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Message from China's Revolutionary Underground

This week, on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA received a copy of a statement clandestinely published in Shanghai by an organization of Mao's revolutionary successors in China. The document, printed in small pamphlet form in Shanghai, was signed "Central Committee, Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of China" and dated August 1, 1981. This is the same organization that signed a similarly produced pamphlet on January 1, 1981, on the occasion of the trial of Mao's revolutionary comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. The earlier pamphlet was received by the Revolutionary Worker at the end of January and published in issue No. 90. Sources in the Japanese bourgeois press later independently obtained this pamphlet and printed confirmation of its wide and bold circulation in various parts of China. Also since that time, the increasing publication and distribution of revolutionary literature, and even the carrying out of open revolutionary agitation on the

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Mao on Lushan Mountain, 1967

Editorial On the Fifth Anniversary of the Death of Mao Tsetung

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Editorial

On the Fifth Anniversary of the Death of Mao Tsetung

Five years ago this week, on September 9, 1976, Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, passed away. Five years later, and looking ahead into the coming storms, his contributions shine brighter than ever as a beacon to the whole world proletariat.

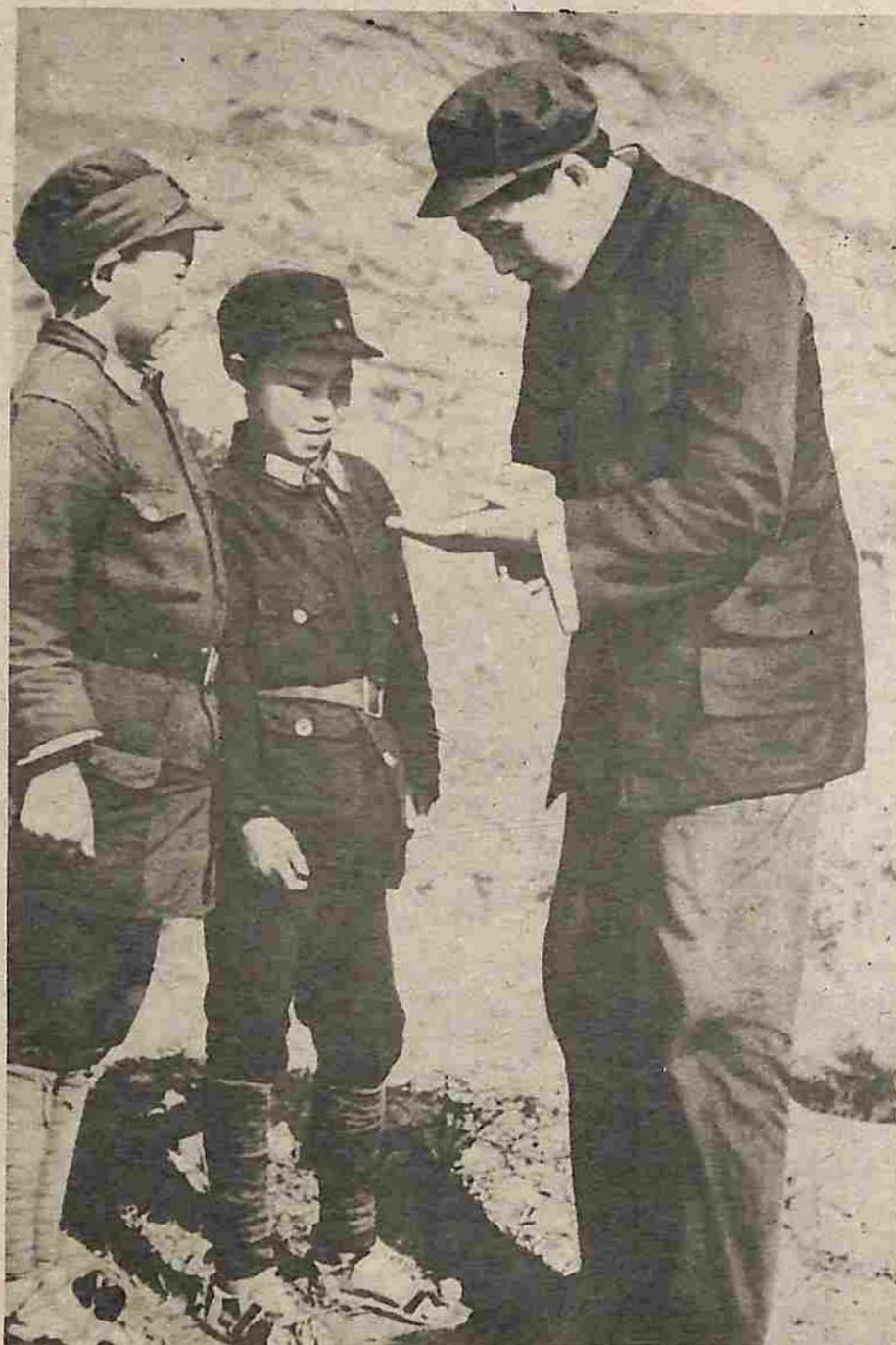
Today we recall the autumn of 1976. While hundreds of millions in China and worldwide mourned this great leader, a clique of reactionaries sharpened their knives, plotted and less than a month later, on October 6, 1976, launched a *coup*, arrested the "Gang of Four," including the core of the revolutionary leadership, Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Thus the revisionists plunged China into a darkness of capitalist restoration and capitulation to imperialism. Temporarily, the worldwide forces of reaction had enough strength to produce all that, but what they have not had is the power to suppress the revolutionary legacy of Mao, the revolutionary inspiration provided by his comrades under attack, and the historic lessons of the achievements of the Chinese revolution. Through all this what stands out even above the immense loss in China, is the vast potential of the proletariat and what it can achieve through great struggles ahead.

The experience in China must be viewed in a world context. The setback there has taken place as the contradictions on a world scale are sharpening, as a major world spiral under imperialism is approaching its apex; in fact the very marshalling of the imperialist forces for a showdown provided the revisionists of China with some added, temporary strength and aided them in their coup. But grasping this leads to grasping something far more profound. The ultimate outcome of this sharpening world crisis is far from settled. It was Mao's observation that in regard to world war there were two possibilities: either revolution would prevent war or war would give rise to revolution. Through the outcome of this spiral it is still possible not only that the proletariat's loss in China can be reversed, but that the loss could be more than compensated on a world scale by the ripping by the oppressed of large sections of the globe from imperialist control—perhaps even some of the imperialist countries themselves.

Whether this is so or not will be influenced in no small part by our efforts. Mao once said, "The correctness or the incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." This is a statement with rich and timely meaning for the proletariat and its advanced elements everywhere. Whether one capitulates in the face of imperialism, reaction and opportunism or whether one contributes to the world advance of the proletariat is a question not only of stand, but of science. And a crucial dividing line question for revolutionaries is whether to uphold, and advance upon Mao's giant contributions to the science of Marxism-Leninism, particularly in combatting revisionism or whether to cast these contributions into the dust, and with them great opportunities to advance. The proletarian revolutionaries of China, have set an excellent standard in this regard for the world proletariat.

At Memorial meetings held two years after Mao's death, Chairman Bob Avakian made a major speech on behalf of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA in which he spoke to the requirements of the revolutionary tasks ahead:

"In this we can draw great inspiration and illumination from Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary legacy and from the example of those who fought to uphold his line and proletarian rule in China. Correctly understanding and summing up the unprecedented achievements as well as the setback of the Chinese revolution, refusing to embrace revisionism and capitulate to reaction or turn from the forward direction, deepening our grasp of the immortal contributions of Mao Tsetung and his enrichment of the science of Marxism-Leninism and applying this to the situation before us—this is the road which, however tortuous, leads to the bright future. In this way, and only in this way, in the trials and upheavals ahead can we become tempered, transform difficulty into opportunity, adversity into advance. There is much to be done—and a world to win!" □



Mao Tsetung talking to young soldiers of the 8th Route Army.

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

Text of the speech given by Bob Avakian at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings which were held in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area in September 1978. These programs were held on the second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, at which time the RCP made public its analysis of the reactionary October 1976 coup in China. *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* gives a blow-by-blow account of the class struggle in China leading up to the coup and analyzes why the reactionaries were able to gain the upper hand after Mao's death. Also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation.

1978. 151 p. \$2.00

Available at bookstores listed on back page.

**“On The Joint Communiqué from 13 Parties and Organizations
To the Marxist-Leninists, The Workers, And the Oppressed of All Countries”**

— by TKPM-L

Open Letter To The Coordinating Committee of the International Journal “A World To Win”

Dear Comrades:

The vanguard organization of the proletariat in Turkey, the TKPM-L [Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist] was founded in 1972 by the great communist leader Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. The Party was founded in the struggle against modern revisionism in general and in the struggle against the revisionist-Trotskyite “Safak” line in particular. Our Party has witnessed fierce two-line struggles since its founding. The last of these line struggles was the struggle against the “YD-line.” This line was developed particularly around the negation of the contributions of Comrade Mao Tsetung to Marxism-Leninism and around the negation of the Marxist-Leninist legacy of the struggle against modern revisionism. This line thus found itself in contradiction with all principal questions of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the minimal and maximum programme of our Party. The Second Conference of our Party exposed this line as revisionist-Trotskyite. Furthermore, the Second Conference has come to the conclusion that the new front of attack against Marxism-Leninism, under the worldwide leadership of the PLA [Party of Labour of Albania], played an important part in the development of this line.

Because of the fact that the “YD-line” was dominant in the section of the Party responsible for international relations and had strong influence within the Central Committee of our Party, there were significant shortcomings in the defense of Marxism-Leninism in the person of Mao Tsetung conducted by our Party in the international communist movement. Our Party put forth a unified call in the fall of 1978 around the slogan, “Without the defense of Mao Tsetung, Marxism-Leninism cannot be defended!” Despite this call, because of the gathering dark clouds of the modern revisionist-Trotskyite storm of renunciation that was growing on the horizon at the time, the Party showed inconsistency in fulfilling this task in the two years that followed.

The behavior of the participants of our Party at the conference where the “Joint Communiqué” of the 13 signed organizations was made should be seen in this historical framework. For this reason we have re-analyzed and re-assessed the “Joint Communiqué” and we are sending you the results of this re-assessment in the form of an open letter so that it can be evaluated by all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary organizations.

A General Assessment of the “Joint Communiqué”

Today the class-conscious proletariat stands before a crucial question. The main contradictions in the world are intensifying in such a way that they are becoming more and more concentrated. While this development is leading to the fact that on the one hand the objective conditions in the phase of the proletarian world revolution are increasing on a day-to-day basis, on the other hand the subjective factor is greatly lagging behind this development. The international Marxist-Leninist movement has been weakened by the modern-revisionist and Trotskyite treachery. As

a result of this a significant amount of confusion has arisen in the ideological arena. In this situation the striving for ideological unity in the international Marxist-Leninist movement must prevail and this is one of the immediate tasks that lie before communists. In order to attain ideological unity, one must bring together these forces, against those who are leading the three fronts that are hostile toward Marxism-Leninism. These three fronts which are today stepping up their attacks on Marxism-Leninism, are:

- The modern revisionist front of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev style
- The modern revisionist front of the “Three Worlds Theory”
- The new opportunist front, which has gathered around the modern revisionist—Trotskyite line of the PLA.

A strong ideological struggle of the highest level amongst the revolutionary forces with the purpose of attaining unity is one important practical task. It is our opinion that the international conference that was convened in Autumn 1980 was an important and positive step in this direction.

The results of this conference are summarized in the “Joint Communiqué” of the 13 signed organizations. Our Party has assessed this “Joint Communiqué” as a document that defends Marxism-Leninism and its main characteristics in relation to the present task. The essential aspect of this “Joint Communiqué”, is that it upholds the fact that our epoch is still the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, that Leninism is the Marxism of our epoch, that Lenin’s principles are not outdated, but rather still hold their validity, that in particular the three main fronts that are presently attacking Marxism-Leninism have been exposed, and that along with this it exemplifies the importance of the defense of the contributions of Mao Tsetung to Marxism-Leninism.

But we would also like to point out that the “Joint Communiqué” is lacking on some points, and contains some views on other points that we do not agree with. Our views and criticisms of these points are commented on below. We regard these criticisms as necessary for the progress of unity.

Our Party intends to sign the “Joint Communiqué” with the reservation of our points of criticisms listed below. At the same time we hail the initiative to publish an international journal with the purpose of advancing the ideological struggle in the international arena. We will try to use all possible forces to contribute to this discussion. As a first step in this direction we ask you to publish this open letter from us.

Our Points of Criticism on the “Joint Communiqué”

On Section I: “The Current Situation”

We want to address two points here: First, clarity must be established on the statement that “all the other imperialist powers are also driven by their nature toward war.” (Page 2, English edition) The correct formulation is in our opinion, “Other big imperialists by nature (West Germany, France, England and Japan) participate in the drive towards

war.” If all big and small imperialists are in their essence the same and if they are all equally the enemy of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, it is still, as Lenin said, the “big imperialist powers” which propagate the imperialist war to redivide the world and which could wage such a war. Belgium is, for example, an imperialist country which exploits the proletariat and attacks the struggles of the oppressed peoples—in this respect there is no qualitative difference between it and other imperialists, but it is not in a position to propagate a new imperialist war of redivision. Today U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism have leadership in the propagation of imperialist war as well as leadership of the two imperialist military blocs. Besides them, though, other imperialist big powers are preparing for imperialist war. This should be clearly stated.

Secondly, it is stated “The objective conditions for revolution are ripening throughout the world and in some countries these conditions are already mature.” (Page 3) In general, this statement is correct. But it must be additionally determined where the weakest links in the chain of imperialism are. In our opinion the focal points of revolution are still in the areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

On Section II: “Tasks of Marxist-Leninists”

In this part the following statement is made, “The armed struggle must be carried out as a war of the masses and through it the masses must be prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally to exercise political power.” (Pages 4-5) In our opinion this statement is not entirely clear. A vital part of preparing the masses for the seizure of power are armed and unarmed forms of political struggles. The relationship between these two forms of struggle varies according to the social-economic structure of the respective country and depends on which stage the revolution has reached. A few well-known examples: in China, which had a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal social-economic structure, armed struggle played the decisive role throughout the entire period of the national democratic revolution. Armed struggle was essential to the ideological, political and organizational preparation of the masses for the exercise of political power. But at the same time the non-bloodily forms of the political struggle of the masses were very important. We also see that in the case of the preparation of the masses for the revolution in Tsarist Russia, non-bloodily struggles were emphasized for long periods of time. What was valid for Tsarist Russia is all the more valid for imperialist countries. But the formulation above can be dangerously misinterpreted in such a way that for such countries the means of preparing the masses for revolution is, generally speaking, armed struggle.

Secondly: The countries are divided into two groups, according to the “important distinctions in the path of the revolution.” In our opinion the classification is insufficient although the acknowledgement of these distinctions is very important. In accordance with the circumstances of the time, the

Comintern programme prepared under the guidance of Stalin (1928) divides the countries roughly into two groups, namely imperialist countries and countries under the yoke of imperialism. The latter category is then divided into three groups depending upon the path and road of the revolution in the respective countries. In our view this classification was correct given the circumstances of that time. And that is how Marxist-Leninists should approach this issue even today, that is, those countries that are, in one way or another, under the yoke of imperialism should be divided into various categories on the basis of a careful analysis of the actual situation in each respective country. We think it is possible to divide the dependent countries into at least two different types. Furthermore, one should analyze the common elements of the revolutions in these countries.

Our conclusion to this, based on our analysis which is still not completed, is the following. The oppressed countries should be divided into at least two types. One type includes countries in which capitalism is inextricably bound up with imperialism, which is to a greater or lesser degree dominant in the economic base. At the same time there are remnants of feudalism in the economic base and the superstructure, even if feudalism itself is not the main aspect. As far as we know, for instance, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Portugal and Greece belong to this type of country. Though in countries of this type the proletariat has not yet completed the task of democratic revolution, the crucial task of the new-democratic revolution is to attain national independence and political democracy. In this context the strategic slogan in countries of this type should be the “revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants.” And as far as the question of the path of the revolution in these countries, the relationship between protracted people’s war and popular insurrection must in turn be examined in concrete terms.

The countries of the second type are the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. Even if comprador capitalism has developed in these countries to a greater or lesser extent, their production relations are still predominantly feudal and semi-feudal. The two main tasks of the new-democratic revolution in these countries are the attainment of national independence and the abolition of feudalism by means of the agrarian revolution, and the principal strategic slogan for these countries must generally be “democratic dictatorship of the people.” In this context, the path of revolution in these countries will generally be protracted people’s war.

Third: It is possible to establish certain distinctions among the imperialist countries themselves, and these should not be regarded merely as different stages of the revolution. The “Joint Communiqué” does not deal with the situation in imperialist countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other countries under the influence of Russian social-imperialism. In our view the strategy and tactics of the path of the October Revolution is also valid for these countries. But above and beyond

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South Africa's Angola Incursion

The "Raid" and U.S. Strategy

On August 25, the Angolan government announced that South Africa had attacked southern Angola. According to Angop, the Angolan news agency, two armored columns of the South African Defense Force (SADF) had crossed over from northern Namibia and were attempting to seize Angolan territory, in particular Cunene province in southern Angola. After a week of heavy fighting, Angola reported that the South Africans had captured at least seven towns, destroyed a few others in numerous bombing runs, and had advanced more than 60 miles inside Angola's borders. South Africa donned a business-as-usual posture and repeatedly "pooh-poohed" Angolan reports concerning the size, extent and goals of the action. Citing the "right to hot pursuit," the South African Defense Ministry declared that this latest action in Angola was merely a mopping-up operation aimed at the guerrilla fighters of the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) and was essentially no different from hundreds of other "hot pursuits" that South Africa has carried into Angola over the last few years in attempts to militarily weaken SWAPO and the Namibian liberation struggle. Indeed, rabid aggression by the racist regime is business as usual.

In a speech timed to coincide with the South African incursion into Angola, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, spelled out the U.S.'s strategic orientation in southern Africa. Describing Africa as "an integral and increasingly important part of the global competitive system," Crocker stated that as "a leader of the West, the U.S. has the responsibility to help shape the strategic context that impinges on Africa." And to leave no doubt as to what this means, Crocker continued: "We are concerned about the influence of the Soviet Union and its surrogates in Africa. The Soviets do seek to exploit for their own ends existing differences and actual conflicts, and they seek to create and sustain situations of conflict from which they can profit. They are aided in these efforts by their client states... The activities of the Soviets and their partners threaten the security of Africa in every corner of the continent, and in accordance with our objectives, the U.S. is working to frustrate these activities and to help African states resist them." And, just so it's clear what this means in practice, Crocker concludes with, "The Reagan administration has no intention of destabilizing South Africa in order to curry favor elsewhere... it does not serve our interests to walk away from South Africa any more than it does to play down the seriousness of the domes-

tic and regional problems it faces." In other words, the U.S. imperialists want to "create and sustain" a few of their own "situations of conflict from which they can profit." And, in relation to southern Africa, the U.S. will steadfastly not only condone, but design and aid in carrying out, actions by South Africa aimed at beating the region into shape.

In the context of the quickening developments toward world war between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists and their respective blocs, the situation in southern Africa looms large for both. And within this, the status of a "settlement" in Namibia, and the Soviet domination of Angola, are two of the sharpest questions for the U.S. Namibia, with its vast mineral wealth, including the world's largest uranium mine, and its position on Africa's southwest coast, is a valued prize. For the U.S., it's a question of firmly securing southern Africa and weakening Soviet influence in the area. In line with this, the U.S. imperialists, together with their junior partners in South Africa, have been maneuvering to engineer a settlement in Namibia that would both put the U.S. in the best possible position, and do the least to harm South Africa's interests. This would be an "internationally accepted, or at worst, a Zimbabwe-type settlement that would put administrative power into the hands of SWAPO while actually leaving the existing property relations intact.

In addition to its diplomatic maneuvering, and in fact feeding it, the U.S. has made ample use of its old reliable carrot-and-stick routine, particularly in relation to wringing concessions from Angola. It's no secret that over the last few months, the U.S. has linked any movement to a settlement in Namibia with the removal of Cuban and Soviet advisors in Angola, and has been pushing the idea that the Soviet-backed MPLA government in Angola must come to some type of reconciliation and power sharing with the U.S.-backed Angolan "insurgents" of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. And, while the stick has always been primary, as evidenced by the actions of South Africa in attacking Angola, still the U.S. and others in its bloc are openly trying to woo and entice some of the different factions of the MPLA government. In fact, just prior to this latest South African raid, a U.S. Congressional delegation received a very warm reception in Angola and floated out the possibility of developing normal relations between the U.S. and Angola.

For its part, the Soviet Union is not only concerned with maintaining its hold over Angola, but also with destabilizing and weakening the U.S. posi-

tion in southern Africa and expanding its own influence. At this point, the Soviets are banking on the U.S. being forced to compromise in Namibia and allow SWAPO at least some hand in a government there, and then, based on Soviet imperialism's "aid" to SWAPO, being able to call in their markers and hopefully increase their foothold in southern Africa.

In this latest raid on Angola, South Africa claims that it was only continuing its standard operating procedures in connection with its war against SWAPO, and in fact, that this raid was part of an overall escalation of military activity against the SWAPO that the South Africans had launched almost two months ago. While undoubtedly South Africa has an interest in attempting to significantly weaken SWAPO, and just as undoubtedly seized every available opportunity to do so during this incursion, it is obvious that there was much more than "SWAPO-hunting" involved. In addition to stirring up the situation in southern Angola, the South Africans seem to have been testing the waters in relation to the Cuban troops and Soviet advisers in Angola. The incursion also offered the opportunity to dredge up some additional raw material for U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet campaign.

Southern Angola is the stomping ground for Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA forces. In the southeast, Savimbi claims to control all of Cuando-Cubango province, while in the southwest he is waging a war against the Angolan government troops and SWAPO bases and refugee camps. Any gains by the South Africans in this latest raid will undoubtedly be turned over to Savimbi and UNITA, and consequently to the U.S., to be used as further "leverage" in their dealings with Angola and their contention with the Soviets.

But more than that, while the South Africans steadfastly maintain their "just another raid" story, and insist that the conflict erupted only when Angolan troops "intervened" and "premeditatedly attacked" South African troops, all the facts surrounding the incident point to the situation being much more than a "chance encounter." The situation in southern Angola is such that the Angolan government troops and their Soviet, East German and Cuban advisers, are concentrated in specific areas, particularly in towns and villages along the main north-south roadway in Angola. In all previous "anti-SWAPO raids," the SADF has been careful to avoid contact with these areas. However, on this raid, they very purposely set out to attack these areas, using the excuse that SWAPO had mov-

ed its bases into concentrations of Angolan troops for protection.

A number of other facts serve to further undercut the "chance encounter" story. Two weeks prior to the raid, the South African Defense Ministry announced that it had suddenly discovered Russian-built radar installations, and anti-aircraft missile sites in southern Angola. Following this announcement, the commander of the SADF in Namibia declared that South Africa was going to have to "enhance our defenses" and "prepare for a more serious war." At the same time, the overall commander of the SADF gravely warned that Angola and South Africa "would inevitably cross swords" if there were any attempts to interfere with South African operations in Angola. And of course, the South Africans immediately set out to ensure that the "crossing of swords" would indeed be inevitable. On August 24, the South Africans launched the largest and most heavily armed forces that they had sent into Angola since the 1975-76 South African/U.S. attempt to seize control of Angola. For two days before the raid was launched, the South African Air Force bombed towns where they were sure Russian advisers and Cuban troops would be. On the raid itself, the South Africans were armed with U.S.-supplied 155-mm. artillery shells. The significance of this is that in 1975-76, the last time there was direct contact between Cuban troops and the SADF, the South Africans were outdistanced by the Cubans' use of Soviet-supplied 122-mm. shells. This time out, the SADF was more than prepared for its "chance encounter." In addition to this, the incursion has been the most prolonged, and has penetrated the deepest into Angolan territory, of any raid since 1975-76, when the South Africans came within 100 miles of Luan-da, the capital city of Angola. And to top it all off, this "normal, routine raid" was directed and coordinated from Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, by none other than Magnus Malan, the South African Minister of Defense.

