

**A WORLD TO WIN**

獲得的將是整個世界  
1989/14

БИГРАТЬ  
UN MUNDO QUE GANAR

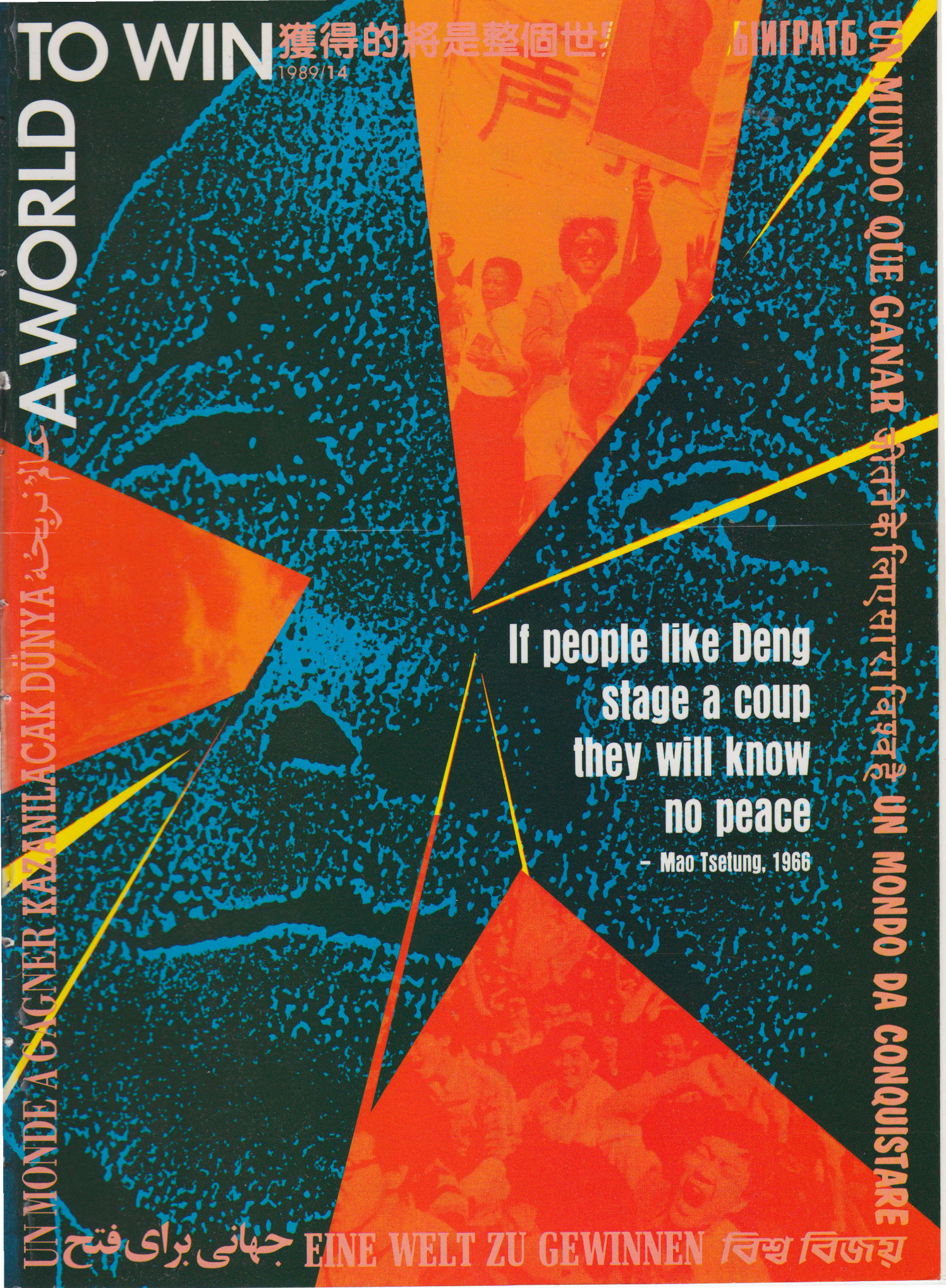
عالم نریخه  
UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DÜNYA

जीतने के लिए सारा विश्व है  
UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

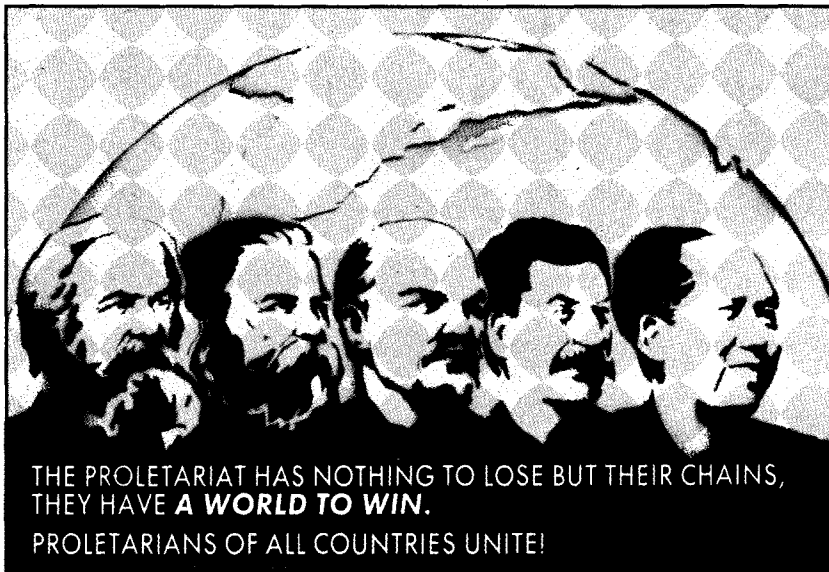
**If people like Deng  
stage a coup  
they will know  
no peace**

- Mao Tsetung, 1966

جهانی برای فتح  
EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN  
বিশ্ব বিজয়







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PCP flag in Peru

The U.S. government's "war on drugs" is not about stopping drug addiction; instead, it is a reactionary offensive aimed at intensifying repression of the proletariat and oppressed nationalities in the U.S., and defending the U.S.'s political and military interests in Latin America, including through stepped-up intervention against the people's war being led by the Communist Party of Peru.

## Cuba

The first of a two-part series. The first part shows how Castro overthrew Batista but failed to overthrow King Sugar. Because there was no agrarian revolution in Cuba, there was no way to feed the people nor develop the economy without accepting dependency.

1989/14

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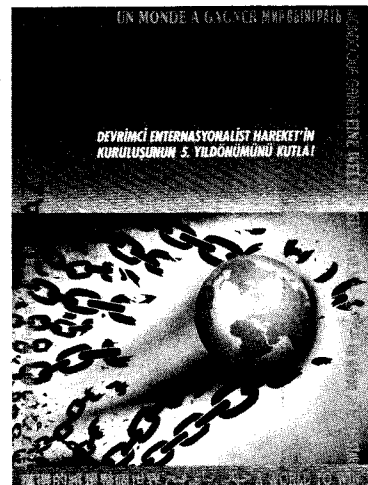
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TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DÜNYA عالم نوریجہ

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

### STEP FORWARD!

A *World to Win* cannot accomplish its tasks without the active support of its readers. Letters, articles and criticism are needed and welcome. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced. In addition we need translators, help with distribution (including through commercial channels) to make this magazine available in as many countries as possible, art work (as well as clippings and original photos), and of course 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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# People Like Deng Will Know

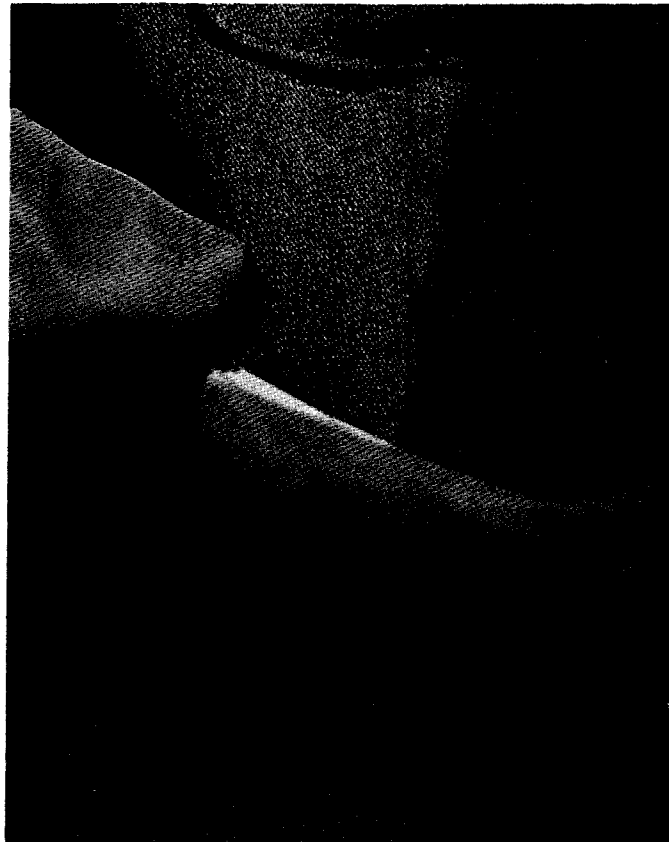
*"If the leadership in China is usurped by the revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should relentlessly expose them and fight against them and help the Chinese masses in their battle against the revisionists."*

— Mao Tsetung

*A World to Win* is devoting a special section of this issue to the recent developments in China. As the quotation on our cover indicates, Mao Tsetung had predicted that if a counter-revolutionary coup took place in China the new rulers would know no peace and their rule would most likely be short-lived. Indeed, a counter-revolutionary coup *did* take place in China just weeks after the death of Mao. The results of this new direction in China have been what Mao and the revolutionary headquarters which he led in the Communist Party of China (CPC) predicted: a return to capitalism, the renewed dependence of China on foreign imperialist powers, the reemergence of a whole series of social ills which had been eliminated or severely restricted by proletarian rule (see the article, "Revolt in China: the Crisis of Revisionism, Or... Why Mao Tsetung Was Right" by Raymond Lotta).

Mao's prediction that the revisionists would "know no peace" has also proven to be true. The Tiananmen events represented a severe blow to the reactionary regime and a big opening for more revolutionary forces to advance. While in the West the media spoke only of certain pro-Western currents among the student leaders in China, the reality was far more complex than that. As the article, "What the Media Suppressed" (based on *AWTW*'s compilation of material from a wide variety of sources) indicates, widespread pro-Mao, anti-revisionist sentiment, especially among the workers, was most definitely part of the political landscape.

The reaction to the events in China on the part of the international communist movement was swift. The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) issued a statement denouncing the Deng regime, supporting the protesting students and workers, and calling for the re-establishment of a genuine Maoist vanguard party in China (see "Down with the Blood-Soaked Capitalist Regime in China!"). In addition, excerpts from a press conference held by the RIM in London are included. Through these and other ac-



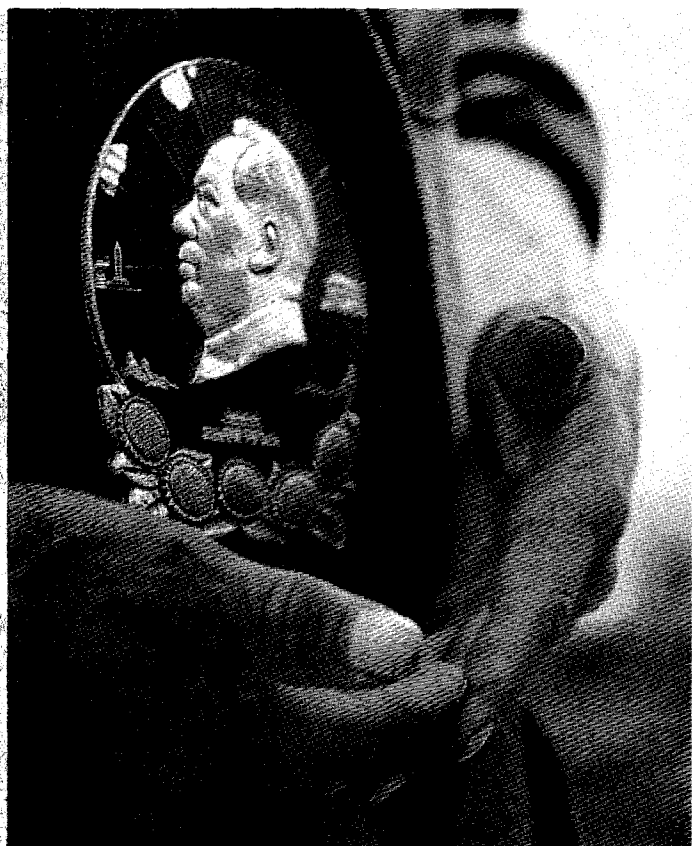
*The legacy of Mao Tsetung in the hands of the*

tions, the RIM strove to fulfill Mao's behest that "the Marxist-Leninists relentlessly expose" and "fight" the revisionists and "help the Chinese masses in their battle against them".

Forces gathered around the RIM are not the only ones to have vigorously condemned the Deng regime. Many others amongst China scholars, previously pro-Mao political forces and others (some of whom have consistently opposed the Deng regime, others of whom have only recently taken a clear-cut stand now that the fruits of capitalism restored have fully ripened), have helped expose the Deng regime. In this spirit, *AWTW* is publishing articles by two scholars, "China's Road to Capitalism — Liu Lin, A Chinese Village", by Sven Liljesson, (reprinted from the Swedish journal *Kina Rapport*) and "The Fascist State at the End of the Capitalist Road", submitted by Neville Maxwell (despite our strong objection to Professor Maxwell's characterisation of the Deng regime as "Stalinist").

Our section is completed by two important arti-

# No Peace



workers. China, 1989.

cles by Chinese Maoists themselves. The first of these was a key polemic published in 1975 shortly before the revisionist coup d'état. "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie" was written by Comrade Chang Chun-chiao who, together with Mao's comrade and widow, Comrade Chiang Ching, was condemned to death (later converted to life in prison) for their role as leaders of the genuine Maoist revolutionaries in China. The article sheds a great deal of light on the economic and political conditions that existed at the time of the 1976 coup d'état as well as representing, along with other key writings of the revolutionary headquarters led by Mao, "an important elaboration of Mao Tsetung Thought", as the *Declaration of the RIM* put it.

Another article, "1980 Statement by Shanghai Revolutionaries on the Restoration of Capitalism in China", was written four years after the coup d'état on the occasion of the public show trial of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao by the Deng

*"If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they will no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 percent of the population."*

— Mao Tsetung

revisionists. The article, signed by the Chinese (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party Central Committee, is one of the few writings that have filtered out of China since 1976 from the resolute defenders of the Cultural Revolution and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Although written several years ago, the article is remarkably foresighted on a series of questions (including its discussion of the proletarian democracy of the Cultural Revolution contrasted with the fascist suppression of the Deng revisionist clique). The article also offers a thought-provoking analysis of some of the reasons for the success of the counter-revolutionary coup. Although there is an on-going discussion of this subject among communists internationally, at least some contentions in this article (particularly that Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao "believed" the promises of the revisionists made under the pressure of the Cultural Revolution to turn over a new leaf) seem doubtful to us.

The final part of Mao's prediction referred to earlier, that the rule of the revisionists "will most probably be short-lived", seems far more probable today than it did six months earlier. The wreckage of socialism and the breakneck restoration of capitalism has given way to a full-scale revolutionary crisis in China. Politically isolated, bitterly divided among themselves, their promises of modernisation and riches revealed as a mirage to entice their followers onto the capitalist road, the revisionist ruling class in China has no recourse but to rely on naked brutal terror — against the workers, certainly, but even against some sections such as the students on whom it had counted for support. Never since the coup d'état in 1976 have conditions been so favourable for the re-establishment of a genuine vanguard party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought that alone can lead the proletariat and people of China in making another socialist revolution.

1 October 1989





*The man on the left is holding Quotations of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the 'Little Red Book' that symbolised the Cultural Revolution and was studied by hundreds of millions in China and around the world.*

# *Down with the Blood-Soaked Capitalist Regime in China!*

— Statement by the Committee of the RIM

Just over one decade since their treacherous coup in 1976 the new Chinese bourgeoisie headed by revisionist kingpin Deng Xiaoping and butcher Li Peng has finally been totally unmasked. From behind the deceitful pretence of “socialism” and “people’s democracy”, the true reactionary face of the capitalists running China has thrust itself out plainly and grotesquely. They savagely unleashed a virtual war against more than a million students, youth, workers and other residents of Peking who demanded political rights and dared to expose and rebel against the stifling climate of corruption and economic crisis resulting from the last 13 years of capitalist rule and bourgeois dictatorship. They displayed an unprecedented ferocity and barbarism unknown to the Chinese people and the peoples of the world for the almost three decades of communist rule and people’s power under Mao Tsetung and the revolutionaries between 1949 and 1976.

Learning from their imperialist patrons, especially the United States and Japan, the revisionist rulers of China shamelessly pulled out all their imported “modern” technology and known-how of suppression and manipulation to crush the rebellious masses. With heavy weapons like tanks, armoured lorries, and machine guns, they fired their deadly Western-bought bullets directly into the crowds of people, gunning down large numbers at point-blank range and rolling their tanks over tents filled with demonstrators. In the midst of this massacre, many students and workers who supported them heroically stood their ground and tried to persuade the “people’s army” not to attack the people.

After the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung, our class lost power in China. The revolutionary proletariat led by heroic leaders like Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao lost the last great battle against the revisionists and capitalist roaders who opposed Mao’s road, and people’s rule was defeated in China. With it disappeared the international proletariat’s last fortress of socialism. The revisionists and capitalist roaders within the communist party, headed by the renegade Deng Xiaoping, twice toppled by Mao himself, and the likes of Hua Kuo-feng, Hu Yao-bang and Zhao Ziyang, usurped state power in China. They set about destroying the socialist economy and socialist relations of production and establishing a system of private ownership with profit in command. Their motto was “To get rich is glorious”;



their highest goal was the pursuit of self-interest. They carried out a rapid, all-round restoration of capitalism and subjugation of the economy to imperialist finance capital and its market system, especially to the Western imperialists led by the U.S.

Thus, contrary to the pious and deceiving editorials of the Western propaganda mills which delight in muddling state capitalism and "communism" while trying to distance themselves from the "excesses" of the past weeks, the current rulers of China have done everything to destroy the socialist system as they ape anything and everything Western and capitalist. Up until their recent, ugly military performance, they earned, and received, the richly deserved praise of imperialist leaders East and West, including Deng's personal friend George Bush.

All of the social injustices the masses are protesting against — the dramatic rise in unemployment, sharp price increases, lack of housing, and the massive corruption of Deng's government — are the inevitable outcome of the restoration of capitalism in China. And the criminal butchery by the ruling class there is just an extension of the horrors, violence, and suffering that the imperialist system brings down upon the majority of the people all over the globe. The abrupt interruption in arms shipments and crocodile tears of outrage shed by the Eastern and Western rulers suddenly detaching themselves from Deng Xiaoping, who only yesterday they hailed as the "great reformer", are merely to cover over this fact.

The loss of people's rule also inevitably meant that the masses of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals would be deprived of real democracy and that democracy would become the property of the handful of exploiters now at the head of the party who would exercise dictatorship over the people. And even some of the middle class forces who were deceived into supporting the restoration of capitalism by Deng & Co under the allure of moving into the "modern" era and who stood to benefit from the new promotion of the upper strata of society are now also rebelling against the rotten fruits of capitalism, including some of the students being groomed to take over the country's top posts. Getting to the essence of the question, one worker in Tiananmen Square who was wearing a Mao badge told the reporters, "The problem is that the masses are *no longer* the masters of society in China."

For three decades the Chinese masses exercised the right to participate in ruling society — the right to interfere in matters of state and to set the direction society would take, as Mao put it. *This* is the democracy that was withheld from bigshots like Deng and his ilk who sought power for themselves. They did not have the "democratic" right — so dear to the capitalist world — to exploit the workers and peasants. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was aimed at strengthening the hands of the proletariat and masses of peasants, enabling *them* to wage the political struggle necessary to defeat the designs of the capitalist roaders and to successfully move China ahead along the socialist road towards a world without classes or exploiters.

Despite the extreme force being deployed today by the crisis-ridden revisionist rulers, the prospects of reestablishing "order" are dim; this is the true nightmare that plagues the Western imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. The pro-Soviet regimes of Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and Vietnam have all applauded the massacre, while Gorbachev remains conspicuously silent.

Mao's prediction in a letter back in 1966 to his comrade-in-arms and wife, Chiang Ching, has indeed come true: "If the Rightists stage

an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they will no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 percent of the population."

Whatever the immediate outcome of the present upsurge by the millions of Chinese people, new openings have appeared for making another socialist revolution by overthrowing the present regime and reestablishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is going to be a difficult and tortuous road, yet the Chinese masses have a rich legacy of decades of people's war under Mao's leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries and the U.S. and Japanese imperialists as well as struggle against Soviet revisionism, but most importantly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is only Mao's road that will lead to genuine liberation for the Chinese masses, an act that would represent an unprecedented leap toward emancipation for all of humanity.

Yet if China is to be liberated, another Maoist party must be built which can lead the people forward and draw a clear line of demarcation from the illusory paths which rely on a faction of top party officials. Such a responsibility will fall on the shoulders of a core of revolutionaries armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and this is something the reactionaries in China and all imperialist powers are extremely keen to prevent. The present party ruling China is a bourgeois party which, despite its name, no longer has anything to do with communism. The People's Liberation Army is no longer an army of the people, and has not been since it was used to suppress Mao's followers in 1976. Neither top party officials at odds with Deng nor dissident army commanders can lead the people to reestablish their rule. It is nonetheless significant and admirable that a great many soldiers have refused to fire on the masses, and to the degree they continue to oppose the political masters commanding the reactionary military machinery that is a welcome event.

The genuine Chinese communists and masses of workers, peasants, and revolutionary students who set out to follow this tortuous path are not alone. Mao also instructed the genuine communists of the world what to do if the "right seizes power in China". He said, "If the leadership in China is usurped by the revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should relentlessly expose them and fight against them and help the Chinese masses in their battle against the revisionists."

Since the coup in 1976, the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world have been doing just that. The regrouping of the Maoists on an international scale in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement who are either waging revolutionary war, as in Peru today, or preparing for it in different countries, are forging ahead on the path charted by Mao Tsetung. We are confident that the genuine revolutionaries in China will make great strides in their struggle to overthrow capitalist rule and put China once again on Mao's road. We pledge to do everything in our power to assist them. May the world proletarian revolution speak in Chinese once again!

**Proletarian Revolution Will Avenge the Blood That Has Been Spilt  
in Tiananmen Square!**

**Expose Deng's Imperialist Accomplices East and West!**

**Free Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao!**

**Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail! Revolution Will Prevail!**

Released 12 June 1989 by the Information Bureau of the RIM



Tiananmen Square

# What the Media Suppressed

*Mao Tsetung's cadres  
were clean,  
The Gang of Four's cadres  
were brave,  
Hua Guofeng's cadres  
were nowhere to be seen,  
Deng Xiaoping's cadres  
are all millionaires.*  
— Poem from Tiananmen  
Square, Spring 1989

This rhyme was *not* reported on BBC or Cable Network News from the U.S. nor did it appear in *The Times*, *Le Monde*, *Pravda* or

any other major daily newspaper, West or East. It was treated as all the other pro-Maoist sentiment that came up from some sections of the Chinese masses during the recent upheaval: something to be avoided or simply suppressed.

What the Chinese protestors wanted, and what the world's people were *told* they wanted, were not the same thing. The Western media one-sidedly played up the pro-West, pro-parliamentary democracy sentiments which were prominent in the leadership of the Beijing students. They dismissed the workers as an independent political force, describing them as

simply strong backs of support for the students, and attacked more radical and proletarian youth as "common criminals" profiting from the opportunity to blow off steam.

As for the Chinese regime, its media spewed out portraits of the protestors as counter-revolutionary agents in the pay of foreign powers, anti-patriotic, hooligans, KMT riff-raff, etc. Like the Western media, for example, they focused great attention on the handful of people who threw paint on the giant portrait of Mao in Tiananmen Square, downplaying how the

contending forces in the Chinese mass upsurge and how they developed, nor to sum up thoroughly the relative weight of the different trends. But based on a number of sources, including the media, China experts and people who were in China before and during the mass upsurge, it is possible to draw a number of preliminary conclusions. Not least of these is that, while it was not the main trend among the students, there surfaced a widespread pro-Maoist sentiment which has been systematically covered up by bourgeois reports, whatever their source.

\* \* \*

Before taking a look at these more radical forces, it is necessary to say a word about the student leadership. The Western media churned out an image of a sea of Chinese youth who worship "Western democracy". Yet the media itself showed images that contradicted this, including repeated scenes of the students singing *The Internationale*, the revolutionary communist anthem. A one-paragraph anecdote slipped in as a humour sidebar in the *International Herald Tribune* recounted that large numbers of young bicyclists would "let go of their handlebars for extended periods to wave a red flag while pedaling and singing *The Internationale*".

The point is not that

students quickly rounded up the perpetrators, as well as how there was little or no open support among the protestors for such a deed.

The various policies of the Western and Chinese media resulted in a partial and distorted picture of the revolt and wound up presenting

the most prominent section of the student leadership in Beijing as the *only* significant political trend. It was not.

AWTW is not in a position to characterise precisely all the



*A youth mocks PLA general.*

the dominant trend among the student leadership was revolutionary Maoism. It definitely was not. Many of these students entertained all kinds of notions of bringing parliamentary democracy to China, often combined with an unhealthy dose of Gorbachev glasnost, and all sorts of other ideas. But their understanding was *contradictory*: the same students might sympathise with Gorbachev and uphold aspects of the Mao period in China, or call for parliamentary democracy and sing *The Internationale*.

Moreover, their viewpoints often changed rapidly and

dramatically as the battle developed. Some students fortunate enough to listen to BBC or see Cable Network News, which is piped into the hotels for foreigners, were reported to be confused and outraged when they saw the "free world" media giving its distorted depiction of how much they all supposedly adored America. For some, it was their first lesson in "free speech", western style.

But the Deng regime itself gave the sharpest lessons. Those who had been fooled into supporting Deng or at least the general orientation of the CPC leadership have been confronted rudely with the fruits of these positions. One group of secondary school student supporters of Fang Lizhi, the astrophysicist who found refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, wrote: "... when Deng Xiaoping first became the leader we believed that our situation would improve. Never in the farthest reaches of our imagination did we expect that it would become as bad as it is now." And this letter was written shortly *before* the massacre. Some students had come to the Square

with petrol, talking of burning themselves alive in protest — only a few days later they were using the petrol to make Molotov cocktails to repel the People's Liberation Army attack. As millions of Chinese search to understand what happened in Tiananmen Square, does anyone really expect that they will forget that for years the West had proclaimed Deng as the "great reformer", their "Man of the Year", as U.S. *Time* magazine hailed him?

It is not surprising that sentiment for one or another wing of the current Chinese leadership and against the Cultural Revolution was initially fairly widespread among the student leadership in Tiananmen Square, given their privileged position in Chinese society. During the intense struggle that went on during the Cultural Revolution over whether to expand or reduce privileges as part of moving forward to a society without inequality and exploitation, not a few intellectuals genuinely and enthusiastically strove to serve the revolution. But some others who initially were enthusiastic for the Cultural Revolution grew weary as the intense class struggle proved protracted and were swayed by siren calls from the revisionists for "stability and unity". And still others clung fiercely to their privileges, bitterly

resented the efforts to narrow social inequalities and yearned for revenge. Thus many of the intellectuals at first welcomed or went along with the coup in 1976 against Mao's revolutionary comrades, but with different understandings and different agendas.

What has happened now has exploded many illusions. Many intellectuals may be privileged, but China is not — it is once again a nation basically held down and exploited by imperialism, and all the





revisionists' promises of a rich, powerful, modern, technologically advanced China are being translated into the reality of rampant inflation, shantytowns and rickshaws, national humiliation, hunger and female infanticide — in short, a painful nightmare. Now Deng's vicious repression has bared what bourgeois rule means in China, including for the intellectuals.

The whole world was outraged by the massacre in Tiananmen Square — but the

pronounced shock and disbelief of many of the student leaders reflected how much they misunderstood the actual nature of the regime. Their relatively privileged position in Chinese society cushioned them and blinded many of them to what the restoration of capitalism actually meant. Not grasping the qualitative leap that took place with the 1976 coup, many felt no reason to think that the Deng regime would act so differently towards protestors than had the revolutionary regime, which did not resort to this type of bloody suppression. The irony many of these people failed to appreciate is that even though the Deng regime looks to the intellectuals as part of its social base, because it is a reactionary regime which does not have the support of the broad masses, it needs and must ultimately rely on the bloodiest suppression to enforce its rule.

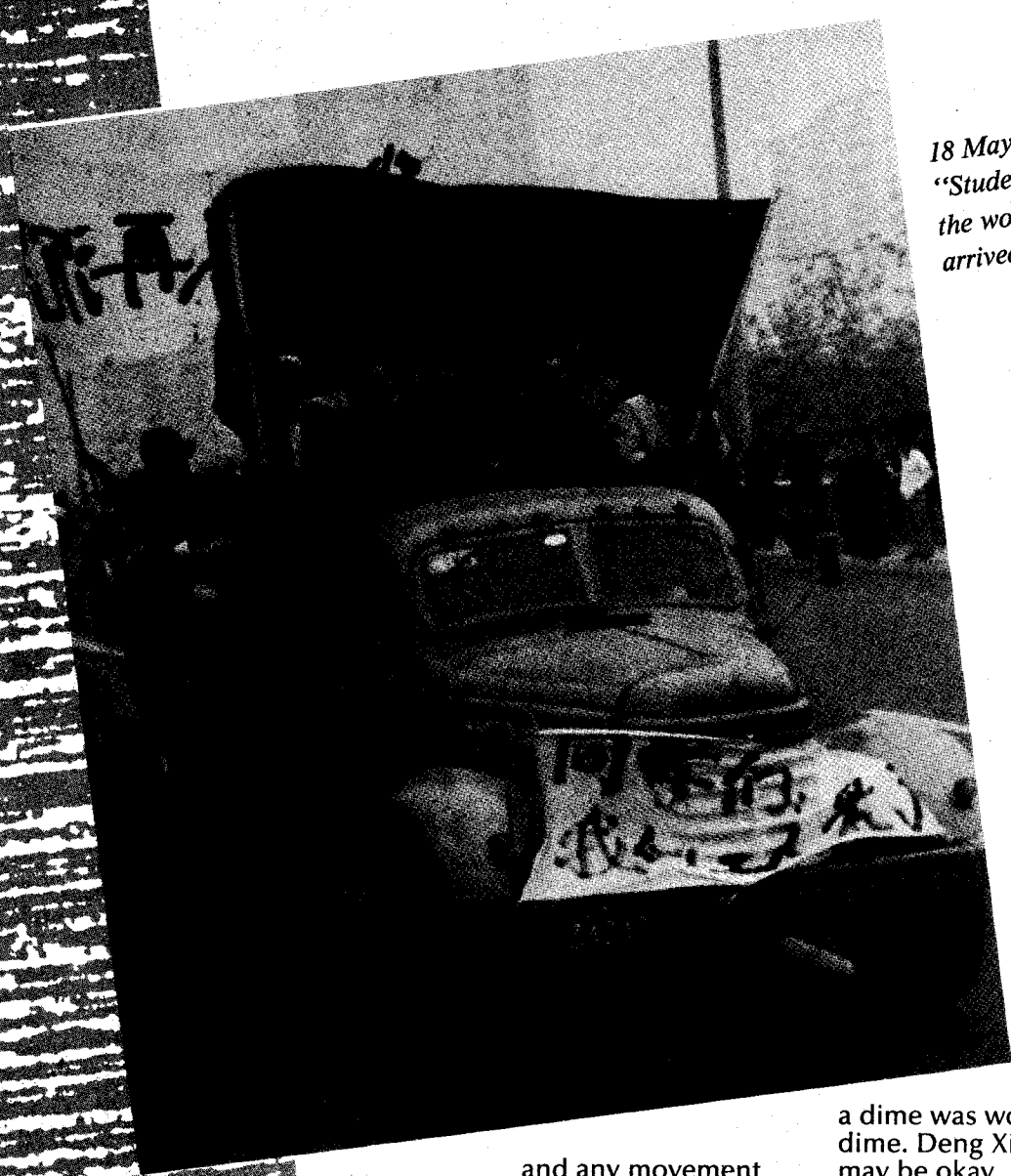
The fact that the regime has now pushed many of even the relatively privileged strata into opposition has created an excellent situation for a genuine revolutionary vanguard, a Maoist party, to seize on to forge a new alignment of forces against the reactionary Deng regime and to take advantage of disarray in the enemy camp.

