on armed struggle as the principal form of struggle and the New People's Army led by the CPP as the main form of

organisation of the masses. For many years the CPP comrades persisted in this line and carried forward the protracted warfare that step by step will enable the oppressed and exploited of the Philippines to surround the cities from the countryside and carry out the New Democratic Revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, to establish the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat as the necessary prelude to the socialist revolution.

These developments proved in practice Mao's teaching that a correct political and ideological line is decisive, and that even when there are no soldiers, if the line is correct, soldiers will be found. Relying on the invincible weapon of our revolutionary science, the CPP grew from small to big, and led the People's War to sink deep roots in the countryside and to deal powerful blows against the U.S. imperialists and the Filipino compradors and feudal landlords.

Today, 25 years after its founding, the CPP is engaged in the serious task of carrying out a rectification campaign on the basis of raising high the great red banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao. The CPP comrades are intensively studying the works of Mao in order to uproot a series of errors that arose in the 1980s that departed from Mao's line and repudiated previous correct verdicts of the Party. These went along with a tendency to confuse enemies with friends both domestically and internationally, including concerning the social-imperialist character of the USSR and the reactionary post-1976 Deng regime in China. The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist

Movement, which since 1984 has gathered together revolutionary communist parties from around the world on the basis of the three red banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao, salutes the CPP on the occasion of its 25th anniversary and welcomes this rectification initiative with all its heart. RIM expresses the deeply felt wishes of all the comrades in the Maoist parties and organisations united in RIM that the CPP carries this rectification campaign through to the end, that it succeeds in revitalising the Party and through it the New People's Army so as to carry forward the people's war in the Philippines to victory and establish a red Philippines as a mighty base area for the world revolution.

On the occasion of the Mao Tsetung Centenary, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has proclaimed that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is its guiding ideology. On the basis of this all-powerful ideology, the revolutionary communists the world over will be able to advance our unity and solidify our ranks, to beat back the reactionary anti-communist counter-offensive launched by the imperialists and their revisionist and reactionary lackeys, and to seize on the deepening crisis of their system and the unprecedented storms of rebellion and resistance this will unleash so as to lead the masses to seize power through revolutionary violence, establish their rule and advance towards that future when all exploitation and oppression shall be done away with and the bright red sun of communism will shine over the whole world.

26 December 1993

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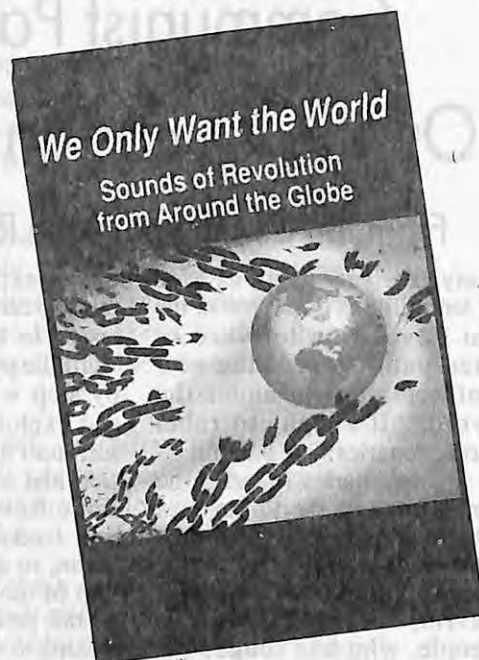
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Changing of the Guard

Continued from page 59

as well as a sizeable informal military sector that ran destabilization campaigns in neighbouring countries, assisting forces like Renamo in Mozambique and Unita in Angola.

Derailing the elections process through their links to the police and army was clearly the goal of these groups. They carried out shooting sprees of black masses in the cities, and in the countryside, roadside ambushes. They believed that short of being able to carry out a civil war to preserve their privileges under apartheid, a climate of total fear and chaos had to be created so the government's plan would fail and a more military solution would win out. De Klerk was widely booed and threatened whenever he (rarely) ventured to the rural white farm areas that tended to support this range of extremist white groups. These groups hooked up with the military and police have often been inappropriately referred to as the "third force", "inappropriately", because most often they had full license to act and were part of the same programme that the reactionary state's security forces were already carrying out against the masses.

However, politically some of these white reactionary forces formed an alliance with the conservative Inkatha Freedom Party in opposition to the negotiations and elections and even began to become members. They openly collaborated to both instigate and carry out repeated slaughters, in part by whipping up minor divisions among black people in the already extremely tense townships.

The state's own policy of undermining the ANC and building up Inkatha through fomenting what they would call "black on black violence", targeting and dividing Xhosas and Zulus as the two largest ethnic groups, had already been in full operation since the big upsurges of struggle in the mid-'80s. This was leaked by a former intelligence officer, who accused the government of trying to break up the ANC and who had himself been part of an over \$35 million scheme to thwart the pro-Soviet liberation movement, Swapo, in 1989 before the elections in Namibia.

The white regime has had a willing ally in Chief Buthelezi, the puppet leader and police chief of Kwazulu, the apartheid-designated "Zulu" homeland. Far from matching the original Zulu-based region in Natal, Kwazulu was a patchwork of little pieces of the worst land scattered around prosperous white plantations and farms. Buthelezi has cultivated nationalist support through the medium of the Inkatha "cultural" organization, to build his own reactionary power base, but always in close service to the apartheid regime. They rewarded him amply and channeled large sums of government money to Inkatha through several different slush funds; covert funds alone to help sponsor activities against the ANC and other organizations ran into the hundreds of thousands of dollars until it was exposed in July 1991.

As early as 1987 the police had stopped applying the ban on traditional weapons (Zulus had been prohibited from carrying any kind of stick or instrument for nearly 100 years unless they could prove they were hunting or fishing.) In 1990, after Inkatha turned from a cultural movement into a political party, the government quietly legalized their weapons. Mainly rural-based Zulus were riled up against the ANC which had made some inroads into Natal, and they were told the ANC was going to take their king's land away if Mandela won, etc, etc. In fact Inkatha supporters are a small minority of the 38% Zulus among the black population, a sizeable number of whom support the ANC.

The collaboration between the extreme right, the police and Inkatha took on several forms. Forays were made into townships, where white-driven vans and khaki-dressed whites "guarded" loads of Inkatha members as they launched an attack. Police allowed Inkatha free rein to kill, and would mainly chase non-Inkatha masses, raid their houses for weapons in the name of stopping violence, and then allow the *impis* to return again for another massacre after they had seized weapons. Or, after murderous clashes in townships where people had been hacked or stabbed, the police would make a show of rounding up Inkatha's weapons, and shortly afterwards hand them back.

A new spiral of violence against

the masses was fueled to set people against each other in the name of ethnic differences and so-called "political" territory. Suddenly the news featured black masses at each others' throats, supposedly on behalf of their organization, or their "candidate", and later just as "tribal rivalry". And magically arms were appearing everywhere (although they had never been available to the masses during the past 200 years of conflict with the oppressor and its police).

The white supremacist rulers have always tried to separate Azanians into little phony nations and stir up nationalism, mainly in order to create a small class of puppet national loyalist administrators in the service of age-old divide and rule. Yet this has never been very successful given the commonness of the oppressed masses' conditions under apartheid in general and the fluid mixture of peoples and languages; in fact, between the Xhosa and Zulu languages, for example, there is enough similarity for people to understand each other, and it is common in the Rand region, where much of the violence occurred, for people to speak 3 or 4 different languages.

This destabilization-and-more repression strategy aimed to confuse and divide the masses, to get across that blacks are unruleable and certainly not fit to rule themselves. It also aimed to narrow down hopes to establishing law and order, to an end to the killing, encouraging the backward to call for a strong-handed state. This had its political effects too in the form of diverting the mass struggle towards elections as the only alternative. As a leaflet put out by revolutionary Azanian youth said, "...These dastardly genocidal acts against the African people are intended to make us weary and frustrated, to paralyse our political consciousness, to obscure the objectives of our struggle, to destroy armed struggle and to make us cry hysterically for an "empty peace" that serves the insatiable appetite of the imperialists. It is a means to boost the sell-out process of negotiations and to accord with the economic imperative and the imperialists and their agents..." And there has also been class struggle *against* this and against the whole regime and system at the same time.

Self-defence units (SDUs) were formed in many townships against Inkatha violence. The ANC even sponsored them for a while, and called for the training of some youth. When these youth proved too "undisciplined" to listen to ANC orders not to fight, the SDUs turned into a political albatross for the ANC. And today, readers write that in one area some SDUs have still refused to hand in their arms, and vow to use them against the new government if necessary.

Inciting this violence nearly backfired too, producing so much more instability that brokering a peace through the elections almost failed. But it was accompanied with a lot of political bargaining, bribes and concessions. Just to get the cooperation of Buthelezi, who threatened to boycott the elections in the face of the ANC's strength, the ruling class promised him seats in parliament and a ministry post and tossed various "gifts" his way, including an enormous piece of land. They were also able to win over the head of the right-wing Freedom Front, General Constand Viljoen, to run in the elections, who campaigned for a separate white state. Mandela congratulated this butcher of the Azanian people during his election speech as a "worthy South African".

The imposing of a consensus therefore relied on both reactionary violence against the Azanian masses and negotiations tactics. If former President de Klerk was leading the talks, his class friends also benefited from and refused to curb the murderous actions of the state's security forces (except to fire some exposed generals who had come under scrutiny by the many investigative commissions of the violence). In short, the rulers were able to put together a reactionary stability and enough of a coalition to hold the vote, but this is as fragile as it is temporary.

The crisis-ridden state is proud that they avoided a war of "independence", but the birth of even this restructured "multi-racial" colonial state meant the burials of thousands of Azanians. In other words, what they accomplished was a war in which the casualties were on one side and what they avoided was a civil war in which the masses too

had their chance to fight against them in an organized way.

II. WHAT WILL THE NEW "PEOPLE'S" GOVERNMENT DO FOR THE PEOPLE?

A quick look at the social and economic situation that the Mandela-led government is inheriting gives an idea why even the best-intentioned reform programme would be unable to right the wrongs of imperialist and colonial domination of the Azanian people. (However, statistics in South Africa are only indicators, as they themselves reflect the colonizers' tendency to present a far rosier picture and to conceal the huge gaps between black and white people by combining the figures together, by not including the former artificial independent homelands, and by consolidating different employment categories within sectors.) According to World Bank figures, South Africa, the white oppressor colony, is the 24th richest country in the world. Azania, the indigenous oppressed nation, figures 124th.

In a population that is overwhelmingly black, unemployment stands at over 50% and is rising, reportedly reaching as high as 70% in the eastern regions. The 34 million Azanian majority (total black population) is mostly concentrated in vast poor urban and rural townships, or in the impoverished rural "bantustan" zones, which were the only place blacks were "legally" able to live since the official confiscation by the white minority regime of more than 4/5 of the land 80 years ago. Somewhere between 11 and 15 million Azanians live in the rural areas, and 85% of the people are considered to be living below the poverty line in the former homeland areas. 12 million people don't have access to clean drinking water and 21 million don't have adequate sanitation (toilets and refuse removal). The segregated schools (based on the well-known apartheid policy of separate and inferior "Bantu education" whose Christian-fundamentalist rationale that "Africans don't need to acquire European civilization in order to perform simple labour, as God ordained") are poorly equipped, understaffed, without electricity or are even non-existent in black areas. The government

spending ratio is 8 to 1 on white and black education and the illiteracy rate today still hovers somewhere near 50%. In the business world, blacks occupy less than 2% of corporate management positions, while only 1% of the economic activity of the formal sector is attributable to black businesses.

Azania fits squarely amongst the oppressed nations dominated by imperialism. However, the particular features of *settler* colonization in South Africa by a minority of whites of European origin (primarily Dutch and British) have accelerated certain aspects of economic development on the basis of the most backward, oppressive and exploitative social relations. During the period of more than 200 years of fierce wars of resistance over the land, some of the indigenous pastoral and peasant societies were gradually being broken apart through the colonialists' spread of disease, cattle theft and killing, early colonial laws and the imposition of taxes, as well as through the outright extermination of certain peoples in order to occupy more land and draw Africans into the colonial economy. On the land white settlers had seized, both slavery and various feudal forms of tenant farming existed, as small merchant trading and agriculture for the colonial market (with limited export to Europe) developed into nascent capitalism. However in the late 1800s diamonds and then gold were discovered, and the process of capturing black labour, badly needed to exploit the precious stones and minerals, was speeded up by more systematic dispossession of the land and forcing of blacks into the labour force (along with indentured labour brought over from India to work the sugar cane plantations in Natal). Capitalist growth took a leap, as did European interests and direct capital investment in South Africa. Imperialist Britain launched a bloody war (Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902) to settle their claim to this untapped wealth. After this war a European settler-based reactionary state was consolidated which organized and enforced this exploitation of the mines and the development of white-owned agriculture mainly in order to "feed" the growing work force (and only secondarily for export).

During the 20th century, imperial-

ist-financed capitalist development of sectors of the economy key to imperialist capital accumulation or strategically was facilitated in every way by a subsidized top-heavy white reactionary state. A capitalist class arose among the white settlers permitting the white minority to have a standard of living comparable to Europe, or the U.S. Although the Azanian people (the superexploitation of whom permitted this rapid development) have mainly been excluded from the results of it, still white South Africa's economic growth has far outstripped most of the rest of Africa, with the result that it is overall "richer" than most of Africa.