However, more than the machinations of the South African rulers lay behind the recent events. Although the U.S. at first feigned ignorance of the raid, it is ridiculously clear that not only did the U.S. know about and approve this action, but it undoubtedly played a large role in directing it. Not only is it true that the U.S. maintained intelligence-gathering in the region via a massive satellite network, but, in the past four months alone, the U.S. and South Africans had held no less than three top-level meetings between government officials. In State Dept. documents leaked out to TransAfrica (a liberal lobbying outfit primarily concerned with developments in southern Africa) in late May and acknowledged as authentic by the State Dept., the U.S. very clearly states its position in relation to South Africa and the Cuban and Soviet

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Testimony on South Africa at War Crimes Tribunal

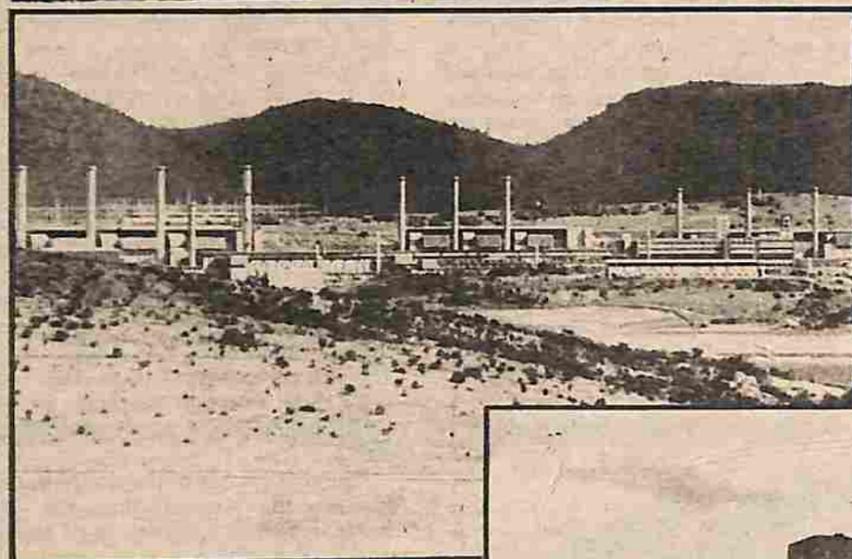
“The Place You Don’t Talk About At All”

The following testimony was given by Dennis Brutus at the Chicago hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. imperialism. Dennis Brutus is a Black poet and professor at Northwestern University, who is in exile from South Africa and is currently a target of deportation attacks by the U.S. government.

I am glad to have the opportunity to testify about the crimes being committed in South Africa against the people there and the way in which the United States is involved as an active participant collaborating with the oppressor, arming the oppressor and training those who are guilty of murder, torture and genocide in Southern Africa. I’ll keep this short and I will leave some documentation with the Tribunal which will substantiate the statements I propose to make. There are three areas which seem to me most important at this stage. One, to recognize the degree to which the United States military and the supply of military equipment both to the army, the paramilitary forces and to the police made possible the systematic repression of the majority of the people. The second most important seems to me is the policy pursued in South Africa of deliberate genocide. What has been happening up to now is roughly three million people have been removed from the cities because the government defines them as surplus labor or superfluous labor. This includes women, children, the old and the sick. All those who cannot serve the system are removed from the city. They are sent to areas known as dumping grounds without water, without homes, without lights, barren, arid land which they cannot cultivate, without hospitals, without doctors. They are left there to die in a policy of extermination. There are camps some of you may have heard of, places like Dimbaza and Illinge and Welcome Valley and Rainbow Valley and these are the places where people are dumped and left to die. The political attack on the people includes in the past year declaring four million people in South Africa to be foreigners in the land of their birth. They have ceased to be citizens. They have no citizen rights. They are required to obtain new passports in what are called bantustans, the satellite enclaves that are set up by the apartheid government to serve them as reservoirs for labor to come into the factories, into the plants, whether it’s Ford or GM, Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola, American Motors, Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich, Uniroyal, all the U.S. corporations, the three hundred or more operating in South Africa. At the same



Those who are defined as superfluous labor are sent to camps such as these, known as dumping grounds.



(Left) The Velindoba nuclear plant—“The place you don’t talk about at all.”

Nuclear accelerator building at Velindoba, capable of producing weapons grade uranium.

time South Africa is receiving sophisticated military equipment from the United States including some of the most advanced technology available. Some of you may have seen the documentary on public television called “Hot Shells” which dealt with an American corporation called Space Research which was supplying the South African army with some of the most powerful long-range guns in existence. Some of those are capable of firing nuclear shells as well as ordinary howitzer shells. And this brings me to the other area in which the United States is arming the oppressor in South Africa in order to enable him to remain

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South Africa—1976

Government Of Turkey Stung By Hunger Strike.

According to recent information the *RW* has received from revolutionaries from Turkey living in Europe, the hunger strike of nearly 500 political prisoners in several military prisons inside Turkey has been officially called off by the prisoners. The hunger strike was initiated by sympathizers of the Communist Party of Turkey ML (TKPML) who are among the tens of thousands of imprisoned revolutionaries who are awaiting trial or sentencing on charges such as engaging in "subversion" or "terrorism" against the U.S.-supported military junta. Many of those prisoners who took part in the hunger strike already faced ex-

ecution. As reported in *RW* No. 118, their demands included the ending of torture and death sentences, the provision of writing materials and meetings with lawyers to prepare their defense, and better conditions inside the hellish jails. As it takes some time for reliable news to get out of Turkey, the results of the strike are not yet known.

It has become clear, though, that the international publicity and actions supporting the hunger strikers and demanding that the Turkish authorities disclose the whereabouts of Süleyman Cihan—an alleged leading member of the TKPML whom the junta recently arrested after hunting him since

1974—have had a major impact. Despite the junta's press censorship, the occupation of the Turkish consulate in Cologne, West Germany on August 15 by supporters of the revolutionary newspaper *Partizan* was reported on Turkish radio and TV, and one newspaper even printed the demands of the takeover in support of Süleyman Cihan and the hunger strikers. Stung by this action, the military junta lodged a bitter complaint with the West German government, accusing it of not providing sufficient security for their diplomatic mission.

The Solidarity Committee to Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan is calling for

letters to be sent to Turkey's embassies abroad (including in Washington, D.C.) demanding to know where Süleyman Cihan is being held and demanding that they pull their professional interrogator/torturer off him. Copies of any statements should be sent to:

Solidarity Committee to
Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan
c/o I. Demirtas
Postfach 120124
6100 Darmstadt
West Germany

Haitian Refugee Rebellion

On September 3 at 9:00 a.m., the fourth day of a hunger strike by Haitian refugees imprisoned at the Krome Detention Center in southwest Miami, Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) goons tear-gassed and attacked with clubs a mass gathering of 1800. The heavily armed guards were met with fierce resistance as hundreds of refugees stormed through their ranks, smashing a barbed wire-topped fence. At least 50 refugees are still reported missing, many likely making it to the safety of the Everglades. Just four months ago, a similar break-out occurred—on May 1st.

While an INS official made the national news complaining that he didn't

really know why the refugees "rioted," he had to admit that "prior to the thing there had been some 'so-called' hunger strikes." That was all he admitted, though, and he tried to spread the lie that the guards used gas only *after* the "riot." The *RW* has learned some of the truth behind this incident from Rev. Jean-Juste of the Miami-based Haitian Refugee Center, himself a refugee seeking political asylum.

Last Sunday, one of the infamous INS guards picked up a chair and began beating several of the Haitians. It was an act that concentrated the daily brutality faced by the refugees at Krome. Hundreds were outraged and demanded that the guards be fired, and that these

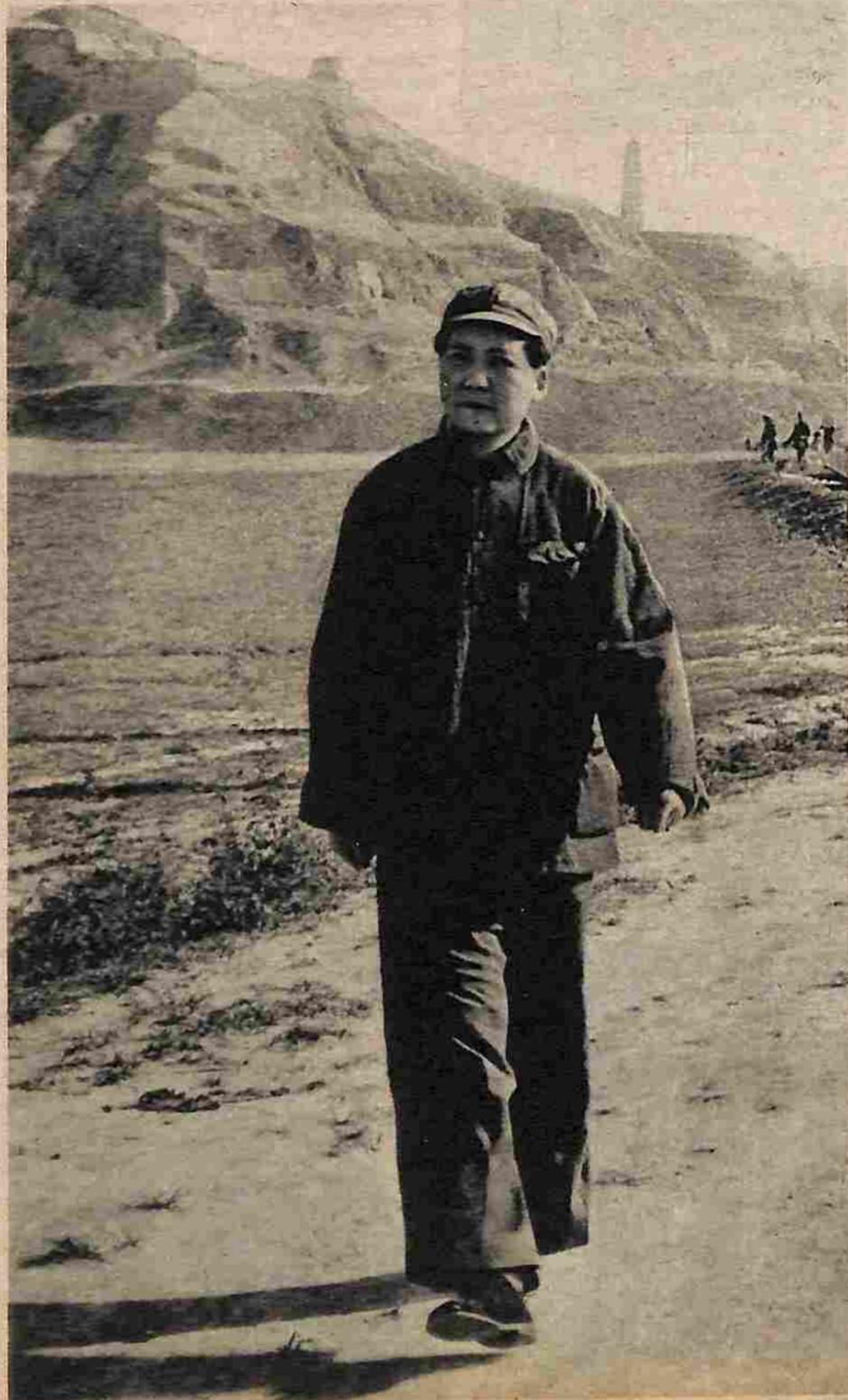
abuses be stopped. By Monday morning, the hunger strike was on—hundreds took part, men, women and children. At noon, the INS announced the guard had been fired, and called for the strike to be ended. Yet the officials refused to give medication and milk to a seriously ill 2-year-old Haitian child, and the supervisor was overheard calling the Haitians "dogs." No deal. The strike continued.

By Wednesday, the INS used another of its tactics to try and end the strike—bribery. The supervisor called a meeting of the two strike leaders, telling them that "President Reagan told me (the INS—*RW*) that he does not want the Haitians to be released," but the supervisor then promised he could find both of these leaders jobs and freedom if they would only end the strike. The outraged leaders immediately left the meeting and announced this "deal" to the 150 strikers waiting outside. That did it—by early Thursday morning, all 1800 prisoners had joined in the hunger strike.

The strike is one of the sharpest in the months-long struggle that has been brewing against deportation of Haitian

refugees. International support has been shown for the actions of Haitians, both inside and outside the barbed wire, who face almost certain death if deported back to the U.S. puppet dictatorship in Haiti. In recent weeks, the INS has intensified the oppression, shipping 600 refugees from Krome to a U.S. military base in Puerto Rico—one step closer to deportation. Others have been dispersed from the large Haitian community in Miami to places as far removed as Big Spring, Texas and Lake Placid, New York. Just this week, Reagan announced plans to convert a vacant Air Force base in Glasgow, Montana (30 miles from Canada and 40° below zero in the winter) to be the main detention center for Haitian refugees. All the while, INS guards have been further unleashed to attack the refugees.

The September 3 battle and the continuing hunger strike are testimony to the strength of the Haitian refugees as they meet these attacks with increasing determination. As hundreds fought the government cops, chants of "Freedom!", "Liberty!", "Justice!" could be heard over the screams of the pigs. □



MAO TSETUNG'S IMMORTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A summary of the essence of Mao's thought and teachings, which he developed through the twists and turns of over 50 years of revolutionary struggle.

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It blasts the slander that Mao was an idle dreamer trying to impose an impractical vision on the world. No one knew better than he that there was no straight line to liberation but that through continued struggle the world would be won and remade by the people. "The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation... this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things... and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writings and actions."

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Mao in Yen-an.

JUST WHAT IS BANI-SADR UP TO?

On Sunday, August 30, Iran's reactionary ruling party, the IRP, lost two more powerful figures as a powerful bomb blast ripped through the prime minister's office in Tehran. Killed in this explosion were President Rajai, Prime Minister Bahonar and one of Bahonar's aides.

The U.S. press responded to this bombing with smug commentary about how "the revolution is continuing to devour its children," mixed in with alarm at the continuing decapitation of the IRP and the increasing instability in the country. As many commentators were quick to note, it had only been two months since the explosion at the IRP's headquarters that removed Ayatollah Beheshti from the political scene; and all of the deceased—generally considered to have had pro-Western leanings—were termed "capable leaders," in contrast to the "shadowy and deadly Mojahadeen."

The U.S. imperialists are clearly unhappy about the inability of the IRP leaders to finish off the Mojahadeen and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces who are leading the resistance, but they are saying even more openly that "the bottom line is to keep the Soviets out." This was a major theme on an ABC Nightline special on Iran this week, in which several expert commentators pointed out that the "USSR is in the best position to pick up the pieces and exploit the situation." The Soviet social-imperialists, it is true, do have strong ties with sections of the IRP leaders, are making full use of their agents in the revisionist Tudeh Party to burrow into the government, and have the advantage of geographical proximity over the U.S. However, what the U.S. imperialists are preparing public opinion for is not an imminent Soviet invasion—à la Afghanistan, as one of Nightline's "experts" darkly warned—but rather some high-stakes moves of their own in the near future to head off growing Soviet influence in Iran and the growth of the revolutionary forces among the masses of people.

The response of the Iranian government to the bombing was to try to drum up popular sympathy for their jerry-built regime and to issue new calls to suppress "American agents and counter-revolutionaries." However, Tehran Radio's use of the term "fifth columnists" to describe those who carried out the bombing indicated that the government is well aware that the opponents of the regime have been able to penetrate the most closely guarded circles of power to blow away top IRP leaders. As the regime kept up its bluster about "nothing will stop the revolution," Rajai and Bahonar were quickly replaced by other reactionary clerics. Interior Minister Mahdavi-Kani was appointed interim Prime Minister, and he along with Chief Justice Ardebili and Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani were named to a 3-man presidential council. (One interesting point here is that in the sketches the *New York Times* ran on the "key figures in the government of Iran," Rafsanjani was singled out for his support for the U.S. embassy takeover, and for later replying to Reagan that "you can find few people in history as barbarous as U.S. leaders." Of course,

the *New York Times* ran this truthful statement for a reason—it was pointing out that among the leaders of the IRP, Rafsanjani is particularly *not* to be trusted. In fact, Rafsanjani has been noteworthy as of late for avoiding explosions and advocating closer economic and political ties with the Soviet Union.)

In the wake of the bombing, Prosecutor General Amlashi ordered prosecutors across the country to speed up "Islamic trials" of the thousands of revolutionaries and progressives being held in prisons. The next day, though, Ayatollah Khomeini struck a more conciliatory tone, warning that "the wicked acts being committed should not cause the authorities to lose control or act behind the laws of Iran. Prisoners should be treated properly. There should be no cruelty. Innocents must not be imprisoned." It is possible that Khomeini is trying to distance himself somewhat from the IRP's counter-revolutionary bloodbath (which could not have been carried out without his blessing), but in any case he is getting nervous about the situation and is now giving flimsy assurances to the masses, who are deserting the regime in droves, that the "rule of law" still exists and that arrests and executions will not be indiscriminate—which they increasingly are as the regime grows more desperate and vicious. Khomeini's worries are actually quite well founded. According to sources inside Iran, there are at least 30-40 armed attacks on the regime daily, ranging from 2 or 3 people jumping a Pasdaran (so-called revolutionary guard) in the streets and taking his rifle, to well-organized squads of revolutionaries assaulting Pasdaran headquarters. While these armed actions are still often spontaneous and scattered, they represent the sentiments of tens of thousands and even millions of people in Iran today.

Bani-Sadr's Response

From their new headquarters in Paris, Bani-Sadr and Mojahadeen leader Massoud Rajavi indirectly took responsibility for the most recent bombing. In a trans-Atlantic interview, Rajavi said that the bombing was a "suitable answer" to the regime's execution of more than 800 people in the last two months. Bani-Sadr also welcomed the bombing, saying that the IRP leaders had brought about their own deaths by suppressing the masses' freedom; at the same time he maintained that there was no connection between Sunday's bombing and his statement a week earlier that the regime would collapse if the five top leaders of the IRP were killed.

There are millions of people in Iran today and worldwide who are not mourning the passing of Rajai and Bahonar and other IRP butchers from the scene. However, it has become increasingly clear that Bani-Sadr has a strategy for bringing down the IRP government that will not lead to genuine liberation for the Iranian people. It is not based on mobilizing and relying on the masses of people to overthrow the government by force of arms and then to exercise power once they have seized it; rather it is centered around

avoiding such mobilization of the masses and relying on eliminating a few highly-placed reactionaries as a tactic to force a change in the government, a change that will not destroy the reactionary state apparatus, but will leave it largely intact, with the masses continuing to be held in a subordinate position. Ever since he reached France, Bani-Sadr has been emphasizing that he is searching for a "quick way" to overturn the present regime and that he does not want to see a civil war develop. Engaging in bourgeois pressure tactics, Bani-Sadr has thus taken to warning that either violence will continue or "Khomeini will listen to the voice of reason and re-establish liberty and democracy."

Statements such as this reveal much about Bani-Sadr's bourgeois outlook and aims. Instead of overthrowing the new Iranian ruling class who have increasingly become retainers of imperialism—for Bani-Sadr, removing five reactionary mullahs will suffice. In short, Bani-Sadr hopes to utilize the mass resistance to catapult himself back into power. Thus, at the same time as Bani-Sadr has been forced to support the people's resistance because he has been forced out of power—and has allied with the Mojahadeen on that basis—he is most certainly working diligently at developing his own independent role within the ranks of the opposition. This requires firming up his most reliable class base of support within Iran, particularly the nationalist sections of the bourgeoisie who have been beaten down by the IRP (such as the bazaari merchants) and of the officer corps of the armed forces. Bani-Sadr has been continuing to tout the armed forces, stating in a recent interview, "The army is more and more with me. When I was president, the army found its dignity in me." Bani-Sadr has high hopes for swinging high-level deals in the future and is holding his support in the military "in reserve." One indication of this is that he recently called on his followers in the army and air force to resist when their officers are being arrested or attacked—but not to go any further for the time being. Such views are nothing new from Bani-Sadr. In fact his outlook and aims have not basically changed from the time he was

with Khomeini in exile, in the late 1970s, to when he was president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, to the present.

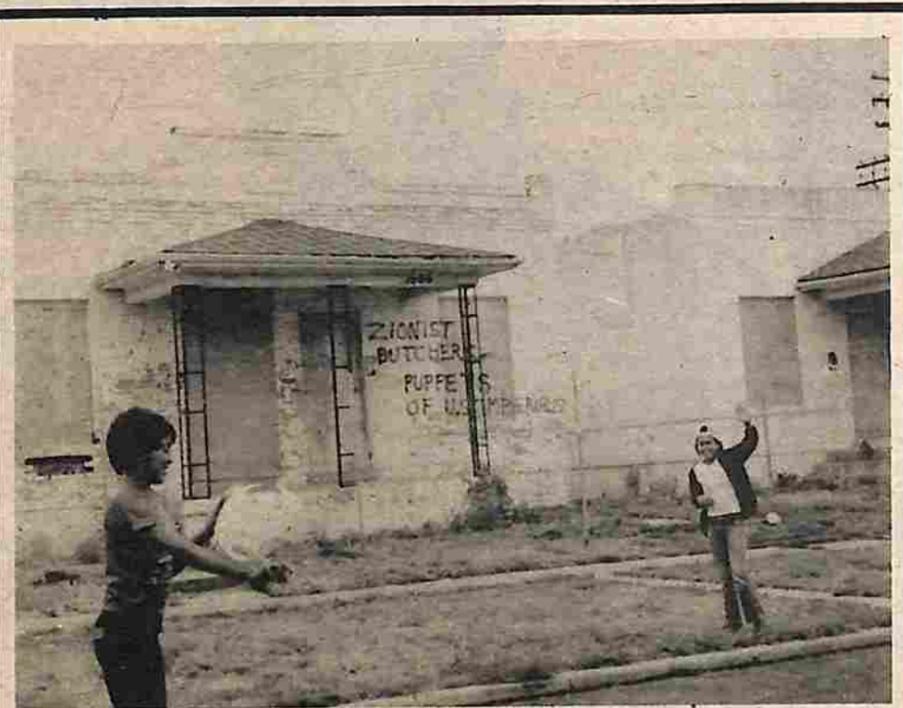
The "Basic Principles" document prepared by the RCP, USA and the RCP of Chile analyzes the role of bourgeois forces such as Bani-Sadr in the revolution in the oppressed countries. It is worth quoting from at some length:

"... sections of the bourgeoisie who find themselves hemmed in and restricted by imperialist domination and the relations it fosters and maintains will tend to put up some resistance to imperialism and may at times be a vacillating ally of the proletariat in the revolution. The proletarian party must make a scientific and concrete analysis of this at each point in the development of the revolution and even where it is determined that it is correct to strive to unite with or at least neutralize such sections of the domestic capitalists it must consistently reveal their class nature and interests, not sacrifice the interests of the working people as the price for unity with such bourgeois forces, combat their tendency to conciliate with the enemies of the revolution, prepare for the possibility that they will suddenly turn against the revolution, even in its first stage, and never compromise the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. Experience has shown that where such forces establish a government, while they may take some progressive measures, they are incapable of breaking the stranglehold of imperialism on the country, they resist the continuation of the revolution and they are either ousted by imperialist intrigue or aggression or, if they consolidate their power, they tend more and more to become retainers of the imperialist system and enemies of the revolution." (Paragraph 210)

Bani-Sadr's History

As in many dependent and neo-colonial countries, many of the political representatives of the bourgeoisie come from the intelligentsia, and Bani-Sadr is a prime example of a bourgeois nationalist intellectual. In the 1950s and '60s he was influenced by the rising nationalist sentiments against the Shah's U.S.-backed dictatorship; and he, along with

Continued on page 22



This letter was sent by a reader in Denver, Colorado.