\* \* \*

One of the great differences between the Chinese movement



*Students at Tiananmen Square.*

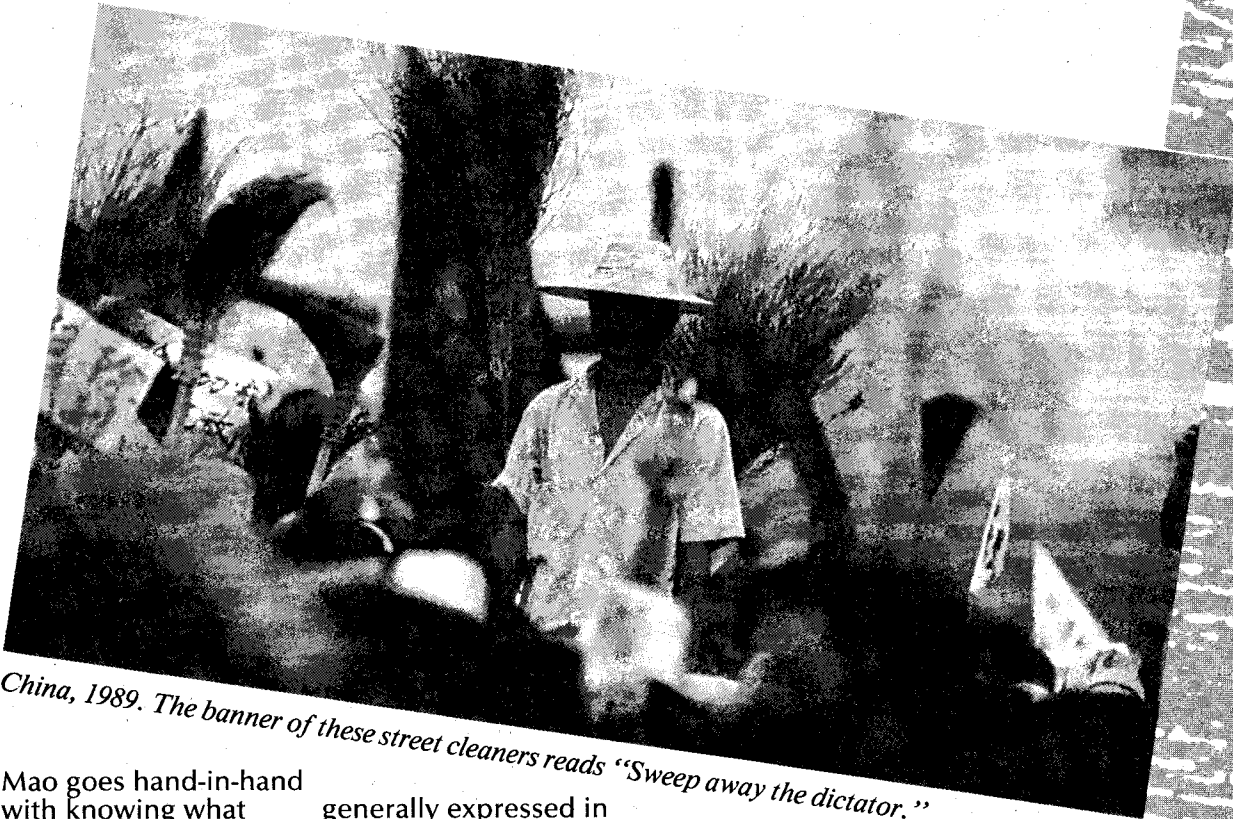


18 May 1989.  
"Students:  
the workers have  
arrived!"

and any movement elsewhere was that the masses have a basis for comparison between Deng's bourgeois regime and the genuinely socialist society led by Mao. One joke making the rounds in China has Deng paying a visit to Mao's tomb to plead, what can I do? Mao replies, let's change places. An American newspaper reported that a ditty heard in the countryside before the spring turmoil broke out, at a time when Deng was much less exposed, goes like this: "Mao Tsetung was fine,

a dime was worth a dime. Deng Xiaoping may be okay, but a dollar is worth a dime today." In Tiananmen Square one could frequently see posters of Mao along with other prominent figures from the pre-1976 epoch. What such activity reflected was an understanding that life for the basic masses was growing harder as well as a longing for a past that was better.

Such feelings represent more than simple nostalgia for the past, however, for in China the past also had been the future; upholding China under



China, 1989. The banner of these street cleaners reads "Sweep away the dictator."

Mao goes hand-in-hand with knowing what needs to be done today. One woman talked of how during the liberation struggle the peasants had made sandals for the soldiers out of grass and reeds or anything they could find, and that was their way of contributing to the people's war. Now, the soldiers were sporting boots imported from the USA, and instead of liberating the people were shooting them down; the woman told of the feeling of betrayal she felt, and how this was a result of the line of Deng Xiaoping.

The movement also temporarily opened up a political space where Mao could be publicly upheld by those who were already clearer on different lines. Pro-Mao sentiment was broad and heterogeneous, and the more advanced trend within this was

generally expressed in upholding Mao symbols closely identified with the Cultural Revolution, like badges and the *Quotations from Chairman Mao* (the famous Little Red Book studied by revolutionary masses throughout China and by millions of others around the world). Observers in 1988, for instance, reported that almost no one was wearing Mao badges then. Displaying Mao badges would be daring, even dangerous, as this amounted to openly going against the regime, which was attacking Mao's line and systematically dismantling the accomplishments of the Mao period and especially the Cultural Revolution.

In the months before the outbreak of the student movement,

observers reported that in Peking Mao badges were worn furtively, inside the lapel of jackets. Later, during the Tiananmen protests, and especially in the second half of May when workers massively joined the students, there was an outpouring of pro-Mao sentiment as badges were dusted off and pinned on. (Of course, while it seemed like the Western media found and interviewed every pro-American Chinese in the country and showed endless reruns of the "goddess of democracy", it was "unable" to find these pro-Maoists, and anyone waiting for interviews with workers holding Red Books was in for a very long wait — the Western media found only what it was interested in finding,



and only what was in its interests.)

Some observers on the scene reported intense discussions of Mao's works in the Square, with people reading out loud to each other from the Little Red Book and Mao's *Selected Works*. These books are now very difficult to find in bookstores (many had been preserved for years in basements, attics, etc.) — it is generally assumed that the regime wants to suppress Mao's writings, so there is a sense that they must hold some truth. Some of the youth involved in these discussions talked of going back to Mao as discovering the history that they had not lived through.

Some people went further to argue that what China needed now was another socialist revolution, that they had done this before in their history and that Mao was the leader who had the understanding to accomplish that. They emphatically remarked that the point was not just to get rid of Deng Xiaoping, but Deng's line, which has dominated China for the last decade.

This consciousness at times unleashed heroism of a kind that went unreported in the Western press. One observer related how just after the massacre, while the PLA soldiers were shooting at practically anyone who even looked defiant, a woman was riding her bicycle down the streets with a bullhorn, crying, "This regime is

fascist. You can all see it now. It's a fascist regime. We need another socialist revolution in China. They're killing our children. Don't you see them killing our children." Tears were streaming down her face as she rode from street corner to street corner drawing a crowd as she tried to explain what was going on.

\* \* \*

Though the workers entered the scene en masse later, towards the end of May, it was immediately apparent that they had a more realistic appreciation of what the stakes were and what would be required of them. It was widely reported that, as one journalist put it, "while students have organised road barricades, speeches and anti-government posters, it is workers... who have resorted to overt violence." The Chinese regime tried to drive wedges between the students and workers. Right after the massacre, for instance, the executions which were announced pointedly only included workers and unemployed. They feared not only that the students would ignite the workers and the huge numbers of unemployed flocking to the cities from the countryside, but even more fundamentally what the workers would bring into any

mass movement. Just before the spring events, the official Chinese *Peasants' Daily* alerted its cadres to what it called "a second deification of Mao" (the first allegedly being the Cultural Revolution) where across the country people were hanging up portraits of Mao, singing "The East is Red" and reciting ditties glorifying the Mao epoch. The phenomenon, it reported, was arising spontaneously among poorer workers and peasants. The *International Herald Tribune* reported: "Intellectuals and manual workers may share hatred of China's corrupt and brutal leaders, but the big portraits of Mao Tsetung that industrial workers paraded through Beijing in the days preceding martial law were a reminder that most of China's masses long for an enlightened emperor, not democratic institutions." What the workers and peasants are longing for in fact is the rule of the proletariat and the continued revolution that Mao embodied.

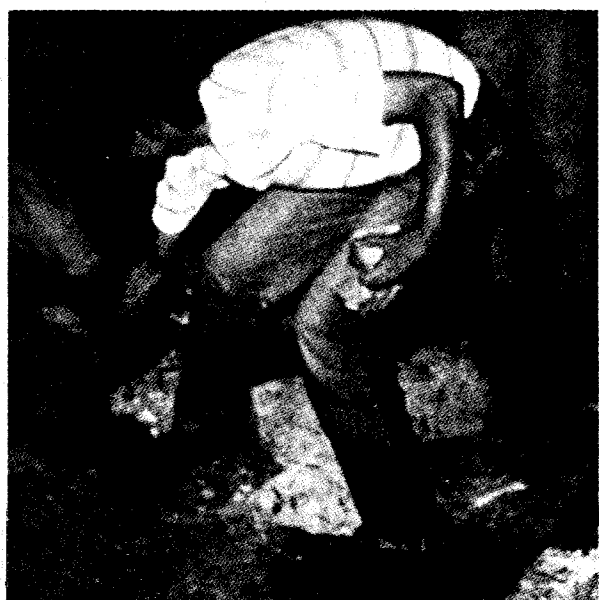
These recent developments in China bring to mind the point made by Mao in the different context of the Cultural Revolution:

"Although it was the intellectuals and the broad masses of young

students who launched the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, it was, nonetheless, incumbent upon the masters of the time, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying the revolution through to completion, once the 'January Storm' had seized power. Intellectuals have always been quick in altering their perception of things, but, because of the limitations of their



*Soldier disarmed by the masses.*








instincts, and because they lack a thorough revolutionary character, they are sometimes opportunistic."

In brutally crushing the spring protests, one of Deng's main concerns was to strike at any potential rebirth of the Maoist forces and at the revolt and rebellion in which such forces grow strong. The uncompromising revolutionary spirit of the Cultural Revolution is still, for the rulers of China, all too alive and threatening. Pirated notes from a Party

meeting in late April quoted Deng as telling his colleagues: "This is not an ordinary student movement. It is turmoil.... What they are doing now is altogether the same stuff as what the rebels did during the Cultural Revolution. All they want is to create chaos under the heavens."

This spring's events are not, of course, a repeat of the Cultural Revolution. Instead of encouraging rebellion and revolutionary transformation from below, as Mao did when the proletariat held state power, the top party leadership today crushes dissent from above. Speaking to this difference, one bourgeois commentator accurately presented the viewpoint of his entire class: "Twenty years ago another

generation of students was against the same three things: compromise, inequalities, corruption. They called themselves the Red Guard and demanded 'extermination' of the 'devils and demons of revisionism'. They had a leader; they were driven by the messianism [sic] of the aging Mao Tsetung. There is no Mao today, thank God." The seeds that Mao and the Cultural Revolution planted, however, are very real. They have given rise to Maoist forces around the world, waging struggle from Peru to South Asia to the imperialist metropolises and in China too where the small but significant forces raising the banner of Mao and another socialist revolution are haunting Deng and the reactionaries and "creating chaos under the heavens" for their butcher regime. □



*After the Tiananmen massacre, thousands gathered to mourn the fallen and condemned the criminal regime. Poems by Mao accompanied wreaths.*

Revolt in China:

# The Crisis of Revisionism, or...

(Reprinted from the 29 May 1989 issue of the  
*Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the RCP, USA)



*Large billboards like the one above which says "Dare to Struggle" and "Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun" under the Deng regime have been replaced by advertising from various imperialist countries, here Japan.*

**By Raymond Lotta**

China has been caught up in massive upheaval. Demonstrations led by students erupted in the major cities of the country. Several attempts to remove students from Tiananmen Square failed, and soldiers openly refused orders from their superiors. Workers joined the protest movement in ever larger numbers. Discontent is deep. People from all walks of life are carrying on discussion and debate about the sickness of Chinese society. This revolt not only took the revisionist Communist Party leadership by surprise but also seriously called into question its ability and mandate to rule. Where the movement may go is unclear. The extent to which genuine Marxist-Leninists, upholding Mao Tsetung's banner, may be trying to exert revolutionary influence is also unclear.



# Why Mao Tsetung Was Right

But this much is certain: Deng Xiaoping's pipe dreams of an obedient population, a stable political environment, and a controllable capitalism have been shattered.

What is happening in China is the product of twelve years of revisionist rule. After the death of Mao Tsetung in 1976, a reactionary coup d'état brought to power a new exploiting class. Since then, China has undergone sweeping changes — in its economy, in its political institutions, in its educational system, in social life, in the values it promotes. These changes have been hailed in the West and in the Soviet bloc as progress. Right there, that should tell us something about the reality of reform. What is described as the restoration of sanity is really the restoration of capitalism. What experts like to describe as a society going through growing pains and searching for political reform is really a society in deep crisis: an economic crisis, a social crisis, and a crisis of confidence in ruling institutions. The purpose of this article is to examine some of the basic characteristics of Chinese society that produced such discontent and what this suggests about the solution to the problems of China under revisionist rule.

## I. CHINA IS NOT A SOCIALIST SOCIETY - CAPITALISM HAS BEEN RESTORED AND CHINA IS BEING REDUCED TO AN OPPRESSED NATION

### Profit in Command

The Chinese economy is organised around the principle of profit in command. Chinese theoreticians themselves have said that profit provides the most useful measure for economic performance. They have said that competition among enterprises is

a good thing since it insures that "only the best survive". In fact, bankruptcies now exist in China.<sup>1</sup> Enterprises are now rewarded for earning greater profits, and more and more investment is now financed by loans rather than by grants. Profit guides the investment of capital. Here is an example. One policy that Mao fought for was to disperse industry throughout the country and to make special efforts to develop the poorer and backward regions. Today, development resources are being concentrated along China's coastal provinces. These have traditionally been more prosperous regions. The idea is to develop an export-oriented economy in these areas. But the effect is that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, as investment and financial resources are sucked into high-profit ventures.<sup>2</sup> This is not socialism.

### The Situation in Agriculture

Under Mao, China had developed a system of collective agriculture. China's basic food needs were met and enormous social changes took place in the countryside. In 1978, after revolutionary power was overthrown, China adopted the household responsibility system. Fields were broken up into parcels and plots of land were assigned to individual peasant families. A series of directives in 1983 and 1984 allowed individual farm households to hire labour, to buy and own farm machinery, and to market their surpluses in other regions. More efficient households were encouraged to enter into leasing arrangements with less efficient households. In this way land ownership was concentrated in a few hands.

William Hinton has described this process of decollectivisation: "When the time came to distribute collective assets, people with influence and connections were

able to buy, at massive discounts, the tractors, trucks, wells, pumps, processing equipment, and other productive property that the collectives had accumulated over decades through the hard labour of all members. Not only did the buyers manage to set low prices for these capital assets... but they often bought them with easy credit from the state banks.... It is doubtful if, in the history of the world, any privileged group ever acquired more for less."<sup>3</sup> What you have in the Chinese countryside today is a system of modern capitalist commercial farming, often with international linkages, developing alongside a dependent and fragmented poor peasant economy.

China's leaders promote short-term gain. Whatever brings in the most income will supposedly benefit the economy as a whole. "To get rich is glorious", says Deng Xiaoping. This is the capitalist way. And what have been some of the consequences? First, grain production has failed to increase over the last four years. This is because it is more profitable for farmers to grow other cash crops and because the prices of fertilizer, pesticides, and agricultural machinery have risen as a result of declining state investment in agriculture and industries supporting it. China is now importing huge amounts of grain. Second, there has been tremendous environmental destruction to grasslands and forests, and destruction to drainage and irrigation systems, as cash-oriented farming and herding spread uncontrolled. Third, polarisation in the countryside, inheritance practices which split family plots into units too small to farm, and the collapse of collective social services have produced a huge migration of people out of the countryside. By 1988, 50 million peasants had flocked to the major cities.<sup>4</sup> Most are without jobs or housing and



many of them sleep in railway stations, parks, or urban slums. Never in human history has there been so massive a movement of people from the countryside to the city in such a short period of time. This is not socialism.

### The Situation of Workers in Industry

China's leaders say they want to modernise society. They say the way to do it is to maximise efficiency. And the way to do that is to maximise profits. Anything that raises productivity is just fine. In fact, in a very important speech given in October 1987, Zhao Ziyang, the secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party, said that the sole criterion for the economy is its level of productivity.<sup>5</sup> This means that the most important thing to the rulers of China is how much they can squeeze out of the workers.

Productivity is boosted by capitalist means. Workers in state industry face strict factory discipline and are subjected to management controls over the organisation and performance of work. They are no longer masters of society as they were in revolutionary China; they are not engaged in all-around political life and struggle. They are mere elements in the productive process. In 1984 a "flexible wage system" was introduced, allowing for more wage differentials and bonus systems to get more work out of people. Reforms have also given managers more "flexibility" in hiring and firing. In 1985 the government changed the terms under which young workers became employees of state enterprises. This is the labour-contract system. Rather than being hired for life, new workers are hired for a limited length of time. They do not have the same security and welfare benefits as do other workers.<sup>6</sup> In some situations, these contracts are verbal agreements under which workers receive a "floating wage" based on output and profits.

The Chinese state no longer guarantees employment. In the

industrial city of Shenyang, 63,000 workers were laid off in 1988; but only 16,000 of them found new jobs during the year.<sup>7</sup> These reforms are sold to people as "freedom of choice" — you can work where you want to. What is really happening is that the threat of wage reduction, dismissal and unemployment, and a system of competitive hiring are used as clubs to enforce exploitation. At the same time, a segmented labour force is being consolidated. It is based on growing differences in payment, position, and security and a huge surplus of cheap migrant labour from the rural areas. This is not socialism.

### Foreign Domination

Deng Xiaoping & Co have dragged China back into the clutches of the Western powers. When Mao was alive, China was a base area for world revolution. Today China is a sweatshop for imperialism and an unofficial arms dealer for the CIA.

China has received large amounts of foreign capital over the last ten years. Since 1979 China has negotiated \$25 billion worth of foreign investment and signed \$47 billion worth of loan agreements.<sup>8</sup> China's large-scale industrial equipment industries increasingly rely on imported foreign technology. China often has to repay its trade and investment partners with the output of the projects with which they are associated. This is the case with much of the off-shore drilling by foreigners. China must continually export more to meet its rising import bill. Failing this, it must borrow, and its foreign debt now stands at about \$40 billion. The performance of China's economy is very much influenced by its integration in the world economy. High imports in 1984-85 fueled industrial growth, while recent cuts in imports have made domestic shortages and inflation worse.

In many respects the old system where foreign powers dominated enclaves and received concessions is returning. Nowhere is this more apparent than in "special eco-

conomic zones" established by the Chinese government along China's southeast coast. These zones are similar to the export-processing zones established in Taiwan and South Korea in the 1960s and 1970s. The Chinese government has invested in transportation and communication, provided a work force, and offered preferential tax rates to foreign capital, which is now allowed to set up wholly-owned foreign enterprises. In 1988 more than one million workers in southern China depended on manufacturing arrangements with capital from Hong Kong. It is not uncommon to find employees, even children, working twelve hours a day, seven days a week, for piece-rates amounting to 30 cents an hour.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, large chunks of Hainan Island, another special economic zone, are being leased to Japan for eighty years.<sup>10</sup>

The Chinese revisionists' program of internal economic reform has at the same time been a program of opening up to foreign capital. But owing to China's historical backwardness, this opening up has led to relations of dependency between the state bureaucratic apparatus and foreign capital, and because of the weakness of China's central structures, foreign capital has been able to strike deals at the provincial levels and play regions and localities against one another.<sup>11</sup> China has once again become a nation oppressed by imperialism.

### A Social Cesspool

The counterrevolution in China has affected every sphere of social life. While higher education has been reorganised along elitist Western lines, more than 30 million children have dropped out of primary and middle school. With the return of family farming in the countryside, brutal feudal traditions and practices have made a comeback. In the system of family farming, male labourers and heirs are valued above the lives and rights of women. Sons are valued more than daughters.

So, along with private family plots, wife beating, the persecution of women giving birth to females, and the killing of female babies have reemerged as major social problems.

Crime is on the rise in the cities. Bribery, gift-giving, use of family, school, and workplace connections to get jobs or consumer goods in short supply — this is part of the survival and get-ahead game. Poverty in the cities is growing and 20 million peasants in the countryside face famine this year.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, party officials openly flaunt their wealth. In revolutionary China, Mao Tse-tung inspired the Chinese people to work for the liberation of all the people of the world. Today the rulers of China inspire people with a vision of colour televisions from Japan. This is not socialism.

## II. THE CURRENT CRISIS

### The Economy

China's growth rate in the 1980s has averaged about 9 percent a year. This is quite high. But this growth has had a very distorted character. And today the economy is in a state of disarray.

By 1988 the central bank was losing its grip over the money supply and credit, the country was facing 10 and 20 percent inflation, and there were runs on banks. Investment was out of control: money was going into ill-conceived, get-rich-quick projects, while some basic industries were neglected. Provinces were competing for raw materials and waging price wars to corner markets. There has been a kind of economic warlordism. Speculation was getting out of hand. The government responded with a programme to slow down the economy and regain more central control. But this has only led to more speculation and unauthorised financial activities at the local levels and to new difficulties.<sup>13</sup> For instance, because of the tightening up of the money supply, the government has not been able to pay peasants the full contract price for grain. As a result of gov-

ernment cuts in investment, the official rate of unemployment has jumped to 5 percent, and real unemployment is much higher. Inflation is now running at about 30 percent. Chaotic reform has been followed by chaotic retrenchment.

### Corruption

If they have achieved none of their other goals in the international arena, the Chinese revisionists have certainly reached, and probably exceeded, international capitalist standards of corruption. It is rampant at every level of the party and government and bitterly resented by the masses. Local bureaucrats have the political power and control over scarce resources and state capital to take advantage of various situations. With access to officially priced products, they will for example buy a ton of steel at 200 yuan (the Chinese money unit) and resell it at the market price of 700 yuan. They engage in speculative trading of imported goods in the special economic zones for resale to the rest of China. These practices have made many officials overnight millionaires. And there is widespread cronyism. For example, China's four largest state-owned companies are supercorporations with subsidiaries all over the country and with important connections to the outside world. On their senior staff are to be found former ministers, vice-mayors, senior party secretaries, and relatives of politburo members. These people amass huge fortunes and are protected by top officials in the party. The students had good reason to demand that party officials disclose their income and assets.

### The Crisis of Ideology and Legitimacy

The Chinese Communist Party does not inspire people. As one teacher in Beijing put it, "Party members used to be 'the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts.' But now it's the opposite. All they do is take, take,

take."<sup>14</sup> But the problem goes deeper than that. This is a party that has nothing to do with revolution, that has nothing to do with the lofty ideals of communism, with the goal of a classless society. It has attempted to rally people around the ideology of self-interest and around the goal of a modern, industrial China. It promises an efficiently run economy and improved living standards but delivers exploitation, incompetence, and ruin. It sends 100,000 students abroad to get trained in Western management and engineering; they return only to find that the economy can't absorb their skills. It extols democracy but is an autocratic institution with feudal-like power centres and is out of reach of mass criticism and transformation. Why should people believe such a party? Why should people believe in such a party?

## III. ONLY ANOTHER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION CAN SAVE CHINA

If you want to understand why these things could happen in China, you have to go back to Mao Tse-tung. It was Mao who warned of the danger of the capitalist road under socialism. It was Mao who pointed out that people joining the Communist Party only to build a modern, prosperous China would, once in power, develop into a new bourgeoisie. It was Mao who predicted that if the capitalist roaders came to power they would slavishly submit to imperialism. It was Mao who had worked out a series of policies and principles of socialist planned economy that were designed precisely to avoid the disastrous consequences of what has since come to pass in China. And, most of all, it was Mao who initiated the Cultural Revolution to overthrow the likes of Deng Xiaoping and other new bourgeois forces within the Communist Party who were aiming to restore capitalism. Mao taught revolutionaries everywhere that the revolution doesn't end with but must continue after the sci-

zure of state power.

The only way out of the mess of Chinese society is another socialist revolution. The revisionists must be overthrown. Foreign capital must be driven out and China must disentangle itself from the web of imperialist economic relations. Industry and agriculture must be reorganised. The tremendous social polarisation must be overcome. New political institutions of popular rule must be established. The ideas and values of private gain must be replaced with Mao's principle of "serving the people".

The situation in China is a complex one. A Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party to lead a revolutionary struggle does not appear to be on the scene. But the influence of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have been felt in the recent revolt. Analysis of the political economy and class structure of China is urgently needed, along with the formulation of strategy and tactics. Genuine revolutionaries also face a major challenge: how to popularise a truly revolutionary socialism in the revisionist countries. Many of the young people who have courageously confronted the regime and dramatised the sense of political powerlessness that people feel are themselves disillusioned with socialism. They have been educated on a diet of anti-Mao and anti-Cultural Revolution propaganda. Most have been led to believe that what they are experiencing and revolting against is socialism. And for many of them, and this applies also to young people in Eastern Europe, socialism is often seen as something that is outmoded, that is no longer relevant or vital.

But if Mao's analysis of the capitalist roaders has been proven right, so too has his vision of socialism. Socialism is a higher order of society, which is itself a transition to communism.

It is about abolishing exploitation and overcoming the differences and inequalities in society. It is about the continual transformation of society from top to bottom. It is about altering institu-

tions and ideas. Is this possible? Well, this was the reality of China during the Cultural Revolution. One-quarter of humanity was on the road to the future. The Cultural Revolution didn't fail, it didn't collapse, as its enemies proclaim — it was defeated by those who rule China today. But that was not the end of the story. The lessons and legacy of Mao live on. The revisionists may be in power, but the crisis they now face makes one thing abundantly clear: it is revisionism that fundamentally has no future. □

#### Footnotes

1. On the course of bankruptcy legislation, see Harry Harding, *China's Second Revolution, Reform After Mao* (Washington D.C.: Brookings, 1987), pp. 116-17; on bankruptcies and unemployment in Canton, see Ellen Salem, "No money in the bank," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 4 May 1988, pp. 69-70.
2. See, for instance, Edward Gargan, "Along the Chinese Coastline, Economic Dragon Awakens", *New York Times*, 13 August 1988.
3. William Hinton, "Response to Hugh Deane", *Monthly Review*, March 1989, pp. 20-21.
4. *The Economist*, 18 February 1989, p. 34.
5. See Zhao Ziyang, "Advance Along the Road of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics", Report Delivered at the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 25, 1987, *Beijing Review*, 9-15 November 1987, and *China Daily*, 24 November 1988.
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9. Nicholas Krostoff, "China: Hong Kong's Factory", *New York Times*, 4 September 1987.
10. John Gittings, "A new look at China's old questions", *Manchester Guardian*, 14 May 1989.
11. See the discussion of this in Michel Chossudovsky, *Towards Capitalist Restoration?* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).
12. Hinton, "Response to Deane", p. 12.
13. See Ellen Salem, "Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 October 1988.
14. Quoted in Robert Delfs, "Helm-smen's lost bearings", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 October 1988, p. 36.

By Sven Liljesson



Big cities in China are full of peasants looking for work.

In 1963, Jan Myrdal, who, together with his wife Gun Kessle, had lived in the village of Liu Lin, released his book *Report from a Chinese Village*. Through this and succeeding works by Myrdal, the peasants of Liu Lin spoke movingly of how the revolution had transformed their lives. Myrdal stressed, "China's real future continues to lie not in Singapore or Hong Kong, nor in Taiwan, Shanghai or Beijing's new civil service or the elites' university. Instead, it is to be found among the several hundred million in the poor villages, in the small, gray towns and the big city slums."

Twenty-five years later Sven



# China's Road to Capitalism: Liu Lin - A Village in China

Liljesson visited Liu Lin to investigate how the current political situation in China has affected people at the "grassroots". Liljesson had visited Liu Lin previously — the first time seven years ago — and his report paints a vivid backdrop to today's events in China. It was previously published by the Swedish-China Friendship Association in their magazine *Kina Rapport*. The translation from Swedish is the responsibility of AWTW.

It is an early autumn morning when we arrive on foot in Liu Lin, the Chinese village in northern Shaanxi province made famous by the reporting of Jan Myrdal and Gun Kessle.

My Chinese friend Yingduo and I left the luxury hotel and the currently well-stocked markets in Beijing and travelled away from China's east coast where industrialism breathes the morning air and where the change-of-course now allows foreign corporations to establish themselves behind the "bamboo curtain".

We intend to visit the countryside, where 80% of China's population of 1 billion live, and inspect the backside of the reforms. We have heard of increased starvation in the ominous Year of the Dragon (1988). In some provinces, torrential rains have flooded farmlands, in others drought and forest fires have destroyed crops. Reports of 80 million people starving have been heard.

For several days now a bumpy coachride along dusty and sometimes non-existent roads have brought us to the old revolutionary town of Yen-an. This is where Mao Tsetung led his retreating forces in the legendary Long March towards the beginning of the 1930s to lick their wounds and to begin the struggle against the invading Japanese and against the

army of Chiang Kaishek. By October 1949, Chiang's army, the remnants of the Kuomintang military, had fled to Taiwan — the "other" China — and Mao could proclaim the People's Republic of China.

Seven years have passed since I visited Liu Lin, just outside Yen-an, for the first time. Liu Lin was not a model village, but the inhabitants of this barren mountain community had, through reorganisation, mechanisation of agriculture and hard work on their collective workteams, increased grain production by 20-30 percent.

Most of the inhabitants felt that collective farming was more suitable for the area. The arable land in the valleys is small and meager and only one harvest per year is possible, compared to up to three harvests per year in southern China. The need for co-ordination was greater here.

However, at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1978, the course was changed: the responsibility system with delivery contracts to the state were to be introduced all over the country, the private plots of the peasants were to be extended and strengthened, free markets were to be set up, and the state's purchase price of agricultural products was to be raised.

Class struggle was no longer the guiding line, instead the motto became, "Get Rich".

Yet we were visiting a place with a revolutionary history — during the turbulent years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the area attracted young volunteer Red Guards from the coastal metropolitan centres.

A policeman we met close to the People's Hotel in Yen-an, where we stayed, said: "Now all of them want to go home. There

are those who pay 6,000 yuan bribes to get permission to return to Beijing." At the official rate, 1 yuan equals about 18 pence (0.25\$ US); the sum the homesick, disillusioned youth pay is equivalent to several years' wages for a Chinese peasant.

Though Yen-an was formerly a town foreign tourists sometimes visited, today it is rare anyone comes here. Even so, the town is not isolated from the outside world. One block away from the then temporary living quarters of Mao, where he wrote pamphlets and planned the campaigns of the 1930s, "Rambo", with Sylvester Stallone, is playing to a full house(!). Conversely, it was long ago that they stopped selling Mao's *Little Red Book* in the town bookstore.

As we walked through Liu Lin, several people, curious about our presence, came forward to greet us. Construction is underway at a hectic pace, and people gladly stop for a break to show off their new homes — which are being built on valuable farmland. The houses are replacing the old cave dwellings, special houses which for generations protected against heat in the summer and cold during winter.

A red brick building is getting an extra floor; hired carpenters and bricklayers sweat in the heat; a couple of curious kids with runny noses watch how the mortar is mixed....

"Things have improved a lot since the responsibility system was introduced. Look at us, we are richer now," says 70-year-old Liu Shou Wen.

The Liu family of five are putting 10,000 yuan into a house with eight rooms. The family has abandoned farming; the son — the major provider for the family — is working at a warehouse in Yen-an and has a second job trans-

porting goods.

In a field, some peasants are working among corn, millet and tomato plants. In the past there were large fields around here, where Collective Workteam Number 3 worked the land together. Now the land is divided up and resembles little patches of land.

Gao Shichang, a 39-year-old farmer, is hoeing the soil in his sweet potato patch. There has been a lot of rain this year and the soil has eroded; deep cracks are splitting his nearby cornfield. The husks droop, yellow-brown.

"In a few weeks I will harvest the corn, but this year will be a bad one. There has been too much rain," he sighs, as he stops hoeing for a while.

He lives with his family of three kids and his mother in a couple of caves. The family has three pigs and was allotted 5.5 *mu* of land to cultivate when the work law was discarded in the autumn of 1982. One *mu* equals about 1/16th hectare or 1/6th acre.

Last year the Gao family harvested 2.2 tons of grain, delivered a full 500 kilograms according to their state contract and sold the rest on the free market.

"This year we probably cannot sell anything on the market, because then we will not have anything left to eat."

Gao Shichang believes it was better in the days of the workteams: "The plots of land were larger, farming was more mechanized, and we shared both the sweat and the harvest. Sure there were those who were lazy and we had to push them, but on the whole Liu Lin was a good village. Now everything is so run down.... For many people it is difficult to get enough food for their families; some are starving."

On our way up the hill in the village, a little girl stops. She sees us sweating in the hot weather and asks if we are thirsty. We nod and follow her into a cave that is high up in the mountain.

Two men are smoking a water pipe and sitting up on the *kangen* — the large family bed made out of bricks and heated by smoke

passages from the fireplace. Gao Huaixu serves us hot water and sugar. The sugar is a sign of the hospitality the family wants to show us despite their poverty.

In a space of at most 24 square meters live two adults and two children. Moreover, the husband's father is resting up in this place after having spent time in the hospital. The dwelling is simple but well kept, and on a small chest sit some family pictures. The family moved into this abandoned cave a few years ago when poverty drove them away from Yen-an.

Earlier, Gao had been a labourer but ten years ago he became disabled after a leg injury at work. Both he and his wife are illiterate, but they are proud of their daughters who go to school in the village. The oldest girl, Guanlian, dreams of studying science and seeing all of China, even the whole world, when she grows up.

Since the family moved here after the redivision of the land, they have no real rights or any way to make a living, and they do not receive any economic support from the state.

Outside garlic and tomato plants cling to the entrance, and the family is growing vegetables on land loaned by friendly neighbours. A pig is digging further away.