Sixty percent of all U.S. investment in the continent, for example, has gone to South Africa. Through imperialist distortion of most African neo/semi-colonial, semi-feudal economies, the effects of the global economic crisis, as well as treacherous imperialist aid policies, such as IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes, the economic situation and lives of the people have *deteriorated* since formal political independence was won or granted in the 1960s. Between 1960 and 1990, average per capita income has dropped by \$200 in Africa, from \$850 to \$645.

"RECONSTRUCTING AND DEVELOPING" SOUTH AFRICA

Mandela's election promises centred around the widely-touted social reforms to attack poverty and provide basic services to the victims of apartheid over the coming five years until the next national elections. These plans include creating 2.5 million jobs in public works, such as electrifying 1 million households, building 1 million low-cost houses and allocating some state funds to provide 10 years of compulsory free education along with some type of free medical care for young children.

Because this programme clearly only scratches the surface of the very deep problems and inequalities in society, and because the new government wants only to "raise black people's standards without lowering anyone else's", it has exposed just whose interests the national unity government is fundamentally committed to serving. In addition, the entire debate

about the "welfare" of the people became focused on the feasibility of these relatively modest reforms (which the white opposition called "pie in the sky") and where to get the billions of rands to finance them, without cutting budgets that affect the current status quo, or taking any white people's jobs away (more than 1/3 of whom are employed by the central state!), etc, etc.

Then there is the "political education" that accompanies the reforms at no extra charge: that the masses should be patient and not expect too much too soon. One side of this double-edged sword has featured smiling township dwellers on television swearing they are happy even though they are poor because now they are free, and that really all they wanted was their dignity restored. On the other side long-winded entreaties for understanding that the ANC shouldn't be expected to undo overnight (in 5 years) what the terrible apartheid regime has created over several decades.

It is true that getting rid of the extreme racial and class inequalities in a society defined by and based on them is a protracted process no matter what class has taken the reins of power. A New Democratic Revolution led by the proletariat, however, would take immediate steps to expropriate all major landholders that have kept the masses landless, and would take over and reorient the means of production dominated by white settler and foreign capital as well as cut its ties to the imperialist economy. This would pave the way for building a self-sufficient national economy, for carrying out planned economic development in the interests of the labouring classes, and breaking from the vise-grip of imperialism completely.

The ANC-led government's difficulty in finding the billions of rand necessary for a few improvements in some of the masses' lives without ruffling any feathers is based on a different outlook and programme that will end up not only remaining dependent on imperialism, but tightening these bonds even more. In real life, one motto has drowned out all the "freedom" slogans: "Make South Africa safe for investors". It is not that some of their planners would not like to make good on their election

promises and even go further to eradicate social problems, but they are not prepared nor able to go up against the powers that be and the current economic order to achieve that.

The ANC's "Reconstruction and Development Programme" (RDP) is a platform of basic reforms of apartheid society that was circulated to "community leaders", "people's forums" and business and ruling class circles to establish a consensus over the future road well before the elections took place. One economist from the South Africa Rand Merchant Bank said he could even start to identify with it. No wonder. A look at the 150-page policy framework reveals its conciliatory, "don't rock the boat" nature. If the outward appeal is to reform and "deracialize" the profoundly unequal and stifling institutions throughout society, the programme in no way challenges the basic precepts and foundation of capitalist and semi-feudal exploitation upon which these institutions are built; in fact it enshrines them.

In page after page of critical acknowledgement of the past and doublespeak lamenting the disproportionate effects of apartheid on black people in every area, from housing to schools to access to land and bank loans, the twin goals of this programme are clear enough. The programme outlines the "five-year plan" for beginning to make certain changes to allow the new government to demarcate itself from the old regime. Secondly, it aims to persuade black bourgeois and radical petit bourgeois that the impossible — that is, substantial development of the black population held down for so long — can be achieved through partial reforms, and they should rally to them. It promises to "eliminate the poverty, low wages and extreme inequalities in wages and wealth generated by the apartheid system, meet basic needs and thus ensure that every South African has a decent living standard and economic security".

Even the rich, imperialist countries have not been able to offer this to the exploited and oppressed masses inside their borders!

As for the explosive land issue, the RDP policy is hazy because, it seems, the national unity team was unable to arrive at any major concessions in this area that touches the very spinal

cord of the whole colonial ownership system. A not immediate plan to turn over some 30% of the land includes vague assurances of restoring some land rights to blacks who were dispossessed or forcibly removed if they can produce deeds, although the date from which to proceed is a big point of controversy. There is also discussion of selling trust land leased by the state and the churches, and bringing onto the market some undesirable land held by whites or by the army that has been under-utilized, abandoned or exhausted, as well as land procured in questionable transactions from the apartheid regime or mortgaged to state and parastatal bodies.

White commercial agriculture (about 70,000 farmers) contributes only about 5% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and the debate over the feasibility of allowing black small-scale production to resume is centred around restructuring to "spread the ownership base" and opening up access to the national market and the distribution system completely dominated by white farmers and large corporations. The RDP promises to improve rural infrastructure and in the future to elaborate a rural development programme in general.

Regarding the economy, the RDP points out that the means of production, distribution and finance are in the hands of a tiny minority, whose policies of monopolization... predatory pricing and interlocking directorships... and the overwhelming proportion of white and corporate ownership of the land, "create racial and social tension". This could easily qualify for the understatement of the century. The ANC's well-known Freedom Charter used to advocate nationalising these gigantic capitalist concerns, but now the RDP proposes to offset this monopolization (four enormous corporate groups control more than 80% of the stocks on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange) by breaking up the big conglomerates through forceful anti-trust laws and making them more "transparent" and accountable, while promoting policies that stimulate more competitiveness and encourage the growth of small black business. In essence, and to the degree it is carried out, this means setting up some regulatory mechanisms to oversee the hiring,

wage and training policies of the industrial and financial giants, expanding rights such as unionization, as well as policies that will give some black entrepreneurs greater access to borrowing and credit. It also demands the return of privately-owned mineral rights to the "democratic government".

It has been suggested by Western journalists that the only real difference between the "centre-left" programme of the ANC and the "centre-right" programme of de Klerk's Nationalist Party, both of which focus on investor confidence and secondarily, aid to small businesses, is the ANC's penchant for developing public works.

The national unity government promises that South Africa's developed industrial infrastructure and new stable political climate will attract greater foreign investment and generate sustainable growth through developing more manufacturing for exports, including the processing and refining of minerals and other raw materials (now mainly sold directly as precious stones and metals and accounting for 75% of export earnings). Manufacturing, however, because of both the economic crisis and its tendency to become more capital-intensive, has cut back labour by some 15% in recent years, rather than generating new jobs.

As in other cases where IMF and World Bank strategies are applied, the post-election government is increasingly being pressured to consider privatization of some of the remaining huge state corporations centred around utilities, public transport, key natural resources and the all-important area of arms production.

In fact these parastatals, as they are called, have served as a vehicle to help finance, centralize and redistribute subsidies to both "local" and imperialist enterprises through import controls, tax incentives and low-cost inputs (based on the profits and low-cost services made available by apartheid's superexploitation). The state also provided an inter-linking technological base for industry through its direct investment in manufacturing and to some extent, agriculture, which has always been extended extremely favourable credit.

Two of the largest state corporations, ISCOR, the state iron and

steel company and SASOL, the oil from coal company, were privatized in recent years in anticipation of ANC nationalization schemes. Now, ESCOM, the huge electricity utility, has visions of electrifying countries like Zambia and the Congo and attracting foreign investment and high-energy consuming industries on the basis of South Africa's low-cost electricity, to make South Africa an "Electricity Valley", something like California's Silicon Valley.

ARMSCOR, the arms manufacturing part of which has already been privatized (and which has the dubious distinction of having been the biggest arms exporter to the French-backed former Rwandan government), has always defied sanctions to build up a robust weapons industry and a bustling international arms trade, mainly with Oman and Dubai, but also the Far East and South America. ARMSCOR is anticipating replacing the old weapons supplied by the Soviet bloc in the whole southern Africa region. A debate has gripped the ANC-led government about expanding this profitable industry, or cutting defence, which was always seen as a likely source for social spending.

If the ANC has been "persuaded" to become "market-friendly" at the expense of their pledges to the people, the big white multi-national conglomerates, for their part, say they are delighted with the "peaceful transition" and, in recompense for guarding their basically unchallenged dominion are talking of reforms "way past due". The leading giant, Anglo-American Corporation, originally was an outgrowth of one of the most powerful mining finance houses in South Africa, but grew into an empire of interlocking companies, partnerships and interests which have investments in several continents through multiple affiliates and subsidiaries.

This Group, which employs some 300,000 people and alone controls somewhere between 25% and 40% of Johannesburg's stock market capitalization, promises affirmative action and some shareholding for blacks, some senior black management posts and allowing some of their supply services to be subcontracted to black businesses (cleaning their corporate

carpets, for example). They recently made a lot of press noise about letting one of their affiliate's black insurance subsidiaries become black-controlled and 51% black-owned, although this has widely been qualified as a drop in the bucket.

These are the type of dominant international interests in which imperialist capital has mixed with South African capital to squeeze the lifeblood and flesh of the Azanian people for over a hundred years. They have operated in a murderous partnership with the white colonial state which has managed and facilitated the financial and infrastructural terms of this plunder, as well as overall playing the decisive role of Chief Enforcer and Executioner in the systematized brutality and subjugation of the Azanian people.

NEW MATCHBOX HOUSES AND A TIGHTER IMPERIALIST NOOSE

The main plank of the proposed RDP development scheme is that the "new" South Africa should be more closely tied to the "world economy" — the imperialist system. The very pivotal deception that this will make it possible for everyone to benefit more or less equally goes right to the heart of the black petite bourgeoisie's and bourgeoisie's illusions, vacillation and readiness to pursue what looks like quick and easy progress, at least for them. Their battle to end racial exclusion and domination by colonialist and imperialist interests of their nation as a whole becomes channeled narrowly into lobbying for more reforms, for greater access to the "white man's table", and so on.

They have seen repeatedly that the opposite is true — that only the struggle of the people has brought the regime to its knees and they know that removing the colour bar in certain areas will not remove the "right" of the capitalist class to mainly exploit the people of colour for the purpose of profit-making, now glorified as "development". Even so, these more privileged strata among the Azanian people hope that a "pro-people" black government will somehow forge an independent road.

The ANC document, in other words, is trying to address directly the people's hatred and literally centuries of resistance against the social

relations shaped by capitalism and semi-feudalism and protected by minority rule, while providing the political framework for the biggest deceit of all: you don't have to overthrow the system that is the cause of this situation and the class it serves, you just have to *develop* it to fulfill "everyone's" needs, which requires making peace with those who sit on top of that system.

As the RDP makes clear, the new ANC-led government must deliver on some of their promises of opportunities to develop the interests of the black middle classes, or this whole transition to "black" rule will be a transparent joke. As South African mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, long-time former head of Anglo-American Corporation, said: "It's dangerous to be ruled by people without a material stake in the country..."

At the same time, the goal of developing these buffer strata of black bourgeois and petit bourgeois so they are willing to help stabilize the country overall will also collide with the reality that white corporate interests control the means of production and finance. (This is not to say these big companies won't sponsor some black training programmes, and even allow minimal black stockholding in their companies, or promote some individuals to management.)

In the pre-election period the ANC had already gotten into hot water with black business leaders who complained that it was catering far too much to white business concerns, instead of theirs. They protested that they are bloodied and battlescarred from being considered sell-outs by the liberation movements, and from fighting through general restrictions and lack of access to capital from the white business class, but they have survived.

Since the election, some examples have highlighted this dilemma: areas like Soweto, where black people have always had to carry food home after work in Johannesburg because there were hardly any grocery stores in the township, now are suddenly the land of golden opportunity. However, instead of the small black entrepreneurs (who were never allowed access to suppliers to buy in bulk, among other obstacles) getting a chance to "exploit the emerging black market", the country's largest supermarket chain,

Sanlam (a white-owned conglomerate), has beat them out and they are furious.

The bigtime players in financial circles also talk about aiding small businesses to stimulate the economy and of drawing the huge informal sector into the formal sector (the "Kombi" taxis, for example, and parallel services for blacks developed over the years, some into successful businesses). Yet the problem of astronomical unemployment will not be solved by the main remedy being put forward, which is "affirmative action", gradually reducing discrimination, within the dominant formal sector itself, which can only provide a few hundred thousand jobs a year. Presently 20% of GDP is estimated to come from this informal sector, which relieves unemployment pressures on the state considerably.

In a sense, those who scorn the RDP as "pie in the sky" are more truthful than all of the ANC's oblique and militant rhetoric about rectifying injustice and delivering decent living standards for all. Of course drawing South Africa more closely into the imperialist web may well bring about some further capitalist development overall, *but this and any material advancement offered to the black middle strata will be at the expense of intensifying the exploitation of the basic masses.* It is also true that the new government can and probably will trim its top-heavy central budget to make minor improvements in the social infrastructure that is almost totally lacking for the black majority. But the idea that social welfare will be a chief and lasting priority for investment and long-term development goes against the laws of capital accumulation themselves, and this has never been the pattern in imperialist "development" of the Third World, nor its poison-lined imperialist aid packages.

In fact, the opposite is the rule. IMF and World Bank plans, which have worked their way right to the heart of current policy debate in South Africa, have consistently meant increasing misery for the overwhelming majority of the masses in the oppressed nations. In South Africa too, greater social polarization will result from these plans. The urban and rural poor may well become even more impoverished, be

worked harder and forced to compete for the worst jobs. Some masses may get electricity, and some may even benefit from new "low cost" housing like the famous Soweto "matchboxes", but the idea that these black masses will have access to white standards of living or anything remotely close to that is a pipedream. More criminally for the misleaders preaching empty, phony liberation, it is a gigantic lie to the masses of Azanians.