In RW No. 116 I read a very powerful interview titled "On the Real Terror in the West Bank." In it it said that some Palestinians wondered whether there was any support, among the people of the U.S., for the struggle against Zionism and Imperialism. I am enclosing a photo and a newspaper clipping concerning the one time home of Golda

Meir and the efforts of some local Zionists and other assorted assholes to make the place a shrine. Perhaps you could publish the photo or send it to our friends on the West Bank to let them know there are people here who stand with them in the struggle. The slogan painted on the front of the "landmark" reads "Zionist Butchers—Puppets of U.S. Imperialism".

The attached clipping from a Denver newspaper stated that the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission unanimously passed a resolution urging that the one-time humble dwelling of the late Prime Minister of the U.S. barking dog in the Middle East and vicious oppressor of the Palestinian people be designated an historical landmark. The Chairwoman of a local committee working to save the house was quoted as saying, "We want the young children of North Denver to know that while it's not Cherry Hills, you can become anything you want." However, the spray-painted slogan on the walls have already designated this landmark of oppression and provided the neighborhood children with another interpretation of history and a fitting rebuke to such vain imperialist aspirations.

Capitalist Roaders Are of the Capitalist

Mao Tsetung's most important—and most bitterly attacked—contribution was on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of his last great battle, he stated, "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." In a major advance for Marxism-Leninism, the central target of the mass struggle during the Cultural Revolution was not the remnants of the "old" bourgeoisie but a new bourgeoisie, with its headquarters inside the Communist Party itself. In spite of charges of idealism Mao's conclusions were based on a profound materialist analysis, a class analysis of the new socialist society. Whether political leadership was Marxist or revisionist in a given unit—and especially overall in society—determined whether the relations of production were socialist or merely socialist in form and capitalist in actual content. Mao's basic themes were taken up and grappled with by millions in society. The following article, which appeared in 1976 in the Shanghai journal "Study and Criticism," was written by revolutionaries seeking to apply and popularize Mao's line and addresses many of these questions. This translation was published by the U.S. government.

CAPITALIST ROADERS ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

By Chuang Lan

Class analysis is an important weapon for revolution. In his brilliant work, *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, Chairman Mao points out: "To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution." This directive of Chairman Mao's is of equally important guiding significance to our analysis of the class essence of Party capitalist roaders today and our understanding that Party capitalist roaders are the main target of the socialist revolution.

An economic status means a position in the relations of production in a given society. As Lenin pointed out, socialist society cannot but possess the features or characteristics of two kinds of socio-economic structure, and this is "the period of struggle between decaying capitalism and nascent communism." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictator-

ship of the Proletariat") Capitalist roaders within the Party vainly attempt to restore capitalism by making the utmost effort to uphold the superstructure and relations of production which hinder the socialist economic base and the development of productive forces. In socialist society they are the representatives of the capitalist relations of production which have been vanquished but have not yet been eliminated.

Let us first take a look at the condition of ownership of the means of production. Our country at present practices basically the socialist system of state ownership and the socialist system of collective ownership. Under these two systems of ownership, the laboring people possess and allocate the means of production they collectively own through the state of proletarian dictatorship or collective economic units, and the power to allocate and manage the means of production and the power to distribute products are expressed in a concentrated way as the power of political leadership. Due to the existence of these two systems of ownership and the practice of the commodity system and exchange by means of money, the law of value and other economic categories which hold the dominating position in capitalist production are still operative, though they have been restricted. Not only between units of ownership by the whole people and units of collective ownership but also between various units of ownership by the whole people, independent economic accounting must be practiced under the socialist planned economy. Hence, whether people who control the power of leadership can genuinely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, whether they can exploit certain positive effects, at the present stage, of such things as the law of value under the socialist planned economy or willfully extend the principle of exchange of commodities and diminish or undermine the socialist planned economy, has a direct bearing on the class nature of the system of ownership. Chairman Mao points out: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them—leadership was not in the hands of genuine



Chairman Mao writing his Big-character Poster "Bombard the Headquarters" calling on the masses to strike down the top Party people in power taking the capitalist road.



(Above) January 1967, great debate in Shanghai established the first Revolutionary Committee

Representatives

Relations of Production

Chuang Lan

Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were not good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shaoqi—simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." Here material incentives and putting profit in command are a manifestation of the vicious inflation of the principle of exchange of commodities. If leadership over a department or unit is controlled by capitalist roaders who energetically push the revisionist line, socialist production will turn into a movement to multiply the value of capital with the pursuit of maximum profits as the only goal, a capitalist wage labor system. While the socialist system of ownership is reduced to an "outer shell," it will actually become a capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders, and the proletariat and the laboring people will in fact lose this part of the means of production.

Judging from the mutual relations between people, the socialist system, which is not based on exploitation and oppression of man by man, is one under which the relations between cadres and masses and between the higher and lower levels within revolutionary ranks should be comradely relations of equality. But after all, the three major differences still exist and the old practice of division of labor in society and the gradation system exist, and in these respects bourgeois rights still exist to a serious extent. Even those bourgeois rights in the mutual relations between people which must be eliminated today, such as rigid gradation, lording it over and being divorced from the masses, unequal treatment of others, and so forth, often re-emerge after they have been broken. If the leadership of certain departments is usurped by capitalist roaders, they will strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the relations between people, subject workers to "control, check, and repression," turn the socialist relations between people into capitalist mercenary relations, and enforce the bourgeois dictatorship. This situation is particularly obvious in the Soviet Union of today. In

Soviet state-owned enterprises, the working class has become human material to exact surplus value. Managers can use any "reason" to lay off workers, who have only the "obligation" to "abide by labor discipline and internal rules," to work submissively. On Soviet collective farms, the directors lord it over the peasants and "do whatever they wish." As they themselves have admitted, they are "playing the role of a whip" toward the peasants. Look, the relations between a handful of capitalist roaders within the Soviet Party and the broad masses of workers and peasants have become relations between the employer and the employed, the ruler and the ruled. When exposing the relations between workers and capitalists in capitalist society, Marx and Engels pointed out: the workers "are not only the slaves of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, but are also enslaved every day and every hour by machines and the foremen, in the first place by the factory owners themselves."

(*Communist Manifesto*) Today, the revisionist lines pushed by the arch Party capitalist roaders like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping are, in the final analysis, aimed at re-tying the proletariat to the chains of capital and making them slaves of the bourgeois state.

Another feature of the bourgeoisie within the Party is its vigorous effort to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the field of distribution and possess the labor of others without compensation. Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the 8-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." In the period of socialism, there is no alternative to practicing the principle "from each according to his best, to each according to his work." This means distribution according to the different amounts of labor each laborer provides to society. But as Marx pointed out, "Here the right of equality is in principle still a bourgeois right." (*Critique of the Gotha Program*) In fact, many phenomena of inequality still exist in the field of distribution. Whether such inequalities should be gradually restricted and ultimately eliminated under the dictatorship of the proletariat or strengthened and

extended at will is an important mark of distinction between Marxism and revisionism. Touching on the birth of classes, Engels pointed out: "With the appearance of disparities in distribution, class differences also appear. Society is divided into the privileged and the under-privileged, the exploiter and the exploited, the ruler and the ruled." (*Anti-Dühring*) To extend bourgeois rights in distribution actually smacks of allowing a section of people to possess the labor of another section of people without compensation, which means extending class differences. Today in the Soviet Union, hasn't a handful of the bourgeois privileged stratum and spiritual aristocracy headed by Brezhnev formed and developed into an exploiting class in the course of restoring capitalism? By exploiting the position and authority they have usurped, through such means as raising wages, bonuses and payments for manuscripts, and by way of all sorts of privileges, corruption, theft and profiteering, they expropriate the fruits of labor of the workers and peasants in a big way. On the other hand, the masses of workers and peasants are entirely placed in the position of the enslaved and the exploited and are increasingly stricken with poverty. The historical lesson of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union fully shows how important it is for a socialist state, while consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and public ownership of the means of production, to strive to restrict bourgeois rights in the field of distribution in order to prevent the Party and state from changing color. That was why Marx, in summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, especially praised the measures taken by the heroes of the Commune: "All public functionaries from the top down, beginning with members of the Commune Committee, should draw a salary equivalent to the wages of the worker. All privileges enjoyed by senior state officials and their office expenses should disappear with the disappearance of these officials." (*The Civil War in France*) The reason why renegades from Marxism like Deng Xiaoping resent and fear the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights is that bourgeois rights are the very lifeblood of the bourgeoisie inside the Par-

Continued on page 21



ai, where revolutionaries seized power from the revisionists and of the Cultural Revolution.

Ethiopia: Imperialist Carvings in the Horn

This is the first of a series of articles analyzing U.S./Soviet contention in the Horn of Africa and the anti-imperialist democratic revolutionary movements which have developed in the region.

The intensifying global contention between the U.S. and Soviet superpowers provides the essential backdrop for a vast revolutionary upsurge which is now taking place in the Horn of Africa.

The Horn, named for the shape of the African coastline which juts out into the Arabian Sea, is composed of the countries of Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti. This area first assumed a great importance for imperialism after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 when the contending French and British scrambled to establish coaling stations and naval bases. The French seized the harbor of Djibouti, while the British established themselves at Aden directly across the narrow waterway from the Horn. Today the Horn commands the strategic sea lanes carrying oil from the Persian Gulf to Europe and is once again the object of inter-imperialist struggle—this time between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

No place has this contention been sharper than in Ethiopia, the largest and most populous country of the Horn. For years Ethiopia served as an outpost of U.S. imperialism in the area under the feudal tyranny of the late emperor Haile Selassie. Now in a sharp turn of events Ethiopia is ruled by the fascist military junta aligned for the moment with the Soviet Union.

This junta, called the Dergue in Ethiopia, is headed by Lt. Col. Mengistu, a junior officer from the army of Haile Selassie, who was raised in the home of a feudal aristocrat and trained in the United States. Mengistu was proclaimed a genuine "Marxist-Leninist" by Fidel Castro and Leonid Brezhnev in 1977 when he signed an alliance with the Soviet Union. He remains in power today only through the combined efforts of 20,000 Cuban troops, \$2 billion in Soviet military hardware, and hundreds of millions in economic aid from the United States and Western Europe.

Mengistu's counterpart in Somalia is Gen. Siad Barre, who is kept alive only by the combined efforts of the U.S. and West Germany. Barre began his distinguished military career in the Italian army occupying his own country. After seizing power in 1969, Barre was, like Mengistu, proclaimed an instant Marxist-Leninist and armed to the teeth by the Soviet Union, only to be dropped by them like a hot potato when the chance to seize commanding power in strategically more important Ethiopia came along. Barre than had no trouble in dropping his "scientific socialist" disguise and signing a military pact with the U.S., turning the Soviet-built naval base at Berbera over to the U.S.

Djibouti was granted nominal independence in 1977, but is still home

for a large garrison of French troops. It serves not only as a key naval installation for the French, but as a principal port for the Soviet-backed Ethiopian government through which it exports its main crop—coffee. The bulk of this coffee is in turn purchased by the United States.

And finally the nation of Eritrea, the former Italian colony which was annexed to Ethiopia at U.S. insistence in 1952, is today officially recognized by both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists as part of Ethiopia in their frantic scramble to curry favor with the ruling Ethiopian junta.

All of this might give the impression that the imperialists completely dominate the Horn of Africa. Yet nothing could be farther from the truth. Far from beating the revolutionary masses into submission, the naked power struggle for control of the main prize, Ethiopia, by both superpowers and their willingness to commit any crime, abandon any alliance, and sabotage every genuine revolutionary struggle has only further fueled the struggle of the oppressed peoples against the imperialists and provided material for even starker exposures of imperialism.

Today, flying in the teeth of both superpowers, there exist vast liberated areas in the Horn with a combined population well in excess of 10 million people. These zones include 85% of Eritrea liberated by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The struggle of the Eritrean people is the oldest continuing armed, anti-colonial struggle in Africa, having begun 20 years ago. In Tigray, an oppressed nation in northern Ethiopia, the Tigrean People's Liberation Front is leading the fight for self-determination and new democratic revolution. The TPLF controls all of Tigray except a narrow strip running along the main north-south highway. In the south of "greater Ethiopia," the 15,000,000 Oromo people who make up over half the population of the country have transformed more than a quarter of their territory into secure base areas. Led by the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Oromos count another quarter of their land as active guerrilla zones.

Cuban troops now occupy the Ogaden in southeastern Ethiopia, a Somali nationality area claimed by Somalia where there has also been fighting against the Ethiopian government.

Standard practice for the U.S. imperialists wherever the masses are in immediate conflict with Soviet imperialism is to grind the U.S. propaganda mills day and night churning out horror stories about their Soviet rivals and glorifying some suitably reactionary section of "rebels." Yet the struggles of the masses in Ethiopia and Eritrea are not even given a pretense of support from U.S. imperialism. In fact, the U.S. frequently apologizes for the Dergue and does everything in its power

both to suppress news about the very existence of the liberation front and to deny international humanitarian aid to refugees and drought victims in areas controlled by the fronts. So intent is U.S. policy on winning the great "Marxist-Leninist" Mengistu back to its own camp, that when Col. Qaddafi of Libya visited Ethiopia last month and concluded a new Triple alliance between Libya, Ethiopia and South Yemen (another Soviet-backed state), the U.S. State Department said not a single word about it and is continuing its direct economic assistance to the Mengistu government.

For their part, the Soviets and their Cuban frontmen have engaged in the most despicable sabotage of the legitimate struggles for national self-determination by the oppressed nations of Ethiopia and the nation of Eritrea. The EPLF is recognized by revolutionaries throughout the world as the legitimate representative of the Eritrean people and the forced federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952 was righteously denounced by the then-socialist Soviet Union. Today, however, propelled by its imperialist interests, the Soviet Union denounces the struggles of the Eritrean masses and the oppressed nationalities of Ethiopia as "narrow nationalist," "splitist" and "tools of imperialism," and bombards their base areas with MIG fighters and MI-24 helicopter gunships.

The development of inter-imperialist rivalry and the revolutionary struggles of the masses in the Horn of Africa provide some profound and valuable lessons for the revolutionary-minded peoples of the whole world.

To fully understand the interplay of imperialist rivalries and national and colonial oppression which have produced the current situation in the Horn of Africa, it is necessary to look at the history of the region and at the history of Ethiopia in particular.

When the modern Ethiopian state took its final shape in the 1890s it was fully the product of modern imperialism whose partitions and rivalries established Ethiopia's borders as much as those of every other state in Africa. As a result, modern Ethiopia is a patchwork quilt of oppressed nationalities, who were forcibly subjugated to the feudal aristocracy of the Abyssinian highlands within the last 100 years as a part of imperialism's "scramble for Africa."

There were ancient empires which encompassed all or part of modern Ethiopia. Most notable of these was the empire of Axum with its capital in what is now modern Tigray which encompassed not only the Horn of Africa, but upper Egypt and a good part of the Arabian peninsula. But for Ethiopia to

make territorial claims today based on ancient empires is as absurd as Italy claiming Britain and Romania (or Eritrea) because they were once ruled by Rome. And the intervening history of the Abyssinian principalities has been fully as complex as that of European feudalism before capitalism forged the modern nations of Germany, France, Italy and so on.

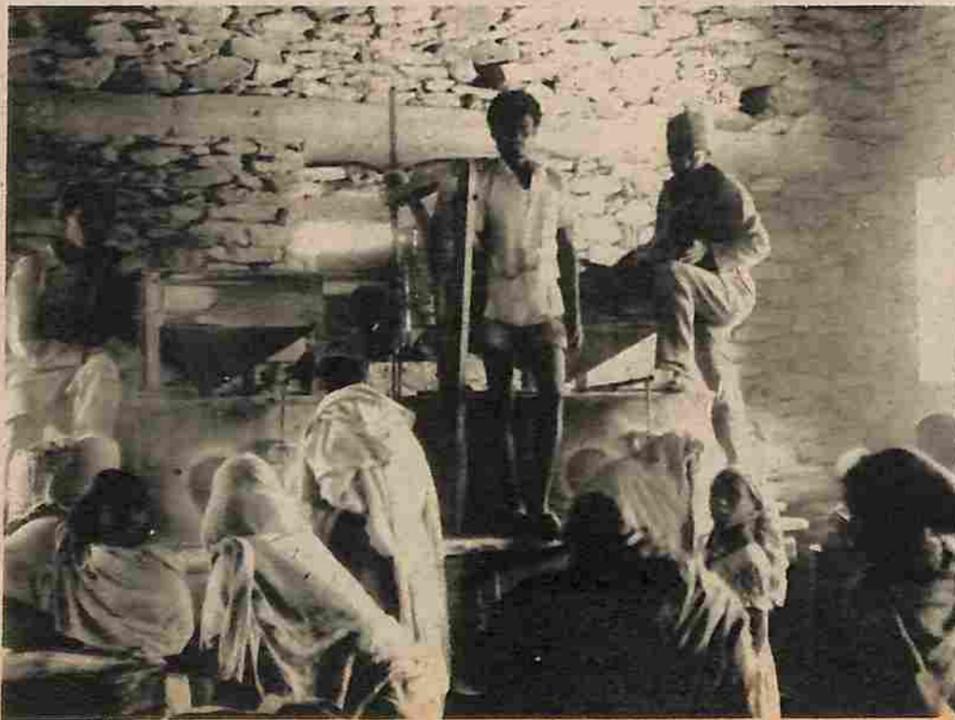
In the 1880s, when the development of modern capitalism into its imperialist stage began the first total division of the globe between the major capitalist powers, the principalities of Abyssinia consisted only of the northern Abyssinian highlands west of the Great Rift Valley and they encompassed only about 20% of the modern Ethiopian state (excluding Eritrea). The coast consisted of Moslem states ruled by the Ottoman Turks and Egypt in the north, the Somali tribes in the center and the Sultanate of Zanzibar in the south. The French and the Italians each held one port. In the interior the bulk of modern Ethiopia was the land of the Oromo (referred to by the derogatory name Galla in Western literature) together with a number of smaller nationalities.

There was one thing unique about Abyssinia, however, and that was that the highlands received a plentiful rainfall because of their altitude, while the surrounding lowlands of the Eritrean coast, Somaliland, and much of Oromo was much more arid and suited mainly to the nomadic grazing of animals. It was the ability of the fertile highlands to produce an economic surplus that provided the material basis for the early development of feudalism and a rigid class society in Abyssinia. The bulk of these Abyssinian highlanders speak two related Semitic languages, Tigrinya in the north in Tigray and the Eritrean highlands and Amharic in the central highlands. Among these people Christianity had been introduced in the 4th century from Egypt and the existence of a large clergy and the great monasteries added greatly to the feudal oppression of the peasants.

The formation of modern Ethiopia coincides with the reign of Menelik II, king of Shoa from 1864, who succeeded the king of Tigray as emperor of all Abyssinia in 1889. With the reign of Menelik, power passed decisively into the hands of the Amhara feudal lords and the bloody conquest of the Oromo and other nationalities was accomplished with the use of European advisors and great quantities of modern firearms provided by the French, Italians, British and Portuguese.

Menelik and the Imperialist Carvers

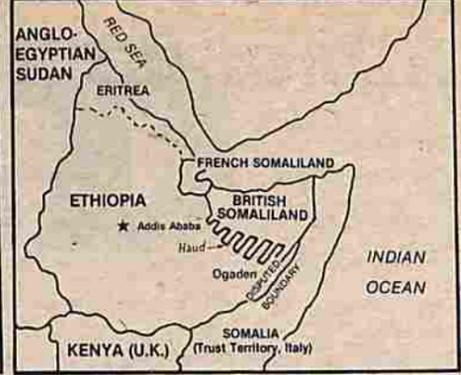
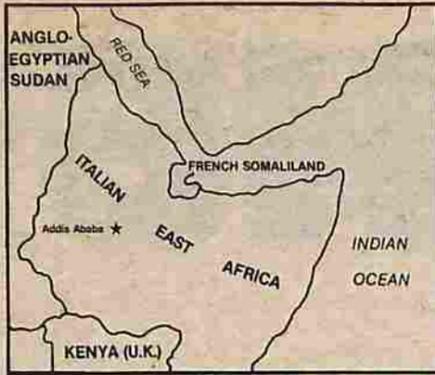
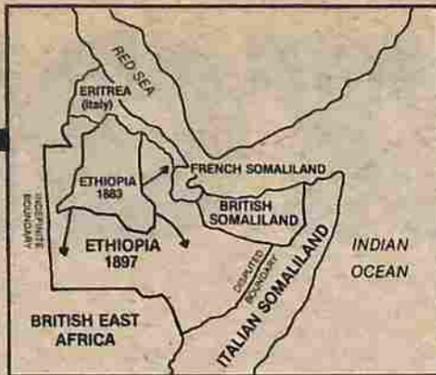
While the great imperialist powers met at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 to try to "peacefully" carve up central Africa among themselves, French and British rivalry continued unabated in



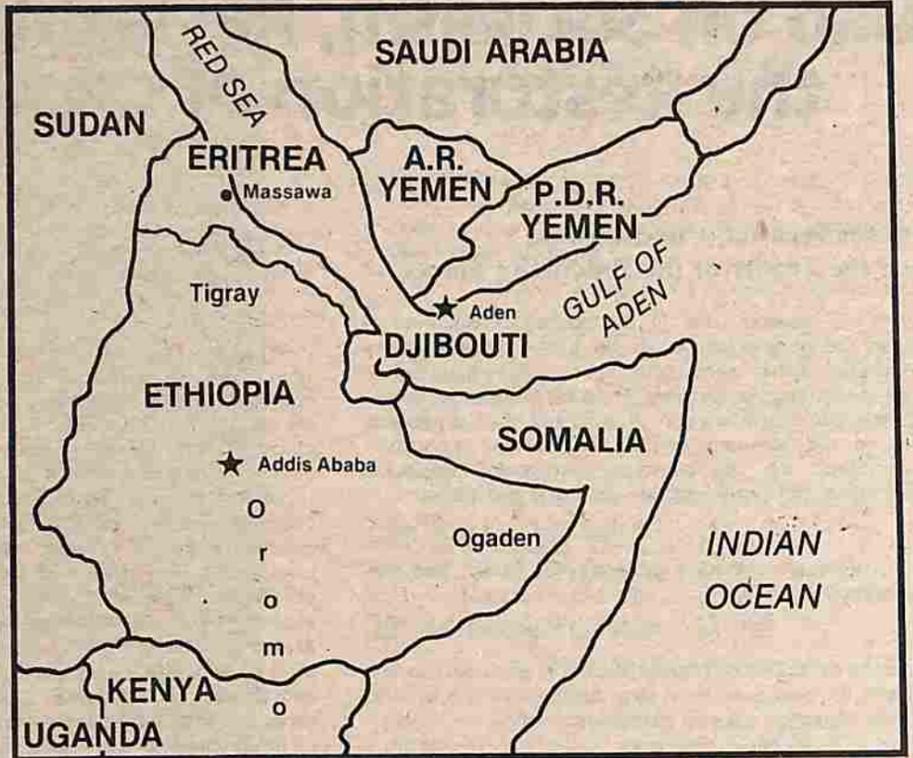
Eritrean rebels riding a captured Soviet-made tank.