"The pig is our only asset and wealth. We are going to sell the pig at the market in order to get some cash to buy some grain and a new piglet. We never eat meat. It is only at the New Year that we can eat till we're full," says the wife, Yan Guilan.

Distressed, my Chinese friend and I wander down the hill again. We walk through the apple grove where the first fruits were delivered to the free market in 1981. Now, more than half of the grove is dried up and the trees are dead. The rest of the trees are privately owned; a man guards them carefully against birds and apple thieves.

Around the friendship tree (between the village and Sweden) that was planted there in the

mid-70s, rusty sheetmetal is thrown about in the weeds. We pass a building where previously the machine shop had been housed. In 1981 it was the village's hope for the future. The shop made sprinkler systems for watering the soil, repaired agricultural machines and even made a few minor inventions. Now the machine shop has closed down and the Yen-an theatre school is renting the premises from the village. We also pass by where the noodle factory and childcare centre once stood. Both have gone out of existence. "A lot of things have happened since you were last here," Feng Changye explains, as he serves us green tea while we wait for dinner in his son's newly opened restaurant.

Feng Changye was the village Party Secretary at the time of my previous visit. Now he is 64-years-old, and has a vague behind the scenes position in the community while awaiting his retirement next year.

In 1981 an open discussion was being held in the village about the future and the errors and shortcomings of Mao. In Liu Lin, most of the people wanted to keep the workteams. Feng Changye warned that disbanding the agricultural workteams would deal a harsh blow to family planning (with the goal of one child per family), as every able-bodied person would then mean extra income for the family. But as Party Secretary he also said that the decision of the Party must be implemented. At the end of 1982 the People's Commune and the village workteams were dissolved and the land was divided up among the families.

"Unfortunately, my warnings came true," he says today, as he sits smoking his pipe with his grandchild on his lap.

Grain production has dropped somewhat compared to 1981: from 473,000 kilos to about 400,000 kilos this year — despite the fact that there are now more mouths to feed.

The village population has increased from 1,000 inhabitants to 1,200 in seven years, despite an



*Large-scale basic farmland construction in the Plum Blossom Village commune in 1976.*

active birth control campaign and fines for those who “cheat”. The fines vary from 500 yuan up to several thousand; however, the peasants don’t bother to pay them.

Though there is increased construction of housing and a higher standard of living for some, the differences between families have grown. Feng Changye told us that today the inhabitants can be divided into four categories: •10% have grown much richer and have an income of 2,000 yuan or more per person per year. The expression “10,000 yuan family” is widely used in China and indicates those who have succeeded after the decollectivisation process. •20% of the village population now has an annual income of 800 yuan. •30% earn 500 yuan annually and, relative to the high inflation rate, live today at about

the same level as before the responsibility system began. •40% of Liu Lin’s population are worse off. Half of them can eat till they’re full, the other half is starving.

“Mainly it is the weak who are worse off — the old, the handicapped, and those suffering from illness and abandoned. During the period of collectivism, not only could everyone in Liu Lin eat till they were full, but one also had some money left over to spend,” said old Feng.

“Then who are those who have it better?”

Ironically, things have gone especially well for the former Party bureaucrats. The family of the former brigade chief bought a truck and have become rich by transporting goods 24 hours a day; the village Party Secretary after Feng is now manager of a

new grocery store; the chairman of the village is a doctor in a privatised field clinic where many villages no longer can afford to go.

Even the family of Feng Changye are living better after the decollectivisation process. In 1982, the family moved to a newly constructed house, and the son and his family have — besides the restaurant we are now sitting in enjoying our meat stew and steamed bread — a small grocery store. The son’s family makes an annual profit of 5,000 yuan from his businesses. They hope to buy out the land from the state and to expand their business when the much-awaited railroad between the provincial capital Xian and Yanan will be ready in 1990. Then a station will be built here.

“You cannot get rich by working the soil; this is a disgrace. Those who have succeeded have



taken up other trades.”

Corruption is spreading here as in other parts of the country. There are special mailboxes set up and the population is encouraged to inform on state officials and managers who receive favours and abuse their positions.

“I am disappointed in the Party. Perhaps I am old-fashioned, but I believe that a Party member must be both honest and honourable. I am still a member, but I don't see much hope for the future.”

“In 1989, China celebrates 40 years as the People's Republic. Do you think that you celebrate as a socialist country?”

“I dare not think in such terms anymore,” responds Feng Changye evasively.

My Chinese friend and I are bewildered as we wander back to Yanan along the river where women are washing clothes and men filtering gravel for the road.

Peasants we met on the trip in both Inner Mongolia and the province east of Shaanxi praised the new era and the family contract system. They have raised their living standards and gotten more money to spend on washing machines, TVs, radio cassette players, sewing machines and bicycles. They gladly showed us well-tended plots of land which yield good crops.

On the other hand, in the barren province of Shaanxi itself, it seemed that the workteams suited the peasants better. But instead of offering the country's 800 million peasants the choice between the collective workteams or signing family contracts, the People's Communes and collectivism were ripped apart.

The family plots around Yanan are considerably smaller than those the Swedes left in the 1800s to emigrate to America.

In China today many are forced or enticed to give up farming, move to the big cities, and switch to industrial or service work, or to open a small business. This may become the greatest mass migration in history. □

China:

# The Fascist State

## at the End of

## the Capitalist Road



By Neville Maxwell\*

“It was a pig walking on its hind legs. Yes, it was Squealer. A little awkwardly, as though not quite used to supporting his considerable bulk in that position, but with perfect balance, he was strolling across the yard. And a moment later, out from the door of the farmhouse came a long line of pigs, all walking on their hind legs... And finally there was a tremendous baying of dogs ... and out came Napoleon himself, majestically upright, casting haughty glances from side to side, and with his dogs gambolling round him. He carried a whip in his trotter.”

- George Orwell, *Animal Farm*

It is difficult to think of a political event that has been subject of greater misunderstanding in the West than has the Tiananmen demonstration and its brutal suppression by the Chinese government. Forgetting the politics of the Chinese revolution, making it an act of faith that Deng Xiaoping's “Reforms” have brought great benefit to China and that the Chinese simply demand more of them, Western observers and analysts have seen what they

wished to see: an Oriental replay of Eastern Europe's rejection of communism.

The West's failure of analysis is signalled by the wild semantic confusion, degenerated now into utter garbling, of its descriptions of post-revolutionary China's political factions: “Radicals”, “Conservatives”, “Reactionaries”, “Hard-liners”, the labels and their wearers have switched and shifted bewilderingly. The ruling faction in China, best named as Dengist, has of course deliberately added to the confusion with its own chameleon verbal camouflage, first presenting itself as upholders of Mao Tse-tung against those they called his enemies and theirs, the “Gang of Four”; then, with the power they took through the 1976 coup d'etat consolidated, moving through repudiation of the Cultural Revolution to tacit rejection of Mao himself — a “mad recluse”, they told us, for the last 19 years of his life; and finally Deng, to justify his repression, is found parroting the language of his own Cultural Revolution tormentors and labelling his victims “counter-revolutionaries”.

Keys to clarify this confusion are available. The most detailed, accurate and sophisticated lies in the writings of China's

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“Maoists” but for those who find such a source suspect *Animal Farm* will do. The Aesopian morals of that great political fable are two: that revolutions are born infected with the virus of counter-revolution, ie, those who lead the structuring of a revolutionary society can become a class whose self-interest is served by its undoing; and that in this age counter-revolution will always present itself as revolution continued. In Orwell’s terms, the “pigs” of the Chinese revolution seized power in the later 1970s, and instituted policies of restoration and regression which progressively reversed the achievements of the previous three decades; and of course in the “human” world outside the Farm these “Reforms” and the humanoid antics of the pigs, on golf course and in rodeo stage-

coach, were rapturously applauded.

Whether Mao ever knew of *Animal Farm* is not known, but he certainly lived it.

The Chinese Communist Party fractured almost immediately after its triumph in 1949. The coalition of classes which Mao had put together and which overwhelmed the decadent Kuomintang regime divided over China’s future road, in what appeared at first to be mere difference of priority. But the differences in fact were absolute. For the Dengists (whose first leader was Liu Shaoqui) the pre-eminent task was that of building China into a powerful modern state, and the natural leaders — and prime beneficiaries — of that process would inevitably be the bureaucracy, allied with the intelligentsia, reinforced with ele-

ments from the old order and supported by whatever friends could be won abroad. In a term, a new bourgeoisie — but one that was to be controlled, strictly when necessary, by the Communist Party.

In that scenario, the peasants would put down the arms with which they had won the revolution, take up again their sickles and hoes, and toil as usual until the benefits of modernisation began to trickle down into the rural sector. Even then, there would be other levels of filtration: a renaissance rich-peasant and potential landlord class in alliance with urban interests would have to benefit first in order that agriculture could generate the surpluses needed for industrial modernisation.

For the Maoists, the task was to build society in the interests of the

*Above left: Deng congratulates generals after the 3 June massacre. Below: In 1976, PLA doctor studies Mao Tsetung Thought with women from a fishing village.*



peasants and the workers, whose numbers would rapidly grow as China industrialised. So far as the peasantry was concerned, Mao's confidence that they potentially had an inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism was vindicated in the extraordinarily compressed saga of the 1950s that carried rural China from the small-holding agriculture which land distribution had extended and revived — and which Mao recognised as the route back to stagnation and poverty for the majority — through primitive and then sophisticated stages of cooperation and, with accelerating pace, into collectives and the newly conceived people's communes with their enormous potential for sustained, comprehensive and flexible development.

That triumph, with the secular increase in agricultural production and the rescue from poverty of the majority of the peasants — say 60 percent — in a mere 25 years, the Dengists have had to deny and belie in order to substantiate their false claim that they inherited from Mao a failed agricultural strategy, and that their Reforms had to be introduced to save an economy on the point of collapse. Credulous specialists in the West, well-disposed towards the "Reformers" who were so eager to learn from them, have been glad to accept these formulations. It became apparent in the early 1950s that the growth-at-all-costs strategy for China's development, which would reverse the revolution's egalitarian thrust and jeopardise the country's new-won economic independence, had committed support in the Communist leadership. That the strategy they sign-posted "Capitalist Road" would lead to a shot-in-the-arm surge of rural prosperity the Maoists recognised, accepting that it would therefore have powerful appeal to many peasants; but they foresaw that its beneficent effects would be short-lived, bought at the cost of the factors for long-term growth that collectivisation had built into the rural economy.

Through the 1950s and espe-

cially after the first years of the 1960s, when the Dengist faction of the Party had the opportunity to introduce, tentatively, what later it could impose as "the Reforms", Mao evolved an analysis of his opponents' policies that carried on into diagnosis of their class affiliation. By the mid-1960s the Maoists had concluded that a new bourgeoisie was emerging in China; and that the peasants and workers who constituted the vast majority of the society were in a relationship of conflict — class conflict — with the bureaucrats who formulated the policies that shaped their lives, and with the groupings interlinked or in common cause with the bureaucracy: professionals, intellectuals, party cadres — especially those of the higher ranks — and their families. The Cultural Revolution was the Maoists' counter-attack against that emergent class, whose hostility to the revolution could be inferred from their policies although it was of course denied in their rhetoric. Although it appeared at first that the Cultural Revolution had succeeded in consolidating and advancing the egalitarian principles and practices that served socialism, the power of the Dengist right of the Communist party was not broken, merely put to tactical retreat. By the mid-1970s the Cultural Revolution was on the defensive, the Right resurgent. In 1976, the year of his death, Mao was quoted as saying of China's cadres: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

Indeed they were. Only a month after Mao's death they struck, in a classic praetorian coup d'état. Unit 8341 of the P.L.A., charged with the safety of the national leadership, was turned against the left, and China's great reversal, its Restoration, began. As Mao had foreseen, once the right had full power in the party leadership, the purge of the left would be easy to

achieve and China could be made to "change colour". Mao foresaw also that the policies of "the capitalist road" would turn out to be a short-cut to catastrophe for the country, leading it into economic collapse and social disorder. That took just over a decade.

The problem, from the Dengists' point of view, was that if the Communist Party is used to bury socialism it changes into something very different and becomes a Stalinist or even fascist party. The students in Tiananmen knew, as do most Chinese, that the Party has become corrupt and alien, and believed perhaps that it had also become impotent and irrelevant. They forgot that Deng had made much of the "professionalisation" he intended to work on the army, so that it would no longer be a "people's liberation army", custodian of moral and social values, but learn to goose-step and to obey, like any other third-world force.

The "Reforms", which have been so consistently applauded by Deng Xiaoping's Western clique, have left China facing a long period of division and turmoil. Deng's new model army cannot be used successfully as an instrument of coercive government for China as a whole, and the process of political disintegration that has begun cannot readily be reversed. The problems facing Beijing were enormous and beyond resolution even before the students took to the Square: not only an economy out of control and a currency threatened by accelerating inflation but, deadliest of all, an acute grain shortage that is the direct consequence of the decollectivisation of agriculture. China would need a coherent, effective government with the support of a united people to steer a way to national survival through the rapids into which the "Reforms" have led it. As it is, with the only alternatives repressive military rule or challenges by force that could lead to civil war, China faces an ineluctable regression into the disorder, fragmentation and renewed mass poverty from which its revolution once rescued it. □



# RIM Press Conference Condemns Deng Regime

The following are excerpts from the press conference called by the Information Bureau of the RIM to denounce the Tiananmen Square massacre by the capitalist Deng Xiaoping regime and from various media interviews, including with the BBC and other major press, in London during June 13-14 by Luis Arce Borja, Carl Dix, and Lili R. — AWTW

**Moderator:** The first speaker today is comrade Carl Dix, who is a national spokesman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Carl Dix is a long-time revolutionary who was imprisoned when as a Vietnam-era soldier he organized other soldiers to refuse to fight against the Vietnamese people.

**Carl Dix:** I want to begin by condemning the foul massacre of protesting students and workers unleashed by the rulers of China led by Deng Xiaoping. Revolutionaries and the oppressed worldwide were glad to see the large-scale resistance to the regime of Deng, Li Peng and the other capitalist roaders who rule China. This development frightened these reactionaries with the spectre of their doom, and this led them to unleash the massacres, arrests and other brutalities. These butchers have blood on their hands and they must pay for this monstrous crime.

Also, I want to speak to the distortions spread about the situation in China. The imperialist rulers in the West try to label these developments part of the crisis of communism. But in truth it is the crisis of capitalism restored. Deng and Co overthrew working class rule in China after Mao's death, and arrested revolutionary leaders like Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, and imprisoned or executed many genuine communists who wanted to follow Mao's line. They also rapidly took apart the socialist system that the Chinese people had built. They reinstated the profit principle, dismantled the agricultural collectives, and opened up China to imperialist economic penetration. This is the source of the massive social ills facing China today, including corruption of high party officials, inflation and the flood of millions of landless peasants into China's cities.

The hypocrisy of the imperialists in all this must be condemned also. As I understand it in his speech today in apparent reference to developments in China, Ronald Reagan is going to say that these are the days of the triumph of freedom. But the only freedom that these imperialists and their spokespeople are interested

in is the freedom to penetrate China and many other countries around the world and to enforce the domination of their system worldwide. The imperialist media and their rulers spent more than a decade praising Deng Xiaoping and his cohorts to the sky as forward-looking men and reformists. They had forged economic and military ties with China's rulers. Yet today they try to distance themselves from the massacre that their friends have unleashed in China.

And the claim that these imperialists deplore the use of violence in China rings hollow. They impose their domination worldwide through violence and today they and their lackeys never hesitate to call out the troops and the police to drown the people's resistance in blood.

Decades ago Mao Tsetung raised the slogan, "Only socialism can free China." Echoing Mao today, we say that only another socialist revolution can save China. We are confident that there are those in the midst of the upheaval in China who grasp this truth and are seizing on the opportunity to spread it created by the developments in China. Under the leadership of Mao and especially through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people took unprecedented steps along the road of ending everything foul associated with the rule of capitalism. The parties and organisations united under the banner of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement pledge to do everything in our power to assist the formation of a Maoist vanguard in China to lead the Chinese people in getting once again on the path of Mao's road.

Mao Tsetung did not fail, revolution will prevail!

**Moderator:** Thank you. The next speaker is comrade Lili R. She is an Afghan Maoist and supporter of RIM; she is the widow of a well-known Afghan Maoist killed by the Soviet troops. She herself has spent two years in Kabul prisons.

**Lili R.:** Mao Tsetung Thought contains thousands of points, and one of those teaches us that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. As an Afghan Maoist, I wish to declare full support for the recent movements of the Chinese people. I express my deep hatred of the reactionary regime of Deng Xiaoping, the capitalist roader who shamelessly usurped political power after Mao's death and restored bourgeois dictatorship. This most hated person has imprisoned comrade Chiang Ching and comrade Chang Chun-chiao for the past 13 years — the two close comrades-in-arm of Mao Tsetung who had made immense contributions to the cause of communism, especially during the Cultural Revolution.

Imperialist and reactionary forces and their press establishment, despite their hypocrisy on human rights, have not once raised an eyebrow against this imprisonment of our comrades. They

are scared stiff of even naming them. As Afghan adherents of Mao Tsetung Thought and unlike the phoney Maoists who support the reactionary regime in China, we know only too well how this reactionary capitalist roader Deng Xiaoping abandoned the Maoists, the revolutionaries and the peoples of Afghanistan. Those capitalist roaders turned socialist China, the red bastion of revolution, into a feasting ground and shamelessly attacked Mao Tsetung Thought and replaced it with Deng's capitalist theories and programme. We know very well that the Russian social-imperialists would not have dared invade Afghanistan with 120,000 troops had it not been for the fact that Deng Xiaoping and Co changed the nature of China as a base for world revolution. Therefore Deng Xiaoping's hands are not only soaked with the blood of the Chinese masses but that of the Afghan people and revolutionaries the world over too.

The very same Deng Xiaoping, in collaboration with U.S. imperialism, armed the backward reactionary forces in Afghanistan. They in turn used their weapons to suppress Maoist revolutionaries and Afghan masses. This corrupt capitalist roader who is second-in-rank only to renegade Khrushchev has indeed committed innumerable crimes. Capitalist restoration in China not only changed democracy for the majority to democracy for the minority rulers but also turned the Red Army into a bloodthirsty tool for the suppression of the masses. It turned the Chinese Communist Party into a bourgeois party.

As a consequence of restoring capitalism in China, we witness mass unemployment, large-scale shortage of housing, prostitution and drug-dealing, all those phenomena alien to China under Mao. Women have once again been put into an inferior position, while during Mao's time it was stressed that women hold up half the sky. The socialist economy and the socialist mode of production has been destroyed, and instead private ownership and profit in command is practiced. This capitalist roader, Deng Xiaoping, who is going against the flow of history and who has done everything to turn back the pages of history, shall eventually be overthrown with the might of the people and socialist China will reemerge. We look forward to the day when once again the revolutionary intellectuals hand in hand with the masses of peasants and workers move toward the elimination of the contradiction between manual and mental labour, between workers and peasants and between city and countryside. We look forward to the day when revolutionary students hold high the Little Red Book and shout, Forward to Communism! Down with Deng Xiaoping! Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with Soviet social-imperialism! Glory to the martyrs of Tiananmen Square!

**Moderator:** The next speaker will be comrade

Luis Arce Borja, who is editor of the Peruvian large circulation daily *El Diario*. Borja recently interviewed Chairman Gonzalo of the Peruvian Communist Party and his newspaper is under heavy government attack for "apologizing for terrorism" in its open support for the Peruvian Communist Party.

**Luis Arce Borja:** With regard to the struggle in China, in Peru we say with satisfaction that the world revolution goes forward with gigantic strides. The fight between revolution and counter-revolution is a deadly one. The events in China confirm that the principal tendency in the world is revolution.

The student and worker movement in the fight against Deng Xiaoping is not isolated from the struggle against revisionism at an international level. We can draw some preliminary conclusions from this phenomenon.

On the one hand it shows the validity of Chairman Mao's teaching on Marxism, that Deng Xiao-ping's clique has to take recourse to the most criminal methods in order to keep itself in power as the reactionaries from the capitalist system have to do.

It also shows that the Chinese masses will have to take recourse to, as Chairman Mao said, armed struggle in order to liquidate the revisionists in this Asian country.

In Peru we have many reasons to look at events in China with much expectation, the reason being that the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) under the great leadership of Chairman Gonzalo is leading a great revolutionary war.

The strength of this working class party lies in the correct application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and in the powerful influx of the oppressed masses in Peru.

The Communist Party of Peru is showing to the world the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. It is possible and right to carry out revolution without the support of an international bastion, though the most important thing is to seek support in the oppressed masses and in the revolutionaries of the world.

The PCP, which leads the struggle of the Peruvian people, carries out this revolution as an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. This is a concrete contribution to the liberation struggles in the oppressed countries in the world. We from within the international proletariat want to express solidarity with the Chinese people and repudiate the massive crimes of the revisionist and reactionary regime led by Deng.

Maoism should be the arm to combat and destroy the reactionaries in China, Peru and in the whole world.

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**Question:** How do you analyse the political significance of what has just happened in China?

**Luis Arce Borja:** In terms of how to analyse the current political events in China, we in Peru have a very good basis to analyse what's going on there, because in Peru the Communist Party of Peru which has been leading the revolution for nine years now is a party whose strategy, ideology and political line are based on the teachings of Chairman Mao. In other words, it is a Maoist party, and it is the only Maoist revolution in today's world that is winning.

**Question:** Did you come to any agreement, some kind of consensus, let's say, about the recent events in China, about the current political trends there, and their significance for the world revolution?

**LAB:** There are different views on this question; we've discussed it a bit today. Our position is that first, the events in China show that the Deng Xiaoping clique that usurped political power in China is immersed in a grave crisis, and cannot control the Chinese people as they had until now. Further, these events also show that the international conjuncture is characterised by the advance of the revolution in the oppressed countries of the world. And lastly, they show that Chairman Mao's teachings continue to be valid, despite all of Deng Xiaoping's efforts to smash them.

**Question:** You mean that you consider the student movement for democracy an expression of Chairman Mao's teachings?

**LAB:** No. We understand that when the Chinese people speak of democracy, they do not mean what the bourgeoisie means by that term. This is because the teachings about democracy that the Chinese people have learnt have been Chairman Mao's teachings. I can tell you that while it is true that the movement being carried out by the Chinese students and people lacks revolutionary leadership, still it is an expression of their discontent with the dictatorship, with the reactionary clique led by Deng Xiaoping. Furthermore, it must be emphasised that these events show that the only way the Chinese people can once again wield political power, the only way they can seize back the power stolen from them, is by basing themselves on Chairman Mao's teachings and once again taking up and carrying out the method, strategy and line of people's war.

**Question:** But the student movement which some working class elements are supporting is not preaching people's war, rather American-style democracy, something whose various aspects could, in short, be defined as bourgeois democracy, and not people's war or a return to the days of Chairman Mao.

**LAB:** I think that it's one thing to say that the Chinese people have spontaneously risen up in rebellion, and quite another to say that they want



bourgeois democracy. In practice, the Chinese people have never experienced bourgeois democracy. China is a semi-feudal country, with a billion people who were exploited for thousands of years. In practice, what their struggle is pointing to is the kind of democracy carried out in China under Chairman Mao. And while it may be true that most are not carrying around posters of Chairman Mao, there have been some clear signs, even in the bourgeois press, on television and in the media, that the movement has not been against Chairman Mao's ideas.... the movement has not been directed against Chairman Mao. It has been directed against Deng Xiaoping. That's very clear....

The conclusions that we draw from the Chinese problem are the following:

First, it shows the structural crisis of oppression and exploitation that the Chinese people are facing. The second conclusion is that the Chinese people reject the Deng Xiaoping clique. Thirdly, it shows that the teachings of Mao are still alive and that Maoism is the third stage of Marxism. In particular, it keeps alive the teachings of Mao and his contributions to people's war as the military strategy of the proletariat. We are sure that for the people of China to regain power, they will have to take up arms and start a people's war. The last conclusion is that the revisionist government of Deng which has usurped power is ready to use the bloodiest methods in order to keep its grip on power. These are the general conclusions that we can draw from recent events in China.... And naturally and obviously the events in China are going to have great repercussions in Peru.

It also has to do with creating Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties in all countries of the world, as well as with the potential of armed people's war even in the most developed countries, because people's war, which is a contribution by Mao, is one of the highest strategies the proletariat has. It is superior, immensely superior, militarily, and enables the proletariat to defeat the most reactionary governments and armed forces of the world.

We in Peru want to show our solidarity with the oppressed masses in China. There is a dialectical relationship between the events in China and events in Peru. Because in Peru the revolution also confronts the opportunist line of those parties that say they are Maoist.... Therefore we consider that in the actual stage we are now at we should develop an international movement, and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has taken on a great responsibility, because we consider that the internationalist practice of the revolution is fundamental in order to destroy imperialism and capitalism in the world.

In Peru we have more than 14,000 victims in the war as a result of the confrontation with the armed forces and police, and more than 5000 people been taken prisoner or "disappeared" over the past eight years. A most important task that we have in Peru is to show solidarity and to link up to the revolutionary movement in China and the rest of the world.

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**Question:** Can you say whether it is the internal situation going on in China today that might create the conditions for revolution or whether it is factors outside of China, like in Afghanistan and so on?

**Lili R.:** As Maoists we believe that for making revolution the internal conditions are decisive — this is the theoretical point. But given that, it doesn't mean that external conditions do not affect the overall process. For instance, if the people's war in Peru going on now is affecting the Maoists and the Maoist movement in Afghanistan and other parts of the world then it means the external conditions are affecting the internal conditions. But at the same time they are not the decisive factor. To take another example, if a genuine revolution happens in Afghanistan and real Maoists come to power there obviously it will have an effect on the conditions and will help ripen the conditions for revolution, in China and many other places. So in that sense the external conditions can be most helpful, but still they're not decisive.

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**Question:** You say that it would take a socialist revolution in China to put your proletariat back in power — but where is the leadership for that?

**Carl Dix:** We think that viewing the recent developments in China the prospect for that looks much better than prior to these developments. As I mentioned in my statement, we are confident in the spreading of the understanding of Mao in the developments there. And we base that not just on some strategic confidence that Mao's line and especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution must have had quite an impact in China and that there are still many people who stand on that, but we have also been able to get indications of that somewhat from the press coverage and also from conversations with people who happened to be traveling at that time. One person in particular who had been there the year

previously was struck by the existence of a left radical tendency somewhat among the students but especially and more strongly among the workers who were openly expressing their support of Mao. They were not anywhere near the majority of opinion leaders — we should point that out — but there were people who were wearing Mao buttons and were expressing that they were not only against the government of Deng Xiaoping but that they trace their opposition to the death of Mao and the overthrow of the people who followed his line. And the way that it was popularly characterised in China is that most people who were protesting were against the government but for the “reforms” while a noticeable minority were against the government and *against* the “reforms”, and these people were referred to as pro-Cultural Revolution.

**Question:** So are we supposed to believe that all the student movements and rebellions and so forth are in favour of Maoism in China?

**CD:** Well that’s not what I said, in effect...

**Question:** If the people are for Maoism, then it would seem they would *say so*....

**CD:** Well if you had listened to what I said, I said there was a noticeable minority of people who opposed the government of Deng Xiaoping and oppose the “reforms” and support the Cultural Revolution. And we understand that this is not the majority view at this point, but we think that the developments in China create quite a big opening for this kind of sentiment to be expressed, particularly in light of the viciousness of the clampdown which we think dispel some illusions that people could rely on one section of the Chinese leadership or another. Clearly there are people in China who support what they think is Western-style democracy and all that. And we got to see a lot of that in the interviews that were on the U.S. media and also from the fact that some people constructed a replica of the United States Statue of Liberty.

What I would say in response is that what bourgeois democracy holds for the world’s people has been proven clearly in history, including in Chinese history. It was the democratic imperialist countries that fought over carving up China, it was democratic Britain that went to war with China to win the right to continue forcing opium down the throats of the Chinese people — and we could talk about what these democratic imperialists have done to the oppressed and exploited around the world. We could even talk in the case of the United States of the fact that when students protested against the Vietnam war and when Black people rebelled in the ghettos against their own deprivation, these rulers who now deplore the use of troops then called out

their police and even shot down protesting students and Black people. So that’s what we think of imperialist democracy.

We also think that some of the Chinese students in favour of Western-style democracy would be quite horrified actually if they saw it close up. So we hope that people will learn the illusory nature of believing in Western-style democracy and we think that Deng Xiaoping and Co taught the masses another lesson in that, one that we’ve learned with our blood but a lesson that won’t soon be forgotten.

**Question:** You like the Cultural Revolution, but it seems that the repression going on now is not so different from what happened back then....

**CD:** During the Cultural Revolution Mao and the revolutionaries did *not* line these people like Deng Xiaoping up and shoot them or shoot them at random, they called on the masses of Chinese people to engage in political struggle against them to expose that their political thinking is going to lead China down the capitalist path, and to mount the kind of struggle that pulled them out of positions of power. And even when they were removed from positions of power they were not subjected to being shot or anything like that, they were made to labour with the common people — that was the approach of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This was because what they were trying to do was first, oppose those who wanted to take China down the capitalist road — the road that Deng Xiaoping and Co have led them down now — and second, educate the Chinese people in what kind of line and struggle was necessary to continue moving China forward. And you can say that the Cultural Revolution failed in the sense that the capitalist roaders were able to retake power and have dragged China down the capitalist path, but it didn’t fail in that it creates a clear line of demarcation, which means between revolution and communism and revisionism and capitulation to imperialism. These comrades here today and many other comrades around the world, including the comrades in Peru who are leading armed struggle there, are kind of the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the leadership of Mao Tsetung and represent the international impact of Maoism. Now we’re trying to sort of return the favour by supporting those in China and again putting forward that only socialist revolution can save China. □



# 1980 Statement by on the Restoration

By the Chinese (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party

The following document was originally received, translated and published by the *Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (1 January 1981) at the time of the trial of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

Dear Comrades:

Unfortunately for our Party and our state, a counter-revolutionary coup to restore capitalism has taken place. Recently this counter-revolutionary coup clique furthermore arbitrarily set up a "court" to conduct a "trial" against outstanding leaders of the Chinese Communist Party who persevere in the Marxist-Leninist road, Comrade Chiang Ching and comrades Chang Chun-chiao and Wang Hongwen and others. Because of this, our Marxist-Leninist Party centre specially issued a solemn statement to forcefully express our strong and unbending determination to fight to the end. At this time, we are giving this small pamphlet to you. Please give us comradely support.

Revolutionary greetings.

(signed) XXX

A worker at (a Shanghai factory)  
January 3rd, 1981

**By Putting the Party on Trial,  
the Reactionary Force Following  
the Road of Capitalist  
Restoration Has Itself Been  
Indicted**

The Deng, Hu, Zhao clique who are clamorously, blatantly, smugly and ferociously going down the road of capitalist restoration, through a long period of planning and repeated reversals

Chang Chun-chiao



of their rigged up "Supreme People's Special Prosecution" and "Supreme People's Special Court", put on a series of most unjust and ugly dramas in the history of the international communist and Chinese revolutionary movements — the so-called "Great Trial of the Ten Evils", at No. 1 Justice Road, Peking. Among the "Ten Evils", Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao, the good sons and daughters of the Party and upholders of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought who are labelled as the "Gang of Four", are the main targets of the "Trial" and revengeful attack. Chen Boda and Hwang, Wu, Li, Qui and Jiang only serve as props!

Precisely because the Deng, Hu, Zhao clique's power of restoration was stolen directly from the hands of Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, therefore from the beginning they plotted the use of super-fascist and change-of-dynasty methods to take care of the other side which was deprived of power. If we are to look for fitting words in the literature of the

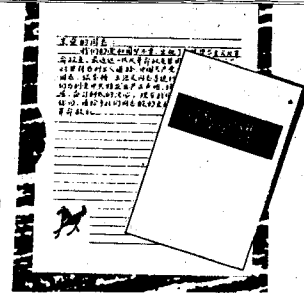
international communist movement to describe what has happened to Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, and also to condemn Deng, Hu, Zhao and their gang's contemptible poison, then Marx's phrase talking about the positive and negative aspects of the Paris Commune can be used fully and fittingly: "What elasticity, what a historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!... However that may be, the present rising in Paris — even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society — is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris. Compare these Parisians, storming heaven, with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the church, cabbage-Junkerdom and, above all, of the philistine."

**In the Final Analysis, What  
Crime Did Chiang, Chang,  
Wang and Yao Commit?**

Any person who has been illegally arrested and sent to jail and deprived of all political rights can be arbitrarily saddled with a whole big load of charges according to the wishes of the rulers. To artificially include Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao in the "Ten Evils" already fully exposes their devious intentions of scheming day and night and recklessly implicating people. Furthermore, what stands out in the part of the indictment that refers to the Four — Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao — in the so-called "crimes" under 4 sections and 48 charges, is the clique's use of reformism, which Marx opposed with all his strength throughout his life, to



# Shanghai Revolutionaries of Capitalism in China



Original pamphlet in Chinese.