Tightening the imperialist noose and reshaping some areas of the economy to respond to the crisis overall will also by no means automatically clean up the many remnants of feudalism that exist in various spheres of semi-colonial society and are a source of high profitability. Capitalist (and semi-feudal) exploitation in South Africa has always depended on these backward relations, both tending to modernize some aspects of them, such as introducing wage labour and machinery, but also preserving important features such as coercion, servitude, bonded labour, and subsistence survival allowing the reproduction of labourers.

In the countryside there is no minimum wage for agricultural labour, for instance, and much of it is performed by women and children earning pittance revenues. The vast capitalist operations in white commercial agriculture transform but also rely on the very backward and oppressive social relations which smack of feudalism. On some of the white-owned maize farms in the Transvaal, as just one example, it is not uncommon for migrant labourers to be rounded up in trucks for a six-month period called a "work contract" several hundred kilometres from home so they can't easily escape; they are then discharged back in their "homelands" at the end with a few bags of mealie meal as pay.

The whole system of overcrowded "homelands" has always functioned to maintain a large pool of reserve labour (enforced by influx control to prevent families from following migrant workers into urban areas) and to keep people landless so that they cannot escape from low-paid slave-like labour and return to small production. The homelands have been organized to enable people barely to subsist (the white regime's statisti-

cians call it the "African subsistence economy") as an important part of being able to pay workers below the value of their labour throughout the South African economy — in other words the superexploitation of the Azanian masses.¹

Or, take the example of the feudal "master and servant" relationship, which permeates the entire South African white colonial social structure (and not just the elite) from the "house slaves" of the Afrikaner farms, to the domestics of the posh and not-so-posh all-white suburbs. Some estimates count black domestics as 20% of the work force. These are the mostly live-in housecleaners and nannies who are forced to work all year around, live in cell-like rooms on the property of the white owners or in overcrowded hostels, and earn barely enough to send money home to help raise their families they never are allowed to see. While a common revisionist and economist view considers these women as just one type of wage worker whose conditions need to be improved through trade union pressure, this widespread "tradition" actually conceals multiple aspects of semi-feudalism, where wages barely mask master and servant social relations, including a strong superstructural and coercive component: one woman described how she had to eat scraps from the white dinner table, use her own knife, fork, and cup, and couldn't sit on any of the white people's furniture; another was fired for watching Mandela on television and still others were killed after sneaking out to vote in the recent elections. (On the rural farms, some white farmers simply used their feudal authority to take their workers' identity cards away so they *couldn't* vote.)

For the new government to successfully attract foreign investment means nothing but demanding greater productivity through greater exploita-

tion of the workers, who already are paid higher than in many oppressed nations the multinationals operate in, especially in Asia and Latin America. But also it means following the requirements of "developing" what is good for the accumulation of international capital, not what the people of Azania or any other oppressed nation need. This remains a fundamental paradox of the basically nationalist view that a third, independent or pro-people road of development linked to "integrating fully into the world economy" is possible, which Mandela and the ANC ruling circles are spilling so much ink over in order to raise false hopes about reconstruction and development and to get people to support their sell-out to imperialism and the white settler class.

This "humanitarian" or reformist model of development also doesn't take into account that the imperialist system itself is undergoing a major economic crisis on a global level and the important consequences of this on the South Africa economy. While high world gold prices tended to offset this crisis in South Africa until the late 1970s, following on the heels of rapid growth with fantastically high profit rates of the 1960s, especially in manufacturing, since then South Africa's growth has steadily declined. From 1990 to 1993, the growth rate was negative, climbing to 1.5% only in 1994.

The South African capitalist class and foreign investors have never recovered from the period of destabilizing struggle of the masses starting with the Soweto rebellion in 1976. In the mid-1980s another major upsurge sent many foreign investors in search of more stable political conditions. In fact, even South African capital has left to some extent to invest in European companies, primarily in the UK and Germany, South Africa's main trading partners. While many investors stayed to weather the storms, and bypassed international sanctions in various ways, the political climate became a significant enough problem to put into jeopardy the whole future of the colonial state as it had been nurtured and bankrolled by the Western powers.

The other side of the coin of offering up the Azanian masses for more intensive exploitation to the God of Foreign Capital is the continued need

1. Figures published in the *SA Race Relations Survey* indicate that in the Transkei, for example, half of the people surveyed about the source of their cash incomes depended on 80 rand (about \$40 at the time) per month, 90% of which came from revenues from commuters and migrant labour working outside the homeland. 30% survived on less than 50 rand per month.

for extra-economic control, that is, various forms of coercion and repression, which have always been the foundation of apartheid rule and a crucial element of superexploitation. Although a few generals have been retired from the police and army, many of the same commanders who ordered the massacres of the Azanian people, organized the assassinations of black political figures and fomented bloodletting between sections of the masses will take over and reorganize the South Africa Police and South Africa Defence Forces to be even more efficient at suppressing the masses. At present they are backed up by 80,000 reservists — all white.

The RDP goes from deceit and crime to shameful collaboration with apartheid in the field of security, with its claim of creating "peacekeeping" forces that will serve the people. The plan is to build stronger defence forces and to "integrate" some 10,000 former homeland cops, 10,000 troops from the ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and a few hundred from the PAC's APLA into the 65,000 members of the *already existing repressive apparatus of the former apartheid state*. How long until these former liberation movement soldiers will be convinced to shoot down rebellious youth in the townships, as Arafat's police do in the Gaza Strip?

In a similar vein, Mandela appointed his mate de Klerk to handle intelligence by heading up the reorganization of the country's secret services, also predominantly white and infamous for their hit squads and special anti-subversion units that targeted Mandela's own ANC, among others.

All crimes of a political nature committed by *both* blacks and whites before December 1992 are to be pardoned, and those since '92 will be decided by the new government. This announcement was met with prison riots that spread throughout the system demanding a pardon of all black "crimes", since in the land of apartheid a huge number of blacks are imprisoned on civil charges like papers violations or being in the wrong place at the wrong time, which could be considered highly political. Mandela tried to defuse this movement in the prisons by knocking 6 months off the prisoners' sentences, which only provoked more struggle.

A strong defence force is of course

linked to making South Africa a regional and to some extent a continental gendarme, given its overall strategic location for imperialism. There are also plans to build it as the regional economic powerhouse for Africa. Frontline states are tentatively heading into new trade deals with the South African state after years of politically sanctioning it. One of the first consequences will be the ANC's new anti-immigrant policy, in which some 2 million workers from Mozambique, Malawi, Zaïre and other neighbouring countries will be turned away at the borders.

The ensemble of changes proposed for reconstructing and developing South Africa are designed to strengthen and modernize the bondage of the Azanian people. By reorganizing the economic spheres slightly in order to attract more foreign investment these reforms would make the current system more efficient for exploitation by imperialism with the parallel result of making many of the Azanian masses even more destitute. This is accompanied by the need to organize more effective social control, both by allowing some skilled blacks into the halls of state and into the corporate elevators wearing ties instead of cleaning uniforms, and by tightening up a somewhat blacker and more "representative" state repressive machine. In short, the reforms amount to reproducing the same basic social relations with a new twist, a small opening to the black bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie.

The managers of an ailing world order who have thrown their weight behind the ANC face an underlying dilemma: how can they maintain a profitable rate of exploitation in a situation of basically insoluble global crisis *and* keep the political situation stable? Why do they think that their further clamping down and squeezing of the masses is not going to bring greater rebellion? Even new black officers in the state and a small black class with a "material interest" in the way society is governed can only be of short-term and limited help.

The rulers may have bought themselves some much-needed time to try to defuse mass anger, but they have also created new problems. For if illusions are fresh in a place like Azania which has never even been

promised serious reforms before, still the masses of people will doubtless respond eloquently once they experience this equality and justice through an eyedropper by forcefully escalating their struggle once again.

III. WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER, ALL IS ILLUSION

The particular value of elections lies in their ability to portray the political system as one that depends and even thrives on the participation of all of its members, although they are given only the chance to choose between different options and candidates pre-selected for them by the ruling class. In fact, elections have the effect of reducing the mass of people, *classes* of people, to their entities as single individuals, so that each individual is confronted by a "personal" decision, as though he or she is exercising individually the right to influence political events in a small way. In a word, they render the masses politically *passive* while spreading the illusion that by making this voting choice, they share a portion of political power in society and actually have a stake in defending that.

Nothing is farther from the truth. Elections do not reflect the wielding of political power by voters, but rather the posing of the stamp of approval on the rule of the bourgeois class which they have no control over as single individuals; in fact this act amounts to consenting that the political system and status quo is not to be challenged, much less fundamentally changed. Elections are never the way essential, or even important, decisions are made about the running of society and the organization of production. They are but one tool in the toolkit of bourgeois democracy for the bourgeoisie to wield and reinforce its class dictatorship over the proletariat and oppressed classes.

In South Africa, the elections served these same purposes, and in an even more exaggerated way. By reducing the wrenching, deep problems of the black majority to a formal obstacle of being denied the "right to vote", the elections have truly performed a miracle in deception to many. By spreading the idea that people aren't free just because they haven't stood "equally" in a polling

box in one of the most savage colonial situations anywhere is to make a mockery of the profound inequality and murderous grip that this system has on the masses.

Deceiving the people is the point, the special contribution of bourgeois democracy. In the oppressed nations especially, it aims to cover over to the best of its ability (sometimes a difficult act) the raw social relations and class antagonisms in society, with the goal of perpetuating the domination of the ruling apparatus, even a repainted, "multi-racial" one. Bourgeois democracy tries to mask the form that this class dictatorship assumes: by organizing constituent assemblies, elections and rewriting constitutions it aims to divert attention away from the cruel reality that this class stays in power not by a majority vote, but by mainly relying on its armed forces, along with its courts, prisons and so forth.

In South Africa this takes a particular form: because of the white supremacist society, promising "multi-racial" (or "non-racial", as some go so far as to pretend) democracy, makes it appear that racial composition is the most important element of the political superstructure. Thus when all races are allowed to vote this helps to conceal the fact that the most concentrated expression of state power is its armed force, which represents one class or another, and cannot represent the whole people, no matter what race, separate from their belonging to social classes.

In addition to the all-important role cast for the expanded privileged strata amongst Azanians, to cool out the masses and redirect their struggle into even more piecemeal democratic reforms, these forces will also be called upon to develop further ideological grounds for them and to fill in the part of the political superstructure that has been restricted in the past on the basis of racial discrimination, including in the field of sports, culture and the media, education, etc. This is of course an important aspect of keeping the masses from making revolution.

The panacea of "development" the national unity government is promoting through reliance on foreign capital is easier to sell if it has the people's consent at the ballot box. Furthermore the ANC was fully involved

in drawing up and refining these policies, justifying them as what is needed for "multi-racial democracy", as bad as they taste to some of them who were reared on anti-imperialist diets. This rhetoric and the new books on the shelves will add grist to the mill that the imperialists have been running for decades in relation to the Third World.

According to this fable, the lack of development in oppressed nations like Azania is due somehow to a lack of democracy and too many backward, neanderthal-thinking, whip-cracking Boers who just haven't moved into the twentieth century. (However, the imperialists apply the same adjectives to the black puppets in their African neo-colonies, who may enjoy a less privileged position than the European settlers in South Africa, but are fully hooked into the same imperialist dependency relations.)

Imperialism's spokesmen are not prone to admitting their system has strangled and distorted these oppressed nations' economies to serve its own needs and interests, nor to conceding that their "independent" neo-colonial states in most places consist of little more than a loyal reactionary ruling class, a national flag, an army, uniforms, airport and military facilities, all of which it has moulded and financed.

The fact is that the Third World enjoys very little in the way of bourgeois democracy because this does not correspond to the form of political rule needed to carry out imperialist domination of the oppressed nations. These countries are not poor because they are undemocratic, they are undemocratic because they are poor and chained to a whole system of serving imperialism's requirements.

This has been ultra-clear in South Africa: it was the reason that the vicious terror of apartheid was adopted and protected by the Western powers (organized for them by the Nationalist Party). Up until recently it has represented the most efficient form of political rule to plunder precious minerals and other raw materials, to ensure a cheap reservoir of labour for the productive base of the economy they needed to develop to fully utilize South Africa as a profitable site of capitalist accumulation, to build up the infrastructure and a bureaucratic state to manage and fa-

cilitate these arrangements, and to stabilize and subsidize the white minority social basis that anchored apartheid.

The flip side of modernizing their army today is to spread the idea to the Azanian masses (particularly the middle and upper classes who especially want to believe it) that somehow this democracy they see in the West can be extended to them too. Revolutionaries in Azania must turn this bald untruth on its head and broadly expose it. Even in the UK, for example, which is theoretically a free and democratic environment that dispenses with some of the extra-economic controls and where semi-feudalism no longer exists, blacks of Jamaican or Pakistani origin and other oppressed minorities are treated to "first world" racism, high joblessness or the worst, low-paying jobs, poor education and public services, etc. And the oppressed *within* the oppressed nations themselves will always suffer qualitatively more as long as these nations are dominated by imperialism.

Individuals are first and foremost members of social classes and even their "wills" are a product of their social conditions and class position. So no matter how "democratic" their intentions might be, South Africa's new black rulers, too, will have to follow and serve the logic of the class interests and system they have chosen to work within and protect.