Tigray—a grain mill nationalized by the TPLF, taken from feudalists.

of Africa



Clockwise from upper left. (1) Imperialists carve up the Horn, 1897. (2) Italian expansion, 1940. (3) Post-war redistribution of the Horn, 1952. (4) Horn of Africa today.



perialist division of Africa. Even feudal, Christian Tigray was laid waste by Menelik after a revolt against his rule. All firearms in Tigray were confiscated and "Amharization" was forced upon the Tigreans as well. This course of development of modern Ethiopia is the basis for the central role of the national question and the issue of self-determination in the Ethiopian revolution—an issue thoroughly evaded by the chauvinist Dergue and its Soviet backers.

The 20th century history of Ethiopia has equally been dominated by imperialist rivalry and Amhara domination. Menelik died in 1913 on the eve of the first imperialist world war. This war of redivision saw the victorious French, British and Italians divide up colonial possessions of Germany and the Ottoman empire. French-British rivalry was no longer the immediate issue and the noble task of "protecting" the independence of Christian Abyssinia was quickly forgotten. As a part of secret imperialist agreements (the Treaty of London, 1915) Italy was promised Ethiopia as part of her reward for joining the British and French. Only a quick decision by the Amhara lords to oust Menelik's son in favor of his daughter with Prince Tafari as regent saved Ethiopia from this fate. Tafari, who took the name of Haile Selassie when he became emperor in 1930, was a master at accommodating himself to British imperialist interests.

The Reign of Haile Selassie

The new spiral of capital accumulation initiated by the first inter-imperialist war was short-lived, however, and by the mid-1930s the imperialists were again sharpening their knives for another war of redivision. This time Italy was aligned against England, the dominant influence in Ethiopia. In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia using modern aircraft and poison gas against poorly armed Ethiopian troops. Italy's pretext was

Ethiopia's occupation of western Somaliland (the area today called the Ogaden) which Italy claimed as part of its colony of Italian Somaliland.

With the occupation of Addis Adaba, Haile Selassie was forced to flee to England. But the fierce resistance of the masses to Italian occupation continued and parts of Ethiopia were never occupied by the Italians. With the outbreak of World War 2, the British participated in driving the Italians out of Ethiopia. The victorious British then declared Ethiopia to be a captured Italian colony! It was only after the British succeeded in extracting even more concessions from Haile Selassie that the nominal independence of the country was restored. From 1941 to 1950 England remained the dominant imperialist power and took over the training of the Ethiopian army.

Despite the brutal massacres conducted by the Italians, Haile Selassie was hardly welcomed back with open arms by the oppressed masses of the Ethiopian empire. In 1943 the people of Tigray rose in open revolt, capturing the capital city of Makelle. This revolt was put down only when British planes from Aden bombed the rebel forces in

Tigray.

Following the second inter-imperialist war, the United States quickly began to replace Britain as the dominant imperialist power in the Horn. Ethiopia was made a charter member of the United Nations and a loyal U.S. vote. TWA set up the Ethiopian airlines. In 1953 the U.S. and Ethiopia signed a mutual defense pact. U.S. military advisors replaced the British in training the Ethiopian army. And in 1960 U.S. advisors piloted planes which bombed rebel forces during a coup attempt against Haile Selassie. Yet nowhere was the imperialist domination of the United States more blatant than in the 1952 forced federation of Eritrea into Ethiopia.

During the war the British had dropped leaflets on Eritrea promising independence if the Eritreans would help expel the Italians. Yet as soon as British occupation was effected the promise was forgotten, and after the war the British proposed the partition of Eritrea between the Western colonial powers. Nevertheless, the wartime agreement with the Soviet Union eventually forced the issue into the United Nations where

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The "Raid"

Continued from page 4

presence in Angola, particularly with regard to a "Namibian settlement." After stating agreement with the position that the Soviets and Cubans are the main threat to southern Africa, the document goes on to state, "In his response, Crocker agreed on relation of Angola to Namibia. USG (U.S. government—RW) believes it would be possible to improve U.S./South African relations if Namibia were no longer an issue. We seek a settlement, but one in our interest, based on democratic principles. Our view is that South Africa is under no early military pressure to leave Namibia. The decision belongs to SAG (South African government—RW) and ways must be found to address its concerns. USG assumes Soviet/Cuban presence is one of those concerns, and we are exploring ways to remove it in context of Namibian settlement." In other words, the U.S. backs South African moves against the Soviets and Cubans in Angola, with the hopes of forcing the Soviets out of the region altogether. This was graphically demonstrated in the lone U.S. veto of the UN Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's incursion on the basis of it be-

ing too one-sidedly aimed at South Africa, that is, that it didn't zero in on Soviet and Cuban activities.

For its part, Angola was also engaged in a battle with a much broader context than defending itself against South African violations of its sovereignty. While the South African incursion undoubtedly shook up the Angolan rulers and the Soviets, the military response was very limited. In part, this may have been due to the fact that by itself, the Angolan army is no military match for the SADF. However, it seems more likely that the Angolan response was limited by the unwillingness of the Soviets and Cubans to militarily take on the U.S. in an area where the U.S. is in a stronger position. Although the Cubans had been placed on alert, they stated that they would enter the battle only if their positions were attacked. As the second-ranking Cuban diplomat in Angola stated, "We are in a difficult position."

The Soviets did, however, seize on South Africa's aggression, and on the fact that millions of people throughout the world have a righteous hatred for South Africa, to gain some political mileage internationally. They went all out to expose and isolate the South Africans and the U.S., attempt to drive wedges into the U.S. alliance, and build

off their own image as the "natural ally of oppressed people everywhere."

This was simple since the combined U.S./South African act has been so raggedy. African states solidly in the U.S. Orbit sharply denounced the raid; Nigeria offered to send troops against South Africa, self-serving as this may have been. Britain, West Germany and France publicly condemned the raid, and the U.S. was left in the awkward position of casting the sole veto on a UN Security Council resolution blasting South Africa. Of course, these are not differences of principle among the Western imperialists, but are instead differences over not *whether* but *how* to deal with the Soviets (and regimes like that in Angola), as well as contradictions resulting from the pursuance of individual imperialist interests. In this connection, it is revealing to note that for all of its bad mouthing of South Africa, France, for example, not only maintains large financial deals with the reactionary regime, but has also played an instrumental role in the development of South Africa's nuclear capacity. There is also a coincidence of interests in this rift between the U.S. and friends in that through the various relationships between Western European imperialists and the MPLA a hand had been extended by the West to a rather

shaky Soviet ally.

A week or so after South Africa's latest incursion began, Pretoria announced the big find: Russian soldiers, Russian arms, even Russian women! This seemingly came as a surprise to ABC's Frank Reynolds, whose foreboding delivery of the news story was overshadowed only by the stark imagery set behind him of a hammer and sickle superimposed on a map of Africa. But it came as no surprise to the U.S. State Dept., which has been well aware of Soviet advisors (and general influence) in Angola for several years and has, as noted, based U.S. policy in the area on exactly this fact! No, the news was for public digestion (or indigestion), but here the act was raggedy as well. Attempts to score anti-Soviet propaganda points were undermined when it was reported that the South African incursion had revealed Soviet and East German built missile and radar installations. This was aimed at proving the aggressive nature of the Angolan government and the essentially defensive nature of the South African raid. For use against South African adventures into Angola just like the one last week! Well, the best defense is a good offense, eh, Mr. Botha? Mr. Reagan? □

THE TORTU

Mao on Socialism, Revisionism, and the Restoration of Capitalism

On Materialism, Consciousness and the Theory of the Productive Forces

While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.

1939. "On Contradiction" (Vol. 1)

...matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter...

1963. "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (SR)

Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.

1963. "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (SR)

All revolutionary history shows that the full development of new productive forces is not the prerequisite for the transformation of backward production relations. Our revolution began with Marxist-Leninist propaganda, which served to create new public opinion in favor of the revolution. Moreover, it is possible to destroy the old production relations only after we had overthrown a backward superstructure in the course of revolution.

1961. "Reading Notes on the Soviet Text *Political Economy*" (Critique)

This time when our delegation went to the Soviet Union, we came straight to the point on a number of questions. I told Zhou Enlai over the phone that these people are blinded by their material gains and the best way to deal with them is to give them a good dressing down. What are their material gains? Nothing but 50 million tons of steel, 400 million tons of coal, and 80 million tons of petroleum. Does this amount to much? Not at all. Now at the sight of this much their heads are swelled. What Communists! What Marxists! I say multiply all that tenfold, or even a hundredfold, it still doesn't amount to much. All you have done is to extract something from the earth, turn it into steel and make some cars, planes, and what not. What is so remarkable about that? And yet you make all this such a heavy burden on your backs that you even cast away revolutionary principles. Isn't this being blinded by material gains? If one attains high office, one can be blinded by material gain, too. To be the first secretary is some kind of material gain, which is also liable to swell one's head. When a man's head gets too swelled, we have to give him a good bawling out one way or another.

1957. "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

...from the standpoint of world history, the bourgeois revolutions and the establishment of the bourgeois nations came before, not after, the Industrial Revolution. The bourgeoisie first changed the superstructure and took possession of the machinery of state before carrying on propaganda to gather real strength. Only then did they push forward great changes in the production relations. When the production relations had been taken care of and they were on the right track they then opened the way for the development of the productive forces. To be sure, the revolution in the productive relations is brought on by a certain degree of development of the productive forces, but the major development of the productive forces always comes after changes in the production relations.

1961. "Reading Notes on the Soviet Text *Political Economy*" (Critique)

It is incorrect to speak of a contradiction between a progressive social system and backward forces of production. After 10,000 years production relationships will definitely be transformed. In the future it will not be a matter of nationalization but of globalization.

1957. "Talk at the Hangchow Conference of the Shanghai Bureau" (Miscellany)

The contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations unfold without interruption. Relations that once were adapted to the productive forces will no longer be so after a period of time.

1961. "Reading Notes on the Soviet Text *Political Economy*" (Critique)

A cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service."

1940. "On New Democracy," (Vol. 2)

Will there still be revolutions in the future when all the imperialists in the world are overthrown and classes eliminated? What do you say? In my view, there will still be the need for revolution. The social system will still need to be changed and the term "revolution" will still be in use. Of course, revolutions then will not be of the same nature as those in the era of class struggle. But there will still be contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base. When the relations of production become unsuitable, they will have to be overthrown. If the superstructure (ideology and public opinion included) protects the kind of relations of production the people dislike, they will transform it. The superstructure itself constitutes social relations of another kind. It rests on the economic base. By the economic base we mean the relations of production, chiefly ownership. The productive forces are the most revolutionary factor. When the productive forces have developed, there is bound to be a revolution. The productive forces consist of two factors: one is man and the other tools. Tools are made by men. When tools call for a revolution, they will speak through men, through the labourers, who will destroy the old relations of production and the old social relations. "A gentleman uses his tongue, not his fists," and the best way is to reason things out. But if reasoning goes unheeded, arms will have to speak. What if there aren't any arms? The labourers have tools in their hands and those without can use rocks, and if there aren't any rocks even, there are always one's two fists.

Speech at Second Session of Eighth Central Committee, November 15, 1956 (SW Vol. V)

The method of pulling the sprout to accelerate its growth is unfeasible. This law of class struggle cannot be changed by anyone's subjective will.

1959. (Miscellany)

Freedom is the recognition of necessity, but necessity is not perceived in a glance. The world has no natural sages, nor upon attaining a socialist society does everyone become prescient."

1961. "Reading Notes on the Soviet Text *Political Economy*" (Critique)

(The writers of the Soviet *Political Economy* Text) confuse two categories: One is scientific law which reflects the objective process in Nature or society independent of human will. Another is government laws and decrees which are created by human will and have only legal effect. But these two categories should not be confused.

1959? "Critique of Stalin's 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union'" (Miscellany)

The way things develop, one stage leads on to another, advancing without interruption. But each and every stage has a 'boundary'. Every day we read from, say, four o'clock and end at seven or eight. That is the boundary. As far as socialist ideological remolding goes, it is a long-term task. But each ideological campaign reaches its conclusion, (that is to say, has a boundary. ... The construction of socialism also has its boundary. We have to keep tabs. ... But to say that socialist construction has a boundary hardly means that we do not want to take the next step, to make the transition to communism.

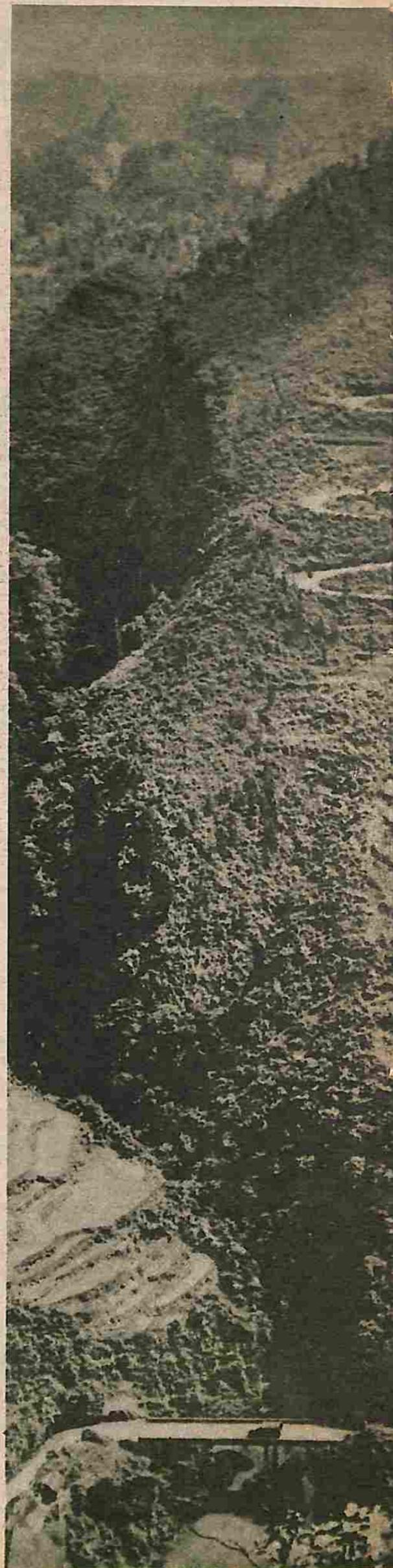
1961. "Reading Notes on the Soviet Text *Political Economy*" (Critique)

...Engels says in the same book (*Anti-Duhring—RW*): The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to, and dominating, him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him."

1959? Critique of Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" (Critique)

The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is a net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.

1971. "Talks on the Lin Biao Affair" (Schram)



IOUS ROAD



Mountain highway in Kweichow province.

A Critical Appraisal of the Soviet Union When it was a Socialist Country

The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism... They (the Chinese—RW) found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change.

1949. "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (Vol. 4)

... internal contradictions in the people should be solved by persuasion, not by coercion. By so doing, the cover is lifted, and the people feel comfortable, mentally liberated and will have the courage to write big-character posters. It is Leninism, not opportunism. Lenin died too young. His writings, especially his books written in the revolutionary period, should be carefully studied. His reasoning is vivid and lively and he bares his heart to the people in his sincerity, without any hedging. The same holds true even in his struggle against the enemy. Comrade Stalin had a slight overlord flavor. Educated in a missionary school, he was not so good in dialectics, nor materialism.

1958. "Speech at Hankow Conference" (Miscellany)

(In the '20s)... Stalin had nothing else to rely on except the masses, so he demanded all-out mobilization of the party and the masses. Afterward, when they had realized some gains this way, they became less reliant on the masses.

1961. "Reading Notes..." (Critique)

If we had followed Wang Ming's, or in other words Stalin's, methods the Chinese revolution couldn't have succeeded.

1958. "Talks at the Chengtu Conference" (Schram)

When Stalin was criticized in 1956, we were on the one hand happy, but on the other hand apprehensive. It was completely necessary to remove the lid, to break down blind faith, to release the pressure, and to emancipate thought. But we did not agree with demolishing him at one blow. They do not hang up his picture, but we do... After the criticism of Stalin, the victims of blind faith had their eyes opened a bit. In order that our comrades recognize that the old ancestor also had his faults, we should apply analysis to him, and not have blind faith in him. We should accept everything good in Soviet experience, and reject what is bad. Now we are a bit more skillful in this, and understand the Soviet Union a bit better, and understand ourselves.

Having cleared away blind faith, we no longer have any spiritual burdens. Buddhas are made several times life-size in order to frighten people. When heroes and warriors appear on the stage they are made to look quite unlike ordinary people. Stalin was that kind of a person. The Chinese people had got so used to being slaves that they seemed to want to go on. When Chinese artists painted pictures of me together with Stalin, they always made me a little bit shorter, thus blindly knuckling under to the moral pressure exerted by the Soviet Union at that time. Marxism-Leninism looks at everyone on equal terms and all people should be treated as equals. Khrushchev's complete demolition of Stalin at one blow was also a kind of pressure, and the majority of people within the Chinese Party did not agree with it. Others wished to submit to this pressure and do away with the cult of the individual. There are two kinds of cult of the individual. One is correct, such as that of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and the correct side of Stalin. These we ought to revere and continue to revere forever. It would not do not to revere them. As they held truth in their hands, why should we not revere them? We believe in truth; truth is the reflection of objective existence. A squad should revere its squad leader; it would be quite wrong not to. Then there is the incorrect kind of cult of the individual in which there is no analysis, simply blind obedience. This is not right.

1958. "Talks at the Chengtu Conference" (Schram)

What we do are more compatible with dialectics and with Lenin, but not very compatible with Stalin. Stalin said that the socialist society's production relations completely conformed to the development of the production force; he negated contradictions. Before his death, he wrote an article to negate himself. He stated that complete conformity did not indicate the absence of contradictions and that improper handling could develop into antagonistic contradictions. One couldn't say that he lacked dialectics. He had some. While there were superstition and one-sidedness, his method did succeed in building socialism, defeating the enemy, producing 50 million tons of steel, possibly 55 million tons this year, and in putting three satellites in orbit. His was one kind of method. Can we find another method? The purpose is to promote socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Take the class struggle as an example. We have adopted Lenin's method, not Stalin's. When discussing the socialist economy, Stalin said the post-revolutionary reform was a peaceful reform

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TORTUOUS ROAD

Continued from page 13

proceeding from the top to the bottom levels. He did not undertake the class struggle from the bottom to the top, but introduced peaceful land reform in Eastern Europe and North Korea, without struggling against the landowners or the rightists, only proceeding from the top to the bottom and struggling against the capitalists. We proceed from the top to the bottom, but we also add the class struggle from the bottom to the top, settling the roots and linking together. We struggled against the bourgeoisie in the "five-anti movement." Now we are promoting construction and the mass movement. We require some things from the top to the bottom, such as government directives and orders, regulations and systems, but the masses must undertake a large number of things. We are opposed to favoritism and peaceful land reform. We call the method of Eastern Europe and North Korea favoritism. Peaceful land reform, without class struggle and without struggling against the landowners and capitalists, is of the wrong line and will produce harmful results.

1958. "Speeches at the 2nd Session of the 8th Party Congress" (Miscellany)

This book by Stalin has not a word on the superstructure from the beginning to the end. It never touches upon man. We read of things but not man. Whether the supply system contributes to economic development should be discussed. Should there be commodity production or not? The viewpoint of Stalin's last letter is completely wrong. His basic error is his distrust of the people.

1959? "Critique of Stalin's 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union'" (Miscellany)

We do not propose the slogans "cadres decide everything" or "technology decides everything" or the slogan "communism is the Soviets plus electrification." But does it mean we do not want electrification? We want electrification just the same, and even more urgently. The first two slogans were Stalin's way and rather one-sided. If "technology decides everything," then what about politics? If "cadres decide everything" then what about the masses? Dialectics is missing here. Stalin sometimes understood dialectics and sometimes not. I mentioned this at the Moscow Conference.

1958. "Speeches at the Second Session of the Eighth Party Congress" (Miscellany)

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." The first half of the slogan means that the very greatest effort must be expended in production. Why separate the two halves of the slogan and always speak one-sidedly of material incentive? This kind of propaganda for material interest will make capitalism unbeatable!

1961. "Reading Notes..." (Critique)

At the very time we talk of unity, there still remains disunity—this is why we have work to do. To talk all the time about monolithic unity, and not to talk about struggle, is not Marxist-Leninist. Unity passes through struggle, only thus can unity be achieved. It is the same within the Party, as regards classes, and among the people. Unity is transformed into struggle, and then there is unity again. We cannot talk of monolithic unity alone, and not talk about struggle, about contradictions. The Soviet Union does not talk about contradictions between the leaders and the led. If there were no contradictions and no struggle, there would be no world, no progress, no life, there would be nothing at all. To talk all the time about unity is "a pool of stagnant water"; it can lead to coldness. We must destroy the old basis for unity, pass through a struggle and unite on a new basis. Which is better—a stagnant pool, or "the inexhaustible Yangtse comes roaring past"?

1958. "Talks at the Chengtu Conference" (Schram)

Capitalist Roaders

After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials.

Quoted in "Capitalist Roaders are Representatives of the Capitalist Relations of Production" (Immortal Contributions)

With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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.

1975 or 1976. Cited in *People's Daily* Editorial, March 10, 1976 (MM5)

At present, the task of the revolution has not yet been completed; it has not yet been finally determined who, in the end, will overthrow whom. In the Soviet Union, is not Khrushchev in power, is not the bourgeoisie in power? We, too, have cases in which political power is in the grip of the bourgeoisie; there are production brigades, factories, and *hsien* committees, as well as district and provincial

committees, in which they have their people; there are deputy heads of public security departments who are their men.

1964. "Talks with Mao Yuan-hsin." (Schram)

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.

1975. quoted in "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie." (Immortal Contributions)

Leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers.

1964. Quoted in "What is the Essence of the '20 Articles'" (Immortal Contributions)

The lowly are most intelligent; the elite are most ignorant.

Quoted in "Selected Articles Criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius Vol. 2"

Whenever a problem is discussed, we must also discuss ideology. Some comrades always talk about mathematics. It is not good to leave ideology out. We must not follow the example of the Soviet academicians who give no attention to the internal contradictions among the people. . . . Politics and numbers are the relations between the officers and soldiers, and politics is the commander.

1958. "Speech at the Hankow Conference" (Miscellany)

Now there are people who seem to think that as state power has been won, they can sleep soundly without any worry and play the tyrant at will. The masses will oppose such persons, throw stones at them and strike at them with their hoes, which will, I think, serve them right and will please me immensely. Moreover, sometimes to fight is the only way to solve a problem. The Communist Party needs to learn a lesson. Whenever students and workers take to the streets, you comrades should regard it as a good thing.

1956. "Speech to the Second Plenary of the Eighth Central Committee," (Vol. V)

Those of you . . . who do not allow people to speak, who think you are tigers, and that nobody will dare to touch your arse, whoever has this attitude, ten out of ten of you will fail. People will talk anyway. You think that nobody will really dare to touch the arse of tigers like you? They damn well will!

1962. "On Democratic Centralism" (Schram)

Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out.

1966. Cited in 10th Party Congress Documents (MM5)

The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.

Cited in the 10th Party Congress Documents

This person does not grasp class struggle, he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat," making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.

1975 or 1976. Cited in "Criticisms of Deng Xiaoping's '20 Points,'" "Study and Criticism," April 14, 1976 (MM5)

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a relatively sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

1962. 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee, cited in the 9th Party Congress Documents

If we are to overthrow the small handful of the biggest power holders taking the capitalist road we must do so not only organizationally but also politically, ideologically, and in the realm of theory. This is a vital issue for the country and the world. If revisionism is not overthrown it will stage a restoration. This is a great historical task. Looking forward, it is very far indeed from being completed.