Central Committee (Printed January 1981)

oppose the extraordinary measures that need to be taken in a revolution. If one wants to persist in saying that Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, especially the two proletarian heroic fighters Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, really committed "crimes" which warrant punishment, then their crimes can be summarized as:

1. Chiang Ching should not have been Mao Tsetung's wife, shouldering all the crimes that should not be shouldered that derive from the feudal practice of "the wife pays back the husband's debt". Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. In the struggle to oppose imperialism and internally reactionary classes, in the line struggle against inner-Party right and left opportunism, in the struggle against various shades of revisionism, in combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, as well as in the cause of liberation of oppressed nations and oppressed people all over the world, Comrade Mao has left a brilliant record that will never be diminished in the annals of history of our country's revolution and that of the revolutions of the peoples of the world. But Comrade Mao Tsetung was a man, not a god. In facing the attack and retaliation of imperialists, internal reactionary classes, inner-Party right and left opportunists, assorted revisionists, as well as those wolves, swine and vile curs, he could not be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous, or treat them as if doing embroidery, holding a dinner party or writing an essay. Therefore in sweeping away all ghosts and monsters, in the fierce struggle to uphold

Marxism-Leninism and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was inevitable that a small number of self-styled "saints and heroes" would be treated as ghosts and monsters and swept away, or that one or two ordinary human heads would be treated as dog heads and be smashed. This is an unavoidable sacrifice in the process of any revolution. But today, the traitorous clique Deng, Hu, Zhao and gang who restored the capitalist road are posthumously giving the title of "saints and heroes" to all those ghosts and monsters that were struck down, making into human heads all those dog heads that were smashed. They want not only to howl "frameups", but also want to use all this to throw mud on Comrade Mao Tsetung who was a great revolutionary figure looked up to by the Chinese people and people of the whole world, and furthermore want to make Mao's wife, Comrade Chiang Ching by herself, or the so-called "Gang of Four", shoulder the responsibility for a few, small, unavoidable mistakes made by Comrade Mao Tsetung in leading the Chinese Communist Party and establishing great achievements for the Chinese revolution. Can this be called just?

2. Comrade Chiang Ching and a few close comrades in arms were too civilised and suffered a lot from "too good a heart and too soft a hand". Conducting revolutionary struggle cannot be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous, and it is not so refined as embroidery, a dinner party or writing an essay. Furthermore one must not, during times when the revolutionary situation seems favourable, be careless and speak of equality with antagonistic classes, speak

of peaceful coexistence. The "May 16 Circular" personally drafted under Mao Tsetung's supervision clearly pointed out: "In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind..." Furthermore it stressed: "... faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, together with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life and death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie." Under this brilliant and incisive directive, the proletariat launched the earth-breaking Great Cultural Revolution. At that time Comrade Chiang Ching and her comrades in arms gained the complete trust and powerful support of Comrade Mao Tsetung. They no doubt had enough strength to put the whole string of anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements in the fields of the Party, government, army and literature, consisting of Liu Shao-qi, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Zhen, Lo Rui-qing, Lu Dingyi, Yang Shangkung and others into

a position from which they could never recover. But very unfortunately, Comrade Chiang Ching and her close comrades in arms were able to do so but did not do so. In the ten glorious years of the Cultural Revolution, in general the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements going down the capitalist road were given the opportunity to turn over a new leaf, and were even given a certain way out politically, except for a few whose crimes were very serious, who could not face up to the Party and the people and walked into a dead end street of self-destructive suicide. However, because Comrade Chiang Ching and her comrades in arms failed to note that in revolutionary work there is no need to use the principle of being soft and kind, and could not dig out the roots of these anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, even believing the schemes of the heads of the leading reactionary gangs to admit mistakes in order to resurface and hold power to spread even more poison and rescue dogs who have fallen into the water. This gave them the opportunity to retaliate later.

3. Those comrades that Comrade Chiang Ching could trust and who would persevere in the revolution to the end and would not capitulate even up to death were too few! Unqualified people were even used so that at key junctures determining success or failure of the revolution, there arose surprise incidents of people turning against us. In investigating the reasons why this was so, it was found that in the past several decades, our Party's Marxist-Leninist education and the work of implementing Mao Tsetung Thought appears to be very shallow. All along, the majority of Party cadres, especially many cadres in important leadership positions, have not firmly grasped the ability to distinguish real from false revolution. Also we were not able to develop the kind of lofty revolutionary moral character needed by professional revolutionaries — not giving a second thought to being beheaded or having their

house searched in order to find evidence. Therefore, in such revolutionary ranks as ours, there infiltrated those turtles who pull their necks into the shell, cunning rabbits who run away from the battlefield, and those who only recognise selfish material interests. Even such well-known standard bearers as Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan could fail to pass through the harsh test of revolutionary struggle. In the end, under torture and the carrot and stick tactics of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, they are brazenly slandering the destruction and violence that are necessary in revolutionary struggle; as well as self-defence which is rightly so part of revolutionary struggle. They have also been manipulated by the enemy to admit to all kinds of "crimes" and "mistakes" arrogantly thrown at them in the thoroughly reactionary and extremely ridiculous "court" that was set up to show off the temporary anti-Party and counter-revolutionary victory.

Only true gold can withstand a test by fire, and only those that dare despise the enemy like Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao can show the great spirit of sacrifice of fearing not even death.

4. Our military armed actions were not able to closely coordinate with the change of the political situation. During the Cultural Revolution, relying on the brilliant guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and relying on the theoretical inspiration and leadership in action of Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, our revolutionary ranks deeply won the hearts of the people, and we became the common goal that the masses of workers and peasants and revolutionary intellectual youth of the whole country rallied around and fought hard for. Especially in the People's Liberation Army, we had the absolute majority as our supporters, so that even today, when our revolutionary cause has suffered a temporary setback, the unmatched strength that we deeply planted in

the various branches, various military academies, and various levels of the command structure in this invincible people's army are still a reliable strength in defeating all anti-Party and counter-revolutionary renegades. Besides this, we had spread throughout the country militia troops made up of workers and peasants. This was a mass armed force in combatting revisionism, preventing revisionism, smashing attacks by class enemies, anti-Party and counter-revolutionary renegades. But while we deepened and broadened the political call and built up a political situation extremely favorable for a revolutionary situation, on the one hand we did not take initiative to strike at the various anti-party and counter-revolutionary strongholds; on the other hand we were off guard, that is, we did not see the reactionary forces might seize the opportunity of the death of our great revolutionary leader and great revolutionary teacher Comrade Mao Tsetung, and the period when the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country were in deep mourning, to launch a sudden attack to arrest and imprison several leaders of our revolutionary ranks headed by Comrade Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-Chiao. Also after the surprise incident took place, the Liberation Army and the militia in various areas were not able to take initiative and take immediate action in response which would have been favourable to continuing the revolution and broadening the fight. The abandonment of the Shanghai armed insurrection as it neared completion was because our vigilance during ordinary times was not enough, and emergency measures which should have been taken were delayed for quite a while before being launched. Therefore a good opportunity for resistance was lost.

Among the many "criminal" charges thrown at Comrade Chiang Ching, some she herself could not avoid under the conditions of the continued existence of feudal ideology in Chinese so-

ciety; some are because in this historically unprecedented revolutionary struggle, facing such tough, cunning, widespread and hidden anti-party and counter-revolutionary enemies, Comrade Chiang Ching as the leadership centre of this revolutionary organisation, as well as the revolutionary newborn forces under her leadership, both lacked experience. Because of this, we don't avoid talking about shortcomings and mistakes which existed in our revolutionary work and recognise our temporary reversal and setback. That is, it cannot be the sole responsibility of Comrade Chiang Ching, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao and other leading comrades. Our reversal is the reversal of the perseverance of the Chinese Communist Party on the road of Marxist-Leninist line, it is the reversal of Mao's revolutionary line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is also a reversal of the line of Chinese revolutionary people and revolutionary people of the world in combatting revisionism and preventing revisionism. And also because of this, the more faults and mistakes we can consciously discover and point out in a more concrete way, the more beneficial for us it will be in taking warning from the past to be more careful in the future. Thus these faults and mistakes can be avoided, overcome and corrected one by one, so that our revolutionary cause can go through a thousand forgings and a hundred smeltings, and we can unyieldingly persist in carrying it out to the end.

### **The People Are The Judge Of Everything**

The masses are the makers of history. In the same way, every anti-Party, and counter-revolutionary element must pass through the people's trial and be given a final verdict. Today, the Chinese proletarian state power has been usurped by a handful of reactionaries who were knocked down before and who now have restored the capitalist road.

Ghosts and monsters are all coming out, wolves, swine, vile curs — are strutting around restoring all the bourgeois rights; together with this, they worked up a bourgeois form of "court" and, using a bourgeois viewpoint, exercised arbitrary dictatorship over and put on "trial" outstanding proletarian revolutionary leaders. This kind of farce and ugly display, just as Comrade Chiang Ching righteously and forcefully pointed out: "is to put the Chinese Communist Party on trial"!

Exactly because this handful of reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road is blatantly carrying out anti-Party, counter-revolutionary activities, in their bourgeois "court" they are therefore viciously depriving Comrade Chiang Ching of the minimum right to defend and argue on behalf of the Marxist-Leninist line which the Chinese Communist Party has consistently persevered in, and the interests of the Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people. Isn't this an exposure of them desperately and nakedly putting the Party on trial and exercising brutal dictatorship over the proletariat?

But for these reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road, the more they, in fear of truth, try to bury and persecute it, the more truth will become an indestructible beacon in the minds of hundreds of millions, and the more people will see clearly from the past to the present the vicious intentions and ugly faces of that bunch of reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road. Today, if these reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road really take seriously the cries about the so-called "seeking truth from facts" and "practice is the sole criterion of truth", then people cannot help but look at these four years of practice since they have usurped the Party, restored bourgeois dictatorship and went all out to "promote bourgeois ideology and liquidate proletarian ideology." People can line up things item by item and use the magic mirror of Marxism-Leninism, dissect the sterile, compare

and examine. It's not hard to distinguish between what they want to achieve and what they have already carried out, to see whether it is the Marxist-Leninist criterion of truth or what the bourgeois revisionists regard as the "criterion" of truth which is directly opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

We can say for certain: for that small handful of diehards, wolves, and vile curs who have restored the capitalist road all the slanders, frameups, curses and even all the unimaginable rumors that they have thrown upon those in the proletarian ranks who have persevered in the Marxist-Leninist line, the successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, now especially directed at Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, this can very fittingly be turned back against them because from "judging" their own "practice", their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary, anti-people activities, the precise facts are:

1. Exercising feudal dictatorship.

The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was to open up a forum for the people's political expression, to let the people of the whole country, particularly the workers, peasants, revolutionary educated youth freely express themselves, to make them concerned about the cardinal affairs of the Party and the state, promote the Party's mass line, to prevent anyone, especially Party members and cadres from using their position to seek privileges and self-interest, and further link up with the masses to carry out a determined struggle against bourgeois thinking. This was in order to help the socialist revolution and construction, and further create a political situation where there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Thus at the Second Plenum of the Ninth Party Congress, we passed a constitutional amendment to officially guarantee in the highest legal form that "people have the right to speak

out freely, air their views fully, hold big debates, write big character posters". But exactly because the four freedoms are a weapon to link up with the masses to carry out determined struggle against the bourgeoisie, it made the actual agents of the bourgeoisie — that is the reactionaries who have overthrown the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored the capitalist road — concoct the idea of using it to erect the so-called "socialist democratic legality". But then they found that the four freedoms are extremely unfavourable to them in consolidating their rule to restore the capitalist road. They turned around to slander the four freedoms as "disrupting democracy, disrupting law and order and production, splitting the unity of the Party and the masses", and viciously wrote them off. This kind of vile step backwards, these anti-Party counter-revolutionary activities in transforming socialism into fascism, force us to add a supplement to the earlier "From bourgeois democrat to capitalist roader". To "from capitalist roader to fascist dictator". This is determined by their reactionary character, we have not slandered them at all.

2. They have pushed the national economy into depths of an "appalling catastrophe".

Since the reactionaries restored the capitalist road some four years ago, they've heaped malicious slander on the radiant, fruitful 10 years of the Cultural Revolution as "10 years of appalling catastrophe". But the eyes of the people are clear. Who created "an appalling catastrophe"? It is them. Because in fact before the 1976 October counter-revolutionary coup our country was a financially sound and economically stable socialist country with no external or internal debts and a treasury of over tens of billions in reserve. However, by 1978, under these wasteful squandering reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road, we only had around one billion left. As we entered 1980, due to their going

against correct principles and the serious effects from this, our country went from a surplus to a deficit, saddled with \$17 billion deficit. It is predicted that in 1981 to 1982, we'll still be saddled with over \$10 billion in deficits. What makes this shocking deficit happen? It cannot be separated from the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary restoration of the capitalist road. Under the frantic direction of the handful of swine, vile curs, self-proclaimed "supermen" who can summon wind and rain, and who regard themselves as "condescending saviors", they've picked up what others spit out, making the "four modernisations" the brainchild of their genius. The so-called "Ten-Year Economic Plan", followed by the so-called "Eight Point Program" for a three year readjustment — this bullshit has been blown apart. One after another program has fallen flat, especially as they see only dollar signs in their eyes, worship anything foreign, and create so-called "special economic districts". These in fact serve to attract overseas and foreign capital, for wholesale exploitation of the sweat and blood of our people's labour. They want to make these special districts in a socialist country into a "paradise" for openly conducting illegal activities, profiteering, smuggling and avoiding taxes, and hoarding.

They have completely lost confidence in socialism. They have blown apart the policy of self-reliance and building up the country through hard work and frugality. They recklessly turn towards capitalist countries to import machinery and equipment, bring in so-called "advanced technology". In less than two to three years time, the total amount shot up to 16% to 17% billion U.S. dollars. And all these imported goods were bought through high interest loans. For just one item, the Baoshan Steel Mill, they spent several billion dollars. They're truly the ones "blindly directing", and disregarding economic accounting. The end result is insufficient raw materials, lack of knowledge of how to run and

maintain the machinery, no matching or spare parts. And in turn, it has become a serious burden. The sweat and blood of the broad masses of people are being wasted by them in this way! As far as their turning tail and begging for capitalist countries' aid, they stick their head into the capitalist noose, letting the capitalist "big daddies" play, laugh and pull them around, but still they don't feel any shame. These kind of actions not only disgrace socialism, but are a disgrace for the Chinese people.

3. Creating a Serious "Crisis of Confidence"

Ever since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the nation in the last several decades, the Party has built up tremendous prestige among the people of all nationalities in the country, especially in the brilliant ten years of the Cultural Revolution. Masses of youth, hungrily, thirstily, studied Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung. More than a few Red Army fighters, old cadres rejuvenated their revolutionary vigour, fiercely advanced forward to serve the people. Educated youth went to the countryside, conquering nature, and from that emerged group after group of Lei Fang-type heroes like Zhu Hejia and others.

"721 Workers College", "May 7 College", village political night schools, theoretical study groups, etc. and other such open door education were important educational reforms and also popularised upsurges in mass study campaigns. It allowed the workers, peasants, soldiers to climb into the political superstructure, training for our socialist revolution and construction countless revolutionary cadres through the "three great Revolutionary Movements", tempering them as fighters capable of struggling and winning. All these creative developments not only shed light on the glorious milestone of our socialist cause but also received the respect and confidence from all the anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties around the



world. However, even when we advanced one step it became a thorn in the side of those anti-Party, counter-revolutionary cliques. Therefore, as soon as the conspiracy to restore the capitalist road held sway, they desperately and with vengeance went all out to sabotage and trample upon the Cultural Revolution. In a frenzy they distorted Marxism-Leninism, threw mud on socialism and slandered revolutionary leaders, and persecuted revolutionary cadres and masses. They drowned justice, making good people suffer. They promoted the semi-feudal, semi-colonial philosophy of bowing to the almighty dollar, looking only after profits, "whoever feeds you, you call them mother", and worshipping anything "foreign". To build up this evil atmosphere and let bad people run rampant, they painted socialism all dark. The broad masses of youth feel empty and purposeless; workers, peasants, soldiers have no hopes, no future. This naturally created a "crisis of confidence" unheard of since the birth of socialist China.

Today it is hard to find the Party's true sons and daughters who seriously study Marxism-Leninism. Many of the sons and daughters from the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers who contributed in the various battlefields of production and were given important leadership positions are now being kicked out, and also suffer brutal persecution.

Going to the countryside is no longer the goal of those dedicated to making revolution. It is just the opposite. These revisionists opened the back door wide (pulling official strings to get a youth into college — RW), blatantly pursued privileges, and whipped up an insidious atmosphere of competing to send children abroad. At the present time an ugly display is being put on by some scum who can distinguish a few ABC's, scheming in a thousand and one ways in a mad rush to go abroad to pay their "pilgrimage", eat capitalist bread and refuse to eat Chinese steamed buns

and rice! Even more pitiful and despicable is how this bunch of half-assed "going abroaders" spend hard-earned foreign exchange saved through the sweat and blood of the motherland. Either they indulge in the capitalist criminal "civilisation" while they are abroad, or they turn their backs completely on the motherland, and grease their shoes to slip away; and some even commit suicide. This provides abundant propaganda material for capitalist countries and the Taiwan KMT, who talk of shocking "defectors to freedom", who are dissatisfied with China's "totalitarian" rule. When you insult yourself, others then can do it easier. Judging from this serious situation, this anti-Party clique not only created a "crisis of confidence" in our country but is swinging the wrecking ball to destroy every last brick of our socialist building.

#### 4. Enlarging Bourgeois Cultural Pollution and Spreading Bourgeois Ideological Poison.

In the ten glorious years of the Cultural Revolution, spring lights were bright, orioles sang and swallows swirled. (From a poem by Mao — RW) There could not have been enough praise for the heroic achievements of our worker, peasant, and soldier literary workers who were active in all battlefronts of the "Three Great Revolutionary Movements"; there were more military epic poems than could be recited; pictures depicting the development and progress of workers and peasants, technology and national defence were numerous; even more, on the road of socialist construction, weeding out the old to let the new emerge, we had endless enjoyable, inspiring, colorful and poetic revolutionary literary works. However today, the proletariat has not only lost state power, but also power in the field of literature. Therefore, a metal bell was discarded and replaced by the thunderous noise of tile banging together and those ghosts and monsters in the field of art and literature who were knocked down before have now floated

back to the surface, and they issue sour and stinking "revenge literature", "settling accounts literature". And some shameless prostitutes who are used to kissing ass and pursuing stinking stuff to please the reactionaries who restored the capitalist road seized the opportunity to put out their "wound literature" and "conspiracy literature".<sup>1</sup> They thought as long as they could squeeze out a few drops of tears, then they could portray the bright sky of the Cultural Revolution as a clouded, blue mess. But the radiance of the Cultural Revolution is not something they could cover up, but rather the "revenge literature", "settling-accounts literature", "wound literature", "conspiracy literature", purposely cooked up and put forward by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary clique which restored the capitalist road, has already spread a dark cloud and filthy air throughout the sky of our motherland. Under the cover of this cloud, without any light of sun or moon, some capitalist decadence — pornography, tight pants, long hair, dark glasses, disco, degenerate music, etc. — at first quietly smuggled in — has become brazenly marketed. All the education about revolutionary tradition, the hard and simple lifestyle, has been wiped out by this handful of wolves, swine, and vile curs who restored the capitalist road! Judging from all this, we ask can you find a single iota of Marxism-Leninism in their body and soul?

#### Through the Party on Trial, What Comes Out is the Ugly Face of the Ruling Clique Who Restored the Capitalist Road

In order to find reason, and excuse, for their criminal conspiracy of usurping the Party and seizing power, their anti-Party,

1. "Wound literature" is literature bemoaning the "mistreatment" these people received during the Cultural Revolution; the "conspiracy literature" is literature portraying the Cultural Revolution as factional fighting among leadership cliques.

counter-revolutionary, anti-people conspiracy pushed Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao — these Marxist fighters who had opposed them but are now in prison due to their surprise attack — onto the stage and copied bourgeois legalities in order to stage this thoroughly farcical ugly show — the so-called “trial”. But everybody knows that what Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao implemented were the instructions of Comrade Mao Tsetung, who was supported by the whole Party, whole nation, and whole army, and Comrade Mao Tsetung’s instructions were issued after summing up and were based on the common will of the Party Centre and the people of the whole country. Even that small handful of people who are today sitting high on the judge’s seat at the “trial” were at that time yelling “Long Live Chairman Mao!” and closely following Chairman Mao’s brilliant leadership. If they are not two-faced people who say one thing and do another, and indulge in intrigue and conspiracy, then why did they not openly uphold the capitalist road while Comrade Mao was still alive, directly oppose the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, or even apply this special talent of surprise attack to arrest and imprison the great revolutionary leader who was supported by the people of all nationalities in the whole country? This is because the people did not stand on their side, and truth also did not stand on their side. Therefore they had to wear an obedient mask of following Chairman Mao and following the Party Centre. Following the important battle to rectify through criticism of revisionism, criticising Lin Piao and Confucius, they showed an even more extraordinary willingness in order to falsely gain trust. Only when Comrade Mao Tsetung died, as the people of the whole country were in grief, did they launch a sudden attack and finally completely expose what has always been their true anti-Party, counter-revolutionary and anti-people face. Precisely because they are

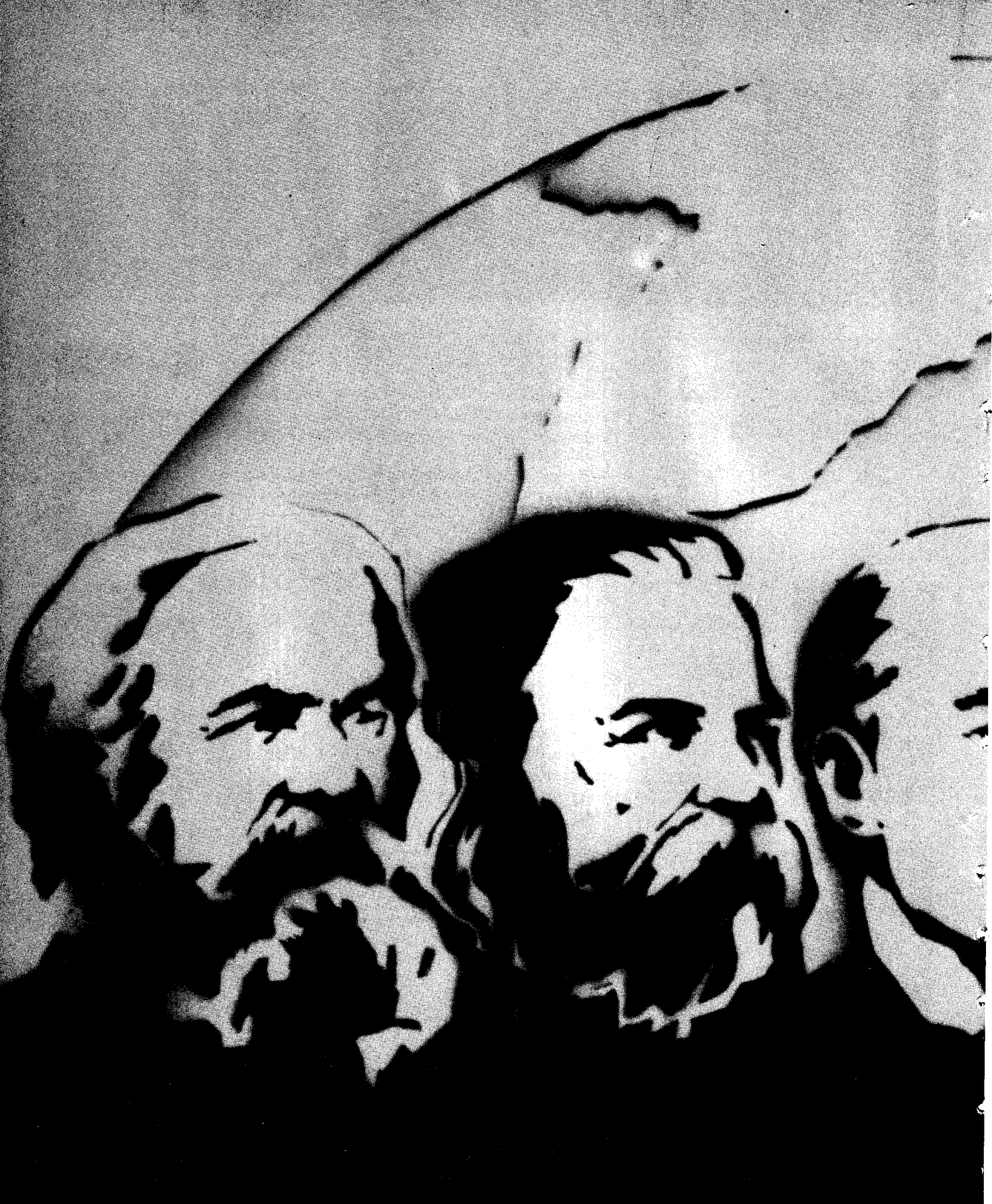
two-faced plotters, when they “try” Chiang, Chang, Wang, and Yao today, actually they are putting on “trial” the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, the great founder of the People’s Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tsetung. Furthermore, they are putting on “trial” the great Chinese Communist Party, which has a 60 year history and has gone through 28 years of revolutionary struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism.

But when they perform this ugly drama of a “trial” of the revolutionary teacher and a “trial” of the Chinese Communist Party, they also by necessity bring to trial the wild ambitions of their own small handful of people to attempt in vain to restore the capitalist road. Actually the serious damage, outlined in this pamphlet, to our politics, economy, society as well as to education and culture inflicted by them after they took control of the Party and seized power, is already sufficient to make each one of us, especially every Marxist-Leninist, recognise that their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary and anti-people crimes have already reached such a point that they are hated by all the people. What is especially so hateful is that they are not ashamed of their treachery to the Party and the country, but instead have taken one scene after another from their ugly drama of putting the Party on “trial” and putting themselves on trial, and chosen TV footage that most brings out their “arrogant frenzy” to be relayed by satellite. The rights to the footage were sold to the American Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) for \$40,000. The American ABC system, not wanting to be left behind, also broadcast footage from the satellite. Seeing that ABC could get the film without paying, and unwilling to suffer any losses, CBS refused to pay up. Seeing a sure jackpot slip out of their hands made this handful of white cats, black cats, greedy dogs, hungry dogs who have restored the capitalist road yell like mad and

charge the other side with violating the contract. Now this fight is really getting heated! In addition, this bunch of shameless trash have put fragments of their dirty act onto a cassette and are selling each tape for 230 Hong Kong dollars marketing it in great quantities abroad and in Hong Kong and Macao. This further proves that these bad elements that have restored the capitalist road will do anything to make money, even making shameless international laughing stocks out of themselves, and are willing to commit any criminal schemes to harm the country and the people’s interests.

But we seriously warn this handful of bad elements, your clumsy performances will not only fail to subdue the Chinese Communist Party, thousands and millions of heroic fighters who firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism; in fact under your tortures and threats, Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao dared to despise the performances of your pack of rats and clowns, having long since disregarded the question of their own lives and deaths. The spirit of the two comrades Chiang and Chang in upholding the truth and persevering in struggle has greatly encouraged the revolutionary people of our country, the revolutionary comrades of our Party, and all those in the Liberation Army who refuse to be dragged into the swamp by these reactionary capitalist-roaders, and to be determined to make revolution and fight to the end. Countries want independence, people want revolution, and we want Marxism-Leninism, not revisionism and especially not capitalism — this road towards the future nobody can block. As long as we live, you bunch of wolves, swine and vile curs who have restored capitalism, you’d better not swagger too soon. We must also increase our work a hundredfold, strengthen our fighting ability and persevere. We vow that we will seize political power and put it back in the hands of the proletariat. If you do not believe it, just watch! □





***CELEBRATE THE 5TH ANNI***





***VERSARY OF THE RIM!***

# On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie

By Chang Chun-chiao

“Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.”

“Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works.”

“Lenin said that ‘small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.’ They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life.”

— Quotations from Chairman Mao

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Lenin said, “Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.” And it is precisely to enable us to go by Marxism and not revisionism in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao calls on the whole nation to get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country is in an important period of its historical development. As a result of more than two decades of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and particularly of the liquidation of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever, and our socialist cause is thriving. Full of militancy, all our people are determined to build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century. In the course of this effort and in the entire historical period of socialism, whether we can persevere all the way in the dictatorship of the proletariat is a cardinal issue for China’s future development. Current class struggles, too, require that we should get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletar-

iat. Chairman Mao says, "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism." It won't do if only a few people grasp the point; it must "be made known to the whole nation". The present and long-range importance of success in this study cannot be overestimated.

As early as 1920, Lenin, basing himself on practical experience in leading the Great October Socialist Revolution and directing the first state of proletarian dictatorship, pointed out sharply, "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it means all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Lenin stressed time and again that it is impossible to triumph over the bourgeoisie without exercising a protracted, all-round dictatorship over it. These words of Lenin's, especially those he underscored, have been confirmed by practice in subsequent years. Sure enough, new bourgeois elements have been engendered batch after batch, and it is precisely the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique that is their representative. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them were brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organisationally, received college training and become so-called red experts. However, they are new poisonous weeds engendered by the old soil of capitalism. They have betrayed their own class, usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism, become chieftains of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and accomplished what Hitler had tried to do but failed. Never should we forget this experience of history in which "the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground," especially not at this time when we are determined to build a powerful country.

We must be soberly aware that there is still a danger of China turning revisionist. This is not only because imperialism and social-imperialism will never give up aggression and subversion against us, not only because China's old landlords and capitalists are still around and unreconciled to their defeat, but also because new bourgeois elements are being engendered daily and hourly, as Lenin put it. Some comrades argue that Lenin was referring to the situation before collectivisation. This is obviously incorrect. Lenin's remarks are not out of date at all. These comrades may look up Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published in 1957. There Chairman Mao shows by concrete analysis that after the basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, which includes the achievement of agricultural cooperation, there still exist in China classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there still exist both harmony and contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Having summed up the new experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat after Lenin, Chairman Mao gave systematic an-

swers to various questions arising after the change in the system of ownership, set forth the tasks and policies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid the theoretical basis for the Party's basic line and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice in the past 18 years, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has proved that the theory, line and policies advanced by Chairman Mao are entirely correct.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently, "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." In order to gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction, let us look at the changes in the system of ownership in China and the proportions of the various economic sectors in China's industry, agriculture and commerce in 1973.

First, industry. Industry under ownership by the whole people covered 97 percent of the fixed assets of industry as a whole, 63 percent of the people engaged in industry, and 86 percent of the value of total industrial output. Industry under collective ownership covered 3 percent of the fixed assets, 36.2 percent of the people engaged in industry, and 14 percent of the total output value. Besides these, individual handicraftsmen made up 0.8 percent of the people engaged in industry.

Next, agriculture. Among the agricultural means of production, about 90 percent of the farmland and of the irrigation-drainage machinery and about 80 percent of the tractors and draught animals were under collective ownership. Here ownership by the whole people made up a very small proportion. Hence, over 90 percent of the nation's grain and various industrial crops came from the collective economy. The state farms accounted for only a small proportion. Apart from these, there still remained the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs, and a limited amount of household sideline production.

Then commerce. State commerce accounted for 92.5 percent of the total volume of retail sales, collectively owned commercial enterprises for 7.3 percent, and individual peddlers for 0.2 percent. Apart from these, there still remained the sizable amount of trade conducted at rural fairs.

The above figures show that socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people have indeed won a great victory in China. The dominant position of ownership by the whole people has been greatly enhanced and there have also been some changes in the economy of the people's communes as regards the proportion of ownership at the three levels — commune, production brigade and production team. On Shanghai's outskirts, for example, income at the commune level in proportion to total income rose from 28.1 percent in 1973 to 30.5 percent in 1974, that of the brigades rose from 15.2 percent to 17.2 percent, while the proportion going to the teams dropped from 56.7 percent to 52.3 percent. The people's commune has demonstrated ever more clearly its superiority, consisting in its larger size and higher degree of public ownership. In so far as we have, step by step in the past 25 years, eliminated ownership by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism, transformed ownership by national capitalism and by individual labourers and replaced these five kinds of private ownership with the two kinds of socialist public ownership, we can proudly declare that the system of ownership in China has changed, that the proletariat and other working people in



China have in the main freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership, and that China's socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and developed. The Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress specifically records these great victories of ours.

However, we must see that with respect to the system of ownership the issue is not yet fully settled. We often say that the issue of ownership "has in the main been settled"; this means that it has not been settled entirely, and also that bourgeois right has not been totally abolished in this realm. The statistics cited above show that private ownership still exists partially in industry, agriculture and commerce, that socialist public ownership does not consist entirely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is still rather weak in agriculture, which is the foundation of the national economy. The disappearance of bourgeois right in the realm of the system of ownership in a socialist society, as conceived by Marx and Lenin, implies the conversion of all the means of production into the common property of the whole of society. Clearly we have not yet reached that stage. Neither in theory nor in practice should we overlook the very arduous tasks that lie ahead for the dictatorship of the proletariat in this respect.

Moreover, we must see that both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership, that is, the question of which class holds the ownership in fact and not just in name.

Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said, "Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories — I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority — leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there are indeed bad people in the factories." "This shows that the revolution is still unfinished." Chairman Mao's remarks not only explain the necessity of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but also help us be more aware that in the problem of the system of ownership, as in all others, we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to give full weight to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to give no weight to whether the issue of ownership has been resolved merely in form or in actual fact, to the reaction upon the system of ownership exerted by the two other aspects of the relations of production — the relations among people and the form of distribution — and to the reaction upon the economic base exerted by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Whether the ideological and political line is correct or incorrect, and which class holds the leadership, decides which class owns those factories in actual fact. Comrades may recall how we turned any enterprise owned by bureaucrat capital or national capital into a socialist enterprise. Didn't we do the job by sending a military-control repre-

sentative or a state representative there to transform it according to the Party's line and policies? Historically, every major change in the system of ownership, be it the replacement of slavery by the feudal system or of feudalism by capitalism, was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power, which was then used to effect large-scale change in the system of ownership and consolidate and develop the new system. Even more is this the case with socialist public ownership which cannot be born under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 percent of the industry in old China, could be transformed and placed under ownership by the whole people only after the People's Liberation Army had defeated Chiang Kai-shek. Similarly, a capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the lines and policies of the Party. Wasn't this the way Khrushchev and Brezhnev changed the system of ownership in the Soviet Union? Wasn't this the way Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao changed the nature of a number of our factories and other enterprises to varying degrees?