The point is not that the new joint South African ruling class cannot grant some aspects of bourgeois democracy to some sections of the people — it can and will, like more unions and legal defence bodies, some types of political organizations, a multi-party electoral system, removal of the color bar for some people previously denied entrance to various spheres, and so on. Voting has long existed in many of imperialism's neocolonies, from Senegal to India to Mexico, without the development of much formal democracy for the masses. The point is that the oppressed nations like Azania, trapped within the confines and dictates of a settler colonial state — now aided by a small black comprador class in formation — sit on *fundamentally different social relations* than the rich countries.

In the rich countries, the *reason* the

states are able to put some distance between open repression and the people is bound up with the plunder and exploitation these countries have carried out worldwide. Bourgeois democracy, then, is a luxury that the imperialist rulers have been able to offer to some sections of the people at home as a means of stabilizing their rule in their headquarters, and they use it as a means of distancing these masses from the plight of the world's people, whose pillage they indirectly benefit from; in addition this has an ideological impact, making them believe this is the natural order of things. This bourgeoisification of sections of the masses in the oppressor countries is, however, very partial and is reserved for people who are not already at the bottom of society. The imperialists are of course exploiting and oppressing these masses every day in their own countries, but this is *relative* in comparison to the looting and misery it brings down on the masses in the oppressed nations.

There is, however, one way in which the rich countries with their bourgeois democracy and the oppressed nations with little or none, are absolutely equal. In *neither* type of country do the oppressed classes and proletariat, along with rebels from other strata, have the right to challenge the bourgeoisie on the fundamental question of political power. For all the pretence of being a great equalizer and enacting the will of the people, bourgeois democracy is most emphatically in every sphere the form of political rule that corresponds to the dictatorship of one class, the bourgeoisie, allied with other reactionary classes where appropriate. Rearranging this political relationship, or entering into a contest over which class will hold this power altogether is not part of these bourgeois democratic rights and never will be.

GOING AFTER REVOLUTIONARIES

Another important reason for bringing democracy onto the agenda in South Africa is the notorious concept of a political *opening*. It should be clear from the past several years of demobilizing the mass struggle and trying to channel the political energy of the masses into a polling

booth that this is a major function of such an opening, which tends to allow political activity in a period preceding elections and following a period where this has been formally outlawed.

A particular aspect of this is to invite the revolutionary elements to show themselves more openly, not so that the political debate is more varied and interesting, but first of all, to capture its leaders within the confines of the movement for democracy. Secondly, it is to isolate politically those who don't go along with this programme and, after identifying them, to smash them and their organizations. This is not paranoia, it is a well-known function of "democratic openings" in the oppressed nations and is based on lots of bitter experience in the history of the international communist movement, which there is no reason to repeat in Azania.

Unfortunately many of the former revolutionary nationalist forces in Azania became swept up in the negotiations trap, just as the ruling circles intended. It seems that the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress especially met this fate, drowning politically in a quest for legitimacy and recognition in the elections race. One PAC leader said in an interview around the time of the elections, "the liberation movement was aware of what was happening to it, but never thought things would go that far". He goes on to say that they thought they could have more influence at the grassroots level, and weren't prepared for the million-dollar public opinion machines that went into operation at election time.

However, the problem here is not equal television time and election funds. The problem is why these revolutionary forces abandoned their stated aim (and basis of attracting the masses) of bringing down the colonial oppressor state and system. The PAC leadership's surrender alone was powerful ammunition to the enemy, as if to show that even some of the more radical of the left opposition movement could be bought off with the mere dangling of some parliamentary seats instead of the whole *African table*, as the revolutionary nationalists used to put it. And it is essential for those who want to pursue this African nationalist path that

promises to re-take the land and end oppression to sum up deeply why this line and programme led into the deadly embrace of negotiations, compromise and sharing the state with the enemy.

However, such moments which bring things to a head also have the advantage of clearing the air and bringing fresh forces towards revolution in the form of dividing one into two. In the face of the PAC leadership's default, several local areas and groups of rebels refused to go along with negotiated settlements and allow the struggle of the people to be sold down the drain and are actively debating the road ahead.

The relatively widespread suctioning of the Azanian liberation movements and organizations into the negotiations process has caused some confusion and demoralization among the ranks of the revolutionary black nationalists and the masses they influence. Other forces stood firm in exposing the negotiations trap and worked to educate the masses that a totally different solution was needed. There is also some serious struggle going on and clarity emerging, since the whole elections crossroads forced people to grapple with major ideological and political questions about how to truly make revolution in Azania. And more of this is exactly what is called for. Now that the familiar semi-legal anti-apartheid movement is no longer the framework for the struggle of those rebels who genuinely want to put an end to this system, there is no better time to sum up the past lines of the liberation movements and make a thorough and radical break with the reformist road.

As Lenin said, a correct Marxist line can't be forged without struggle against incorrect lines. Revolutionaries need this kind of struggle — Maoist two-line struggle — to reach a higher resolution of the political problems holding back the Azanian revolutionary movement. The aim of such struggle is not to destroy or topple individuals who have honestly fought against the system but have wrong lines. Its aim is to destroy wrong lines among the revolutionaries' own ranks and to unite around a correct line that can lead to breakthroughs.

All ideologies are ideologies of

one class or another. In the oppressed nations the national bourgeoisie naturally wants the independence of its nation but will always vacillate between revolution and counter revolution; even when sections of it decide to fight their enemy, they will fight in line with their own class outlook and interests, not those of the proletariat and masses of oppressed. Often a significant section of intellectuals who take up struggle against the system tend to adopt one form of nationalism or another. In South Africa some intellectuals have opposed forces like the ANC's wholesale capitulation to the colonial state and imperialists with a militant "African ideology". The idea that there is an independent "national" ideology created by and particular to Black people corresponds to this bourgeois outlook, and it consciously resists the class stand and ideology of the proletariat even while usually borrowing ideas from Marx, Lenin or Mao.

Although progressive, and often even revolutionary-minded, this nationalist ideology is highly prone to being twisted and coopted by the big bourgeoisie and thus defeated easily by the enemy. The struggle of these forces is just, but it is not all-the-way revolutionary, and therefore its justness is only relative, in that it does not and cannot lead the most deep-seated aspirations of all the oppressed masses for total emancipation.

In Azania revolutionary nationalists have correctly refused to follow the profoundly *unrevolutionary* line and programme of the revisionist South African Communist Party, which has falsely posed as a representative of Marxist-Leninist ideology for a long time in South Africa. But genuine revolutionaries have as their task, as Lenin said, to distinguish real goods from counterfeit ones. And as these impostors step up to the colonial throne, Mao's call to "Seize the time, seize the hour" is right on the mark, to pick up the authentic weapons of MLM to analyze the way forward and compare the strategies and programmes of the different classes in South Africa. As the "Call to Azanians to Link up with the RIM" of several years ago stated (written during the mass upsurge of 1984-85), revolutionaries "must seek to replace the partial truths gained so

far with the revolutionary science, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism".

MLM is the only ideology that can truly liberate Azania because it is the only ideology that can liberate the entire world Azania is a part of. MLM is based on the most revolutionary class in the world, the international proletariat, whose interests are to eliminate oppression and exploitation in all their forms in *every* country along with every manner of thinking that holds back the development of society, whether it is white supremacy, male chauvinism or any other type of backward ideas. It seems Mao has never been proven wrong when he maintained that, "In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead *genuine* revolution to victory". And since the period of national liberation struggles in the oppressed nations, there is no shortage of other class forces, petit bourgeois and national bourgeois, trying shortcuts and failing, however well-intentioned they are at the outset.

Some scholars and others are objecting to the *déjà vu* of April 1994, as they put it, referring to the total betrayal of the Zimbabwean peasant masses who fought a war of national liberation led by revolutionary nationalists but got greater enslavement to imperialism and local vested interests rather than the agrarian revolution they were promised. They should object, but it is infinitely more useful to the revolutionary masses to sum up and repudiate the line that led in that direction. Remaining on the sidelines as left-wing critics of the ANC will not do; those serious about revolution must step forward and be serious about developing a correct line which can win.

In this light, another experiment worth understanding is the failure of Thomas Sankara's reform-minded "democratic revolution" from above in Burkina Faso, in which left-wing officers in the neocolonial army tried to seize power "for the people". Failing to rely on the peasant masses to wage a revolutionary (people's) war and to transform the countryside and society from the bottom up meant that despite some changes, the old state and social system were basically left intact. (See AWTW 10, 1988).

Azanian revolutionaries can and must get to the bottom of this problem and solve it on behalf of and in the interests of the whole internation-

al proletariat they are part of. The fresh air and possibilities to advance in the turning point of the class struggle today can provide the basis to bring forward new and better leaders, if they firmly take up the science of MLM. By deeply summing up lessons of the past and enabling the struggle today to become part of a revolutionary road that is led by a revolutionary party, then the heroism and sacrifice of the past decades of struggle will truly be able to serve the cause of Azanian emancipation.

NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The elections in South Africa, perhaps historic for the bourgeoisie because they temporarily avoided a civil war, at least have the merit for the proletariat and oppressed masses of illustrating clearly once again to those who dare to look that this is *not* how political power is transferred from one class to another. Elections do not represent even *one* step towards liberation, as many of the unenthusiastic but disoriented intermediate political forces are saying. They do mark the passing of some of the objectionable features and laws of apartheid which no one from among the people's friends and allies will mourn, but this should not be confused with the granting of any real political power to the oppressed majority.

Elections represent the changing of the old guard among the ruling class, the reorganization and tightening up of political rule *over* and *against* the masses of people, in correspondence with the times and the requirements of a colonial state and imperialist system in deep crisis.

Political power must be seized by force of arms in the velds, mountains and townships of South Africa, not by the passive act of checking a colour photo on a voting ballot. When Mao Tsetung said that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, he was stating a universal truth in class-divided society: that the oppressors rule through violence and that reversing relations of the classes can only be achieved by force. This is a reality the international bourgeoisie acts on every day to maintain and expand its influence and empire — against the masses in the oppressed nations, against the masses inside the imperialist countries, to keep in line its comprador and puppet leaders

scattered throughout the globe, and in the rivalry and jockeying amongst the imperialist states themselves.

In the course of developing the path of revolutionary war in China, Mao raised the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the theory of war to a qualitatively higher level. By forging and applying the strategy of protracted people's war, he showed how the people of the oppressed and relatively weaker nations can boldly be aroused to rise up to defeat powerful enemies — both imperialism and its reactionary local armed props.

Although conditions vary widely in the oppressed nations and it will be necessary to use MLM to apply people's war in Azania accordingly, it is not possible to win victory — to seize political power — without the principles of people's war. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* emphasizes Mao's teaching that, "people, not weapons, are decisive in waging war", and that "the proletariat must forge military strategy and tactics which can bring into play its particular advantages, by unleashing and relying upon the initiative and enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses".

The overarching and key feature of people's war is that it must be led by the proletariat through its MLM party. Mao captured it like this: "If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist [and we add Maoist — AWTW] revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

In leading the masses in China, Mao developed the strategy and path for making revolution in the oppressed nations, or New Democracy, profoundly changing history. As an alliance of progressive class forces led by the proletariat with common interests against foreign imperialism and the local reactionary classes closely linked to it, New Democracy has nothing in common with rattling a skeleton of bourgeois democracy at the masses in order to prolong the life of outmoded colonial states as the imperialists and *their* allies are doing today.

As applied to the conditions and class configuration in China, Mao explained;

"The new democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, for it resolutely opposes imperialism, i.e. international capitalism. Politically it strives for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and opposes the transformation of Chinese society into a society under bourgeois dictatorship. Economically, it aims at the nationalization of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and the distribution among the peasants of the land held by the landlords, while preserving private [native] capitalist enterprise in general and not eliminating the rich peasant economy. Thus the new democratic revolution clears the way for [native] capitalism on the one hand and creates the prerequisites for socialism on the other. (It is a stage of transition between the abolition of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of a socialist society..." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. 2)

In other words, the goals of the new democratic revolution are twofold: to clear away semi-feudal exploitation and oppression and to sever ties with imperialism. This revolution has both social liberation and national liberation aspects. It is democratic because it is not yet socialist, but is a preparatory stage for entering into socialism and is carried out through a broad united front led by the proletariat, with the worker-peasant alliance at the core. While it destroys semi-feudalism, it opens the door to the development of *native* (in this case, Azanian) capitalism too, although it opens the door even wider to socialism. Because the proletariat and its MLM party leads the new democratic revolution, it will not allow and does not need full development of capitalism which would lead to bourgeois dictatorship and to being trapped again in the imperialist net.

In a country like colonial South Africa, in which capitalism has thoroughly penetrated and dominated the economy, including the commer-

cial agriculture sector, important aspects of semi-feudalism still persist in the countryside in relations between the white landowning class and the oppressed and landless Azanian majority, as well as the transposition of this through the creation of obligatory African "homelands", where only misery-level subsistence production is possible (and for a minority at that).

These aspects of precapitalist forms of exploitation and the social relations and ideas that accompany them — such as white supremacy blended with feudal authority over the lives and deaths of the rural black toiling masses in a myriad of ways in the "white" rural areas, and in the "black" areas, the way the old tribal-based administrative structures so useful to the white regime controlled the masses in the "homelands" and held the "purse strings to state money" as well as the power to allocate plots of land there² — cannot be wiped out without passing through this first, new democratic stage of the revolution, in which the poor and landless peasants and poor rural masses in general of the oppressed nation are allowed to themselves become small private producers through carrying out agrarian revolution.