1967. "Mao Tsetung Analyses The Cultural Revolution." (Daubier)

On Soviet Social-Imperialism

Today our fighting tasks are thoroughly to expose the betrayal of Leninism by the Soviet revisionist renegades, to lay bare the class nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, point out the historical law that social-imperialism, like capitalist imperialism, will meet its inevitable doom, and further promote the great struggle of the

people of the world against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction.

1970. From "Leninism or Social-Imperialism" written under the leadership of Mao Tsetung.

How was it possible for the restoration of capitalism to take place in the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, and how was it possible for the Soviet Union to become social-imperialist? . . . this was mainly a product of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, the result of the usurpation of Party and government leadership by a handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road there, in other words, the result of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat by the Soviet bourgeoisie.

1970. From "Leninism or Social-Imperialism" written under the direction of Mao Tsetung

This new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is a bourgeoisie that has turned the hope of restoration into attempts at restoration.

1970. From "Leninism or Social-Imperialism" written under the leadership of Mao Tsetung

The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type.

1964. "A Talk on May 11, 1964" Quoted in "Leninism or Social-Imperialism"

Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped Party and government power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum has greatly expanded its political and economic power and has occupied the ruling position in the Party, the government, and the army as well as in the economic and cultural fields. And from this stratum there has emerged a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class, namely, a new type of big bourgeoisie which dominates the whole state machine and controls all the social wealth.

Utilizing the state power under its control, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class has turned socialist ownership into ownership by capitalist-roaders and turned the socialist economy into a capitalist economy and a state monopoly capitalist economy. In the name of the "state", it unscrupulously plunders the state treasury and embezzles at will the fruits of the labor of the Soviet people in every possible way. Indulging in luxury and debauchery, it rides roughshod over the people.

1970. From "Leninism or Social-Imperialism" written under the leadership of Mao Tsetung

In the Soviet Union today, special agents and spies run amuck and reactionary laws and decrees multiply. Revolution is a crime, and people are everywhere being jailed on false charges; counter-revolution is a merit and renegades congratulate each other on their promotion.

1970. "From Leninism or Social-Imperialism" written under the leadership of Mao Tsetung

Like the U.S. imperialists, the handful of oligarchs of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism have become another arch-criminal preparing to start a world war.

. . . The Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has long gone bankrupt ideologically, theoretically and politically cannot produce anything presentable at all; it can only pick up some trash from imperialism and, after refurbishing, come out with "Brezhnevism". This "Brezhnevism" is imperialism with a "socialist" label, it is outright hegemonism, naked neo-colonialism.

1970. From "Leninism or Social-Imperialism" written under the leadership of Mao Tsetung

. . . the governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue.

Quoted in "Refuting the Falacies of Soviet Revisionist Social Imperialism"

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its approval of "struggle against imperialism", mouthing a few phrases scolding the United States now and then, but in fact, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are both the biggest imperialisms vainly attempting to dominate the world. There is absolutely nothing in common between the Soviet revisionists' so-called opposition to the United States and the struggles of the people of the various countries against U.S. imperialism.

1970. From "Leninism or Social-Imperialism" written under the leadership of Mao Tsetung.

For a while some people may not see things clearly, may be hoodwinked or may make mistakes, but so long as they want to make revolution, having once understood the true situation and seen revisionism in its true colours, they will eventually break with revisionism and come over to the side of Marxism-Leninism in the course of their revolutionary practice.

. . . The people of all countries, the masses comprising more than 90% of the entire population, sooner or later want revolution and sooner or later support Marxism-Leninism. They will not support revisionism. Though some people may support revisionism for a while, they will eventually cast it aside. They are bound to awaken gradually; they are bound to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries in all countries; they are bound to oppose revisionism.

Quoted in the pamphlet "Total Bankruptcy of Soviet Modern Revisionism"

People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!

Quoted in "Leninism or Social-Imperialism"

Continuing the Revolution

The initiative and creativity of the laboring people have always been abundant. In the past, they were held in restraint under the old system. Now they have been liberated and have begun to produce results. Our method is to lift the lid, break down superstition, and let the initiative and creativity of the laboring people explode.

1958. 1st speech at the 2nd session of the 8th Party Congress. (Miscellany)

Tell them our power is given by the workers, peasants and soldiers, is given by the broad masses of people who occupy more than ninety per cent of the populace. The Communist Party will, for the existence of this political power, exercise dictatorship over those who oppose (our) seizing power, never wavering. What is desire for power? The proletariat has the proletarian desire for power and will never share a bit of its acquired power with the bourgeoisie. What is the bourgeoisie's desire for power? It is that they will never give a bit to the proletariat. We have learned it from them, but we learned it better.

1976. Cited in "Talks concerning Criticizing Deng Xiaoping and Repulsing Right Deviationist Wind" by Chang Chun-chiao (MM 5)

On page 414 we find a discussion of the rights labor enjoys (in the Soviet Union—RW) but no discussion of labor's right to run the state, the various enterprises, education, and culture. Actually, this is labor's greatest right under socialism, the most fundamental right, without which there is no right to work, to an education, to vacation, etc.

The paramount issue for socialist democracy is: does labor have the right to subdue the various antagonistic forces and their influences? For example, who controls things like the newspapers, journals, broadcast stations, the cinema? Who criticizes? These are a part of the question of rights. If these things are in the hands of right opportunists (who are a minority) then the vast nationwide majority that urgently needs a great leap forward will find itself deprived of these rights. . . . Who is in control of the organs and enterprises bears tremendously on the issue of guaranteeing the people's rights. If Marxist-Leninists are in control, the rights of the vast majority will be guaranteed. If rightists or right opportunists are in control, these organs and enterprises may change qualitatively, and the people's rights with respect to them cannot be guaranteed. In sum, the people must have the right to manage the superstructure. We must not take the rights of the people to mean that the state is to be managed by only a section of the people, that the people can enjoy labor rights, education rights, sick insurance, etc. only under the management of certain people.

1961. "Reading Notes. . ." (Critique)

. . . after explaining that wages rise steadily under socialism, the unrevised third edition of this textbook even goes so far as to say, "Socialism is fundamentally superior to capitalism precisely in this." Now to say that socialism is fundamentally superior to capitalism because wages steadily rise is very wrong. Wages are distribution of consumer goods. If there is not distribution of the means of production, there can be no distribution of the goods produced, of consumer goods. The latter is predicated on the former.

1961. "Reading Notes. . ." (Critique)

In the transition period "all social relations must be fundamentally transformed." This proposition is correct in principle. All social relations includes in its meaning the production relations and the superstructure—economics, politics, ideology and culture, etc.

1961. "Reading Notes. . ." (Critique)

In regard to the law of value we want planning and politics in command, but the Soviets pay attention to production relationship only and ignore superstructure, politics and the role of the people. Without a communist movement, it is impossible to attain communism.

1959? "Critique of Stalin's 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union'" (Miscellany)

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 Biao 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.

1975. Quoted in "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie." (Immortal Contributions)

With regard to social systems, there are in the socialist state two kinds of ownership which exist side by side and are the unity of opposites. Collective ownership contains the factors of communist ownership by all the people. Yu-chin recently said that China is correct in presenting the viewpoint that collective ownership contains the communist factors and that the Soviet Union's collective ownership and ownership by all the people also contain the communist factors. (This refers to the Soviet Union before the restoration of capitalism—RW.) Capitalist society does not permit organizing the mode of production of the socialist collective, but the communist factors should be allowed to grow in socialist enterprises under the leadership of communist parties. Stalin was wrong in rendering absolute the three kinds of ownership, namely: collective ownership, socialist ownership by all the people, and communist ownership by all the people, and describing them as distinctly separate. Will the above constitute the development of dialectics or not?

1958. "Speech at the Sixth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee" (Miscellany)

The revolution in the system of ownership is the base, so to speak. . . . contradictions to be resolved remain in the production relations under people's ownership. As far as relations

among people in the course of labor and the distribution relations go, it is all the more necessary to improve them unremittingly. For these areas it is rather difficult to say what the base is. Much remains to be written about human relations in the course of labor, e.g., concerning the leadership's adopting egalitarian attitudes, the changing of certain regulations and established practices, "the two participations" (worker participation in management and management participation in productive labor), "the three combinations" (combining efforts of cadres, workers and technicians), etc.

1961. "Reading Notes. . ." (Critique)

No need to be afraid of tidal waves; human society has been evolved out of "tidal waves."

July 26, 1966. *People's Daily* Editorial (Ch'en)

We must speak of grasping revolution and promoting production. We must not make revolution in isolation from production. The conservative faction do not grasp production. This is a class struggle. You must not believe that "When Chang the Butcher is dead, we'll have to eat pork bristles and all", or that we can do nothing without them. Don't believe that sort of rubbish.

1967. "Talk at the Meeting of the Central Cultural Revolution Group." (Schram)

If everyone becomes satisfied, we might as well go to sleep.

1957. "Talk at the Hangchow Conference of the Shanghai Bureau." (Miscellany)

In general, counter-revolutionary statements will naturally be prohibited. However, if they are made not in a counter-revolutionary form but in a revolutionary guise, you will have to allow them. That will help us see these statements for what they are and wage struggles against them. Two kinds of plants grow in the fields, grain and weeds. Weeding must be done every year, indeed several times a year. . . . Weeds are useful in a way. . . . when plowed under they can be turned into manure. You say they are of no use? Well, uselessness can be turned into usefulness. . . . Weeds will grow even ten thousand years from now, and so we must be prepared to wage struggles for that long.

1957. "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

The root cause of being afraid of disturbances on the one hand and handling them crudely on the other is the refusal to recognize in one's thinking that socialist society is a unity of opposites, in which contradictions, classes and class struggle exist.

1957. "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.

1967. Cited in "Report to the 9th Party Congress."

The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Cited in "Report to the 9th Party Congress."

According to dialectics, as surely as a man must die, the socialist system as a historical phenomenon will come to an end some day, to be negated by the communist system. If it is asserted that the socialist system and its relations of production and superstructure will not die out, what kind of Marxism would that be? Wouldn't it be the same as a religious creed or theology that preaches an everlasting God?

1957. "Talk at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

Under communism there may be no war but there is still struggle, struggle among sections of the people; there may be no revolution of one class overthrowing another, but there is still revolution. The transition from socialism to communism is revolutionary. The transition from one stage of communism to another is also. There is technological revolution and cultural revolution. Communism will surely have to pass through many stages and many revolutions.

1961-62. Reading Notes on the Soviet Union's "Political Economics." (Miscellany)

Ceaseless Struggle, Inevitable Victory

The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.

1957. "Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"

Burning an individual is nothing! Truth does not lie in his hands! Burn someone to death and the earth still moves.

1964. "Remarks at a Briefing" (Miscellany)

We wish a peaceful world but we must put ourselves in the worst position and be prepared for major disasters. We came from Yenan and must be prepared to return there.

1957. "Interjections at the Conference of Provincial and Municipal Committee Secretaries" (Miscellany)

Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all

our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously with respect to each and every concrete question. . . . Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world.

1957. "Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties" (Quotations)

In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later.

1963. "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (SR)

If China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and masses of China to combat such revisionism.

1965. Cited in "Open Letter of the RCP, Chile to the CP of China"

How different is the logic of the imperialists from that of the people! Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again. . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again. . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

1949. "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle." (Vol. 4)

If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know 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 per cent of the population.

1966. Cited in "On the Social Basis of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique"

It is only through repeated education by positive and negative examples and through comparisons and contrasts that revolutionary parties and the revolutionary people can temper themselves, become mature and make sure of victory.

Quoted in "Total Bankruptcy of Soviet Modern Revisionism"

All movements consist of waves; in natural science there are sound waves and electromagnetic waves. That all movements advance in wave-like fashion is a law of the development of motion; it is objective and does not change in response to human will. In our work we always go from point to area, from small to large, and always in wavelike fashion, not as a continuously rising line.

1959. "Talk at Seventh Plenum of the 8th Central Committee." (Miscellany)

The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.

1962. Cited in "Report to the Ninth Party Congress"

Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.

1947. "The Turning Point in World War 2" (SW, Vol. 3)

Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.

1965. "Chingkangshan Revisited." (MM 5)

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Message from China's Revolutionary Underground

Continued from page 1

streets has drawn howls and worried printed condemnation from the present-day Chinese revisionist rulers.

This pamphlet is a response to the revisionists' "summation of Mao," approved at the "Sixth Plenum of the 11th Central Committee" in June and published by the ruling clique on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of

China. (The RW printed analysis of this resolution in Nos. 114 and 116.) The Chinese revolutionary pamphlet analyzes the line of the "summation," the current troubles of the ruling clique, and calls for the strengthening of a Marxist-Leninist center and for revolutionary people to "don battle gear" in the struggle to overthrow revisionism in power.

"Persevere to the End in the Struggle Against the Counter-Revolutionary Capitalist Roaders"

I. The Clownish Performance at the Sixth Plenary

Under the manipulation and control of a small handful of counter-revolutionary capitalist roader chieftains, justice has subsided and the spirit of reaction is rampant; but the swindle and hoax called the "Sixth Plenary Meeting of the 11th Central Committee," which still put up the signboard of the Chinese Communist Party, closed in great haste amidst an air of nervousness and defeat, faced with contempt and opposition of the revolutionary comrades of the whole Party, the revolutionary people of various nationalities of the whole country, the revolutionary commanders and fighters of the whole army and the brothers of the international proletariat worldwide who uphold Marxism-Leninism and are faithful to the cause of proletarian revolution. The "adoption" and announcement of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," which the small clique of counter-revolutionary capitalist roaders plotted, constantly polished, bickered over and repeatedly changed, as well as the July 1st speech by that devious "hu"li, who was propped up into the hot seat by that three-up, two-down, self-proclaimed "nine-lives" devil cat (no matter if it's a white cat or a black cat),¹ exposes the vain attempts by the counter-revolutionary capitalist roader clique to wipe out, distort, defame and slander 55 years and 3 months of our Party's past within the 60 years of the great, glorious Chinese Communist Party by using the poison that they have spread in their counter-revolutionary 4 years and 9 months [since the October 1976 coup—RW]. They especially attack the brilliant process and unprecedented achievements of the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution. Against Chairman Mao, the unparalleled revolutionary leader sincerely revered by the whole Chinese people and a revolutionary teacher of the proletariat of the whole world, they pull out all stops to disparage, slander and malign. That this small handful of people are so blatantly arrogant to the point of throwing themselves into a frenzy and have come out with such an ugly performance not only accurately reflects their counter-revolutionary essence and true face as followers of the capitalist road; it also convincingly confirms that this small handful have cut themselves off from the Party and the state, cut themselves off from the people, and are hopelessly going down the path of inevitable destruction.

(all footnotes are the RW's)

1. *huli* in Chinese means a fox, hence this is a pun on Hu Yaobang, now the chairman of the Communist Party of China.
2. Deng Xiaoping—this refers to the fact that Deng has been knocked down out of Party leadership twice by revolutionaries, came back three times and has bragged about his "nine lives." "It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white as long as it catches mice" is an infamous pragmatist saying of Deng's, referring to capitalist and socialist methods in production.

II. Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of China Cannot Be Usurped

In the 60 years since the founding in 1921, China's great Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and later comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, has gone through ten serious attacks, soundly defeating all ten frantic and furious assaults by the enemy. These struggles served to steel our Party—the more we fought, the more resolute we became. Through the final victory of each struggle, our Party was built into an unbreakable, unconquerable firm fighting unit.

Let's recount: Chen Duxiu, Peng Shuzhi, Liu Renjing and others went in for right opportunism, but did they not fail and degenerate into Trotskyites?

Qu Qiubai opposed the principle of "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and dismissed Chairman Mao from his position at the time as an alternate member of the Central Committee Politburo. Later Qu Qiubai was captured by the Kuomintang and wrote his statement of repentance, "Superfluous Words", thus turning himself in to the enemy camp and betraying us!

From June to September 1930, the arrogant "Li Lisan line" only lasted three months. After its short life, it served as a teacher by negative example.

From 1930 to 1931 Lo Zhanlong set up a separate Center but ended up in disgraceful failure.

As for the "28½ Bolsheviks" headed by Wang Ming, they relied on the might of the 3rd International and seized power in the Party for a full four years. During this 4-year period Chairman Mao was deprived of all voice at the Center, and the revolutionary base areas set up by the Party were wasted away by them. This continued until the Zunyi Conference when the mistakes of the Wang Ming line were corrected. Wang Ming died under the wings of Soviet revisionists. His name will remain in infamy for 10,000 years.

During the Long March, Zhang Guotao carried out a split and set up a separate Center. After his failure he fled to the Kuomintang in Wuhan and became a shameful traitor.

After nationwide liberation, Gao Gang and Rao Shushi formed an anti-Party alliance, plotting to seize power. But they did not succeed and instead dug their own grave.

At the 1959 Lushan Conference, Peng Dehuai wrote an open declaration of war. His intention was to usurp power. Huang Kechang, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou also jumped out, forming a "military club" to engage in anti-Party activities. After defeat, they became nothing but a pile of stinking dog shit.

Taking advantage of the opening created when Chairman Mao stayed in the second line, the gang of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping set up a "bourgeois headquarters" and went on the capitalist road. Peng Zhen, Lo Ruiqing, Lu

3. Referring to the period when Mao had left the control of day-to-day affairs of the Party to other people and concentrated on the decisive arena of the international, theoretical struggle against revisionism.

Dingyi and Yang Shangkun set up secret organizations that linked up at all levels and whipped up a big section to carry out an anti-Party, counter-revolutionary and anti-people criminal conspiracy. Fortunately, Chairman Mao was farsighted and in a timely way launched the Great Cultural Revolution to smash this big plot by the class enemies.

At the 1970 Lushan Plenum, the Lin Biao anti-Party clique launched a surprise attack and carried out underground activity. They preached idealist apriorism and reversed the 3 Point Agenda of the Second Plenum of the 9th Central Committee. Anxious to seize power, they wanted to set up a "State Chairmanship" and cooked up the "Project 571," a plot to initiate a coup. After defeat, the whole Lin family perished.⁴

The lessons of historical experience are worth remembering. In the ten fierce line struggles, Chairman Mao personally led our Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of China through each battle and victory, and the more we fought, the firmer we became. This amply shows that we must practice Marxism, not revisionism; we must unite, not split; we must be open and above board, not intrigue and conspire—the will of the Party, army and the people hinge on this. All who intrigue and conspire to make counter-revolution, pursue the capitalist road and carry out splits, no matter how blatant their arrogance and ferocious their manner, will find in the end that they cannot escape ignominious failure.

III. Mao Tsetung's Thought Will Blaze Ahead Forever

Our task now is for the Party, on the basis of persevering in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, to engage in the 11th line struggle against the anti-Marxist-Leninist, anti-Mao Tsetung Thought renegade clique of capitalist roaders. But unfortunately, due to the death of the great revolutionary leader Chairman Mao who led us from victory to victory, and a surprise attack, wild retaliations and long-term and vicious suppressive measures, the revolutionary core of our Party has suffered grave losses unprecedented in history. This makes the present line struggle more difficult than any in the past.

But the cause of the proletarian revolution is a just cause; the force of justice can make the most stubborn enemy lose its bearings and expose its weak spots, and it will deal a fatal blow to hand the enemy final defeat.

The counter-revolutionary clique that follows the capitalist road, through its "Sixth Plenary," has cooked up the "Resolution" which fails to cover up the nature of these wolves and the tail of the "hu"li. With the Resolution, they tried to turn truth upside down, confuse black and white and shift away blame for disasters to others. But the fact is, the more they cover up, the more they expose themselves. They spout their windy nonsense to declare that the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi, whose name will forever remain in infamy, and the proven unrepentant anti-Party, counter-revolutionary and anti-people capitalist roader and bad egg Deng Xiaoping were "wrongly persecuted," even beautifying them as being "correct all along." They slander the anti-Rightist struggle [1957—RW] by saying "the scope was made far too broad," and lament how "unfortunate" it was that their despicable cohorts that colluded with them were attacked as freaks and monsters and swept away. Although they themselves do not want to advance and are trapped in old conventions, they want to show off their after-the-fact "wisdom" and brand the fiery movement of the broad masses in launching the

4. Lin Biao's wife and son were also involved heavily in the coup and died along with Lin Biao in a plane crash in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

General Line, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes to urgently demand a transformation of the economic and cultural backwardness of our country as "overestimating the role of subjective will and subjective efforts." They further slander the Great Cultural Revolution as "in fact divorced both from the Party organizations and from the masses," and claim that it was "erroneously led" and had "no economic or political basis," "it decidedly could not come up with any constructive program, but could only bring grave disorder." They even say that "these erroneous left theses, upon which comrade Mao Tsetung based himself in initiating the Cultural Revolution, were obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Tsetung Thought, which is an integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." This means that Chairman Mao opposed the system of Mao Tsetung Thought that he himself formulated. This kind of nonsense is completely absurd and is nothing but malicious words to attack others. Only from the mouth of this counter-revolutionary clique which has tried countless ruses in pursuit of their cherished goal of reversing correct verdicts and seizing power can such vicious and sophistic language come out.

But reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people. The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the abuse and slander of the great image of Chairman Mao and the distortion and denigration of Mao Tsetung Thought—all this is bound to suffer shameful defeat.

The solid truth is that the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi admitted in his three "self-examinations" that he committed serious mistakes "extremely harmful to the cause of the Party and socialism," especially that "ideologically the bourgeois world outlook has not yet been thoroughly transformed. I still hold a great deal of idealist and metaphysical outlook. In examining and handling problems, I still stand on a reactionary, bourgeois position!" He further admitted that his most fundamental error was that "I have not learned well and grasped Mao Tsetung Thought. I cannot correctly apply Mao Tsetung Thought in work and in struggle, and have not learned from the masses in practice. I have not written enough reports to Chairman Mao to ask for instructions, and at times I have in fact violated Mao Tsetung Thought...." Liu Shaoqi, this most slippery and tricky character, thought he could fool the world with a sleight of hand. But in the face of truth, he had nowhere to hide and his true ugly features were exposed.

Compared to Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping is undoubtedly a super class-renegade, hidden traitor and scab—he has attained mastery greater than his teacher. His most outstanding ability is to frankly admit guilt in front of people, while engaging behind their back in frenzied betrayal. His other specialty is to roll over and play dead, or wag his tail to beg for mercy, going down on his knees to ask for pardon. Such double-faced tactics of his are like those of the ungrateful "Zhongshan wolf"—extend your hand to save him and you are bound to get bitten.