Also, we must see that what we are practising today is a commodity system. Chairman Mao says, "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This state of affairs which Chairman Mao pinpointed cannot be changed in a short period. For instance in the rural people's communes on the outskirts of Shanghai where the economy at the commune and production brigade levels has developed at a rather fast pace, commune ownership accounts for 34.2 percent of the fixed assets owned at all three levels, and brigade ownership accounts for only 15.1 percent, while ownership by the production teams still occupies 50.7 percent of the whole. Therefore, even if we take economic conditions in the communes alone, it will require a fairly long time to effect the transition from the team as the basic accounting unit to the brigade and then to the commune. Moreover, even when the commune becomes the basic accounting unit, the ownership will still be collective. Thus, in the short term, there will be no basic change in the situation in which ownership by the whole people and collective ownership co-exist. So long as we still have these two kinds of ownership, commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work are inevitable. And since "under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted," the growth of capitalist factors in town and country and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are likewise inevitable. If such things are not restricted, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will grow more rapidly. Therefore, on no account should we relax our vigilance just because we have won a great victory in the transformation of the system of ownership and carried out one Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must realize that our economic base is not yet solid, that bourgeois right has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of ownership, and that it still exists to a serious extent in the relations among people and holds a dominant position in distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some areas are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which has the upper hand there; some are being transformed but the results are not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are still stubbornly obstructing the growth of socialist new things. New bourgeois elements are engendered, batch after batch, in the wake of the development of capitalist factors in town and country. The class struggle between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. Even when all the landlords and capitalists of the old generation have died, such class struggles will by no means come to a stop, and a bourgeois restoration may still occur if people like Lin Piao come to power. In his speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao described how in 1936, near the site of the Party Central Committee in Pao-an, there was a fortified village held by a handful of armed counter-revolutionaries who obstinately refused to surrender until the Red Army stormed into it to settle the problem. This story has a universal significance, for it tells us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom doesn't reach, the dust never vanishes of itself." Today there are still many "fortified villages" held by the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, another will spring up, and even if all have been destroyed except one, it will not vanish of itself if the iron broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach it. Lenin was entirely correct in saying, "For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential."

Historical experience shows us that whether the proletariat can triumph over the bourgeoisie and whether China will turn revisionist hinges on whether we can persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and at all stages of development of the revolution. What is all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? The most succinct generalisation is found in a passage from a letter Marx wrote in 1852 to J. Weydemeyer, which we are all studying. Marx said, "... no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*." In this splendid observation, Lenin said, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity the chief and radical difference between his theory on the state and that of the bourgeoisie, and the essence of his teaching on the state. Here it should be noted that Marx divided the sentence on the dictatorship of the proletariat into three points, which are interrelated and cannot be cut apart. It is impermissible to accept only one of the three points while rejecting the other two. For the sentence gives complete expression to the entire process of the inception, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat and covers the whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its actual content. In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx deals in more specific terms with this dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, and to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations. In all the four cases, Marx means *all*. Not a part, a greater part, or even the greatest part, but all! This is nothing surprising, for only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipa-

tion. The only way to attain this goal is to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, until the above-mentioned four ills are banished from the earth so that it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for new ones to arise; we definitely must not call a halt along the path of the transition. In our view, only those who understand the matter in this way can be deemed to have grasped the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. Comrades, please think it over: If the matter is not understood in this way, if Marxism is limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is turned into an empty phrase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is crippled by amputation and exercised only in some spheres but not in all, or only at a certain stage (for instance, before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if not all of the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie are destroyed but some are left, allowing the bourgeoisie to expand again, doesn't this mean preparing the conditions for bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into a thing that protects the bourgeoisie, particularly the newly engendered bourgeoisie? All workers, all poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people who refuse to be plunged back into suffering and woe, all Communists who have dedicated their lives to the struggle for communism, and all comrades who do not want China to turn revisionist, must firmly bear in mind this basic principle of Marxism: It is imperative to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and absolutely impermissible to give it up half-way. There are undeniably some comrades among us who have joined the Communist Party organisationally but not ideologically. In their world outlook they have not yet over-stepped the bounds of small production and of the bourgeoisie. They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at a certain stage and within a certain sphere and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because they will bring them some gains; once they have secured their gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cosy nests. As for exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, as for going on after the first step on the 10,000-li long march, sorry, let others do the job; here is my stop and I must get off the bus. We would like to offer a piece of advice to these comrades: It's dangerous to stop half-way! The bourgeoisie is beckoning to you. Catch up with the ranks and continue to advance!

Historical experience also teaches us that, as the dictatorship of the proletariat wins one victory after another, the bourgeoisie may pretend on the surface to accept this dictatorship while in reality it continues to work to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is exactly what Khrushchev and Brezhnev have done. They changed neither the name "Soviet", nor the name of the party of Lenin, nor the name "socialist republics". But, accepting their names and using them as a cover, they have gutted the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class that is anti-Soviet, opposed to the party of Lenin and opposed to the socialist republics. They put forward the revisionist programme of "the state of the whole people" and "party of the entire people", which is an open betrayal of Marxism. But when the Soviet people stand up against their fascist dictatorship, they hoist the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the masses. Similar things have happened in China. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao did not limit themselves to spreading the theory of the dying out of class strug-



gle; they, too, flaunted the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat while suppressing the revolution. Didn't Lin Piao preach his four "never forgets"? One of them was "never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat". Indeed that was something he "never forgot", only the words "to overthrow" need inserting to make it into "never forget to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat", or as confessed by his own gang, "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces". At times they trimmed their sails to the proletariat and even pretended to be more revolutionary than anyone else, raising "Left" slogans to create confusion and carry out sabotage, but they were usually waging a direct counter-struggle against the proletariat. You wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order had to be consolidated. You wanted to organise cooperatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art had to be revolutionised, they said it would do no harm to stage a few plays about ghosts. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was an excellent thing indeed and should be extended. They are a bunch of past masters at defending old things and, like a swarm of flies, buzz all day long over the "birth marks" and "defects" of the old society referred to by Marx. They are particularly keen on taking advantage of the inexperience of our young people to boost material incentives to them, saying that like strong bean-curd cheese, it stinks but tastes fine. And they invariably wave the banner of socialism while carrying on their dirty tricks. Aren't there some scoundrels who, engaging in speculation, graft and theft, say that they are promoting socialist cooperation? Don't some instigators of crime who poison the minds of young people hoist the banner of "care and love for the successors to the cause of communism"? We must study their tactics and sum up our experience so as to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie more effectively.

"Are you out to stir up a wind of 'communisation'?" To fabricate rumours by posing such a question is a tactic which some persons have resorted to recently. We can give a definite answer: The wind of "communisation" as stirred up by Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta shall never be allowed to blow again. We have always held that, instead of having too much in the way of commodities, our country has not yet a sufficient abundance of them. So long as the communes cannot yet offer much to be "communised" along with what the production brigades and teams would bring in, and enterprises under ownership by the whole people cannot offer a great abundance of products for distribution to each according to his needs among our 800 million people, we will have to continue practising commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work. We have taken and will continue to take proper measures to curb the harm caused by these things. The dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship by the masses. We are confident that under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses have the strength and the ability to fight against the bourgeoisie and finally vanquish it. Old China was a vast sea of small production. Conducting socialist education among several hundred million peasants is a serious question at all times and requires the endeavour of several generations. But among the several hundred million peasants, the poor and lower-middle peasants form a majority, and they know from practice that the only path to the bright future for them is to follow the Communist Party and keep on along the socialist road. Our Party has relied upon them to forge unity with the middle peasants for the step-by-step advance from mutual-aid teams to the elementary and advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives and

then to the people's communes, and we can surely lead them in further advance.

We would rather call the attention of comrades to the fact that it is another kind of wind that is now blowing — the “bourgeois wind”. This is the bourgeois style of life Chairman Mao has pointed to, an evil wind stirred up by those “parts” of the people who have degenerated into bourgeois elements. The “bourgeois wind” blowing from among those Communists, particularly leading cadres, who belong to these “parts”, does us the greatest of harm. Poisoned by this evil wind, some people have got their heads full of bourgeois ideas; they scramble for position and gain and feel proud of this, instead of being ashamed. Some have sunk to the point of looking at everything as a commodity, themselves included. They join the Communist Party and go to work for the proletariat merely for the sake of upgrading themselves as commodities and asking the proletariat for a higher price. Those who are Communists in name but new bourgeois elements in reality exhibit the features of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie as a whole. Historically, when the slave-owning, landlord and capitalist classes were in the ascendancy, they did some things of benefit to mankind. But today's new bourgeois elements are heading in the opposite direction to their forefathers. They are nothing but a heap of “new” garbage that can only harm mankind. Among the rumour-mongers about a wind of “communisation” being stirred up, some are new bourgeois elements who have taken public property into their private possession and fear that the people will “communise” it again; others want to use the chance to grab something for themselves. These people have a better nose than many of our comrades. Some of our comrades say that study is an “elastic” task that can yield precedence to others, whereas these people have sensed by instinct that the present study is an “inelastic” matter gravely confronting both classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Indeed they themselves may deliberately stir up some wind of “communisation”, or take over one of our own slogans in order to confuse the two different types of contradictions and play some unexpected trick. This is worth watching.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the mighty army of the proletarian revolution formed by China's masses in their hundreds of millions is striding vigorously forward. We have 25 years of practical experience in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as all the international experience since the Paris Commune, and so long as the few hundred members of our Party Central Committee and the several thousand senior cadres take the lead and join the vast numbers of other cadres and the masses in reading and studying assiduously, carrying on investigation and analysis and summing up experience, we can certainly translate Chairman Mao's call into reality, gain clarity on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ensure our country's triumphant advance along the course charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.” This infinitely bright prospect will surely continue to inspire growing numbers of awakened workers and other working people and their vanguard, the Communists, to keep to the Party's basic line, persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end! The extinction of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man's will. □

# Newly Available on Video!

## *The Red Detachment of Women*



This film recounts the story of Wu Ching-hua, a young peasant woman who is viciously abused by her landlord master, escapes and joins a detachment of women's militia who fought in China's revolutionary civil war. As she picks up the gun to battle the hated landlord, Wu Ching-hua comes to understand that "Revolution is not simply a matter of personal vengeance. Its aim is the emancipation of all mankind."

This historic revolutionary ballet was produced under the leadership of Chiang Ching during the Cultural Revolution as part of the effort to place the masses and their struggle to transform the world on China's stage in place of the mummies, ghosts, emperors and other reactionary figures who had occupied it until then.

Released in celebration of the 5th Anniversary of the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, this film is available for the first time in video format through A World to Win

**Order PAL standard (the television standard in U.K., India and most of Europe and Africa) from:**

BCM World to Win  
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If you are not sure of the standard where you live, please check before ordering.

# Can You Praise Mao While

To the statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on the events in China, one can only ask: What further heinous crimes must Deng & Co commit before the CPP leadership is finally willing to sum up that the Deng regime is thoroughly reactionary and capitalist, and that the Chinese Communist Party is a bourgeois party oppressing and exploiting the Chinese masses? The Deng regime, headquartered in the CCP, is hunting down, gaoling and torturing the genuine Maoist revolutionaries and even radical democrats and revolutionary nationalists, yet the CPP calls on the Chinese people to struggle to uphold the "people's democratic dictatorship" and the "communist party" itself!

The CPP CC statement is full of vague, evasive formulations — just who, in their eyes, are these mysterious "Chinese leaders" they are calling on to "clear up the source of the widening social unrest"? Are they referring to Deng Xiaoping, who obviously "clears up messes" with tanks and machineguns?! Or perhaps to the West's "darling" reformist, Zhao Ziyang, who has overseen a series of reforms to set the Chinese economy on a more thor-

oughly capitalist basis? Or maybe followers of the now defunct Hua Guofeng, who "only" presided over the arrest and imprisonment of the genuine revolutionaries led by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao? Isn't it abundantly clear that there is *no one* at all left in the CCP leadership that upholds revolution, that *all of them* are bourgeois reactionaries, precisely because the revolutionary headquarters was arrested and purged in the 1976 coup (which the CPP supported) and the dictatorship of the proletariat turned into a dictatorship of the bour-

geoisie?

The CPP CC statement is purposefully vague because it is squirming desperately to uphold the reactionary Chinese regime, which it calls "socialist", while distancing itself from its bloody crime. Hence the vague, even-handed tone that permeates the statement, with its attempt to support *both* the government and protestors. This effort begins with its regret that "citizens" and "PLA soldiers" alike were killed and injured — though the whole world knows that what happened was not at all some even-handed

For Readers' Information:

## Philippines CP on

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) released the following statement on the events in China. Unfortunately, AWTW was unable to obtain an English version, and a translation has been made from the text as published in Japanese in *People's Star*, newspaper of the pro-Albanian Communist Party of Japan (Left).

—AWTW

In regards to the painful events of June 4 and the days following when hundreds of citizens and PLA soldiers died and thousands were injured, the Communist Party of the Philippines, on behalf of the Philippine people, expresses its deepest sorrow. This bloody tragedy is a very important event of concern to the proletarian revolutionaries and all the people worldwide. But we think that the recent developments as well as the various conditions that led up to them and their aftermath should be viewed basically as domestic problems that need to be solved by China.

We know that there were not only

clear counter-revolutionary elements but also broad numbers of students, lower level intellectuals, and labouring people in the mass demonstrations in Tiananmen Square and other parts of China.

It is the responsibility of the Chinese people and leaders to clear up the source of the widening social unrest — unrest which has gone on for some time, has been used by bourgeois liberal elements and big capitalist powers and has led to crisis, confusion and tragedy.

It is the responsibility of the patriotic and progressive forces in China to assess and counter the spread of capitalism which has grown at the base of society and the spread of bourgeois liberalism in the superstructure of Chinese society.

We denounce the plots by the U.S., Japanese and other big capitalist powers to intervene in the internal politics of China and use the counter-revolutionary elements, capitalist roaders and right opportunists in China.

Over a fairly long period, foreign and domestic big capitalists as well as small entrepreneurs and merchants and rich peasants have gained the



# Supporting His Enemy?!

battle but a vicious massacre where the now reactionary PLA cold-bloodedly gunned down several thousand unarmed protestors. While doling out a few mealy grains of condolence for the students and other rebels, the CPP leadership essentially stands with the Deng regime, but furtively, sneakily, ashamed of its ugly crime. What else does it mean to go on and on about the danger of "bourgeois liberalism" — Deng's code word for the student protestors and their patrons who are challenging his clique's monopoly on power — while

never mentioning the danger of bourgeois *fascism* in the state and party? What does it mean to issue warnings that reactionaries might "change China into a new colony for imperialism, and create a white terrorist regime" — except that people should rally around the *current* regime, and to hide the fact that the current regime has *already* led China down the path of capitulation to imperialism and that the Deng regime is *already* a "white terrorist regime".

The CPP concludes by invoking Mao Tsetung's revolutionary teachings — even as the system

they defend is imprisoning and torturing the genuine Maoists in China. Mao's most important contribution was his teachings on the continuation of the class struggle under socialism and unleashing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to uproot capitalist roaders like Deng Xiaoping and advance towards communism.

Many people in China and around the world have been jolted by the recent events to turn again to Mao in order to sum up the lessons of the capitalist restoration there and for the understanding that only another socialist revolution can save China. Unfortunately, the CPP leadership doesn't seem to be among them. For some time now, revolutionaries worldwide have been calling on the CPP leadership to turn back from the path it is following and to return to the Maoist road to proletarian revolution. In persisting in the face of this massacre to reconcile its "support" for Mao Tsetung with support for reactionary butcher regimes like China and the USSR, the CPP is doing a great disservice to itself, the Philippines liberation struggle and the world proletarian revolution. □

A WORLD TO WIN 1989/14

## the Events in China

right to own the means of production and distribution, exploit the labouring people and gain private profit. These are the biggest and most important bourgeois liberal rights before the bourgeoisie completely seizes political power.

But the big capitalist powers and the Chinese reactionaries are blaming Marxism and socialism for the ills of capitalism such as privatisation of the means of production and distribution, profiteering, extreme economic inequality, too much investment in unproductive fixed capital, consumerism by a few, inflation, corruption and unemployment. The big capitalist powers and the Chinese reactionaries are now trying to overthrow the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China by using the socio-economic crisis and the bourgeois liberalism which has taken over a significant part of the superstructure.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we declare that we firmly uphold the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses who are waging the struggle to hold high the four principles of upholding the socialist road, upholding the people's

democratic dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the communist party, and upholding Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

There is a great need in China for an anti-imperialist, revolutionary mass movement led by proletarian revolutionaries and supported by revolutionary forces in other countries. Otherwise, the big capitalist powers and the Chinese reactionaries will lead the masses in a wrong direction, change China into a new colony for imperialism and create a white terrorist regime.

To the proletarian revolutionaries and people worldwide, it is clear that the current unrest in China is not the result of failures of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. It exposes how harmful close relationships with capitalist powers and restored capitalism are for a socialist country.

In the unrest caused by the damage done by capitalism, right opportunism and counter-revolution, the revolutionary teachings of the great leader of the communist party, Mao Tsetung, shine ever brighter as a light leading the Chinese people.

6 June 1989 □

# Message of the Committee of the RIM to the CRC, CPI(ML) on Its 20th Anniversary

Comrades,

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement joins with you in celebrating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of India (ML) on April 22, 1969.

The CPI(ML) was founded under the leadership of the esteemed comrade Charu Mazumdar as part of the world-wide rebirth of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the struggle against modern revisionism led by Comrade Mao Tsetung and inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

From its foundation the CPI (ML) based itself of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It stood for waging protracted people's war against the reactionary ruling classes and their state. It stood for arousing the broad masses, especially the downtrodden peasantry, and relying on them. It stood as the irreconcilable opponent of imperialism and social imperialism.

The foundation of the CPI (ML) was indissolubly linked with the heroic Naxalbari struggle initiated by Comrade Mazumdar

and, in turn, the Party's formation further unleashed the mighty revolutionary storm of the oppressed masses and spread the sparks of Naxalbari far and wide in India. In fact, the sparks of Naxalbari have never been extinguished despite continued efforts by class enemies, revisionists and opportunists of all stripes.

The course of the revolution in India has proven complex in the period since the foundation of the CPI(ML). Comrade Mazumdar and a great many other fighters were martyred and a series of complex problems concerning the path of the revolution have been the subject of study and reflection, debate and two-line struggle among the Marxist-Leninists of your country.

Today the revolutionary situation in India is continuing to ripen. Thus the need for the reorganisation of the Party around a correct line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought continues to cry out. It is our fervent hope that you will win new victories in this fight in the coming period.

From its foundation the CPI (ML) has been dedicated to the achievement of the goal of communism and has seen itself as serving the world proletarian revolution. Its experience of struggle constitute and important part of the common revolutionary legacy of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and other Maoist forces in the world.

By holding high the red banner of Naxalbari, by continuing on the path of integrating the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete conditions of India, by unleashing and relying on the armed revolutionary struggle of the masses, by championing the cause of the liberation of the peoples of India, by carrying out the New Democratic Revolution aimed at imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the CPI(ML) will surely win new victories and make even greater contributions to the advance of the world revolution.

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

22 April 1989

**HAIL THE 20<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY  
OF CPI (ML)**

**FORGE THE PARTY AS A  
MIGHTY WEAPON  
ALL ACROSS INDIA!**



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**BURN DOWN THIS PRISON  
OF NATIONS IN THE  
FLAMES OF NATIONAL  
LIBERATION STRUGGLES  
LONG LIVE NAXALBARI**

*Poster of the Central Reorganisation Committee CPI (ML)*



A WORLD TO WIN 1989/14

# The "War on Drugs" Is a War on the People

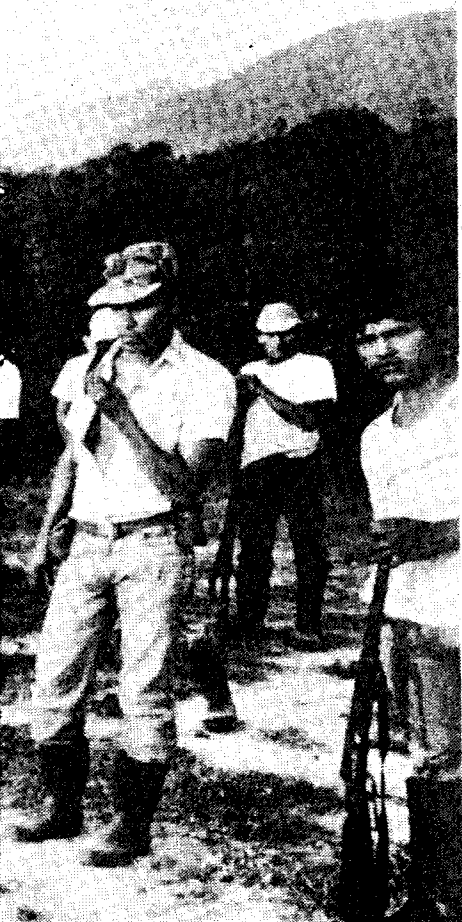
Although it had already been long underway, the U.S. government announced in early September a \$7.86 billion "war on drugs", with menacing undertones from chief spokesman, George Bush, that drugs are the "quicksand of our entire society", and more to the point, that a "war situation" exists in both the U.S. and Colombia, without directly naming the war already being waged in neighbouring Peru. In neither phase of

this international war is the target drugs, nor the goal the elimination of drug trafficking. In both cases it is a vicious attack on the masses of people, a vicious war against the oppressed which must be exposed and thrown back in the faces of the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices in Latin America and around the world.

This highly reactionary offensive has the aim of further preparing for rough times ahead in the U.S. empire by accelerating their

gestapo-like repression and control over minority nationalities and poor neighborhoods in the U.S., and trying to better position the U.S. politically and militarily to defend its interests in Latin America; this too has in common tightening up its influence over pro-U.S. regimes and reining in resistance among the masses there to this as well, most especially in Peru where the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru has made giant strides forward.





*The people's war being led by the Communist Party of Peru is one of the real targets of the so-called "War on Drugs."*

### U.S. Complicity

First of all, for the U.S. imperialists, who rank among the biggest profit-junkies on the planet earth, to say they are fighting drug trafficking is like Hitler calling for a halt to military abuse. This is the same U.S. ruling class that used heroin money from the Golden Triangle in Southeast Asia to run their secret war in Laos in the early 1970s and, more recently, have been thoroughly

implicated in the massive heroin trade conducted by the pro-U.S. Afghan guerrilla groups. As the accompanying box illustrates, the history of the Colombian drug barons and the cocaine trade in particular is a history of U.S. involvement right up to the tip of the piglet ears of its very highest central organs of power — the presidency, the CIA, the National Security Council and agencies under their control such as the Drug Enforcement Administration, to name just a few.

Utilising their network of connections in the underworld, in "legal" mafia and banking circles, in the flimsy puppet governments and dictatorships they have propped up throughout the Western hemisphere, in the police academies and armed forces training facilities they have erected and funded, in their intelligence apparatuses, and right in the midst of their own border control and police departments, it is the imperialists themselves who are the godfathers of this thriving, highly organised form of crime.

Their thorough control of the international drugs trade has, however, never been motivated simply by the accumulation of wealth. Those in the U.S. bourgeoisie who have spawned and profited from narcotics (while some of their institutions at the same time track down and even occasionally arrest smugglers) have always linked their business to pursuing the much more pressing and pivotal goals of reinforcing their political and military position and interests globally, most especially today in Central and South America. *This* is the real meaning of ex-CIA chief and current U.S. President George Bush's remark that the "drug problem is a national security problem".

Both the financing of their contra war against the Sandinist government in Nicaragua officially and then "privately" from drug money as well as the repeated attempts by the U.S. to depose and extradite Panamanian President Manuel Noriega supposedly for his connections to the drug trade

(and replace him with a more loyal up-to-date version) seem to be part of the same overall strategic offensive that the sudden crusade of applying heat to the Colombian cocaine cartels represents.

Hypocritically pouncing on drug abuse as the number one pollutant of American civilisation, these executives of terror and oppression hated by the masses the world over are nakedly escalating their military and technical "presence" abroad, hoping through this propaganda to manoeuvre into a situation that more fully allows them to intervene in various "unstable" countries south of their border. Immediate U.S. attention has focused on helping to mould the shaky and divided ruling classes in Colombia into a more suitable, more stable pro-U.S. state apparatus. But this "war" cannot be divorced from the overall not so favourable terrain for the U.S. in Latin America as a whole. A gaping wound in the side of the U.S. imperialists is Peru, where the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is leading and gaining significant ground in a war of its own — a people's war aimed directly at overthrowing the reactionary ruling class there and the grip of all the imperialists both east and west.

### Fighting Guerrillas, not Cocaine

In Peru, American helicopters and U.S. government pilots have been flying "antidrug missions" with the Peruvian military for two years. (Before that, they had supplied "advisers".) Now the U.S. is openly bidding to play a more naked role in aiding the beleaguered Garcia government's war against the PCP-led people's war. U.S. spraying of the area to supposedly kill the coca crop has backfired. PCP Chairman Gonzalo stated in his widely circulated interview with the Peruvian newspaper *El Diario*, "We also denounce the APRA's plan in the Upper Huallaga River zone which, with the pretext of combatting narco-traffic, allows the use of the deadly insecticide

'Spike', that the yankee cartels themselves say are like small atomic bombs."

Following a *paro armado* (armed shutdown) against the spraying of Spike, led by the PCP in August 1988 in the city of Tingo Maria, the U.S. has interrupted this practice. They have retreated from their military outpost in Tingo Maria to a new fortified base further north at Santa Lucia. As large-scale fighting has developed in this area and the influence of the PCP fighters has grown, the U.S. has used this as a further transparent excuse for sending more military aid, citing the risk to *American* personnel. This is a ruse already witnessed many times before, where "security threats" from the masses in the countries the U.S. dominates become the pretense for greater imperialist aggression.

Imperialist domination and semi-feudal exploitation has devastated the lives of the masses of Peruvians, a large number of whom have turned to the petty production of coca to make a living (which is sold to Colombian dealers for processing into cocaine). Of course it is the Peruvian government and ruling classes themselves who benefit the most from drug peddling, since this multi-billion dollar per year income helps stave off collapse of an import-dependent economy with over \$14 billion foreign debt. Peruvian President Alan Garcia has outright begged for Peruvians holding foreign exchange made from coca sales in Europe to repatriate this money — untaxed — to his flailing economy.

It is the gains of the revolutionary people's war led by the PCP that are the chief concern of the U.S. imperialists in that country, both because they fear that Peru could be decisively lost to them and that other countries in Latin America, whose conditions also are ripe for revolution, will follow suit. The U.S. is actively considering whether they can and/or must enter the fray on a much greater scale: while the "lessons of Vietnam" haunt them, they are also seriously weighing — and

preparing — the possibility of a leap to direct intervention by U.S. ground forces, a move which is certain to be met with resistance in Peru and elsewhere in Latin America as well as in the U.S. itself.

Under the thin cover of "fighting drugs at their source", such steps are underway. New training facilities against guerrillas are being built with U.S. aid. A major precedent for sending troops into the Andes region was already set in July 1986 when the U.S. sent tanks, military equipment and some 160 soldiers to the coca fields in Bolivia. Much of the new \$261 million approved for the Latin America phase of the U.S. "war on drugs" (part of \$2 billion funds allocated over the next five years) is earmarked for counter-insurgency against the PCP along with aiding the regimes in Colombia and Bolivia.

### Stabilising Colombia

The flip side of the imperialists' drug war against the Black and other masses in the U.S. is, on the surface at least, directed at Colombia, despite their growing concern about Peru. Ostensibly this is to help the Colombian government capture and extradite to the U.S. the ringleaders — the drug barons that annually market hundreds of thousands of tons of cocaine in the streets of the U.S. and other countries for billions of dollars. Much more likely, the crackdown was instigated by the barons of Washington, D.C. who want Colombian head of state Virgilio Barco to get tough and pull things together under his authority. Although the "cops and robbers" action of this scenario, with police stalking crafty, elusive drug dealers in their jungle hideouts while mafia bombs explode in the cities, looks like something out of a James Bond movie, the battle actually seems to centre much more around the question of political power. In Colombia, the problem is that political power is thoroughly bound up with the international cocaine trade.

Colombia has long been totally dominated and disfigured by imperialism. One clear manifestation of this is that an estimated 1,700,000 Colombians (out of a population of 30 million) are "involved" in the vast narcotics industry, which is highly lucrative for a small minority. Mammoth investments from drug profits have gone into livestock raising, real estate and in major chains of hotels, tourist agencies and other enterprises. In some areas traditional big landowners still run large plantations in semifeudal conditions, while in others, small landholders have been bought out, forced to sell their lands to the huge narco-agro business. It is said that the powerful cocaine cartels control some 60% of the fertile lands, running as high as 90% in some areas. All this is backed up by the terror and violence of the narco-armies — the armed thugs of the drug rings — often with the collaboration of the national police and army. In places where they have set up their operations with processing laboratories, airstrips and other shipping facilities the drug "mafia" play an important role in local political affairs, including even holding some political posts.

The other side of the drug cartel's "sharing" political power in diverse ways is the fact that the narcotics trade permeates the Colombian economy as a whole; a significant amount of drug money is flowing through the veins of all of Colombia's ruling classes. Widespread corruption and complicity in the cocaine business exists — as the well-connected and wealthy drug networks have been able to buy who and what they need at most every level including the spheres of government, judicial and repressive apparatuses themselves. This partly explains the apparent impotence of the current "crackdown" in Colombia where business as usual has only been slightly disturbed.

Further complicating the situation is the strength of the pro-Soviet guerrillas of the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of

## Colombia The Army, Paramilitary and Narco-Military Forces

To maintain its domination, oppression and exploitation of the peasant masses, the working class and other social strata and to confront the guerrillas, the Military High Command, directed by the state and in collusion with the comprador bourgeoisie and landowners based in drug trafficking, has created mercenary and reactionary armed forces — paramilitary forces or private armies — which are not only the armed forces of the comprador and landowner “drug lords” but also the armed forces of landowner sectors and the big bourgeoisie. They are one more weapon wielded by the reactionary classes to defend property, and in their “anticommunist” crusade they have used white terror through genocides, murders of peasants, fighters, judges, intellectuals, union and community leaders, waging psychological warfare against struggling unions, against journalists, etc.; in 1987 there were 11,000 and in 1988 10,000 deaths as a result of their campaign.

The bureaucratic-landowner state thus relies on the private armies as a complement to the armed forces, the backbone of this decrepit and rotten state. On many occasions the combined forces of the army, police, state security services and paramilitary forces have carried out terror campaigns in the countryside. There are reports that 80 percent of the police force in Medellin is controlled by the cartel; until January 1989 the commander of the National Police was himself a representative of the “drug lords”, and the top officers commanding military brigades have ordered, prepared and led joint campaigns with the paramilitary forces against the guerrilla forces and the peasant population as well as other class sectors. □

Taken from the article, “The Weakness of the State, Political Crisis and New Democracy”, which appeared in the April 1989 issue of *Alborada Comunista*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia, a participating organisation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Colombia) who are active and influential in some coca-growing areas of Colombia, along with the social-democratic forces (and guerrillas) of the M-19 and the National Liberation Movement, which control still other territories. Although these government opposition forces have at times colluded with the drug trade and themselves profited from this collusion, the paramilitary, narco-military and central army have joined forces to attack them and others as part of a mission to “destroy the communist menace”. (See excerpt from the *Alborada Comunista*.)

The private militias of the drug cartels, equipped and trained by

reserve officers of the Israeli army and mercenary experts from Great Britain and South Africa, have been overtly instrumental in this, showing not only their highly reactionary character in attacking progressive masses, but also their fidelity to the work methods of the CIA and U.S. imperialism in general. (Reportedly more than 80% of Colombia’s arms are supplied by Israel, for a sum of \$35.9 million.)

In this situation, it has been the exploited and oppressed masses who are the victims, not just of landlords and roving armies but the government as well, and this is a key element of their script. In addition to the daily climate of

terror and murder, in the first months since the supposed crackdown against drug pushers began in 1989, some 10,000 people have been rounded up and jailed, many of them either poor masses on the city streets or middle-level or petty dealers.

The April 1989 issue of *Alborada Comunista*, the publication of the Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia, analyses the consequences of the country’s “lack of a unified national economy” caused by “persistent semi-feudalism, weak industrialisation and disarticulated urban development” under the domination of imperialism and the rule of the landlords and capitalists associated with it. “Because of the backward and weak economic and social structure of Colombia”, it says, “all the organisations of the ruling classes, in other words, their political power, their armed forces, their political parties, etc.... are also weak.... Historically, there have long been civil wars and complicated conflicts within the ruling classes which are manifested as conflicts between the central regime and the regional ruling classes”, which in turn interpenetrate with the masses’ struggles and the reactionary classes’ armed suppression of the masses. Thus the drug barons have arisen within the context of the long-existing situation in the countryside and the country as a whole, of the thriving power of local despotic “warlords” based on land, semi-feudal authority and private armies.