This is the only way to uproot feudalism, and on the basis of leveling land ownership more advanced forms of production relations such as

2. The colonial regime and tribal authorities worked in tandem to reinforce a feudal-type of command over "homeland" resources and those coming from the state and over the lives of the rural masses through controlling funds, jobs and organizational structures linked to state-run agricultural development projects. They also jointly benefited from semi-feudal exploitation by setting up commercial farming partnerships in which the state would lease land from the tribal bantustan leaders and then share the profits with them. In one area of the Transkei, a women's club linked to the ruling Transkei National Independence Party had full control over allocating land for communal gardens. Yet a different example in the Lebowa bantustan revealed that the crop raised in a maize and bean producers' cooperative went to co-op expenses and equipment that belonged to the chief and government, except for a few bags that each plotholder received.

collectivization can be introduced.

Discussing the material basis for the New Democratic Revolution going over to socialist revolution, the Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla's (PBSP) study (AWTW 7, 1986) of people's war in today's situation explains, "By completely eliminating imperialism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and nationalising all their wealth and capital, a long stride towards socialist transformation of a major part of the country's capital and industry takes place, because in such countries the imperialists and bureaucrat capitalists own the majority."

As Mao pointed out, New Democracy is not a strategy to develop capitalism in the oppressed nations, but a necessary stage to pave the way for further, socialist transformation in the second stage of the revolution.

ONE-STAGE "SHORTCUTS"

It has been common among Azanian liberation groups (again in part thanks to the SACP's revisionist version of two-stage revolution, which could neither lead to national liberation nor socialism) to develop one-stage theories that plan to skip to the "struggle for socialism". This has several variations, from those who announce they are shortening the path to liberation and dispensing with allowing capitalism to develop, which they say is after all the source of the problem, to those who pose as very "left" in appearance and "combine" the national struggle into the class struggle and thus jettison the national liberation phase.

Although for the most part this is not consciously the result of embracing a Trotskyist tendency to eliminate the great differences between the oppressed and oppressor nations, it does lean in that direction because it ignores or downplays the actual class forces and class relations within the oppressed nation, which are, again, very different than those in the developed capitalist countries and can't be understood, much less transformed in a *revolutionary* way, by treating them as though they are the same. Fundamentally, this approach dodges the colonial problem and therefore cannot solve it. Furthermore, it leads to "workerist" views that reduce all social problems

to the narrow domain of the fight between the capitalist boss and the industrial worker and translates into economist and reformist political programmes that aim only to improve these conditions of the sale of labour in the workplace, with lots of rhetoric about national discrimination.

This is linked to a long habit of mainly urban-based petit bourgeois classes, from which the radical intelligentsia in society always emerges, to see only the urban environment and class conflicts, and usually with quite a limited vision at that. In Azania too, as some African scholars and political forces have pointed out, there has been this same tendency to base political programmes for ending colonial domination and for socialism on only a partial analysis of the class forces, neglecting especially those in the rural areas.

This one-stage reduction of revolution to what is called "democratic socialism" based on single-minded preoccupation with the conditions of the urban working class is a deadly scheme for sidestepping the colonial and semi-feudal question and thus robbing the proletariat and its allies of their only chance to unite all who can be united against imperialism and its local props to carry out a revolutionary war and seize political power: in other words, to win.

The disciples of one-stage theories then not only drop national liberation from their agenda, but also the "socialist" revolution itself, because it becomes impossible. It is hardly a surprise that nowhere in the history of the class struggle of the entire planet has such a line, intentionally put forward by Trotskyists (or armed revisionists), ever led to even a serious attempt at revolution. But it has served to derail the mass struggle and sow confusion among honest revolutionary-minded forces.

Practically speaking, this line leads to steering the better-off urban workers in more socialized production straight into narrow trade-union battles. Instead of being able to give far-sighted proletarian (communist) leadership to all the powerful eruptions of struggle of youth and other strata of society against all the abuse of colonial rule and national oppression as it comes down on them everyday, and instead of marshalling these eruptions

as a source of strength for the proletariat's revolutionary strategy to *defeat* imperialism and local reactionary classes, such short-sighted "socialists" wind up in the dust many kilometres behind (and thus completely unable to lead) the mass struggle.

It is a short step from there to abandoning any pretence of overthrowing the state and making revolution, and preferring to settle for being a permanent reformist legal opposition force and — why not — playing around with the terms of this by entering into and pulling out of negotiations, running candidates for elections and generally sinking into bourgeois politics altogether, even if with a noisy and radical leftist twist, which is always the currency in the Third World countries where a revolutionary situation more or less permanently exists, with ebbs and flows.

LAND AS A CENTRAL DEMAND

The cry for land in Azania comes from deep within the heart of the oppressed people, but it is entirely rooted in the material underpinnings of colonial society. Settler colonialist rule harnessed to imperialism is based on the takeover of the land as a whole — the nation of Azania itself — not just the pastures and croplands stolen for white agricultural production. The land question in Azania concentrates a faultline of the whole ensemble of colonial relations between oppressor and oppressed: from the monopolization of the land through force by dispossessing and excluding the Azanian people to prevent them from being individual (and collective) producers in order to corral a huge labour force, to influx controls regulating the movement of labour in and out of restricted "white" areas, to the wholesale pillaging of the land's natural resources. The control of land, in other words, along with the control of the other means of production, is decisive in the enslavement and exploitation of the Azanian nation and the labour of its people.

The particular logic of this form of settler colonization — holding captive an entire subjugated nation — has an important consequence for the class struggle of the proletariat and oppressed masses against their enemies. Namely, that uprooting the

colonial system and solving the national question will not be possible without solving the land question that is completely bound up with it.

The land question is not simply a feature of the democratic struggle against feudalism, but it is closely linked with the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle of the Azanian people. A deeper understanding of this question depends on investigation by Azanian Maoists of the specific forms of semi-feudalism in the countryside and how they interpenetrate with colonial relations.³

The purpose of a proletarian-led agrarian revolution among the landless rural masses with the worker-peasant alliance as its cornerstone is exactly to smash the old ownership system, to uproot both the colonial and semi-feudal backward superstructure and base and to carry out the policy of "land to the tiller". Land is distributed by the individual and not by the family, itself handing a powerful blow to old patriarchal property relations. This will be an important factor in Azania, where the system of migrant labour has frequently broken up marriages and left women landless, as heads of family.

The key question is *how* is the land obtained. The bourgeoisie in every country carries out land reform and distributes some land — from above, and on their own terms. But agrarian revolution can only be carried out in a *revolutionary* way and land cannot be granted as partial or charitable reforms. The proletariat arouses the peasants and oppressed masses to rise up from *below* through protracted people's war to *seize* the land as part of taking political power and protecting it.

Overwhelmingly the situation in South Africa today is characterized

by one in which black labour is coerced, within the overall colonial and semi-feudal framework of society even while production relations are heavily capitalist. The very social organization of colonization, which incorporates precapitalist modes and forms of oppression forces black labour to compete to be *superexploited*. These conditions constantly give rise to the sentiment for land amongst the oppressed masses in general. This will objectively continue to occur even though this situation — in which imperialism and settler capitalism have brought about an advanced degree of landlessness, enforced the prevention of peasant production, and provoked the forced urbanization and struggle for survival that has resulted in South Africa, like much of the Third World — has the misleading appearance of creating one huge mass of urban dwellers, detached and cut off from the land and small-scale private ownership and production. In fact the situation is one in which a large proletariat and even larger semi-proletariat are both objectively and subjectively attached to the land.

The fact that liberating land and labour is the most basic economic means of empowering a subjugated nation to break the hold of foreign capital on the lifelines of the economy objectively pushes the land question constantly to the fore. This is connected to the necessity and ability of the new democratic society to break away from imperialism by building a solid new independent national economy based on the destruction of the old social relations. Although a sizeable minority of South Africa's population — the reactionary exploiting class and its social base, in the main — are well-fed and healthy, the Azanian majority is not, and the proletarian-led revolutionary state must make feeding them and solving basic health and water problems, for example, its immediate priorities. In fact, as the Communist Party of Peru has recently demonstrated (and the Communist Party of China under Mao's leadership before them), it is necessary and possible to lead the revolutionary masses to carry out this aspect of the agrarian revolution in the liberated areas before the nationwide seizure of power is achieved.

The Maoist manual on socialist po-

litical economy (commonly referred to as the *Shanghai Textbook*⁴) drives home the point that agricultural production is a "precondition for the survival of human beings" and for "the independent existence and further development of the other branches of the national economy".

Instead of mainly producing for export as Mandela & ANC Ltd. propose today, a self-reliant national economy would initially reorient industry to produce for the basic needs of the masses and to serve a more diversified and planned agriculture to feed both the rural poor and huge poor urban or semi-urban townships.

For example, just who in Azania needs diamonds and gold? Or, put more controversially, when the God of Foreign Exchange is slain, why would the oppressed classes and proletariat want to mine any more gold than is necessary for basic dental health? In other words, the revolution will have to go much further than just nationalising some industries which are parasitical or useless to the labouring masses, either by shutting them down or completely reorienting them in the service of a *proletarian-led* national economy.

The key to carrying out a new democratic revolution is the independent role of the proletariat and its ability, through its Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party, to lead. The Maoist Party, as the 1984 *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* states, "must arm the proletariat and the revolutionary masses not only with an understanding of the immediate task of carrying through the new democratic revolution and the role and conflicting interests of different class forces, friend and foe alike, but also of the need to prepare the transition to the socialist revolution and of the ultimate goal of worldwide communism."

To develop a revolutionary line and programme will require the thoroughgoing and scientific application of the revolutionary principles of MLM to

3. Although some scholarly and other research has been done on these questions, Azanian Maoists must combine this with their own systematic and thorough investigation but especially their own Maoist *synthesis* in order to come up with a full analysis of the social relations, land ownership system and the class differentiation in the countryside, for these are crucial elements in arriving at the basis for an embryonic line and programme for the NDR in Azania and for answering Mao's decisive question, "Who (which classes) are our friends, and who are our enemies?"

4. Produced under the leadership of the CPC in 1975, it has recently been reedited in a new English-language version called *Maoist Economics and the Revolutionary Road to Communism* by Banner Press in New York.

the ensemble of particular conditions of Azania today, including its class composition, the form imperialist domination takes and South Africa's geopolitical position. Many questions must be delved into deeply — not academically — but with the urgency of rallying the best and most serious revolutionary forces around a basic line and programme with a view to forming an MLM party that can begin to lead the process of new democratic revolution, and make preparations to launch protracted people's war.⁵

Even within the country itself there are great differences and particularities between regions and between town and countryside, for example, which the Azanian Maoists must come to understand well. The complexity of the countryside especially must not be shied away from, but rather approached by the Maoist method of taking one-third first, carrying out investigation and answering decisive questions, which will enable revolutionaries to make initial conclusions, and then later go back to refine and deepen their first basic analysis.

This is not separate from preparing for new democratic revolution and people's war. As the *Declaration* insists, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party must be built in conjunction with carrying out revolutionary work among the masses, implementing a revolutionary mass line and addressing and resolving the pressing political questions which will help the revolutionary movement to advance, as well as carrying out continuing active ideological struggle to strengthen its ranks against bourgeois and petit bourgeois influences. But neither is this a race to build a mass party: a party based on MLM organizational principles will necessarily be relatively small at first. It must also take organizational steps to build itself in such a way that the enemy cannot uproot it. That is to say, the MLM

party in Azania, where repression is openly and covertly a full-time pre-occupation of the crisis-ridden reactionary state, must be organized carefully, secretly and very seriously with the goal of not just starting, but *developing* and *winning* a protracted people's war and carrying through revolution to the end.

If the mass revolutionary struggle has temporarily ebbed due in no small part to the intoxicating effect of the elections, the new state is scrambling to prove it was worth electing, for they know well this period of waiting and watching will not last long. The South African rulers have a big problem — what they are proposing to give up or develop will not deeply change the Azanian masses' lives and it will take time even to build up the new black buffer class to tell them to keep the faith. As one reader wrote *AWTW*, "there is lots of dissatisfaction and heavy criticisms are laid on the ANC. The youth are very active and fast to realize the capitulation of the new government". They also pointed out that things are not always as they seem. Whilst "the regime used the uncritical masses to overthrow the reactionary bantustan leaders in order to rally support for the elections, the masses in Bophuthatswana saw no problem when repossessing what they believed to be historically theirs. That was their understanding of freedom."

The masses will inevitably be thrown back into struggle against the renovated state presiding over the same murderous system. They have plenty of experience from which to understand that in reality the bourgeois state is the exact opposite of what Mandela claimed — a servant of the people — and that instead it is basically "a machine for keeping down the oppressed, exploited class", as Engels aptly defined it. The sooner they can do away with it, the better. But the bigger question is, will the revolutionaries be preparing this time to lead them to do it? □

5. Since *AWTW* is keenly interested in this debate, especially but not limited to the land and agrarian problems, we invite readers to send in both their comments on this article and on these questions in general as well as their ideas, other important papers, research materials or study that has been done which can contribute to accelerating this process.

We would like to thank the many subscribers who answered *AWTW's* call and contributed to the article by sending in correspondence and background material of all kinds.

Peasant Uprising in Chiapas

Continued from page 34

where. These economic changes have been the basis for an advance in the participation and rebellion of women in political life, among other changes.

