



Interview with Afghan Revolutionary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Logic of Social Imperialism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Typical Neocolonialism

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

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

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

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

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

The Local Puppets

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

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

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

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

The Popular Upsurge

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

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

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

Why do we say these movements are spontaneous?

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

Soviet 'aid' to Afghanistan.



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

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

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

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

The Russian Army

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Afghan Feudals

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

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

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

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

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

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



Afghan guerillas

Sarwar was opening the gate to the Russians.

“Divide and Rule”

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

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

After taking power, the coup d'état regime,

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

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

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



Studying SAMA literature.

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

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

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

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

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

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