Chairman Mao's treatment of him was very magnanimous. The self-examination Deng Xiaoping made at the October 22, 1966 Central Committee Work Conference fully lays out his towering crimes. He openly admitted that "... now I can see clearly that like all revolutionary movements before it, the course of the Cultural Revolution has been marked by a fierce class struggle, that is the struggle between the proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao and the reactionary line representative of the bourgeoisie. In this present movement of the Cultural Revolution, comrade Shaoqi and myself are the people in the Party and the Central Committee who represent the bourgeois line." He further admitted that at the 11th Plenum of the 8th Central Committee, Chairman Mao's big character poster which bombarded Liu and Deng by declaring that "By adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie,

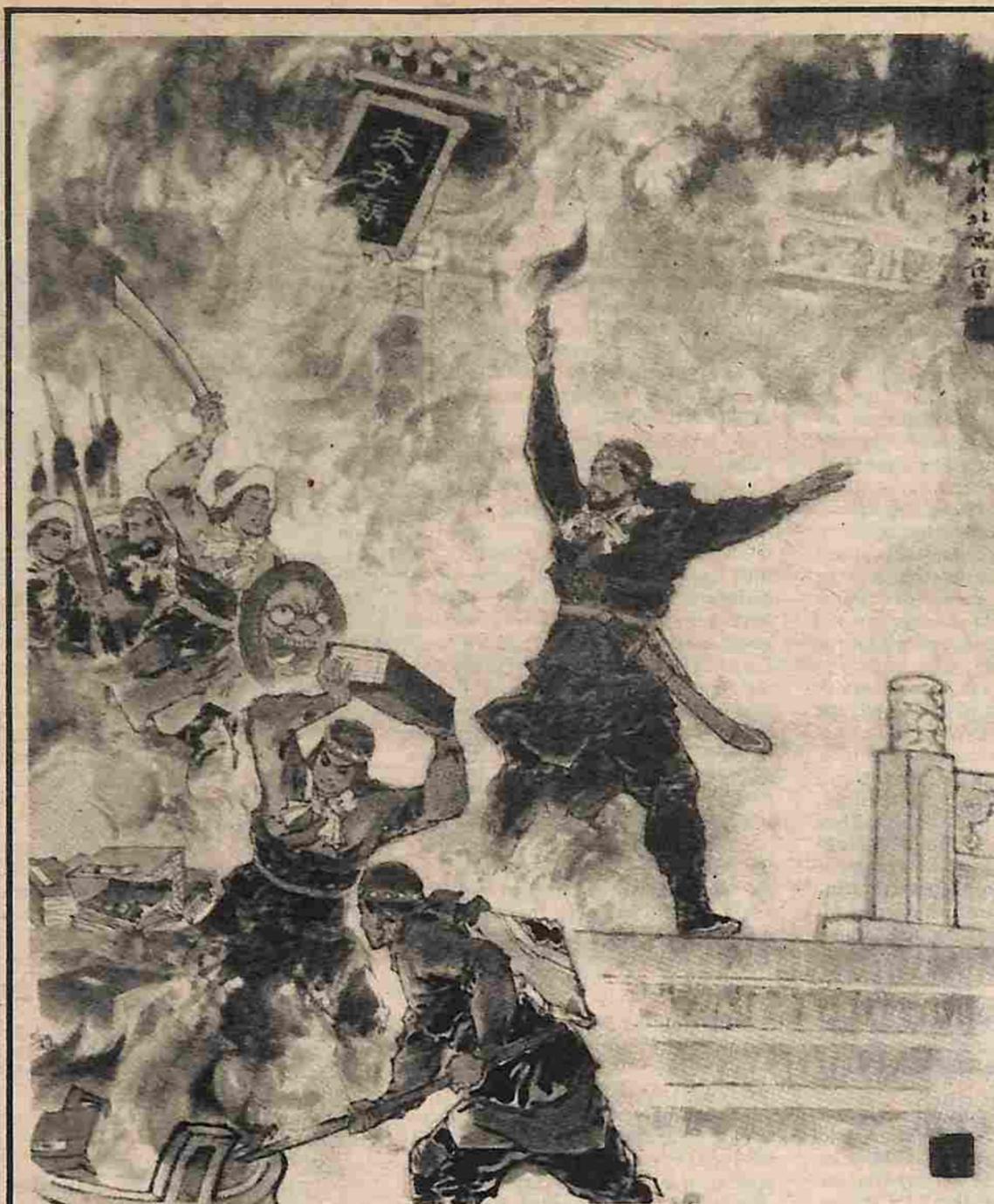
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carrying out a bourgeois dictatorship, they have repressed the surging tide of the Cultural Revolution. They have manipulated the facts, belied right and wrong, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own by imposing a white terror, and generally revelling in their power, what they have done is to increase the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflate the morale of the proletariat. Is this not indeed foul," was "absolutely correct and has struck on the very heart of the matter." He repeatedly said "The Great Cultural Revolution personally led by Chairman Mao is absolutely correct," "this is a great revolutionary movement to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology and prevent revisionism and the dangers of capitalist restoration.... It has far-reaching significance." He even vowed that "with the radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought lighting my forward path, I should have the fortitude to pick myself up and go on." But in fact he is a traitor by nature, admitting mistakes only in order to be able to "pick myself up." And his sole motive in "picking myself up" was to reverse correct verdicts, make trouble and launch wild revenge. In 1973, as soon as he weasled himself out of the cage by vowing "never to reverse correct verdicts," he began to engage in intrigues, cooking up these Three Poisonous Weeds of the "Outline Report," "On the General Program," and "20 Points on Industrial Development," and whipped up a big Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts. He plotted the Tienanmen counter-revolutionary incident of April 1976, thus estranging himself completely from the Party and the state and from the people.

After the counter-revolutionary opportunist clique launched a surprise attack, betraying revolution and selling out comrades, the unrepentent usurper again took advantage of the opportunity to use his usual tactics of kneeling down and wagging the tail. He made "self examinations" to beg for mercy and repeatedly wrote to the chieftain of the revisionist clique to "blame self," sang songs of praise for "the brilliant" and asked for an opportunity to "work". But this wolf had not changed his nature. Once he reached his goal, he again turned around to bite the hand that fed him. What is most ironic is that the "brilliant leader" that once headed the counter-revolutionary opportunist clique tumbled down from power in no time at all—with you "in charge", I, said Deng, am "not at ease." Not only was he deprived of power in the Party, state and the army, he was also shunted off to a "Party school" where he once served as the "principal" to study the counter-revolutionary "theory" of that usurper following the capitalist road!

But whether it be the counter-revolutionary usurper following the capitalist road who used his promise to "forever accept Chairman Mao's teachings and criticism" to seize power and position or the counter-revolutionary opportunist element who was blinded by greed to sell out comrades and betray Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in the end ending up in failure as he was destroyed by inner-gang fighting, both prove that the great Mao Tsetung Thought and line of Chairman Mao that has led the Chinese people's revolution to victory after victory, has maintained unshakably the firm faith and infinite confidence of our Party's 39 million members, the 980 million people of our country and the several million commanders and fighters of our army. This has forced even the most reactionary traitor and big bad egg to borrow Chairman Mao's prestige and the banner of Mao Tsetung's great thought to serve their deception. But they may be able to deceive people temporarily but they cannot deceive them forever. When the people who are taken in awake on a mass scale, the clouds that cover up the sun will be blown away, the correct Mao Tsetung Thought will show up even more brilliantly, the image of Chairman Mao will become ever grander. These jumping clowns who flop from one pole to the other and who can be bold for a while by fooling the



"The peasant army setting fire to Confucian temples and burning Confucian books"—illustration from the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. It made a historical analogy between

Confucius, a representative of the dying slaveholding class who had attempted to restore the old order, and modern day rightists who were attempting to restore capitalism and reverse the gains of the Cultural Revolution.

people, will succeed only in smearing dirt on their faces and will end up playing the role of the fool on the stage of history.

IV. The Sham "Practice is the Criterion" Must Be Exposed

The unrepentent usurper who persisted in the capitalist road used the counter-revolutionary "Third Plenary of the 11th Central Committee" as a launching pad to his comeback and second restoration. Since then he has boldly proclaimed himself to be a "savior", placing himself above the Party and the state and spewing out poison to betray the Party and the state and negate Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary leadership. He is carrying out a one man fascist dictatorship and stomping on the 39 million Party member comrades. Because of this, the cause of proletarian revolution in China as well as worldwide has fallen into the darkest pit ever.

There is a saying that the devil is best at using the words of the Bible to fool people. Likewise, anti Marxist-Leninist traitors and revisionists of various stripes are adept at taking chopped up phrases out of context from the classic works of Marx and Lenin and distorting them to attain their shady goals.

The concept of "practice is the criterion of testing truth" was a powerful weapon in Marx's hands in opposing idealist apriorism. This everybody can understand. But with the sleight of hand of the usurper who follows the capitalist road, this phrase was made prominent as the "sole" criterion, making it an absolute. But this "sole" criterion does not serve the interests of the proletarian revolution nor the interests of the whole people; it serves the

capitalist roader in seizing Party power to carry out bourgeois dictatorship and protect the special privileges and private interests of a handful. So this principle that is recognized by Marxism-Leninism as being materialist, becomes something completely different in their hands—a sham to confuse black and white and an excuse to justify their blatant peddling of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, as well as slanderous attacks on the proletarian revolutionary camp and the great revolutionary teacher.

It might be very easy to open your mouth and bullshit, but they are never going to succeed in fooling one billion sober heads and one billion pair of clear eyes. From the "Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee" which persisted in a counter-revolutionary standpoint to the "Fourth Plenary", the "Fifth Plenary" all the way up to the present "Sixth Plenary", what kind of "sole" "truth" did they come out with by using their so-called "practice is the criterion"? It is nothing but calling a deer a horse and reversing right and wrong—not only have they brazenly taken the unprecedented accomplishments achieved under Chairman Mao's leadership in socialist construction and revolution and passed them off as the "contributions" of "correct experience" of a few conspirators like Liu Shaoqi, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping and Deng Zihui who all along have been nothing but anti-Party counter-revolutionaries opposed to Chairman Mao's leadership; they furthermore placed the blame for all the absolutely unavoidable difficulties, twists and turns, steps backward and blind alleys encountered in the arduous process of socialist revolution and socialist construction on Chairman

Mao and many leading comrades at the Center and in the localities, claiming that they "had become smug about their successes and overestimated the role of man's subjective will and efforts." They maligned the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune movement as being "hasty" and even claimed that the anti-Rightist campaign led personally by Chairman Mao in the Eighth Plenary of the 8th Central Committee to crush the frenzied attacks of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and beat back the counter-revolutionary current was "entirely wrong" and that "politically, this struggle gravely undermined inner-Party democracy from the central level down to the grass roots; economically, it cut short the process of the rectification of 'left' errors, thus prolonging their influence." According to them, all the great achievements since the founding of our country should be credited into the record book of these counter-revolutionary capitalist roaders, especially that counter-revolutionary usurper; and all the so-called "mistakes", "retreats", "misfortunes" and even "catastrophes" should be made the sole responsibility of Chairman Mao and those central and local leading comrades that are not in their camp. This, then, is the "sole truth" that they want to trumpet, the "truth" they use to deceive others.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the first time in the long course of human history that the strength of the masses in hundreds of millions was mobilized into a great current. With the force of a thousand thunderbolts capable of moving mountains and draining the seas, this great current thoroughly cleansed all the old,

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ugly and monstrous things of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Even if this great revolutionary movement, like all history-making revolutionary movements, created some unforeseeable shortcomings and minor mistakes amidst the great storms, its main direction was absolutely correct and its development healthy. Therefore after it successfully smashed the organized and premeditated attack instigated by the counter-revolutionary clique and wiped out the foul atmosphere of the old world, it not only gave a completely new appearance to socialist China and great hope to all people toward the revolutionary future, as well as providing an unprecedented inspiration to the proletarian brothers and Marxist-Leninist parties of the world; but it also came up against hatred and attempted revenge by the counter-revolutionary clique within the Party which refused to be destroyed even after defeat. Less than a month after Chairman Mao passed away, the counter-revolutionaries launched a surprise attack. Having succeeded in their plot, they concentrated their venom, with hatred multiplied a thousand fold, on the Great Cultural Revolution. They claimed that Chairman Mao was "obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Tsetung Thought, which is the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." Even more inconceivable and ridiculous, they have forcibly separated Chairman Mao from Mao Tsetung Thought. They even say that Chairman Mao opposed the very Mao Tsetung Thought that he himself had creatively expounded.

Can such vicious, poisonous slander against the Cultural Revolution and personal attack on Chairman Mao be an appropriate attitude for any Chinese Communist Party member? Of course not. Such an attitude cannot be held by a Chinese Communist Party member nor anyone who does not intend to be an enemy to China and the progressive cause of socialist revolution. Only the international reactionaries and bourgeois big shots who take an opposing class stand and hate and fear all revolutionary new things and want to turn back the wheels of history would sing such an antagonistic tune against the Chinese socialist revolution.

V. Use the Universal Revolutionary Truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to Test the Contraband "Practice" of the Counter-Revolutionary Clique Following the Capitalist Road

Given that the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road is attempting to use the distortion of Marx's materialist view that "practice is the criterion of testing truth" to attack those comrades who have truthfully upheld Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of Chairman Mao, and furthermore if the clique thinks that its sinister plot is succeeding, then it is necessary for us to seek to use the general truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to test exactly what brand of "practice" the clique has managed to carry out during this period of counter-revolutionary coup d'état. This is of profound significance to us in sweeping away confusion and resurrecting truth and exposing the true face of the counter-revolutionaries.

Marxists have always held that the development of productive forces cannot be separated from the changing of the relations of production and the superstructure. Therefore, only through grasping revolution can production be promoted. When the relations of production are adjusted, it clears the way for the development of productive forces. Under conditions of socialism, when proletarian politics is in command, people's socialist initiative will be sufficiently unleashed and brought into play. This will promote the rapid development of production to improve people's livelihood, especially raising spiritual life and morality under the socialist system. The counter-revolution-

ary clique following the capitalist road, however, is dizzied and blinded by capitalism's last glow before its death and the mirage of capitalism's temporary advances in economics and technology. Aiming to throw itself into capitalism's embrace, it has instead fallen head first into capitalism's mud puddles. Now it crawls and tumbles in the mire, creating a sickening spectacle.

With a disgraceful "anti-left" posture, the capitalist roaders openly cry out, "No need for class struggle, no socialist transformation of the superstructure and production relations." With the slogan "four modernizations" in hand, they raised the sinister flag of the theory of productive forces, whipped up the evil wind of "white cat, black cat," boasted confirmation of their so-called "guiding principle" of emancipating the mind, using the brain, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one to look forward to the future," and formulated their "strategic decision" "to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization." But in reality, all they have done is to try any trick to steal away a few broken twigs from the scrap heap of capitalism to use as the conductor's baton for their activities. Therefore one moment it is "readjustment," another moment it is "reform," one moment the call is to use capitalism as a teacher, and still another it is studying "the experience of Rumania and Yugoslavia." Like a chicken with its head cut off, the clique adopts one after another the policies of Bukharin opportunism, the reactionary revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, and even the comprador bourgeoisie's nakedly anti-Party, counter-revolutionary political and economic activities of "looking toward 'money.'"5

Lenin pointed out: "Capitalism must establish its often-broken balance through crisis." Ever since the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road began to carry out the theories of its counterrevolutionary line, it has brought into China in full the inevitable economic crisis of capitalism. The clique itself has admitted its "blunders," and the country is on the brink of danger and is sick to the core. In the first 27 years of new China, through the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of public ownership of the means of production, the contradiction between socialized production and private ownership of means of production was basically eliminated. The organic mutual links of various sectors of the national economy got strengthened, as well as the overall balance of the proportion of social reproduction which can be completely planned and adjusted by the state. Within a few short years, all these were totally destroyed by the counter-revolutionary clique, and as a result the entire sphere of national economy has been one big mess. The rate of productivity is deteriorating, investment returns are taking a nosedive, and the amount of industrial raw material is insufficient to maintain the existing industrial enterprises. Means of livelihood are inadequate to maintain people's lives. The counter-revolutionary clique wrecklessly accumulates foreign debt, thereby subjecting the laboring masses of our country once again to brutal exploitation by imperialist and capitalist countries. Their disregard for objective economic laws, failure to conduct study and investigation, and callous and blind introduction of foreign equipment have not only created a huge deficit for the first time in our country's treasury, but also created serious monetary inflation and frightening skyrocketing of prices. This is plunging the masses into historically unprecedented depths of misery.

What stands out in the so-called "extension of decision-making powers of enterprises" and the carrying out of "economic integration" which spans different industries, regions and forms of ownership, is "profit in command." Based on the amount of profit, a new privileged class and a new exploiting class is being created out of management personnel in these enterprises. In running the so-called "special economic zones" and in the sphere of foreign trade, they push a series of

5. In Chinese, "money" and "future" are pronounced the same.

reactionary policies which promote each out for himself, squeeze the masses of people in order to export more products, and allow individual enterprises to keep a percentage of the foreign exchange. This has helped the foreign bourgeoisie to open up bases of colonial exploitation in socialist China, and has also helped a handful of counter-revolutionary granddaddies, grandmas, gentlemen, ladies and misses to set up a paradise of special privileges and upstart rich where they can hoard, speculate, smuggle, exchange the Chinese people's means of livelihood for imported goods, wear fancy clothes and jewelry, drink and eat, and put on the airs of a stinking bourgeoisie.

In the vast countryside, they have whipped up a hurricane-force wind of restoring the old order. From "divide the land up to each household" to "calculating payment according to output," the People's Communes, which had been an effective form of organization for the 800 million peasants in the march toward socialism, have been basically toppled. Under the guidance of the counter-revolutionary line of going down the capitalist road, cadre who are wavering ideologically and lack a firm stand, along with the landlords, the rich, counter-revolutionaries, bad and rightist elements, all who certainly have not reformed, are conspiring together. Seduced by "power, position and reward," they are showing their true colors, plotting all kinds of schemes and uprooting the foundation of socialism. On one hand a section of capitalist rich families are nurtured; on the other hand, the overwhelming majority of peasants are in fact stripped of their right of "to each according to his work" under the socialist system. No matter how hard they work, they cannot get the bare necessities of life, thereby creating a polarization between the rich and poor in the countryside.

The question of which class holds the reins of leadership determines the nature of ownership. The appearance of widening gaps in the system of distribution further reflects the reality of class exploitation. After the counter-revolutionary coup in October of 1976 inside the Party, the socialist system of public ownership transformed into ownership by the clique of capitalist roaders and counter-revolutionaries. Through the combination of power and the capital they ripped off, they secretly and openly plunder the public wealth of society without even batting an eye, squeezing the blood and sweat of the laboring people. Precisely because the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road has seized state power belonging to the proletariat, the constant harangues about the "production" and the "four modernizations" that they have "developed" all have become a material force oppressing and enslaving the proletariat and the laboring people.

VI. When Wolves Are Running Rampant, Why Bother "Hu"li?

"You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right inside the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." In making this brilliant analysis, Chairman Mao had in mind not only a general warning to be vigilant, but especially targeted these unrepentant usurpers as a prime example. Precisely because those unrepentant usurpers are thieves afraid of being caught and understand that their reversal of correct verdicts goes against the will of the people and a rightist coup would not last long, they are forced to wear the mantle of "four persistences" (persist in socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao Tsetung Thought and the Party) in order to carry out their "four antis and two usurps"—anti-Party, anti-socialism, anti-dictatorship of the proletariat, anti-Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought; and carry out usurpation of the Party and state. This despicable performance was confusing to the people at first; but no matter how they tried to cover themselves up, through repeated self-exposures not only did their hairy tails become completely exposed, people began to see through to their reactionary essence!

The counter-revolutionary line of pursuing the capitalist road internally

will inevitably degenerate externally into a shameful line of selling out and capitulating to all imperialism, revisionism and reaction. This is determined by their reactionary class nature. The current counter-revolutionary clique is exactly like this. In order to persist in opposing the whole Party, army and the people, and to hold on to power, they have committed innumerable criminal acts, kissed up to foreigners while suppressing the people, knowing no shame in conspiring against the people.

In the counter-revolutionary "Sixth Plenary," that unrepentant usurper knew his crimes were great, and so too was the wrath of the people, so he used the tactic of a "turtle sticking his head inside the shell." He dared not occupy the "first chair" but appointed himself the "third chair." Using the most devious methods, he controlled the "first," held the "second" in check, used the "fourth" and conspired with the "fifth" in order to attack the "sixth" and "seventh."⁶ Through such behind-the-scenes backstabbing and struggle, he pursued his wild ambitions of a one-man dictatorship. But the usurper is full of fears and contradictions—the turtle head will not stay tucked in too long and will re-emerge before long. Our country and Party now face this tragic and unfortunate situation of "the wolves are running rampant, why bother with the foxes?" "You're the Zhongshan wolf, when you've achieved your way, you'll be even bolder." During the Cultural Revolution, the hopes we placed in repeated expressions of tolerance and kindness did not stop him from viciously biting back today. This was our big mistake, and it is also an unexpected catastrophe for our Party and state. It is a painful historical lesson we must bear in mind in order not to repeat it.

That unrepentant usurper on the capitalist road formed cliques in the Party for his own ends. In order to achieve his goal of rigging up "Deng & Co.," he brandished the so-called "collective successors," "eliminating lifelong tenure of cadres," and selecting cadres according to the criteria of "youth, knowledge and professionalism." He also plans to totally exterminate countless old, middle-aged and young cadres who, in the past half century and more, have gone through bitter struggle, shedding blood and sweat, and made contributions that cannot be wiped out.

As everyone knows, a Marxist-Leninist party, in particular the Communist Party of China which was built up in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, is founded, developed, consolidated and is made powerful by professional revolutionaries. From the first day of joining the Party, each one of us Communist Party members have made the commitment to persevere till death and contribute our entire life to the Party's revolutionary cause. Therefore, unless one is like the counter-revolutionary capitalist-road elements who have chosen the path of becoming enemies of the Party, state and the people, a communist enthusiasm for serving the Party, country and the people is a sacred duty and right that cannot be stripped away from them.

On the question of social division of labor, Marxists recognize that due to limitations in the level of productive forces and ideological consciousness, we cannot rid ourselves of the phenomenon of social division of labor for a certain period of time under conditions of socialism. But every feasible method must be applied in order to break down the limits faced by each individual in his or her overall development. Engels said on this question that: Through education, help them understand theory in order to grasp the overall situation, expand the field of vision, open up their thinking and gradually overcome and get rid of the one-sidedness that modern social division of labor imposes on everybody. Chairman Mao developed this further with his wise instruction: In order to create the conditions for overcoming the limita-

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6. This refers to infighting among the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee, who are, in order: Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and Hua Guofeng.

5,000 in Minneapolis

"Take Back The Night"

Every city across America has at least one bustling block reserved as its Porno Strip. This is where the topless bars, the strip joints, the so-called adult book stores, "massage parlors" and porno flicks ply their stock in trade—the degradation and objectification of women. In Minneapolis, Minnesota downtown Hennepin Avenue is the hub of this activity. But on August 22, a Saturday night and usually the high point of the week for Hennepin's porno entrepreneurs, the sex-business-as-usual atmosphere was brazenly punctured by a demonstration of 5,000 people, the vast majority women. With women bongo drummers leading the invasion into the almost exclusively male preserve, thousands of voices thundered "Women Unite, Take Back the Night!" and "Stop Rape, Organize, We Will Not Be Victimized!" Angry fists broke the stale neon-night air as disgust rippled through the crowd over the sexual exploitation of women which is the standard fare of the Hennepin strip. Signs reading "Porn is the Theory, Rape is the Practice" were waved in the faces of patrons of the strip who tried to appear impassive.

Inspired by the "Women, Take Back the Night" movement which arose in Europe in the mid-1970s, such demonstrations have been held with growing frequency in the U.S. over the last several years. The August 22 march was called for the third year in a row by the Minneapolis Chapter of Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW), a women's organization springing up around the country. In Minneapolis the Women Take Back the Night marches have become a broad social movement involving largely white professional women, high school and

college students and white collar workers.

A significant number of women in the march wore Miss America-style sashes across their chests. These beauty contest ribbons—a perfect symbol of the all-American woman-on-a-pedestal—were emblazoned with the grim reality of life for millions of women in this country: "I survived rape;" "I survived battering;" "I survived incest." Women told of rebelling against the exploitative social relations in society where, as the RCP *Programme* points out: "Not only is there the general oppression of women, but even the working class man, infected with the dominant bourgeois ideology and frustrated with his role in capitalist society, often plays the role of the bourgeois in relation to his wife and children." A woman in her 40s, the ex-wife of a businessman, told of the battering she had endured. "I put up with it for 20 years," she told the *RW*. "Going to my minister and crying because of the beatings and being told 'It's your cross in life to bear.' Going to the courts and having them say 'You can't get a divorce because you haven't been beaten badly enough. If he breaks an arm or a leg, then you can get a divorce.' I had to wait until my kids were old enough to support me and then I got a divorce... Until I know all the ways I keep being a victim, I can't stop being a victim," she continued. "And when I learn enough, when I no longer participate in my own oppression, I will be able to stand on my own. And the women are learning this, they're becoming aware that they don't have to be victims anymore..."