Commander Ramona comments, in Tzotzil translated by a friend, "Women are also living in a difficult situation, because women are even more exploited and oppressed. Why? Because for so many years, for 500 years, the women haven't had the right to speak, to participate in an assembly. They don't have the right to an education nor to speak in public nor to have any position in their village. No. The women are completely oppressed and exploited. We get up at three in the morning to prepare the corn and from then on we don't have any rest until everybody else has gone to sleep. And if there isn't enough food, we give our tortilla to the children, to the husband." Another woman combatant says that in the EZLN men and women take equal part in the fighting, "we're mixed together and we don't have problems with the men. They treat us as friends and there's equal respect for everybody and we share all the work." She got married in the mountains. She doesn't have children in order to be in the struggle and she uses contraceptives. Couples get together without any ceremony at all and they only have to report it to the leadership "so that everybody knows." "I began because of my consciousness, in order to fight for the poor, because it isn't right that the children keep dying. I participated in the battles of Ocosingo and when the enemy came I felt a lot of anger, a desire to kill, to scream with rage and give it to them so that they would be humiliated like they have humiliated us for so long."

THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

The fourth lesson is that a revolutionary situation with uneven development exists all over Mexico. The Chiapas rebellion isn't the product of "regional backwardness", as the ruling classes' media try to convince us is the case. Rather, it is a particularly sharp expression of the revolutionary situation that *already existed in Mexico before January*

1st. The great care with which the government has dealt with the situation in Chiapas is due to their understanding of the possibility of the rebellion spreading to other places. In fact, the Chiapas rebellion has contributed a great deal to the intensification of the revolutionary situation on a national level (although it has still not reached the point of a revolutionary crisis in which the objective conditions would exist to be able to take power in the country as a whole.)

In spite of the ceasefire, the mass movements in Chiapas and throughout the country have continued to develop, with various land seizures, incidents in which the masses have beaten up landlords and *caciques*, an increase in the number of marches and demonstrations in many places as well as in the number of participants, street fights with the cops on various occasions in the national capital and greater awakening, struggle and debate among the masses in general. There are also persistent rumours of efforts to organize armed groups in other states.

The basis for the revolutionary situation is the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system, the crisis of the system of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism in Mexico. Imperialist modernization is part of the cause, and in no sense the solution, to this crisis. The rebellion in Chiapas began the same day that the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, and this was not just a coincidence. As has already been mentioned, the great influx of imperialist capital into Mexico in recent years, in spite of achieving some limited economic growth after a decade of stagnation, has only increased polarization between a small strata of the well-to-do and the great mass of poor people. Competition with this imperialist capital and their Mexican big bourgeois associates is driving millions of peasants as well as broad sectors of the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie into ruin.

In addition to this economic and social crisis, there is a crisis in the form of the State: the corporatist system is falling apart. In this system the PRI uses electoral fraud to monopolize the principal government posts and controls the masses with crumbs distributed through PRI orga-

nizations of workers, peasants, and other sectors. It has served the imperialists, big capitalists and landlords well for more than 60 years, but it is now in crisis. A large part of the masses doesn't believe in the "PRI-government" anymore, and a certain spirit of rejecting bribes has arisen. As one Zapatista peasant says: "we're not picking up our guns now to ask for a piece of candy like before, or that they give us money or a hat to cover our eyes... We're not asking the government for a piece of candy or a piece of bread or a T-shirt, like it has always been in the past."

There are sharp splits in the ruling classes, especially over what to do in the face of this crisis of their corporatist regime. One section continues to insist on keeping the PRI in power, with a bit of "democratic" cosmetics. Another section of the big bourgeoisie advocates electoral democracy and the parties taking turns in power, since they are convinced that the present corporatist governmental system doesn't work well anymore to control the masses. Then too, quite a few members of the ruling classes have been cut out of the action by government policies that have benefitted a very narrow circle in recent years.

These internal disputes among the ruling classes reached the point of assassination of the PRI presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, in March. There is quite a bit of evidence, including videotapes, that indicate that various individuals participated in the assassination and that it was very possibly perpetrated by people from the PRI itself. However, there has been a coverup orchestrated from the highest levels of the government. Several jokes are going the rounds on the street that finger Salifás de Gortari as the mastermind of the assassination. Whatever the case, this assassination is an expression of very sharp struggle in the ranks of the ruling classes.

More recently, the PRI and Yankee imperialism have made a lot of noise about the supposed "triumph of democracy" in the August elections, in which the PRI presidential candidate, Ernesto Zedillo, was declared the winner. In reality, in spite of the broad use of pressure and bribes to get the people to vote for the PRI, according to the crooked official figures Zedillo only received

votes from about a third of the voting age population. Another third voted for the bourgeois opposition parties, mainly the PAN and the PRD, and the remaining third didn't participate in the reactionary system's elections. The elections haven't solved anything. The fights among the ruling classes continue: for example, the Secretary General of the PRI, Jose Ruiz Massieu, was assassinated in September, apparently by other members of the PRI. On the other hand, there are new land seizures, conflicts and declarations of autonomy in different parts of Chiapas and the peoples' protests are increasing all over the country.

POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN

The fifth lesson is that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. The peasants of Chiapas weren't able to achieve anything through nonviolent struggle. As they themselves explain: "the basis of our struggle is the situation that has arisen among our people who have struggled nonviolently for a response from the government. This is how many villages have struggled, for land, for housing, for everything that each village needs. But instead of solving our problems the response from the government has been repression, beatings, assassinations, evictions, the jailing of our leaders. So we decided that there was no other way except to get organized and rise up in armed struggles as we have done."

Why is this? Because the Mexican State is a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlords at the service of imperialism. The army's armed repression of the rebellion also demonstrates this.

The political power of the imperialists, big capitalists and landlords arises and is maintained by the guns of their reactionary armed forces (and police). That's why nothing can be done without going up against their guns. The Zapatista Army also has guns and for that reason it has some political power. In fact, a situation of dual power presently exists. Although they are surrounded by the federal army, the Zapatistas maintain control of part of several counties in the mountainous region of Los Altos

and the Lacandon Jungle. The political power of the reactionary Mexican government does not reach into this territory, because their army and police aren't there. In the Indian villages of the zone the Clandestine Indian Revolutionary Committees provide a certain form of political leadership. Some of the most important questions are decided in assemblies of all the people in each village. For example, this is how the decision was taken to rise up in arms, as well as the decision to reject the government's proposal in the negotiations. It is possible for the masses to have this kind of democratic participation *because the masses are armed, because the reactionary armed forces don't come in and because the representatives of the reactionary classes have fled from the area.* The lesson is that you can only have democracy for the people if you get rid of the reactionary classes and defeat the armed forces that serve them.

THE CARROT AND THE STICK

The imperialists, big capitalists and landlords have two tactics they use to deal with the peasant rebellion and the growing popular protest in the country: the carrot and the stick. Smash them or subordinate them to their system: "go through the institutions", as the government says.

In the midst of the ceasefire and the negotiations, the enemy continues using the stick, and getting ready to use it more. The reactionary army has reinforced its encirclement of the EZLN and has increased the number of troops in the zone, at the same time it has carried out "combing" operations and repression against peasants in the mountainous areas of other states, supposedly to "combat the drug traffic", but really to try to keep guerrillas from getting started in other places. The government has already acquired armoured anti-riot vehicles and Blackhawk helicopters (for troop transport) from the yankee imperialists and are in the process of getting Super Cobra helicopters for jungle warfare (supposedly without their armament). U.S. troops are on manoeuvres in Guatemala, on the other side of the border with Chiapas. The political police have intensified their

surveillance of many leftist groups and the government has deported various foreigners for political reasons. There continues to be repression of the masses in Chiapas as well. One of the most notorious cases was the rape of three Tzeltal women by 30 soldiers in the reactionary army at a roadblock in Altamirano. The women were also tortured and threatened to make them confess to their supposed participation in the EZLN. There continues to be a real danger that the reactionary government will unleash more generalized repression against the EZLN and the people's movement in general.

As for carrots, the government has offered money and reforms without accomplishing their goal of "pacification". The biggest carrot and main trap that the enemy is preparing for the people is the promise of electoral democracy. There is a certain basis to confuse people with electoral democracy, since it hasn't existed here. What has existed for more than 60 years is a sophisticated system of electoral fraud in which the PRI always wins. Nevertheless, the basic masses have a healthy suspicion of electoral democracy. People say that "The people don't vote much and they have to belong to the PRI. We don't vote because all the candidates are the same. My brothers and sisters voted for the PRI and nothing happened, for the PAN and nothing happened, for the PRD and still nothing. It doesn't accomplish anything. You can't trust any of them. My brothers and sisters don't trust any of them anymore". A Zapatista peasant: "The politicians and the candidates know that it's easy to use the Indians as a ladder so that they can climb up and get in power, and once they're in power, once they're in their cabinet, well they just forget you. When we go to ask for some solution to a problem, the only response they have given us is repression, torture, disappearances, and the murder of our leaders. That's the solution we've gotten and that's why we're not going to forget. We're not going to forget anything. We have to continue with our struggle until things change."

The political representative of the big bourgeoisie that makes the most use of electoral democracy is Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the presiden-

tial candidate of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática—PRD), one of the three main electoral parties (together with the PRI and the PAN, the National Action Party—Partido de Acción Nacional).

Cárdenas makes use of progressive, nationalist and democratic rhetoric and has been able to confuse a certain section of honest people, although the *Program of the PRD* clearly promises to "Promote foreign investment and its contribution to technological development," "Develop productive forms of association between peasants and businessmen," and promote a supposed trade union "struggle" for the "competitiveness" and "productivity" of capitalist enterprises, among other points that demonstrate the true class character of these political representatives of the proimperialist big bourgeoisie. The day after the rebellion in Chiapas, Cárdenas clearly spelled out that "You can't solve the people's problems by taking up arms." Shortly thereafter he advocated a government ceasefire, which is the policy the government did adopt. He also explained his reasons: "there are forces inside and outside the government that would like to see our Army weakened, when what we need is to strengthen our armed forces, not only in their military capabilities but also in terms of their moral authority." Cárdenas wants to strengthen the reactionary armed forces and the system they defend.

And that's why not only Cárdenas but also U.S. imperialism wants to see a transition to electoral democracy: in order to strengthen their oppressive system and lead the people's struggles into the dead end path of elections and "going through the institutions."

In this context the leadership of the EZLN called a Democratic National Convention and indicated that "those who do not agree with trying out the electoral road are not invited". This Convention called on the people to vote against the PRI and the PAN. After the elections, the EZLN has supported mobilizations that demand that the PRD candidate be declared the winner of the Chiapas gubernatorial elections.

Experience all over the world demonstrates that, under this system, electoral democracy never changes

anything for the people. Since the imperialists, big capitalists and landlords own most of the economy and the media, the State and its armed forces exist to serve their interests and all of the main electoral parties also represent their interests, elections under this system, however clean they may be, are never more than a matter of *choosing every few years which representatives of the ruling class are going to oppress and repress the people in the government*, as Marx and Lenin pointed out.

For 65 years the "official party" has been the main representative of the reactionary classes, but the problem isn't only the "PRI-government," as some people think. The problem is the entire system of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism which exploits, oppresses and suppresses the people. The solution isn't electoral democracy, with different bourgeois parties taking turns heading up the reactionary State. The solution is the New Democratic Revolution that *destroys* the old State and establishes a new people's State, that confiscates the landlord's land and divides it up among the peasants, that confiscates the property of the imperialists, big capitalists and landlords and clears the way for the socialist revolution. The problem, in short, is the system, and changing parties under this system won't accomplish anything; the solution is to get rid of this system of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism and build a new one.

The rebellion in Chiapas is an expression of a profound crisis of the semicolonial, semifeudal system in Mexico which has no peaceful solution, nor is it going to be resolved in the near future. The immediate perspective is for more rebellion and "ungovernability", as the government says, as well as the threat of more repression against the people.

Great struggles are coming. In order for the people to be victorious, it is necessary to clearly and resolutely condemn the three main parties of the big capitalists and landlords and their "electoral democracy" trap. It is also very necessary to learn from the just and heroic uprising of the Indian peasants of Chiapas, who, by their example, have opened a new stage in the revolutionary struggle in Mexico. □

Agrarian Revolution

Continued from page 43

have access to land through their relatives, share tenancy, etc., or they may take part in activities linked with the peasant economy, as artisans or small traders.³² The minority of *jornaleros* who are not able to complement their wage — the so-called *golondrinas* (swallows) — live a very precarious existence, in that they find it almost impossible to have a family and children, that is, to reproduce their labour power.

Thus there is an essentially semifeudal root to both the system of peonage as well as the direct exploitation of the peasant economy. We have said that "pure" capitalism and capitalist wage labour consist in the complete separation of the direct producers, the workers, from the land or any other means by which they could produce their subsistence. Consequently, all their compensation is paid in the form of a money wage. In general, this is not yet the case of the agricultural day labourers.

In contrast, feudalism is distinguished by the link between the direct producers, the peasants, with the land, with which they directly produce most of what is needed for their subsistence, turning over the surplus to the landlord, either in the form of labour ("personal prestation", "payment through work"), products (sharecropping) or money rent. Or, as Lenin said, feudalism consists in that "the land was divided between the big territorial landholders, the feudal landlords, and that these assigned land to the peasants to exploit them; therefore the land has been something like a wage in kind; it provided the peasant with the necessities to produce surplus product for the landlord; land constituted the basis that made it possible for the peasants to deliver tributes to the landlord".³³

For this reason Lenin considered, for example, the parcels of land the German landlords provided their salaried workers as "a direct survival" of feudalism under capitalism, because "as an economic system, serfdom differs from capitalism precisely in that the former provides land to the labourer while the latter *separates* the labourer from the land; the former gives the labourer the means of subsistence *in kind* (or

oblige him to produce this on his parcel of land, whereas the latter pays the worker in money with which he buys the means of subsistence".³⁴

Moreover, the system of exploitation in the Mexican countryside still assigns land (marginal lands in general) to the peasants as an essential condition of their exploitation, either directly or through peonage, and this fact constitutes the marrow of semifeudalism in the countryside. In its main form the State assigns them land, as a landlord in fact, through the "ejido" system and in the interests of the exploiting class as a whole. The survival of the latifundio system under the regime of bureaucrat capitalism, which we have already outlined, is accompanied by serfdom: unpaid labour; "tied", not free, forms of labour; the personal dependence which sharecropping, usury, etc., entail; the boss system, lack of freedom in general — in short, extra-economic coercion.