Practically speaking, the problem is that the central state is able neither to impose its authority on the country as a whole, politically or militarily, nor to fully answer to the needs and interests of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. seems to have decided to take a hand in reining in the situation in Colombia by using its hypocritical pressure on the cartel chiefs to send bundles of “aid” to Barco (some \$65 million emergency aid in weaponry, equipment, and especially advisors was sent in August 1989) and in preparation for potentially much grea-

## Chicago Lockdown

"The median household income systemwide in the Chicago Housing Authority [federally-assisted housing estates] is \$4,650 for a *family*, not an individual. Four of the ten poorest communities in the *country*, not in the city, but in the country, are in CHA. In Chicago public housing you have a concentration of [Black] people that really have no future under this system and they know it. And that worries the authorities a lot. The people who live there know it, and the authorities are worried that they know it. And the authorities know it too...."

When the buildings are raided, dozens of police, sometimes over 100, and CHA security guards, which are rented hired cops, surround the buildings, seal them off. No one goes in. No one goes out. They put cops on each floor, some of them have dogs. The buildings range in height from seven stories to seventeen, those that have been raided so far. They do apartment-by-apartment searches; no warrants, no probable cause and no warning. They used to say they were going in to look for drugs and guns, and then the ACLU challenged that with a suit in court. So now they've backed off. They say they're just doing administrative inspection, which every landlord has the right to do. They're doing the same damn thing. Oh, now the Chicago police that are uniformed are supposed to wait outside with their dogs. They're not supposed to go into the apartments — but they're there.

People are herded down to the first floor where they set up makeshift processing centres. They're patted down, make sure they don't have anything on them. They're photographed. Everyone seven years and up has to have this photo ID to enter and leave the building....

When they do these raids and they're looking for drugs and guns, they find very little in the way of drugs and guns. They get on TV and apologize about how little they find. They've arrested some people for criminal trespass and some people for some other charges, but not very many. This isn't a strategy of filling the jails with people that live in public housing in Chicago. It's a strategy of turning the public housing in Chicago into jails...." □

Excerpted from a speech by an activist at the conference on the War on Drugs held in July 1989 in Washington, D.C.



*Police terror in the U.S. under the*

on the countries it has subjugated in the Third World, and more and more people are rising up in struggle against it. Despite their widely acclaimed peace initiatives, the Western imperialists and Soviet-bloc rivals have in no way halted their preparations to settle the question of redivision and world domination through a new world war.

In Latin America, which the U.S. considers its backyard, things are far from stable, both in terms of encroaching Soviet influence and from large sections of the populations of those countries that are familiar with U.S. "aid" and generally despise its role in their countries. To intervene they face potentially massive opposition, yet to refrain from consolidating their hold is also dangerous for them. In addition to the situation in Peru and Colombia,

ter involvement, particularly given the even more "hazardous" situation in nearby Peru. Anti-U.S. government demonstrations have already taken place on the university campus in Bogota, and exposure has surfaced in the bourgeois press that their aid does not correspond to that requested by the National police who are conducting this "war", but instead has reinforced the Colombian army's materiel.

### The Latin American Gamble

"Military advisors" is an al-

ready familiar code word learned in many places the U.S. has operated in covertly and overtly, including the early days in Vietnam *before* war was officially declared, and followed by hundreds of thousands of troops and a full-scale imperialist war of aggression to secure U.S. interests and its position in southeast Asia. When Bush speaks of a "war situation", he is speaking about the whole rocky situation of the U.S. in the world today where even more is at stake than in the 1960s. Throughout its empire, Western imperialism has wrought havoc



## Black Woman at a San Francisco Housing Estate

"You've got to have ID everywhere you go if you're Black. You've got to have something to say who you is. They just stop you anywhere — you look funny. You say, 'Man why you stopping me?' and they say, 'Cause you look suspicious. You over there, do you have any ID?' Like one morning I was waiting out for my father to pick me up so that he wouldn't have to knock on the door and wake up the kids. All of a sudden these two cop cars come down the hill like WHOOM — this way and WHOOM that way — and they jumped out and said, 'Hold it. Don't you move!' And I said, 'I got ID, I got ID.' There was this white cop and a Black woman cop so let's get that down too. And I said 'I'm getting my ID, I'm getting my ID, I don't have a gun!'"

They come out so heavy. They're even making these young people carry guns. I believe it's becoming like a police state. Like with all of this piss tests when you're looking for a job. They want to talk to your neighbours just for a job. Here I'm supposed to be an American citizen born and bred here, yet here they can look in the garbage can, they check my urine. The Man even knows what you ate for breakfast.

Things are getting worse. These are the last days. They gotta be. I mean I think the people are going to go off because they're pushing people every day up against the wall. Something is going to pop. In the '60s people tried to come to the system peacefully and these guys were beating them and siccing their dogs on them and everything. Revolution, I can dig it. But we got to get it right so we don't just fight to get the Man back up there."

## A Proletarian in Atlanta

"If you walk down the street and they pull you up, you're under arrest. They don't say, 'Put your hands up' — they just slam you up against the wall with three guns on your head. You ain't human and you ain't got no business in America."

They're the problem. They're the source. That's how it's getting here. You gotta plane? a ship? a boat? We ain't got that — who's got it? They've got it. How can it get here if they wasn't letting it through?"

Excerpted from the 19 December 1988 *Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the RCP, USA.

strous criminals who run and enforce a system like imperialism would turn the drug "scourge" they and their system have produced into a war against the masses, criminalising them for purchasing and using these addictive and destructive substances. It is even less surprising that these foul moves occur particularly at a time when more and more the decay and decline of their empire is pulling apart the fabric of their society of so-called abundance and wealth and polarising it into hostile camps. As the stakes worldwide rise and this domestic

"hostility" mounts, the imperialists increasingly face the need to strengthen their own internal order, preparing and institutionalising extensive and brutish control over the unruly section of the people their system has pressed down into the lower echelons of society. In the U.S. this is particularly true of Black and Hispanic people and it accompanies a dramatic swell in racism, harsh national oppression and the number of incidents of police brutality and murder.

At a conference on the war on drugs held in July 1989, Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



cover of the "War on Drugs."

the U.S. is already involved in armed conflicts in El Salvador and Nicaragua while tension rises in Panama. Riots against the effects of IMF austerity have recently shaken Venezuela. They are sitting on a tinderbox of their own making in Brazil and right on their own doorstep in Mexico. Even some of their loyal lapdogs feel it necessary to make noises against the turning of Honduras, for example, into a giant U.S. military base from which to launch covert and other operations. With the war on drugs, the U.S. ruling class has made some decisions that "the backyard" needs attention despite the risks and perils this poses for them.

### Cracking Down on the Black Masses in the U.S.

It is little wonder that the mon-

Exporting cocaine became big business in Colombia in the mid-1970s. A handful of people made their money in the industry, including Pablo Escobar, Gaviria and Jorge Luis Daza. Escobar emerged as the main leader in the smuggling of cocaine to America. This could have easily happened with protection from high officials in the post-1958 government of Colombia. When Escobar was first arrested for cocaine smuggling in 1976, he was arrested and was mysteriously released and he walked out of custody just a few months later. He was not given a freedom bid, and his charges were never made public.

American drug enforcement officials then realized that the Colombian traffic. The DEA's former Administrator Alberto Frenk had a major role in the capital and branches in Medellin, Cali and Bogota. The DEA's role in Colombia was to inform the people became DEA informants and in 1979, the DEA was the Anti-Narcotics Unit of the Colombian police. But the cocaine networks continued to grow and prosper. None of the drug lords was seriously hindered.

The production of cocaine requires certain chemicals and other. Ninety percent of the chemical inputs come from manufacturers in the U.S. and they rest from Western Europe. As the Colombian cocaine production grew so did shipments of base chemicals from the U.S. For these

chemicals, the DEA has a long history of cooperation with the Colombian government. The DEA's former Administrator Alberto Frenk had a major role in the capital and branches in Medellin, Cali and Bogota. The DEA's role in Colombia was to inform the people became DEA informants and in 1979, the DEA was the Anti-Narcotics Unit of the Colombian police. But the cocaine networks continued to grow and prosper. None of the drug lords was seriously hindered. The production of cocaine requires certain chemicals and other. Ninety percent of the chemical inputs come from manufacturers in the U.S. and they rest from Western Europe. As the Colombian cocaine production grew so did shipments of base chemicals from the U.S. For these

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spokesman Carl Dix pointed to the ruling class' fear of the oppressed rising up and its attempt to use this attack to get the petit-bourgeois strata to line up behind them. "The men who run this country, they remember the experience of the 1960s when it was the combination of the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle and the widespread resistance right here in the U.S. — and especially the struggle of Black people — that rocked their system back on its heels and shook it to its foundation. And they know that today

they've got much more at stake than in the 1960s... Through their war on drugs, they are terrorising the most oppressed people while also stretching their entire oppressive apparatus. And they want to influence middle-class people to go along with it — accept the restrictions that they're putting down and the draconian laws that they're putting out in the name of trying to deal with drugs." The war on drugs is also occurring in a long string of other reactionary decisions and programs the U.S. bourgeoisie is conduct-

ing which affect various social classes. These stretch from reversing the right for women to have abortions to a series of Supreme Court decisions against minorities to throwing the homeless out on the kerb, escalating the death penalty, giving the green light on racist murders and coverups, and reaching further into the cultural arena to hit progressive and outspoken artists. As a glance at the National Drug Control Strategy announced by Bush and Drug Czar William Bennett indicates, the

## the USA

the storm by moving their operations to Panama. Those who moved to Panama were protected by Manuel Noriega, a long-time "CIA asset" who headed the Panama Defense Forces and was the most powerful figure in the country. U.S. officials considered Noriega as playing an important role in protecting the security of the Panama Canal and in various intrigues in Central America and the Caribbean, and they looked the other way as his drug dealings became public knowledge.

### Cocaine and Contras

Other Medellin cartel operatives, including some tied to Noriega, agreed to cooperate with U.S. efforts to back the Contra forces fighting against the Sandinist government in Nicaragua. One example came out in the testimony at a recent U.S. Senate hearing by Ramon Milian Rodriguez, a Cuban-born accountant who was based in Panama and was the cartel's chief money launderer. Milian started out as a courier for reactionary Cuban exiles in Miami and smuggled cash to such right-wing causes as support for pre-U.S. Nicaraguan dictator Somoza and the Reagan presidential campaign. He was also used by the CIA to send money to various pro-U.S. reactionaries in La-

tin America. He began to launder drug money for the Medellin cartel in 1980, and from 1982 to 1985 he sent almost \$10 million in drug profits to the Contras. The donations were solicited by CIA veteran Felix Rodriguez and delivered to CIA-chartered companies in Florida.

For example, in late 1984 Milian funneled about \$200,000 to Ocean Hunter, a CIA-owned "seafood warehouse" in Miami that was regularly receiving shipments of Colombian cocaine aboard shrimp boats from Costa Rica. The money was used to buy tons of heavy arms which were flown by Florida Air Transport (another CIA front) down to a ranch in Costa Rica for distribution to the Contras. DEA and FBI informants told CBS News that their agencies refused to act on information about Ocean Hunter's activity because they realised that the cocaine smuggling northward for the cartel was part of the same network that was running guns southward for the Contras.

### Oliver North and the "Private" Network

In late 1985 Congress banned federal military aid to the Contras. Lt. Col. Oliver North, who headed Contra support from the Reagan administration's National Security Council, responded by transferring funding activity to a "private" network controlled by the White House

and including members of the drug-trafficking underworld. In a typical example, DEA "informant" Barry Seal recruited veteran American drug pilot Michael Tolliver to fly guns down to the Contras and return with drugs. The drugs would then be sold and the money used to buy more airlifts of weapons.

Tolliver told CBS News that on a March flight, he carried fourteen tons of guns and ammunition for the Contras by DC-6 from Miami to Aguacate air base, the CIA-built supply base in Honduras, returning to Homestead Air Force Base in south Florida with 25,360 pounds of marijuana. On another flight in July, he piloted a DC-3 loaded with two tons of weapons, then picked up 400-500 kilos of cocaine and two tons of marijuana in Colombia and flew it to the Bahamas, where it was unloaded by Bahamian police.

The use of the drug trade in financing the Contras must have had the approval of the highest circles in Washington. Milian, asked by CBS who CIA veteran Felix Rodriguez was working for when soliciting drug profits for the Contras, replied: "He was reporting directly to Bush. I was led to believe he was reporting regularly to the Vice President." □

Excerpted from the *Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, 4 September 1989.

"drug" war is but a pretense to viciously target and step up repression of the oppressed masses within the U.S., to set up the mechanisms and institutions of control the ruling class needs in the future and to begin to try to acclimate the masses in general to what lies ahead. The main features of the Bush/Bennett program include: — strengthening police powers for "street-level law enforcement" (\$700 million), — new prison construction (\$1.3 billion), — lockdown in all government housing projects (esta-

tes), — organising civilians into police informant networks, — an official police propaganda campaign in the media, — erecting a national drug intelligence centre under FBI and Drug Enforcement Administration leadership, — new police technologies for surveillance and interdiction, — monitoring banking practices, — increased drug testing, with punishments for casual users, — fortification and militarisation of the U.S. border with Mexico including cooperation between immigrant "control" and drug

smuggling detection as well as increased police equipment, monitoring systems, more undercover operations and powers such as general arrest and "automatic exclusion".

These aspects count for about 70% of the multi-billion dollar war on drugs budget, the rest allocated to military and political plans relating to further intervention in Latin America mentioned above, and those for projects like "Joint Intelligence Collection Centres in the Caribbean Basin" from which covert activity can be



launched. Finally, the U.S. rulers are appealing to the NATO bloc countries as a whole to participate in the war on drugs as common cover for "multilateral efforts" in Third World countries.

A number of European countries have already begun to fall in line behind the U.S. "war on drugs", promising greater inter-continental cooperation against "terrorism" amidst their widely proclaimed fear that the tremendous market for "crack" (highly addictive, smokeable crystals of cocaine) in the U.S. will begin to be diverted to Europe. The European-based international police network Interpol has pledged to implant itself more deeply in Latin America, through Argentina, and West Germany and Britain are donating their "vast knowledge" of security for VIPs and suppression techniques learned in their battles against European "terrorists". In addition Great Britain has already sent a Royal Navy frigate to help begin patrolling Caribbean waters, and France promises to send anti-narcotics police to Colombia and Venezuela along with radar equipment to detect "drug planes" to Ecuador, as well as spearheading an attack on money laundering by fighting to abolish banking secrecy.

### Imperialism Can Never Wipe Out Drugs

Drugs *are* a real problem which pull the masses down into a deadly morass of addiction and suffering along with petty crime against other masses to pay for it. Nonetheless the system of imperialism as a whole is a far bigger problem for the masses and until they overthrow it people will continue to be sucked into drug use — not just "crack" but many others, as the suppliers and profiteers create new and more dangerous products to market. In fact, by far the biggest killer drugs are the legal ones — alcohol and tobacco.

Imperialism can never solve the problem of drugs. It profits from them and it creates the conditions

that drive the masses to use them. The moralising hypocritical drug pushers running the U.S. government are no more concerned about assisting Latin American peasants to diversify their agriculture than they are about ridding society of drug sales and drug addiction and helping youth "cope" in a system that has no future for them but poverty, national oppression, jail or a police bullet.

The masses themselves have picked up on the increasingly obvious fact that virtually nothing is being proposed to alter the social problems underlying crime and drugs, that the Bush/Bennett concentration camp approach cuts social programs to amass federal funds for more prisons and social control. A profit-addicted system will never be reformed to eradicate the miseries it causes for the masses of people, the exploitation of whom is, after all, the source of their profit. How likely is it that these imperialist junkies are likely to break *their* habit?

Experience has shown that only revolution can solve the drug problem, as part of transforming all of society. In the revolutionary years of China under Mao Tse-tung, the proletarian state directly struck down the drug trade and dealers that had turned some 70 million people into opium addicts, basically wiping out the enormous drug problem within 2 years after liberation. Only by mobilising the people to make revolution and cast off drugs, as well as providing the treatment and assistance for those who need it, can this be achieved.

The war on drugs represents an intense acceleration led by the U.S. imperialists to get into position for bigger wars to come — inside and outside its borders. And it is certainly an immediate and major forewarning of the possibility of intervention in direct and indirect forms against the people's war in Peru. This must be exposed to all for what it is and the heat turned up on the real narco-terrorists themselves — the U.S. imperialists and their allies worldwide. □

## Notes on the Political Economy of Cuba

# Burn Down the Cane Fields!

By Rudi Mambisa

The following is the first of a two-part series. This part focuses on how Cuba came to be dependent on sugar and how sugar turned Castro's rebels into its armed guardians. The second half will take up the consequences, by examining the overall development of the Cuban economy in the last thirty years, the question of Soviet "aid" and the concept of "dependent socialism". — AWTW



## I. Introduction: Castro's "Touristrolka"

The mood in Cuba today is somber. The problem is more than just hard times, although times are hard in Cuba. There is also the question of where the country is going.

A decade of "rationalisation" that resulted in a tangle of *three million* work norms (more than the total number of workers) and piece rates and pay scales set according to enterprise or production-brigade profitability could not stave off the economic stagnation that has once again overtaken Cuba's economy.<sup>1</sup> Cutbacks in rations of milk and meat and higher prices for transportation and other necessities have followed in the wake of Castro's current "rectification" campaign whose rhetorical clothing of "building socialism through moral incentives" can't hide the resemblance to the standard IMF-ordered retrenchment, with its slashing of imports and promoting of exports so as to pay foreign creditors.

Castro was said to look glum during Gorbachev's April 1989 visit to Cuba. Gorbachev seemed to be enjoying himself. Although few details of their conversations have been announced, the general idea is that Cuba will have to enter into specific contracts with Soviet enterprises, which in turn are subject to "cost-accounting", with the result that Soviet-Cuban economic arrangements will be overhauled piece by piece and each of its individual components may be expected to show a profit.

Cuba's economy works like this: Cuba produces sugar. The USSR buys the bulk of it at a fixed price, paying partly in Soviet oil. Cuba sells the oil on the world market, along with the remainder of its sugar production. Then Cuba uses the mix of roubles and

dollars to import food and other materials and make more sugar. Now, with sugar prices and oil prices low simultaneously, it seems that more dollars are indispensable to make the Soviet's capital investment in Cuba turn over faster. "Tourism is far more profitable than oil", Castro recently exclaimed<sup>2</sup>, as though he had just made a terrific discovery. To many Cubans, this must seem like a recurring nightmare. The "second harvest" of tourism, as the complement of Cuba's sugar dependency used to be called, was supposed to have been ended along with U.S. domination. In Havana, in 1959, 100,000 women — over 10% of the capital's total population — found work as prostitutes, crowding certain streets thick as a cattle market along with the thousands of taxi drivers, beggars and others awaiting American businessmen, tourists and sailors. Gambling was the island's biggest growth industry. In 1959, 300,000 U.S., Canadian and European visitors came to be waited upon, entertained and otherwise served by those the sugar economy made "surplus".<sup>3</sup>

In 1988, with, it is true, slightly more emphasis on beaches, Cuba attracted 225,000 Canadian and European tourists. The Cuban government hopes to bring in *two million a year* by the end of the next decade. The giant Hilton hotel from which black Cubans were once excluded, later symbolically used for the 1966 Tricontinental Conference where Castro denounced both the imperialist U.S. and revolutionary China, is again packed with well-fed, sun-dazed couples from Milan and Montreal. The chorus girl cabarets, once a hated symbol of Cuba's subjugation, are again parading the glittering degradation of Cuban women for the amusement of drunken foreign big spenders. Contract discussions are under way with Club Med.<sup>4</sup> After thirty

years of little construction of new housing, tens of thousands of hotel rooms and vacation cottages and a whole new international airport are to be built in the next five years, financed by joint enterprises set up with European investors.

A currently popular song protests, "The dollar is more important than the Cuban people." The one thing that many Cubans thought surely had been achieved, an end to their country's humiliation at the hands of the U.S., now seems to be up for sale. Cubans say that Castro has his own version of perestroika: "touristrolka".

A 1988 Cuban party document warns of "states of opinion reflecting discontent, concern, incomprehension and irritability" among the Cuban people and lays great stress on measures to control "the persistence of manifestations of labour and social indiscipline".<sup>5</sup> Castro's interminable speeches rail against popular lack of morale and enthusiasm. Recent visitors' anecdotes are more pungent about the prevailing cynicism in regard to the government.

The "aid" provided to Cuba by the USSR for almost thirty years cost Cuba its soul, as we shall see, but it bought a certain stability (whose content we shall also examine). Now, when there is every reason to believe that Gorbachev's perestroika will hold more difficulties for Cuba, even this is in doubt. "If there were only one socialist country left in the world", Castro told a recent closed meeting of the Cuban party, "it would be Cuba."<sup>6</sup> But this braggadocio cuts the man that yields it. Once the *possibility* that the USSR might cease to be socialist is admitted, then even those who reject our Maoist argument that the Soviet Union had *already* restored capitalism when Castro took up with it would have

to question the wisdom of a thirty-year Cuban policy to make the island dependent on the USSR. As an unidentified "foreign diplomat" (probably Soviet) pointed out, "Castro needs Gorbachev much more than Gorbachev needs him."<sup>7</sup> The ugliness of Cuba's future, now floating to the surface inside and outside the country, evokes an underlying question: how did it get this way in the first place?

## II. How Sugar Created Cuba

There being no God, it fell to sugar to create Cuba.

There were people on the island long before sugar came, but the island was not yet Cuba. Sugar changed its face and created its people, whose history is a history of revolt and war against the evolving relations of production and the other social relations that arose in consequence and gave sugar its terrible power.

The Europeans brought cane sugar from India to the West Indies in the sixteenth century, along with the African slaves to cut it down. In turn, the trade in these two commodities was a driving force in the development of capitalism and its political triumph in Europe.

In 1793 the slaves revolted in Haiti and drove out the French slavemasters. The long political unrest and clash among the colonial powers for that island brought more colonists fleeing to Cuba and an enormous impetus to what had hitherto been slow development there. The whole of the nineteenth century was one long sugar boom in Cuba. Sugar commanded the felling of the tropical forests, just as earlier it had required the extermination of the Caribbean natives who resisted forced labour. There was little trace left of the island's original life, except for some place names which no longer resembled the settings they had been named after.

The commodity sugar was sent to Europe where it was transformed into money, the money went to Africa where it became

slaves, and the slaves were sent to Cuba and other places in the New World where they were ground up to make more sugar. In the nineteenth century, Cuba was the main destination of those Africans unlucky enough to fall into white hands. About 600,000 Africans were brought to Cuba between 1512 and 1865, most of them after 1820 when the international slave trade was supposedly banned. Nevertheless, Cuba's black and "mulatto" population in the mid-1800s was no more than half that number.<sup>8</sup> The cane fields killed Africans after seven to ten years of labour. According to an account written at that time, slave men and women worked 19 to 20 hours a day, six or seven days a week. Most owners found it more profitable to renew their workforce through constant purchases rather than allow slaves a few hours a week away from the field for breeding purposes. Slave mothers commonly carried out abortion or infanticide rather than bear children into slavery.<sup>9</sup>

Poor whites tended to work in coffee and especially tobacco. Only in the latter half of the nineteenth century did Europeans begin to arrive in great numbers, along with Chinese brought as bound labour. In the early twentieth century, more bound labour was brought from Jamaica and Haiti, as well as Yucatan Indians from Mexico. Cuba's population today is not as black as some neighbouring islands (estimates range from a third to a majority, depending on the criteria of the authors). But the rate at which Africans were brought to renew Cuba's population, the long life of this slave trade (until about 1880), the late abolition of slavery (1886) and the fact that later white settlers came to a country that had long been mostly black made the emerging Cuban nation a daughter of Africa, raped by the slave-master. To this day, aspects of the language, religion and other cultural features of the Cuban masses, especially among the poor and above all in the countryside, are easily identifiable as those of the Yoruba and other

peoples of West Africa. In fact, these cultural features, to some extent, mark Cubans of all colours.

Under Spanish law and the Catholic religion, it was forbidden to beat oxen, but not slaves. Slaves needed beating because they revolted. Often they set fire to the cane fields and escaped into the mountains. (This was one reason why fragile coffee beans and especially tobacco leaves were more often tended by free labour.) Major organised revolts took place in 1795 and 1844. Freedom from slavery could not be imagined without the overthrow of the Spanish-supported slave-owner regime. Beginning in 1868, Cubans began a ten-year war for independence and emancipation. Spain sent a quarter of a million troops to suppress the one million Cubans. In 1880, another major revolt broke out and was put down. In 1895, black and white guerrillas under a black general launched yet another war, which this time was successful... except that on the eve of victory, the U.S. declared war on Spain and snatched up the Spanish colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines.

American troops invaded Cuba with the double mission of dealing Spain the final coup de grace and preventing the island from becoming a "Negro republic". The victorious Cuban rebel army was barred from entering the cities and disbanded. U.S. troops occupied the island from 1898 to 1902. Before they left, they wrote into the constitution of this supposedly independent country the Platt Amendment, a provision allowing the U.S. to intervene in Cuba at will. A new law requiring written deeds to land in a country where small peasants had farmed individual or communal lands without title enabled the American companies who bought up the sugar plantations to expel those who got in the way of the gargantuan expansion of sugar lands required to feed the newly-mechanised sugar mills. To protect this way of life, American troops invaded again in 1906 and

stayed three years. They invaded a third time in 1912, and again in 1917. This time they stayed five years, until they established a Cuban Army and political figures who would rule for them. Later, in return for allowing Cuban sugar a preferential place on the U.S. market, Cuba dropped all restrictions and duties on imports from the U.S. In addition, the U.S. snatched Guantanamo, on the eastern end of the island, where it still holds a major naval base. The U.S. was later to use Guantanamo to supply bombs and napalm to the Cuban government to fight Fidel Castro's rebels; today, U.S. aircraft stationed at Guantanamo could be over Santiago de Cuba, the island's second city, in three minutes.

For centuries the profitability of sugar had depended on slavery, although it was a slavery in service of the emerging capitalist world market, and in turn slave Cuba was deeply penetrated by capitalism. By the mid-1800s, Cuba's capital, Havana, was the third largest city in the Americas, just behind New York and Philadelphia. Cuba was among the first countries in the world to have a national railroad system, at about the same time as the U.S. and long before Spain, its colonial owner. In fact, Cuba's cities, engorged with the U.S. investments that began to flow in towards the end of the nineteenth century, were among the world's first to be lit by electric lights. But the railroads were to carry cane, not people; the lights illuminated city districts inhabited by plantation owners, merchants and their urban employees, and the country clubs, yacht clubs and night clubs of the Americans, and not the huts and shacks and windowless mill barracks in the countryside.

When finally the profitability of capital in Cuba itself demanded the abolition of slavery for the sake of the mechanisation of the mills, the rapid development the island underwent was not the development of Cuban capital, but of American capital in Cuba. Cuba did not develop an

agriculture that could feed industrial workers and supply industry and an industry that could in turn supply agriculture and the rest of the domestic market. Instead, increasingly it became a country where practically nothing was manufactured and little even stockpiled. Almost everything it used came on the freighters, the ferries and the flights from the U.S., 150 kilometers away, and almost everything it produced was shipped back to the U.S. on the return trip. It was said that Cuba's manufacturing district was in New York, its warehouse district in Miami and its telephone exchange connected Havana and the U.S. far more than Havana and anywhere else in Cuba.

Immigrants of the 1920s brought with them revolutionary Marxism. There emerged a Communist Party, part of the Communist International. The party led strikes and other struggles and even insurrections in the 1930s, when it called for organising soviets (revolutionary workers' councils) among the mill workers. But instead of centring on the peasants and the labourers in the fields as allies for the relatively small industrial working class in the mills, cigar factories and ports, the party looked elsewhere. It ended up supporting a U.S.-installed puppet, the former sergeant and now general Fulgencio Batista, in the name of the alliance against fascism. During the period of the international united front against the fascist powers in World War 2, the Communist Party entered Batista's government. When the U.S. had Batista break off that alliance, after the war was won, the party was spent as a revolutionary force. Instead of the party taking responsibility for launching and leading the armed struggle, in Cuba it was the self-described follower of "Jeffersonian democracy", Fidel Castro,<sup>10</sup> who took up arms to topple the Batista government.

Different classes opposed the status quo in Cuba for different reasons. One class that came into sharp conflict with the Batista government and the plantation

system he represented were the *colonos*, outgrowers who leased or bought land, hired labourers and supplied cane to the mills. Many were rural capitalists in whose hands the land was used far more productively than the immense stretches of land directly in the hands of the mill owners, for whom monopolising the land was often more important than farming it and who left much of their lands idle. But these *colonos* found themselves tied to all sorts of restrictions imposed by the biggest plantation and mill owners. Cuban capital arose and found itself hemmed in in other spheres of agriculture and industry as well. Castro's father was a Spanish immigrant who became a successful *colono*. Fidel Castro himself was a lawyer — in despotic, agricultural Cuba there were ten times more lawyers than agronomists — and a leader of the bourgeois opposition party. There was a confluence of different streams of opposition. Under other conditions, if there had been a communist party with the line and ability to lead the struggle against imperialism and the Cuban landlords and compradors tied to it, it could have taken advantage of such bourgeois opposition. Instead, the bourgeois opposition took advantage of the Cuban Communist Party.

The party at first opposed Castro, then, in the last months of the war, joined him. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, a main CP leader and "Communist" minister in the butcher Batista's cabinet, went up into the hills to talk to Castro. Today he is considered the "ideologist" of the "new" Communist Party that Castro built himself in 1965 out of cadres from his own 26th of July Movement and others like Rodriguez from the old CP.

It could be said that sugar made Batista and sugar broke him: the long postwar stagnation and decline of Cuba's sugar trade set the stage for events in which representatives of certain of Cuba's propertied classes rose up.... Rose up for what? Against U.S. domination and, at first, against

sugar. And then, as we shall see, for sugar: they rebelled against King Sugar, and ended up becoming his ministers.

As revolutions go, it wasn't much. It was more a case of the Batista government crumbling than being overthrown. Castro's forces accumulated strength for 25 months in the mountains. They were city men, for whom the relatively inaccessible and thinly populated mountains of the Sierra Maestra was a good place to fight and nothing more. In the early days they depended on the help of the small coffee growers in the Sierras, but aside from that they sought little participation at all by the broad masses, except on an individual basis. The April 1958 attempted general strike in the cities and plains is considered unsuccessful by many historians today, because its results were uneven, while others consider it proof that the labouring people supported Castro. At best it can be said that they were partisan spectators. For the most part of the war, until the last few months, the rebels numbered only a few hundred men and women under arms. Batista's army was never decisively defeated in battle. The U.S., which helped bomb and napalm the rebels, had hedged its bets by backing Castro too. The CIA funneled him money, although Castro was left to guess where it came from.<sup>11</sup>

As soon as Castro's forces entered the city of Santiago de Cuba, Batista fled the capital at the other end of the island. Shortly after, the U.S. became the second country (after Venezuela) to recognise Castro's new government. The American ambassador who had been known as a close friend of Batista was replaced by a new one who "was encouraged to believe that we could establish a working relationship that would be advantageous to both our countries." Such was the attitude of both Castro and the U.S. at the moment, though within a few days after Castro assumed power, the U.S. was already hedging its bets again by preparing a plan to assassinate Castro if necessary.<sup>12</sup>

Castro had taken pains from

the beginning to assure the U.S. he was no radical. "First of all and most of all, we are fighting to do away with dictatorship in Cuba and to establish the foundations of genuine representative government.... We have no plans to expropriate or nationalise foreign investments here", he told a reporter from a popular U.S. magazine in the Sierra.<sup>13</sup> In 1959, speaking in New York where he had hastened after his victory, he declared, "I have said in a clear and definitive fashion that we are not communists.... The doors are open to private investments that contribute to the industrial development of Cuba.... It is absolutely impossible for us to make progress if we do not get along with the United States."<sup>14</sup>

But when the Castro government took over some of the land of the biggest sugar estates, the U.S. flew into a rage and blockaded the island. The Soviet Union had been a buyer of Cuban sugar under the Batista government; now Castro turned to the USSR to double its purchases. "Castro will have to gravitate to us like an iron filing to a magnet", Khrushchev is said to have remarked after their first meeting.<sup>15</sup> The U.S. launched a cowardly and inglorious invasion in April 1961. As American ships approached Cuba's beaches, "I proclaimed the socialist character of the Revolution before the battles at Giron" (the Bay of Pigs), Castro later recounted.<sup>16</sup> More to the point, Castro announced that it was with Soviet arms that Cuba would defend itself. On May 1st, Castro, who until then was always photographed wearing a medallion of the Virgin, announced that he and his regime were "Marxist-Leninist". This was the first time the Cuban people had heard anything but anti-communism from Castro.

Castro has tried to explain himself in many interviews over the years. He told the American journalist Tad Szulc that he had planned to announce that Cuba was socialist on May 1st, so that the U.S. invasion had only speeded up his plans by a few

weeks. He also explained that while he had secretly considered himself a Marxist for a long time, it was not until confronted with a U.S. invasion that he considered socialism "an immediate question" for Cuba. As to why he had kept this a secret, his answer was rather direct, "To achieve certain things, they must be kept concealed, (because) to proclaim what they are would raise difficulties too great to attain them in the end."<sup>17</sup> Earlier, during the revolutionary war, Castro is supposed to have remarked to others in his circle, like his brother Raul and Che Guevara, who were openly pro-Soviet, "I could proclaim socialism from the Turquino peak, the highest mountain in Cuba, but there is no guarantee whatsoever that I could come down from the mountains afterward."<sup>18</sup>

If Castro was lying when he said he had considered himself a "Marxist-Leninist" all along, then there is not much reason to believe that he ever became one. If he was telling the truth, than what can you call a "revolution" that hides its goals and ideals from the people — a fraud?