A single mother in her 30s whose sash bore the inscription said "I survived

rape," "It's something I don't talk about, but I'm here to stand up a bit higher. The challenge for me tonight is to make the irritation I feel, like the sand in the oyster, become a pearl. This violence doesn't have to keep going."

The rally was a platform to "speak bitterness" about a society that condones brutal oppression of women—whether by their husbands, boyfriends, fathers or rapists—as "her own fault." From two battered women—one a Black mother of ten children who had been beaten by her ex-husband, the other an ex-housewife battered by her husband for 33 years while living in an isolated, rural community—the message was the same: "It's not a 'personal problem,' speak out, don't take it." Two rape victims, one a disabled woman confined to a wheelchair, condemned the myths about rape which put the onus of blame on the woman: "she was asking for it," "she should have been at home," "her clothes were too sexy," etc.

A message from Women of All Red Nations exposed the massive, genocidal forced sterilization aimed at women of the oppressed nationalities under the guise of "population control." WARN estimates that 20% of Black women and 35% of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age have been sterilized, and among Native Americans sterilization is as high as 85% in one tribe, the Cheyenne. A significant development was the internationalist context of the rally. The rally opened with a presentation of the life and struggle of women in Asia, Africa and Latin America presented in dance, song and narration. Evidence of U.S. imperialism's responsibility for the crimes against the women of the world was brought out.

Speaking of the genocidal exploits of U.S. imperialism one woman said, "The Dalcon-shield IUD has been banned in the U.S. because it is unsafe. Today it is being exported to 85 countries around the world... A 10-year-old girl in El Salvador is raped at gunpoint by soldiers who leave her blinded so she cannot identify them later... The right-wing terrorists say it is better to kill resistance fighters in the womb as the military murders and disembowels pregnant women in El Salvador. This is part of the strategy to terrorize the population. The U.S. Government supports these atrocities by pouring millions in aid to El Salvador."

Applause swept over the crowd as the speaker proclaimed, "Women are fighting back!... In El Salvador 40% of the resistance fighters are women!" This enthusiastic response to the El Salvadoran struggle is just one indication that increasingly women are propelled into political life not only by the intensifying oppression of women but by pressing political events on a world scale. A number of women participating in a demonstration for the first time in their lives said they felt compelled to come to the "Take Back the Night" march because of their dismay over U.S. preparation for nuclear war. There is deep questioning over the source of all this and the process of searching out answers has begun in earnest.

As a proverb among the Black masses of South Africa speaking of the role of women in the struggle goes, "When you have touched a woman, you have struck a rock. You have dislodged a boulder and you will be crushed!" □

Message

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tions arising out of the social division of labor in the socialist period, we must choose the best elements from the workers, peasants and soldiers to participate in the leadership of the Party and state, as well as strengthen demands on cadres to study and grasp the policies in an overall way. From Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's wise instruction, it is not hard to see that selecting cadres for advancement definitely cannot be restricted by the criteria of "youthfulness." There are also no ready-made "knowledgeable" people ready to be picked up. The so-called "professionalization" will only further widen the scope of the social division of labor. Carrying out "experts in charge of a factory" and other such garbage is to refute the Party's leadership and call for leadership by Deng & Co., to call for leadership by the counter-revolutionary bunch of "collective successors" hand-picked by that usurper.

That unrepentant usurper who persists in the capitalist road and who is going full steam in his activities against the Party, revolution and the people, once boasted that he did not fear being knocked down for a third time. But actually this historical capitulator is scared to death of the force of revolution and the strength of the people. Within China, he moves about very guardedly in order to protect his dog life. He's even learned well the true spirit of that book "How To Be Thick-Skinned and Sinister at Heart" and in fact has become quite good at it. It does not bother him at all to suck people's blood and sweat, and pour it toward the opposite shores of the Pacific. He kneels before U.S. imperialism, especially that bunch of ultra-reactionary bourgeois bigshots on Wall Street, and kowtows like crazy; he also pays sky-high prices to buy off America's political garbage and

cultural thugs, cooking up all sorts of schemes and unfolding a disgusting display of kissing up to those inside and outside the U.S. government. That usurper wants his imperialist masters to see that in the midst of the continuing fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and the two lines, he is not only the commander of the forces "opposing Mao" and "belittling Mao," but furthermore that his counter-revolutionary troupe is the only one that is really willing to embrace U.S. imperialism wholeheartedly and "improve" relations with America. This lobbying effort only emphasizes the important point that the counter-revolutionary, gangster-led clique is facing an extremely unfavorable situation, and that there exists a constant possibility that he will be overthrown. It's because of such a situation that he must plead with the U.S. to show some compassion and prop him up, so that he will not be toppled and leave the U.S. with one less running dog on the leash. In human history, there will always be the despicable few who will stoop to this kind of prostitution, selling out a country for a few bones of glory. But one would be hard-pressed to find another that is as sinister, thick-skinned, lowly and ugly as that usurper. He does not even see his own pitiful position, but instead thinks he is a "real find" to the U.S. imperialists!

That such a renegade, hidden traitor, scab and sell-out has appeared within our Party and state makes for the darkest page in the 60-year history of our Party and the 32-year history of our country. But for the members of the whole Party, the commanders and fighters of the entire army and the people of various nationalities of the whole country, this stormy period can be the starting point for our awakening and revitalization. Towards this end, we solemnly make this call:

All revolutionary comrades loyal to Marxism-Leninism, loyal to Mao

Tsetung Thought must unite even more firmly under the united command of the Marxist-Leninist Party Center and raise the level of leadership, link up with the broad masses, and wage an unbending, vigilant and resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road.

The troops of the People's Liberation Army, the militia, the people's police and revolutionary soldiers on active duty, demobilized and retired, must remember the great teaching of Chairman Mao to be good fighters for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to be good students carrying out Chairman Mao's thought. We need to promote the spirit of the Revolutionary War period, especially the spirit of "three supports, two militaries" of the Cultural Revolution period. We must persevere in the struggle to the end against all reactionary forces and capitalist-roaders, freaks and demons. We must make certain to suppress these forces and never allow them to bring their plot to betray Chairman Mao, against the Party and revolution, to completion.

Young friends and Communist Youth League members fighting in the three big revolutionary movements and in the battle fronts in industry and agriculture; we must turn out hearts toward the morning sun and welcome tests. We must be determined to be standard-bearers in building socialism, not running dogs of the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road. We must strive to bring glory to Chairman Mao, Comrade Chiang Ching, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao and numerous revolutionary martyrs, not be fooled and seduced by the counter-revolutionary capitalist roader clique and end up as mere scraps on the ground along the big, bright road toward socialism.

8. Support leftists, workers and peasants; military control and military training.

As for all those comrades whose stand is not very firm, whose understanding is not very clear, and who stood on the wrong side in the past, whether they are at this time still forced to remain within the counter-revolutionary clique to act as mere props, or have already stumbled and been kicked out to be used as teachers by negative example; they need only to recognize these mistakes and change, to recognize the real enemy. We still welcome them to return to the big family of Marxist-Leninists, throw away their past baggage, wash off the dirt and put on battle fatigues again, and join us to wipe out the traitors and sell-outs.

People of the whole country. We must recognize that only a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party can save China. Unless the counter-revolutionary clique following the capitalist road is destroyed, the suffering of the Chinese people will know no end. Marx said, "It is best to compare the truth to a flint. The harder it is hit, the more brilliant are the sparks that will fly from it." He also said, "Historical activity belongs to the masses. As this historical mission deepens, the troops from among the masses will surely expand." Today, the truth is in the hands of those who persevere in Marxism-Leninism. The broad masses have also stood on the side of the proletarian revolutionary movement. Therefore, if only we persevere in the struggle to the end, the counter-revolutionary clique rigged up by a handful of wolves, *huli*, swine and mad dogs must inevitably meet a most shameful and painful fate of defeat!

Central Committee
Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)
of China
August 1, 1981

Court Sponsored Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Child

"I'm only a woman, sweet Jesus. Please help me to live one day at a time."

So goes a song now making the rounds on "country" radio stations. It accurately reflects a ruling class message to women: "Stay in your place. Don't dare lift your eyes or your aspirations outside of your home and family, or even beyond today, but bow your head and use religion to justify and comfort yourself in your oppression." And if a woman should dare to not only lift up her head, but become a revolutionary, then obviously she is neglecting her "real" duties as a "home-maker," and her child can be snatched from her.

This is the logic of an outrageous attack upon one of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, all charged with multiple felonies after a 1979 demonstration protesting Deng Xiaoping's visit to Washington was attacked by police. On August 29, a court decision temporarily removed Tina Fishman's ten-year-old daughter from her custody pending a full custody hearing, on the grounds of an "emergency" requiring the court to "protect" the child. The "extraordinary circumstances" justifying this extreme action were stark and simple—Tina's involvement in the Mao Defendants' case and her activities in support of the RCP.

Tina's former husband filed for custody while the child was with him in California on a regular one-month visit, basing his claim on the statement that "Ernestine has become more and more involved in political activities, specifically those of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States of America, a Chicago-based political organization advocating the violent overthrow of the present government of this country. Ernestine's political activities of recent date have all been to the detriment of our daughter..." He also argued that Tina was neglecting her daughter because she was in Washington, D.C. exposing the attack on the Mao Tsetung Defendants in the period immediately preceding and during her daughter's visit to California. And he charged that Tina did not engage in any "religious activities," in contrast to the "strongly religious atmosphere" which prevails in the former husband's home. So there you have it—a very fitting reactionary recipe—take the idea that women should be restricted to the narrow confines of family life (and should play a subservient role there), combine it with extreme hostility to revolutionary politics, and sanctimoniously wrap it in a layer of religious piety. Remember, like the song says, "I'm only a woman, sweet Jesus."

This particular low-life individual (the former husband) has been trying, by every means at his disposal, to get Tina's daughter for many years, even though the child was only one and a half years old when the two separated. Obviously he believes the child is "his" because he's the biological father, so now he's simply claiming his "rightful possession." (Could there be a better example of how bourgeois ideas of property rights permeate every area of life in capitalist society?) If he is able to get permanent custody of the child, he reportedly plans to take all his possessions (i.e., his family) and move to Israel.

A previous custody suit on very similar grounds was beaten back several years ago. In the present case, however, the San Mateo court upheld the former husband's claim, declaring that Tina's spending time on political activities constituted "neglect" of her daughter, thus warranting the emergency order. Although a custody case would normally (under the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act) be heard where the child's home is (in this case Chicago), the California court claimed jurisdiction of the case and gave temporary custody to the former husband, all on the basis of this supposed "neglect." The court's decision was baldly

political. The judge overruled the recommendation of the court-appointed investigating social worker that the child return home, commenting (among other things) that the mountain of felony charges Tina faces as a Mao Defendant would adversely affect her daughter and cause other children to be prejudiced against her. Of course, as the judge duly noted, Tina is "entitled to a presumption of innocence" with regard to her supposed crimes in the Mao Tsetung Defendants' case—but at the same time the fact that she is accused is used as a reason to find against her in this case. One political attack is used as a reason to launch another political attack.

Clearly this attack is closely inter-related with the tightening up and preparation for intensified attack in the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants as a whole. As we reported several weeks ago (RW No. 116), the government has recently streamlined its case, revealing ever more clearly its political character. In the original indictment, eight of the seventeen defendants, including Bob Avakian, were charged with no specific crime, but were solely and vaguely charged with "aiding and abetting" 25

assaults on a cop. At the beginning of August, the government dropped charges against all of those particular defendants—all of them, that is *except* RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and (in a transparent cover-their-political-ass-move) one other defendant. That defendant is Tina Fishman. The fact that either of these two is still charged is a further exposure of the outrageous political character and bankruptcy of the entire case.

This latest attack adds to all this the particularity of the oppression of women. This includes not only Tina but her daughter as well, about whose welfare the court expresses so much concern. It's really quite touching. After all, who could be better qualified to determine the welfare of children than the class that promoted Brooke Shields as a sex symbol at the age of 12? Who could better determine the welfare of a 10-year-old girl than the class which presides over the enslavement of five hundred 10 to 14-year-old girls in Thailand each week? We've seen the bourgeoisie's concern manifested in several recent decisions as they increasingly use custody battles to attack politically active women. It's clear that

there's more involved here than a father acting on his own. It's also clear that it's no accident that this decision comes as the government is intensifying its attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants and preparing to take it to trial.

The National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants has begun work against this attack, including calling for telegrams denouncing this decision and demanding that it be reversed to be sent to:

Judge James Browning
Superior Court of San Mateo County
Hall of Justice
Redwood City, California 94063

Send checks for funds urgently needed for legal expenses to:

Committee to Free
the Mao Tsetung Defendants

P.O. Box 6422
"T" St. Station
Washington, D.C. 20009

Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

Drop All the Charges Against Bob Avakian!

Stop the Railroad!

Lynching "At the Hands of Another"

The heat was definitely on the heat after the jury in the coroner's inquest into the death of Cal-State Long Beach football star Ron Settles ruled that Settles died by hanging "at the hands of another"—in other words, *lynching*. During eight days of testimony, lie after lie of the murdering Signal Hill police was exploded before the jury and hundreds of thousands of other people as the inquest became the top story on the nightly news in Los Angeles. From the arrest of Ron Settles June 2 on trumped-up charges, to the brutal beating by Signal Hill police, to his death while the only prisoner in the Signal Hill jail two hours later, the cat is now out of the bag, and the authorities are scrambling desperately to stuff it back in.

The inquest was, of course, intended to do just that, with an array of "expert witnesses," a special hearings officer (judge) experienced in white-washing controversial cases, an attorney who specializes in defending cops who get into trouble "in the line of duty" (like the lynching of Ron Settles), even an engineer commissioned by the County Coroner to reconstruct the "suicide." But all of these experts couldn't erase

the manifold lies of the pigs, their blatant destruction of evidence, their refusal to even take the stand. As a result, those sent to douse the flames were, to a certain extent, consumed by them. By a 5 to 4 vote, the verdict came in....

But then, just two hours after the verdict was delivered, the DA in charge of the "investigation" into Settles' death declared that the inquest "had no legal impact whatever" and that it would have "no impact" on the decision as to whether to issue criminal indictments in the case. After all, he oinked, there may not be "sufficient legal evidence of the identity of the perpetrator," and an indictment must be based "on a standard of evidence beyond a reasonable doubt, you understand." Yes, we understand completely. Just as the cops' attorney had yelled throughout the inquest that it was all a "circus—to sell newspapers" with "no legal impact," the authorities are now singing the same tune. They don't like inquests in the first place. But for nasty cases they can't bury, a well-publicized coroner's inquest may do the job. If not, the verdict is inadmissible as evidence in either the civil or criminal court. In more than a

few cases, verdicts of "death at the hands of another" have simply been shoved into oblivion. An inquest jury ruled 9 to 0 that Reyes Martinez, a young Chicano also murdered by police while in jail, "died at the hands of another." No charges were filed. In another case, that of Larry Morris, choked to death by the LAPD, the coroner simply overruled the jury's verdict and changed the cause of death from "choking" to "heart attack."

However, the authorities have been stung by the fact that it has become widely known throughout L.A. that Settles was murdered by the police. Immediately after the verdict, they began wriggling around trying to discredit it—only exposing themselves further in the process.

Three hours after the verdict was delivered, the County Coroner held a press conference to announce that he had "adopted the majority verdict." After months of doing everything possible to cover for the pigs, including conducting "tests" to corroborate every police lie, suddenly the coroner announces, "Whatever they say goes." But then, in the press conference, the

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Last week, a Nashville paper, *The Tennessean*, revealed that Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the KKK, has been an informant for the FBI for the past seven years. The information was obtained from documents which originated in the New Orleans field office of the FBI and were released to the newspaper under the Freedom of Information Act.

Lest anyone think that perhaps Wilkinson was informing on his fellow Klan members, he himself put that to rest by denying that he had ever provided names, addresses or other information about his Klan followers. This, of course, would have been quite unnecessary anyway since the government and the FBI have always known everything they need to about their own official and unofficial agents in the field. "All I ever told them," squealed Wilkinson, "was where I was going to have a rally or when I was going to have a rally." This is a frank admission that the FBI has been routinely informed in advance of the activities of Wilkinson's particular Klucker faction, including, no doubt, various cross-burnings, lynch-

ings, etc.

Indeed, the whole purpose of the FBI recruiting such "informants" is precisely to provide better communications and coordination for the activities of the FBI/KKK. The classic case was FBI informant Gary Rowe, who participated in the 1965 Klan murder of Civil Rights activist Viola Liuzzo, as well as a 1961 beating and stabbing attack by the Klan on a busload of Civil Rights demonstrators—an attack he admitted he told the FBI about in advance. As we reported in *RW* No. 86, the FBI recently came out with a "new" set of guidelines (formally incorporating

practices the FBI has been using informally for years) which authorize their covert agents to commit crimes, including murder, in the course of "gathering information." The Nazi/Klan murder of five people in Greensboro last year was a recent example of this as it came out that a government informant participated in the planning of the attack and even directed a caravan of Nazis and KKKers to the scene of the crime.

Beyond this, over the decades of KKK terror the true meaning of the term "FBI informant" has become clear as more often than not it has been

the FBI which has tipped off the Klan (to the time and place of various civil rights activities and demonstrations) rather than the other way around. As Wilkinson says, he always has and still does give the FBI whatever information he can because, "I am convinced that the Justice Department and the FBI is necessary." The feeling is, of course, mutual, the Justice Department and the FBI having always given the Klan whatever information they can in the conviction that the KKK is most necessary as well. □

Mutual Appreciation

Capitalist Roaders

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ty and that to restrict bourgeois rights is to make revolution against them.

Through a class analysis, we can see clearly that Party capitalist roaders in power like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, by the position they occupy in the relations of production in society today, fully represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. As individuals, they may not necessarily own capital, run factories and operate banks like the former capitalists, but their political line which energetically upholds the capitalist relations of production reflects in a concentrated way the economic interests and political aspirations of the bourgeoisie as a whole. If the capitalist "is only the personalization of capital, then his soul is the soul of capital" (*Capital*). In that case, the soul of these members of the bourgeoisie within the Party like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping is the soul of the old bourgeoisie which is dreaming of a comeback though it has been overthrown and of the new bourgeoisie which is being engendered and vainly attempts to seize control. Once they usurp the Party and state power, they will completely overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, change the nature of the socialist system of public ownership and openly restore the capitalist system. By then, capitalist roaders, big and small, will re-divide among themselves and in proportion to their capital and power, all the wealth created by the laboring people. Lin Biao cooked up the "Outline of Project '571'" and staged a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état; Deng Xiaoping made every effort to promote restoration and reverse verdicts and engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tiananmen Square. This exposed in a big way the reactionary essence of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period, apart from being attributed to various causes such as the existence of bourgeois rights and encirclement by imperialism and social-imperialism, is not fortuitous, judging by the social position capitalist roaders occupy. After describing

"how people who were public servants of society at first gradually turned into its masters while the going was smooth" in the latter stages of the primitive society, Engels pointed out that one of the underlying factors was that: the work of safeguarding public interests, "though it was under the supervision by all society, could not but be carried out by individual members." (*Anti-Dühring*) Because these "individual members" took advantage of the opportunity accorded by their management of public property and exploited their power to distribute articles of consumption and products to make private gains and own more surplus product than others, sprouts of private ownership appeared on the land under the clan system of public ownership and, as a result, those who were originally "servants" of society became rulers enjoying all sorts of privileges. Although the birth of capitalist roaders is much more complicated, there are also similarities. When later Engels summed up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, he again stated that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was necessary to "prevent the state and state organs from turning from servants of society into its masters" and "pursuing their own special interests." ("Engels' Introduction to the 1891 edition of *The Civil War in France*") Chairman Mao also pointed out recently: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." These remarks made by the mentors of revolution not only hit the Party capitalist roaders where it hurts most, but also elucidate an important cause behind the appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the period of socialism is not strange at all. Everything is divided into two. The political party of the proletariat is no exception. So long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle remain, such strug-

gles will inevitably be reflected in the Party. "The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road"—this will be a long-term historical phenomenon. Marxism is different from revisionism in that the latter is afraid of mentioning the existence of class struggle in socialist society, and particularly the appearance of the bourgeoisie within the Party. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like tried to deceive themselves and others with such fallacies as "The party of the whole people" and "the sate of the whole people." And Deng Xiaoping is as afraid of hearing the term "capitalist roaders" as Ah Q* is of hearing others talk about the scab on his head. This is because if they admit this fact, it is tantamount to admitting that they themselves are the bourgeoisie inside the Party and it means their destruction. This to them is both painful and unthinkable. The proletarian revolutionary party and Marxists not only dare to admit that the bourgeoisie may exist within the Party but also dare to wage the Great Cultural Revolution and arouse the masses in airing views, putting up big-character posters and holding mass debates in a resolute struggle against capitalist roaders. For it is only in this way that we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration and finally send the bourgeoisie to its grave and realize communism. The socialist revolution is a great revolution aimed at burying the last exploiting class ever since mankind came to existence. "Living in such an era, we must be prepared to wage a great struggle which has many features different in form from those of the past." This then requires us to apply the method of class analysis to fully understand the features of class struggle and the changes in class relations so as to make clear this important problem—the bourgeoisie being in the Party, persist in the exercise of overall proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and thus carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

* The fabled character in "The Story of Ah Q" by the Chinese revolutionary author Lu Hsun.

Horn of Africa

Continued from page 11

the U.S. proposed a federation with U.S.-dominated Ethiopia as an alternative to independence.

As U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, put it, with unbridled arrogance: "From the point of view of justice, the opinions of the Eritrean people must receive consideration. Nevertheless the strategic interests of the United States in the Red Sea basin and considerations of security and world peace make it necessary that the country has to be linked with our ally, Ethiopia."

As a token of his gratitude for being given Eritrea, Haile Selassie sent a battalion of his imperial bodyguard to fight with U.S. forces in Korea. (Selassie considered Eritrea quite a prize since the level of capitalist development of Eritrea, which resulted from the export of capital by the Italian imperialists—the construction of roads, factories and so on—was quite high as compared to Ethiopia itself.)

The Ethiopian government subsequently exploited a 1964 OAU resolution stating that "... member States of the Organization pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence" to sanctify its continued rule over Eritrea, the Ogaden and all other incorporated territories.

But all of this was to change soon, for two important events had taken place which were to decisively shape future developments in the Horn of Africa. First, in 1956, almost 40 years of working class rule in the Soviet Union were brought to an end with Khrushchev's coup. Already by 1959 Soviet policy had begun to shift as the Soviet Union began a discreet aid program to Haile Selassie, beginning with the construction of an oil refinery in the Eritrean city of Assab. And second, in 1961 a small group calling themselves the Eritrean Liberation Front launched armed struggle in the Horn with an attack on a small Ethiopian garrison in western Eritrea.

Part two will deal with the revolutionary upsurge of 1974-75 and the effects of Soviet-Cuban intervention. □

Lynching

Continued from page 19

coroner said that there is really no way to say if it was a murder or suicide. He had done his best to make sure of that. For six weeks after the murder, long after the Coroner's Office has announced that Settles' death was "consistent with a self-induced hanging," the Coroner's Office conducted no independent investigation of the death at all—relying solely on police reports. The mattress cover which police claimed Settles used to hang himself with wasn't even tested for blood or hair samples until a week before the inquest began. No fingernail scrapings (to determine whether there had been a struggle) were ever taken from Settles' body. And to top it off, the Coroner announced at the press conference that, "We regard the Coroner's responsibility to be completed in this case."