There are those who appreciate the enormous importance of the dialectic between big agriculture and peasant economy but maintain that this relation is completely capitalist because, in contrast to the *hacienda* which contained the peasant's subsistence parcel, that parcel is now outside, formally independent of the large production entities.³⁵ This point of view confounds the particular form with the essential content of the relation. The system of allotment (*repartimiento*) sent Indian peasants who lived and reproduced in formally independent villages and lands to do forced labour, and this did not cause it to cease to be a feudal labour system. And the *hacienda* itself did not absorb the great majority of the peasant parcels until the Porfiriato [dictatorial regime established in Mexico by General Porfirio Diaz between 1876 and 1911 — AWTW].

The system of exploitation of the feudal *hacienda* is based upon the dialectic between the subsistence parcels inside or outside the *hacienda* and the surplus work, the surplus product obtained by the landholder through peonage and sharecropping on the lands of the *hacienda*. After more than a century of transformation via the landlord road, the dialectic between large holdings and small peasant plots is still the essential basis of the system of exploitation.

To this essentially feudal foundation can be added various openly semifeudal forms which are reinforced by this dialectic. Like a string, on one end there appears the apparently capitalist advanced large-scale agriculture and on the other a backward peasant agriculture still wrapped in multiple forms of semi-feudal oppression. Between them there exist various intermediate cases: big property that still maintains openly semi-feudal features, peasant economy in more prosperous areas which suffers more "modern" and capitalist forms of exploitation.

They are not disconnected fragments or distinct economies. They are two poles of a single system, of a necessary relationship. From the peasant areas flow not only the labourers who work for less than a pittance in the capitalist agriculture but also surplus value sucked out of the peasant economy through usury, sharecropping, etc. — an intermediary mechanism that ultimately increases the profitability of big capital. Thus the dialectic of exploitation is repeated: between big and peasant agriculture, between irrigation and dry land, between plain and mountain, between North and South — the dialectic of a bureaucrat capitalism which still cannot do without semi-feudalism.

XV. THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMME

The immediate alternative that stands out sharply in the class struggle in the countryside is the peasant road. The main form of the spontaneous struggle — the struggle for land — that moreover arises from the most revolutionary strata in the countryside — the poor peasants — aims at the destruction of large agricultural holdings and the generalization of the peasant economy. All of the other important forms of spontaneous struggle — the struggle against the political bosses (*caciquismo*), against repression, against the imposition of corporativism, for higher prices and better working conditions, for independent unions, etc. — have an essentially democratic character. The character of the struggle is not directly socialist but rather democratic, a democratic struggle which attacks imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi-feudalism.

In the name of this struggle various reforms have been proposed which supposedly favour the peasantry. Reforms alone will not lead to liberation, even when they are instituted by the revolutionary bourgeoisie. This is the lesson of three bourgeois revolutions (Independence, the Reform and the Revolution) and more than 70 years of agrarian reforms. Today among the "socialists" (the great majority of whom are not socialists at all but bourgeois forces, in terms of their ideology and programme), two favourite proposals are the promotion of collective *ejidos* and the amendment of the Agrarian Reform law to limit so-called "small land holdings" to 20 hectares (50 acres) of irrigated land or its equivalent in non-irrigated land.

It was correct to denounce the failed efforts at collectivization under Echeverria as an attempt to set up, on peasant lands, capitalist enterprises completely subordinate to and directed by the reactionary state.³⁶ The myth of the Cardenist collective *ejidos* has endured longer, in part because the government decided afterwards to dismantle the majority of them, not because they represented a "socialist alternative" or some such trash, but because they were often bastions of political forces which it sought to undermine (the Mexican Communist Party, the PPS). Nevertheless, in the few collective *ejidos* that have survived and been successful, we can see the typical results of this reformism: the members, the *ejidatarios*, no longer work their land but instead leave all the labour to wage workers and live off the profits.³⁷ Under capitalism, without a genuine revolution, in the best of cases such "collectivization" will be no more than that: relative privilege for a handful of "partners" in a capitalist enterprise while the large majority continue to live in misery.

Even more insidious is the proposal to amend the Agrarian Reform law to limit agrarian property to 20 hectares of irrigated land, because in appearance it incorporates the peasants' demand for land, but it does so in a form which will only assure continued oppression. Over the last 70 years it has not even occurred to these gentlemen, these respectable "socialists", that the Agrarian Reform law is a reactionary instrument of the

bureaucrat bourgeoisie. What an ultra-leftist idea! It would be better to reform the Reform so that the worshippers of bourgeois legalism can fall for it another 70 years.... Lenin was fully justified in saying that the opportunists are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself.

Why is it that 70 years after the Agrarian Reform the peasants are worse off than ever? Why is it that many of the political bosses of later years in the beginning were "leaders" of that reform who emerged from the Agrarian Reform struggle of the 1930s? Why did that reform establish the basis for the complete subjugation of the peasantry to the bureaucrat bourgeoisie? It was not because the limit of the "small" holdings was 100 hectares instead of 20. It was because the law and the Constitution guaranteed — and continue to guarantee — that the turning over of the land would depend upon the decision of the bourgeois state, in a completely conscious effort by the bourgeoisie to subdue and control the *revolutionary* struggle of the peasants which the authors of the 1917 Constitution *drowned in blood* at the same time as they were writing their precious document. That type of agrarian reform that depends upon the "good will" of the bourgeois state, even if it had a formal limit of 20 acres (or 10 or 5), will always be gotten around in part; but even more important, even if it were applied to the letter of the law, *the turning over of the land will always come at the price of the subordination and domination of the peasants by the reactionary state.* And therefore the domination of big capital and imperialism will remain intact.

The only road to liberation is revolution, and a revolution, as Engels had occasion to remind the reformist socialist of his day, is an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. The road to liberation is People's War which smashes the bourgeois state instead of trying to reform it. That is the first requirement. That revolution must be a New Democratic revolution led by the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party to overthrow imperialism, big capitalism and semi-feudalism, establish the people's democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary classes and launch

the socialist revolution. This is the second requirement. (Is it necessary to add that the new revolutionary state will not base itself on the bourgeois Constitution of 1917?) Outside the general framework of these two requirements, the true liberation of the oppressed, whether in the countryside or the cities, is an impossible illusion.

In this context, the agrarian revolution must be carried out in two phases. The peasants themselves, arms in hand, will seize without compensation the lands of the big capitalists and the big landlords (in accordance with the concrete conditions it could be correct to offer some form of compensation to intermediate forces) and redistribute all of the land. Of course this process must be guided by general criteria formulated by the party and the new revolutionary state, but it must be the work of the revolutionary peasants themselves, since simply handing over the land as a "gift" from the state, even if that state is thoroughly revolutionary, cannot unleash the conscious revolutionary initiative of the masses, which is the only thing that can guarantee the victory of the socialist cause. In this redistribution, the historic rights of Indian groups to the land must be respected as part of the overall struggle to eliminate the oppression of these national minorities.

Imperialist capital and its enterprises as well as those of the comprador bourgeoisie must be confiscated. Their enterprises that provide inputs to the agricultural sector or that market and process its products must become the property of the nation. A struggle will have to be waged to transform the character of former private and state-owned enterprises so that they may serve the agrarian revolution and the peasants, the socialist transformation of the country, and the world proletarian revolution. In terms of enterprises that are specifically agricultural, in general the machinery and some other means of production should not simply be turned over to the peasants who happen to receive the land where these are located, since this would reproduce the current irrational and unequal concentration. Mechanisms must be established for their equal distribution and their collective use.

The first phase of the agrarian revolution will do away completely with semi-feudalism and will smash imperialism and bureaucrat-comprador capital. It will create an opening for a nascent socialist economic sector and a new free peasant economy and will represent a great step forward. However, in the end, the "free" (spontaneous) development of the peasant economy according to the laws of the market is a form of capitalist development which leads to polarization of the peasantry into a minority of capitalists and a great majority of exploited. Only socialism can liberate the peasants. Collectivization, a useless reform under capitalism, in the context of the political power of the proletariat and the other revolutionary classes and the initiation of the socialist revolution throughout society, becomes the road to socialism in the countryside.

Why — if bureaucrat capitalism in many cases has already socialised to a significant degree the process of agricultural production — do we call for dividing up the land only to later call for socializing production through collectivization? Why not convert the large agricultural holdings directly into state or collective property? There are some means of production like high-tech cow milk production that should be made use of, and in which some form of social property will be necessary from the beginning; and as already stated, agricultural machinery in general will have to be employed in some form that allows for a more equitable distribution and collective use. However, the division of the land among the peasants is in a general sense a necessary step for three reasons:

First, it corresponds to the most thorough elimination of semi-feudal relations and the subordination of the peasant economy, and will lead (along with more equal distribution of machinery, credit and other inputs) to minimizing today's large disequilibria, distortions and inequalities in agriculture. In contrast, the direct conversion of the large agricultural enterprises into state property or collective enterprises, which would inevitably involve only a minority of peasants, would leave intact the concentrations of the means of production in a limited sector and maintain the backwardness of the overall peas-

ant economy.

Second, true revolutionary transformation requires the most profound rupture with imperialism: self-sufficiency, abolition of technological dependency on the supply of machinery and other inputs, the reorientation of production for the imperialist markets toward production for the needs of the masses, etc. All of this (and the revolutionary war itself) implies certain disruptions in highly technological forms of production. The peasants, in contrast, have a great wealth of experience in production with limited technology. On the other hand, the peasant economy adapts naturally to the production of basic foodstuffs, and agriculture will have to be reoriented urgently toward that sort of production. In contrast, the policy of directly converting the large holdings into state property in situations in which agriculture is still not capitalist has been part of the programme which leaves intact essential elements of the dependency on imperialism (of both blocs) for technology, machinery, credits, and markets. This has been the experience of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions which did not overcome the structure of agricultural/export dependency.

Finally, the most important reason is political: the main struggle of the oppressed in the countryside today is the struggle for land, and that struggle must be respected. The redistribution of the land by the revolutionary peasants will strengthen the worker-peasant alliance under proletarian leadership as the core of the new state power and will create the firmest possible basis for collectivization to be truly voluntary and a conscious act of the peasants themselves. The successful struggle in China, which culminated with the formation of the communes, showed that when collectivization is the product of the conscious revolutionary struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the communist party, the process gives a great boost to the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses in the socialist revolution. In contrast, the errors committed in the first historic experience of collectivization in the Soviet Union illustrate that even when collectivization is carried forward by a genuinely socialist government (as was the Soviet government at that time), if it cannot count on the full

support and participation of the poor and lower middle peasants in the struggle against very real enemies who wish to consolidate capitalist relations, it can undermine the initiative of the masses and end up weakening the very base of the socialist government itself.

Thus we must make sure that the peasants' struggle for land reaches its ultimate revolutionary objective and that the peasants demonstrate, with their own experience, that only socialism, only the road of collectivization, can liberate them. In the course of the struggle we must support every spark of cooperation, and it is possible that in some cases, upon redistributing the land, the peasants will choose to immediately organize collective forms of production. At all times the impulse toward such transformations must come from the communist party's political leadership of the conscious revolutionary struggle of the peasants, and not from bureaucratic methods.

In reality, the line of going "directly to socialism" in the countryside, which is pushed by the various revisionist forces who are in the habit of negating the existence of semi-feudal relations, is simply a line which would speed up the development of bureaucrat capitalism. It is possible to overcome semi-feudal relations either by the peasant road or the landlord road. In negating the continued existence of semi-feudal relations, they are rejecting the revolutionary road — the road of the peasants — and opting for an acceleration of the reactionary landlord road. This idea goes no further than converting the large holdings into state property, which leaves intact both its dependence on imperialism and the inequalities and disarticulation inherent in the relationship between large and small holdings. The general programme of these forces is not socialist nor even democratic. It does not seek a radical rupture with the world system, but at most to develop closer ties with Soviet social-imperialism and negotiate a "better arrangement" with Yankee imperialism.

For all these reasons, the distribution of the land is a necessary culmination of the democratic revolution in the countryside. The subsequent collectivization will represent an immense and historic socialist trans-

formation of the Mexican countryside. However, the struggle will not stop there. As we have been taught by Mao and by the experience of both the Chinese revolution and the restoration of capitalism there and in the Soviet Union, it will be necessary to continue the revolution within socialism. It will be necessary to combat the new bourgeois elements that inevitably emerge inside the socialist forms of property and inside the communist party itself. It will be necessary to struggle to overcome the many inequalities that still remain and which provide a basis for such bourgeois forces. Only the triumph of communism, of classless society, throughout the world will represent the final victory. Even so, the great revolution whose agrarian component we have outlined here will be a great advance, not only for the people of Mexico, but also for the oppressed throughout the world in their struggle for this promising future.