Szulc, one of Castro's more or less authorised biographers, speculates that by the end of the rebels' war, Castro was already beginning to think about how to use the Soviet Union to Cuba's advantage, although he probably could not have guessed what the result would be when he sought to play off the U.S. and the USSR. Szulc also speculates that Castro must have been aware, then or soon after, of the Soviet-Chinese debate and Mao's denunciation of Khrushchev for overthrowing socialism in the USSR and opposing revolution everywhere else. By 1960, the USSR had attempted to sabotage China's economy in an effort to encourage pro-Soviet forces in China; the following year, the USSR was to betray the anti-colonial struggle in the Congo led by Patrice Lumumba. Castro must have known who he was dealing with. Did he calculate that these circumstances would increase the price the USSR would be willing to pay to bask in



the reflected light of Cuba's revolutionary prestige?

In hindsight, one can certainly ask what would have happened if the Soviets had not been able to use the prestige of the Cuban revolution in their battle against the political and ideological line represented by Mao Tsetung, a battle whose objectives included turning the world's revolutionary struggles into capital for Soviet social-imperialism. Cuba represented a key Soviet breakthrough into the oppressed countries, especially in the Western hemisphere, until then run exclusively by the Western imperialists. Khrushchev considered the capture of Cuba his greatest success.

Che Guevara, often thought to represent the radical wing of the Cuban revolution, is said to have written a letter to a friend in 1957, while fighting in the Sierras, contrasting his views to those of Castro: "I belong, because of my ideological background, to that group which believes that the solution to the world's problems lies behind the Iron Curtain, and I understand this movement [Castro's 26th of July Movement] as one of the many provoked by the desire of the bourgeoisie to free itself from the economic chains of imperialism. I shall always consider Fidel as an authentic left-wing bourgeois leader."<sup>19</sup> Later, in his farewell letter to Castro before leaving for Bolivia, where his attempts to raise a secret army to wage war on the U.S. in Latin America were cut short by his murder at the behest of the CIA, Guevara wrote Castro, "[M]y only shortcoming of some gravity was not to have trusted in you more from the first moments in the Sierra Maestra and not to have understood with sufficient celerity your qualities as a leader and as a revolutionary."<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps, however, Guevara was right about Castro that first time. At any rate the essence of Guevara's self-criticism is that he did not at first understand the degree to which he and Castro would ultimately prove to be in agreement. Guevara was always a defender of the revisionist USSR,

and would remain a rabid opponent of revolutionary China until his death.

It is not surprising that the Cuban masses did not share U.S. imperialism's horror at Castro's announced conversion to "Marxism-Leninism". But for Castro and Guevara, the term had little meaning apart from opposition to the U.S. For them, Marxism had little to do with Marx's definition of the ideology that can guide the revolutionary proletariat to abolish all classes and class distinctions, all the relations of production on which they rest and the social relations and ideas to which they give rise,<sup>21</sup> but rather with seeking refuge from U.S. imperialism in the bosom of Soviet imperialism. That made it unnecessary, in their eyes, to transform Cuba's economic relations, and in reality made such a transformation impossible. The military strategy of the Cuban revolution, which they later tried to pawn off on others in opposition to Mao's strategy of protracted people's war, is far beyond the scope of this article and requires study and refutation in its own right.<sup>22</sup> The point here, in terms of political economy, is that how political power was fought for is linked to what Castro and his circle were seeking to accomplish and what they were actually in a position to do once power was in their hands. Chinese revolutionaries were said to have remarked that the Cubans had found a purse lying in the street and were advising others to count on the same good luck. The problem, of course, is that Castro and his followers could only spend that purse by entering into certain social relations, whose laws existed independently of whatever subjective ideas those men and women may have had. Our thesis is not simply Castro was a master of deceit. Both before and after he claimed to be a communist, there was a consistent thread to his political career: he sought to lighten the burden imposed on Cuba by the U.S., and to obtain a certain kind of development for Cuba. At first he hoped to do this with the U.S.'s

help. This vain and contradictory hope was founded on an outlook that could not see any other practical way to do it. Later, when this proved impossible, he accepted the bridle Khrushchev offered (Khrushchev is said to have called Castro "a young horse that hasn't been broken").<sup>23</sup>

For thirty years Castro has combined pompous self-aggrandisement with subservience to imperialism. In a sense, when Castro proclaimed his "Marxism-Leninism", it was not Castro who was speaking, but sugar: in order to be more than stout grass, sugar needs to be sold, and the USSR was willing to buy it. That is how "socialism" came to Cuba. King Sugar put on fatigues, grew a beard and sprouted a cigar. Castro may have wanted a break with the sugar system as imposed by the U.S., but he would not and could not break with the relations of production that gave sugar its ineluctable power.

### III. The Cuba Castro Inherited

On the eve of Castro's revolution, in 1959, it was common wisdom that "without sugar, the country would cease to exist". Well over a third of total production — 36% of the GNP, to be precise — was for export, and sugar accounted for 84% of exports.<sup>24</sup> These figures do not fully reveal their significance unless it is understood that it was precisely in production for export that capital was most concentrated. The sugar industry almost tripled its consumption of fertiliser in the five years before the revolution and came to represent an enormous percentage of the total machinery<sup>25</sup>, while the roots and tubers and other foods that made up the basic diet of the masses continued to be coaxed out of the ground by hand.

Cuba's rural landscape was dominated by 161 mills. Only 36 were directly owned by U.S. companies,<sup>26</sup> but the sugar trade itself — like almost all Cuban trade — was dominated by American capital. Just over half of the culti-

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# The Flag-Burning Battle in the USA

By a correspondent\*

On June 21, 1989 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the now-famous "flagburning case" brought by the state of Texas against a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (the youth group of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA). A major round of political battle between the U.S. government and the masses of people ended in an important people's victory when the government was forced to temporarily back off from its attempt to jail a revolutionary and criminalise flagburning and antipatriotic protest.

But within hours, a nationwide political furor exploded as the ruling class launched a dramatic political counterattack. The airwaves crackled with chauvinistic hysteria, giving television, radio, and newspaper coverage to every reactionary spokesperson available. "Opinion polls" were devised and publicised to intimidate people into thinking the whole country was rallying around the flag. Reactionary organisations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, and other vigilante types, threatened mob violence against those who didn't bow before the flag. Congress stayed open all night for a marathon of patriotic demagoguery. Dozens of resolutions were hastily introduced into the federal and state legislatures to denounce the Court ruling and propose new anti-flagburning laws. And then one week after the Supreme Court ruled, the reactionary counterattack took an even further leap. President Bush personally endorsed a politically drastic proposal to override the Supreme Court's ruling (that flagburning is

constitutionally legal) by amending the U.S. Constitution itself.

These developments have caused stirrings among broad sections of the people; this "flag storm" is one of the most polarising issues to cross U.S. society for a long time. It has already rocked the entire country for months, and promises a whole new round of political battle in late 1989 that will escalate and broaden - on BOTH sides. The Revolutionary Communist Party has played a very active and prominent role in this battle, taking it up as part of the overall preparatory tasks for revolution.

## Background to the Case

To the international proletariat and the oppressed, the U.S. flag in flames is a beautiful sight and heralds a day when the entire monstrous U.S. imperialist system it represents can be brought to its historic end. The oppressed internationally and within the U.S. know well what the American flag stands for. RCYB member Gregory "Joey" Johnson was originally arrested for leading a spirited demonstration of 150 youth at the 1984 Republican Convention in Dallas, Texas. As the youth chanted "Red, White, and Blue, we spit on you! You stand for plunder, you will go under!", the march culminated in the burning of an American flag. Mass arrests and minor legal charges followed for 96 people. Joey Johnson was singled out for his role as a revolutionary communist leader and sentenced to a \$2000 fine for "desecration of a venerated object" and a year in jail (which was appealed).

Joey Johnson's original conviction had been reversed in early 1988 by the appeals court in Texas on the grounds that flagburning was a form of political "symbolic

speech" protected by the Constitution's First Amendment (freedom of speech). Then later in the year, at the height of the 1988 Presidential campaign, the Supreme Court announced it would reopen the case. This was in the midst of a wave of jingoistic patriotism. Outgoing President Reagan's farewell address called for the "reinstitutionalisation of patriotic instruction" and "greater emphasis on civic ritual". George Bush was campaigning with tours through flag factories and vows to bring back the mandatory Pledge of Allegiance for all schoolchildren. (This is a 30-word oath, chanted with hand over heart while standing at attention facing the flag.)

In that atmosphere, the Supreme Court's decision to take the case was widely recognised, including by many mainstream legal experts and numerous commentators in the bourgeois press itself, as a blatant political attempt to reverse long-standing legal precedent and to outlaw flagburning and anti-patriotic protest. But seen in the context of the late 1980s and of domestic political conditions in the U.S., the case assumes even greater significance. Throughout the 1960s, particularly at the height of the struggle against U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam, the sight of a flaming American flag was common not only in countries around the world but within the belly of the beast itself. Time and again, demonstrators used the flag in defiant protest against U.S. imperialism's crimes against the masses. Young rebels sewed it onto the seat of their pants, painted peace symbols on it, made it into anti-government art, and set it ablaze; and for denouncing and "desecrating" the highest symbol of the country in this fashion, many were attacked

\* Article submitted by a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

with criminal charges and often went to jail. But until now, the legal status of flagburning itself as a symbolic means of protest had never been ruled on definitively by the Supreme Court, the highest body in the U.S. judicial system. The case of Joey Johnson was seized on by the ruling class to change that situation. The compulsion the U.S. ruling class faces has been analyzed by Bob Avakian:

“The ruling class of imperialists has to deal with the decline of their position in the world, the heightening of the contradictions of their system and the growing challenges both from the rival bloc of imperialists and from the once-again rising revolutionary struggles in many parts of the world. To deal with this they must call forth the worst in society (and in individuals), stomp on (if not stomp out) resistance and revolutionary stirrings, and even questioning and critical spirit. Patriotism, blind loyalty to country and government (and ‘God on its side’), the willingness to do and die to ‘make America number one again’ — all this must not only be brought back in style but made the commanding principle.”

The enforced sanctification of the flag is aimed at burying the lessons and verdicts of the 1960s. It is aimed at whipping up a reactionary base with blind, mean-spirited, and ignorant patriotism. It is aimed at paralyzing broad middle forces who are not doing terribly well, who are being strained and squeezed by the economic polarisation taking place in American society, but to whom the ruling class has very little to offer — so it feeds them the flag. And the ruling class needs to smother people with the flag to keep struggles that do erupt, and that threaten to erupt with greater ferocity, from challenging the whole system.

### On the Battle and the Court Ruling

A landmark decision against flag-burning would not only de-

liver a blow against revolutionary forces but would also have eased the way for many other new laws and state practices enforcing national loyalty and patriotic allegiance. This would have a repressive and chilling effect on broad sections of people who dared raise expressions and demonstrations of political dissent not sanctioned by the government. But the court ruled in favor of Joey Johnson. Why was this so, especially under conditions of intensifying repression in the United States?

The international climate was extremely sensitised over how governments treat dissent. The problem for U.S. imperialism was whether, at this juncture, its international interests would be well served if “the world’s leading democracy” was seen outlawing a controversial form of political protest. U.S. imperialism’s main rival, the Soviet Union, was showing a new “democratic” face to the world and scoring big public relations points with Gorbachev’s glasnost. The sham of democratic rights is a big way the U.S. advertises its system to the world (and fools many people at home). Early in 1989, the U.S. castigated the Ayatollah for the Salman Rushdie affair. Yet now it was ready to prosecute and imprison its “own” blasphemer. Then just before the Supreme Court was scheduled to hear the flagburning case, the enemy’s dilemma was twisted more tightly when revolutionary flag artwork by a Black art student in Chicago ignited a sharp struggle. Flag-waving patriotic mobs tried to shut the exhibit down. This controversy garnered national attention and generated a two-sided battle of its own, and was quickly and boldly linked to the issues posed by the Supreme Court case through the work of revolutionary forces and broader supporters in both battles, many of whom were acutely concerned about state censorship taking a major leap. And then suddenly came the fateful events of June in China; as the world watched Beijing’s revisionist dictatorship bring down the full force of the state against

the pro-democracy movement, the U.S. bourgeoisie had to seriously consider the international political fallout of a decision that restricted dissent in the U.S.. All these concerns weighed heavily against the outcome they first envisioned for the flagburning case.

And, finally, the dynamic factor that the oppressors always underestimate came into play: the masses of people. The controversy over the flag was not only a battle between flag wavers and flag burners. It was a broad societal battle with a large and diverse range of people in the middle. An ad hoc organisation, the Emergency Committee on the Supreme Court Flag-Burning Case, united revolutionaries, legal professionals and law students, civil liberties organisations and other forces to wage a nationwide political battle. Joey Johnson and his attorneys toured the country speaking at law schools and colleges, giving countless media interviews reaching wide audiences in many cities. Progressive organisations alerted their memberships. Artists and musicians began creating new works and staged exhibits that politically tore into the American flag, inspired by solidarity with this struggle, and several of the country’s most prominent artists submitted a legal brief exposing the repressive implications of flag laws for the work of socially conscious artists. Radical youth played a lively role in spreading word and organising mass support. And in the face of the reactionary mobilisation of pro-flag veterans, progressive and revolutionary veterans stepped forward to speak the truth about the crimes carried out in Vietnam under the American flag.

Some proletarians issued statements and created artwork around the role of U.S. imperialism. Debate extended into workplaces and oppressed neighborhoods.

Revolutionary forces, seizing upon this attack as a welcome opportunity, were able to speak to millions; the defendant was interviewed on the most prominent

U.S. television news shows. The vanguard forces were able to give leadership and to unite with many people who from other positions in society could oppose the bourgeoisie's flag program. Many progressive people from the middle strata who do not totally reject "patriotism" nor burn flags themselves took strong stands against what was broadly perceived as an outrageous government move toward compulsory patriotic allegiance. At the same time, there was a great deal of debate and controversy within this united front: over the question of patriotism, over "free speech," over how to wage the battle. Public opinion was broadly influenced. During the Supreme Court case and its immediate aftermath, every bourgeois newspaper in the country published editorials, news analysis, and letters to the editor for weeks about the controversy.

It should be noted that the revisionist Communist Party, USA, was aghast at the antipatriotic and internationalist sentiments unleashed by the campaign. It distanced itself from the revolutionary artwork in Chicago, declaring that it "merely succeeded in stirring up a hornets' nest of conservative outrage". (*People's Daily World*, 29 March 1989) And it launched unabashedly chauvinistic attacks on the RCP, publishing a letter in its national newspaper from one reader who declared: "I'm proud of the fact that the real Communist Party and the *People's Daily World* condemn the stupidity of the RCP in the flag desecration affair. More important, we know that this land is our land, this world is our world and that the American Revolution, the Flag, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are ours, 'cause we fight for and defend what is ours." (*PDW*, 14 April 1989) Summing up the flag furor, the revisionists called for "a new patriotism": "There is no doubt as to the power of patriotic symbolism (the flag). What is going on is no less than a struggle for the soul of the nation. By abdicating their right to define patriotism on

their own terms, the left simply sinks into servility...." (*PDW*, 27 July 1989)

Through the course of this battle, literally millions of people from all strata were confronted with a very sharp two-sided challenge over a most cardinal question. And many had their first encounter with the voices and views of revolutionary communists whose politics were at the eye of the storm. A single legal attack that began when the government tried to jail one young revolutionary for one flagburning has pulled very broad forces into sharp political clash with the government's agenda, and this underscores the larger, strategic importance of this battle.

#### The Ruling Class's Repressive Agenda

U.S. imperialism faces danger, trouble, and difficulty from all directions. Internationally, things threaten to burst out of control as they intensify intervention, manoeuvre for position, and buy time. And on the domestic front, the U.S. imperialists worry about the potential for things to get out of hand as well. This is the framework in which the current battle over the flag is taking place and in which it must be assessed.

The last few years have seen a significant leap in direct and immediate repression against the masses, especially key strategic sections of the population. Since 1980, domestic expenditures on "law enforcement" have risen by 36 percent. Today, more Black men of college age are incarcerated in U.S. prisons and jails than are enrolled in colleges and universities. The War on Drugs is the rubric under which an actual vicious war with police-state policies and tactics is being prosecuted against the Black, Latino, and impoverished populations of the inner cities. Immigrants face raids, roundups, and terror, while a string of new concentration camps in several states along the Mexican-U.S. border is being built for use today and with an eye towards future upheavals.

Threadbare rights and protections afforded prisoners and the criminally-accused have been restricted or withdrawn. Capital punishment has been restored with a vengeance. A racist, pogromist atmosphere has been promoted in America, and vicious assaults and murders have been unleashed against Black youth. And during the past year the Supreme Court has delivered a series of oppressive rulings against the rights of Black and minority peoples and women.

Enormous steps are being taken by the bourgeoisie to establish the climate, control mechanisms, and marching orders to run society and keep "law and order" during far more dangerous times ahead. While the principal target of the increasing repression is the basic people, with the edge cutting especially hard against the most oppressed, the clampdown on the oppressors' agenda sweeps over many broad sections of people.

The position of women in U.S. society has been assaulted by a broad program of legal, cultural, and social shifts and reversals: the attack against women's rights to abortion is accompanied by a vicious campaign against any liberation of women from traditional roles and the bolstering of reactionary social values. In the cultural arena, there have been reactionary moves both by religious groupings and the state to vilify, censor, and suppress particular works of film, popular music, and art. States with large Spanish-speaking indigenous and immigrant populations are introducing chauvinist legislation to make English the "official language". And the enforced sanctification of the flag is integral to the repressive agenda.

But on the other side, there are stirrings among the basic masses. There are signs of a resurgence of Black resistance. Over the past year-and-a-half in New York City, militant mobilisations of Black people have taken place in response to racist murders. Early this year a rebellion erupted in Miami, touched off by a brutal



police murder. There has been protest and outrage, although still on a small and scattered scale, around attacks on immigrants. Among broader strata, the recent assaults on abortion have galvanised large numbers of women into fierce and angry protest, and this promises to escalate very rapidly. Artists have taken to the streets en masse. The political atmosphere is more highly charged today than it has been in quite some time. It says something about the times when, on the day after the Supreme Court rules against abortion, the American flag is torched in protest of this decision by women in demonstrations in cities across the country. There is sharp polarity in American society around questions like the flag, abortion, and racism. And more and more people are being called upon to take positions not just on this or that issue, but on a whole range of issues. Many of the traditional ideological constraints are being loosened as these issues burst forth and blend with one another. This is highly fertile ground for the revolutionary vanguard.

The Revolutionary Communist Party has attached great importance to the need to heighten the combativity of the basic masses. If the bourgeoisie succeeds in its repressive juggernaut, this will not augur well for the future struggle for power. Indeed, building mass, militant political struggle, unleashing the revolutionary energy of the basic masses, and inflicting defeats on the enemy are part of the preparation for the seizure of power. What this means in terms of forms of struggle and organisation are major strategic concerns. But it is also clear that the terrain will be much more favorable to the development of this kind of movement if there is more combativity, questioning, and protest in society generally. This gives impetus to the oppressed and enables them to breathe politically. The flagburning battle has to be seen in relation to all of this. Not only does it focus up a pivotal question in society, that is, the flag and its sor-

did history and essence. Not only is it a battleground over a major repressive move by the bourgeoisie which will impact on future conditions and alignments. Not only has it given communists an opening to broadcast and popularise their basic message to large segments of the population. But the clashes, ferment, and debate that have been part of this and other social battles, which have largely involved the middle strata, create more favorable conditions for the development of a revolutionary movement among the oppressed masses. And this includes the proletariat stepping on to the stage around the question of the flag.

### The Next Phase of the Battle

After the Supreme Court ruling, the bourgeoisie quickly followed up with a counterattack. The government is now weighing a proposal to amend the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution and outlaw flag "desecration". The U.S. Constitution in its present form is not and has never been an instrument of popular struggle. The document's function is to mask class antagonism and to establish rules of play for the bourgeoisie's rule. The Constitution is a vehicle for oppression, not emancipation. But this fascist amendment would bolster the state's repressive machinery and ability to limit the terms of dissent far beyond flag-burning. It is about creating the same kind of foul, chauvinist climate that hung in the German air on the way to the pogroms, goose-step parades, mass arrests, and camps.

The move to amend the Constitution has touched off great controversy and already met with significant opposition. Civil libertarians, artists, authors, legal forces, educators, and veterans have entered the fray. In pushing forward with their reactionary agenda the rulers are awakening new forces to political life. And many people who never before questioned the government are beginning to have second thoughts as it sinks in that the

U.S. government is doing the same things (limiting dissent) that it criticises others for. This has strategic significance. If a campaign to defeat this amendment gives expression to some of this dissatisfaction among those who tend towards passive allegiance to the system, and that shows itself around abortion as well, it becomes more difficult for the ruling class to secure its "heartland". There are also divisions within the ranks of the ruling class over how to proceed with this amendment, and it will be politically costly to back off.

Through political combat the dividing lines between those who favor compulsory patriotism and enforced reverence for the government and those who oppose it will be more sharply etched.

Plans are underway to build a broad effort that will include demonstrations and actions, national debates, forums, artistic events, and to unleash manifestations of internationalism from the proletariat. This campaign to defeat the amendment provides an important opening for the revolutionary vanguard to influence significant sections of society and to get out its program and outlook and strategy. The links between the battles of today and the revolutionary showdown of tomorrow can be drawn. And in the course of all this, many will decide to throw their lot in with the cause of proletarian revolution.

To paraphrase a fundamental historical truth identified by Mao Tsetung, the enemy fights his way and we will fight ours. As the flag battle escalates, the U.S. rulers will undoubtedly resort to different tactics, but their behavior will continue to reveal the fundamental weakness behind all their plans to carry out their reactionary agenda. The enemy is getting more desperate and dropping rocks on their feet. The battle that is unfolding will have profound repercussions for the future battles ahead. □

## From Blue Star to Black Thunder

By Lal Singh\*

After pushing through the execution of Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh, accused of gunning down Indira Gandhi, the Rajiv government has recently announced a number of measures to initiate a new "political" dialogue on the Punjab issue. Rajiv Gandhi has claimed that these measures have become possible because the "terrorists" are no longer a political force and the people of Punjab are now willing to settle the issue "free from the fear of the Khalistani militants". We will come to the question of the present state of affairs in the Khalistani camp later on.

But, for the moment, let us examine Rajiv's arguments in light of what really is the mood of the masses in Punjab. The tremendous outpouring of mass protest on the occasion of the hanging of Satwant and Kehar is a good indication of this mood. Despite the cold-blooded daily murder of Sikh youths by the armed forces, despite the tortures meted out to whole villages, the masses remain rebellious and defiant. In fact, it is this rebellious mood, which cuts across classes and agitates the vast majority of the people of Punjab, that has forced the Rajiv government to release the youth detained for years without any legal charges against them, and announce some curbs on the brutal acts of its armed forces. The fact that the government can no longer depend on the backing given by the upper caste Hindus in Punjab or their fascist outfits, a point made clear by the luke-warm attitude and even opposition of upper caste Hindu sections to the hanging of Satwant and Kehar, has also forced the government to change its tone. The disarray among the Khalistani militants is

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# Punjab: The Crisis in

only an additional fact permitting the Indian government to adopt such a course. Yet this disarray is of some significance, because it helps one understand the complex issues thrown up by the Punjab struggle and gives an insight into the contradictions of the Sikh fundamentalist outlook.

Operation Blue Star, the storming of the Golden Temple in 1984 by the Indian army and the valiant defence put up by the Sikh militants, had established the Khalistanis as the saviours of Punjab in the minds of the masses, particularly the Sikh peasantry. Four years later, the abject surrender of a group of militants who had been surrounded and attacked by army commandos sharply exposed the crisis in the Khalistani movement. Since then the Khalistani militants have tried to regroup and even rectify some of their glaring anti-people policies and actions. But they have yet to succeed in evolving a coherent strategy or winning back the unstinted support of the masses. Though they have been waging a war for state power over the past five years, they have yet to become a conscious political force. Their largely passive role in mobilising and unleashing the masses' rebellious mood in relation to the execution of Satwant and Kehar, and their failure to grasp the political significance of this issue, is yet another glaring example of this incredible but real fact.

To understand this better, we will start from the debacle forced on the Khalistanis by the Indian government through its Operation Black Thunder, which led to the capture of the Golden Temple in 1988. This was a turning point. Even more, it revealed the weakness of the Khalistani militants and the extent of their isolation from the Sikh masses in a most sharp manner. The fact that the government commandos could

keep the Golden Temple under encirclement for ten days without enforcing curfew in Amritsar or elsewhere in Punjab is symbolic of this isolation. At the time of Operation Blue Star in 1984 the Sikh masses had spontaneously risen up to march to Amritsar. This mass ferment was an important factor forcing the Army Chiefs to attempt a desperate assault on the Golden Temple, in which they suffered heavy losses. But now, four years later, when the battle was going on in the Golden Temple, time was in favour of the government commandos who could remain confident that their action would not be unduly hampered by the masses.

### The Degeneration of the Khalistani Movement

To understand the demoralisation of the Khalistani militants who were holding out in the Golden Temple, to understand why this demoralisation has gone beyond this relatively small section and engulfed all sections of the militants and their sympathisers, one must recognise this crucial aspect. Despite all signs pointing to their growing isolation from the masses and despite the sharp criticism raised against them by revolutionary forces in Punjab and elsewhere, the Khalistani militants had refused to take steps to rectify the situation. For them, the answer for everything was the AK-47. Their success in facing up to the murderous suppression campaign of the Ray-Rebeiro gang<sup>1</sup> and defeating the collaborationist manoeuvres of Darshan Singh Ragi and Rode<sup>2</sup> only went to strengthen their infatuation with weapons and disregard for mass sentiments. Their only answer to state repression was a frenzied bout of killing, which often failed to discriminate between the enemy and the people. But this only led to further isolation. As pointed out by the revolutionary paper "Paigan": "... the

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negative impact of the blind and irrational violence unleashed by the Sikh militants (is striking) ... unless the Sikh militants rectify these mistakes and deviations they will not be able to gain the active support of the masses. No nation has ever achieved liberation without the active involvement of the masses. Whoever commits the mistake of forgetting this truth will be digging his own grave." (Paigam, September 1987)

It is true that some sections of the Khalistani militants have tried to put an end to the practice of indiscriminate killing. But their ideology and the strategy they follow prevented them from making any headway. The active role of Indian and foreign infiltrators who persistently fanned up all the distortions and weaknesses of the movement was also an important factor in sabotaging such efforts.

But the real roots lay within the Khalistani militants' own outlook. *A blind belief in the power of weapons and a grand illusion that the masses would condone anything so long as it was done in the name of the Khalsa sustained their erroneous views and opened the door wide to degeneration.* It took the passivity of the Sikh masses at the time of the 1988 siege of the Golden Temple to burst their bubble. For a large section of the Sikh masses, including the intelligentsia, the reasons for this debacle are to be sought in the entry of degenerate elements into the movement or the failure of the militants to remain steadfast in Sant Bhindranwale's path. But degeneration is an effect of a much deeper cause whose roots lie square in this path itself.

## The Struggle for Khalistan

The steady decline in mass involvement in the Khalistani movement, from the ferment of 1984 to the passivity today, and the causes of the degeneration

among the Khalistani militants, who cut a sorry figure so remote from the valour of the fighters of 1984, are inter-related. After all, one crucial factor which has kept the movement alive has been the continuous though anarchic generation of new entrants into the ranks of the militants from the masses. To address the root causes of this degeneration, we must essentially deal with the political-military strategy and ideology of the militants, precisely because their struggle is for state power, concretised in the slogan of Khalistan.

The distinctive feature of the Khalistani movement is its break with constitutionalism and its elevation of the struggle initiated by the Alkalis to the level of an armed struggle for state power. The role of Sant Bhindranwale in achieving this break is undeniable. Except for the worst class collaborator, no one can deny the significance of this break or that it was a step forward.

But beyond that, the Khalistani militants can claim nothing. Khalistan remains a vague slogan, despite all the efforts of some sections of the militants to give it a programmatic base, since the real roots of national oppression — imperialist domination and the role of the all-Indian ruling classes as part of that — remain unidentified. The problem is not just a distorted and erroneous characterisation of "Hindu imperialism" as the enemy. The very need for a coherent programme and strategy to build up and guide the movement has been ignored. As a result, distortions in identifying enemies has been complemented with a totally anarchic concept and practice of struggle. The role of the masses has been pushed to the background and individual heroes have come to occupy centre stage. This anarchic situation and the exclusive and one-sided adoration of the gun

gave rise to a situation where the movement slid "... into the hands of those who do not know even the ABC of politics and can only fire a gun without identifying their target, a lot who are the least bothered about whether their bullets have hit the real enemy or the head of the movement itself". (Paigam, March 1988) *Just as Sant Bhindranwale was decisive in establishing the need for armed struggle to seize power, the roots of the recent degeneration, where an anarchic whipping up of terror and worship of guns assumes the role of "strategy", resides in his incoherent vision of Khalistan and the means to achieve it.*

It is true that Sant Bhindranwale never put forward the killing of Hindus as the means of achieving Khalistan. It is also true that the Central government and Hindu revivalists have continuously carried out grave provocations against the Sikhs and tried their best to communalise the issue. But it is equally true that Sant Bhindranwale never took a firm stand against the trend of targeting Hindus as such. His very definition of "Hindu imperialism" as the enemy played an important role in creating this trend, and he himself condoned it in case of an attack on the Golden Temple on the mistaken assumption that it would serve as a pressure tactic.

The reaction of the Sikh masses at the time of the attack on the Golden Temple in 1984 should have been sufficient to drive home the lesson that there would be no mass support for such a plan. Rather than turning against their Hindu neighbours, the Sikh peasantry spontaneously rallied in thousands to march to Amritsar and confront the mercenaries of the Delhi Raj. Even the brutal massacre of Sikhs following the assassination of Indira Gandhi did not drive the Sikh masses into communal retaliation. But no lessons were taken from this because

the fundamentalist outlook itself prevented such an evaluation.

### The Limits of Fundamentalism

To grasp the contradictoriness of fundamentalism, we must first settle accounts with a superficial view which argues that the reactionary nature of religious fundamentalism can never give rise to anything else. This view is superficial because it fails to note that it is precisely this ideology of fundamentalism, fueled by the deep wounds inflicted on the Sikh religious psyche, which has continuously inspired hundreds of youth to join the movement from the ranks of the very same masses who simultaneously refuse to support its programme of seeking revenge by killing innocent Hindus.

To explain this, we must understand Sikh fundamentalism from a Marxist standpoint, viewing it in its historical specificity. *Generally, in the oppressed nations, religious fundamentalism is a distorted ideological reaction to the invasion of alien, dehumanising values generalised and reinforced by neocolonial domination. It is a negative response, because rather than identifying and fighting against the material conditions which give rise to those values, it seeks to block them by retreating into a self-imposed shell built up by rigid adherence to the values and notions of a by-gone age. This negativity — and not its religious cloak as such — defines its historically reactionary nature.* But to the extent that it is a response to a real issue, and in the absence of a coherent, scientific ideology and politics which addresses this issue concretely and comprehensively, fundamentalism serves as an ideology capable of rallying the masses, particularly the impoverished who have gained little from neocolonial transformation but are forced to face up to the dehumanising demands it makes.

Sikh fundamentalism's rigid break with the present, its evocation of the glory and values of the by-gone days of the growth of the Sikh religion struggling against Brahmanic domination and Mo-

gul bigotry and its call for a supreme sacrifice to achieve the Khalsa Raj, all appealed to the masses. But this same rigidity of its break with the present also repelled them. The values of the past came up in a particular context which signified the initiation of a process of democratisation and national development. This past must be assimilated in order to address the needs of the present, but it cannot replace the need to develop a new, vibrant national revolutionary culture. The failure of Sikh fundamentalism in this regard, inherent in its very concepts, meant an imposition of the values it upheld as religious dogmas, an irrational insistence on blind allegiance and thus an increasing trend to intolerance and fascist means. Its practice inevitably brought out the fact that rather than rehumanising society through a national social upheaval and renaissance, rooting out the accumulated filth, it was instead objectively aiding the agents who spread this filth. Even the old Sikh religious message of love of humanity, of sacrifice, struggle and hatred against the tyrants for the sake of this cause, could not be recreated by modern Sikh fundamentalism. The Sikh masses, inspired by the role and sacrifice of the Khalistani militants in the struggle against tyrants, were equally repulsed by their inhuman acts of gunning down unarmed innocents just because they belonged to a different religion. The joy of the Sikh masses on hearing of the death of Indira Gandhi and their spontaneous expression of resentment against the blind and wanton killing of innocents is symbolic of this dual attitude. This dual perception promoted by the practice and creed of the Khalistani militants itself pushed the masses to the role of passive spectators even when the militants pursued such social aims as opposing dowry.

### The Worship of Weapons

The worship of weapons among the Khalistani militants is also rooted in the very nature of Sikh

fundamentalism. If the war is conceived as merely a means to seize power, then weapons cannot but become the decisive factor. But when the war is itself an important factor of social transformation, an important arena for clearing the filth of the past and generating new values, and when the new political power itself has the task of carrying this task forward, the person who wields the gun is decisive. This lesson of history, reflected in Guru Gobind Singh's formation of the Khalsa (originally a Sikh armed force formed to fight Mogul rule), was accurately summed up by Mao during the People's War in China. One cannot expect the Khalistani militants to heed Mao's teachings, but why could they not even learn this lesson from the history of the Sikh movement itself? This question can be answered easily in the light of our analysis of the limitations of fundamentalism.