The media, with its usual "objectivity," rushed to attack the verdict as not based on the facts or evidence but on "race," since four of the votes of "death at the hands of another" came from the four Black jurors. Of course, the media's Black-white analysis was somewhat flawed by the fact that one of the white jurors voted "death at the hands of another." Certainly there is no denying that this case has had everything to do with "race" from the beginning, the media's race-baiting of the verdict being just another sample. As far as "evidence" is concerned, one racist white juror openly declared to the press that he voted "suicide" because "blood is thicker than water," that the cops, like he, were white. This reactionary utterance only makes the truth of the matter that much clearer. □

Open Letter

Continued from page 3

that, the political, financial and military influence of the Russian social-imperialists has a particular significance. In revisionist-capitalist countries of this type the proletarian revolution, in attacking the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, must at the same time set its sights on Russian social-imperialism because the two are bound together by a thousand threads. And this aspect will influence the tactics to be followed on a number of questions of the class struggle, such as alliances, military strategy, etc., etc. In our opinion it is necessary—especially in view of the growing revolutionary situation in Poland—for the world's Marxist-Leninists to take up this issue and subject it to close scrutiny.

Fourth: After a series of arguments in defense of a thorough understanding of Lenin's line on the masses, the following statement is made in connection with revolutionary work in the imperialist countries: "It's also necessary to study and apply Mao's teachings on the need to base oneself on the profound sentiments of the masses to liberate themselves." (Page 8) In effect, we consider this corollary superfluous because Mao Tsetung's interpretation of the mass line is no different and contains no other doctrine than Lenin's, whereas such a passage might create the impression that the two great teachers of the mass line, Lenin and Mao, are in conflict with each other. And that would be extremely detrimental.

On Section III: "On the Unity of the Marxist-Leninists"

The first point we want to take up in this part in the communique concerns the formulation "Mao Tsetung Thought." It is said that "We are still living in the era of Leninism, of imperialism and the proletarian revolution; at the same time we affirm that Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism." (Page 10) At its First Conference in February 1978 our Party took a position against this formulation which, as

we affirmed, is used by many enemies of Marxism-Leninism to distort the contributions made by Comrade Mao as being the "Marxism-Leninism of a new epoch." Thus, this formulation is cunningly used to spread the belief that the epoch has changed; it has become a tool in the hands of those who would separate Mao Tsetung's teachings from Marxism-Leninism as Khrushchev and Hoxha tried to do with the invention of the specter of Maoism, of revisionists, and Trotskyites waving the red book in their hands. That is why we have taken a position against this formulation. We propose instead that Mao Tsetung be defended in concrete terms as one of the five great teachers of Marxism-Leninism. The formulation in the "Joint Communique" does not satisfy us. It gives the impression that such detrimental tendencies might be present and that such a formulation might have been agreed on merely as a compromise.

Second: When the talk turns to the ideological roots of the leadership of the PLA, Trotskyism is mentioned. In our opinion another peculiarity of this anti-Marxist line is modern-day revisionism, just as important as Trotskyism. Their attacks are on the contributions of Mao Tsetung in relation to the analysis of the contradictions within socialist society and of the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their views on the communist party, their thesis of "decolonization" and their interpretation of the thesis the "two superpowers are the enemies of the peoples of the world" are the cornerstones of the modern-day revisionism of their line. The "Joint Communique" should be clearer on this point.

Third: In order to further the struggle against modern revisionism, which constantly appears in new forms, the necessity to study the world communist movement and the experiences of various proletarian dictatorships, both their negative and positive aspects, is emphasized. This is correct. We should truly assess our past, analyze it and learn from it.

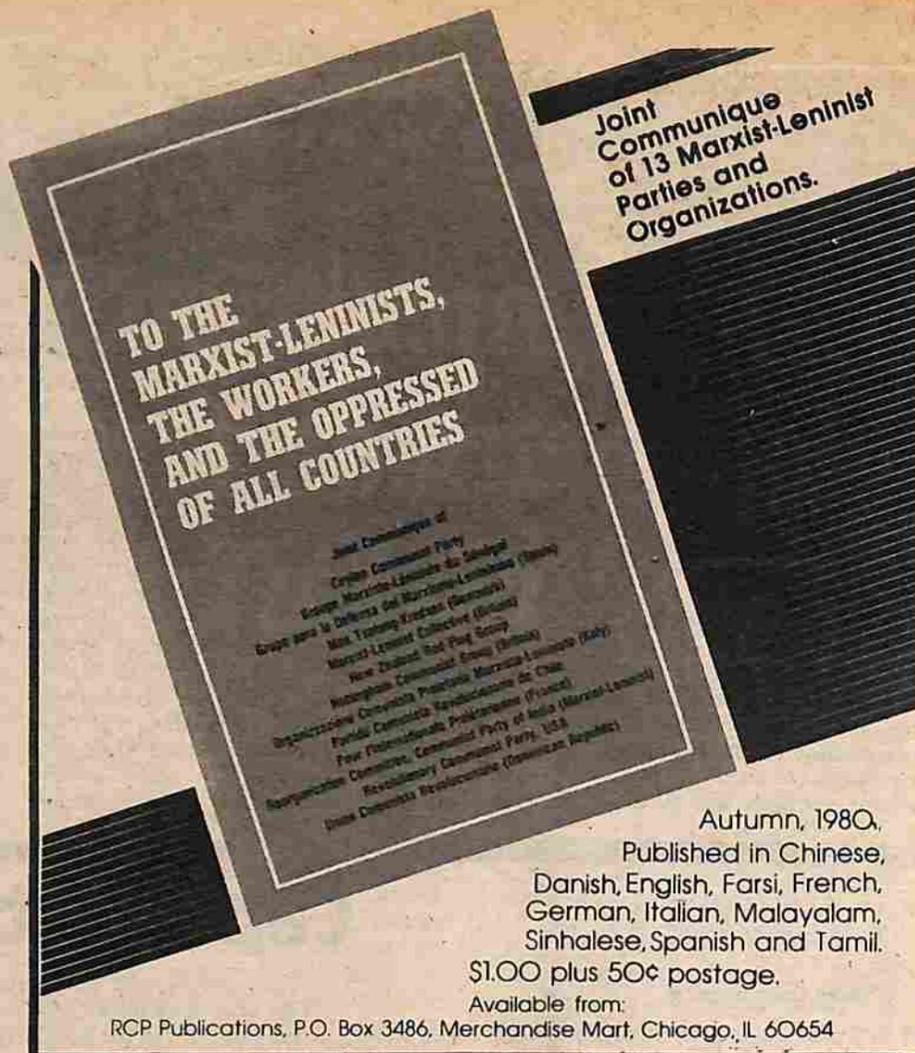
The point that we want to criticize here is the one-sided approach to this question in the "Joint Communique".

hands the production, use, sale, storage and transport of raw materials and sell them at reasonable prices on the basis of equitable trade relations in exchange for a greater amount of goods needed for the growth of their industrial and agricultural production, they will then be able to resolve step by step the difficulties they are facing and pave the way for an early emergence from poverty and backwardness."

But as has been repeatedly demonstrated in a host of countries, this strategy of selling out one's natural resources to get advanced foreign technology ultimately only leads straight back to dependence on and capitulation to imperialism.

Basing his plans on such illusory schemes of attaining "economic independence," Bani-Sadr was compelled by the revolutionary conditions of Iran in 1979-80 to advance new and creative rationales for inducing the necessary subservience on the part of Iran's workers. Referring to Japan with unabashed envy, Bani-Sadr claimed that "A worker is less concerned with how much he will receive. Rather he thinks more about how to make Japan the world's leading economic power.... Work motivation is determined by culture. In our society this motivation must be established through a worker's relation with God. Worker motivation should become inner and spiritual, so that even when he receives nothing, he will still work." Nationalism and Islam are thus the ideological motors that will harness the masses behind the emerging bourgeoisie's plans to "develop" the Iranian economy and consolidate their political power.

This program attracted a following among other bourgeois nationalist forces, particularly those who looked askance at the fundamentalist clerics who were demanding a bigger share of economic and political power, and Bani-Sadr was able to mount a successful presidential campaign in February 1980. Upon rising to the seat of power,



It is demanded that the self-dissolution of the Comintern, the conciliatory tendencies during and after World War 2, the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and in a list of other socialist countries, and the degeneration of the majority of parties of the Third International must be analyzed. But why after the final break from the modern revisionism of Khrushchev was no new International founded? Also questions like the rise of the "Three Worlds Theory", statements which refer to Mao Tsetung's last battles which aren't documented, etc., etc.—the necessity to analyze these questions is not mentioned in the "Joint Communique."

We are of the opinion that with a dialectical method and a historical-

materialist approach to these Marxist-Leninist legacies, one can also take up and learn from a broad analysis and research of these questions, without giving Trotskyism and modern revisionism the slightest possibility to influence the analysis.

The last point which we want to mention has to do with the draft text for discussion prepared jointly by the RCP, USA and the RCP, Chile. Unfortunately we have not yet been able to translate and study this text. We therefore cannot comment on this at the moment.

With Communist Greetings,
The Central Committee of the TKPML
May 20, 1981

(Translated from German by the RW)

BANI-SADR

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others such as Mehdi Bazargan (the Islamic Republic's first Prime Minister), began to cast their ideology in Islamic terms in order to broaden their appeal to the masses and to develop ties with influential clergy (Bani-Sadr's father was an ayatollah).

While in exile, Bani-Sadr worked out detailed economic plans which he claimed would free Iran from the clutches of the Shah and U.S. imperialism and develop it into a powerful, modern country. In France, he attached himself to Ayatollah Khomeini, emerging as his economics adviser and becoming Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance in late 1979. During this period, Bani-Sadr set up his own newspaper and constantly preached his brand of "Islamic economics" as the road forward for the revolution. In brief, he envisioned making use of Iran's oil revenues and West European and Japanese capital and technology in order to step by step build Iran into an independent industrial power. In his view, political independence from imperialism had already been won, and the task at hand was to "consolidate" this independence by developing the economy.

Such schemes are quite common in the "third world" among sections of the bourgeoisie whose development has been blocked by the imperialists and comprador capitalists such as the Shah. It is worth noting that there are striking similarities between Bani-Sadr's Islamic economics and the line peddled by that Chinese revisionist Deng Xiaoping (and blasted by Mao as an expression of the comprador, lackey of imperialism, philosophy and political program). In Deng's infamous speech at the United Nations in 1974, he laid out his general model for "third world" countries to follow:

"...If they can take in their own

Bani-Sadr's Islamic economics and anti-imperialist stance melted away in the face of the actual contradictions the new regime faced, and his own bourgeois outlook led inexorably to capitulation to imperialism and reactionary suppression of the masses.

Like other representatives of the bourgeoisie whose first concern is grasping political power, upon assuming the presidency Bani-Sadr immediately announced his intention of eliminating "competing centers of power." He made concerted efforts to dismantle the independent workers' councils that had developed in many industries (which he accused of spending more time "talking about politics than producing"); he purged the military of revolutionary forces at the same time as he rehabilitated "experienced" officers trained by the U.S. under the Shah, and sent the army into Kurdistan for a major offensive to drown the Kurdish people's just struggle in blood; and he came out strongly against the occupation of the U.S. embassy. Bani-Sadr's overtly capitulationist actions around the hostages were a particularly revealing example of where his bourgeois nationalist outlook and program ended up once he was in power. In Bani-Sadr's opinion, political struggle aimed at cutting all ties with the imperialists would needlessly provoke them and would disrupt the peaceful environment necessary for his glorious plans to step-by-step work free of dependence on the imperialists. But as the intense, year-long struggle around the hostages demonstrated, this is nothing but a pipedream in today's world, a world in which the major imperialist powers are being driven to line up their blocs for war—including fastening their grip on strategically located countries such as Iran to prepare to redivide the world once again—and then the deepening crisis inside Iran was hurling the masses of people again and again into struggle against the imperialists and those forces in Iran who advocated conciliating with them.

The situation throughout 1980 grew more complex as Bani-Sadr and his allies not only faced mounting pressure from the U.S. and opposition from the masses, but a growing challenge from an increasingly powerful section of the bourgeoisie, the reactionary clerics of the Islamic Republic Party, who had as their goal placing political power exclusively in their own hands. Bani-Sadr thus had to pursue a dual strategy of suppressing continuing revolutionary struggle among the masses, while he attempted to rally sections of the people behind a banner of "defending democracy" in the face of the IRP's openly violent street tactics. In order to gain backing for his struggle against the IRP, Bani-Sadr paid attention to building up support in the officer corps of the army and air force, and cementing a relationship with the Mojahadeen, who were coming under fierce attack by the IRP and the club-wielding "Party of God" thugs. As the struggle for power heated up early this year, and as Bani-Sadr was progressively stripped of his power, his opposition to the IRP's dictatorial methods grew more vehement. In June, Bani-Sadr went into hiding, refusing to give up his posts, and calling on the masses to resist. However, while his position has changed from President to exile, his basic programme has not.

The crux of the matter now for Bani-Sadr is how to recapture power without fully mobilizing the masses of people, which in the current volatile situation has the potential of going over to revolutionary armed struggle to really carry through the new-democratic revolution in Iran. Besides the question of military strategy, Bani-Sadr is attempting to walk the narrow line between refusing to have dealings with the U.S. imperialists and the exile forces they back, and at the same time trying to convince them and their Western allies that he is only after "restoring democracy" to Iran and that he has enough popular support that they're

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Testimony

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in power and that is by the transfer of nuclear technology both for the production of power and for the production of weapons. The South African government boasts that it can at any time detonate a nuclear explosion. The relevance of this for people in the United States I think, at the present time, is especially true in two areas. One, the announcement by the Reagan administration and the Defense Department that South African military are now going to be trained with U.S. military. That is a decision taken in the past month and it is part of what the Organization of African Unity, speaking for the whole continent of Africa, calls "the emerging unholy alliance between Pretoria and Washington." There's a further relevance here. Not only is there going to be military collaboration on an increased scale but an attempt is being made to persuade the American people that the apartheid regime is a legitimate one, is a humane one, is a respectable one. Part of that operation is going to take place here in Chicago. And so it is especially important, I think, that you should know that a South African team is coming to Chicago on September 19. And I trust that you will be ready to welcome them suitably. If there are people in this country who think that it is respectable to commit murder, to torture, to commit genocide, there are many others who will reject that, who do not think it is respectable and do not believe that it is acceptable and welcome. And I think that we should let them know. My own experience, on which I will conclude, justifies, I think, my coming to you to report on the torture and the suffering in South Africa. I was myself arrested, I escaped. I was recaptured in Mozambique by the Portuguese secret police who returned me to the South African secret police in Johannesburg. I escaped a second time. I was shot in the back by the secret police at such close range that the bullet went clear through my body, entering my back, coming out of my chest. I was then sent to Robben Island, the most notorious prison in South Africa where I broke stones on a rock pile with all the other leaders of the resistance, with people like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Pokela the

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going to have to deal with him. This was the clear implication of Bani-Sadr's statement/warning that the Iranian people would rather submit to Soviet troops before they would allow a U.S.-backed pro-monarchist regime to be imposed on them.

Thus, Bani-Sadr's past actions help shed light on the role that he is playing now in the opposition to the reactionary IRP-Khomeini regime. Because of his continuing vocal opposition to the regime and his calls to the masses to resist the IRP's tyranny, Bani-Sadr commands a great deal of popularity inside Iran, including among many progressive and revolutionary-minded people. In fact, Bani-Sadr's position today is in some ways similar to the role of Khomeini in the struggle against the Shah.

However, in the past 30 months of intense class struggle since the fall of the Shah, a great deal of experience has been accumulated which is a telling exposure of the inability of even the nationalist sections of the bourgeoisie in a country such as Iran to lead the revolution forward. And over this period of time, the international situation has been marked by growing turmoil, Iran has plunged into new and deeper economic and political crises, and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces have grown and spread their influence among the masses. All this means that the conditions in Iran today for the victory of the revolution—and particularly the potential for the revolutionary proletariat to win leadership of the popular struggle—are ever more favorable than they were three years ago as the Shah's reactionary regime was headed for the dustbin of history. □

new leader of the PAC who has just taken over. I have seen the suffering, the torture and hardship first hand. I have seen the crimes at first hand. And I have seen the resistance of the people first hand. We are committed to a struggle to liberate South Africa and we will not cease until we have won that struggle. Thank you.

Question: I'd like to know your opinion. A lot of what the South African regime has stood for has been pretty widely exposed here in the United States and in other parts of the world. What do you think accounts for this brazen move on the part of the United States to try to polish up South Africa?

I think it would take a very intensive discussion to explain that. But it does seem to be part of the overall Reagan strategy to create what is called a consensus, to revive much of the old cold war jargon. South Africa is seen as a crucial member of that military team. The intention is to integrate South Africa in terms of the CIA, of espionage, and military surveillance and even military action to be part of this scheme. It is also of course in response to global international pressures and challenges to the old kind of regime, the old powers which have been oppressing the people in Asia, Latin America, in Africa. The challenge is on. We know that the march toward freedom is on. It is that that they must confront, it is for that that they try to recruit their forces in order to mount a new, repressive attack on us. It seems to me that is what is fundamental.

Question: This question could have been asked of the person who spoke on Palestine but I'd like to have you answer this question. What is the relationship as far as you know between Israel and South Africa? Recently there have been some stories that have come out detailing intelligence and cooperation on that level, military training and cooperation, that has been going on and I wonder if you might say a little bit about that as far as you know?

The collaboration with Israel is as old as the State of Israel itself, right from the creation of Israel.

Their (South Africa's) prime minister was a man called by the name of General Smuts; he was a close friend of leaders in the Zionist movement. Up to a few years ago South Africa was the second largest contributor, after the U.S., to Zionism! But they've also been able to make significant contributions in other ways like South Africa training troops and pilots with the Israeli air force. White South Africans have been in the Israeli tank corps. They flew jets with Israel and said they need that for practice for the time they are going to need it down in the south. There are now Israeli advisors, we are told, helping the South African military in Namibia, particularly in the area of desert warfare where the Israelis are regarded as experts. We have also seen a shift in the diamond market. The world's largest diamond mines are, as you know, in South Africa. For many years the world headquarters for world diamond sales was Amsterdam and also diamond polishing. Much of that has moved to Tel Aviv with significant insistence by the Israeli government. But the latest and most serious development has been a series of treaties between Israel and the South African government which have agreed, one, to exchange military intelligence and two, to set up a major military armaments plant in South Africa... for which Israel has provided 50% of the capital and South Africa the other 50% and where the end product—whether it's tanks or jeeps or armored cars or transports—those are shared between the two. So you have a major military formal treaty. In addition, is the exchange of nuclear technology between South Africa and Israel. We believe that the rather mysterious explosion which took place off Cape Town, the southern tip of South Africa, which was unique as a nuclear explosion, was a joint Israeli-South African exercise. This is what the United Nations has said, but we don't have sufficient evidence, I think, to prove it. The collaboration has become increasingly close, and it may be that South Africa is seen as a regional policeman in the southern part of Africa in the same way

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Israel functions as an arm or extension of U.S. military power in the Middle East. There are very close parallels in the way they operate.

Question: I would like to ask if you were getting any aid from either Nigeria or Libya?

Both of them are sympathetic. Both of them support us at the OAU and so on. One would need to take a closer look at more than the rhetoric to find out if there is any real assistance. There is on the continent of Africa an official organization called the ALC, African Liberation Committee which was an offshoot of the OAU, Organization of African Unity. The function of the ALC is specifically to supply arms and by training for military activity, specifically the liberation struggles themselves. Various countries have made promises, most African countries, not all the African countries, have delivered. And to understand that you have to understand the degree to which there has been a repenetration of Africa by neo-colonial forces so that one that is supposed to be an independent state is still a state which is being controlled from the outside whether it's Paris or London or Washington or Wall Street, but they are controlled from outside. So the actual support is not consistent with the promises they make. But to take two specific examples, in the case of Libya, as far as I know they make an annual contribution to the general fund. They may make individual contributions to individual countries as well, some wisely, some unwisely. I don't want to get into that. In the case of Nigeria, the Nigerians made a very specific and very important contribution and that was in Angola. The intervention of Nigeria and the supply of money and arms to Angola, to the MPLA, was probably at one stage, at the time of Angolan independence, that intervention was probably decisive. It was a very important intervention. As you know or as you may not know since these things are not reported here, if you listen to African stations on the short wave you will know that South Africa recently occupied, in the last two weeks, eight towns in the southern part of Angola. These are not towns occupied by UNITA or Savimbi's forces, these are towns which the South African army itself is occupying. Eight towns have been occupied. The South Africans have only admitted that they entered Angola on what they call "hot pursuit." They say they went over the border pursuing guerrillas. But in fact they have remained there. They are now in occupation of eight towns in the southern part of Angola. So the struggle there still continues, but the Nigerian contribution was very important at a certain stage. I might also tell you something I heard on the news today, something I heard on the short-wave, that there were two explosions in my home town of Port Elizabeth on the east coast of South Africa. (In) two department stores in the heart of the city there were major explosions. Again this kind of thing is not being reported in this country because the media and the powers that control the media wish to keep you in ignorance. But there is an armed struggle going on in Southern Africa at the present time.

Question: On the question of nuclear technology and nuclear weapons, one, would you comment a little more on the export of nuclear technology on the part of the U.S. to South Africa and a related question is, do you know of any

plans on the part of the government of South Africa to detonate a nuclear weapon on any other African country or indigenous people?

I don't want to draw on this too long. I'll try and answer this one. I'll start by admitting I'm not an expert in this area at all so I have to go by information from other people. The first nuclear technology given to South Africa was the first nuclear reactor built in South Africa which was built by the United States and was built by Allis Chalmers at a place called Pelindaba which in African means "the place you don't talk much about." Since then a much bigger and much more sophisticated reactor has been built by a consortium which includes Westinghouse, who also built that nuclear monster in Zion, and Westinghouse together with a French consortium called Framatome built a second and much bigger reactor at a place called Velindaba—and that means "a place you don't talk about at all." Most of the latest technology, very interestingly, came from West Germany and was transmitted to the South African ambassador in Bonn who happened to be—before he became ambassador—the chairman of the South African Atomic Energy Commission. He was then moved to the United States and in fact wrote a rude letter about me recently to the president of Western Michigan University. I might as well say that the Western Michigan University's trustees passed a resolution condemning apartheid and imprisonment in South Africa and so on and then in turn got a rude letter from this man in which he accused me of misleading the trustees of Western Michigan University. But that's an aside.

So there is a lot of technology. The South Africans say they can detonate a bomb and they also have a gun supplied by the United States which can fire shells fitted with a nuclear warhead.

...And the explanation being offered at the United Nations is that it was the joint explosion by Israel and South Africa of the first neutron bomb. Those of you who know anything about that know that the neutron bomb is different than any other nuclear explosion in that it does not destroy any buildings. This building would stand if they dropped one of them, but every person would be dead... You'd die but no buildings would be damaged!

Question on tape inaudible.

...As some of you may know I have been ordered to leave the United States. I was first ordered to leave on March 6th. I questioned the reasons and they turned out to be very bad reasons so I replied to those reasons. And I got a letter saying those were very good reasons and we accept them, but, we have new reasons ordering you to leave the United States and I got another letter on the 25th of June which ordered me to leave by the 5th of July (which allowed me to celebrate Independence Day). Anyway, I'm still here and still fighting and I'm glad to say I've been getting many letters of support and it may mean that those letters of support are what are slowing down Immigration. So I would welcome any support from any of you, you write to 219 South Dearborn, U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Section and also to the Dennis Brutus Defense Committee, 29 S. LaSalle St. No. 825, Chicago, IL 60603, and ask that I be allowed to stay in the United States. OK. Thank you. □



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