In the countryside, as throughout the country, the old order is in a deep crisis. Let the government shed crocodile tears for the "poor peasants". Let the reformists promise this or that reform if only we vote for them or sign up for one of their organizations. This is the role they are supposed to be playing. The role of revolutionaries, in contrast, is to arouse the "invisible" people — the proletarians and the peasants — arouse them not only to cry out loud and bitter denunciations which they now only murmur, not only to rise up with swords and bullets against injustice, but also so that the invisible people can come out from their shadows — this time for good — and smash and uproot the evil forces which have blinded them dry in the darkness, and with great revolutionary strides begin to build a new and shining society in their own image.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Lenin, V.I., *The Agrarian Programme and Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution (1905-1907)*, sections 5 and 6 of Chapter 1.
2. Mao Tsetung, "The Current Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works*, Vol. 4.
3. Bartra, Armando, *Los hacendados de Zapata*, Era, 1985; Paré, Luisa, *El proletariado agrícola en México*, Siglo XXI, Mexico, 1982, p. 40.
4. Bartra, Roger, "Campesinado y poder

político en México", in Roger Bartra, et al., *Caciquismo y poder político en el México rural*, Siglo XXI, Mexico, 1975, p. 18.

5. See, for example, Lenin, V.I., *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Russian Revolution*.

6. 48% of the population lives in concentrations of less than 15,000 inhabitants according to the figures of the *X Censo de población y vivienda 1980* reproduced in Banamex, *México social 1985-1986*, p. 64. The official figures tend to underestimate the rural population.

7. According to a report drawn up by professors at the Universidad de Chapingo and the PMS parliamentary group for the period January 1982-July 1987, *La Jornada*, 19 and 31 August 1987.

8. Mao Tsetung, "Report on an Investigation into the Hunan Peasant Movement", *Selected Works*, Vol. 1.

9. Mao Tsetung, "On the Problem of Agricultural Collectivization", *Selected Works*, Vol. 5.

10. Marx, Karl, *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter XXIV.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Chapter XLVII, part 2.

12. Lenin, V.I., *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, particularly Chapter III.

13. Marx makes a distinction between "rent in products", in which the peasant works the land with his own animals and implements (which is a purely feudal form, because all the surplus corresponds to land rent), and "sharecropping", in which the landlord, besides the land, also supplies draft animals, implements, etc. In this last case, rent includes, besides land rent, a recompense for the instruments of production provided in advance by the landlord, and Marx considers it a transitional form toward capitalism, and thus itself semifeudal. In Mexico, the term "sharecropping" has typically been used to refer to both forms, and for reasons of simplicity we will continue this usage here. On the other hand, the greater proliferation of the sharecropping form (in the strict sense used by Marx) relative to rent in products during the second half of the 19th century did reflect the beginning of the transition to capitalism. However, the existence of sharecropping in the strict sense in a far earlier period was due principally to the fact that it was the Spaniards who introduced draft animals here. This particularity of the development of feudalism in Mexico also determined that the use by the peasants of their own draft animals in their "personal prestation", that is, in their unpaid labour on the lands of the landlord, never achieved much importance in New Spain [the Spanish viceroyship in America which coincides with contemporary Mexico — AWTW].

14. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter XLVII.
15. Lenin analyzed this in the Russian case: see *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Chapter III.
16. Esteva, Gustavo, *La batalla en el México rural*, Siglo XXI, Mexico, 1985, p. 135; Espin, Jaime y Patricia de Leonardo, *Economía y sociedad en Los Altos de Jalisco*, Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1978, p. 65.
17. Florescano, Enrique, *Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de México 1500-182*, Era, Mexico, 1976, pages 106, 107.
18. *Ibid.*, pages 107-108.
19. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.
20. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I.
21. Solis, Leopoldo, *La realidad económica mexicana*, Mexico, Siglo XXI, 1983, p. 17.
22. Gunder Frank, André, et al., *América Latina, feudalismo o capitalismo*, Ed. Quinto Sol, Mexico, p. 64.
23. See the Dobb - Sweezy critique in Hilton, Rodney, *La transición del feudalismo al capitalismo*, Ed. Grijalbo, Barcelona, 1977, as well as the comments by Marx in *Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter XX.
24. Hilton, op. cit., pages 20, 156, etc.
25. Esteva, op. cit., pages 62-63; Hewitt de Alcántara, Cynthia, *La modernización de la agricultura mexicana 1940-1970*, Siglo XXI, Mexico, 1982, pages 32-33.
26. Hewitt de A., op.cit., pages 46-49 and in general Chapter 1, "Las implicaciones sociales de la investigación agrícola en México".
27. *Ibid.*, pages 53-55.
28. *Ibid.*, Chapter 2, "El marco institucional para el crecimiento agrícola".
29. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
32. Esteva, op.cit. p. 156-158; Astorga Lira, Enrique, *Mercado de trabajo rural en México, La mercancia humana*, Era, Mexico, 1985, pages 51, 111; Paré, Luisa, *El proletariado agrícola en México*, Siglo XXI, Mexico, 1982, p. 8.
33. Lenin, V.I. *Who Are the "Friends of the People" and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, Vol. 1.
34. Lenin, V.I., "The Capitalist System of Modern Agriculture, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16.
35. De Janvy, Alain, *The Agrarian Question*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1981, p. 209.
36. Warman, Arturo, "La colectivización en el campo: una crítica", *Ensayos sobre el campesinado en México*, Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1984.
37. Hewitt de Alcántara, op.cit., pages 195-214.

Yankee Free Market

Continued from page 21

the lending agencies than it repays them (\$2.7bn in 1994), largely to provide the infrastructure required by potential foreign investors.

In 1994 Peru's prime minister announced that Peru will require \$5-\$6 billion in *new foreign investment each year* in order to realize a 5% medium term growth. In 1993 (the first year of privatization sales) total foreign investment was \$226 million and a total of \$3 billion is predicted for 1994 (due largely to the sale of Peru's telecommunications system for \$2.1bn). Most of Peru's assets are being sold at ridiculously low prices and, once gone, will no longer be a source of revenue for the government.

Bourgeois economic analysts are openly worried. While Peru's economy is increasingly geared toward export, and more goods are being exported, the amount of profit Peru is realizing from these exports *has gone down* due to falling world prices. The gross national product has increased, but the areas of the economy vital to the well-being of the Peruvian people — agriculture, manufactured goods, and social services, are declining. The majority of the people of Peru are so poor that overall consumer power has dropped steadily. Economists warn that Peru's economy is stagnant.⁹

While a very small number of people in Peru have been able to profit from increased foreign investment, the majority of the people of Peru have only gotten poorer. Less than 10% are fully employed. While the government boasts of privatization, newly privatized companies have, on average, laid off 52% of their workers in order to increase profits. Money appropriated for "social services" is being used to build roads to help foreign investors get their goods to market, and the government's budget for social services (health, education, etc) has fallen from 4.7% of GDP in 1980 to 0.9% in 1993. Even the schools and hospitals are being privatized. More than 26,000 schoolteachers have tuberculosis; tens of thousands of children die each year from preventable diseases. Most of Lima's 6 million "recognized" residents live in old working class neighbourhoods

where 7-10 people live in a single windowless room opening onto a common dirt alleyway where an average of 67 people share a single water faucet and 85 people share a toilet.¹⁰ Another 3 million "unrecognized" Lima residents live in "illegal" shantytowns on the outskirts of Lima, where they have neither water nor sanitation facilities. At the same time, increasing numbers of peasants are being forced from their land en masse because they are unable to pay new land and water taxes imposed by the IMF; they will join the unemployed in Lima. With about half of all Peruvians living in critical poverty and unable to purchase adequate food to provide for basic nutritional needs, potential investors worry about whether the Peruvian state can provide the workers with such essentials as basic health and education to ensure a dependable labour force.

The "La Cantuta case" has also raised some anxiety among investors concerning the political stability of Peru. While it was common knowledge that the government was responsible for the disappearance and massacre of the nine students and the professor from La Cantuta University, the outcome of the case has had many repercussions. Not only were "human rights violations" exposed to the world, but Fujimori's handling of the case has been unsettling. On the one hand, foreign investors were delighted when Fujimori showed he was willing to protect their investment with an iron fist with his self-coup on 5 April 1992 as part of the effort to "pacify" the country. However, when Fujimori defied his own newly enacted Constitution in February 1994 by moving the La Cantuta case from the civil court to the military court, he effectively allowed the open subordination of the judiciary to the military. Not only were the crimes of the Peruvian regime exposed to the world, but there could now be no question that the Fujimori regime was under the military's control. Opposition parties in Peru and foreign investors became worried. Both depend on Peru's laws to protect their interests. Peru's new Constitution is extremely favourable to foreign investors, for example, guaranteeing that foreign debts will be paid *before* social needs are met. But the

fact that the laws can be changed arbitrarily and replaced with open military rule at whim does not convey a picture of a predictable and stable situation to these investors.

All of this also tends to divide the Peruvian ruling class, as is evidenced in manoeuvring for the upcoming 9 April 1995 elections. Some candidates want to retain more of the profits from Peru's resources for Peru's upper classes, and claim that they could cut a better deal with the imperialists. Some others promise to preserve certain "democratic" privileges for those who do not threaten the state. Others promise tax breaks for Peruvian industrialists, who cannot compete with the multinationals. Some openly worry that Peru's generals will once again roll their tanks into the street in order to guarantee Fujimori's victory in the elections and squash their own bids for power.

But one thing every electoral candidate agrees on is the necessity to ruthlessly attack the People's War and its leadership, the PCP. This is nothing new. It has been the mandate of three successive regimes in Peru over the past 15 years. When Chairman Gonzalo was arrested the imperialists were euphoric. Everywhere they shouted: "Mission accomplished!" "The End of the Civil War is now Guaranteed!" "Peru is the new investor's paradise!" "Now the military can be used for building roads!" But over the past two years the People's War has continued, and the government's pronouncements have been proven to be empty phrases. And as of late 1994 Fujimori had to confess that the People's War is indeed a continuing threat to his state.

A full year after Chairman Gonzalo's arrest, Fujimori announced his plan to carry out what he called a "Little Vietnam" in the jungle! International lending agencies provided loans to move peasants loyal to the government into the Amazon. Strategic hamlets were set up near military bases. An orchestrated media campaign released "news" of alleged PCP massacres of indigenous Ashaninkas in these same areas in an effort to discredit the People's War internationally and prepare the way for even greater military genocide against the people inhabiting the area.

In April 1994 the military

launched a massive offensive in the jungle areas. Peasant villages were bombed by helicopter gunships. Peasants were massacred in cold blood. Women and children were raped by the uniformed military. Bodies of peasants lined the banks of the Ene River, and the crimes of the military were so exposed that even the usually silent government's loyal "human rights groups" were forced to denounce them. The desperate regime retaliated by accusing human rights groups and International Red Cross of helping the PCP, and claimed that it was because of them that their military offensive had ended in defeat.

During autumn 1994, Peruvian television showed one military offensive after another "wiping out the last remnants" and repeatedly announced the "capture of leaders of the People's War", only to have to later admit that they had "escaped through tunnels" or had "disappeared among the people". Huge sections of the country continue to be under "Emergency Control", and the forces of the People's War and the forces of the military continue to contend for control.¹¹

Over the past two years, foreign investors have come under constant attack. Offices of newly privatized businesses and banks have been bombed. For example, within days of the sale of Peru's telecommunications system to Spain, two of its Lima offices were attacked (one on the day of its opening). Leaflets left at the sites denounce the government's privatization program and warn foreign investors that they will be driven out. Railways, oil pipelines, and electrical pylons have continued to be targeted. In October 1994, as Peru's electricity company was being prepared for privatization, an attack on the electrical system, described by the government as the PCP's strongest attack since the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo, disrupted electricity for more than a week.

At the same time, more than 20,000 oil workers staged a 2-day strike to protest the upcoming privatization of Petro-Peru, and were joined by dockworkers. Miners joined striking electrical workers and denounced privatization. Schoolteachers went on strike for a 300% pay increase and students are protesting the increased costs of

education.

Factions of the ruling class in Peru have called for a delay in the privatization program, which Fujimori promised would be completed by 1995. They say that the prices companies are being sold for are too low and that political stability in Peru is still too tenuous to create a favourable investment climate. What the foreign investors are seriously worried about is the same thing that has hindered their investing greatly in Peru for the past fourteen years!

For fourteen years the people of Peru have taken up arms against the three mountains oppressing them. There is a highly aroused peasantry. There is a protracted People's War, led by a Maoist Party, which is continuing their resolute fight to establish a new state encompassing all of Peru. Millions of the poor — in both the countryside and in the shantytowns of Lima — have experienced the beginnings of their power. They have been part of building a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture. In the face of this, what do the foreign investors have to offer? The continuation of 500 years of oppression, and even greater misery and impoverishment.

FOOTNOTES

1. Back issues of AWTW are available, with extensive coverage of the People's War and the PCP, including original documents. See page 2. A good starting place is "Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru", AWTW no. 16.
2. See especially IEC Emergency Bulletin no. 46 on foreign domination of Peru.
3. *Financial Times*, 29 Sept 1993, London. Also *New York Times*, 28 Sept 1993.
4. *The Mining Journal*, April 1994.
5. *The Mining Journal*, April 1994.
6. Inter-Press Service, 10 Sept 1993.
7. *Los Angeles Times*, 19 Jan 1994; *San Francisco Examiner*, 27 Mar 1994.
8. Associated Press, 29 Nov 1993.
9. For example, *Latin America Weekly Report*, 7 Apr 1994.
10. Peruvian Institute for Civil Defence statistics.
11. IEC Emergency Bulletins 46, 47, 51.



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