There is no role for the masses in its programme. They cannot have any role because Sikh fundamentalism does not have a vision of a new society other than that of reversing historical progress and going back to the old. The religious premises of its philosophical outlook lead to an idealist evaluation of history which is seen as a series of events caused through God's grace and manifested in the heroic sacrifice of holy men. The Khalistani militant wielding an AK-47 and riding to his mission on a motorcycle believes he is re-enacting the past. He fails to understand that those heroic struggles and sacrifices of the past were reflections of a profound social stirring thrown up from the very bosoms of the oppressed. He fails to understand that even to recreate the great values which propelled the masses and their leaders to face up to severe hardship in the past, he must seek out and address the material roots of social contradictions of contemporary society and thus consciously propel history forward, grasping the fact that it is made by the masses and not by heroes. This inevitable failure of



Sikh fundamentalism, further reinforced by its anarchist practice, not only effectively ruled out any role for the masses. It has cut off the Khalistani militant from his real source of strength, the Sikh masses. Thus in the masses' place his weapon rules supreme and his commitment comes to be measured by the number of his "daring exploits", including the butchering of innocents. The path to the degeneration of the movement, to the point where the courage of its agents could be counted by the cartridges they had, was paved by the positions of Sikh fundamentalism itself.

### Fertile Soil for Collaboration

The Ragis and Rodes are also products of this path. The problem of the fiery militant of yesterday transforming into a tame collaborator has constantly plagued the Khalistani movement. It is true that such forces have been repeatedly checked. But the Khalistani militants have never been able to grasp the reasons for this recurring phenomenon. At each point collaborators have come up as a response to the failure of the movement to make any advance. The negative results of the one-sided worship of weapons have been used to make the impotent plea to involve the masses in the "democratic" process of the Indian state. Inevitably it has attracted a section, particularly the middle class, who see no other way out. Anarchist violence will inevitably breed its opposite: collaboration. To check one without rectifying the other is a hopeless exercise, as the experience of the Khalistani movement repeatedly proves. Not surprisingly, the very forces who have played an important role in smashing the plots of the Ragis and Rodes are themselves being cast in the role of collaborators through their worship of weapons.

As *Mass Line* pointed out: "The sophisticated weapons acquired by the militants have helped them to gain the upper hand. But this heavy dependence on foreign arms is disastrous and

also a powerful factor which could be used to push the militants to the bargaining table, since it gives the Zia regime and thus imperialism an important weapon to put pressure on them." (*Mass Line*, May 1988) For the time being, the interests of the rulers of Pakistan lie in keeping the movement alive as a counterbalance against Indian interference in the Sind province of Pakistan. Using the lure of an unrestricted supply of arms from the open bazaar in Peshawar, Pakistan's intelligence agents have gained a strong position in such crucial forums of the Khalistani movement as the Panthic Committee, the Khalistan Council and in some of the main armed organisations. Not surprisingly, the role of these agents is identical to that of agents who have also infiltrated from the Research and Analysing Wing (RAW), Indian intelligence: to fan up the worst features of the movement and check (including by use of assassination) any attempt to correct them. The ruling class of Pakistan, butchers of oppressed nations in Pakistan, can never be the saviour of Punjab. The weapons they give are nose-rings which can and will be pulled at will in the direction which serves their reactionary interests, and the militants who rely on them are none other than potential collaborators. Their opposition to the Ragis and Rodes cannot be taken as a firm guarantee of consistency in the path of struggle, because their very creed blinds them to the subtle traps laid by the reactionaries.

### Political Bankruptcy

Punjab is a good example of the reactionaries' traps. Killing off the most militant sections of the masses and terrorising the others into submission is only one aspect, even if the chief aspect, of the ruling class strategy to tackle the Punjab issue. With the aid of imperialist agencies like the World Bank, a number of economic measures have been initiated which aim at cutting away the mass support for the struggle

in Punjab. Unlike the revisionists who obstinately argue that the Khalistan movement is a ruling class conspiracy to divert the masses from the "real" issues, the all-Indian compradors and the imperialists have fully recognised that the roots of the turmoil in Punjab lie in some very real, material causes — the foremost being the crisis thrown up by the neocolonial transformation of Punjab. Thus an unpublished World Bank study pinpointed the stagnation in the Green Revolution and the reduced returns from imperialist-inspired and funded capitalist agriculture as the major issue to be tackled. As a solution, they proposed a further round of neocolonial transformation, changing the status of the Punjabi peasant from grain producer to high quality seeds producer and the champion of a new era of "horticulture-led growth". In a timely action, the Indian government has given the green light for the entry of a multinational, Pepsi Cola, to set up a modern fruit-processing agroindustry which will in turn buy the products of the Punjab peasantry and inaugurate a new cycle of prosperity.

Needless to say, this imperialist/comprador solution will, in the long run, only go to intensify the basic contradictions underlying the struggle in Punjab. Neocolonial transformation, which generated a temporary phase of prosperity for the upper classes of the peasantry in Punjab and led to an overall social transformation, could not but give birth to a national struggle since its very logic was that of imperialist plunder of the nation. The new changes suggested by the World Bank and readily implemented by the all-India ruling class will only mean the deeper penetration of imperialism in Punjab and consequently a greater intensification of the basic contradictions.

But in the short run, if successfully implemented, such schemes can make a dent in the mass support for the national struggle. In particular, the rural bourgeoisie (who have sided with the struggle

as a vacillating force) and the rich and middle peasantry will easily be attracted by this trap of growth, because the restructuring of the cropping pattern and the growth of new agroindustries will give them an opportunity to check the decline of their economic status and even grow to some extent. The enthusiastic approval of the Pepsi Cola project by the major peasant organisations in Punjab led by the capitalist farmers, and the ease with which they roped in support from other peasant classes, is indicative of this possibility. In the short run, this will help the ruling class to neutralise or win over such classes and cut down the support base of the national struggle.

As usual, the Khalistanis have remained silent over this issue. Quite probably influential sections among them also view the Pepsi project as a partial victory! This bankrupt situation cannot be explained away by claiming that the rich and middle peasant would not have listened even if the Khalistanis had tried to dissuade them. There is at least one clear example in a district of how a revolutionary propaganda campaign directed against the Pepsi project and highlighting the vital role of the anti-imperialist tasks in any genuine struggle for the liberation of Punjab could successfully win over the broad peasantry and even force the upper class leadership of the Peasant Union to water down their enthusiastic cheer-leading for this American multinational. The essential question is that of having a coherent and comprehensive political grasp of the roots of turmoil in Punjab. Sikh fundamentalism neither has such a grasp, nor is it interested in gaining it.

#### Footnotes

1. Ray is the Governor of Punjab, notorious for his role in murdering CPI(ML) activists during the 1970s when he was the Bengal Chief Minister. Rebeiro is the police advisor to the Punjab Governor and earlier headed the Punjab police as a special appointee of Rajiv.

2. Ragi Darshan Singh and Jasbir Singh Rode, who is Sant Bhindranwale's nephew, are at present main advocates of collaboration with the Central government. □

## Cuba

(Continued from page 73)

vated land was planted in sugar, and much of the land was uncultivated, given to enormous (and relatively unproductive) cattle ranches. Twenty-eight families, enterprises and corporations controlled over 83% of the land in cane, and 22.7% of the total land.<sup>27</sup> Alongside the giant stretches of land owned outright by the mill companies, there were usually medium-sized estates owned or operated by the *colonos*.

The key problem in growing sugar profitably is that vast amounts of labour must be kept available for a harvest that only lasts a few months. About 100,000 men worked most of the year around in the mills themselves; of the masses in the countryside these were among the best off. Another 400,000 men worked two to four months a year cutting and loading the cane. For the most part they were black or "mulatto".<sup>28</sup> In 1955 the average labourer in the cane fields worked 64 days at \$1 a day, though the cost of most of what they might have bought in a store was not much less than in the U.S. at that time.

How did this system manage to continue to exist, since the landowners paid these men less than the cost of their labour power (the cost of keeping them able to work and of raising a new generation of labourers)? Unlike slave times, they could not be so easily replaced, although there was an element of that in the continued influx of labourers from elsewhere in the Caribbean. But the system reproduced itself because what these men and their families lived on was only in part paid for by their wages. Just as the slave owners had granted the slaves tiny plots to cultivate for themselves, so as to reduce the cost of feeding them (and to hinder the slaves from running away or burning down the plantation), so also a great many of those who worked for wages part of the year in sugar

and other seasonal harvests were tied to small peasant farming, or at least a few rows (*conucos*) of manioc (cassava), sweet potatoes, *taro* or other tubers cultivated in tiny, narrow strips in the spaces between fields or along roadways. Such "privileges" entailed relations of personal obligation to the landowners.

These men led a contradictory existence as rural semi-proletarians rather than wage slaves proper, at least for the most part.

It is reported that the typical field labourer in Camaguey, who was considered a wage labourer and not a peasant in these statistics although his cash income amounted to only \$118/year, lived off *guarapo* (sugar cane juice) and sweet potatoes for nine or ten months a year.<sup>29</sup> A survey carried out in Cuba in 1966, done by a European researcher seeking to make up for the lack of reliable pre-revolution statistics, finds that among the men sampled 38% of those who had reported themselves as "agricultural proletarians" in 1957 owned or had use of a plot of land at that time,<sup>30</sup> a figure which probably does not include *conucos*. These men and their families, the women and children who usually worked these plots without being counted as labourers in anybody's statistics, were both prisoners of the land and denied it, held in bondage by the *latifundia* (plantations) which could neither absorb them fully nor permit them enough land to become independent and fully productive. The profitability of the capitalist mode of production which employed these men as wage labour depended on the persistence of the pre-capitalist mode of production.

At that time there were also almost 300,000 peasant families without income from wages, including small landowners, renters, sharecroppers and squatters. At least 175,000 of them were considered minifundistas, with a maximum of 67 hectares\* and an average of 15 hectares of land; this average itself hides great in-

\* 1 hectare = 2 1/2 acres

equalities, since some had enough land to raise a family while most had less.<sup>31</sup> It was these peasants who produced most of the food that the rest of the population lived on; their productive abilities, too, were shackled by the latifundia which monopolised land and other resources and by the political power of the latifundistas.

Oriente province, Castro's birthplace in eastern Cuba, was a stronghold of the rural bourgeoisie, especially on the plains. In its Sierra Maestra mountains where Castro's army formed and grew, most people worked in coffee, typically as sharecroppers who would have to turn over up to 40% of their crop to the landowners, or as squatters of a small piece of land carved out of the mountainside from which they could be expelled at any time. The long lifecycle of coffee plants (which take up to five years to mature and last for about 40 years) meant that an expulsion, for a sharecropper, a squatter or a peasant who paid money rent to a landowner, would be a catastrophe, and this fact in turn greatly increased the authority of the landowners. Coffee is very labour-intensive. But often the work of the husband and his wife and children would be sufficient for most of the year; the grown sons would return only for the few months of the coffee harvest before going back down into the plains to harvest sugar or other crops. Often their wages were the family's only hope to hold back the crushing debts imposed by the landowners for land or goods (since the landowners controlled commerce as well), although in some cases they could hope to use the son's wages to acquire land.<sup>32</sup> In tobacco, prevalent in the hills at the other end of the island, small and medium farmers — a mixture of owners, leaseholders and sharecroppers — usually of old Spanish and not slave descent, relied upon the unpaid labour of their families much of the year and hired labour for harvesting and processing the leaves.<sup>33</sup>

Chicken and rice, said to be

Cuba's national dish, was beyond the reach of most people in the countryside. Instead they ate *sopa de gallo* — "rooster soup" — which is really just unrefined sugar and hot water. According to the 1953 Cuba census, two-thirds of the rural population lived in mud-thatched dirt-floor shacks, about 85% had no running water or electricity, over half lacked even a latrine (outhouse) and over 90% had no baths or showers. Cuba's annual per-capita beef production was 32 kilogrammes per person, but only 11% of all rural families regularly drank milk and only 4% regularly ate beef.<sup>34</sup>

In the cities especially, nearly everything was imported from the U.S., except beer, soft drinks and some food. The nearly 400,000 people employed in manufacturing, like their brothers and sisters in the fields, were usually working for the foreign market, making cigars, clothing, shoes, wood and cork products, etc., as well as food processing for domestic consumption (which was often controlled by imperialist companies). A quarter of a million people worked in commerce; twice that many were employed in the bloated service sector.<sup>35</sup> This begins to give a picture of the parasitic urban economy where the masses laboured to feed, clothe and entertain the rich and intermediate classes who for the most part ultimately depended on agriculture, and the North Americans and Europeans who came in their hundreds of thousands, attracted by the degradation in which Cuba's deformed economy obliged its people to seek employment.

#### IV. Agrarian Revolution: The Road Not Taken

The slaves who rebelled and ran into the mountains and the peasants who fought Spain and America always burned the cane fields. They were right. They were right not only because they were right to rebel and burning the cane fields disrupted the enemy economically and militarily, but also

they were right from the point of view of Marxist political economy. Castro burned some cane fields too, during the war. Afterwards, for the first few years of the 1960s, the revolutionary government made efforts to cut the country's sugar dependency and industrialise, through the strategy of import substitution (manufacturing some previously imported consumer items, with the idea that this would allow Cuba to accumulate the capital and technical capacity to make its own producer goods later). But it seemed that Cuba could not manufacture these items as cheaply as the imperialists could sell them. Rather quickly, Castro set out to replant and expand the cane fields.<sup>36</sup> That was the end of the revolution's brief first period.

The initial agrarian policy adopted by the Castro government in 1959 was to limit latifundia to a maximum of 400 hectares, while distributing some of the estate land over this size to smaller peasants. This step most favoured the rich peasants and the rural bourgeoisie, although some sharecroppers and squatters did obtain titles to the land they farmed and some small peasants got additional land, especially in tobacco. After 1963, when the decision was made to return to sugar, a limit of 67 hectares was imposed, not in order to distribute land further to smaller peasants, but rather, in effect, to give it to the latifundia which were now considered state farms. Later, after 1968, in order to concentrate still more economic and human resources on sugar, sugar estate workers were forbidden to maintain their family plots. Eventually 80% of the land was nationalised.

The 1966 survey previously referred to makes it clear that Cuba's "agrarian reform" had brought little change in the countryside. About four out of five of those who had lived off small plots of land (without depending on substantial income from wages) before Castro took power still did so, with most of the rest becoming wage workers on state

farms; only one out of 10 of those who had lived mainly on wages and one out of six of those who had lived off both wages and their own land had acquired enough land to live on and for the most part they too were added to the labour force on the state farms.<sup>37</sup>) In other words, those who had the most property got some more, while those who had the least lost it.

Why wasn't the land divided up among all those enslaved by the latifundia system? Castro's own explanation is revealing. "I found upon the victory of the Revolution that the idea of land division still had a lot of currency. But I already understood by then that if you take, for example, a sugar plantation of 2,500 acres... and you divide it into 200 portions of 12.5 acres each, what inevitably happens is that right away the new owners will cut the production of sugar cane in half in each plot, and they will begin to raise for their own consumption a whole series of crops for which in many cases the soil will not be adequate."<sup>38</sup> In other words, the decision to continue basing Cuba's economy on sugar cane and the decision not to divide up the land went together in the minds of Castro and his followers, as well as objectively. The land wasn't divided up because that would have been bad for sugar; sugar cane had to be grown because that was the crop most suitable for large, bureaucratically-run state farms. The all-round development of Cuba's economy and the feeding of Cuba's people had nothing to do with it.

There was also no question of carrying out mass line, that is, of uniting with and giving leadership to the advanced desires of the exploited masses, which were much more in accord with what Cuba really needed for its liberation than Castro's ideas. The French agronomist Rene Dumont, called to Cuba as an advisor to Castro in 1960, gives this account of a conversation with Castro while accompanying him on a tour of Cuba's countryside during the period when the question of what to

do with the latifundia was under discussion within the ranks of the new regime: "My advice was asked for, but not that of the workers and peasants who were to work on these enterprises. I was even forbidden to discuss it with them. 'These people are illiterate and their ideas are usually pretty conservative,' I was told. 'It's our job to lead them.'"<sup>39</sup>

This "leadership" consisted in Castro and his circle simply seizing the latifundia for themselves, with the pretext that the extent of wage labour in the countryside allowed Cuba to skip the stage of agrarian revolution and go directly to "socialism" by turning the latifundia into state-run enterprises. They argued that the latifundia had to be kept intact and even expanded because large-scale production was the most cost-effective way to produce sugar, and sugar the most cost-effective thing to produce.

Cuba is considered by capitalist and revisionist economists alike to enjoy a "comparative advantage" in sugar, since the results (expressed in money) of a given amount of capital applied to a given amount of land there are higher for sugar than for example, rice, or for any other application of capital immediately available to Cuba. This theory, first formulated by Ricardo in the nineteenth century, and later declared "socialist" by the Soviet revisionists to justify their concept of "the international division of labour", holds that a country should concentrate on producing whatever it produces most cheaply and import everything else, no matter if this results in low profitability or even losses, which apparently was the case for most Cuban state farms by the mid-1980s.<sup>40</sup>

This is an expression of the capitalist logic of profitability, rather than the revolutionary proletariat's necessity to transform all of society and the world, and goes completely against the theory and practice of constructing genuine socialist economies, first under Lenin and Stalin in the USSR and especially Mao's path of building

a self-reliant socialist economy. The labouring people have every interest — in fact far more than the exploiters — in decreasing the socially necessary labour time involved in production, and this can be furthered by mechanisation and technology as well as strict cost accounting expressed in money. But still, this must serve — and be subordinated to — the proletariat's mission to "emancipate itself and all mankind".

Further, this logic of profitability works in a particular way in the oppressed nations, those "subordinate formations in the production relations of imperialism" whose economic structure "is shaped mainly by forces external to them: what is produced, exported and imported, financed, etc., reflects first and foremost their subordination, and not principally the internal requirements and interrelations of different sectors. They answer to another's 'heartbeat.'"<sup>41</sup>

Turning the sugar estates into state enterprises was comprador logic. Instead of revolutionising the relations of production, both internally (in terms of production relations in Cuba) and externally (in terms of Cuba's relationship to the world imperialist system), this measure sought to preserve them (and to allow their evolution to some extent).

From the point of view of prices and commodities, it may be most advantageous to grow sugar in Cuba, but from the point of view of the country's liberation, economic development had to be based on all-around development of agriculture, even if, for instance, it might initially be less cost-efficient to produce rice in Cuba than to import it, as Castro insisted in a speech justifying the ripping up of rice fields to expand sugar production and the tearing up of a Chinese aid agreement meant to help Cuba become self-sufficient in rice.<sup>42</sup>

First of all, the very existence of the latifundia and the predominance of sugar in agriculture are only possible as long as Cuba is subordinated to the world market. Cuba's dominant relations of



production taken internally, that is, those embodied in large-scale modern sugar production, were called into existence by and dependent on Cuba's production relations taken externally. This subordination of Cuba to the world market is a production relationship, and without breaking it, there could be no freeing of the productive forces overall in Cuba, especially the productive force represented by the labouring people themselves whose ability to transform Cuba and often even to work at all was crippled by the existing international organisation of production.

The more capitalism developed in sugar, the more the rest of the economy became extroverted, that is, the more its various sectors tended to become linked with foreign capital instead of each other. The more land, labour and other resources were concentrated in sugar, the more they were denied to other sectors of Cuba's economy, especially the growing of food for domestic consumption, and the more, therefore, the country had to import, in a deepening vicious cycle. The very inputs the sugar industry depended on — chemicals, machinery, transport goods, etc. — were themselves imported. In contrast to the imperialist countries, where capitalism arose on the basis of a unified national market and the articulated development of agriculture and industry, the surge of capitalism in Cuba tended to disarticulate its economy. This disarticulation both arose from and deepened Cuba's dependency, and also constituted a production relation and a fetter on Cuba's working people.

Secondly, imperialist investment did accelerate the development of capitalism in sugar, but its effect overall was contradictory. The development of the sugar cane industry, and to a lesser degree the tobacco industry, had brought a high degree of capitalism in some aspects (including widespread wage slavery) to Cuba, making it among the most advanced in Latin America

in 1959 in terms of per capita production measured in money.<sup>43</sup> But at the same time its profitability rested on preserving many backward remainders of slavery and semi-feudalism. As Lenin pointed out in his study of the development of capitalism in agriculture, the biggest estates are often not the most advanced in terms of capital-intensive farming and efficiency.<sup>44</sup> A survey of the amount of land under cultivation on various size farms in Cuba before Castro's revolution illustrates an aspect of this, since in general, the bigger the farm, the smaller the percentage of its area under cultivation,<sup>45</sup> even though very often the smaller farms were on hill-sides and the biggest on plains. This had to do with the fact that the latifundia, in order to be profitable, had to monopolise the land, denying the peasants land not only so that it would remain in the hands of the latifundistas but also so that the peasants would be forced to work for the latifundistas, even though the latifundista might lack the capital to use the land for more than pasturage at the moment. While the big sugar latifundia were capitalistic in some important aspects they were not the most advanced sectors of Cuban agriculture, even in capitalist terms, and they used all their economic and political power to maintain the system of backward, small-scale *minifundia* and *conucos* and to subordinate all other production. In sum, it was true, as Castro and his apologists claim, that the capitalisation of sugar production was leading to the proletarianisation of the rural population and the development of capitalism. But this is only one side of the question. The kind of capitalism it represented was capitalist development bound up with the preservation of more backward modes of exploitation, subordinated to foreign capital, and therefore impeding the overall and harmonious development of the productive forces. The production relations embodied in the predominance of sugar cane — dependency, disarticulation and

continued backwardness — constituted chains on Cuba's labouring people that could not be broken except by uprooting sugar. Sugar had become a target of both the democratic and national aspects of the revolution. But for Castro and his followers, relying on sugar and relying on the existing production relations were two sides of the same coin, the coin with which imperialism bought them.

As the Castro quotes so eloquently show, the choice that presented itself was: grow sugar cane or divide the land. From the point of view of Cuba's liberation, the sector of the economy where it seemed that the level of the productive forces was most advanced — sugar cane — was the most harmful to the all-around independent development of the island's economy and actually held back the country's potential economic development. From the same point of view, the most backward sector of the productive forces — the small peasant economy — presented some vital potential economic advantages, since it comprehended both export crops less dependent on imperialist capital and, most importantly, the means to feed the people and the only basis for developing an independent economy once all the existing production relations were shattered.

The food crops typical of Cuba, the roots and tubers and rice and beans, are far more labour-intensive and require fewer capital inputs than sugar cane. At the present level of the development of the productive forces in Cuba (or most places in the world) some of these crops are not so readily mechanised as others like sugar which are more amenable to large-scale, highly centralised and bureaucratically-run enterprises. Such crops can only be successfully grown by relying on the knowledge and initiative of those who work in them. This does not mean permanently enshrining individual ownership in agriculture, nor preclude achieving various levels of collectivisation at a rapid pace and a similarly

rapid advance in the level of the productive forces.

Breaking up the latifundia, burning the cane fields (and thus clearing and preparing the land for new crops) and enabling many people engaged as agricultural workers to return to the small-scale farming and the land from which they had not been definitively separated would, it is true, have required going through a stage of small-scale production and opened the way for a certain capitalist development in agriculture. But this destruction of the old system would have also opened still wider the door to socialism, as such measures did in China, because it would have provided the economic and political basis for collectivisation and the socialist development of the country.<sup>46</sup>

The key question is on whom to rely. In China, where the degree of wage-labour in the countryside was far lower than in Cuba, it was possible to rely on the most exploited in the countryside, the poor and landless peasants, to destroy the old production relations, emancipate the productive forces (especially themselves) and continue to revolutionise the relations of production throughout the course of the national-democratic and socialist revolutions.

While a large number of forces in the Cuban countryside held back by the latifundia must be considered rich peasants and capitalist farmers who would have resisted a future transition to socialism to various degrees, there were far greater numbers of poor and landless peasants as well as proletarians whose interest lay in the most thorough-going revolution. These people were not aroused, organised and relied upon, neither in the revolutionary war nor in the country's economic construction. Instead, Cuba has relied upon imported and import-dependent machinery and other inputs, Soviet-bloc agronomists and economists and the Cuban revisionists they've trained, and generally acted as though large-scale production, a high level of

mechanisation and state ownership were in themselves revolutionary.

In order to justify the path they have taken, the ideologues of the Cuban revolution often stress the material differences between Cuba and Mao Tsetung's China. The differences are certainly great and important, but the similarities are even more so. While Cuba did not have the same history of feudalism as China, still the very organisation of capitalism in Cuba was to some extent based on the persistence of relations that had arisen through pre-capitalist modes of production. Second, Mao's point that the growth of capitalism in China was not the development of Chinese capital but of foreign capital in China<sup>47</sup> is just as true of Cuba, even if this capitalism was more developed than in China. Mao said of China, "The landlord class and the comprador class are appendages of the international bourgeoisie, depending on imperialism for their survival and growth."<sup>48</sup> In Cuba, where the natural (locally self-sufficient) economy was weaker than in China and commodity production (production for sale) far greater, the latifundistas and the big bourgeoisie in industry as well, whether Cuban or foreign-owned, were even more dependent on the constant transformation of capital into commodities (sugar) and of commodities into capital (wages and physical inputs) through the workings of the international circuits of capital. In this sense, the capitalistically-developed sugar sector is the point through which Cuba's economy is most tied to imperialism, an "appendage of the international bourgeoisie" and not a factor for independent economic development. Furthermore, the level of the productive forces in those areas of agriculture which a revolutionary government would consider most important — the growing of food-crops — was very low and needed to be given first priority, at the expense of dismantling some of the things that seemed to make Cuba "ad-

vanced" and reallocating the resources.

The Cuban experience of trying to skip the agrarian revolution shows the correctness and basic applicability of Mao's line of new democratic revolution, even in countries far more developed than China. Generally speaking, in the oppressed countries the revolution will take the form of protracted people's war, itself linked to carrying out the agrarian revolution and building up revolutionary base areas where the peasants exercise revolutionary political power under the leadership of the proletarian party.

In Cuba, although Castro's armed struggle took place in the countryside, where the overwhelming majority of the population lived, the Sierra Maestra mountains were a theatre in which urban actors played their own drama with a rather secondary local supporting cast. The labouring people of the plains, and the cities as well, could at best be considered extras in Castro's script — and without a protracted people's war led by the proletariat in the countryside, what was there for them to do? Even though one could consider Castro's forces "lucky" in their sudden and relatively cheap victory over Batista's government, the situation presented certain disadvantages from the point of view of carrying out any real revolutionary economic, social and political transformation of the country: the vast majority of the oppressed had not been aroused, armed, organised and politically and ideologically trained. Of course, for Castro's forces, this method of seizing power was entirely appropriate to what they were to do with power after it was seized.

For Mao, the pivotal point for the national-democratic revolution was agrarian revolution guided by the policy of "land to the tiller". The Cubans have always touted their policy of nationalising the latifundia as more revolutionary than the Chinese policy of distributing the land, because, the Cubans claimed, they were thus able to wipe out most

private ownership at one blow, whereas even several decades after the revolution in Mao's China ownership in agriculture had not yet advanced beyond the level of ownership by peasants' collectives, in terms of the long-term goal of gradual transition to state ownership. But how else, except by all the most exploited and oppressed seizing the fields that they slaved in, could they free themselves and help free the country from semi-feudal and imperialist-dependent production relations and the other reactionary relations that arose on that basis? How else could the political and economic conditions for socialism emerge?

In China, the seizure and distribution of the land took place first in stages and sometimes in a modified form, in the red base areas formed on the basis of the peasants' armed political power under Communist Party leadership. After state power was taken nationwide, following Mao's line, a massive peasant storm was unleashed in the countryside and peasants' committees distributed land individually and in equal shares to every peasant soul, women and children included, and including the landless peasants and rural wage labourers as well as the small peasants. This was done in order to most thoroughly free the productive forces from the shackles of the landlords and to hit all feudal survivals in the superstructure, including patriarchal rule, the domination of the family by the male "head of household"<sup>49</sup> (which was carefully preserved in those cases where land was distributed in Cuba).

Thus in China, agrarian revolution was indispensable for achieving both the objective and subjective conditions for socialism. Because the Chinese peasants had established their mastery in the countryside, under the leadership of the proletarian party, they could embark upon a rapid though step-by-step process of raising their level of collective labour and collective ownership, even before a very high rate of

mechanisation was achieved. As Mao emphasised, such policies allowed the proletariat to form a close alliance with the peasantry, rely most especially on the poor peasants, and lead them in the struggle against the representatives of the old society both *before and after* the proletariat seized power. Mao's concept of New Democracy was the method in theory and practice by which backward China was able to prepare the conditions for her advanced socialist revolution.

What about the farmland Cuba didn't nationalise and the agricultural co-operatives it did form? For many peasants, the co-ops introduced by the Cuban government were simply a method by which their land was taken from them, since they had little say in the matter when it was absorbed by the state farms, and some of this land went to cane sugar. Aside from this, for almost two decades there was little attempt to lead private landholders through collectivisation towards higher levels of ownership (which would have been impossible anyway, without relying on those who had been the most exploited in the countryside rather than those who often had a bit more property). Instead, there was a certain amount of the polarisation typical of capitalist development in agriculture with private farmers tending to become fewer and richer while others among them were turned into wage slaves. The increase in the number of co-ops in the last decade cannot be said to represent an advance in terms of production relations, since their organisation and goals as economic units are not meant to create "socialist farmers", as they used to say in China, but small-scale capitalism which enters into varying degrees of harmony and conflict with the interests of Cuba's bureaucrat-comprador state capitalists.

In the last decade family farming and co-ops have persisted and in fact have played an increasingly important role in Cuban agriculture. They are especially vital in producing coffee, which

does not, especially in Cuba, lend itself to capital-intensive methods. They dominate the growing of tobacco, which could not be profitably cultivated if private ownership did not compel the unpaid labour of family members, especially wives.<sup>50</sup> There are also a number of private peasants involved in raising food crops and livestock (such as pigs). Up until the mid-1970s, the Cuban government kept prices paid to private-sector farmers for their crops and rent paid to them for lands taken over by the sugar estates quite low, in order to force these families to send members to work on the big latifundia, just as before Castro's revolution.<sup>51</sup>

These policies were modified as mechanisation of sugar somewhat decreased the need for such labour, but in 1986, faced with a decreased availability of farm inputs due to a hard currency crisis, the Cuban government launched yet another "revolutionary offensive" that led to the abolition of the popular private markets where private-sector farmers received higher than government-set prices for their produce and other foodstuffs. The purpose, of course, was to re-divert resources to sugar, at the expense of the development of food crop farming. This is an example of local capitalism developing hemmed in and subordinated by foreign capital via that capital's intermediary, the state-owned sugar plantations. It has been argued by people determined to see something good in Castro that if nothing else, at least Cuba has eliminated the remnants of feudalism. But even this judgement would be one-sided. In his analysis of the different paths of the development of capitalism in agriculture, Lenin described what he called the Prussian road, in which capitalism develops in agriculture on the basis of maintaining the old estates and converting the landowners into rural capitalists, which encumbers the most thorough economic development of agriculture.<sup>52</sup> Cuba's agriculture has developed, as we shall see, in the sense of becoming more

mechanised, but both its pace and qualitative development has been stunted compared to what a New Democratic revolution leading to genuine socialist revolution would have made possible.

There is a certain Prussian odor of feudal remnants in the air above Cuba's state farms where government administrators now sit in the chairs once occupied by landowners, and where there has been little change in the other social relations inherited from slavery and semi-feudalism (including the relations between white and black, between men and women, and between the various classes). The appropriation of the latifundia and the mills by Castro's government have not brought much more change in these relations than occurred in the Dominican Republic when the government also took over many of the sugar cane latifundia and most of the mills.

In Castro's Cuba most of the rural labouring population has been socialised in the sense that capitalism socialises the masses by separating them from their land and transforming them into wage slaves, but the ownership of the means of production has only been nationalised (taken over by the government) and not socialised (taken over by society as a whole). The land, mills and everything else remain in hands hostile to the masses' interests, a government that expropriates the surplus Cuba's labouring people produce so as to hand it over to Cuba's real owners: imperialist capital. There has been no revolution in the relations of ownership in these terms. The development of the productive forces in Cuba presents advantages, as well as disadvantages, for revolution there, but in itself does not mean emancipation of the labourers, any more than had been the case when the slaves began to be transformed into wage slaves by the surging of capitalism in Cuban sugar mills at the end of the nineteenth century, nor does it bring the emancipation of the country itself any closer.

(To be continued next issue)

### Footnotes

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27. Francisco Lopez Segrera, *Cuba: Capitalismo Dependiente y Subdesarrollo (1510-1959)* (Havana: Casa de las Americas, 1972), p. 366.
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29. *Ibid.*, p. 121. Also see Lopez Segrera, p. 379.
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31. See Pollitt, pp. 156-161. I have adjusted these figures to exclude "unpaid

family labour" (men who worked for their fathers or other relatives without pay) from the category of "wage labour" and include it under "farmers" instead. As Pollitt notes, these 1953 Cuban census figures do not in most cases count the labour of women or children. On these figures see also Lopez Segrera, p. 365.

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36. Actually, in some countries the cane fields are commonly burned down every five years or so as a prelude to replanting the cane, but this technique is less used in Cuba.
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